

## CHAPTER ONE

# CONTESTED BORDERS AND EDUCATION: THE STREECKIAN FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

### Introduction

This thesis is concerned with how the non-profit, socialised, democratic realm of a society can survive and prosper in an advanced capitalist state. And how does this analysis illuminate the persistence of a socialised realm within the advanced capitalism of Australian society? The answer is encompassed by the framework of methodology, theory, and historical analysis employed in the inquiry. In particular, a multidisciplinary socio-economics approach is employed, strongly influenced by the work of Wolfgang Streeck. He has developed the most thorough and revealing analysis of the relationship between the hegemonic structure of advanced capitalism and the remaining non-marketized, socialised domains within the structure (see the Bibliography for the relevant works of Streeck consulted for this thesis).

The broad context of the study is the social totality which incorporates an inclusive ecology which directs us to situate and constitute 'society', and indeed education, as part of a larger, more complex entity than that emanating only from capitalist structures. Moreover, the concept of the 'social totality' rests on the understanding that there was, and is, a non-capitalist component to the social totality with which capitalism interacts over time, and which engenders "...conflicting concepts and claims to justice"<sup>8</sup>. This largely revolves around conflict or compromise between private and collective institutions over control of the various borders of the social domain.

This inquiry focuses on Public Education in NSW, Australia, and the observation that both capitalistic and socialistic social forces and tendencies have influenced the ends and means of its evolution. However, observing the years 1941 to 1955, we witness the cohering of powerful socialistic institutional forces with the beginning of World War Two, to their consolidation and normalization in 1955 with the Wyndham Report's validation of a

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<sup>8</sup> W Streeck, How to Study Contemporary Capitalism, in *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 53, Issue 01, April, 2012, p. 16.

comprehensive public education system, and the consolidation of normative socialist tendencies within the various public institutions. However, these socialistic ends and means have been perpetually contested by privatising interests. This is particularly the case in 2014 when the Liberal-National Commonwealth Government is advocating that 25% of public schools in NSW withdraw, in effect, from the present system with its collectively institutionalised matrix of protocols and ethos. This is consistent with Streeck's argument that "border crossing" is the process of the appropriation of sectors of the public domain by private interests, through the "establishment of market relations where hitherto there was none".<sup>9</sup>

The following analysis therefore observes public education, and the contested borders between the reproduction of capitalism and collective goods as manifested between 1941 and 1955, with its capacity to underwrite productive and egalitarian values. Public education serves as an example of how, in spite of capitalist hegemony, and even in times of war-engendered great deprivation, socialistic networks, through the compounding of social power, may bring benefits for society.

### **Capitalist Economic and Social Relations**

In spite of the social totality having many non-capitalist elements, the ruling thought and economic system are capitalist. Therefore it is complex, variegated capitalism that is necessarily the domain of investigation. However, as Streeck observes, the capitalist economic structure of market relations does not completely control the social totality, giving non-capitalist social relations, politics, and culture, some determinate power in shaping a more co-operative civil society.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, capitalism could eventually comprehensively dominate through the seemingly relentless process of border crossing, or the appropriation of socialised areas, which could then undermine the fabric of sustainable society, the respect for independent democratic authority, and the collective ethos and trust, which is fundamental for the engagement with and honouring of contracts, a precondition for capitalism. That is, capitalism would then destroy the goose that lays the golden egg – a trusting civilization – and consequently undermine its own existence.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.3.

<sup>11</sup> Y Brenner, *The Rise and Fall of Capitalism*, Edward Elgar, Worcester, 1991, pp. 55, 275.

It is here that we can appreciate the seminal role of socialistic education, to engender the continuity of the social good, to reaffirm cooperative social cohesion as the panacea for the perpetual chaos of creative destruction, and to reaffirm a collective trust within society.

Capitalism exists as an asymmetric system, then, with national variations, where social relations and relations of production are determined by private market relations via the cash nexus of purchasing power. Capitalist market exchange is not based on reciprocity within the production-consumption-accumulation cycle, and is therefore characterised by the accumulation of 'surplus value' or private pecuniary profit for the owners of capital at the expense of wage-earning working people.

This asymmetric situation becomes a way of life, premised on claims to rational efficiency of productive relations within and for an institutionalised elitist capitalist economy, while claiming to be a logical, technical, system.<sup>12</sup> This market-liberal ideology therefore revolves around the omnipotence of the “invisible hand” of the market mechanism for the 'correct', yet 'asymmetric', production and distribution of the social product for survival and prosperity.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, this thesis argues, following Streeck and earlier thinkers such as Marx and Polanyi, that capitalism is not a self-driven set of objective laws relating to surplus value and capital accumulation, but a social construct of an institutionalised social order, with a legitimizing metric premised on asymmetric economic and social relations.<sup>14</sup>

### **Border Crossing**

A fundamental characteristic of capitalism is its constant tendency to cross borders and invade non-capitalist territory of non-marketized, socialised domains. As observed in the history of the long-run transition from feudalism to variegated contemporary capitalism, the evolution of capitalism has been a process of the increasing propensity to displace non-

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<sup>12</sup> A Shaikh, and E Tonak, *Measuring the Wealth of Nations*, Cambridge, Cambridge, 1994. The authors analyse the arbitrary nature of the neo-liberal metric as it pertains to the system of national accounts, in particular the attribution that government services are non-productive, while capitalist production is productive. This has implications for the system of national accounts.

<sup>13</sup> W Streeck, *Taking Capitalism Seriously: Towards an Institutional Approach to Contemporary Political Economy*, MPIfG Discussion Paper 10/15, Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung, Köln, November 2010, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p. 4.

capitalist domains. This has revealed itself to the extent that Western state structures are the administrative organs of capitalism, but not completely, or only somewhat, because the governance domain and the social structuration process are contested by countervailing forces.<sup>15</sup>

Therefore, the capitalist transition is characterised by the incremental displacement, drift, conversion, and control of the social (non-marketized) domain and its institutions by a capitalist market economy. That the two systems stand in contradistinction rests on their essential antithetical natures, that is, the private, as opposed to the public good. Institutionally, and strategically, however, border crossing engenders compromises from both the capitalist and non-capitalist spheres.

### **Social and Economic Relations of the Socialised Democratic Domain**

The moral framework of the social domain as a community is contrasted with that of the exploitation of the capitalist economy and its impact on the "way of life" that emanates from capitalism.<sup>16</sup> There is resistance within society to the ongoing commodification of the various social, governance, legal, information, racial, gender, family, production, and ecological domains of the social totality, as well as through capital's dependence on and contestation with the larger society for its existence, functioning, legitimacy, regulation, and labour through the production, consumption, and coercion processes.

The hegemon, the legitimising narrative and activation of ruling thought, or the institutionalised and legitimising expression of the economic and coercive power of capitalism, emanates from the mentality and actioning of the capitalist moral economy which privileges competition over solidarity and personal gain over reciprocity. The hegemonic social consciousness, as expounded by Gramsci,<sup>17</sup> is shaped through educative, everyday life, and productive processes, language, state bureaucracies, and culture<sup>18</sup>, as well as the phenomenon that Vance Packard<sup>19</sup> investigated, which is the existential

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<sup>15</sup> W Streeck, *How to study Contemporary Capitalism*, *op. cit.*, p.23.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> J A Beckford, *Religion and Advanced Industrial Society*, Unwin Hyman, London, 1989, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Rob Steven, *Classes in Contemporary Japan*, Cambridge, Cambridge, 1983. Stevens notes the importance of culture, within a Marxist framework, regarding the reproduction of institutionalised Japanese patriarchal capitalism.

<sup>19</sup> V Packard, *The People Shapers*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1978, p. 128.

immersion within the commodified, competitive, status driven and wasteful consumer capitalist mode.

Contrasting with the capitalist mode, is the nature of socialised democratic processes, or the Polanyian 'stabilizing forces'<sup>20</sup>, which are "...governed by obligations rather than contract, by responsibility to others rather than to self, by collective duty rather than individual volunteerism, or by respect for the sacred as opposed to the maximisation of individual utility."<sup>21</sup> These non-capitalist cooperative 'stabilizing forces' owe their existence, nature, and embeddedness to their amenity, historical longevity, and utility in solving community problems by community effort. They preceded capitalism's structural development and the embedding of its social and productive relations, and have had the capacity to adapt to the hegemonic structures and contingencies of border crossing within developmental capitalism.

The Polanyian 'resilience' of cooperative social relations in the face of 'border crossing' is perpetually reinforced institutionally through social reaction to gratuitous asymmetric aspects of capitalist economic and social relations, with their consequent degenerative effect on the Habermasian non-commodified 'life-world' of human relationships.<sup>22</sup>

Socialistic democratic reactions are a response to a wide range of problems. At one end of the capitalist spectrum there is absolute and relative poverty, and hardship amidst plenty, and profit at the majority's expense, compounded by elitism, which sit uneasily within the general population's sensibilities and emotions through necessity and the process described by Thorstein Veblen as 'invidious comparison'.<sup>23</sup> At the other end of the capitalist spectrum sits the spectre of war as a business, where napalm is just another commodity for profit maximisation, human collateral damage is an externality, mercenaries are inputs to production, and racism institutionalised. Similarly, capitalism seems to be at war with the ecological environment.

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<sup>20</sup> W Streeck, *Taking Capitalism Seriously*, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>21</sup> W Streeck, *How to Study Capitalism*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> W Streeck, *Citizens as Customers*, in *New Left Review* 76, July-August, 2012, pp. 27, 28.

Community reaction to the array of problems is compounded by intellectual, moral and political discernment amplified through institutions which seek the constitutional maintenance or expansion of cooperative modes of government and private governance, and which have the regulatory capacity and power to define and enforce, to an extent, the limits of border crossing from market to society.

### **Institutions**

Consequently, institutions come into focus, given their capacity to empower or disempower their constituents and the wider society, to legitimise hegemony, or be the locus of the “competing claims to justice”. Institutions are not merely organisations, but entities that focus social power, values, strategies and preferences.<sup>24</sup> They have a cultural legacy, capable, to an extent of controlling the actions and agency of their members.

However, decisions made in response to contingencies outside the parameters and constraints of institutional regulation, do impact on institutions, engendering strategies and precedents which deviate from the traditional or normative trajectory of the institution. That is, changing environments elicit changing institutional responses. Consequently, institutions may engender degrees of dynamism for their survival, being, as Streeck puts it, “continually reinvented”<sup>25</sup>. This is the case with both capitalist and anti-systemic institutions.

In Australia's case, socialised democratic processes, the focus of this thesis, are the consequence of the social control engendered by the constitutional democracy and the compounding of a diversity of institutions, which consciously or unconsciously have varying degrees of correspondence with and overlap with the countervailing socialistic institutions. Some institutions are not consciously aligned to modern cooperative or socialist types of political institutions. Within this category lie such significant non-profit organisations as “Clean up Australia”, the various State Emergency Services (SES), the various state Parents & Citizens Associations of public education, the various religious organisations, the State-based volunteer fire services, and other non-profit organisations with their volunteers. Their input revolves largely, but not solely, around the continuity

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<sup>24</sup> W Streeck, *Taking Capitalism Seriously*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, p. 12.

and further normalisation of cooperative modes, Streeck's 'sacred' domain. However, institutions such as the P&C, while constituted by hands-on volunteers in schools, also lobby governments directly in support of a public, tax based, and cooperative, non-competitive educational system.

Institutions which incorporate the variegated socialist ideologies in a more conscious manner, albeit to various degrees, include unions, socialistic political parties, the left wing of religious institutions, cooperatives, and state agencies and institutions.

Nonetheless, all state structures need to be assessed on their merits. Australian state structures present a dual nature that can only be understood when related to the history, as outlined in this thesis, characterised by the intersection of hegemonic private economic, political, cultural and legal power, counterpoised by socialistic economic, political, legal, and cultural power, engendering degrees of popular legitimacy, within an institution with coercive power.

Streeck suggests that socialised democratic institutional manifestations are not static, such that, "...following Polanyi, we treat the various institutional containments that have over time, been invented for the capitalist political economy as additions to it that must be devised and maintained against its resistance. They do not actually come with the package but must be added to it in political struggles, and they fit into it only precariously and for a time until they are worn out by ever new, untiring attempts to push them aside"<sup>26</sup>.

### **Historical Method**

Thus capitalism, in Streeck's words, is "a socially and historically constructed dynamic complex of institutional constraints and opportunities, expectations, rights, resources and powers, with far reaching ramifications into the surrounding society."<sup>27</sup> And as Karl Polanyi argued, capitalism is an "instituted process", whereby the variable histories within nations of institutional structuring engender variable national capitalisms.<sup>28</sup> This is important because in historical terms, capitalism is variegated, constantly changing, and a system that elicits constant social reactions capable of modifying it over time.

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<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, p.33.

<sup>27</sup> W Streeck, *How to Study Capitalism, op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> W Streeck, *Varieties of Capitalism, op. cit.*, p.5.

Consequently a historical inquiry regarding capitalistic and socialistic tendencies is required, as opposed to a static cross-sectional study, for a better understanding of the dynamics involved between the present and the past, within and between the political, economic, cultural, and governance domains, and the “conflicting claims to justice” within the social totality.<sup>29</sup> Historical comparisons eschew the abstract superficiality of static cross sectional analysis, enabling the historical contextualisation of events, an appreciation of the dialectic, and the clarification of causality within the continuities and discontinuities of historically observed patterns of social behaviour.<sup>30</sup>

Thus Streeck posits an objectively larger social totality than capitalist relations as such and that the traditional norms of community create a tension within capitalism, such that modern socialistic outcomes and permutations are possible within the wider totality, notwithstanding the power of capital to erode the non-capitalist domain.

Streeck’s approach assists the construction of a different empirical foundation for social knowledge. Given that empiricism within the hegemonic ‘social science’ discourse is presently limited to mathematical extrapolations, and that social configurations are seen within this discourse as merely subjective interpretations, there is explanatory power in Streeck’s sociological economics as an important critical and realist alternative to the power of empirical knowledge outside of mathematics. This contention is lent further weight because Streeck’s methodology corresponds to Lloyd’s important definition of scientific knowledge within the critical realist framework:

Science as a mode of explanation should not be characterised by empiricist epistemology, or by technical methods such as quantification and experimentation, but by the structure of its logical inferences, the rational, critical and public nature of its results, and the importance of explanation of philosophically based coherent traditions or frameworks of research.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> W Streeck, *How to Study Capitalism*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>30</sup> W Streeck, *Varieties of Capitalism*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>31</sup> C Lloyd, *Explanation in Social History*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1986, pp.8, 9.

## **History of education in NSW**

Public education corresponds to Streeck's definition in that it has to resist capitalism's untiring attempts to push it aside. Within the history that will be presented regarding capitalistic and socialistic structuring, it is evident that the history of education in NSW demands and receives a special place in relation to the intersection of hegemonic and anti-hegemonic social reproduction. Public education engenders value, as Paul Willis attests, adding inputs to production through its vocational emphasis and streaming on class lines, a prerequisite for the capitalist mode of production<sup>32</sup>, while being, as this thesis argues, an example of the struggle of integrative socialistic strategies, structures, and modalities in maintaining and underpinning pedagogical integrity, and egalitarian social-administrative coherence. Moreover, in an environment of perpetual creative destruction education can be seen as the last bastion of the reproduction of the cooperative mode and mentality. In this light, education assumes great significance within social structuring.

In the 20th century national primary and secondary school systems in the Western world were run by public authorities, appropriating the *authoritas* and *imprimatur* previously held by the hegemon of the Protestant or Catholic religious authorities. Morals based, religious education became regulated through the secular morals of the state. Public education consequently evolved with variable content, given the deep intertwinement of the public with the religious and private domains within nations and state structures.

Further, there were and are certain technical impediments to comprehensive privatisation of education systems within modern nations. Historically, apart from the prohibitive capitalisation costs of national systems, and the complexity inherent in national start-ups, however gradual, the national primary and secondary school systems, with varying degrees of administrative centralisation, were fundamentally for the great mass of the population, who had insufficient disposable income to sustain profitable private systems as a lure to capitalist border crossing.

The history of the NSW Education system will serve as a case study of the persistence of the institutionalised, political, cultural and economic power of countervailing forces in times of depression, war, and economic expansion, which engendered the reproduction of

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<sup>32</sup> P Willis, *Learning to Labour*, Essex, Gower, 1988.

capitalism through education systems having to intersect the public interest. This is significant, for it corresponds to Streeck's contention that after World War Two capitalism came to an accommodation with social democratic institutional structuring.

My research has delineated public education as the domain 'par excellence' for such an inquiry. The deep embeddedness of the non-capitalist social domain, with its emphasis on Habermas's, and Godelier's<sup>33</sup> traditional 'life world' of cooperative moral governance regarding work, production, and community morés, is essential to the integrity of cooperative social reproduction. Therefore, the legitimacy and emotional intimacy associated with the moral integrity of social reproduction, the passing on of wisdom, entwined with a vocational dimension via education has been a paramount concern for parents, pedagogues, and communities throughout modern history.

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<sup>33</sup>J A Beckford, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-8.

## **CHAPTER 2**

# **THE POWER AND LIMITATIONS OF HEGEMONIC SOCIO-ECONOMIC DELINEATION AND MEASUREMENT**

### **Introduction**

The definition and measurement of the various attributes, sub-structures, and health of the social totality are of fundamental importance for an understanding of the interconnection of the democratic and hegemonic capitalist realms of society. So important are they within the modern capitalist world, that the power of hegemonic definition and attribution of these realms is the power to construct and defend a theory and narrative of social reality that dominates thinking about society, giving legitimacy and credence to explanations of what society is, and how it works.

The hegemonic concept and delineation, with its focus on Gross Domestic Product as the prime indicator of social progress, fails to be a sufficient indicator of social life and social health within a capitalist society. Indicators regarding physiological and psychological health are declining while the conventional quantitative Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita is increasing. Non-monetized collective outcomes, the value of social coherence, and the diminution of individual alienation through education, are not counted. Therefore, the hegemonic (economistic) social definitional and measurement system is arbitrary and consequently misrepresents social, ecological and economic realities. Regarding the theme of this thesis, the hegemonic system permeates the measurement of public policy processes, particularly educational processes and outcomes. The one dimensional economistic framework of reference is designed only for furthering capitalist economic growth.

This chapter explains the limitations of hegemonic theory and measurement, and how it reflects and reproduces capitalist relations of production and obscures the real multidimensional historical political economy, cultural attainment, and institutional maturity of communities, and any possible redistributive solutions. Further, this chapter addresses those social needs and institutional responses that are left out of the hegemonic account, yet which are necessary for valid contextualization of pedagogy.

The development of education in NSW can only be understood within the context of the long-term characteristic of Australian society of giving voice and form to egalitarian social power, which has been a powerful incentive to improving social wealth and health outcomes, stabilizing economic maturity, and minimizing inequality.

### **Hegemony**

Bowles and Gintis's *Schooling in Capitalist America*<sup>34</sup> helped foster an understanding of education as an instrument of capitalist reproduction within the United States of America, while P Willis's *Learning to Labour*<sup>35</sup> demonstrated that educational streaming of students is essentially a class based phenomenon. Connell's and Irving's *Ruling Class Ruling Culture*<sup>36</sup> did likewise in relation to an appreciation of capitalist hegemony in Australia. Connell and Irving's examination of the history of public education identifies the linkage between the economic needs of business and government education policy.<sup>37</sup>

Hegemony, or 'the ruling thought', synonymous with Gramsci's investigation of culture, and in a sense culminating in Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man*<sup>38</sup> and the 'welfare-warfare state,' and Thorstein Veblen's 'invidious pecuniary comparison'<sup>39</sup> with its commodity fetish, remains capitalist in the modern world and Australia. However, in the last pages of *Ruling Class, Ruling Culture*,<sup>40</sup> RW Connell noted the existence of counter-hegemonic factors.

How and why counter-hegemonic factors manifest themselves through agency and institutionally to escape the *One Dimensional Man* syndrome is an important dimension of this analysis. In the same vein, Noah and Eckstein argue in *Towards a Science of Comparative Education*<sup>41</sup>, that if education reflects the institutional and agential power relationships within society, and if a society is the sum of its parts, then arguably if some

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<sup>34</sup> S Bowles and H Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America*, Basic Books Inc., New York, 1976, p.53.

<sup>35</sup> P Willis, *Learning to Labour*, Gower Publishing Co., Essex, 1988.

<sup>36</sup> RW Connell, *Ruling Class Ruling Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, p.180.

<sup>37</sup> R W Connell and T H Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1980, p.206.

<sup>38</sup> H Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, Abacus, London, 1972, p.29.

<sup>39</sup> T Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Mentor, New York, 1958, p.40.

<sup>40</sup> RW Connell, *Ruling Class Ruling Culture*, op. cit., pp.220-22.

<sup>41</sup> H Noah & M Eckstein, *Towards a Science of Comparative Education*. Macmillan, New York, 1969, p.41.

parts are collectively focused, this should be reflected in educational institutional practice and in pedagogy.

Within the four domains that constitute the historical political economy of Australia and all similar societies – culture, economy, politics, and regulation – the hegemony of capitalism is not absolute.<sup>42</sup> The historical and statistical evidence suggests that there is a dimension within these domains that has an altruistic and cooperative focus. However, the lack of correspondence between the narrative and measurement of the dominant school of thought and the cooperative institutions, social capital, social production, and social coherence, means that the nature and potential of education has to be reassessed as well as the consequential “benefits derived to society”<sup>43</sup>. To this end it is first necessary to understand the import and limitations of conventional, hegemonic, classification and measurement within the System of National Accounts. This system lacks the key variables of co-operation and non-profit, and consequently it results in public policies that engender dysfunctional pedagogies, and indeed, dysfunctional communities.

The problem of the hegemonic measurement system also exists within Australian economic historiography, and the intersection of the mathematized expression of reality with the mechanistic narrative of neoliberal vulgar empiricism. This an example of what P Berger and T Luckman describe as the “institutional processes and the legitimizing symbolic universe”<sup>44</sup> of the social construction of reality. Searle posits the problem as ontological in that it pertains to “how social facts exist”<sup>45</sup> within the public domain. Qualitative and quantitative accounts of institutions with socialistic characteristics and outcomes, social capital, and social production configurations, are not given objective weight when considered historically, theoretically or empirically within the hegemonic neo-liberal framework of reference.

This thesis argues that in practical terms the dominant economic neo-liberal metric affects educational goals and analyses within schools and society through the propensity to

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<sup>42</sup> C Lloyd, *Regime Changes in Industrial Relations and Management: Beyond Institutionalism to a Structural- Darwinian Theory of Capitalist Evolution. A Critical Survey*, Unpublished Paper, Taking Care of Business Conference, Sydney, November, 2004, p. 17.

<sup>43</sup> ABS, 1301.0, *New Volume Estimates for Health and Education*, 2002.

<sup>44</sup> P Berger and T Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality*, Penguin, London, p. 209.

<sup>45</sup> J Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality*, Penguin, London, 1995, p. 5.

one-dimensional assessment, short termism, ensuring the form of vocation has priority over the substance of education, and the dysfunctional short cuts inherent in tight budgetary imperatives. The hegemonic essence is embedded within a set of technically flawed *a priori* assumptions that are narrow in breadth and shallow in depth. The outcome is that they contort economic and social histories, and therefore diminish the potential effectiveness of economic and social planning.

This limited framework of analysis is normalized and reproduced in the Australian Government's System of National Accounts (SNA). The integrity and veracity of the hegemonic account is found wanting when contrasted with the needs of the social totality and its measurement within what the *Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress* calls a 'holistic'<sup>46</sup> framework of measurement, where the "unifying theme...is...to shift emphasis from measuring economic production to measuring people's wellbeing."<sup>47</sup>

This chapter addresses the lacunae in the conventional and subjective SNA framework and methodologies with regard to the benefits of social capital and its relations to production, and consequently its impact on education. A more holistic approach to understanding society and pedagogy, using more inclusive, less arbitrary criteria would increase our understanding, and enhance social opportunities and outcomes.

Which areas of the society manifest philosophies and relations of production that characterize non-capitalist ends and means? To delineate absolutely is problematic for at least two reasons. Firstly, as Hugh Stretton points out, the interconnections are complex and far reaching. Any productive or educational undertaking is sure to have a combination of public and private inputs.<sup>48</sup> Secondly, institutions with socialist-type characteristics, which I define as those that advocate the primacy of social capital, welfare, and planning, have many manifestations within the Australian experience, ranging from the individual, to the family, to the collective. The benefits derived are largely interpretive in nature, thus harder to quantify than money flows.

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<sup>46</sup> J Stiglitz, Amartya Sen, Jean Paul Fitoussi, *Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress*, [www.stiglitz-sen-fitoussi.fr](http://www.stiglitz-sen-fitoussi.fr), 2009, p.207.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p12.

<sup>48</sup> H Stretton, *Economics: A New Introduction*, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 1999, p. 210.

The problem of hegemonic measurement and its omission of variables is threefold in that there is, firstly, a structural non-capitalist sector, (the not-for-profit sector) composed of family relations, certain state sectors, clubs and associations, volunteer work, labour unions, and cooperatives. The culture, ethics, economic and social relations, productive input, and potential of all these are obfuscated into insignificance within the neo-liberal ontology.

Secondly, compounding the first problem, goods and services are computed in one dimension only, in money terms, while objectively the production of goods and services needs to be characterized by their multidimensionality and utility. For instance, within the National Accounts a hamburger produced at McDonald's, embedded within a capitalist mode of production, includes the cost of labour, while one made in the home does not.

Third, in contradiction to the 'invariance'<sup>49</sup> principle, which holds that there should be no difference in measurement and attributes between government and private provision of goods and services, unless quality is different. However, the neo-liberal account implies that private provision is superior to public provision, given public provisions linkage to government debt. This subjective and arbitrary division between a putative productive private sector, and an unproductive public sector, and the ideas linkage to the concept of 'productive' and 'unproductive' labour, has been explored in some depth by Tonak and Shaikh.<sup>50</sup> Consequently, mirroring the arbitrary definition, the methodology of the ASNA is categorical that public education is a private benefit as opposed to a public utility.<sup>51</sup> Within this dominant framework, social capital with its investment potential and non-monetized value manifestations have been considered not worth measuring, or given the wrong attributes. These *a priori* assumptions permeate the assessment and focus of social and educational inputs away from social cooperation, amenity, and production. This minimizes an understanding of the actual and potential educational content within products, services, and a nation's 'inputs of production' as well as its definitive role in social coherence.

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<sup>49</sup> J Stiglitz, Amartya Sen, Jean Paul Fitoussi, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 123.

<sup>50</sup> A Shaikh, E Tonak, *Measuring the Wealth of Nations*, Cambridge, Cambridge, 1994. The authors also developed methodologies to measure the rate of exploitation.

<sup>51</sup> ABS, 5216.0 *Australian System of National Accounts, Concepts, Sources, and Methods*, 2013, p. 170.

### **Adam Smith and the “masters” voice.**

What is included in official measurement are items that are easily measured and weighted towards legitimizing profit and money flows as opposed to measuring social amenity, cooperation, and production. Consequently, extrapolations with standard mechanistic indices, within both the SNA and pedagogical assessment criteria, distort qualitative and qualitative imperatives. This is largely the result of those institutions that represent capital defining and legitimizing the parameters of analysis, utilizing capitalist economic ontology and epistemology.

Adam Smith believed that the representatives of capital are generally animated by their self interest to both “oppress” and “deceive” the public, and whose interest “is never exactly the same with that of the public.”<sup>52</sup> He understood that “Whenever the legislature attempts to regulate the difference between masters and their workmen, its councilors are always the masters.”<sup>53</sup> Smith, in essence, defined the problem of asymmetrical power as it pertains to the capitalist state representing the “master’s” voice. However, in spite of Smith’s “master’s” hegemonic voice, collectivist institutions, economic activity, and ideas have nonetheless insinuated themselves into the production system, the body politic, and education systems of modern Australian capitalism.

### **The Social Totality: Incremental Institutional Counterpoise to Market Capitalism and its Ontology of Society and Education.**

Within Australian social, economic, and pedagogical development, unions, cooperatives, the Non Profit Sector, and volunteering, were and are powerful institutions of thought and action that influence state structures, social norms, and productive outcomes. Because their influence and import are obfuscated within the dominant school of thought, it is important to reiterate and emphasize their historical embeddedness and structural significance within the whole society. This will help inform us of the consequent ‘mentalities’ and outcomes that are signposts to Australia’s cultural relativities that engender broader pedagogical terms of reference and empowerment.

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<sup>52</sup> A Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Modern Library, New York, 1937, p. 250.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p.141.

The ABS contends that, by using market replacement valuation methodology, unpaid production is equal to half the Gross Domestic Product. This situation is recognized by the ABS and expressed through the Satellite Accounts, such as those pertaining to domestic production and Non Profit Institutions,<sup>54</sup> and information papers, such as *Measuring Social Capital*.<sup>55</sup> Implicitly however, given their peripheral status within conventional indicators, they are footnotes to what the ABS perceives as the real game, the flow of money within the capitalist market, based on easily attainable measures.

Consequently, international comparisons are compromised because the productive capacity within many ‘developing’ nations as well as in ‘developed’ nations is not expressed sufficiently through the measurement just of money. Conventional GDP indices, while necessary for analyzing capital flows and the seven to ten year expansion and contraction of business cycles, are not sufficient for comprehensive international comparisons. The inclusion of holistic household indices would be a more reliable indicator of economic impacts on populations, particularly when underdeveloped nations are compared.<sup>56</sup>

That the household sector is marginalized is ironic given Xenophon’s coining of the term ‘*oikonomikos*’ around 370BC as the management of household accounts and affairs and its interconnections with the wider society, is the founding account of the economy.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, Thomas Aquinas regarded the domestic economy as the *economia-pura*.<sup>58</sup> My focus is the state and collectivist institutions, whose utility is likewise marginalized.

**The State: its utility marginalized and delegitimized within the national assessment.**

Actual and potential forms of social capital, such as the state and its provision of education and health, are given little weight in official discourse in relation to growth, stability and continuity. Government, in both its ‘non-market’ and ‘market’ sector role, is viewed through the dominant neo-liberal lens as a burden in the form of a cost, certainly not as an imperative or desirable investment input into economic growth and stability, ecological sustainability, the provision of education, housing, health, transport and welfare infrastructure, social coherence and reproduction, or, as a type of sentinel to balance the

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<sup>54</sup> ABS, *Non Profit Institutions Satellite Account*, 5256.0, 2000.

<sup>55</sup> ABS, *Measuring Social Capital*, 1378.0, 2004.

<sup>56</sup> D McTaggart, C Findlay and M Parkin, *Economics*, Addison-Wesley, Melbourne, 1997, p. 551.

<sup>57</sup> M Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1979, p.17.

<sup>58</sup> F Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15<sup>th</sup>- 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, Volume 3, Fontana Press, London, 1984, p. 630.

national economic and cultural integrity and the integrative or dissociative needs of Australia relative to global capitalism.<sup>59</sup>

That the 'state' has historically been a mixed blessing is not contested, and is manifested differently in different nations.<sup>60</sup> While Hobbes saw the state as a way to effect protection of the citizens from citizens, Locke sought protection from the state.<sup>61</sup> Anarchists, Marxists, pluralists, and 'public choice'<sup>62</sup> theorists all argue in some way that the state is inherently restrictive. Indeed, Foucault<sup>63</sup> helps us understand administrative cruelty, while Paul Virilio contextualizes with his onus on the military establishment and the state as a driver of economic development.<sup>64</sup>

However, any given state must be weighed on its merits, or lack thereof. Coates has done work in this field with reference to models of capitalism<sup>65</sup> pertaining to the US, Japanese and Scandinavian models. Sectors of the state may be differentiated by their correspondence to indicators of egalitarian empowerment, freedom or oppression, social cohesion, and by their capacity to offset the negative externalities of the productive system, such as pollution, market failure, economic and social inequalities, ill health, the breakdown of behavioral norms through displacement and/or alienation, monopoly, oligopoly and economic bubbles, unemployment, or the lack of research and development.<sup>66</sup>

### **The typology of states**

Eugene Kamenka and Erh-Soon Tay refer to Ferdinand Tonnies'<sup>67</sup> three ideal types that give us some perspective regarding the theory and themes of power and the state. The ideal types, [and their ontology and epistemology of pedagogy] may overlap depending on the

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<sup>59</sup> P Ellston, *Australia in the Pacific Rim: Integrative or Dissociative Strategies?* Honours Thesis, University of New England, 1993, p.1.

<sup>60</sup> C Wolf, *Markets or Governments-Choosing between Imperfect Alternatives*, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass, 1991, p.19.

<sup>61</sup> Martin Krygier, *The Grammar of Colonial Legality: Subject, Objects, and the Australian Rule of Law*, in Brennen, G, and Castles, F (Eds), *Australia Reshaped*, Cambridge, Cambridge, 2002.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, p5.

<sup>63</sup> M Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Galimard, Paris, 1977.

<sup>64</sup> J Armitage, Paul Virilio, *An Introduction*. In *Theory, Culture & Society*, Volume 16, Numbers 5-6, October-December, 1999, p.2.

<sup>65</sup> D Coates, *Models of Capitalism*, Polity Press, Cornwall, 2000, P 234.

<sup>66</sup> C Wolf, *op. cit.*, and *ibid*, p.21.

<sup>67</sup> P Berger and B Berger, *Sociology, A Biographical Approach*, Penguin, Aylesbury, 1976, p. 335.

given power equilibrium. The first type, *Gemeinschaft*, refers to membership or community, the situation where there is little distinction between public and private, such as the governance of the Catholic Church with its qualified Thomasian ideology of equality under God, and, located and premised on the subsistence agrarian household.

The second type is the *Gesellschaft* mode which is an outgrowth of individualism and therefore the opposite society of *Gemeinschaft*.<sup>68</sup> This period corresponds roughly to the period from the ‘Glorious’ Revolution of 1688 until 1850 when the emergent bourgeoisie held sway and tried to shape the state in their image. After 1850 the labouring classes and their political power was irresistible and could not be ignored.<sup>69</sup>

At this point, the third mode of organization – *bureaucratic administration* – engendering degrees of corporatization, managerialism and impartiality, comes into play as a potential and real apparatus of redistribution. For example, the 1850’s saw self-government in the Australian colonies and the embedding and normalization of the union movement’s social power within a capitalist hegemony.

### **The functions of Australian Government**

The Australian Bureau of Statistics defines the main functions of the Australian Government as: the regulation of economic and social provisions; the redistribution of income between sections of the community; and the provision of non-market services. “In addition to this core activity governments can also own or control enterprises that sell goods or services to the public and which operate largely on a market basis...”<sup>70</sup>

Today, the state reminiscent of Hobbes’ *Leviathan*, and in the ‘*bureaucratic administrative mode*’, can, so to speak, ‘capture’ sectors of the market where its critical mass can dictate the parameters of engagement and distribution protocols to private entities. Education and health are currently two such sectors. Moreover, education and health are part of a more encompassing state apparatus which in the 1980s and 90s<sup>71</sup> accounted for the employment of approximately 30% of the Australian work force, falling to around 20% by 2006. Total

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<sup>68</sup> E Kamenka and R S Neale (Eds), *Feudalism, Capitalism and Beyond*, Australian National University, Canberra, 1975 p. 14.

<sup>69</sup> Y Brenner, *The Rise and Fall of Capitalism*, Edward Elgar Worcester, 1991, p. 139.

<sup>70</sup> ABS, 5501.0.55.001, p.1.

<sup>71</sup> McTaggart, *op. cit.*, p.656.

public sector expenditure was 40% of GDP in 1992/3,<sup>72</sup> falling to 33.3% in 2004-5.<sup>73</sup> The state can be said to have sufficient institutional momentum to constitute an ‘engine’ of the economy through wages, transfers, expenditure, planning, infrastructure, plant and production, and effect redistributive outcomes, the more so if the government’s 30% contribution to Non Profit Institutions is added.<sup>74</sup>

Importantly the ‘state’ in Australia is a legitimizing agent in the economic, cultural, political and regulatory domains. The state exists in an environment of competing social forces, emanating from the hegemony of capitalism and the resistance to it, substantially, from a more community-oriented socialist-type polity. A type of temporal equilibrium pertains such that the government’s legitimation of former radical propositions, due to social pressure, such as public education, gender equality, public health, unions, and Aboriginal land rights, has facilitated the normalization of egalitarian outcomes within state structures. This has constituted a powerful counterpoise to market capitalism.

Firstly, let us observe how unions affect the polity.

### **Unions**

With the advent of the agricultural, financial and industrial revolutions, and the consequent congregation of workers in factories, unions became possible. Social pressure saw their nascent and at times tenuous legalization and legitimization in both Britain and Australia in 1824 with the *Combination of Workmen Act*.<sup>75</sup> Unions enabled collective pressure to be focused on those employers who may have otherwise been oblivious to the needs and asymmetric designation of their employees in relation to reasonable wages, conditions and control. Moreover the unions, since their early days and affiliations with the cooperative movement, have argued for the redistribution of educational capital<sup>76</sup>. Bray et al argue that unions improve working conditions, reduce alienation, and increase productivity through the opportunity of workers to be given voice.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> ABS, 5204.0

<sup>74</sup> ABS, 52560, p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> Trade Unions, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 23, Charles Black, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 499.

<sup>76</sup> S Pollard, and J Salt, *Robert Owen*, Macmillan, London, 1971, p78.

<sup>77</sup> M Bray, S Deery, J Walsh, P Waring, *Industrial Relations: A Contemporary Approach*, Third Edition, McGraw-Hill, Sydney, 2005, pp.318, 324.

Unions in Australia generally work to bring ‘fairness’ to the production system, so that when their power is structural so is ‘fairness’. Landa argued in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly in 1943 that compulsory unionism equated to enfranchisement within economic democracy: “This bill creates the necessary conditions for a full and free industrial democracy, just as compulsory voting in elections created the conditions for a full and free political democracy.” On the other hand, the leader of the opposition, Mr. Treatt, thought a ‘closed shop’ was “a violation of the basic human right to work”<sup>78</sup>, for non-unionists.

That unions have an impact on society and thus the economy is generally not denied. Laissez-fair advocates bemoan their existence.<sup>79</sup> They argue, with some legitimacy, that unions distort the free market and are the ‘thin end of the wedge of socialism’.<sup>80</sup> However, it was for reasons of economic stability, as a response to the 1930’s depression and the asymmetry of economic power, and the anarchy of the free market, that the then President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, saw the role of the unions as critical in counterpoising the power of monopoly and oligopoly capital. As a consequence, during the ‘New Deal’ unions were put on a legal footing in the United States with the National Labour Relations Act 1935.<sup>81</sup>

Australia’s arbitration solution to the conflict between capital and labour occurred some thirty years before the American example. The Court of Arbitration (enacted 1904) became part of the ‘New Protectionism’ where industry was protected from overseas competition on the basis that employers paid fair wages and abided by the decisions of the Court of Arbitration.<sup>82</sup> Justice Higgins, famous for the Harvester decision (1907) that enshrined a “fair” and “basic” wage for a worker to sustain his (sic) family, was unequivocal that arbitration was “based on unionism.”<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Industrial Democracy, in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 November, 1953, p. 4.

<sup>79</sup> A Nove, *The Economics of Feasible Socialism*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1983, p.2.

<sup>80</sup> A St Ledger, *Australian Socialism*, Macmillan and Co, London, 1909, p.19.

<sup>81</sup> N Meany (Ed), *The West And The World*, Volume 2, Science Press, 1977, p.435.

<sup>82</sup> N Butlin, A Barnard, J Pincus, *Government and Capitalism*, George Allen & Unwin, Singapore, 1982, p. 74.

<sup>83</sup> D W Rawson, *Unions and Unionists in Australia*, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1978, p245.

In spite of the union movement's defeat in the great strikes during the depression of the 1890s, by 1899 the child of the unions, the Labor party, took office briefly in Queensland, and in 1904 in the Federal Parliament. The short-lived yet portentous Watson Federal Labor Government of 1904 engendered the further assimilation of the union movement's ideas and social pressure into Australian civil society through the state, setting the scene such that during the 20<sup>th</sup> century Labor held office for one third of the period and made significant changes.

In 1921 the Labor party declared a Socialist program facilitating collective ownership, albeit with the Blackburn caveat that "...the Party does not seek to abolish private ownership of the instruments of production where such instrument is utilized by its owner in a socially useful manner and without exploitation."<sup>84</sup>

During the Second World War the Menzies' Government failed to adequately incorporate the institutional representatives of 1.2 million unionists into the planning of the war.<sup>85</sup> Consequently, 'all in war' was not achieved until the Curtin Labor Party won power from the Menzies conservative Government in 1941. By the 1990's the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) had a seat on the Board of the Reserve Bank of Australia.

Let us now observe the social value of the cooperative sector.

### **Co-operative relations of production**

While the co-operative idea is as old as humanity, it found expression in 1760 with co-operative corn mills at Woolwich and Chatham.<sup>86</sup> The formal British co-operative movement found its feet with the ideas of Robert Owen around 1815. Owen believed a system of universal 'village' co-operation was the 'socialist' solution to the poverty of the industrial revolution. Strong emphasis was placed on education.<sup>87</sup> This theory was similar to Frenchman Charles Fourier's idea of a system of 'phalansteres' or communities of around 1,600 people.

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<sup>84</sup> C M Clark, *A History of Australia*, Volume 6, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1987, p173.

<sup>85</sup> B Fitzpatrick, *A Short History of the Australian Labour Movement*, 1968, p.213.

<sup>86</sup> F Hopley, *Working Class and Democratic Movements*, Blackie, Glasgow, 1970, p.10.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13, and Cole and Postgate, *The Common People*, p.195.

The British movement, in spite of the efforts of Owen and Doctor William King, made little headway until the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers opened their store in Toad Lane, Rochdale, in 1844, introducing best practice in British and Australian retail, with the formula of pure food, correct weight, a dividend on every purchase and interest on share capital.<sup>88</sup> The operation flourished, laying the foundations of an international movement and setting the scene for the Australian co-operative movement.

Producer, consumer and finance<sup>89</sup> co-operatives proliferated within the Australian environment, becoming part of the structural economic and cultural backdrop to rural and urban communities. The Australian war historian Charles Bean thought the cooperative movement would be the way of Australian socialism after World War II,<sup>90</sup> an idea that Lloyd Ross also thought viable.

Finance cooperatives such as credit unions, Starr-Bowkets and building societies were some of the few avenues of finance for the working and middle classes, apart from pawnbrokers, before the advent of hire purchase, small bank loans, and credit cards from the 1950s onwards. In 1988, the NSW Government defined the “essential difference between co-ops and other forms of economic enterprise [as] the subordination of business techniques to ethical ideas. The focus is on service and reach rather than maximizing profits.”<sup>91</sup>

The definition could equally apply to the Non-profit sector.

### **The Non-Profit Industry (NPI) and the volunteer workforce: non-ideological socialism**

The Non-Profit sector in its early history in the USA has been linked to tax breaks for corporations,<sup>92</sup> engendering processes and theses in the USA, such as “How to get Maximum Tax Benefits from Charitable Contributions”, and “How to Use Gifts to Take

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<sup>88</sup> *ibid.*, p. 319.

<sup>89</sup> M Darnell, Attaining the Australian Dream in *Labour History*, Number 91, November, 2006, p. 13.

<sup>90</sup> Army Urges Study of Current Affairs, in *SMH*, 27 April 1946, p.2.

<sup>91</sup> N Balnave and G Patmore, Localism and Rochdale Co-operation. The Junee and District Co-operative Society, in *Labour History*, No 91, Nov 2006, p.48.

<sup>92</sup> O Demaris, Dirty Business, *The Corporate Political Money-Power Game*, Harper’s Magazine Press, New York, 1974, p281.

Earnings Out of a Corporation Tax Free.”<sup>93</sup> Charitable Service Foundations proliferated during the 1980s to fill the welfare and service vacuum left by Reagan’s Government downsizing.

These and other issues also constitute grey areas within the history of Australian NPI’s. Further, the integrity, in relation to the social ends of some clubs that operate under the auspices of NPI protocols while engendering an alcohol and gambling culture, inclusive of poker machines, is open to question, given that arguably they are insidious a-social activities engendering high costs to the community. In part the situation reflects the entwinement of those institutions engendering the social good with the structures of commodity capitalism. In part it reflects poor judgment as to the social good within NPI’s, such as bowling leagues, and golf clubs. However, contemporary NPI’s within Australia, more often engender the social good, after an evolution where the worst excesses as in the USA have been minimized.

The institutions that concern this thesis engender socialist characteristics such as egalitarian social capital, welfare, and planning, and which, moreover facilitate crucial and fundamental roles in relation to public maintenance, health, and safety. The institutions range from the public health and education systems, Police Citizens Clubs, Community Nursing Homes, the State Emergency Service (SES), to Industry Superannuation<sup>94</sup> Funds.<sup>95</sup>

An important point in this regard, is that socialist-type manifestations do not necessarily emanate from discrete or dedicated ‘socialist’ organizations. For example the SES, Voluntary Fire Brigades, Clean-Up Australia, the Saint Vincent de Paul, the Salvation Army, the Country Women’s Association, Legacy, Parents & Citizens Associations, amongst many others, conscientiously work for the welfare of the community for no personal pecuniary gain.

In 2000 the volunteer (usually part-time) workforce comprised 4,395,600 adults, representing 32% of the population over the age of 18, and inclusive of government

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<sup>93</sup> *ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>94</sup> [www.industrysuper.com](http://www.industrysuper.com)

<sup>95</sup> [www.superannuation.asn.au/resources/superannuationstatistics](http://www.superannuation.asn.au/resources/superannuationstatistics)

volunteers, (though not the Commonwealth Government's Work for the Dole scheme given its non-voluntary nature), worked 700,000,000 hours.<sup>96</sup> Non-Profit Institutions employed 6.8% of the workforce in 2000.<sup>97</sup> NPIs inclusive of volunteers contributed 4.7% to the GDP. While NPI's are defined by the ABS as outside the Government sector, 30%<sup>98</sup> of their operating funds are supplied by the state. These institutions are examples of public organizations which engage in normative behavior that have a radical social capital provenance and correspondence. Moreover, the 2010 statistics show no diminution to this altruistic trend.<sup>99</sup>

### **Social capital aggregated**

When the various inputs of social capital are aggregated one can start to appreciate the structural dimensions of inputs into the society other than that of the norms, institutions, processes and outcomes of market capitalism.

Within Australian history, the state represented the majority of inputs until around 1825, via the Government Store or Commissariat; down to around 33%<sup>100</sup> at the present time. In addition to the Government's 33%, the Non Profit Sector was equal in monetized terms to 4.7%<sup>101</sup> of GDP in 2000 without counting Olympic Games volunteers.

If one considers the non-monetized 'benefits derived' from the inputs of the Australian volunteer sector, such as that from the State Emergency Service, Clean Up Australia, volunteer fire fighters, which for example in Queensland have 34,000 volunteers and 150 paid staff,<sup>102</sup> and in NSW 70,000 volunteers and 300 paid staff,<sup>103</sup> and the Maritime Rescue NSW with 53 volunteer units with 3000<sup>104</sup> volunteers; then some understanding of the functional importance and imperative of social capital can be appreciated.

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<sup>96</sup> ABS, *Voluntary Work, Australia*, 4441.0, 2000.

<sup>97</sup> ABS, doc 52560 p.6.

<sup>98</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> ABS, doc 4441.0, *Voluntary Work, Australia*, 2010.

<sup>100</sup> ABS, doc 5204.0.

<sup>101</sup> ABS, doc 52560, op. cit., p.6.

<sup>102</sup> [www.rural.qld.gov.au/volunteering](http://www.rural.qld.gov.au/volunteering)

<sup>103</sup> [www.rfs.nsw.gov.au](http://www.rfs.nsw.gov.au)

<sup>104</sup> [www.maritime.nsw.gov.au/rec\\_boating/marine\\_rescue.html](http://www.maritime.nsw.gov.au/rec_boating/marine_rescue.html)

Thus conservatively speaking, within the problematic GDP criterion, non-capitalist inputs equal about one third of the economy. If one includes the inputs presently ignored, such as the productive benefits of unionism and other collectively focused institutions (in that the collective voice engenders safer work environments), the counterpoising of monopoly power in the spirit of F D Roosevelt, and a more inclusive culture, the ratio of socialistic to capitalistic inputs is even higher.

In the next section of this analysis I will clarify the connection between education, health, and economic sustainability by utilizing more inclusive multidimensional criteria for evaluation of social power, pedagogy, and outcomes, which reflect Australia's institutional dispositions.

### **The value of education – a foundation for social coherence and sustainable production.**

The Islamic Scholar Ibn Khaldun commented in the fourteenth century that "... the first things to be imprinted into hearts are like foundations for the habitus; and the building's value is determined by that of its foundations",<sup>105</sup> while the 17<sup>th</sup> century educationalist Comenius, who was invited to inform the English Revolutionary Parliament, argued that the foundation of education should be multidimensional, or *Pansophic*, "of all men, about all things, and in all ways."<sup>106</sup> These ancient insights correspond to contemporary pedagogy, which falls into a philosophy somewhere between Herbart,<sup>107</sup> Dewey<sup>108</sup>, and Paulo Freire.<sup>109</sup> However, orthodox economics wins the day, since measurement is focused on the quantity of educational services, not on the quality nor on "the benefits derived from those services by society."<sup>110</sup>

However, in relation to best practice approaches to learning, qualitative analysis and a critical capacity are catalytic, as in Schumpeter's 'dynamic efficiency', in engendering the

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<sup>105</sup> A Cheddadi, Ibn Khaldun. in *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, (Paris, UNESCO: International Bureau of Education), Volume xxiv, no. ½, 1994, p. 12.

<sup>106</sup> J Sadler, *J A Comenius and the Concept of Universal Education*, George Allen and Unwin, St Edmunds, 1966, p.291.

<sup>107</sup> R Beck, *A Social History of Education*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1965, pp98-99.

<sup>108</sup> J Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, Free Press, New York, 1968.

<sup>109</sup> P Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Seabury, New York, 1970.

<sup>110</sup> ABS, 1301.0, *New Volume Estimates for Health and Education*, 2002.

capacity to innovate.<sup>111</sup> That is, society must have a capacity to sustainably and coherently manage change within an environment of dynamically unstable creative destruction. This social imperative defies crude functionalist pedagogy with its implicit and lagging ‘just in time’ supply of workers, and calls instead for critical analysis and synthesis for proactive motivation, planning and sustainable production.

With standard SNA accounting, education inputs offset outputs, and are therefore neutral. It seems as if nothing is produced. Moreover its costs are seen by neo-liberals to represent a fiscal drag on the economy, as opposed to the fundamental ingredient, or investment, for value added productivity. Because this tells one very little about benefits, output tends to be increasingly measured, for example, by the number of degrees and diplomas issued by the universities and technical colleges. This also has limited explanatory power regarding the production of benefits to society and individuals.

### **The Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress.**

Measuring outputs and ‘benefits’ derived from primary and secondary school sectors in regard to the social glue of coherence is more problematic, in spite of their seminal role in social and economic reproduction, and as a necessary stimulus to participatory democracy.<sup>112</sup> The NSW Public Service Board has been aware of this problem in measurement since at least 1953, when the Board lamented that crucial education outcomes were not measured, and that the value of education was therefore underestimated.<sup>113</sup>

While non-monetary measurements are difficult, as the *Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress* strongly argues, it is not beyond human agency to have multivariable measurement of objective, and subjective ‘social wellbeing’ criteria. Nonetheless, it is an important first step to conceptualize the problem, its resolution, and opportunities engendered. In spite of the intuitively perceived ‘benefits derived’ to society through education in the form of inputs to production, social

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<sup>111</sup> C Wolf, *op. cit.*, pp.18, 21.

<sup>112</sup> J Stiglitz, Amartya Sen, Jean Paul Fitoussi, *op. cit.*, 2009, p46.

<sup>113</sup> NSW Parliamentary Papers, *Public Service Board Report re Education*, Volume 1, 1953 (2), p. 694.

awareness, and wellbeing, the analytical potential is undermined due to the lack of empirical investigation into a more cooperative frame of reference and productive output.

### **Education and the pin, the Capitalist mode and the costs of alienation**

Heuristic public education has value given its fundamental role in offsetting many of the negative externalities and costs of capitalist production. Adam Smith, in an early reference to the connection between alienation and vocation, recognized this, noticing that the division of labour, such as that in making a pin, and which characterizes modern productive systems, engendered a type of person becoming “as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become” such that he is “incapable of judging” the “interests of his country”. Further it “corrupts the courage of his mind.....the activity of the body....unless government takes some pains to prevent it.”<sup>114</sup> Smith went on to contrast the social inclusiveness and the rounded character and capacities of a man within “barbarous” society relative to the modern alienated pin maker where: “Invention is kept alive, and the mind is not suffered to fall into that drowsy stupidity, which, in a civilized society, seems to benumb the understanding of almost all of the inferior ranks of people.”<sup>115</sup>

Therefore education that questions hegemony, its structures and nuances, has the capacity to manifest as a ‘circuit breaker’ in aiding the diminution of alienation, engendering understanding and solutions. Alienation is a consequence of the individual’s abstraction from Marx’s ‘species being,’<sup>116</sup> Godelier’s ‘substructure,’<sup>117</sup> and Habermas’s ‘life-world.’<sup>118</sup> In essence, individuals are abstracted from the community’s ecology, economy and culture, such that social traction and inclusiveness is unresolved and the person is kept in a state of helpless tension. It has psychological and physiological manifestations. Alienation is in part attributable to the interconnections of ‘shame,’ Thomas Scheff’s ‘social emotion,’<sup>119</sup> invidious pecuniary comparison, unattainable status norms through advertising,<sup>120</sup> hierarchical differentiation where any status below champion is inadequate,

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<sup>114</sup> A Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Modern Library, New York, 1937, pp.734-5.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> K Marx, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, in R Tucker (Ed) *The Marx Engels Reader*, W W Norton & Company, New York, 1978, p.114.

<sup>117</sup> J Beckford, *Religion and Advanced Industrial Society*, Unwin Hyman, London, 1989, p.137.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p.155.

<sup>119</sup> R Wilkinson and Kate Pickett, *The Spirit Level*, Allen Lane, London, 2009, p41.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p.40.

and where inequality or the asymmetry of social power is tangible.<sup>121</sup> Wilkinson and Picket identify low social status, the lack of friends, and stress in early life as contributors to dysfunction. Alienation has psychological and physiological manifestations in the developed world such that Wilkinson and Picket write,

For the first time in history the poor are on average fatter than the rich. Economic growth, for so long the great engine of progress, has, in the rich countries largely finished its work. Not only have measures of wellbeing and happiness ceased to rise with economic growth, but as affluent societies have grown richer, there have been long term rises in the growth of anxiety, depression and numerous other social problems.<sup>122</sup>

Wilkinson and Picket's evidence draws a connection between inequality, social and individual dysfunctions and the high social costs. They are at pains to use standard statistics from legitimized institutions such as the World Bank, the United Nations, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Census Bureau of the United States of America and so on "...to avoid being accused of picking and choosing our measures."<sup>123</sup>

In relation to inequality with its high social costs of dysfunctional stress, and which are not computed in the SNA, Wilkinson and Picket cite Jean Twenge, who surveyed 269 comparable studies incorporating 52,000 people for her research. One interesting conclusion was that "by the late 1980's the average American child was more anxious than child psychiatric patients in the 1950's."<sup>124</sup> Further, Wilkinson and Picket cite Dickerson and Kemeny who deduced from a survey of 208 reports that "tasks that included a social-evaluative threat (such as self-esteem or social status), in which others could negatively judge performance...provoked larger and more reliable cortisol changes, [correlated to heart disease], than stressors without those particular threats."<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> V Packard, *The Status Seekers*, Longmans, 1960, p. 168.

<sup>122</sup> R Wilkinson and Kate Picket, *op. cit.*, p. 5-6.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>124</sup> *ibid.*, p.34.

<sup>125</sup> *ibid.*, p.38.

## **The value of Education as an aid to physiological and psychological social health: Syllabi with anti-hegemonic characteristics**

Ideally, education can help us understand why we feel the way we do, and how individually and collectively the problems may be resolved, that is, it has a role in the resolution of social tension. This is in large part the ‘foundational’ role that Ibn Khaldun was referring to. School communities generally understand this potential, and in fairness, have many successes in spite of a dysfunctional starvation for resources and a propensity to reflect the one dimensional and dominant school of thought. The theoretical and pedagogical frameworks in use engender many positive attributes.

Syllabus construction has evolved, working upon the foundation of inclusive syllabi developed during the years of the Second World War. For example, throughout the period 1990-2000 the New South Wales Education Department and the Board of Studies developed and maintained the Life Management Syllabus which encompassed a sociological critique supported by development psychology. It was a sophisticated modification of the Home Economics Syllabus. Further, the History Curriculum is by and large a critical analysis.

Importantly, Aboriginal Studies was introduced to schools in NSW in 1987, leading in 1991 to Aboriginal Studies being an elective subject for the Higher School Certificate, and in 1994 as a compulsory subject, drawing in ‘all students, all teachers and all schools’<sup>126</sup>. These developments take on some significance when we realize that education provision for aborigines within Australia followed more along the lines of internal imperialism than that of enjoying civil rights,<sup>127</sup> and followed a trajectory deviating negatively from the norm in relation to education.

In 1997 an attempt was made to develop a non-hegemonic Civics<sup>128</sup> curriculum framework, to which stakeholders such as the Federation of Parents & Citizens

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<sup>126</sup>N Parbury, Aboriginal Education- A History, in R Craven (ed), *Teaching Aboriginal Studies*: Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1999, p. 78.

<sup>127</sup>B Boughton, The Depoliticisation of the Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Australia: A historical review of developments in Aboriginal Education Theory, Policy and Practise, 1945-1999, in *A discussion paper of the Cooperative Research Centre for Aboriginal and Tropical Health: Indigenous Health and Education Research Project (1E0031)*, B Boughton, Alice Springs: Menzies School of Health Research, pp. 1-39, November, 1999.

<sup>128</sup> Centre for Research and Teaching in Civics, *Civics and Citizenship Education, Benchmarking Project*, Faculty of Education, A35, University of Sydney, 1997.

Associations of New South Wales (P&C) and the Teachers Federation of New South Wales had input. From my observation,<sup>129</sup> both stakeholders were at pains to ensure that civics did not result in a chauvinist outcome. Both the Life Management Syllabus and the Civics component ideally enable students to observe their situation relative to the social construction of reality, and to deduce responses and solutions to individual and community problems.

Without giving a complete overview of each syllabus to ascertain its hegemonic content or its capacity to induce or mitigate alienation, it is sufficient to indicate that hegemonic or chauvinist content is challenged by institutions associated with collective predispositions such as the P&C and the Teachers Federation of New South Wales. This is in part a reflection of stakeholder input into Curriculum Committees and other Education Department and Board of Studies' processes that have become refined over many years. The state itself, through constitutional parliamentary democracy, social pressure and the professional educational development of its officers, has inculcated, to a degree, legitimized and normalized democratic content and processes. Syllabus Committees within the Board of Studies have had increasing or decreasing veto capacity, depending on the political regime.

However, syllabus construction, incorporating best practice theory, and its application, has been undermined by the withdrawal of funding, premised on the idea that education is an empirically proven cost to the community, as opposed to it being the premise of salvation.

## **Conclusion**

I have argued that the aggregated input of social capital to the welfare and reproduction of Australian society has been substantially ignored in the hegemonic dialogue as evidenced by the SNA. Nonetheless, in spite of hegemony, the inputs to Australian social reproduction have a structural non-capitalist component. This has been reflected in ongoing modifications within society generally, and public education specifically through the institutional parameters of the Federal and State Governments, teachers unions, the general union movement, institutions focused on social dividends, egalitarian political

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<sup>129</sup> The author was a member of the New South Wales Board of Studies *Life Management* Syllabus Committee, The *Aboriginal Studies* Syllabus Committee, and the *Modern History* Syllabus Committee at various times from 1990-2000.

parties, egalitarian pedagogical theory as a component of teachers' professional development, and embedded public advocacy groups pertaining to education, such as the Federation of Parents and Citizens Associations of NSW, and at the federal level, the Australian Council Of State Schools Organizations (ACSSO).

Therefore, it can be said that a shallowness or superficiality pervades the hegemonic neo-liberal dialogue which legitimizes its analysis through the construction of a set of indices which omit the important utility variables of egalitarian social capital. It is not enough that the government and collective sector are recognized and measured in the SNA if the relations of production and the social relations that they engender are misunderstood or ignored and reproduced in the education system. As in the instance of household production and other non-capitalist market production, and their possible correspondence to social capital, the economic and social manifestations and their linkages to the economy have been obfuscated to accommodate methodologically flawed accounting discrepancies and theory.

While education is ostensibly measured, even defined, as 'non market' or as within 'the government sector', its nature as an instrument to diminish alienation and increase Australia's productive potential is misrepresented and therefore underestimated. Its public non-profit nature and its relations of production, as well as its links to stable economic and social functioning have been obfuscated and subsumed under the broad umbrella of the 'non-market' part of the 'capitalist economy'. That it may also be part of a 'socialist' or collective market or economic domain is not considered. This is not to say that the Public Education system in Australia is not capitalist maintaining, but that there is a duality which characterizes the intersection of public and private power.

This has implications for growth theory, in that if an institutional actor is misrepresented through inadequate measurement methodologies as is presently the case with the SNA's, such as social capital being presented as private capital, with some variables measured and other variables excluded, then any extrapolations are founded on, and bound to inform incorrect assessments relative to causality, process, dynamics and outcomes in the economic, cultural, political and regulatory domains. Moreover, it will be expressed and reproduced through education.

Therefore this narrative regarding the non-measurement of socialist-type manifestations in standard indices, and their diminution within theoretical analysis, points to an orthodox circular theoretical and empirical lacuna. The socialist-type, or social capital domain, is not formally recognized, and its potential role in the diminution of social dysfunctions and maximizing production are therefore not investigated. This situation can only be rectified by recognizing that, based on the evidence, socialist type manifestations exist within Australia's social and economic history and structure. Therefore a balanced mix of qualitative and quantitative analysis of its existence must be undertaken so as to more effectively understand and utilize the strengths of social capital and institutions within the life world of public property and inclusion, as well as the capitalist market.

The public sector therefore needs to rise to the challenge of investigating, modifying and constructing a coherent multidimensional framework of reference for the SNA and its legitimizing narrative, with the aim of achieving a largely de-commodified social health, education, environmental, and production strategy. The synthesis of vocational and heuristic critical analysis pedagogy is crucial to the process. A substantial structural readjustment to funding is imperative. The onus is on public policy to be so constructed so as to maximize value adding and incorporate dynamic, critical responses to structures and contingencies, and where equality of opportunity and outcomes become foundations of an education and productive system that proactively engages the challenge of diminishing the proliferation of 'invidious credentialism', inequality, consumerism and the commodification of all things. If the 'public good' through egalitarian change is not embraced, education is doomed to reproduce the 'default' mode of structural disadvantage that is engaged by structural underfunding and the ontology and epistemology of private as opposed to community profit.

## CHAPTER 3

# CAPITALISM

### Introduction

The chief characteristic for defining a capitalist system within nations, or in a global context, is that the dominant institutional and infrastructural trajectory of economic and social relations are determined by reference to the private accumulation of capital and the commodification of exploited labour as an integral part of that system.<sup>130</sup> However, capitalism is a historically-structured entity, and is not homogeneous in its manifestations. It demonstrates a complexity of institutional, productive, and distributional relationships relative to time and place. It is affected by what came before, yet manifests contemporaneously through what Schumpeter calls the non-capitalist strata.<sup>131</sup>

Further, if we see nations as historical political economies, we observe that societies have political, economic, regulatory and cultural dimensions, which by virtue of their interrelatedness and portent defy a simplistic and/or one-dimensional analysis. This observation also applies to global capitalism, which in spite of being a coherent entity is necessarily responsive to and a composite of the diversity of national capitalist types.

Consequently, the temporal and spatial differences between capitalist types engender significant variations of the theme: how capitalist institutions, vis-vis non-capitalist institutions, effect particular outcomes despite capitalist creative destruction and social asymmetries in a given society. Exactly how the capitalist type configures is contested. This chapter will help delineate those institutional structuring factors which posit Australian capitalism as more akin to Scandinavian models than Hall and Soskice's firm centred analysis and contention that Australia follows the model of US and British, or Anglo capitalism.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> I Wallerstein, *Historical Capitalism*, Verso Editions, London, 1983, p.14.

<sup>131</sup> J Schumpeter, *Capitalism*, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Chicago, 1961, Vol. 4, pp. 802-805.

<sup>132</sup> S Haggard, Review: Varieties of Capitalism, The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage, Eds. P Hall and David Soskice, New York, Oxford, 2001, in *The Business History Review*, Vol. 77, No. 2, Summer, The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2003, p.352.

Australian capitalism has evolved relative to its history and geographical location. Australia has been termed a ‘fragment’ of the British Empire<sup>133</sup>, in that Australia’s close relationship with Britain determined the trajectory of its capitalist evolution reflected to a significant and structural extent the requirements of British imperialism, and the international division of labour, or productive and consumption inputs and outputs. However, Australia’s location on the periphery of the empire in an age of limited communication and political control from the distant core of the empire, London, meant that Australia would enjoy degrees of autonomy within the four domains that constitute a political economy. This situation lent itself to the development of institutions relatively unencumbered, or prone to degrees of dislocation from the centre’s trajectory. A measure of plasticity within institutional formation therefore lent itself to shaping by those groups of people within Australia, compelled by their respective histories to create institutions in their image.

As outlined in the previous chapters, the most important institutional players within Australian capitalist development reflected the state, capital, labour, and religious institutions. When observing the ‘long-duree’ in history it is evident that these interconnected groups manifested embedded ideologies and power within British, Australian, and world history. Nonetheless, capitalism and capitalist institutions have had critical mass since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, having over time displaced the variegated feudal economies. The change in the nature of public policy of the state from religious to secular concerns is ‘creative destruction’ writ large, in this instance, the destruction of the existing traditional economic and social relations as a precondition for private economic and social relations.

The church, in conceding power to capitalist permutations and institutions in earlier eras, demonstrated an exemplary case, if not a precedent, in modality change, in the transition from the variegated feudal mode to the variegated capitalist mode. Moreover, as a prime historical institution, engendering the high moral ground in relation to the egalitarian distribution of the social product, or God’s “common treasury”,<sup>134</sup> as Winstanley would

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<sup>133</sup> L Hartz, *The Fragmentation of European Culture and Ideology*, in *The Founding of New Societies*, Harcourt Brace World, New York, 1964, p.4.

<sup>134</sup> G Sabine, T Thorson, *A History of Political Theory*, Hold-Saunders International Edition, Tokyo, 1981, pp. 442-453.

have it, a tension was created between private pecuniary gain and the social good. This is not to say religions are not capitalist-maintaining through their qualified and at other times unqualified legitimization of capitalism, but that the popular and irresistible logic of sharing is hard to extinguish due to its consolidation with embedded institutional ramifications, and which has conferred longevity and popular substance to religion, and which developing capitalism could not ignore.

### **The limitations to Capitalist Hegemony**

Capital has enjoyed hegemonic status within the evolution of the global and Australian political economy. Nonetheless the purpose of this thesis is to outline the limitations to the truism of the totality of capitalist hegemony, and the ascribing to it of all advances in achieving egalitarian outcomes, by default of a better explanation, to capitalist motivation. Therefore, to better understand capitalism, one must appreciate the historical role of ‘creative destruction’ within the development of capitalism, and its contestation by sectors of the social totality, which revived old, and generated new conscious and unconscious counter hegemonic voice through religious institutions, and the agency of the mass of the population, their institutions, and the state.

The opportunity to change capitalism was aided by inter and intra-capitalist institutional differences, for ultimately, a combination of capitalists is an oxymoron, that is, in spite of oligopoly, monopoly and cartels, as Marx contended, and Schumpeter concurs, capitalists ‘eat’ other capitalists, given capitalism’s private pecuniary nature inherent in competition. This situation lent itself to a less than coherent interface with the contending non-capitalist institutions. Within Australian economic history, laissez-faire capitalism, or capitalism unperturbed by regulation, was limited in its application. Indeed, Australian capitalism came to be highly regulated as a consequence of institutional structuring, incorporating socialist-type modes in the process, and differentiating itself from the US and British Anglo model. This is not to say that non-hegemonic institutions and processes do not interact with the dominant paradigm, but that their rationale rejects, and engenders tension within the dominant capitalist paradigm. What capitalism is, and what it is not, needs to be clarified.

Therefore special attention needs to be given to the concept of dynamically unstable ‘creative destruction’ and its effects on, and reaction from communities, arguably the

defining characteristic of the development of capitalism. In this vein, interpretations of capitalism by way of Schumpeter, Wallerstein, Braithwaite, Coates, and Denoon will be of some use. They are dynamic, historical analyses. Each, in their turn, complements the sum of information, and lends perspective and description to the various themes. In spite of their differences, common to them is the notion that capitalism is plastic, engenders anti-capitalist elements, and that the institutions outlined play a leading role.

While this reveals non-capitalist factors helping to maintain capitalism, it also reveals historically-determined social relations of production different to those of capitalism. These reveal, therefore, a changing capitalism, including segments of the economy, through the agencies of the state, religious organizations, political parties, unions, cooperatives, communes, individuals, and the non-profit sector. These institutions develop as a response to the social dislocation and power asymmetries inherent in capitalist ‘border crossing’<sup>135</sup> and the consequent ‘creative destruction’.

### **Creative Destruction and Regulation**

Joseph Schumpeter lent notoriety to Marx and Engels’ observation that in order to transcend economic crises and technical impasses, the bourgeoisie facilitated “the enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces.”<sup>136</sup> In *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, which has been described as a “sparkling defence” of capitalism,<sup>137</sup> he termed this entrepreneurial dynamic of capitalism as ‘creative destruction.’<sup>138</sup>

Nonetheless, his data set, and the way he analyses it lead him to certain conclusions consonant with a Marxist critique. He sees the inter-linkage of technology with productive abundance, and the consequent irrelevance of the capitalist mode. Moreover, he sees the ossification and decay of capitalist supporting institutions; the proliferation of rigid corporatization, as opposed to the dynamic of family businesses willing to take entrepreneurial risks; and the strength of organised labour as leading to “fettered” capitalism, which he calls socialism.

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<sup>135</sup> W Streeck, *How to study Contemporary Capitalism, op., cit.*, p.23.

<sup>136</sup> K Marx, F Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, Moore & Samuel, Harmondsworth, 1888, P. 226.

<sup>137</sup> <http://www.econlib.org/library/enc/bios/schumpeter.html>

<sup>138</sup> Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, Harper Collins, New York, 2008, p.81.

Schumpeter sees the economic history of capitalism as one of “slow and continuous transformation”, with factories, markets, bankers and merchants being in existence from the “Greco-Roman sector” of ancient times. By the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century capitalist infrastructure facilitates the new mode “fighting its way through the resisting framework of feudal society.”<sup>139</sup> Mercantilism and the rising national states supported the conquest of foreign markets, “doing business with sword in hand”, and demonstrated the propensity to side with the employers against the workmen. He continues, while business rapidly prospered, there was widespread poverty.<sup>140</sup>

Technologies, often seen to be the driver of capitalism through creative destruction are not independent of the capitalist system, “it tends to call them forth”. Capitalism is dynamic, with the entrepreneur not acting as an administrator, but as a stimulant to the “incessant creation” of new plant and equipment, embodying new technologies that revolutionize existing industrial structures. For the exercise, bank credit is essential, while speculation, renting, “financial piracy”, and savings, are of secondary importance.<sup>141</sup>

Imperialism, the orthodox socialist theory, focuses on the concentration of capital and its utilization of global inputs to offset the putative diminishing returns within the domestic economy. While disagreeing with the overall theory, he argues that three factors are in its favour. Firstly, there is a comprehensive analysis that “no other theory has attempted.”<sup>142</sup> It attempts to analyse the post 1898 cultural, political, and economic patterns by means of a clear cut analytical scheme. Secondly, “it strikingly verifies” its argument, by events, and “features of the pattern.”<sup>143</sup> Moreover, thirdly, whatever its failings, it starts from the concentration of capital, “one of [capitalisms] outstanding economic characteristics.”<sup>144</sup>

Schumpeter argues that while the modus-operandi of monopolies do not correspond to ‘pure competition’, they have utility in that “the potentialities of mass production can be

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<sup>139</sup> Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, op. cit.*, p. 802.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 804.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

fully realised only by concerns that are beyond the size compatible with perfect competition.”<sup>145</sup>

While aware of the value of Marx’s class warfare thesis in drawing attention to and linking it to the “popular distinction” of the have and have-nots, he thought it “next to valueless” for analytical purposes. This was on the basis that intra-class, or occupational contradictions proliferate, undercutting the two class thesis. Classes overlap, and there is a non-capitalist strata that engenders a symbiotic relation with capitalism.<sup>146</sup> Class was “buttressed by inherited wealth.” However, there is inter-class mobility, and family companies have been characterized by the dictum “three generations from overalls to overalls,” and which induced the managerial class and joint stock companies.<sup>147</sup>

Schumpeter argues that Marx’s view that class conflict will drive the proletariat to revolution is “untenable.” “But this does not dispose of the answer itself [of the transition from the ‘private to the public sphere’], because it is possible to arrive at a correct result by faulty methods..the case for the affirmative answer is indeed strong.”<sup>148</sup> This is the case on the basis of several factors. Firstly, entrepreneurial vitality is diminished in the corporate context; secondly, that “the institutions and traditions that sheltered the structure of capitalism tend to wear away”<sup>149</sup> ; third, capitalism raises those groups opposed to it. Schumpeter concludes, “they establish a tendency from private to public,” but, “where will the political forces come from to effect such a change?”<sup>150</sup>

### **Immanuel Wallerstein: counterpoise to Schumpeter**

Wallerstein gives some clues as to the political forces within the social totality that will effect change, arguing that those who are economically and socially disenfranchised develop anti-systemic tendencies. Similar to Schumpeter, he sees a complexity of relationships within capitalism. Fundamentally however, deviating from Schumpeter, Wallerstein conflates the ‘complexity of relationships’ to make the observation that there

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<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 805.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* p. 807.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* p. 807.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

was, and is, a “tension” between “a small group of beneficiaries of the system and the large group of its victims.”<sup>151</sup>

Nonetheless, while Schumpeter saw Marx’s theories, and moral stance, though not all his conclusions, as problematic, Wallerstein follows the Marxian tradition of taking an ethical stance in relation to class contradictions, albeit with criticism of some of Marx’s conclusions, particularly the claim that capitalism is a revolutionary, progressive stage.

Wallerstein contends that capitalism is not natural, but “absurd.” “So imbued are we all by the self-justifying ideology of progress which the historical process has fashioned, that we find it difficult even to recognise the vast historical negatives of this system.”<sup>152</sup> In this regard modern science and capitalism may be seen to be in close alliance, “thus we must suspect the authority of science on precisely this question: the modality of knowing the origins of modern capitalism.”<sup>153</sup>

Wallerstein therefore sees actions and responses within the capitalist process as inseparable from moral and ethical value judgments as consistent and inherent to the process of economic and social outcomes being driven by personal pecuniary gain. “It was this relentless and curiously self-regarding goal of the holders of capital..which we denominate as capitalist.”<sup>154</sup>

The implication of “personal pecuniary ends” synthesised with the “logic of the [ideal] capitalist process” was its self-seeking institutional expression through imperialism, racism, sexism, monopolies, oligopolies, and cartels, which increasingly came to dominate the market, and the ‘way of life’, and its compliment of low wages to achieve a competitive advantage regarding inputs to production. This gave rise to social reaction from both entrepreneurs,<sup>155</sup> excluded from the market by monopolistic practices, and an economically and emotionally alienated workforce.<sup>156</sup> Both groups were pro-active, and

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<sup>151</sup> | Wallerstein, *Historical Capitalism*, London, Verso Editions, 1983, p. 60.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>155</sup> | Wallerstein, *Historical Capitalism*, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

receptive, to regulatory measures to increase symmetry in economic and social relations. This was accomplished by interacting with the state.

Control of the state has been the objective of all major institutional entities. This was on the basis of four considerations. First, states had jurisdiction over a given area, and could influence, by certain mechanisms, the economic modalities integrative features within the world economy: “each state could constantly adjust these mechanisms simply by changing the rules governing the flow of factors of production across its frontiers”<sup>157</sup>; second, the state could regulate the social relations of production, that is, whether the workforce was coerced, indentured, engaged in slave labour, or utilised contracts regarding wage labour<sup>158</sup>; third, unlike taxation in the ancient world, taxation became the major source of state revenue, and could be utilized by those in control<sup>159</sup>; and forth, the state had the monopoly of civil and military coercion.<sup>160</sup>

Wallerstein argues that the above state powers may enable its equalizing potential and redistributive qualities through welfare systems. Paradoxically, it could also manifest in the “individualization of profit and the socialization of risk.”<sup>161</sup> Wallerstein relates the history of states building productive and profitable enterprises only to be sold to the private sector when establishment costs, prohibitive to the private sector, have been undertaken at public expense. Further, subsidies, tax incentives, and government product development subsidise the private sector.<sup>162</sup>

### **John Braithwaite and the “boom-bust regulation cycle.”**

Wallerstein explains how entrepreneurs were displaced by monopoly capitalism,<sup>163</sup> and how those workers receiving asymmetric remuneration relative to the wealthy, became ‘major actors’<sup>164</sup> in the ‘fettering’ of capitalism. Worker’s institutions focused on attempting to effect a cooperative and egalitarian change in the social relations of production through the control of state structures and institutions. Entrepreneurs, in their

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<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

turn, attempted to regulate in their institutionalised interest, contrary to the interests of monopoly capitalism. It can be seen that both small business and workers institutions converge on the issue of anti-monopolistic regulatory legislation.

John Braithwaite's analysis of regulatory capitalism affords a closer look at regulation. Regulation is the nexus, on the one hand of capitalist systems maintenance, and on the other, Schumpeter's anti-hegemonic, 'extraneous', or Wallerstein's 'anti-systemic' manifestations. Moreover, Braithwaite argues that regulatory capitalism may become a more expansive egalitarian "leverage point", with multidimensional applicability. Braithwaite sees regulatory capitalism as "a fact of how capitalism has evolved. If we do not govern it, the markets in vice it engenders will affect us with unspeakable misery" moreover, "while markets do not make moral judgments, regulatory institutions should, and do."<sup>165</sup>

He questions Frederic Von Hayek's assertion in 1944 that large Westphalian states could not have sufficient local knowledge of indicators to facilitate non-wasteful production and distribution, and instead advocated the spontaneous ordering of the price signals of the market. Braithwaite doubts whether Hayek was right given the success of regulated markets relative to unregulated markets. He cites the World Bank's East Asian Miracle Report that "the late industrializing states of Asia did so through a developmental state mode."<sup>166</sup> The Meiji restoration post 1867 is cited in reference to Japan, while the growth rates of the Soviet Union until the mid-1970s outpaced that of the western world.

Indeed, Braithwaite sees regulation as so pervasive after the 1980s that it precludes the Neo-liberal "fairy tale" of the systemic ratcheting down of regulation. It is more so the case given the nature of the "boom-bust-regulation" cycle, and that the winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics, Joseph Stiglitz, drove the 'Washington consensus' of the 1990s. Braithwaite sees Stiglitz as regulatory capitalism's champion, as Milton Friedman and the Chicago School were, and are, to neo-liberalism.<sup>167</sup> However, he adds, "this is not

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<sup>165</sup> J Braithwaite, *Regulatory Capitalism*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 2008, p.198.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p.3.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p.6.

to deny that the Chicago assault permanently insinuated market values in to what had been a public sector.”<sup>168</sup>

Braithwaite, as also Wallerstein, answers Schumpeter’s question in part, as to where the political forces to change capitalism will come from. He identifies capitalism with markets of vice, yet capable of being markets of virtue. He advocates a participatory and institutionalized process with state guidance. He argues democracy, which I argue in this thesis is largely a socialist-type construct, “is something we start building as soon as we join a NGO, practice responsibility as a lawyer, establish business self-regulating responses to demands from green groups, deliberate about working conditions..[and] educate our children to be democratic citizens.”<sup>169</sup>

### **David Coates**

With Coates, these tendencies become structural in some economies, given that “economies are embedded in particular matrices of institutions and perform differently because of the different economic logics those institutions then trigger.”<sup>170</sup>

His aim is to analyse evidence of the different post war growth strategies so as to ascertain the utility and viability of the respective modes.<sup>171</sup> The evidence is presented via a survey of the post-World War II economic histories of the US and UK as examples of neo-liberal capitalism, Japan as an example of the developmental state mode, with Germany and Sweden as exemplars of the consensual and corporatist mode.

A dynamic history unfolds, given that the post war period encompasses the last residue of the British hegemony, the consolidation then diminution of the US’s global hegemony, and the rise of the concomitant European and Asian regional hegemonies of Germany and Japan.

Engendered within the models of capitalism are four themes: the power of organised labour; education, training and culture; the organization of capital in the pursuit of growth;

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<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>169</sup> J Braithwaite, *Regulatory Capitalism*, op. cit., p.206.

<sup>170</sup> D Coates, *Models of Capitalism*, Polity Press, Oxford, 2000, p. 268.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

and the state as an element in the growth equation.<sup>172</sup> The themes manifest differently relative to the institutional configurations, the model employed, and the intersection of particular historical determinants. They also serve the purpose of allowing us to draw parallels with Australia.

### **The importance of education, training, and culture**

Coates argues that education is a key determinant to enhanced production and efficiencies within nations, and the factor that enhanced Japanese, German, and Swedish, production, export, and profitability, relative to that of the US and UK mode. He notes Adam Smith's complaint that a lack of mechanics in Britain to produce certain goods led to an increase in those goods imported to Britain. The period 1850 to 1880 saw an increasing emphasis on the need for education on economic grounds. Nevertheless, the provision of education in England has consistently been considered inadequate for economic development.<sup>173</sup>

An educated workforce is seen as a pull factor to foreign investment. The information age requires workers to be educated so as to "think and work collectively." Moreover new growth theory is premised on the view that "a higher level of human capital causes a higher growth rate of output."<sup>174</sup> Investment in education is a public and private good. Indeed, N Crafts contends that "social returns are much higher than private returns."<sup>175</sup>

Coates argues that there is substantial evidence that the 'liberal' models have an educational lacuna relative to the trust based models. In 1987 60.3% of UK workers were without vocational qualifications, compared with 28.6% of workers in Germany. The situation pertained to manual, administrative and management personnel.<sup>176</sup> Importantly, Coates observes that the lacuna was neither random nor accidental, but emerge instead from 'qualitatively' different systems of education and training. The US and the UK settled into a low skill, poorly paid, systemic equilibrium.

### **Denoon: Settler Capitalism.**

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<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p.VI.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p.109.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p.111.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p.111.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

The next part of this chapter will touch upon the nature of the historical and institutional factors in the social and economic history of a set of nations, and how Australia can be seen to differ in the last instance from the US and British Anglo model due to the institutional power of the Australian Labour movement and its associated institutions.

The nations comprise Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Uruguay, Chile, Argentina and the US. Donald Denoon terms the set as settler capitalist economies in that several characteristics are common in certain measure. The overall commonalities allow the analyst the opportunity to discern how the factors manifested, interrelated institutionally, and consequently affected different historical outcomes.<sup>177</sup>

The commonalities equate to the fundamental structural legs of the given societies that revolve around dependence on Britain. British finance capital, military support, markets, and infrastructural know how, intersecting the similarities of staple dependency, displaced indigenous populations and the state.

However, Denoon demonstrates that the nations' economic histories defy congruence with the US's development model, Rostow's stage theory. That is, while land, capital, markets, the state, infrastructural facilitation, staples and displaced indigenes have all been common within the settler societies, inclusive of the US, their economic and social histories and outcomes have historically been diverse. Importantly, capital accumulation at one stage has not necessarily led to the next developmental 'stage' prescribed in Rostow's stage theory.

The Latin American and South African nations while desirous of economic 'growth' were less amenable to changes in their structural productive focus, or 'development.' Instead, as in South America, the power and inertia of the latifundia system with their proprietary elite, infused their national institutions such that the state's motivation was to perpetuate the golden goose of staple export dependence.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> D Denoon, *Settler Capitalism*, pp., 224-240.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*, p. 223.

Latin America, South Africa, and the US, more so than Australia (in spite of the lag regarding Aboriginal welfare), are noted for their elite nomenclature, socioeconomic inequalities and the proliferation of violence into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Denoon asserts it is the structural leg of more equitable social power through Labour focused institutions that have made the difference.

## **Conclusion**

All the authors and critiques in this survey view capitalism as a historical construct, which is not pure, which is affected by the social and economic interplay of institutions, sees the state as facilitating hegemony, yet engendering its counterpoise when influenced by particular institutions representing sectors of social power within the social totality.

Within the time of capitalism, Schumpeter observes the dynamic agency of creative destruction, institutions, historical contingency, and forces extraneous to capitalism. Wallerstein sees national and international anti-systemic movements and alliances. Coates focuses our attention to the different models of capitalism, with certain correlations between labour efficiency, production, workers' rights, education, and high living standards. Braithwaite outlines the growth of regulation as a response to crises, in spite of the hollowing out of the state, and believes regulatory capitalism may be a mode engendering the modification of capitalism, and an inducement to equity. Denoon observes nations with similar resources, factors and opportunities arriving at different standards of living. In the median to long term, those political economies which embraced collectivist institutions achieved higher standards of living than those political economies that did not.

Saliently, within Australia, a highly institutionalised and influential labour movement, largely socialist in character, interacted over time with the totality of the political economy to be a structural determinant regarding socio-economic outcomes. Nonetheless the power of the dominant capitalist hegemony, and its relationship with export driven development still stands. However, different outcomes in relation to socio-economic indicators gives credence to the argument that an institutionalized labour movement, truncated, marginalized and proscribed in other settler capitalist nations, positively affected socio-economic outcomes in Australia.

This becomes apparent when the overall welfare, standard of living and purchasing power parity<sup>179</sup> dimensions in Australia are observed relative to the other settler capitalist nations, inclusive of the US, as well as Japan and Britain. The UN ranks Australia third in relation to living standards, following Norway and Sweden.<sup>180</sup>

A dominant feature of the welfare provision in Australia, and specifically the state of NSW, is the system of Public Education. We have seen that all the authors under review view education as a prime determinant and catalyst to production, innovation, and community cohesion through enlightenment. However, Schumpeter discerns a caveat in *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, that education facilitates disaffection through its stimulation of higher individual and social expectations intersecting unrequited ambitions.<sup>181</sup> In this regard Schumpeter is correct, that is, if a society does not fulfil social expectations.

There have been many arguments that people should not be educated above their ‘station’. For socialists however, this facility engenders a large part of education’s utility, that is, to have the wherewithal, understanding and consciousness, through education, to demand egalitarian change. In this regard the hegemony of equity and the centralization of public education in Australia can be clearly differentiated from that of parochial systems in the USA, and the council system in the UK.<sup>182</sup>

Further, while Schumpeter claims that capitalism “educates and subsidises a vested interest in social unrest,”<sup>183</sup> this thesis argues that, instead, education in Australia springs substantially from social forces and ideas which have very little to do with capitalism, and which instead demonstrate a strong correspondence to socialist-process manifestations.

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<sup>179</sup> ABS, *Australian Economic Indicators*, 1350.0, March 2005.

<sup>180</sup> [ccrma.stanford.edu/~peer/norwayLiving.html](http://ccrma.stanford.edu/~peer/norwayLiving.html)

<sup>181</sup> R Bookstaber, Adam Smith and Joseph Schumpeter on the Bifurcation of Society, in [www.creditwritedowns.com/201202/adam-smith-and-joseph-schumpeter-on-the-bifurcation-of-society.html](http://www.creditwritedowns.com/201202/adam-smith-and-joseph-schumpeter-on-the-bifurcation-of-society.html)

<sup>182</sup> K S Cunningham, *Education for Complete Living*, Australian Council for Education Research, Melbourne, 1938, p. xviii.

<sup>183</sup> R Bookstaber, *op. cit.*

While capitalism has the upper hand in generating infrastructural systems for capitalism, those systems are not autonomous to the levelling aspirations and machinations of the workforce therein, the general population, and their institutions. These structural permutations will be discussed in the following chapters, Socialism, and Education in NSW: the Socialist Dimension.

## CHAPTER 4

### SOCIALISM

Socialism is a multidimensional phenomenon, not easily given to one-line definitions. When viewed through an interdisciplinary lens it is seen to be historically determined relative to time, place, contingency, structure, agency, continuity and discontinuity. However, given the dynamic caveat, my definition of socialism may be expressed in fundamental terms as an

*egalitarian, humane and ethical stance with temporal, spatial, and institutional manifestations and processes, which is a response to the contradictions inherent within a-symmetric relations to production and distribution, and which has an idealized end point where the people in totality control the means of production and distribution.*

Importantly, socialism incorporates social and economic relations that are more reciprocal and cooperative than capitalist relations. However everything that is cooperative is not necessarily socialist. Moreover, individualism (as opposed to a-social individualism) is not necessarily capitalist, for cooperation and the individual are not mutually exclusive. Capitalists may cooperate, and many do ‘good works’, while socialism strives for the individual not to be commodified or unfairly exploited. Definitions can therefore seem to be frustrated by these intersections and further by the temporal and spatial social and economic relations that demonstrate a type of symbiosis and/or common ground, and an evolutionary expediency engendering compromises over time from both modes or propensities, in that while some cooperative and reciprocal manifestations have become redundant others have continued as embedded norms.

Socialism can be variously described as a functional manifestation and response to the needs of social reproduction with ancient antecedents; as a radical or normative moral position or economy; as a movement; as a philosophy; as a theory; as an institutional manifestation; as a planning and administrative technology; as either a process or outcome driven methodology and theory, or both; and as an ideology. That is, socialism at first manifests as ‘being’, and is ‘lived’ within a familial, tribal and moiety institutional

ecology, and is in time compounded by theories, a movement, and institutional formation. While the development of socialist manifestations is not linear there is macro continuity albeit with disjunctions, discontinuities and adaptations to the contingencies of historical epochs and economic modes.

Therefore, socialism's definition, though ostensibly constrained by absolutist theory and time and place, is fluid. Paradoxically, in spite of the intersections outlined in the previous paragraph, the populist perception tends to be embedded in the belief that socialism is static or closed, and moreover, a coherent one-dimensional entity. Socialism's critics, personified by Hayek, tend to view the phenomenon as totalitarian and 'the road to serfdom'<sup>184</sup>, or physical, economic and moral impoverishment. On the other hand, but similarly mistaken, many advocates of socialism view socialism as a type of 'Golden Age' where one-dimensional harmony pertains. Both perspectives are a-historical and theoretically flawed.

### **Foundations of socialism**

George Lichtheim sees socialism as a phenomenon only emanating from the industrial revolution and attributable to Marx, and moreover as being misused when describing African tribal socialism or other approximations.<sup>185</sup> However, after warning against any faith-based teleology as a foundation for socialism, on the basis of its "cultural provincialism,"<sup>186</sup> Lichtheim concedes that "nonetheless, there is a sense in which socialism, like democracy is rooted in sentiments as ancient and permanent as human society itself."<sup>187</sup> These roots are now being seen as legitimate inputs into social theory by Raewyn Connell via her exposition of "Southern Theory." Connell, who has written extensively on socialist theory, believes that other community ideas from non-western regions have been delegitimized as a consequence of Western chauvinism.<sup>188</sup> Berki likewise notes that socialism in the 'underdeveloped' countries "will also feed on roots different from those in our overall [western] framework."<sup>189</sup> Generally, however, I argue

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<sup>184</sup> F Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, Dymock's, Sydney, 1944, p31.

<sup>185</sup> G Lichtheim, *A Short History of Socialism*, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow, 1980, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> R Connell, *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in the Social Science*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2007, Chapter 1.

<sup>189</sup> R N Berki, *Socialism*, J M Dent and Sons Ltd, London, 1975, p. 124.

that the human condition, and the four tendencies, are not constrained by national boundaries.

Therefore this chapter will discuss the social ‘tendencies’ or ‘principles’ that establishes an embedded ‘socialist’ framework or praxis (theory and practice), and lexicon based upon co-operative economic and social relations that have been the germinating seeds of conscious and unconscious socialist thought. These four fundamental tendencies of socialism, as delineated by Berki, which are mutually reinforcing, are: egalitarianism, moralism, rationalism, and libertarianism.<sup>190</sup> These, made theoretically whole after Marx and the Industrial revolution, have a developmental history, beginning before the industrial revolution. They have been embedded in the *long-duree* of Western society and also imbued with resistance to oppression as in the post-industrial revolution situation, but only expressed through the institutional lexicon of the more recent period from the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

Berki sees egalitarianism as the “classical principle” of socialism, with equality its fundamental aim, leading “logically” to the importance of community. Given the inference of the mutual anathema of rich and poor, egalitarianism is imbued with urgency and is therefore the most militant, noble and dynamic of the four principles.<sup>191</sup>

Moralism “..constitutes the Christian part of socialism”, though he makes clear that other creeds and atheists also engender moralism. Presumably his Christian connotation derives from its long institutional influence in western society. Paul Tillich, the theologian sociologist, sees a “natural affinity between socialism and the Christian ethic,” such that “the spirit of Christian love accuses a social order which consciously and in principle is built upon economic and political egoism, and it demands a new order in which the feelings of the community is the foundation of the social structure.” In this regard, education serves as an “induction” into the socialist view of life.<sup>192</sup> For Berki, moralism infers social justice, peace, cooperation, and brotherhood. It is in harmony with

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<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 26.

<sup>192</sup> F Sherman, Tillich’s Social Thought: new Perspectives, in *Christian Century*, Christian Century Foundation, 1975, pp. 168-172.

democracy, and human life is sacred. Its focus is the “inhumanity..(of).. institutionalized exploitation.”<sup>193</sup>

Rationalism in its turn is viewed as a principle emanating from the Enlightenment. Berki sees the main values as “individual happiness, reason, knowledge, efficiency in production, the rational, purposeful organization of human society in the interest of progress.”<sup>194</sup> Rationalism is synonymous with the idea of science, and looks to administrative and economic efficiency. Consequently the waste and chaos within capitalism is decried. Education is seen to be part of the solution.<sup>195</sup> Democracy is the corollary of rationalism, and acknowledges the “fundamental equality of human beings.”<sup>196</sup>

Berki’s fourth tendency is Libertarianism, which he calls the “romantic principle of socialism”,<sup>197</sup> and the “most disturbingly wild and radical among socialist principles” in that it calls for the total absence of internal and external restraints so as to allow the “completely unfettered enjoyment of human instinctual energies.” He sees Libertarianism as the kindest, yet most unstable socialist attribute. Libertarianism along with egalitarianism constitutes the most revolutionary components of socialism.<sup>198</sup> Importantly, he argues that they are in their extreme definition contradictory, and moreover components of other ideologies, such as liberalism with its “rationalist” aspiration, and anarchy with its “libertarian” aspiration.<sup>199</sup>

Berki argues, however, that given the lexicon of socialist ideas has been created by many thinkers over time, the nature and utility of the four tendencies lies in them being threads of the traditions that make the material of socialism.<sup>200</sup> Further, within the development of the corpus of socialist ideas, national perspectives or tendencies, individual doctrines, and theorists differ amongst themselves regarding the relative magnitudes of factors, such that Marx’s rationalist notion of the state as an interim measure, till its dissolution, was an

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<sup>193</sup> R N Berki, *Socialism*, opp cit, pp.26, 27.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27.28.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, p.24.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p.32.

anathema to the Anarchist theorist Peter Kropotkin who believed state structures were untenable.

### **International and national tendencies**

Moreover, in the development of the international socialist movement, there are four tendencies: Western social democracy, the Marxist Communism of the Soviet Union and China, Socialism in the underdeveloped countries, and the New Left in the 1970s and 1980s. Different movements have had different trajectories relative to a hierarchy of needs and their particular histories, such that China was radically egalitarian so as to stop absolute poverty, whereas Sweden with only relative poverty was able to concentrate on quality of life issues and was consequently more libertarian. Berki outlined three factors that influenced the utilization of a given tendency within geographical areas. Firstly, the stage of economic development, secondly, the social composition, and third, cultural traditions.<sup>201</sup>

The division between the four tendencies, egalitarianism, morality, rationalism, and libertarianism also characterizes intra-national, and inter and intra-institutional debates, with competing process models of socialism, such as that which took place in Australia.

While the Communist Party of Australia was ostensibly more focused on revolutionary structuring, and associated with the Stalinist Comintern, and was therefore perceived by some as anti-libertarian, the social democratic movement associated with the Laborism of the Labor party and unions were more often accused of only being reformist, attempting to redistribute as big a portion of the social product as constitutionally and politically feasible. Laborism, Connell and Irving claim, has consequently been charged with being bourgeois and “over-hegemonised”.<sup>202</sup>

Both interpretations of the CPA and Laborism have been overworked, with too little regard to the nature of convergent philosophies and their effects within socialist construction. This thesis therefore aims to remedy the lacuna by observing the overall socialist influence in the structuration of Australia as it pertained to the provision of public education. The

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<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, p.33.

<sup>202</sup> R W Connell and T H Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1980, p. 196.

CPA had more depth, width, and influence than inferred by its supposed Stalinist definition and its marginalization in Australia's historical narrative, while Laborism, Connell notes, reflected collective mobilization of the working class in opposition to capitalist relationships. The movement had no choice but to participate in hegemonic institutions of state because the state was the largest employer, and that "the class structure itself is constituted by the state."<sup>203</sup> Both the CPA and Laborism were instrumental in the structuration of public education within capitalist Australia, as we will see in later chapters.

Importantly, revolutionary and reformist socialists generally see the goal as the control by the total population of the means of production. Communists call that stage communism, while reform socialists, 'the highest stage of socialism'. Both persuasions see differentials as fundamental within the process of socialism until its 'highest stage' or communism.

In as much as Marx argued that socialism would bear the birth marks of the society from which it emerges, within the history of socialist theory and organization we can see that international and intra-national differences, over time and place, arise as to the relevant socialist theory and practice. Socialism in Australia is characterized by its Australian 'birthmarks', such as Metin's concept of "socialism without doctrine."<sup>204</sup> Pember Reeves and Metin concur that the emphasis was on experimentation, practicality, "and undoubtedly...the unlimited trust placed in the people."<sup>205</sup> Moreover, it had a heterogeneous nature, which enlarges its drawing area, engenders an openness of dialogue, method, and strategy, and facilitates an overlap and compounding of political and economic power, and is crucial to socialism as an open as opposed to a closed system.

'Socialism without doctrine' does not mean however that there were no socialist doctrines in Australia. Instead, both Metin<sup>206</sup> and Pember Reeves<sup>207</sup> argued forcefully that the Australian mode of socialism was 'socialism by experiment', whereby a less doctrinaire, yet practical, responsive and outcome focussed socialist process was undertaken.

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<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> A Metin, *Socialism Without Doctrine*, Alternative Publishing Co-operative Ltd, Chippendale, 1977, p. 10.

<sup>205</sup> W Pember Reeves, *State experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, Melbourne, Macmillan of Australia, 1969, p. 50.

<sup>206</sup> P Lamb and J C Doherty, *Historical Dictionary of Socialism*, Scarecrow Press Inc., Oxford, 2006, p.317.

<sup>207</sup> W Pember Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

Nonetheless, many institutions, including the Communist Party and the Labor Party, were very doctrinaire relative to time and place, particularly given the polemics of the depressions, World Wars One and Two, and the Cold War. However, consistent with Metin, many institutional manifestations reflect the normalization process of traditional and socialist dictums, such that the left wing of religious denominations, The NSW Federation of P&C's, and the Fire Brigade are socialist in general intent, but not consciously or doctrinally so.

### **Marxian socialism**

The Marxian tendency is rightly viewed as the 19th century apogee of the variegated socialist theory. However, socialism is bigger than Marxism, of course, and therefore any enquiry should cast a wide analytical net. Indeed, socialism has evolved within the context of the long history of the variegated human condition and is therefore a social phenomenon and property.

The writings of Marx have nonetheless been presented by certain interpreters as the verification that socialism is, or needs to be, one-dimensional, a de-contextualised set of rules. However, Marx acknowledged that socialism has a diverse provenance and could be evolutionary as well as revolutionary in its process of achievement.

### **Dynamic theory**

There are interpretations of Marx as a dynamic theory, less rigid in its determinacy but still cognizant of the effect of the economic and technical nexus to social structuring. George Lichtheim argued that Marx's base–superstructure model gave primacy to technological and economic bursts, and consequently gave room for culture and politics in social structuring. “What he [Marx] had in mind was the relationship of a particular upheaval (the industrial revolution) to a particular society (the bourgeois one).”<sup>208</sup>

Joseph Schumpeter argued that for Marx economics was not the only determinant in social structuring, to the exclusion of culture, religion or politics, but that instead Marx's emphasis on economics “tried to unveil the economic conditions which shape them.”<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> G Lichtheim, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>209</sup> J Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, Harper Collins, New York, 2008, p. 11.

Ron Neale argued in a critique of Raymond Williams' idea of Cultural Materialism, that Williams "denies that the mode of production has any general overriding determination." Neale contends that "What is required are analyses and descriptions of modes of production which can show how the residual, the emergent and the biological continuities, as they are manifested in specific social and cultural forms, may be related.. to..modes of production. Yet I believe that the notion 'dialectical image', best encompasses and expresses the nature of relationships between economy and culture."<sup>210</sup>

As to Marx himself, his writings in the Grundrisse,<sup>211</sup> and other places, indicate that he was not supportive of a static model, and saw political power through the franchise, the cooperative movement<sup>212</sup> and unions<sup>213</sup> as valid and real power capable of influencing the social and economic structures that reflected capital's control of the means of production. Indeed, Engels, in a letter to J Bloch asserted "according to the materialist conception of history the production and reproduction of real life constitutes in the last instance the determining factor of history. Neither Marx nor I maintained more. Now when someone comes along and distorts this to mean that the economic factor is *the* (sic) determining factor he is converting the former proposition into a meaningless, abstract and absurd phrase."<sup>214</sup>

Regarding the franchise, Giddens quotes Marx: "Hegel proceeds from the state and makes man into the state subjectivised. Democracy proceeds from man and makes the state into man objectivised... In democracy the formal principle is at the same time the material principle," such that "In (the) universal franchise, active as well as passive, does civil society first raise itself in reality to an abstraction of itself, to political existence as its true universal and essential existence."<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> R S Neale, *Writing Marxist History*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1985, p. 277.

<sup>211</sup> K Marx, *Grundrisse*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973, p.831-2.

<sup>212</sup> E Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 147.

<sup>214</sup> F Engels, Letters on Historical Method, in *Essential Works of Socialism*, I. Howe, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1970, p. 72.

<sup>215</sup> A Giddens, *Capitalism and Social Theory*, Cambridge, Cambridge, 1971, p. 6.

Ernst Fischer quotes Marx from the *Poverty of Philosophy*: “Of all the instruments of production, the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself,”<sup>216</sup> referring to the bourgeoisie. Fisher indicating it is people, not just the tools of production that are agential.<sup>217</sup> In a letter to Kugelmann, Marx spoke of the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in the US, Holland and England,<sup>218</sup> and another time congratulated the cooperative movement in making a start to change capitalist relations to production.<sup>219</sup> Indeed, “theory itself becomes a material force when it has seized the masses.”<sup>220</sup>

Marx saw the introduction of the Ten Hours Bill within British legislation as “the first time in broad daylight the political economy of the middle class succumbed to the political economy of the working class.”<sup>221</sup> Lichtheim argues that by 1875, the time of the First International, Marx and Engels “had modified their standpoint to allow for the democratic conquest for power.”<sup>222</sup>

By virtue of the coherence of the above discussion a dynamic base superstructure model cognisant of politics and culture can be seen to have explanatory power. However, it was necessary to outline and examine its possible limitations as outlined by critics, for by de-emphasizing the economic base, other emphases, such as cultural or biological determinism, could be overemphasized and thus negate the power of the economic nexus.

This type of problem arises in regard to the Positivism and Holism<sup>223</sup> of August Comte, which engenders an inherent, positive, overriding biological determinism. On this basis Comte went as far as divining a Religion of Humanity.<sup>224</sup> However, Lichtheim points out that “a social earthquake”<sup>225</sup> such as the Industrial Revolution can diminish a positivist “tendency.”

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<sup>216</sup> E Fischer, *op. cit.*, p.83.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, p.146.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*,p.146.

<sup>222</sup> G Lichtheim, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>223</sup> C Lloyd, *The Structures of History*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1995, p. 186.

<sup>224</sup> E Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

<sup>225</sup> G Lichtheim, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

### **Humans as variables, flawed or empowered?**

It is nonetheless hard to imagine that the nature of humans is irrelevant to social structuration. Wilkinson argues that humans have the biological capacity to be fundamentally co-operative, or the opposite, a-social, depending on the environmental imperative. To a significant extent this theory diminishes the polarities of perfect and imperfect arising from rigid theological ‘original sin’ and secular philosophies attributable to the human condition, that claim greed within human nature is the ultimate impediment to socialism.

In a less esoteric sense than Comte, Talcot Parsons’ mere functionality of structures to maintain social cohesion through culture underplays the dynamic contradictions in the capitalist mode of production, and consequently diminishes the dynamic of class struggle and social division.<sup>226</sup>

The dynamic theory of structurism therefore sees institutional, cultural and political agency as capable of transforming structures within the hegemony of capitalism. This informs my thesis, that institutional agency engendering the socialist process and intent, have structurally influenced 20<sup>th</sup> century Australian capitalism, and specifically the NSW education system.

### **R D Wolf and the redistribution of the surplus**

The socialist question is in practical terms how to redistribute and de-alienate production within a capitalist hegemony. In this regard there is the utility of R D Wolff’s argument regarding redistribution as a socialist instrument.<sup>227</sup> His ideas emanate from a re-reading of Marx’s *Capital*, which he contends is fundamentally concerned with the utilization and appropriation of surplus value.

Apart from those institutional sectors that represent Public Factor Inputs, there lies the capitalist distributive and productive capacity. Bowles and Gintis, consistent with Braithwaite, explore inroads in this regard, in effect, how to permeate discreet capitalist

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<sup>226</sup> C Lloyd, *Explanation in Social History*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1988, p. 256, and, C Lloyd, *The Structures of History*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1995, p. 290.

<sup>227</sup> Richard D Wolff, The New Reading of Karl Marx’s *Capital* in the United States, in *History of Economics Review*, Volume: Issue No. 45, History of Economic Thought Society of Australia, Winter 2007, p. 30.

production, even though it already utilizes a mixture of public and private inputs, with redistributive techniques, modes, and benchmarks.

However, if socialist historical manifestations are to be seen as more than just a set of ideas it becomes helpful if one empirically measures socialist inputs into Australia generally and New South Wales in particular. Within this thesis the chapter on methodology examined more realist and inclusive measurement techniques which elucidate the inputs of socialist type structuration through state, union, public infrastructural systems, and, with particular attention paid to public education.

Further, to make tangible the contention that socialist inputs effected outcomes, I will draw the reader's attention in the chapter on Models of Capitalism to evidence that in spite of roughly equal foundation opportunities within the settler capitalist economies the lack of an embedded socialist process, particularly unionism, cooperatives and constitutional democracy, saw Chile, Argentina, South Africa, and the USA lower on the set of indicators of multivariable outcomes than Australia.

Here we can see the nature and importance of outcomes. In empirical terms, public health, welfare and education, compounded by the multiplier, constitute a substantial, structural, non-market segment that is in part a driver of the economy. It was argued in Chapter Two that the non-market, socialist type segment equates to around 40% of the Australian GDP. While capitalist-maintaining, it also steers the ship of state and society in another direction. This is because while it may be argued correctly, that in relation to education, healthy, educated, less alienated citizens constitute an improved productive capacity for capitalism, it may also be argued that healthy, educated citizens are more likely to seek modification of exploitive systems, and less prone to emotional, intellectual, cultural and economic exploitation, and, which is the implicit and at times explicit aim of the education system. Moreover, genuine public administration for public ends modifies social and economic relations, and is the socialist process.

## **CHAPTER 5: Part 1: 1788-1900**

### **EDUCATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES: THE SOCIALIST DIMENSION**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this chapter is to present evidence of the central contention of this thesis: that there were from 1941 to 1955 various complimentary socialist pressures that had a socialistic impact upon the philosophy, administration and growth of education in NSW. A longer-term historical exposition is required if one is to comprehend the continuity and confluence of socialist purposes and outcomes in the post-war years. The chapter is divided into three parts: 1788-1900; 1900-1941; and 1941-1955.

The period 1941-1955 was witness to real social and government responses to a possible Japanese invasion and then the transition from a war-time to a peace-time economy and society. Within this time frame, the Labor administrations and their institutional support base demonstrated a whole-of-society approach to policy, characterised by the attitudes of tenacity, morality, and administrative wherewithal in the achievement of total war and educational reform. By 1955 the socialistic institutional base had weathered the reaction from conservative forces, and consolidated a foundation for the nation's future welfare system. The extent to which that system retained its socialistic character indefinitely is a highly debatable matter but is not the focus or topic of this thesis.

In the whole history of the 1788-1955 era, several salient and interconnected themes are prominent. First, and most importantly, as the various social classes achieved institutionalised enfranchisement, as well as political voice and power through agency and network coherence and critical mass, reforms commensurate with their respective values and mandates were facilitated through incremental waves of reform within the education system of the state. The institutional agencies included over time the British state, the Colonial Legislature, the State Government of New South Wales, the Commonwealth Government of Australia, the New South Wales Department of Education, the state bureaucracy, labour unions, political parties, various religious denominations, teachers, Parent's and Citizen's organizations, academics and media organisations. These

institutions all emanate from society, representing the various stakeholders within the system. Their capacity to lead, lag or coalesce in relation to the 'high moral ground' and /or the administrative trajectory was/is largely dependent on the given institution's objectives, leadership, relative maturity, strategic acumen, contingency, and public support.

The second theme is that social values and institutional frameworks emerged from the context of the competing options of private or public provision of education within Australia's capitalist development. Government has played the leading role, eschewing parochialism while incorporating local initiatives. However, regarding New South Wales in particular, the degree of community ownership has been seriously underestimated. Nonetheless, the imperative for such government and community control emanated from denominational and market failure in the provision of education,<sup>228</sup> engendering the remedial role of non-market public advocacy institutions, centralisation and planning.

Thus, the third theme to consider is that, in the provision of education from its beginning in the colony of New South Wales until today, the state was and is the leading player. This is not to say that private or denominational education did or does not play an important role, but that state regulation of the private sector and state provision of public education permeated and moderated all educational ventures.<sup>229</sup> Ultimately however, it was the partial nature, incoherence, and failure of private and denominational provision that set the evolution of Australian, and specifically New South Wales education, on its public course.

Fourth, following from the previous point, it is therefore appropriate, if one is to comprehend the dynamics and salient factors of educational development in Australia, to study its genesis and consolidation throughout the nineteenth century. This is the purpose of part one, 1788-1900. This period saw the developing awareness of the importance of literacy and numeracy as educational foundations, and consequently the provision of primary education for the mass of the Australian people. Further, it is the century that saw the beginning of the consolidation of the rights of females to equity in educational provision. This history is the history of the foundations of Australian social and cultural

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<sup>228</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History of Education in New South Wales*, Martindale Press, Sydney, 1965, p.5.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, p.182.

capital. Of great import in this regard is the notion that the emancipist / exclusivist rift, the squatters /urban capital rift, the free traders /protectionist rift, and religious conflict compounded elite incoherence.<sup>230</sup> This contrasted with the relative coherence of the totality of the various manifestations of the labour movement.

The fifth theme is that historically Australia's forte regarding education has been in building systems and administrations through cycles of reform and experimentation,<sup>231</sup> informed by practical developments and trends relative to the imperatives of educational delivery, and the logistics of equitable provision between city and rural-and-remote schools.<sup>232</sup> There was reform continuity from the truncated National Schools System during the 1830s, to the reforms of 1866 and William Wilkins, the secularization and consolidation of the 'system' in 1881, to the reforms of Peter Board around 1904.

Part two, 1900-1941 observes the continuity of legislative reforms from the turn of the century to the reactionary culture of the United Australia–Country Party coalition to 1941.

Part three, 1941-1955 observes educational reform, beginning around 1941, with the conjunction of social pressure for education reform emanating from the incoming Federal and State Labor administrations, the New South Wales Education Department, the Department of Reconstruction, the Army Education Service, The Federation of Parents' and Citizens' Associations, the New South Wales Teachers' Federation, professional research and advocacy organizations such as ACER, the Communist Party, and the media.

The broader context of this period is the piecemeal, though structural civil construction of a socialist type New Order, then the period of conservative reaction with Menzies' 'de-socialization' election agenda of 1949, and then the 'cold war', leading to an uneasy equilibrium whereby socialist civil structuring became a consolidated norm while Stalinist type dogma was eschewed within the national narrative.

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<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, p.41.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, p.320.

<sup>232</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*, New South Wales University Press, Sydney, 1988, p.335.

This period saw the post war expansion of high schools and technical education that underpinned the long boom's education needs. A foundation was laid for the reforms emanating from the revolutionary Karmel Report commissioned by the incoming Federal Labor Government in 1972, which chose to address the inequity and dysfunction of disadvantaged communities within the educational domain by means of Commonwealth funding. The Karmel Report was the culmination of the struggle between 1941 and 1972 to offset the dysfunction of the starvation of funds that compromised the integrity of the education system. Ultimately, it is the compounding of institutional pressures between 1941 and 1955, the foundation for Whitlam's future reforms, that this enquiry seeks to analyse.

### **Social Institutions of thought and action in Australia: constructed ideologies of the substructure.**

The economic and social history of New South Wales between 1941 and 1955, viewed in the context of Australian economic history 1788-1955, is the appropriate time period to demonstrate the veracity of the argument that there are wider factors at play apart from capitalist markets within educational provision.

The truistic idea that Australia is a capitalist country has an impact on people's perceptions of the sub-systems in existence within Australia in the sense that it is assumed that all sub-systems are capitalist. That is, the common sense perception is that there are only capitalist/market systems in existence. However, as argued in Chapter One, if the terms of reference are enlarged to account for the measurement of the objective non-market criteria in the history of the National Accounts then new configurations emerge. The market is then, to a significant degree, diminished as a factor in the provision of goods and services, particularly education. In place of the market are the important variables of the historically embedded state responsibilities linked to the survival of the regime, alongside religious, private, and public institutions. All factors are components of and linked to the wider social power matrix of the whole society.

Between 1788 and 1900 the ideologies that informed and reflected the aspirations of the population, while diverse and inchoate, have certain common 'levelling' themes that had become significant in Britain over centuries. Those themes have been introduced in chapter 3 on Socialism. Colonial self-government was popularly received in 1856 and

implied degrees of a normative social consciousness regarding a collective state and issues of accountability, which after 1890 and the ascent of Laborism saw a regime of regulatory expansion<sup>233</sup>. Religious institutions, capital and labour each wished to shape the state in their own image. This had implications for education.

### **The imperative of public infrastructure.**

The early colonial history was a harsh setting for and the shaping of mentalities in what some commentators have called a ‘social experiment.’<sup>234</sup> This was a British fragment in an antipodean ecology, encompassing Australia's saddest days of violence, death, and the misappropriation of social capital and land from the Aboriginal nations, as well as the incarceration of those convicts who had been displaced by enclosures, industrialisation, and criminalisation. This was a formative society coming to terms with the old and the new: the known coming to terms with what might be. It was no less the case with education.

New South Wales was a small intense penal colony with a premium on labour. The dialectic and consequences of politics were tangible to the populace. Consonant with the alienation, misery, death, economic and social displacement experienced by the people of the Aboriginal nations was the penal experience and alienation of the convicts. Of the seven hundred Irish convicts transported to Australia in 1800-1802, most were political prisoners.<sup>235</sup> The Irish would come to constitute one quarter of the population, in large part a counterpoise to the hegemony of the English establishment.

Both convicts and Aborigines<sup>236</sup> thought of education outside of the proto-bourgeois mentality and lexicon. Education was part of the ‘life world’, encompassing family and community mores, and those skills requisite for physical survival. The new economic mode’s institutionalised educational manifestations for the English were reflected through the church, charity and Ragged Schools, the guild system and the few elite private schools, but this was far from a ‘system’ of education for the whole population. This issue is of some importance to this thesis, given the oft declared statement that the working people

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<sup>233</sup> W P Reeves, *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, Vol I, Melbourne, Macmillan of Australia, 1969, pp.70-77 .

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> G Lemcke, *Reluctant Rebel*, Fast Books, 2000, p.85.

<sup>236</sup> T Dingle, *Aboriginal Economy*, McPhee Gribble/Penguin Books, Fitzroy, 1988, p.16.

and lumpenproletariat were unconcerned with, or demonstrated “widespread indifference”<sup>237</sup> towards education.

Presumably this statement rests on the basis that working people did not express a desire for education in a public or politic fashion. Apart from this thesis being directed to demonstrate the opposite, that is, that the history of education in Australia is the history in large part of the public’s appropriation of socialist inspired public-focused institutional formation for just such an outcome, intuitively, education is a ‘mother’s milk’ institution. Indeed, the Chinese Educationalist Tao Xinghzi (1891-1946) believed that “education is life”, “society is school.”<sup>238</sup> This pertains in both its ‘life world’ and commodified forms.

It is safe to say that proletarian pretensions regarding bourgeois education, particularly within an asymmetric regime, could only be focused when, firstly, the concept of bourgeois education came into existence, and which secondly, engendered institutional leadership from those who were informed of general and high administrative pedagogical theory, and supported the socialisation of education.

### **Public Schools “ institutionalised, sanctioned, and supported.”**

The Governors were confronted by the imperative of the colony’s functional requirements which needed to be addressed by the state, alongside the contradictions and conflict inherent in the colony’s asymmetric socio-economic development. The natural propensity to reproduce an English microcosm to address the functioning of the colony, particularly via private and religious education emanating from the Church of England, was offset to a significant degree by the colonial peculiarities. First, the colony lacked private and sacerdotal capital and expertise to undertake the reproduction of the English system.<sup>239</sup> Second, class differentiation was less pronounced in spite of the ongoing efforts of John Macarthur, the squatters, and the Exclusives, those colonists who had not been convicts. Third, was the opposition of the Catholic authorities to the hegemony of Protestantism.

The major reference points in the early development of education were therefore state aid and social capital, seminal themes within socialist theory and practice. State aid equates to

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<sup>237</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education, op. cit.*, pp.200, 334.

<sup>238</sup> Qijia, Guo, *A History of Chinese Educational Thought*, Beijing, Foreign Languages Press, 2009, p. 512.

<sup>239</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, p.44.

public factor inputs to production or reproduction, a type of redistributed social capital, through the instrument of taxation or tariffs. Social capital and state aid relates foremost to that segment of the social product, which is *all* production, which is not expropriated by elites. To this must be added non-capitalist activity directed towards productive outcomes in the four domains, for the social good.

Governor Phillip set the precedent in education, by way of the imperative of establishing social norms, albeit a form of sloganeering, having practical application through his use of a poster to outline to the inhabitants that both Colonists and Aborigines would be executed for the murder of the other. King in his turn set a funding precedent in 1793 at Norfolk Island, utilizing customs duties on liquor<sup>240</sup> to fund schools and the budget of the NSW Corps to pay for schoolmasters, as well as a religious toleration precedent in 1805 with the opening of a Catholic school.<sup>241</sup> In 1800 a distinction between public and private education was established,<sup>242</sup> and, Governor Bligh formalised Government wages for schoolmasters.<sup>243</sup>

In England on the other hand, state support for education did not manifest until the ascendancy of the liberal, or Whig government, in 1830.<sup>244</sup>

By 1815 those things associated with English education, such as elementary, church, private, boarding and evening schools, as well as tutors and the pedagogy of the monitorial system whereby designated pupils taught other pupils, had taken root in the colony. This was contextualised however within the colonial paradigm that constituted a strong role for government with public education, however antithetical to the English model. A correspondent to *The Sydney Gazette*, *An Inquisitive Observer* believed that the Government “instituted, sanctioned, and supported”<sup>245</sup> public education. Nonetheless, consistent with the English model, schools were administered by Anglican Clergy.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.26, 27.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, p.12.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, p.71.

<sup>245</sup> Letter to the Editor by An Inquisitive Observer, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Sunday 8 May, 1803, p4.

<sup>246</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

In short order the Anglican clergy and the growing landlord class aligned themselves in educational matters to the extent that the Catholic authorities, dissenters, and secular advocates reacted, setting the scene of interdenominational and civil strife for the next one hundred and fifty years.

### **The importance of Governor Bourke and Philosophic Radicalism.**

By 1830 the Colonial education model had interposed itself upon the hegemony of an English Anglican educational model. Elementary schools for the lower classes, funded in large part by the state, were becoming part of the structure of colonial society, while private schools for wealthier citizens mirrored the English model. Governor Bourke, who commenced his term of office in 1831, heralded the informal arrival of Whig Liberalism to the colony of New South Wales.

Liberalism, especially radical liberalism, is synonymous with Jeremy Bentham and “utilitarianism,”<sup>247</sup> whereby society strives for “the greatest happiness of the greatest number”<sup>248</sup> of people. For Bentham, education had maximum utility in this regard.<sup>249</sup> These socialist type ideas described as *Philosophic Radicalism* were further advanced by Jeremy Bentham’s contemporary and associate James Mill, and later by Mill’s son, John Stuart Mill. John Stuart Mill was to write of his father’s socialist philosophy,

“He thought that when the legislature no longer represented a class interest, it would aim at the general interest, honestly, and with adequate wisdom; since the people would be sufficiently under the guidance of educated intelligence to make a good choice of persons to represent them,” moreover, “in psychology, his fundamental doctrine was the formation of all human character by circumstances, through the universal principal of association, and the consequent unlimited possibility of improving the moral and intellectual condition of mankind by education. Of all his doctrine, none was more important than this”.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>248</sup> J Lawson and H Silver, *A Social History of Education in England*, Methuen &Co, London, 1973, p231.

<sup>249</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, p.71.

<sup>250</sup> From the Autobiography of John Stuart Mill.

Connected to this radical milieu, Governor Bourke's practical and theoretical understanding of education was of a high order, probably unsurpassed by any other Governor. This saw the extension of public funding to the Catholic Schools, the cessation of land grants to denominational schools in 1831,<sup>251</sup> and the dissolution of the Anglican Church and Schools Corporation in 1833. In its place Governor Bourke recommended the utilization of the Irish National System of education in which "all creeds are received", utilizing a non-denominational liturgy and public funding.<sup>252</sup> Bourke's 1836 Act extended funding to the denominations, receiving sanction from Lord Glenelg in Downing Street.<sup>253</sup>

Governor Gipps was confronted on his arrival in 1838 with problems arising from the difficulties of maintaining rural schools, the depression, and reaction to the Irish National system of education from the Church of England.<sup>254</sup> Questions arose as to the appropriate level and type of state aid to the various denominations. In spite of believing that comprehensive education was an imperative for a nation of such diversity, Gipps authorised educational funding cutbacks, including the cessation of paying teachers' wages, and the introduction of the British and Foreign School system with its Protestant emphasis.<sup>255</sup>

Consequently the Catholic authorities foresaw difficulties with a Protestant hegemony, compounding the complexity and incoherence of the system of education characterised by a lack of consensus.<sup>256</sup>

In the meantime a Select Committee was appointed in 1844 with Robert Low, a Benthamite as its chairperson.<sup>257</sup> The committee reasserted the role of a secular Irish National system of education, and denominational funding. However, Gipps chose not to act in the face of Protestant reaction and budgetary constraints in a time of economic depression.

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<sup>251</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, p.313.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 51, 59.

<sup>253</sup> Reply by Lord Glenelg, 1835, in D C Griffiths, *Documents on the Establishment of Education in New South Wales 1789-1880*, ACER, Melbourne, 1957, p.53

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>255</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, p.63, and, Public Education, in *The Sydney monitor and Commercial Traveller*, Monday 27, September 1841 p.3

<sup>256</sup> A Barcan, p. 88.

<sup>257</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education, op. cit.*, p. 51.

Governor Fitzroy's arrival in 1846 saw a further pegging of educational expenditure and the constitution of a new committee which decided that there needed to be two Boards of Education, as opposed to the one Board recommended in the 1844 report: one board for state-funded denominational elementary schools, representing the Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Catholic faiths, the other for the secular National elementary schools.<sup>258</sup> This set the scene for administrative rivalry.<sup>259</sup> Therefore, five education systems manifested by 1848, mitigating any rational approach to educational delivery.

The five education systems engendered a duplication and provision problem that needed to be addressed. The imperative of public elementary education in a community with a dearth of private or religious capital set the scene for a foundation of state intervention upon which the radical political climate during the 1840s and 50s, at odds with conservative positions regarding land, religion and education, could take root. This, and the beginning of institutional maturity within educational administration, were paramount factors in offsetting the incoherence of ends and means within New South Wales educational and civil requirements. A National or 'public' education system, even if in a nascent theoretical and practical form, was a solid foundation for education to become a staple for all socio-economic cohorts.

### **Developmental context: The rise and normalization of social radicalism.**

Russell Ward argued in the *Australian Legend* that conflict between management and labour in the pastoral industry, one of the seminal themes in Australian economic history from about 1830 until the 1950s, inculcated in workers a mateship ethos around ideas of mutual support<sup>260</sup> and opposition to 'capital'. In time, reaction to the 'squattocracy' by commercial capital and the state, albeit for different, yet overlapping reasons, would compound this mentality. As Rosecrance says, "without the alliance of labour which lasted to 1890 industry would hardly have been in a position to withstand the economic assaults of the graziers. Labor was the midwife of capitalism in the Australian context".<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>259</sup> D C Griffiths, *Documents, op. cit.*, p.83.

<sup>260</sup> Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend*. Sydney, Oxford, 1960, p.2.

<sup>261</sup> N. Rosecrance, 'The Radical Culture of Australia', in L. Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies*, Harcourt Brace World, New York, 1964, p.305.

The inflow of what Rosecrance calls ‘reformist’ miners, those who populated the Eureka Stockade during the 1854 rebellion, compounded, along with nascent unionism, in the radical politicization of a portion of the population. Not surprisingly, European miners were aware of and influenced by the contemporaneous revolutionary situation in most of Europe, while those from the United States were likewise imbued with permutations of the ideology of government ‘of, for, and by the people.’ Within this environment, satisfying the educational demands of the populace was an outcome that the state could not ignore.

In 1840 the first formal ‘socialist’ organization formed in Sydney proselytising the ideas of Robert Owen,<sup>262</sup> which to a large extent revolved around education. By the 1850’s the building trades had won the 8 hour day<sup>263</sup> and unionism was beginning to become synonymous with fairness. Within the small colony of New South Wales these were not obscure events, and therefore helped set the scene for the future *mélange* of socialist ideas and tendencies which would inform Metin’s “socialism without doctrine” thesis. Liberalism, sometimes identified as ‘armchair socialism’,<sup>264</sup> was growing in strength, while in 1856 ‘responsible, representative’ government was promulgated in New South Wales. In 1858 the franchise was extended to “almost every adult male,”<sup>265</sup> in an election that saw education as one of the main themes.<sup>266</sup>

Teachers were beginning to organize in small country associations.<sup>267</sup> In 1853 there was almost unanimous public support for a “public “or National School system in the “40 or 50”<sup>268</sup> public meetings held. By this time it had become a normative concept that the state had a role to play in the provision of education so as to ameliorate juvenile delinquency, develop productive educated citizens, and to extend ‘civilization’ to those to whom it had previously been denied by dint of socio-economic circumstance.<sup>269</sup> Both the petty bourgeoisie and the newly politically empowered urban and rural proletariat demanded

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<sup>262</sup> J Harris, *The Bitter Fight*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1970, p107.

<sup>263</sup> *ibid.*, p29.

<sup>264</sup> <http://onlinedictionary.datasegment.com/word/socialism+of+the+chair>

<sup>265</sup> <http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/web/common.nsf/key/History> p.1.

<sup>266</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History*, *op. cit.*, p.105.

<sup>267</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *Teachers, Education, and Politics*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1975, p.4.

<sup>268</sup> Rusden, *National Education*, Argus Office, Melbourne, 1853, p. 173, in D C Griffiths, *Documents on the Establishment of Education in New South Wales 1789-1880*, ACER, Melbourne, 1957, pp.89-90.

<sup>269</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History*, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 91.

educational opportunities and facilities. Only the state had the wherewithal to bring these infrastructure imperatives to fruition.

### **Establishing a System: Bureaucracy as a reform instrument.**

By 1854 the political climate made it imperative for the Legislative Council to appoint a Select Committee to facilitate “improving the means of education and for diffusing its benefits more extensively throughout the Colony”. The Commissioners, including the future Secretary of the Council of Education, Wilkins,<sup>270</sup> visited 202 of the 217 schools in the colony. Their reports delineated those problems and issues which would more or less form the parameters of reference pertaining to education in New South Wales for the next thirty years till 1880: problems with insufficient sites and buildings, poor attendance, fees, rival systems, methods of teaching, books, equipment and furniture, children in country areas working instead of attending school, teachers, their training and remuneration, curricula, schools of mixed religions, and crucially, the lack of a systematic approach to the issues. The main recommendation was that there needed to be systemic unity<sup>271</sup> and control of the elementary schools.<sup>272</sup> Legislative action to implement the various proposals was stymied, culminating in the resignation of the government in 1859 due to rejection of the Oxley Education bill.<sup>273</sup> A compromise bill to end funding of those denominations who would not accept the states prerogative was passed in 1862. The act was rescinded one hundred years later on the premise that the denominations followed government regulations.

The politics and administration of education at this time was therefore characterised by the lack of coherence, legislative provision, and focus. William Wilkins, who worked his way from Headmaster of Fort Street Public Demonstration School to Secretary of the then Council of Education, is credited with having changing the delivery system from the monitorial to the teacher-student system, and in building a more coherent system. Barcan puts it succinctly: Wilkins “created an efficient centralised system of elementary education which proved capable of assimilating the main denominational schools in 1867, and

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<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, p.93.

<sup>271</sup> W Wilkins, *National Education: an Exposition of the National System of New South Wales*, Douglas, Sydney, 1865, pp. 23-5, in C Turney, *Sources in the History of Australian Education* Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1975, p. 198.

<sup>272</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, p.94.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, p.105.

completely expelling the denominations from a central role from colonial education in 1880.”<sup>274</sup>

The ascendancy of institutionalised educational administration as a reform instrument, capable of mustering the wherewithal to resist the hegemony of the church and elitism, as well as bureaucratic ossification, was not achieved by Wilkins working in isolation. In an early example of networking, Wilkins, with an egalitarian and humane nature, developed an institutional culture by harnessing the nascent ‘New Education’ theory which highlighted the importance of teachers,<sup>275</sup> kindergarten, child study, experimental, physical, agricultural, and moral education; the resources of the Council of Education and the Conference of Inspectors; teachers and their developing organization; secular administrative theory; popular opinion; the media; and the young Henry Parkes considerable electoral savvy.

Parkes was born into poverty, had three months schooling, and had a radical predisposition, given that he had heard and been inspired by the anti-slave crusader George Thompson, and the Manchester Chartist leader William Cobbett: “I felt like myself moulded like wax in the heat of the splendid declamation of George Thompson.”<sup>276</sup> W C Wentworth branded him an “arch-anarchist”, and the reformers he supported “socialists and communists.” He was first elected to the Legislative Council as an “independent Radical.”<sup>277</sup> Henry Parkes sought the advice of Wilkins.<sup>278</sup> Consequently, education came under critical evaluation, and was acted upon in a politic manner. As Turney puts it, ‘New Education’ “shattered the complacency of Australian education departments”.<sup>279</sup> New Education underpinned reform for the next 100 or so years.

It was largely the Catholic Church’s intransigence, with help from the other denominations, which forced the issue of rationalisation. At a meeting of Australian Bishops and Archbishops in 1862, (and again in 1866) a statement was issued to the effect

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<sup>274</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History*, *op. cit.*, p.170.

<sup>275</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p.4.

<sup>276</sup> An anti-slavery orator.

<sup>277</sup> L V Kepert, Henry Parkes Had The Warrior’s Eye, in *SMH*, 9 October 1948, p 5.

<sup>278</sup> A W Martin, Faction Politics and the Education Question in New South Wales, in E L French (ed.), *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1960-1; B Bridges, Sir Henry Parkes and the New South Wales Instruction Act 1880, in S Murry-Smith, (ed.) *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1975.

<sup>279</sup> C Turney, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

that, “No system of education can be accepted that does not recognise the guardianship of the Bishops over the education of Catholic children; and to the security of such guardianship are essential the ownership of the schools and control over the teaching by power of appointing and dismissing teachers.”<sup>280</sup> Society however was changing, such that denominational ultimatums were losing currency.

### **The Council of Education**

The efficiency,<sup>281</sup> quality,<sup>282</sup> and egalitarian cultural consonance of public education manifesting in the National System was clearly seen by observers.<sup>283</sup> By 1866 the *Martin* Ministry, with Henry Parks as Colonial Secretary, introduced three education reform acts that represented a structural shift in the dynamics of education, with a focus on more schools, the underprivileged, technical education, inspection, and as a precursor to today’s problematic School Councils, a mostly dysfunctional<sup>284</sup> attempt at local participation via the local School Committees. However, of greatest portent was the Public Schools Act of 1866 which sought to rationalise the incoherence of ends and means by the amalgamation of the two disparate education boards, thereby eliminating the wasteful competition and duplication of schools and resources in the one locality.<sup>285</sup> Religion was becoming a secondary player within the new civil framework of education. Private permutations in their turn were focused on primary and high schools for those children whose parents came from the high socio-economic status cohort, and ultimately represented a small minority of families. Parks remarked “If it really is a duty to educate the whole people of the state, I think it must follow that that duty devolved upon the government of the state.”<sup>286</sup>

### **Four types of Public Primary Schools, but High Schools a 20<sup>th</sup> Century project.**

The newly established Council of Education oversaw four types of Public Schools, albeit with denominational and private permutations. National Schools became Public Schools; the denominational schools became Certified Denominational Schools; Provisional and Half Time Schools for rural and less populated areas were established; and Provisional

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<sup>280</sup> Quoted from St Mary’s Cathedral Archives by U Corrigan in *Catholic Education in New South Wales*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1930, pp. 59, 60, 64-5, in D C Griffiths, *Documents. op. cit.*, p.112.

<sup>281</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, p.136.

<sup>282</sup> R Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, London, 1883, pp.130-45.

<sup>283</sup> A Barcan, *op. cit.*, p.106.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, p.144.

<sup>285</sup> Speech by Henry Parks on Second Reading of 1866 Act. in D C Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*

Schools, that is, private schools that underwent government supervision were established. Those resources on hand were not to be dismissed, rather, utilized in a more systematic manner than previously, rationalised and regulated with the state's imprimatur.

While a primary system had been established, albeit with many limitations, the facilitation of comprehensive high schools still had to overcome many hurdles, for after a truncated beginning in the late nineteenth century,<sup>287</sup> the creation of high schools and technical education for the great majority of the population had not been achieved. Apart from Sydney Grammar, Fort Street Model School, and a few others, public high schools and technical education were to be projects for the twentieth century.

In spite of the Governments construction of Sydney Technical College in 1878, partially funded by a 2000 pounds per annum grant, by 1880 technical and adult education was still outsourced to the 76 School of Arts, Working Men's, Literary, and Mechanic's Institutes.<sup>288</sup> Peter Board thought that the outsource organizations were "irresponsible bodies". The Council of Education was the appropriate body, according to the Trades and Labor Council.<sup>289</sup> In 1889 technical education became the domain of the Minister of Public Instruction.

Two notable actions of the Council, which were later rescinded, were the introduction of payment by results,<sup>290</sup> and in 1873 a pension<sup>291</sup> fund for teachers,<sup>292</sup> where the state contributed half the amount of the teacher's contribution up to two and a half percent of the teacher's gross salary. It was observed that with payment by results, coherent education suffered as a consequence of 'teaching to the exam', a requisite indicator of the 'results' of a teacher's success in teaching. The pension scheme became redundant as a consequence of the contractionary fiscal policy during the 1890s depression with the 1895 Public

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<sup>287</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History*, op. cit., p.168.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.160-1.

<sup>289</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, op. cit., p.146.

<sup>290</sup> Braidwood District Inspectors Report. Extract on "Payment by results", Extracts from Reports of the Council of Education, 1867-79, in D C Griffiths, op. cit., p.147, and C Turney, op. cit., p. 189.

<sup>291</sup> Gordon Howitt, *Superannuation and teachers*, see Master's Thesis: *Government Superannuation Accounting in NSW*. University of New South Wales, 1966, pp.11-29.

<sup>292</sup> Extracts from Reports of the Council of Education, 1867-79, 1873 entry, in D C Griffiths op. cit., p.143.

Service Act. Provision for teachers' pensions was passed into legislation by Labor in 1916 after unsuccessful attempts in 1912 and 1913.<sup>293</sup>

### **Cessation of state aid to denominations.**

By 1874 most non-Catholic Churches supported the abolition of state support for denominational education, if for no other reason than denying state aid to the Catholic education system. The Catholic Church however demanded funding from the state. In a sense, 75% of the denominations accepted public education as the new norm, signalling a transition from a theological to civil framework. The *Sydney Morning Herald* commented on the 29th November 1879 that "The gradual emancipation of primary education from ecclesiastical surveillance was bound to be achieved."<sup>294</sup>

Paradoxically, but not surprisingly given the Catholic system's tenacity, the cessation of denominational funding and supervision in 1882 saw a reinvigorated Catholic Education system, and a refocus of Protestants and the Church of England into secondary education.<sup>295</sup> Examination results from the private and denominational high schools were nonetheless poor in comparison to the public sector, while non-Catholic Church schools performed badly in the provision of quality education for girls.<sup>296</sup>

Other factors had an impact on reform. From the 1870s to the 1890s depression, revenues from crown land sales increased, making much needed funding easier to procure. An increase in the number of children in New South Wales, from 77,000 in 1861 to 187,000 in 1881<sup>297</sup> made the expansion of the system necessary. Literacy rates, in spite of impediments, were equal, if not better, than that of other nations. However, the immense work load and imperatives of the Council of Education and its officers precipitated their demands for a Minister of Education overseeing a larger Government department.<sup>298</sup>

### **The Department of Public Instruction and the consolidation of the System.**

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<sup>293</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>294</sup> *SMH*, November 28 1879.

<sup>295</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, p.185.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, p.150.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.147, 319.

The Public Instruction Act of 1880 addressed a variety of issues. Importantly, a Minister of the Crown was to oversee the new Department of Public Instruction whose mandate was to provide education along secular lines to all socio-economic classes of citizens. State funding to Certified Denominational Schools ceased in 1882, inducing twenty percent of denominational schools to close their doors.

More public primary schools were built, and a few separate girls and boys high schools established. A reduction in weekly fees to 3d was undertaken. Clearly, education was still not free, as it had theoretically been in Victoria since 1872, though attendance could not be prohibited on the basis of a student's inability to pay. Indeed, attendance was made compulsory, though its application was perfunctory. A comprehensive high school system was envisaged and Scripture was to be delivered by clergymen.<sup>299</sup>

The number of schools rose by 518 between 1881 and 1884, from 1042 to 1560. Student centred pedagogy came into focus,<sup>300</sup> whereby the differentials in student knowledge base levels became less of an incentive for the department to disengage. Wilkins believed that "...every pupil has an equal claim to have his faculties developed and cultivated."<sup>301</sup> Moreover, he believed education needed to be sequential in the Herbartian sense of following organic stages of development, as well as being heuristic. That is, students need to learn to investigate on their own initiative.

Control now emanated from the state centre, where the scene was set for administrative refinement as a means to facilitate state administrative and pedagogical ends. Wilkins retired in 1883. Fortuitously, the management, guidance, continuity and refinement of the education system fell to Bridges, then Peter Board in 1905. Their attributes were up to the task. Particularly that of Peter Board. Still however, one third of potential students received no formal education, and the great majority of pupils left in third class. Of seminal importance is that from this time funding becomes the fundamental issue, as opposed to the creation of a system with a tendency to a humane pedagogy.

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<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 166-168.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, p.179.

<sup>301</sup> William Wilkins, *The Principles that Underlie the Art of Teaching*, Board of Technical Education, 1866, Chapter 1, pp.7-9.

After the high point of reform from 1880-3, the 1890s depression had the effect of diminishing remedial expenditure and the potential of reform within education. Educational expenditure fell from 768,000 pounds to 651,300 pounds between 1892 and 1896. The number of teachers in training fell, as did teacher's wages. Departmental truancy officers were displaced by police officers, and class sizes rose.<sup>302</sup>

However, during the 1890s the intersection of high theory as expounded by educational reformers, and diminished funding due in large part to the depression, created tension between potential and real outcomes. This led to an increased focus on education by the Labor Party and the gestation of new public advocacy organizations such as the Public School Teachers Institute and the Federation of Parents and Citizens Associations of New South Wales.

In time these 'organizations' become 'institutions' in the sense that an institutional culture with a continuity of egalitarian themes and political power manifested. The institutions became normalised and inexorably intertwined within the civil polity. In time legislative provision formalised, quite apart from informal institutional entwinement, the intersection of public educational advocacy and the state.

The Labor Party though focused on vocational education as an instrument to empower workers, strongly advocated equity and egalitarianism in comprehensive educational provision. The State Labor platform of 1902 lists reform of local government and education as its main priorities. Barcan argues that equity infused the educational provision and debate to the extent that women were empowered through the logic and power of the concept.<sup>303</sup> This is commensurate with the importance and effect over time of the multitude of women's advocacy and feminist organizations and individuals that pressed the issue, not to mention feminists such as Miss Lucy Woodcock and her sympathisers within the Teachers Federation.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, pp.189-191.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid*, p.318.

<sup>304</sup> B Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp.104, 139.

The first incarnation of a formal teacher's union took the form of the Public School Teachers' Institute in 1895.<sup>305</sup> The Parents and Citizens formed in 1906.<sup>306</sup> The Labor Party, the Public School Teachers' Institute, and the P&C, were products of the Australian 'spirit of the age'. It is to this zeitgeist that I now turn, so as to outline the powerful social forces that unleashed it, as a consequence of the 1890s depression within Australian and international capitalism.

**'To investigate the report upon the causes of conflicts between capital and labour.'**

The economic prosperity of the 1880s saw the beginning of the end when the speculative land bubble burst in 1889 and a general banking failure "wiped out the entire savings of most of the population."<sup>307</sup> The people's faith in market capitalism, and politicians with conflicts of interest, was shaken.

The year 1890 ushered in the Maritime Strike, where the employers refused to let Deck Officers<sup>308</sup> join the Maritime union. This precipitated flow on sympathy strikes by the shearers, gas workers and coal stokers unions. It was popularly regarded as a confrontation between labour and capital, in which labour lost. Its structural implications are mirrored in the rationale of the NSW Royal Commission on Strikes, "to investigate and report upon the causes of conflicts between capital and labour."<sup>309</sup> 'Freedom of Contract' or 'recognition of unions' was the focal issue, an issue that resurfaced one hundred years later, again on the wharves.<sup>310</sup>

**Constitutional democracy and worker's determinism.**

This was indicative of a wider social plebiscite on the grounds of a popular moral economy which was being enacted, and continued as the depression deepened, to do with the type of society people wished to live in and how to apply power to achieve it. A similar plebiscite was taking place in most industrialising countries with permutations of industrialised

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<sup>305</sup> *Ibid*, p.1.

<sup>306</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, pp.186, 218, 312.

<sup>307</sup> C Lloyd, 'Economic Policy and Australian State Building: From Labourist Protectionism to Globalisation', in A. Teichova and H. Matis (eds.) *Nation State and Economics in History*, Cambridge, 2003, p.411.

<sup>308</sup> G Henning, Steamships and the Maritime Strike, in *Historical Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 60, April 1973, pp. 570, 587, 590, 592.

<sup>309</sup> J Rickard, *Class and Politics*. Hong Kong, ANU Press, 1976, p.8.

<sup>310</sup> Helen Trinca and Anne Davies, *Waterfront*, Doubleday, Sydney, 2000, p ix.

organised labour, socialist and communist political parties, Bismarkian type state socialism and social liberalism.<sup>311</sup> The plebiscite engendered both revolutionary and evolutionary dialogue, action, praxis, and solutions.

An outcome to the resounding defeat of the unions was their Phoenix-like creation of the Labor Party during the 1890s incorporating concepts of constitutional democracy and workers' determinism. This had teleological implications. The labour movement crossed the institutional Rubicon, positioning itself for the 'socialist project' of the appropriation of social, institutional, and economic power, substantially through the state's legislative provisions, and which would see a new emphasis placed on education. Reeves argues that from this time progressive social legislation, as a response to social needs, became a force within social structuration.<sup>312</sup>

Concurrent to the formation of the Labor party was the legitimization of arbitration within the Labor bloc. The issue was hotly contested in the Labor party and the unions, counter arguments being: how can Labor politicians serve both capital and labour? and, that arbitration was a capitalist paradigm which could make the strike activity redundant even when imperative.<sup>313</sup> Ultimately the Labor Party was popularly received as its quick electoral success attests, and arbitration increasingly embraced, becoming New South Wales Labor policy in 1895.

### **Conservative reaction to socialist threat.**

There was a conservative reaction to the institutional success of the Labor Party,<sup>314</sup> and which ultimately came to be catalytic to the conservative position. The employer groups formed *National Associations* to contest elections. Their aim was to "educate the electorate concerning the dangers of socialism and class legislation."<sup>315</sup> However, the *National Associations* minimised their impact electorally due to their "suspicion of and in some cases opposition to the democratic process."<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> J Rickard, *op. cit.*, p.65.

<sup>312</sup> W P Reeves, (1969), *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, Macmillan of Australia, Melbourne 1969, p. 74.

<sup>313</sup> R. Golan, *Radical and Working Class Politics*. Sydney, ANU Press, 1976, p.186.

<sup>314</sup> J Rickard, *op. cit.*, p55.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, p.59.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, p.60.

The employers were not homogenous and not all free marketeers. Enough employer groups found formal arbitrations promise of enforceability of decisions desirable to continue the incorporation of the state and labour in the market. This legitimation and normalisation of state intervention, in effect a decision to create an 'imperfect' market by laissez-faire criteria, permeated and compounded the wider social institutional nomenclature.

As unemployment escalated and inter/intra class mobility decreased as a consequence of the 1890s depression, "something of a working class consciousness was formed on wage earners between 1890 –1910 by sheer economic fact".<sup>317</sup> A middle class continued to form nonetheless, being determined in large part by the expansion of private and public administration and the service sector generally, and the new professions such as teaching, dentistry and engineering. That this grouping is perceived as middle, as opposed to working class, was in part on the basis of objective income differentials, subjective ideological differences, invidious comparison regarding educational credentialism, or the general nature of invidious comparison, the reluctance to be associated with menial labour, a type of Weberian white and blue collar status dichotomy. While a 'bunyip' aristocracy had failed to take hold in Australia, the tripling of the population in the 1850s, immigration, the growth of urbanisation, the state and light industry helped the growth of a mercantile, service and entrepreneurial bourgeoisie.<sup>318</sup>

Middle class champions till 1900 were ill defined and a coherent ideology confused by the cross-ideological divisions regarding free trade or protectionism. But all classes had benefited through colonial socialism, engendering infrastructural and productive enterprises such as railways, communications networks and education. There were benefits to business and the rest of the community arising from public intervention.

### **Armchair Socialism.**

By 1900 a middle grouping convergent if not identical with socialist type ideas coalesced around Alfred Deakin, a social liberal, a protectionist interventionist. Sayer's analysis of

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<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, p.293.

<sup>318</sup> R Connell and T Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History*. Melbourne, Longman, 1980, pp.115-116.

social liberalism at the turn of the century outlines the importance of liberalism in Australian development. Echoing T. H Green's ideas, Francis Anderson, the professor of philosophy at Sydney University in 1890, a leading advocate and theorist of public education, believed that "the free development of citizens must take precedence over freedom of control or laws of competition".<sup>319</sup> Social liberals were persuasive enough to help influence regulatory government through such people as Bernard Wise, the author of the NSW arbitration system,<sup>320</sup> Justice Higgins, a radical in his youth, who handed down the Harvester decision which delineated a 'fair' wage in 1907, and the Sydney wool broker, W. H. Chord, who wrote in the *Australian Economist*, "The state owes its very existence on those men and women" when advocating old age pensions.<sup>321</sup> There was a pragmatic alliance between Labor and the social liberals that informed government policy and shaped the institutional nature of Australia after Federation.

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319 Marian Sayer, 'Waltzing Matilda: Gender and Australian Political Institutions', in Brennan, G and F. Castles. *Australia Reshaped*, London, Cambridge, 2002, p.150.

320 *Ibid.*, p.152.

302 *Ibid.*, p. 186.

## CHAPTER FIVE: Part 2: 1900-1939

### Federation and the Constitution

Customs unification, continental communications, defence, and transport networks needed to be rationalised.<sup>322</sup> In all, it was an environment conducive to critical analysis of society and education.<sup>323</sup> The framework of the constitution is economic in character with no explicit mention of the rights of citizens as in the United States constitution other than the checks and balance concept through the division of powers. The aim of the document in practical terms was to delineate the domains of state capital networks relative to the centre, and is an expression of the degrees of bourgeois power in framing the constitution.

Gough Whitlam argued in his 1965 Fabian Society Pamphlet that, “the constitutional framework enshrines Liberal policy and bans Labor policy”. Moreover, “The ALP has to devise policies which secure not only the approval of electors, but also the approval of judges.”<sup>324</sup> The division of power between the Commonwealth and State Governments would prove problematic, though not insurmountable, particularly in its limiting of Commonwealth support for education and health. Those issues not explicitly dealt with in the constitution were left to British and Australian legal and parliamentary convention, common law, High Court interpretation, and political wrangling regarding jurisdictional compromise.

Instead of a radical constitution, Australia had achieved an evolving ‘Australian Settlement’ which engendered democratic and socialist-type institutions. This was achieved before the maturation of the business sector and its institutions. Whereas with the United States ‘Settlement’, a coherent industrial business sector had captured the inchoate labour movement, in Australia, coherent workers’ institutions politically socialised business. As Rosecrance says, “Horatio Alger is turned on his head”<sup>325</sup>. This had implications as to which culture would infuse education. At the very least, capitalist hegemony would not be the only determinant in the twentieth century.

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<sup>322</sup> C Lloyd, 'Regime Change in Australian Capitalism: Towards a Historical Political Economy of Regulation in Australia', in *Economic History Review* 42, 2002, p.412.

<sup>323</sup> C Turney, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

<sup>324</sup> E G Whitlam, *Labor and the Constitution*, Victorian Fabian Society Pamphlet 11, 1965, pp. 32-33.

<sup>325</sup> N Rosecrance, *The Radical Culture of Australia*, *op. cit.*, p.309.

This situation, however, was tenuous. Implicit to this reality was the ongoing necessity of the struggle for political and economic power between capital and labour. The liberal/Labor era substantially under Deakin's leadership was none the less the time of the consolidation of the embedded, yet evolving, collective mentality.

Concurrent to these developments education reform was initiated through a series of conferences in June 1901, then 13<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of November 1901, and in January 1902. These were part of the Australian settlement in action. The meetings were a response to the high levels of public and institutional interest regarding educational dysfunction. The dysfunction was seen to be a result of the long term starvation of funds and political will as a consequence of the contractionary fiscal stance of the depression years.<sup>326</sup>

The initial conference in June was convened by the Public School Teachers Association. That the meeting took place with such uncharacteristic candour was a consequence in large part to the role played by the Head Inspector, Bridges. Mitchell speculates that there was collusion between the entities involved.<sup>327</sup> A unionist in his early days, Bridges is an example of the hegemonic nomenclature interacting empathetically. It was under Bridges' tutelage as the head of technical education that the fledgling Teachers Association was given a room in which to operate, and later as Head Inspector in 1903, "...that teachers were brought into educational decision making in unprecedented ways."<sup>328</sup>

At the June conference problems were discerned with the plethora of exams, mechanistic pedagogy, an overcrowded curriculum, the low standards of teaching, and the unpreparedness of those students continuing to university. Francis Anderson was vociferous in his demands for free and compulsory education, arguing that the fee of 3d per week "fostered irregular attendance". In its place he suggested Commonwealth funding. He condemned large classes and the overabundance of exams. Bernard Wise, the Attorney General, stressed the need for teachers to obtain a 'living wage'. All the issues were seen to be connected.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.*, p.201.

<sup>327</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p.10.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>329</sup> Francis Anderson, *The Public School System in New South Wales*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1901, pp.3-10, in C Turney. *op. cit.*, p. 230.

The next two meetings were public meetings, the last of which tabled fourteen objectives. The objectives, amongst other things, pertained to the education of females, more kindergartens, the elimination of fees, and reviews of both the Primary Curriculum and inspection.<sup>330</sup>

The meeting in January 1902 was a conference of school inspectors and the senior administration. The meeting, convened at the behest of the Minister of Public Instruction, J Perry, heralded the *Knibbs-Turner Royal Commission*. Their task was to research all stages of education in Europe and the United States of America.

Concurrent to the *Knibbs-Turner Report* was the *Report on Primary Education* by Peter Board, who observed education in Europe and England. Both reports influenced reform, Peter Board's being easier to digest given its brevity relative to the compendious three volume *Knibbs-Taylor Report*.<sup>331</sup> Both reports supported the empowerment of teachers and parents for reform of the education system. Moreover, the Knibbs-Turner Interim Report recommended in part thirteen that, "The whole pedagogic effort of the immediate future should be to get in touch with the Reform movement."<sup>332</sup>

### **Benchmarks: Free, compulsory, and secular.**

The public tide of support for educational reform was irresistible to the state. The governing and opposition parties supported reform. The Lyne *Protectionist* Ministry oversaw the introduction of Peter Board's new 'humane' primary syllabus with its increased emphasis on history and English, the impact of humanity in geography, nature study, and manual skills. Inspection of pupils was transferred from inspectors to the headmaster after 1905, the year Board became Director of Education. The Carruthers *Liberal Reform* Ministry passed the Free Education (primary) Act 1906, a Parliamentary Bill introduced by the *Labor* opposition,<sup>333</sup> and which influenced the increase in the

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<sup>330</sup> A Crane and W Walker, *Peter Board*, Australian Council for Educational Research, Melbourne, 1957 p.15.

<sup>331</sup> Volume 1 *Primary Education*, 1903; Volume 2, *Secondary Education*, October, 1904; Volume 3, *Commercial and Agricultural Education*, December, 1904.

<sup>332</sup> Interim Report of the Commissioners on Certain Parts of Primary Education, VPLANSW, 1904, PP. 57-8, 62-3, in C Turney, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>333</sup> A Crane and W Walker, *op. cit.*, p.171.

number of primary schools from 2881 in 1906 to 3,333 in 1926.<sup>334</sup> Given its formal legislative recognition, education in New South Wales had become synonymous with the trilogy of free, compulsory and secular education.

There is a strong correlation between the elimination of prohibitive fees and an increase in schools attendance, poor attendance being the bane of educators to that time. Indeed, with the assumption of the Labor party under McGowan to Government in 1910, with its commitment to equity of educational provision and its elimination of high school fees in 1911, and the introduction of bursaries in 1912, attendance doubled in one year. The number of public high schools increased from five in 1910 to nineteen in 1916.<sup>335</sup> In the interim, in lieu of comprehensive high schools, Continuation or ‘superior’ Primary schools existed in the form of *Commercial*, *Junior Technical*, and for girls, *Domestic Superior* schools. In spite of their vocational focus, civics, history, morals, English, Music and physical education were part of the curriculum.<sup>336</sup>

By 1906 free, compulsory and secular education, a trilogy derived from the French Revolution, had come to pass, at least in theory. Nonetheless, the once revolutionary socialist standards had become normative benchmarks. Importantly, education at the end of the nineteenth century was characterised by a secular public system.

### **Reform manifests within hegemony.**

Nonetheless it needs to be reiterated that I am not portraying Panglos’s ‘the best of all possible worlds’. Anti-hegemonic propensities exist within a capitalist hegemony of social and economic structuring resistant to reform. While multiple hegemonies exist, the power of military, police, financial and industrial hegemony to exercise cultural and economic control, through their media, the education, legal and penal systems, and ultimately institutional violence, should not be underestimated. As late as 1993 the then Premier of Victoria Jeff Kennett condoned the baton charging of parents demonstrating against the

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<sup>334</sup> J Wilkinson, *Education in Country and City New South Wales*, New South Wales Parliamentary Library Service, May, 2008, p.5.

<sup>335</sup> S Smith and G Spaul, *History of Education in New South Wales, 1788-1925*, George B Philip, Sydney, 1925, pp.254-255.

<sup>336</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, op. cit., p.188.

closure of Richmond Secondary College.<sup>337</sup> Stuart Macintyre outlines historical manifestations in more detail in “The Reds.”<sup>338</sup> The establishment’s elimination of the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) by 1920 through prohibition, penal provisions and deportation is a case in point,<sup>339</sup> as is Drummond’s mostly unsuccessful attempts to prohibit communist and socialist sympathisers from working within the New South Wales Education system. Neither should the systems use of the bureaucracy and education in perpetuating war ideology,<sup>340</sup> and as a cultural integrative device through asymmetrical competition, elitism, and streaming, be underestimated. Given the power and momentum of capitalist hegemony, it is therefore all the more profound and interesting that anti-hegemonic civil redistribution, as outlined in this section, exists.

Indeed, during and after the war the rise of conservative vigour is exemplified in the war itself, prohibitions on leftist literature and meetings,<sup>341</sup> laws prohibiting landlords renting to communists, the New Guard, the victory of capital in the Great Strikes in 1917, the rescission of the 40 hour per week legislation, the rescission of the Act that entitled agricultural workers to workers compensation,<sup>342</sup> and the reintroduction of high school fees by the *Nationalist* Education Minister Bruntnell in 1923.

However, the fascist para-military New Guard<sup>343</sup>, and conservatism generally, was offset by the socialist politicization of large segments of the population as a consequence of hunger and unemployment, the Labor Education League,<sup>344</sup> the Labour Army,<sup>345</sup> The Unemployed Workers Movement of the Communist Party, The Unemployed Workers Union of the New South Wales Trades Labour Council,<sup>346</sup> the Workers Defence Corps,<sup>347</sup> eviction battles between on one side those being evicted, their communists supporters,

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<sup>337</sup> Andrew Spaul, The End of the State School System? Education and the Kennett Government, in *The Kennett Revolution*, Ed Brian Costar and Nicholas Economou, UNSW Press, Sydney 1999, p.214.

<sup>338</sup> Stuart Macintyre, *The Reds, The Communist Party Of Australia from Origins to Illegality*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney,1998, pp. 210-17.

<sup>339</sup> N McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution*, Penguin Books, Maryborough, 1989, p.206.

<sup>340</sup> A Spaul, *Australian Education and the Second World War*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982, p. 101.

<sup>341</sup> Stuart Macintyre, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>342</sup> M Dixon, *Greater Than Lenin?*, A Melbourne Politics Monograph, undated, p.117.

<sup>343</sup> V Kelly, *A Man of the People*, Alpha Books, Sydney, 1971, p. 61.

<sup>344</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p.102.

<sup>345</sup> M Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>346</sup> Stuart Macintyre, *op. cit.*, p.191.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

concerned citizens, and on the other side the police and landlord goons, the defeat of the two conscription referenda, the socialization plank of the Labor Party in 1921, albeit with the Blackburn caveat that protected private property and ‘fair’ profit, and by the strong growth of militant unionism and the Communist Party with strategic operative placement.

It is within this context that we observe the ascendancy of Jack Lang due to the support of communist led unions in what Miriam Dixon calls the Red Twenties,<sup>348</sup> where communists, socialists and Labor “permeated’ each other’s beliefs. Socialisation Units within the Labor Party, a corollary of the Labor Educational League which engendered a dialogue relating to the needs of education in New South Wales, controlled most Labor branches in Sydney and Newcastle in 1931.<sup>349</sup>

Though often anti-Marxist, most Labor Parliamentary representatives and some independents were unrepentant unionists and socialists. Moreover, as evidenced by the crowds of 250,000 supporting Lang in the Sydney Domain,<sup>350</sup> political activism by leaders identified with the redistribution of wealth represented the tip of the iceberg of a broader social movement.

The second century of Anglo education in Australia began with the First World War, moving through the ‘Great Depression’ and the Second World War. Within this environment of poverty and barbarism the labour movement’s claim to the benefits of the social product stood resilient. Indeed, the experience of war and depression helped induce and consolidate the lower socio-economic cohort’s claim and aspirations to equitable redistribution in spite of the vigour of the cultural, media, and economic power of the conservatives. With the depression, poverty demanded equitable solutions. With the world wars, and particularly World War Two, service people and civilians alike demanded the redistributed fruits of their labours in the fight against elitist fascism. The normative idea of redistribution became sufficiently powerful that it that it could not be ignored by those sections of capital willing to negotiate the evolution of the ‘Australian Settlement’ vis the institutional power within developing Australian capitalism.

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<sup>348</sup> M Dixon, *op. cit.*, p.167.

<sup>349</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp.102-3.

<sup>350</sup> V Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

### **High schools come into focus**

The First World War was a time of economic hardship for teachers as their workload increased while inflation reduced their real income.<sup>351</sup> The war reduced available funding, buildings constructed, teacher numbers and the quality of education provision. However, it saw state governance of private and religious schools, the incorporation of New Education ideas relating to a ‘world safe for democracy’ on a national level,<sup>352</sup> the consolidation of the Teachers Federation through the amalgamation of the 18 or so different associations in 1918, and it’s consequent growth in maturity and militancy. Wages and facilities became the new focus.<sup>353</sup> The need for export replacing industries during World War I stimulated the need for secondary schools, technical and higher education. Technical education reform was predicated on a rationalization of delivery from the increasingly redundant Mechanics Institutes and Schools of Arts to more centralised and accountable institutions, consistent with Peter Board’s and the Labor Council’s position, and to tying night time technical courses to apprenticeships.<sup>354</sup>

In spite of the hiatus of the war years, taking its cue from the explosion of reform at the beginning of the century, the Third Regime was the next stage in educational provision for the great mass of the population. High schools came into focus, previously, a provision only entertained by some in the socio-economic middle class, and the elite. The other states lagged New South Wales in this regard, leaving the provision of high schools largely to denominational and private providers.<sup>355</sup>

However, in New South Wales the nature of high schools, that is ‘to what extent vocational studies intersected the humanities’ was the contentious issue. In 1921 Albert Bruntnell the *Nationalist Party* Minister for Education, reacting to the liberal reforms and easier educational pathways of Peter Board, thought it appropriate to return to the basics, and, to leave “high forms of culture to the independent schools,”<sup>356</sup> and, I infer by default, the ‘better off’. Ostensibly this was on the basis that resources could be better spent on

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<sup>351</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, op. cit., p.204.

<sup>352</sup> Comments by Cecil Andrews, Director of Education, in Report of the Education Department of Western Australia for 1915, pp. 8-10. WAPP 1916-17, Vol. 1, in *C Turney*, op. cit, p. 244.

<sup>353</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, op. cit. p.218.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid*, p.194.

<sup>355</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History*, op. cit., p.224.

<sup>356</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, op. cit, pp.206-7.

primary, trade, agricultural and junior technical schools. Why did Bruntnell indicate that it was not an imperative for some socio economic classes to receive higher learning relative to the better off? How much was this view premised on the legacy of ideas as espoused by Hon. Davies Giddy in the English Parliament of 1807 that pupils should be taught to the parameters “to which their rank in society had destined them,”<sup>357</sup> or as stated at a Kindergarten conference by one speaker in 1895, “education unfits (sic) people to become good servants”<sup>358</sup>? Or, was the stance an example of conservative fiscal pragmatism? Whatever the reason, the actions reproduced asymmetrical outcomes.

Labor voters in their turn thought generally in terms of perpetuating or reproducing opportunities for their children in the trades, as opposed to the professions, in relation to the prohibitive ‘opportunity cost’, based on a practical cultural affinity to their workings class peers and an understanding of the limitations of inter class mobility relative to intra class mobility.<sup>359</sup> However, in spite of the aspirations of parents and children, most pupils left by the age of thirteen, a consequence of the working class imperative to bring in an income. In the 1940s and after, Education Minister Heffron would make repeated exhortations for parents to allow or influence their children to stay on at high school.<sup>360</sup>

For many working class people, culturally, higher education was a ‘bridge too far’. Moreover, historically it had been beyond their means, not an economic option. But this cultural and economic understanding itself would change because of new compulsory educational opportunities irrespective of socio-economic status, which engendered the de-alienation of those enquiries usually only entertained by socio-economic elites.

### **Social power engenders legislative provision.**

This was facilitated in large part through social power focused on legislative provision. I have mentioned the rise in attendance as a consequence of the 1906 legislation that eliminated fees in primary schools. Similarly, 20,000 more students enrolled in schools in

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<sup>357</sup> Debate on Whitbread’s “Bill for establishing a Plan for the Education of the Poor”, April, 1807, in D C Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p.4.

<sup>358</sup> Mrs Francis Anderson, ‘The Story of the Kindergarten Movement in New South Wales’ in Sydney Teachers’ College Kindergarten Society, *The Story of Kindergarten in New South Wales*, Wright pr., Sydney, 1911, pp. 19-21, in C Turney, *op. cit.*, p.136.

<sup>359</sup> J Rickard, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

<sup>360</sup> Danger of Dead End Jobs, in *SMH*, 31 July 1945, p 3; Danger of Dead End Jobs Deplored, in *SMH*, 14 November 1940, p 6.

1917 than in 1916 largely as a consequence of the *Public Instruction Amendment Act 1917*, introduced by the Holman *Nationalist* Ministry which gave teeth to anti-truancy legislation, and supplied free materials and textbooks to high school pupils.<sup>361</sup> Holman, a Labor icon, had led the previous *Labor* Ministry. Like Billy Hughes, Holman joined in Coalition governments after being expelled from Labor over his support of conscription in World War One.<sup>362</sup> This helps demonstrate one of the numerous way in which the bridging, linking and cross fertilization of educational and other ideas to the opposition bench helps normalizes previously radical socialist concepts through the medium of compromise and political expediency, if not opportunism.

When the Fuller *Nationalist* and *Coalition* Ministry re-introduced high school fees in 1923, some say Peter Board sought early retirement in protest, while Jack Lang responded in Parliament that the Education Minister Bruntnell wished “to shut out the working class from the professions.”<sup>363</sup>

To abolish high school fees had been part of Lang’s election pledge and focus, and influenced his re-election.<sup>364</sup> The education legislation however was one of at least seven bills forwarded to State Parliament and substantially influenced by the ‘Trades Hall Reds’ such as the future Minister for Education and Premier, Robert Heffron. Indicative of the fluidity of alliances, Heffron parted from Lang’s inner group in 1930.

The leader of the Trade’s Hall Reds was Jock Garden. Miriam Dixson has hypothesised that “no Garden, no Lang.”<sup>365</sup> Garden moved to the periphery of the Communist Party, the more so as time went on, to the extent that on the night of Lang’s Domain speech, Sunday the twenty-sixth of July 1931, three hundred Communist Party members stormed Trades Hall as Garden escaped out the side door.<sup>366</sup> He was a communist/socialist no less. Indeed he helped form the Communist Party. The situation typifies the fluidity, thrust and parry,

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<sup>361</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, op. cit., pp.204-5.

<sup>362</sup>

<http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/members.nsf/0/20f95dab942c215dca256cb600144ce4>

<sup>363</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, op. cit., p.206.

<sup>364</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p.73.

<sup>365</sup> M Dixon, *op. cit.*, p.7.

<sup>366</sup> V Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp.64-5.

adaption to political contingency and imperatives, permeation, and multiple allegiances of intra and inter- ideological struggles.

### **The Widows Pension Act “Communistic” and “soul destroying.”**

Lang’s basket of legislation included a Widows Pension Act, which was described by T H Hill from the opposition as “communistic”, “the most soul-destroying, poisonous Bill...ever submitted.”<sup>367</sup> The Fair Rent Amendment Act met with similar vitriol, as did the Rural Workers’ Accommodation Act, an Act for the 40 hour week, an Act to restore seniority to those rail workers disenfranchised as a consequence of their participating in the strikes of 1917, such as happened to the future Prime Minister Chifley, an act regards workers compensation, and an act to abolish capital punishment. On its election (June 1925- October 1927) the Lang *Labor* Ministry abolished high school fees<sup>368</sup> leading to increased attendance and larger class sizes.

By this time the majority of matriculating students came from public high schools, contrasting to the situation in Victoria where the figures were inverted, and high schools were largely the domain of the private and denominational sector.<sup>369</sup> One of the Lang Ministry’s last actions was the passing of the budget, a record amount of 25.3% that was reduced to 14.9% under Drummond, in part due to the depression and the virtual suspension of overseas loans, in part to the contractionary fiscal ideology of the coalition parties which tabled balanced budgets for the nine years previous to 1941, with education weighting diminished. The improvement in the economy around 1939 saw expenditure per pupil come close to the Lang’s 1928 level.<sup>370</sup> However, education had to wait until the McKell *Labor* Ministry in 1941 for the conception of an egalitarian mode, incorporating a new funding paradigm and an enhanced priority for education.

With the defeat of Lang by the Bavin *United Australia Party, Country Party Coalition* in 1927, the leader of the *Country Party* group in the Coalition, D H Drummond, became Minister of Education in New South Wales for the next three years, until the return of a new Lang regime.

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<sup>367</sup> M Dixon, *op. cit.*, p.114.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, p.110.

<sup>369</sup> A Barcan, *op. cit.*, p.209.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*, p.213.

Lang's second tenure as Premier, with fifty five of the ninety seats in Parliament, has notoriety due to his dismissal by Sir Phillip Game as a consequence of Lang's plan for a moratorium regarding British Loans, similar to the moratorium the United States extended to its British creditors.<sup>371</sup> Be as it may, my concern here is that of the prominent support role for Lang's second tenure garnered from three future communist/socialist leaders of the New South Wales Teachers Federation, Lewis, Paddison, and Norington, and that of the future Minister for Education and Premier, Robert Heffron, and their future contribution and significance to the structural development of education in New South Wales.<sup>372</sup>

### **The Conservatives and Drummond: Cold War warrior before the Cold War.**

With Lang's dismissal in 1932 Drummond returned as Minister of Education. Drummond was committed to education and in lieu of an adventurous Director of Education did much of the steering, and worked hard to achieve outcomes in rural areas, particularly for his electorate of New England. He played an important role in helping to establish the Armidale Teachers College in 1928, and the University of New England College in 1938 as an annex to Sydney University. His focus on rural education, free transport, and school construction saw important tentative steps to remedy rural educational deficiencies. Loyal to his constituency and its needs, but to the chagrin of the public service, the 1928 budget saw the great majority of the one million pounds allocated to construction go to country schools in his electorate.<sup>373</sup>

Drummond oversaw the introduction of Intelligence Quotient (IQ) tests in 1933, heralding the beginning of a long debate as to their theoretical and practical validity in relation to measuring 'innate capacities'. Their immediate utility laid in the partial displacement of the highly contentious and expensive continuation exams at the end of the primary years.<sup>374</sup> Drummond supported the future Director General of Education, Harold Wyndham in this, his academic interest and endeavour. An endeavour which in time

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<sup>371</sup> V Kelly, *op. cit.*, p.65.

<sup>372</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>373</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, *op. cit.*, p.208.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 240-3, 245.

Wyndham would concede had only marginal utility, moreover, an emphasis on IQ tests engendered wastage of student talent.<sup>375</sup>

In spite of his efforts and good intentions, as stated, there was no increase in the education budget for 9 years before 1941, excepting the 95% funding increase for technical education, his main focus.<sup>376</sup> He was interested in expanding library access and passed the long overdue Libraries act in 1940, in relation to subsidising Municipal libraries for general and adult education, however the legislation was not put into operation until Heffron became Minister in 1944.<sup>377</sup> Drummond was hamstrung by his ideology, party loyalties and acceptance of the United Australia Party-Country Party Coalition's war time fiscal status quo.<sup>378</sup>

In spite of his assertion that he was a libertarian with regard to authority, on assuming office Drummond was unsuccessful in one of his first administrative actions in attempting to remove communists and their sympathisers from the education department;<sup>379</sup> was successful in dismissing married women teachers from the Education Department in 1932;<sup>380</sup> as Minister in charge of the Department of Welfare some argue he supported the status quo's hard love mentality, forcing the "the humane and enlightened" Director of Child Welfare, Mr C T Wood, to resign;<sup>381</sup> in spite of the NSWTF working closely with the Manpower Act administrators he claimed in Parliament in 1940 that Norrington, a Teachers' Federation leader, was a communist and disloyal to his country;<sup>382</sup> invoked public service provisions that teachers could not comment publicly about the system;<sup>383</sup> imperiously broke off relations with the Teachers Federation on several occasions;<sup>384</sup> and cut teachers holidays in half from two to one week;<sup>385</sup> and, in 1937

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<sup>375</sup> JP Hughes, *Harold Wyndham, a Study in Education and Administration*, PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, 1999, pp. 121-2.

<sup>376</sup> Jim Belshaw, *Drummonds Life, Part 9, The Growing Shadows: Public Life 1936-1942* in [newenglandhistory.blogspot.com.au/search/label/Story%20of%20David%20Drummond](http://newenglandhistory.blogspot.com.au/search/label/Story%20of%20David%20Drummond)

<sup>377</sup> Growth of Adult Education, in *SMH*, 8 July 1944, p.2.

<sup>378</sup> Jim Belshaw, *op. cit.*

<sup>379</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p.177.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>381</sup> David Macrae, Letter to the Editor, Child Welfare in *SMH*, 17 October 1942, p6.

<sup>382</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p.169.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, p.78.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.88-89.

introduced colour segregation to schools. The media put it that Drummond “resembled Caesar.”<sup>386</sup>

In common with Prussia’s banning of Froebel’s *kindergarten* on the basis that it was socialistic<sup>387</sup>, Drummond believed that pre-schools and kindergartens were nascent “state hatchery[s]”. Within Australian conservative ranks he was also not alone, his Victorian Country Party counterpart believing that they were “breeding grounds for socialists.”<sup>388</sup> However, Drummond was receptive to some ideas emanating from the Teachers Federation, via his friend and Federation leader, Curry, expanding and further institutionalising the membership of the Board of Examiners to include two NSWTF members<sup>389</sup> and as well as private school representatives thereby diminishing the input of Sydney University.<sup>390</sup> Further, Drummond had good relations with the Federation of Parents and Citizens Associations’, formalizing its education advocacy role through legislation in 1937, and being considered its “stout champion.”<sup>391</sup>

Drummond appreciated that the ongoing dysfunction of education provision could only be offset by Commonwealth funding. This was the case, given that his favoured source of funding, private donation, and council rates for technical education, were not forthcoming.<sup>392</sup> Adding his voice to the institutional chorus he sought a technical education loan on the basis that it was an imperative for national defence, so as to fit into Loan Council parameters.<sup>393</sup> Yet, his inability to argue against the contractionist parameters of thought of conservatism and the priorities it manifested, by dint of numbers or argument, as well as Prime Minister’s Menzies and Fadden’s balanced budget dogma, constrained his ability to be effective outside of his electorate.<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>387</sup> Gavin Souter, This New Education, in *SMH*, Saturday 24 January, 1953 p 8.

<sup>388</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>389</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op cit*, p.133.

<sup>390</sup> A Barcan *A Short History of Education*, *op. cit.*, p 242.

<sup>391</sup> S Wimmer, *A Short History of the P&C Federation, 1908 to 1980*, The Federation of Parents and Citizens Associations of NSW, Sydney, 1980, pp 19,29.

<sup>392</sup> Jim Belshaw, *op. cit.*

<sup>393</sup> C Turney, *op. cit.*, pp.345-6, and A Spaul, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 232.

<sup>394</sup> Jim Belshaw, *op. cit.*

In 1933 Drummond initiated two inquiries, the first into Post-Primary Education focused on exams and whether they should be at the end of third or fourth year in high school. The second focused on technical education and whether it should be centralised.<sup>395</sup> The technical education controversy emanated from divergent attitudes in relations as to whether technical education should have academic weighting and control, the preferred policy of the Education Department and its two retiring advocates from the Advisory Committee of Newcastle Technical College, or increased local control as the College advocated. The report of the Commission of Inquiry into Technical Education in 1935 recommended better funding and local control.

### **Decentralization as an example of privatization.**

In what became an interesting commentary on administrative evolution, Drummond issued the proclamation to transfer Technical Education to Newcastle and Sydney Technical Colleges the day before polling day.<sup>396</sup> In large part, the decentralisation of power and facilities, all things being equal, rests on firm ground and was supported by all parties and reformers. That is, decentralisation, or devolution of administrative and executive processes and delivery may be seen as devices to enhance democratic decision making and efficiency at the local and coalface level. On the other hand, precipitous or gratuitous decentralization may impede effective and rational systems building, equitable provision, and undermine a regions power and resource base given its lack of advocacy at the centre. Moreover, its nature as a self-contained cost centre is an appropriate administrative template for a privatized entity.

ACER had a strong opinion on the issue, supporting the devolution of technical education,<sup>397</sup> indicating a disposition to educational structuring based on decentralisation as practiced in the US with its local school boards. ACER however, over time, increasingly conceded the incoherent and parochial nature of local school boards, responsible for such curriculum achievements in the US as the teaching of creationism as highlighted by the infamous

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<sup>395</sup> A Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, op. cit., p.215.

<sup>396</sup> H V Evatt, Minister for Education, *Technical Education Nullification Bill*, New South Wales Parliamentary Papers, 18 September, 1941, p.1244, and Mr Sheehan, pp. 1246-7.

<sup>397</sup> K S Cunningham, J J Pratt, (Eds), *Review of Education in Australia 1939*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1940, , p.72.

Scopes trial of 1925. Moreover, centralized administration could adopt policies to offset insularity and reform stasis.<sup>398</sup>

Given the evidence of the utility of centralisation to sufficiently muster resources during the war years, the limitations of parochial frameworks of management, ends and means within technical education take on invidious significance. Importantly, a local powerbase may be deficient in leverage of power to facilitate its funding requirements and optimal process capacity. Parochial concerns may outweigh coherent multi-site systems construction, as had been the case when there had been five education systems to 1861, engendering waste and duplication. Operative placement may become dependent on the patronage of the local power base. This last point was certainly problematic for Drummond's critics, citing that the Newcastle Technical Education Council would consist of 39 members with another 39 seats to be distributed by purchase via donation.<sup>399</sup>

The Labor party believed that community assets were being handed to private industry, Mr Landa (Labor Bondi) indicating in the Legislative Assembly that “..Mr Drummond was trying to defend the handing over of assets and control to Tooth and Company and the Broken Hill Pty Co Ltd and to certain private enterprises represented on the Councils..”<sup>400</sup>

When Drummond first introduced the bill in 1940, a member of the United Australia Party-Country Party Coalition, Mr Mutch (Coogee) claimed “..he had heard nothing to justify the transfer of technical education to private enterprise,”<sup>401</sup> while his fellow UAP member for Kogarah Mr J C Ross put it that “he was not prepared, for the sake of raising some money for technical education, to hand over to a board in Sydney, and another in Newcastle the extraordinary powers given to them in the bill.”<sup>402</sup> Nonetheless, Drummond denied that the bill was not “so constituted as to give power to Broken Hill Pty Ltd and its associated industries control of it,”<sup>403</sup> and that the Minister would have the final say.

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<sup>398</sup> K Cunningham, G McIntyre, Radford, *Review of Education in Australia 1938*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1939, p.213.

<sup>399</sup> Technical Schools, New Bill Criticised, in *SMH*, 4 April 1940, p 7.

<sup>400</sup> Education Powers, in *SMH*, 10 October 1941, p5.

<sup>401</sup> Technical Schools, in *SMH*, 4 April 1940, p7.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>403</sup> Technical Education Bill, in *SMH*, 13 April 1940, P19.

Issues over centralization or not became a permanent feature of the education debate, giving form to the numerous, and at times dysfunctional Education Department restructures. More cognizant of the imperative of planning and the efficiencies engendered through centralization, particularly in time of war, the McKell Labor Ministry with two UAP members and three independents, rescinded, the devolution legislation on its assumption of office in 1941,<sup>404</sup> with the Herald sub-header stating “Ministerial Control Over Technical Colleges Restored.”<sup>405</sup> In the Legislative Assembly Drummond asked McKell how the Report recommending devolution could be incorrect. McKell replied that the Report was “entirely incorrect.”<sup>406</sup> Clearly, different frameworks of reference effected Drummond’s and McKell’s interpretation of the Report.

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<sup>404</sup> Education Nullification Bill, *NSWPP*, 18 September, 1941, p. 1247.

<sup>405</sup> Technical Education Power Restored, in *SMH*, Thursday 11 September, 1941, p 11.

<sup>406</sup> Technical Education, *SMH*, Friday 12 September, 1941, P 9.

## CHAPTER FIVE: Part 3: 1941-1955

### **The cathartic nature of international events.**

The cathartic nature of a series of international events further induced and compounded socialist process welfare reactions from the population, institutions and governments within Australia. Therefore, of seminal importance is the notion that in the aftermath of the horror of the First World War, the aspirations of the Australian peoples for a ‘new social order’<sup>407</sup> went unrealised, leading to permutations within the Australian consciousness ranging from class hatred to the politics of compromise. Hancock notes that: “It must be recognised that hatred, in greater or lesser degree, is a normal by-product of industry in its present stage of development....antagonism between employers and wage earners is ‘in the atmosphere.’”<sup>408</sup>

The depression from 1929 compounded the immiseration, relegating a third of the population, many of whom were returned soldiers and their families, to poverty and the indignity of unemployment; and consequently the Second World War lent itself, given the fertile ground, to radical socialist process “New Order” reform within a bourgeois liberal hegemony. An egalitarian rationale within social norms became increasingly embedded during the war years as a foundation for the public sector.

### **Conservative reaction to socialist process.**

However, within the Commonwealth domain, the socializing legislative tendency of Labor led to reaction from Menzies through his “cold war” rhetoric regarding the “de-socialization” of public policy. Menzies’ and the conservative establishment’s new creation, the Liberal Party, came to power in 1949. Nonetheless, significantly, the public systems and ethos exhibited a path dependency, too embedded to substantially rescind.<sup>409</sup> While the period’s immediate threat to the capitalist system, the nationalisation of the banking system was stopped in its tracks, the long term capacity of public education to undermine private capitalism has tended to be underestimated.

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<sup>407</sup> W K Hancock, *Australia*, Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1945, p. 190.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>409</sup> C Lloyd, *Saving Capitalism: Class Conflict, social Democracy and Regulation in Australia since 1890, in a global capitalist context*. Address to the Summer School of Nordwel, Bergen, June 2009, p. 12.

### **Limitations to anti-socialist rhetoric.**

It is significant that in spite of the reaction within the Commonwealth domain in 1949, in New South Wales, the embedded tendency to public provision of education specifically, and social welfare generally, saw the cold war rhetoric for all intents and purposes fall on deaf ears. Indeed the consolidation of the Labor Party's control of the State Government until 1965 demonstrates the limitations of the cold war rhetoric.

Importantly, from 1941 socialist process pressure came to bear on the bourgeois Liberal hegemony, which concedes degrees of legislative and constitutional power when its existence is threatened. This observation is of seminal importance given that it locates the socialist reform as acting upon liberalism, as opposed to the truism that the reforms were bourgeois liberal reforms. Whereas socialist process pressure led reform for community empowerment, documents regarding the post war rationale of liberalism published by the Institute of Public Affairs, demonstrate a lagging and reactive stance to the potential of social unrest, if post war asymmetric economic and social relations were not addressed.<sup>410</sup>

### **Alignment**

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate how and why the institutional alignment of the state, unions, and public education advocacy, manifested conscious and unconscious socialist ends, means and ethos.

The United Australia Party – Country Party coalition was not up to the task of coordinating the war effort. Therefore, the “All in” war concept, engendering maximum sacrifice and contribution from the unions was not realised until the end of 1941 when the Curtin *Labor* Party won power from the Fadden *United Australia Party* (UAP) government in the federal domain, complimented in the state domain with the Labor victory under William McKell.

Therefore, the end of 1941 saw the alignment of those institutions which advocated the fundamental concept of socialist process public education: the Commonwealth and State Labor Governments, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the New South Wales

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<sup>410</sup> Institute of Public Affairs, Victoria, *Looking Forward: A Post-War Policy for Australian Industry*, Melbourne, 1944.

Trades and Labour Council, the New South Wales Teachers Federation, the education bureaucracy, and the New South Wales Federation of Parents and Citizens Organizations. This political alignment helped set the institutional platform for public education consolidation and expansion in the coming decades. The alignment encompasses Spaul's three groupings of reformists, the workers and institutions within the education system, the community and its institutions, and the 'intelligentsia' of around thirty prominent individuals,<sup>411</sup> whom I would class among the interlocutors.

Labor and the union movement, in both the Federal and State spheres formulated a vision for a new order with an education component, a vision that was not constrained to the same extent as that of the conservatives by conventional capitalist economic imperatives, technics, priorities, and dogma. Institutionally, the Labor polity, in both the federal and state arenas was sufficiently radicalised to appeal electorally and therefore develop reform mass with their electoral victories in 1941. This compounded with the social pressure of egalitarian institutions such as the NSWTF and the P&C, to determine in large part that the Labor Party's agenda to execute the war and attend to the pent up redistributive demands of the population, nurtured throughout the depression period, would be of substance.<sup>412</sup>

### **The New Order**

In 1943 Chifley stated that "the war has forced us to act purposefully."<sup>413</sup> The high order of networking that this facilitated was an imperative for the "all in" execution of the war and the *New Order*, not to mention the quiet acceptance, relative to World War One, of conscription to New Guinea.<sup>414</sup> The nation's survival lent itself to a cooperative critique within the popular imagination and governance.

The concept of a *New Order*, which entailed the *New Deal* for education, was therefore the child of the times. Researching parliamentary reports and the media, it is not uncommon to find articles which leave no doubt as to why people wanted a new world for their children. One Parliamentary report quoted Professor Harvey Sutton who in 1936 claimed that in his opinion about 40% of school children were "retarded" in their school careers, the causation

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<sup>411</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>412</sup> R Gollan, *op. cit.*, pp.105-7.

<sup>413</sup> J B Chifley, Planning for Peace, in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 December 1943, p.6.

<sup>414</sup> R Gollan, *op. cit.*, p.117.

being linked to rickets , a very good indicator of malnutrition.<sup>415</sup> The statement led to at least two addendum reports clarifying that the malnutrition rate was 1 to 10% depending on the locality. However, one piece of evidence tendered by Sutton, claimed Dr Maddox x-rayed the bones of 200 two year olds, finding 50% suffered from nutritional deficiencies.<sup>416</sup>

### **Anti-fascist war.**

Adding to these stimuli the very essence of the anti-fascist war elicited a spontaneous and considered debate within the international and local community, from the pulpit, the media, community groups, teachers, unions and political leaders. Professor Ashby of Sydney University proclaimed that the “The post war world would be a world of non-economic values.”<sup>417</sup> The economics of everyday life would still be important however, in Britain, Professor Laski contended that soldiers did not want to return from the war only to live with their mother-in-law’s,<sup>418</sup> and vice-versa no doubt. Fred Patterson, the first communist member of an Australian Parliament, implored in the Queensland Parliament that “we want freedom from want and freedom from fear,”<sup>419</sup> a sentiment echoed in Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms, and to which Menzies paid lip-service. Within the media the *new order* dynamic played a prominent role, being the catalyst for community dialogue.

At the 1945 Social Sciences Summer School Mr Cleary, the Leader of the ACTU, gave his estimation of the public’s aspirations: “Whether an ultra-conservative on the right or the most militant Reds on the left, everyone demands a *new order*.”<sup>420</sup> Demonstrating the exception that proves the rule, the Leader of the UAP-CP Coalition, in opposition, Mr Mair, thought the *New Order* to be “Piffle,”<sup>421</sup> though his attitude was not universally held in his own party on the basis that more social legislation was required so as to “strengthen its hold on boarder line seats which Labor hopes to win.”<sup>422</sup>

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<sup>415</sup> *NSWPP.*, Vol 146, 3/10/1936, p2333.

<sup>416</sup> *NSWPP.*, 1935-6, Vol 1, pp. 233-238.

<sup>417</sup> Education for Insecurity, in *SMH*, 4 June, 1941, p.5.

<sup>418</sup> Must Apply Marxism, in *SMH*, 31 August, 1945, p1.

<sup>419</sup> Communists Support Mr McKell, in *SMH*, 11 May 1944, p. 4.

<sup>420</sup> P J Cleary et al, 'Industrial Relations After the War', in P. J. Cleary et al, in *Australia's Post War Economy*, Sydney, Australasian, 1945, pp.238-9.

<sup>421</sup> New Order Piffle, in *SMH*, 15 August 1941, p6.

<sup>422</sup> Social Legislation Urged, in *SMH*, 8 October 1940, p 9.

### **Ideological confusion.**

Dr Frank Louat of the Australian Natives Association, and one time member of the UAP, feared “the prison house of socialism,” but not “nationhood based on the creative effort of individuals.” Yet consistent with other previous remarks he supported government control to distribute resources fairly, and demanded a house, healthcare and education for every citizen.<sup>423</sup> However, between these two polarities and confusion regarding ends and means, resided the institutionalised wish of people to live lives unperturbed by slaughter, sickness or poverty, and moreover, to attain the fundamental rights, as seen through the eyes of invidious comparison, to those things wealthy people took for granted with their increased purchasing power, such as education.

### **New Order Solutions sought in the international arena.**

It is unexceptional therefore that the more unsatisfactory one’s life or society becomes the more solutions are sought. This was expressed within Australia, the international arena, Britain and the United States. Britain’s *New Order* delivered the acclaimed 1944 Education Reform Bill,<sup>424</sup> which was greeted with intense interest in Australia. As in Australia, education reform was a component of a basket of reform initiatives. In Britain, William Beveridge formalised Keynesian type plans for a welfare dimension within state structures in the *New Britain*, seeing unemployment as “..A Problem of industry,”<sup>425</sup> and better government coordination as part of the solution.<sup>426</sup> Beveridge, who came to Winston Churchill’s notice through the Fabian socialists Sydney and Beatrice Webb,<sup>427</sup> for the purpose of organising the British labour exchange, visited Australia in 1948 stimulating the reconstruction debate and plans for “a new world.”<sup>428</sup> The British Home Secretary, Mr Morrison, put it that the qualities needed in the *new order* included “a strong sense of national unity and disregard for private sectional interests.”<sup>429</sup>

In the United States President Roosevelt pledged to the International Student Assembly, with representatives from 29 countries, that the fight against fascism was “not in vain”:

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<sup>423</sup> Basic Points OF the New Order, in *SMH*, 30 September 1943, p3.

<sup>424</sup> Education in England- Early Approval of Reform Plan, in *SMH*, 24 September 1943, p 4.

<sup>425</sup> William Beveridge, *Unemployment, A Problem of Industry*, Longmans Green Co, London, 1930.

<sup>426</sup> Plan for New World, in *SMH*, 8 December 1942, p 6.

<sup>427</sup> Lord Beveridge: A Giant Killer, in *SMH*, 12 May 1948, p 5.

<sup>428</sup> Lord Beveridge to Study Social Services Here, in *SMH*, 12 May 1948, p 1.

<sup>429</sup> Plans For New Order, in *SMH*, 22 December 1942, p 6.

There are still a handful of men and women who mock and sneer at the Four Freedoms [freedom of speech; freedom of worship; freedom from want; freedom from fear] and the Atlantic Charter. They are few in number but some have financial power to give our enemies a false impression...They are petty politicians in a world crisis. [Nonetheless] We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you now and in the future. We won't let you down. We know that in the minds of many are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers and delayed opportunities of getting a job.<sup>430</sup>

The United States developed a reconstruction plan coordinated through the United States Planning Board, which the Herald correspondent claimed was more comprehensive than the British Plan. The British plan was centralised while that of the United States was to be administered by the fifty States. Nonetheless, they were both constructed to “assure the fruits of victory on the home front.”<sup>431</sup>

#### **New Order solutions sought within Australia.**

Similarly, within Australia, the Federal Labor Government's Minister for Post War Reconstruction, Chifley, believed in *Planning for Peace* cognisant of full employment, so as to place “..permanently within the reach of every one of us freedom from basic economic worries.” This was necessary to realise “some of our ambitions” regarding educated, healthy and happy families.<sup>432</sup> Education officers of the Army Education Service stated that “..the creation of the *New Order* is just as much a job for the soldier as it is for everyone else.”<sup>433</sup>

The Director of the Ministry of Post War Reconstruction, H C Coombs believed that

“Everybody's vision of a New Jerusalem is, of course different from his neighbours, but through them all, or at least the vast majority, there run common themes,...employment, rising standards of living, development and security...there

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<sup>430</sup> *Fight Not in Vain-Roosevelt's Pledge To Youth*, in *SMH*, 5 September 1942, p 10.

<sup>431</sup> A D Rothman, *Social Reform in the USA*, in *SMH*, 16 March 1943, p4.

<sup>432</sup> J B Chifley, *Planning for Peace*, in *SMH*, 1 December 1943, p.6.

<sup>433</sup> *Soldiers University, The Army Prepares for Peace*, in *SMH*, 23 April 1943, p.2.

can be no doubt that in the minds of the mass of the people, a job is the first requirement of a reconstructed world.”<sup>434</sup>

A 1942 Gallup Poll confirmed that 75% of respondents looked forward to “great changes in the post war way of life.”<sup>435</sup>

The Federal Labor administration created the high powered “back room” Walker Committee, an interdepartmental committee regarding education and how to facilitate the proper administrative machinery for its maximization for the duration of the war and its aftermath. The members of the Committee, such as Coombs, Mills, Dedman and Wyndham took the New Order seriously. The Committee cited with approval the Joint Committee on Social Security which argued that

education is essentially a social service which should be nationally controlled and should provide in reality, equality of opportunity for all in Australia alike...there can be no New Order, certainly no democratic New Order while...(funding is)..at present levels.<sup>436</sup>

### **New Order solutions sought within New South Wales.**

Both the leadership and the majority of the population saw equality of access to education as a fundamental part of social structuring within the new order context, as the high profile of education in the state election of 1941 indicates.

Within New South Wales, decrying appeals to cut the Education Departments budget as part of the ‘war only’ philosophy of the fiscal conservatives, the Education Minister Evatt put it that “Those who would urge economy and retrenchment in education little understand the purpose for which the war is being fought”, further, “The *New Order* that would follow the war, to a large extent, would be enjoyed and controlled by the children whose destinies were in the hands of the school teachers.”<sup>437</sup>

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<sup>434</sup> W J Waters, Australian Labor’s Full Employment Objective, 1942-45, in Jill Row (Ed), *Social Policy in Australia*, Cassell Australia, Adelaide, 1976, p. 230.

<sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>436</sup> J Hughes, *op. cit.*, p.8.

<sup>437</sup> Cost of New South Wales Education, in *SMH*, 23 December 1941. P11.

The Principle of the Sydney Teachers College Dr D R McRae, believed that cooperation should replace competition as the *modus operandi* of the education system.<sup>438</sup> Injecting a note of real politic, he was unequivocal that “The vote [funding] should be doubled.. or stop talking about a *new order*.”<sup>439</sup> This would prove difficult however, given the rapid increase in student numbers, which almost doubled in the 20 years after the war,<sup>440</sup> from 338,000 in 1945 to 668,630 in 1965, a consequence of the post war baby boom, higher retention rates, and immigration.

While not ideal, given the exceptional impediments to delivery, the Labor administration’s frenetic pace, and on focus administrative structuring by senior Labor Politicians should be appreciated as no mean feat. Moreover, the Labor Party was fortunate that after 1952 the Director General of Education, Harold Wyndham, was of the same calibre of integrity and egalitarian reformist zeal<sup>441</sup> as that of the likes of William Wilkins and Peter Board. But the new order not only ideally entailed increased long-term funding, but the further consolidation of a normative and systemic attitude, based on equality of opportunity relative to that of the wealthy, the refinement of the system, and a cooperative pedagogy for a cooperative world, “with unlimited facilities [for]the children of the working classes.”<sup>442</sup>

In the same spirit, in 1943, the New South Wales Teachers Federation and the P&C formed a joint committee for education reform. They saw the post war *new order*<sup>443</sup> and its correspondence to socialist precepts transposed to and premised on a “New deal,”<sup>444</sup> emanating from the New Education Fellowship and Dewey’s philosophy of *progressive* education incorporating cooperation, collectivism, and the production of good citizens.<sup>445</sup> A survey of the Herald and the literature during the war years reveals a robust debate in Australia, and the concerted involvement of the churches, unions, politicians, and the Parents & Citizens’ Associations in resolving what the new order may entail. The Herald

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<sup>438</sup> Education Needs and the New Order, in *SMH*, 30 March 1943, p. 6.

<sup>439</sup> Education and the New Order, in *SMH*, 28 May 1943, p7.

<sup>440</sup> J Wilkinson, *Education in Country and City NSW*, NSW Parliamentary Library Service, Briefing Paper No 4/08, 2008, p. 8.

<sup>441</sup> J Hughes, *op. cit.*, p.26.

<sup>442</sup> *NSWPP*, 23 July, 1941, p.14.

<sup>443</sup> Education Bodies Plans, in *SMH*, 12 November 1943, p.6, also Millions for Education, in *SMH*, 18 September 1946, p.4, also New Deal for Schools Sought, in *SMH*, 4 March 1947, p4..

<sup>444</sup> Teachers Seek Reforms, Educations New Deal, in *SMH*, 15 July 1946, p 4.

<sup>445</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History*, *op. cit.*, p.259.

editors for their part thought that “the *New Order* depends on fundamental changes in our ideas and way of thought,”<sup>446</sup> and that “...social reform is the corollary of fast moving popular education...”<sup>447</sup>

### **The churches legitimise the New Order concept.**

Dr Eris O’Brien put his Roman Catholic View that a “*New Social Order* [is] Inevitable in Australia.”<sup>448</sup> The Reverend Dr H W Dart of the Baptist Church believed that “Ideas of government and class relations that have stood for centuries are being metamorphosed before our very eyes.”<sup>449</sup> The Reverend R J Davidson proselytized that “opportunity hinges on economic pull, and education is circumscribed by class..before we can fashion a social order worthy of the name ‘democratic’ there will have to be a complete reversal of values.”<sup>450</sup> The Reverend S W McKibbin at Newtown Methodist Church thought “the church has a golden opportunity to play a mighty part in the *new world order*,”<sup>451</sup> while The Methodist Reverend Dr C M Churchwood at The Christian Commonwealth Conference advocated “Socialization” of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.<sup>452</sup> In a “Joint Meeting of Seven Churches” a “Seven Point *New Order Plan*” was promulgated whereby the Church of England, the Church of Christ, the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational and Baptist church’s advocated:

An adequate standard of living for all citizens; Fidelity in all the relations of life; An equitable distribution of the goals of industry. This demands that no one person shall exploit another for gain, or for any other purpose whatever; Such cooperation between various sections of the community as will lead to a better ordering of human life, in matters concerning housing, unemployment, suitable provision for sickness, accident, old age etc.; The harmonising of individual interest with service to the community, the eliminating of merciless competition, and the avoidance of any condition that conflict with public welfare; An educational policy which will offer opportunity to all who can benefit by it, and will not only impart knowledge

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<sup>446</sup> Editorial, Education and the Future, in *SMH*, 13 February 1943, p 8.

<sup>447</sup> Editorial, The New Ranks of Parliament, in *SMH*, 14 September 1943, p.4.

<sup>448</sup> New Social Order Inevitable in Australia, in *SMH*, 15 April 1940, p1.

<sup>449</sup> Churches Task Complicated, in *SMH*, 19 September 1941, p7.

<sup>450</sup> The Disease of Greed, in *SMH*, 8 June 1942, p 4.

<sup>451</sup> Churches and the New World Order, in *SMH*, 8 June 1942, p 4.

<sup>452</sup> Minister Urges Socialization, in *SMH*, 28 September 1943, P 7.

but will deepen the sense of personal responsibility and form sound character; The promotion of understanding, fellowship and trust amongst all men.<sup>453</sup>

Clearly, egalitarian, socialist process, *new order* doctrines, had deep and diverse institutional manifestations, which, moreover, had sufficient mass to influence the structuration of education as a public concern.

### **The Commonwealth Government 1939-49**

It took the Second World War to end the depression and legitimise further the centralisation of power and responsibilities in Commonwealth and State structures in Australia, setting the conditions for education expansion and a decade of reform. The war years were therefore a critical juncture in education,<sup>454</sup> albeit harnessing many core *New Education* ideas formed before the war. The imperative of military readiness<sup>455</sup> required an assessment of the education system to date so as to assess its positive and negative capacities and their implications for the planning and execution of the war.<sup>456</sup>

### **Menzies and Fadden in Government 1939-41; in opposition 1941-1949; Menzies in Government 1949-1955.**

However, for the first two years Prime Minister Menzies' 'All in War' failed to manifest. The Commonwealth *Menzies-Fadden* and the NSW *Mair-Bruxner* governments lagged in this regard, in large part a consequence of their failure to nurture and incorporate the institutional representations of 1.2 million workers represented by the ACTU in the execution of the war, causing a logistical disjunction between plan and execution. Belatedly, two months before Labor came to power, in August 1941, P J Cleary from the ACTU was asked to join the Manpower Priorities Board.<sup>457</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Joint Message From Seven Churches, in *SMH*, 25 December 1943, p 6.

<sup>454</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p.ix.

<sup>455</sup> S J Butlin, *War Economy 1939-1942*, Halstead Press, Sydney, 1955, p13.

<sup>456</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 193.

<sup>457</sup> S J Butlin, *op. cit.*, p.479.

Moreover, using the National Security (Subversive Associations) Regulations<sup>458</sup>, Menzies banned the Communist Party in June 1940,<sup>459</sup> further alienating left wing unions,<sup>460</sup> until The Soviet Union's entry to the war on the side of the Allies in 1941. Adding to this, Menzies at the Commonwealth and state level,<sup>461</sup> and in New South Wales the Mair-Bruxner *Coalition* Ministry, particularly Education Minister Drummond, poured scorn on the Teachers Federation, individuals within it, and their communist and socialist affiliations. Clearly, large sections of the working people's institutional network, a crucial element for war logistics, were out of synchronicity with the sympathies and aims of the Menzies and Mair-Bruxner Governments.

Compounding these problems, Hancock recognised in the 1930s that "The Nationalist Party platform ...counts for very little - even as propaganda. It is large and untidy and frequently ambiguous. No single section of it suggests urgency."<sup>462</sup> Ten years later, it was argued in the Herald article by *A Political Observer* in *The Party Struggle*, that the United Australia Party, the progeny of the Nationalist Party, suffered from a "lack of a coherent national organisation" and that "they largely represented vested interests", such that "there is virtually nothing to remind the average UAP voter that he is a UAP voter from one election to the next", whereas "the average Labor voter is seldom far out of touch with what his representatives are saying and thinking."<sup>463</sup> The same *Political observer* later wrote that the Labor Party equated to an "Economic Dictatorship" on the basis of its socialist precepts, indicating that his previous analysis may not have been merely Labor hyperbole.<sup>464</sup>

### **Menzies refuses to take any responsibility for education.**

In spite of Menzies' clamour for Commonwealth funding<sup>465</sup> of both education and teacher training whilst in Government to 1941, in opposition from 1941 to 1949,<sup>466</sup> and in

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<sup>458</sup> *ibid.*, p.918.

<sup>459</sup> Unlimited War Effort, in *SMH*, 18 June 1941, and B Carrol, *From Barton to Frazer*, Cassell Australia, 1978, p.96.

<sup>460</sup> B. Fitzpatrick, *A Short History of the Australian Labour Movement*, Macmillan Melbourne, 1968, p.213.

<sup>461</sup> A Spaul, *Australian Education in the Second World War*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982, p.187.

<sup>462</sup> W K Hancock, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>463</sup> The Party Struggle, in *SMH*, 15 July 1943, p4.

<sup>464</sup> A Political Observer, The Federal Banking Bills, in *SMH*, 24 March 1945, p.2.

<sup>465</sup> Widening of Education: Mr Menzies Plan, in *SMH*, 23 May 1945, p5.

<sup>466</sup> First Sub Branch of the Liberal Party, in *SMH*, 3 February 1945, p3.

Government 1949-63, as Spauld suggests<sup>467</sup>, which Wyndham<sup>468</sup> and Drummond<sup>469</sup> resented and the evidence confirms, Menzies asserted the line that there was always some other constitutional impediment or fiscal priority that tied his hands, limiting his ability to fund state education, such as World War Two, then the threat of Asian communism, and the consequent need to prioritise military expenditure. Moreover, there was a lack of policy coherence within the UAP-CP regarding funding, as demonstrated by his treasurer, Spender, who in 1940 was resolute that “under no circumstances”<sup>470</sup> would funding be given to technical education, in spite of preliminary moves by his own government for technical education funding.

Menzies responded to a request by the Australian Teachers Federation for commonwealth funding, that funding was already substantial regarding technical training, and that the war was not the best time to address the problem.<sup>471</sup> In 1940, objecting to the continual request for Commonwealth funding, Menzies put it that his critics were “separating power to deal with a subject from financial responsibility for that subject.”<sup>472</sup> Consequently, his opposition to Labor’s desire to enlarge Commonwealth powers through the 1944 and 1946 referenda lends itself to questioning his sincerity in regard to decrying constitutional constraints.<sup>473</sup> He was unequivocal until 1963 that primary and secondary education was not his or the Commonwealth’s concern.

### **Dissent within conservative ranks.**

Seven Country Party members of his coalition were not so reticent to embrace Commonwealth powers and coordination, claiming that what was done in war could be done in times of peace, and that “by organised marketing in war time farmers had reduced their indebtedness to banks and private financiers by sixty million pounds.”<sup>474</sup> Billy Hughes supported the extension of Commonwealth powers on the basis that they could minimise the type of post war economic dysfunction, such as inflation, that occurred in the

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<sup>467</sup> A Spauld, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>468</sup> J Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 11.

<sup>469</sup> Belshaw, Jim (2010), Drummonds Life, *The Growing Shadows: Public Life 1936-42*, in [newenglandhistory.blogspot.com.au/search/label/story%20of%20David%20Drummond](http://newenglandhistory.blogspot.com.au/search/label/story%20of%20David%20Drummond)

<sup>470</sup> B Hyams, B Bessant, *Schools for the People*, Longman, Camberwell, 1972, p. 153.

<sup>471</sup> Federal Control of Education, in *SMH*, 30 September 1940, p.10.

<sup>472</sup> Federal Aid For Education, in *SMH*, 13 June 1940, p. 19.

<sup>473</sup> Referendum Campaign: Case for No, in *SMH*, 16 August 1946, p.1.

<sup>474</sup> Federal Powers Supported, in *SMH*, 10 July 1944, p.4.

aftermath of World War I.<sup>475</sup> J P Abbott, the previous UAP Minister of Home Defence, queried why the legislation did not go further and cover primary production.<sup>476</sup>

Menzies not only feared socialism, but the growth of secular education. Speaking to three thousand people assembled at the opening of Canberra's first Catholic college he commented "I don't believe that education can be pagan without being destructive."<sup>477</sup> He believed Secular education was opposed to Christian spiritual values regarding proper relationships between people, as well as between people and god.<sup>478</sup> It lends itself to speculation as to whether his tardy approach to public primary and secondary education, as demonstrated by his constant assertions from 1949-1963 that they were state concerns,<sup>479</sup> was informed by his philosophical predispositions. H C Coombs notes in his memoirs however that Menzies wished to be remembered for helping the University sector, as he did with his pound for pound grant to the states.

However, Menzies either confounds the analyst, or demonstrates the level of permeation of the polity by socialistic concepts, with his election comment in Adelaide in 1949, quoted by Chifley, "If it can be shown some monopoly business exploiting the people, then I would not hesitate to socialise it tomorrow."<sup>480</sup>

### **The Curtin-Chifley Commonwealth Labor Government 1941-49**

The Commonwealth Labor Government worked under the same economic constraints as Menzies and Fadden, but was fundamentally receptive to the idea that social reform need not lag the prosecution of the war and its aftermath. Curtin, whilst in opposition, criticised the last Fadden Budget in a debate over what he called "the ways and means of war."<sup>481</sup> He lamented the policies of the United Australia Party and their inequitable distribution of the National burden, the lack of a pay rise for servicemen, inequitable taxing of the lower socio economic cohort and plans for compulsory public war loans.

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<sup>475</sup> Mr Hughes Urges "Yes" Vote, in *SMH*, 12 August 1944, p.4.

<sup>476</sup> Aim of New Powers, in *SMH*, 15 March 1944, p.9.

<sup>477</sup> Education Centre, in *SMH*, 15 March 1954, p.7.

<sup>478</sup> Danger of Paganism, in *SMH* 9 November 1953, p. 6.

<sup>479</sup> D Smart, *Federal Aid to Australian Schools*, University of Queensland Press, Hong Kong, 1978, p. xiii.

<sup>480</sup> Chifley's Final Broadcast, in *SMH*, 8 December 1949, p. 4.

<sup>481</sup> Labor Attack on Budget, in *SMH*, 2 October 1941, p.9.

Curtin stated in the Federal Parliament that “The Government looks upon the budget as an accounting of material values, and we look upon it as an accounting of human values,”<sup>482</sup> while Heferen (Labor, Barwon), in the NSW Parliament argued the need to “break away from the orthodox system of finance.”<sup>483</sup> Notably, this was the budget where the two Independent members of the Federal Parliament, Wilson and Coles crossed the floor to vote Labor to power.<sup>484</sup>

Consequently, the Curtin Labor Government came to power at the end of 1941, beginning for education what Don Smart called a “highly significant decade, which saw the emergence of a coherent commonwealth policy”<sup>485</sup> with “the first conscious formulation of policy and precedents.”<sup>486</sup> The Commonwealth assumed control of taxation in 1942, helping to ensure the government war economy was increasingly synchronized, focused, and outcome driven.

Again, as in the First World War, import displacing industries were an imperative for survival in a hostile world. Many basic industries were therefore established which needed skilled and educated labour. As well, productive and educational needs arose from facilitating Australia’s role as a supply depot for the United States military forces in the Pacific and Australia, stimulating the Commonwealth to assume a bigger role in education provision, particularly technical and university education. Education became a priority for the execution of the war,<sup>487</sup> the peace, and the *New Order*.

### **Total War with Reform vs. Less than Total War without Reform**

In effect, Labor offered ‘Total War’ as well as social reform through legislation and an institutional platform, while Menzies and Mair-Bruxner offered ‘less than Total War, without social reform’. The Independents who changed sides and therefore the numbers from Menzies and Fadden to Curtin in the Commonwealth Parliament were clearly dissatisfied with Menzies’ and Fadden’s handling of the war.<sup>488</sup> Consequently an

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<sup>482</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>483</sup> Auditor General Defended, in *SMH*, 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1941, p. 11.

<sup>484</sup> Mr Wilson Promises to Support Labor, in *SMH*, 4 October 1941, p.15.

<sup>485</sup> D Smart, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>487</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>488</sup> S J Butlin, *War Economy*, *op. cit.*, p.387, and, Attack on Budget, in *SMH*, 2 October 1941, p. 11.

opportunity for institutional coherence for the prosecution of the war and education reform manifested in 1941 when the *Curtin Federal Labor Ministry* was commissioned and *McKell Labor* won the New South Wales State election.

What the Labor philosophy and policy brought to the fore, and which differentiated the planning from that of World War One was the emphasis on politicisation and citizenship,<sup>489</sup> the corollary of collective aspirational politics within civil society, the premise of the *New Order*. As Spauld stresses, “public service abounded in wartime” engendering “immense” effort by all within the education system.<sup>490</sup> While the combatants learnt more of the horrors of war, students learnt more of “heroism, gallantry and sacrifice.”<sup>491</sup> But to what end? One fundamental ‘end’ was expressed in the sentiment of the enigmatic NSW Commissioner of Police, W S Mackay,<sup>492</sup> in the 1941 Annual Report of the Police Citizens Boys Clubs: “Youth knows no class; it knows no creed save that of its birthright – equality.”<sup>493</sup> As the war progressed, this mentality, along with socialist type systems planning, became increasingly legitimized.

Indeed, “Planning for Peace” had a high profile in the media. A 1943 article announced that Dr Lloyd Ross was to “aid” Dr Coombs as a senior member of the research staff in planning for peace.<sup>494</sup> In short time he became the Director of Public Relations in the Ministry of Post War Reconstruction. Lloyd Ross had been a tutor for the “bourgeois liberal” WEA,<sup>495</sup> State Secretary of the NSW branch of the Australian Railways Union, and a member of the Communist Party of Australia,<sup>496</sup> demonstrating the complexity of institutional and class relations existing between political institutions ranging from bourgeois-Liberal to Communist.

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<sup>489</sup> A Spauld, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*, p.59.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>492</sup> Police Commissioner Mackay gained notoriety during his career as a consequence of his command of the police at the Rothbury Coal Mine riots in 1929 where the coal miner Norman Brown was killed by a ricocheting bullet; his work in eliminating the “Razor Gangs”; his pro-active organization of the infiltration of the New Guard; and for the unseating of De Groot from his horse after his cutting the ribbon at the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 1932.

<sup>493</sup> *NSWPP*, Vol. 1(1940-41), p.267.

<sup>494</sup> Planning for Peace, in *SMH*, Tuesday 28 September 1943, p.4.

<sup>495</sup> Tim Rowse, *Australian Liberalism and National Character*, Kibble Books, Melbourne, 1978, p.46

<sup>496</sup> D McKnight, The Comintern’s Seventh Congress and the Australian Labor Party, in *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 32, No. 3(Jul., 1997), p.404.

Lloyd Ross, Nugget Coombs, and P J Cleary from the ACTU presented papers to the 1945 Social Sciences Summer School. Coombs saw reconstruction as requiring a social ideal, while Ross championed the metaphorical devise of the “everyman” within a nation characterised by Metin’s “socialism without doctrine.”<sup>497</sup> Ross acknowledged the Fabian provenance of the idea. Rowse suggests therefore that the moderate tone is consonant with liberalism because of its convergence with capitalism’s need for social stability,<sup>498</sup> qualifying however that the “social democratic characterology” of Australia favoured Ross’s “everyman.”<sup>499</sup> Nonetheless, one needs to go further and disentangle legitimate socialist dispositions and causality from that of the ‘bourgeois liberal’ hegemony. The correspondence of Coombs and Ross’s strategies to that of a tactically appropriate socialist integration strategy needs to be addressed.

### **The Cold War.**

*A Political Observer* was moved to comment in the Herald in July 1943 that Labor had “risen to the occasion in Australia’s direst straits to provide a government which with all its faults has been unexpectedly superior to its predecessors in its general vigour and efficiency of its war administration.”<sup>500</sup> Two months later a Herald Editorial, penned after Labor’s 1943 Federal election victory, believed that the Government had “a whole hearted popular mandate.”<sup>501</sup> Labor went on to win the 1946 elections.

By 1947 however, the insidious nature of the cold war was starting to bear fruit with anti-communist rhetoric being commonplace in conservative ranks, the labour movement, the media, the Commonwealth, and State Parliaments.

In the Commonwealth Parliament S P Lewis of the NSWTF was accused by Jack Lang of being a communist and disloyal to the nation. While a significant segment of the Labor party agreed with anti-communist legislation and stimulated the anti-communist rhetoric, in particular the Catholic groupers and the Movement led by B A Santamaria, ultimately, Chifley’s and Evatt’s supporters within the Labor Party won the debate and the policy

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<sup>497</sup> Tim Rowse, *op. cit.*, p.132.

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid.*, p.134.

<sup>499</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>500</sup> The Party Struggle, in *SMH*, 10 July 1943, p.8.

<sup>501</sup> Editorial, The New Ranks of Parliament, in *SMH*, 14 September 1943, p.4.

prerogative regarding opposing Menzies' attempts in 1950-1 to ban the Communist party through the Legislature, the High Court and by referendum. So it was that Chifley replied to Lang in the Commonwealth Parliament that "it is not the policy of the Government to restrict the liberty of Australians who do not break the law."<sup>502</sup>

### **What sort of society to reproduce?**

Before I proceed to analyse Commonwealth civil activities it is appropriate to observe the education edge of the new order and total war, the Army Education Service. Those concerned with public policy, from the historian of the First World War, C E W Bean,<sup>503</sup> (who championed the co-operative movement), through Coombs<sup>504</sup> and Lloyd Ross to the liberal conservative Institute of Public Affairs, were aware that the most pertinent post war sociological issue and possible civil dysfunction lie with the reactions of returned service men and women, along with their children, to unacceptable civil conditions and relations of production.

Both the Labor Party and the Institute of Public Affairs understood the negative implications of social unrest without appeasement. Education played an important part in the problems diminution. However, for the conservatives and liberals, public education was more an instrument to placate the population, whereas for the socialists, it was instead an instrument to empower.

### **The Army Education Service**

During the war, education for production and citizenship was a priority, as evident in the Australian Army Education Service.<sup>505</sup> Prime Minister Curtin wanted soldiers to think "clearly and cooperatively, [so as to] lay a foundation for post-war rehabilitation,"<sup>506</sup> while Madgwick, the Director of the corps put it that "The concept of Army Education is based on the proposition that men fight best when they have something to fight for."<sup>507</sup>

Moreover, "Many of those in the AIF have brains as good as the men in Macquarie Street,

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<sup>502</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>503</sup> C E W Bean, Education Greatest Post-War Need, in *SMH*, 3 December 1943, p. 3.

<sup>504</sup> Tim Rowse, *op. cit.*, p.130.

<sup>505</sup> W G K Duncan, Army Education and the Australian Public, in *The Australian Quarterly*, vol. 15, No. 2 June, 1943, p33.

<sup>506</sup> Training for Peace, in *SMH*, 7 March, 1945, p.5.

<sup>507</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

but have never had the chance to prove it.”<sup>508</sup> The Assistant Director of the AIF Education Service, quoted in a Herald editorial believed of the generation of young soldiers that “their school days were blighted by the depression years.”<sup>509</sup> Dymock, who has done significant research in the area, states that the one strong impression he gained of the service was its “humanity.”<sup>510</sup>

Overall, the service had an important role in preparing soldiers for civilian life,<sup>511</sup> and the *New Order*,<sup>512</sup> as the soldiers increasingly realised as the war progressed,<sup>513</sup> and set an important precedent for the advent of adult education. The 4% illiteracy rate within the Army, and which was probably a conservative measurement<sup>514</sup>, demonstrated the need for further education intervention. That the need for education was a normative part of male legitimisation irrespective of one’s socio-economic milieu may be discerned by the comment regarding illiteracy:

In the Army a man gradually parts with most of his personal secrets, but this appeared to be the last secret a man wished to give up.<sup>515</sup>

The reach of the AAES was remarkable given the impediments to delivery, such as the large drawing area, degrees of soldier apathy, limited resources, and changing priorities. The AAES operatives delivered 140,000 lectures with 8,897,717 attending, averaging to approximately nine movements per person. It distributed over 600,000 books. Seventy to eighty percent of the lectures were related to current affairs,<sup>516</sup> and which became the foundation of the Current Affairs Bulletins of the post-war years.

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<sup>508</sup> Army Education Scheme, in *SMH*, 25 April 1941, p.3.

<sup>509</sup> Editorial, in *SMH*, 21 January 1941, p.8.

<sup>510</sup> Darryl Dymock, *A Sweet use of Adversity*, University of New England Press and AAACE, Armidale, 1995, p. X.

<sup>511</sup> Soldiers University, The Army Prepares for Peace, in *SMH*, 23 April 1943, p.2.

<sup>512</sup> Editorial, Return To Civil Work, in *SMH*, 7 February 1944, p.4.

<sup>513</sup> Darryl Dymock, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>514</sup> Saving troops from Menace of Boredom, in *SMH*, 11 January 1946, p.2.

<sup>515</sup> Darryl Dymock, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>516</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

The Chief of the General Staff wanted the AAES to be impartial, and “to keep the men under your command authoritatively informed.”<sup>517</sup> However, situational considerations and zeitgeist came into play. The Director of the Service, Lieutenant Colonel Madgwick had to defend the use of “left” books, saying they were recognised educational books by recognised authors. The aim was education, not propaganda, and that any books outside the criteria would be withdrawn.<sup>518</sup> The communist Frank Hardy<sup>519</sup> was a contributor to SALT, the AAES newspaper which had a circulation of 180,000 per month, the aim of which was to “provide news, discussion on politics, economics and social issues (except military issues).”<sup>520</sup> One of the AAES tutors, the socialist and academic Ian Turner tells of how,

All of us AES lecturers were threatened with the sack...if we loaded our presentation of the For and Against Dr Evatts 1944 constitutional powers referendum, but we were usually able to ensure that the right side won...Occasionally I talked to American units about Australia; my lecture on Australian trade unionism - drawn largely from Fitzpatrick - met almost total incomprehension and unbelief. They hadn't heard of the Labor Government.<sup>521</sup>

Letters to the Editor of the SMH reveal mixed perceptions from the returned soldiers. PK Parbury from Wollongong put it that he complained several times to his superiors about socialist propaganda.<sup>522</sup> In a subsequent letter S L'Estrange concurred, stating “most officers..will agree with PK Parbury.”<sup>523</sup> However, Keith Wood from Sydney who claimed he had occupied “relatively” senior positions within the Army Education Service disagreed with both Parbury and L'Estrange, saying L'Estrange “presumed to tell us what ‘most officers’ think,” the implication being that most officers were guilty of “gross neglect.” However, “such contingencies were well provided for... with meticulous care to instruct all lecturers..[to] present all sides..”<sup>524</sup> A follow up letter from J Wilson, a tutor at The

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<sup>517</sup> Soldier to Citizen, in *SMH*, 29 December 1942, p.4.

<sup>518</sup> “Left” Books for Army, in *SMH*, 25 August 1941, p.4.

<sup>519</sup> National Library of Australia, <http://www.nla.gov.au/ms/findaids/4878.html>

<sup>520</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

<sup>521</sup> *ibid*, p. 251.

<sup>522</sup> Letter to Editor, Socialist Propaganda Medium, in *SMH*, 10 December 1949, p.2.

<sup>523</sup> Letter to Editor, Army Education, in *SMH*, 19 December 1949, p.2.

<sup>524</sup> Letter to Editor, Army Education, in *SMH*, 20 December 1949, p.2.

University of Sydney also criticised Parbury and L'Estrange, conceding however that there were a few socialist "brumbies" whose numbers doubled with the expansion of the service during demobilization.<sup>525</sup>

### **Commonwealth funding**

During the depression, the war, and its aftermath, the Commonwealth Government, more so than today, was the interlocutor between global financial forces and the State Governments, particularly so given the role of the Commonwealth Loans Council to apportion loans to the states. This protocol existed substantially until the phasing out of the Sterling Zone restrictions on borrowing United States dollars around 1952, allowing time for the Pound Sterling to appreciate.<sup>526</sup>

This position assumes crucial significance in relation to the capitalization of Australian public infrastructural development during the depression, the war, and its aftermath. This is particularly so in relation to State loan funds generally, and in relation to education loans specifically. It had historically been the case within the Education Department that consolidated revenue funded wages and on costs, while loan funds facilitated capital plant expansion, that is, schools, technical colleges and universities.<sup>527</sup> During the depression the lack of resources, and a contractionist government response, certainly relative to the previous Lang regime's designation of 25% of its budget to education, compounded the diminution of school construction,<sup>528</sup> assuring the shortfall of facilities in the 1940s-50s. For the duration of the war, calls on British loan finance for state purposes were further reduced, unless used for war, or "essential and urgent" purposes.<sup>529</sup>

Further to this, the Commonwealths prerogative in taxation matters after 1942 induced ongoing demands by NSW for resources which it claimed were hoarded by the Commonwealth and distributed inequitably.<sup>530</sup> It was argued, as almost an annual event in

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<sup>525</sup> Letter to Editor, Army Education Service, in *SMH*, 22 December 1949, p.2.

<sup>526</sup> C Schenk, *Britain and the Sterling Area, From Devaluation to Convertibility in the 1950s*, Routledge, London, 1994, pp. 75-8.

<sup>527</sup> R McDonald, W Radford, P Staurengi, *Review of Education in Australia 1948-54*, ACER, , Melbourne, 1956, p.344.

<sup>528</sup> D Waddington, W Radford, J Keats, *Review of Education in Australia 1940-1948*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1950, p. Xii.

<sup>529</sup> S J Butlin, *War Economy 1939-1942*, Halstead Press, Sydney, 1955, pp. 198, 205, 220, 353, 381-2.

<sup>530</sup> *Federal Grants to States*, in *SMH*, 18 August 1949, p.5.

the Loans Council, that when compounded with the diminution of loan funds, the dearth of resources limited the potential growth of the New South Wales education system.<sup>531</sup>

### **The funding and systems platform**

Nonetheless, within systems building and the creation of institutional platforms for a commonwealth education trajectory, there were several ways in which the Curtin, then Chifley Labor Government's dealt with education and cultural deficits. John Dedman, described by the Sydney Morning Herald as a "full blooded socialist,"<sup>532</sup> became the first Commonwealth Minister of Education. However, the State Governments prerogative within the education domain dictated that Dedman become a "backroom reformer", particularly so in the high powered and influential Walker Committee, of which Coombs, of whom I will speak more later, Millis, who devised the Commonwealths singe tax system, and Wyndham, who would help steer education reform in NSW, were members, and which helped define the Commonwealth's education responsibilities unto itself and the states as part of a larger welfare mandate and critique. Citing the recommendations of the Joint Committee on Social security, the Committee argued that "education is essentially a social service which should be nationally controlled and should provide in reality, equality of opportunity for all Australians alike... there can be no New Order... at present levels [of funding]."<sup>533</sup>

The Department of Post War Reconstruction, The Universities Commission 1942, The Commonwealth Financial Assistance Scheme 1943, The Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme 1944, and The Australian Army Education Service were created. Universities, technical education, and to a limited degree preschools and kindergartens<sup>534</sup> began to receive Commonwealth funding.

The Department of Post War Reconstruction functioned from 1942 to 1945 under Minister Chifley, then Minister Dedman from 1945 to 1949, becoming an important instrument in the planning for the peace and the new social order, and an important component of the education and welfare matrix.

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<sup>531</sup> Conference of Commonwealth and State Ministers, 1947, in *NSWPP*, (1948-9-50 Session) Vol. 1, p.125.

<sup>532</sup> Choosing New Ministry, in *SMH*, 4 October 1941, p.12.

<sup>533</sup> J Hughes, *op. cit.*, p.78.

<sup>534</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, pp. 249, 255.

### **The permeation of socialist process ideas within the Public Service.**

The Department attracted young, highly educated people with a strong social conscience.<sup>535</sup> One such operative was the Director General of the Department of Post War Reconstruction from 1943 to 1945, Nugget Coombs. During his long career he was one of only two economists at the central bank, the Commonwealth Bank, beginning in 1935 alongside Professor Melville.<sup>536</sup> Then moving to the Commonwealth Treasury, again, he became one of only two economists in a very strategic position, as would characterise his career. In his late twenty's he was appointed by Chifley, whom he considered to be a friend, as a Board Member of the Commonwealth Bank, to the incredulity of Directors appointed by previous longstanding conservative administrations.<sup>537</sup> He was appointed by Chifley to the position of the Director of Rationing in 1942, then in 1943 to the position of the Director General of the Department of Post War reconstruction. In 1949 he became the first Governor of the Reserve bank.

He was an economist, socialist 'fellow traveller,' and associate of the 'Red Dean of Canterbury,' the British socialist theorist, and chairman of the British Labour Party, Harold Laski.<sup>538</sup> Coombs saw Keynesian theory as one of his seminal intellectual influences.<sup>539</sup> When Menzies won office in 1949 Coombs was aware of machinations within the new regime for his dismissal. However he recounts Menzies saying that he (Menzies) overruled the machinations on the basis that his (Menzies) brother had said that Coombs was all right. Moreover, Chifley, who Menzies always consulted on important matters, unbeknownst to his own Liberal party, said that Coombs never made decisions on the basis of politics. Coombs told the interviewer that Chifley was "stretching it a bit."<sup>540</sup> One of Australia's most prominent public servants, he has been described as a "controlled, low key, sagacious servant of the people."<sup>541</sup>

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<sup>535</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 197-8.

<sup>536</sup> H C Coombs, Former Senior Public Servant, Interview with Robin Hughes, Film Australia, *Australian Biographical Series*, 1992, Tape 2.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*, Tape 3.

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.*, Tape 2.

<sup>539</sup> R Gollan, *op. cit.*, p.114.

<sup>540</sup> H C Coombs, *op. cit.*, Tape 6.

<sup>541</sup> <http://www.science.org.au/fellows/memoirs/coombs.html>.

Coombs was strongly moved by his experiences in the ‘Great’ depression. He appreciated the connection between education, full employment and social cohesion, as substantiated by the *Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security* in October 1942,<sup>542</sup> and argued with Curtin and Chifley for a greater role for the Commonwealth in education. He was successful in influencing the creation of the Commonwealth Financial Assistance Scheme in 1943 to harness the potential of those from the low socio-economic cohort for university studies,<sup>543</sup> the Commonwealth Office of Education in 1944, the Commonwealth Education ACT 1945, and the Australian National University Act 1946.

We believed profoundly that the will to solve these problems was within us but were conscious that much of the knowledge necessary to their solution was lacking. It was this consciousness that underlay the decision to establish the University, which we saw as a kind of intellectual power-house for the rebuilding of society.<sup>544</sup>

### **A basket of priorities**

However, in spite of Coombs exhortations regarding education, and the leaders of the Labor Parties in principle agreement, they were limited by other priorities and impediments, such as the constitutional constraints, the demobilization of the Military forces in 1946, the structural adjustments to banking, and socialised medicine through the Pharmaceutical Benefits Programme within a national health care scheme. In their turn all reforms propositions were passed by both houses of parliament which engendered intense opposition from the banking and medical industries, Liberal Party, and the press. Further, ironically, the states wished to keep their own state ‘nationalised’ banks. As Chifley later claimed in 1951, the Labor Party had “practically the whole of the Australian press, backed by vested interests against us.”<sup>545</sup> Eventually the reforms were successfully contested in the High Court on constitutional grounds.

The banking industry opposed the Banking Acts while the British Medical Association and the insurance industry opposed public medicine and the National Health Service Act of

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<sup>542</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p.218.

<sup>543</sup> Millions Set Aside to Help Needy Students, in *SMH*, 20 October 1949, p.2.

<sup>544</sup> S G Foster and M Varghese, *The Making of the Australian National University*, St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1996, p. 19.

<sup>545</sup> Bitter Attack on Press, in *SMH*, 17 April 1951, p.1.

1948. 18 of the 23 Directors of the Medical Benefits Fund of Australia were members of the British Medical Association.<sup>546</sup> One of their supporters in the community was moved to write that money spent on public pharmaceuticals would be better spent fighting disease.<sup>547</sup> Only a truncated Pharmaceutical Benefits Act of 1947 saw the light of day in 1950. A comprehensive public health scheme had to wait until the Whitlam Commonwealth Labor Government introduced Medibank in 1972.

### **The importance of the ‘Yes’ vote for Commonwealth engagement in welfare and education.**

Education reform moreover had its specific problems associated with the possibility of internal Labor party division associated with funding private and Catholic schools, as well as the constitutional and informal political-territorial-control impediments relating to states’ rights within the division of powers.<sup>548</sup> The constitutional impediments were mitigated to a significant degree by the 1946 Referendum which enabled the Commonwealth to provide assistance to students. In spite of most Commonwealth propositions, such as those in relation to the continuation of wartime regulations to minimise inflation and coordinate the peace being defeated, the portent of the yes vote for the Commonwealth’s participation in welfare and education provision was substantial.

Given the outcome of the referendum, in October 1949 the Herald announced a government initiative with “Millions set aside to help needy students” giving “Australian children better opportunities for education than ever before.” Three thousand scholarships were to be offered per annum, valued at nine hundred thousand pounds per year, and the two and a half million pounds in proceeds from the Services Canteen Fund was to finance the education and post graduate studies of the children of returned servicemen and women.<sup>549</sup> In a precursor to Menzies’s Murray inquiry in the 1960s regarding Universities, Chifley mooted a federal inquiry regarding universities, “if the states agree.”<sup>550</sup> By 1949 the Government was in the process of training 198,000 returned servicemen through the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme.<sup>551</sup>

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<sup>546</sup> BMA Attacked on Benefits, in *SMH*, 25 July 1943, p.4.

<sup>547</sup> Letter to Editor, Medicine Scheme, in *SMH*, 24 June 1948, p.2.

<sup>548</sup> J O’Brien, *A Divided Unity*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1987, p.9.

<sup>549</sup> Millions Set Aside to Help Needy Students, in *SMH*, 20 October 1949, p.2.

<sup>550</sup> Federal Inquiry on Universities if States Agree, in *SMH*, 26 October 1949, p.5.

<sup>551</sup> 48,000 Trained, 150,000 Training is Record Of the CRTS, in *SMH*, 28 July 1949, p. 2.

In November 1949 a *New Deal* in education for Aborigines in the Northern Territory was announced by the Minister for the Interior, Mr H V Johnson, one where Government Schools would have trained teachers teaching the English and local dialect, arithmetic, social studies, craft work, nature studies and health education. Educational aids such as “libraries of books and film strips” would be incorporated so as to facilitate adult education in evening classes.<sup>552</sup>

Under his auspices as Minister for Post War Reconstruction, Chifley penned an article, *Planning For Peace*, in which he quoted the British Home Secretary Herbert Morrison regarding planning: “If considerable control is right and useful today, nobody can assume that some degree of control will be wrong and dangerous tomorrow.”<sup>553</sup> In 1947 the ALP Federal Executive discussed plans to “control” education.<sup>554</sup> Ian Birch records Dedman claiming a firm commitment to the creation of a Commonwealth Department of Education and Science if Labor had been returned to power in 1949.<sup>555</sup>

However, planning became synonymous with socialism to the extent that the 1949 Social Science Summer School was characterised in the media as “a fight between the planners..and [the] anti-socialist block,”<sup>556</sup> while the Herald editorial thought that “the whole question of reforming the constitution has been complicated by the emergence under the Chifley regime of socialization.”<sup>557</sup> It was a regime that Chifley claimed increased welfare spending from eighteen million pounds in 1938 to one hundred million pounds in 1949,<sup>558</sup> and which had overseen the growth of assistance to the states from half a million pounds in 1939 to fifteen million in 1949.<sup>559</sup>

Importantly, an administrative platform within Commonwealth structures had been constructed and informed by Labor’s socialist ideological propensity to action regarding

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<sup>552</sup> New Deal in Education of Aborigines, in *SMH*, 5 November 1949, p.2.

<sup>553</sup> J B Chifley, *Planning For Peace*, in *SMH*, 1 December 1943, p. 6.

<sup>554</sup> Agenda for A.L.P., in *SMH*, 6 May 1947, p. 4.

<sup>555</sup> I Birch, *Commonwealth, Participation in Education 1901-1964*, in I Birch, D Smart, (Eds) *The Commonwealth Government and Education 1964-1976*, Drummond, Richmond, 1977, p. 19.

<sup>556</sup> Clash on Grant of Extra Power to Commonwealth, in *SMH*, 31 January 1949, p. 4.

<sup>557</sup> States Powers Without Power, in *SMH*, 1 February 1949, p. 2.

<sup>558</sup> Chifley Gives Labour Policy, in *SMH*, 15 November 1949, p. 4.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibid.*

welfare generally and education specifically. As Birch contends in relation to education: “they not only accepted certain commitments in that decade, but planned their future responsibilities as well.”<sup>560</sup>

Nonetheless, the high profile of the Communist led coal strike, and the conservative’s vocal, well financed and sophisticated opposition within the media to planning and regulation, synonymous with the anathema of socialism to the Liberal-Country Party, the banks, the British Medical Association and their supporters, saw the Menzies Liberal-Country Party Coalition win the 1949 Commonwealth election on a de-socialization platform.<sup>561</sup> In spite of Labor controlling the Senate, the consequences for education were immediate, with the number of staff at the Commonwealth Office of Education falling from 375 to 191, then transferred to the administration of the NSW Government,<sup>562</sup> as the Commonwealth’s education momentum declined.

However, in NSW, the victory of the Labor Party, and the consolidation of its control until 1965 underlined the limitations of the anti-communist, anti-socialist, and anti-Labor cold war rhetoric, and the allure of a regime which advocated normalised public welfare and public education corresponding to the socialist process, which would have a direct impact on people’s lives.

### **The Government of New South Wales 1941-55**

On the occasion of the opening of State Parliament on the 23 July 1941, in Labor’s Address in Reply to the Governor General, the Hon. A W McNamara moved that “Total” war “must go hand in hand with justice for those who make that effort possible”<sup>563</sup> Moreover, “Much has been said of a ‘new order’, and legislation is foreshadowed in His Excellency’s speech that will give effect to it.”<sup>564</sup>

The Labor Party wishes to give unlimited facilities to the children of the working classes from the kindergarten stage to the University.<sup>565</sup>

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<sup>560</sup> | Birch, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>561</sup> Oppositions Full Programme in *SMH*, 12 November 1949.

<sup>562</sup> *SMH*, 22 February 1952, p. 7.

<sup>563</sup> *NSWPP*, 23 July, 1941, pp. 5-6.

<sup>564</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibid*, p.14.

William McKell, the new Premier, indicated his ministry would spend five hundred thousand pounds “...in excess of any previous annual education expenditure in the history of New South Wales.”<sup>566</sup> As it happened, not counting for inflation, it took from 1941 to 1949 to double the funding from approximately six to twelve million pounds, and thereafter to triple to approximately thirty six million pounds by 1956. In all, a sixfold increase in 14 years, when calculating without adjusting for inflation. However, when using ACER’s figures where inflation is factored, and recalling that inflation spiked at 20% and more in the early fifties, and transposed to cost per student, the funding only increases by approximately 60% over 14 years. We see that the figure increases from sixteen pounds per student in 1941, to eighteen pounds in 1946<sup>567</sup>, reaching twenty seven pounds in 1955<sup>568</sup>. These figures reflect the rapid growth of the post war student population, a consequence of the baby boom, higher retention rates, and immigration, from 350,348 in 1940 to 496,550 in 1955<sup>569</sup>, an increase of 146,202 students in 15 years.

### **The Education Reconstruction Debate**

The ideas of some independent members of the NSW Legislative Assembly, such as the Reverend Mr Macdonald, a former UAP member, converged with those of the Labor Party. Mr McGrath (Labor, Rockdale) quipped that Mr Macdonald “might have been present at one of our party meetings.”<sup>570</sup> On the 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1941 Macdonald moved in the Legislative Assembly:

That in the opinion of this house, (1) There is immediate need for a reconstruction of the State education system with a view to providing a more modern programme and more adequate facilities for education in a democratic community; and (2) pursuant to this purpose, the Commonwealth Loan Council be asked to authorise the floatation of an Education Loan within this state of five million pounds.

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<sup>566</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 September 1941, pp.1281-2.

<sup>567</sup> D Waddington, W Radford, J Keats, *Review of Education in Australia 1940-1948*, ACER, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1950, p. 242.

<sup>568</sup> ACER, *Review of Education in Australia, 1955-1962*, ACER, Melbourne, 1964, p.369.

<sup>569</sup> NSW Department of Education and Training, *Government Schools in NSW: 1848-2003*, Sydney, 2003, pp. 213-214.

<sup>570</sup> Mr McGrath, *NSWPP*, 23 September 1941, p. 1296.

The motion presses for a full review of the States commitments and responsibilities regarding education...there is immediate need for the revision and reconstruction of the state education system...a program of education for democratic world citizenship...I feel strongly that Parliament has a rendezvous with destiny.<sup>571</sup>

Mr Fowles (Labor, Illawarra) supported the motion given that “many reforms go hand in hand with what we are pleased to call the New Order in Education.”<sup>572</sup>

**Reformists say plenty of money for investment in education-the UAP-CP say no money.**

The initial debate went for three days, spread over eight weeks, as is the nature of parliamentary scheduling. Macdonald argued that given the Commonwealth spent “five million pounds per week on destruction, is it too much to ask that five million be spent on instruction?” and that “The least we can do is to see that the birthright of the children of our state is not filched from them and that they have the right to progress despite the war.”<sup>573</sup> Education needed to be seen as an essential service, and moreover “we have now the opportunity to enable the mother state of the Commonwealth to set an example to the rest of the world”<sup>574</sup> He argued that the five million pound loan should not be seen as a “quixotic ideal,” recommending that the Loan Council authorise NSW to raise its own loan given there was “plenty of money available today. Look at the share market and the amount of money being earned and saved.”<sup>575</sup> If the extreme rapidity with which the public subscribed to War Bonds is any indication, domestic funds were not wanting.

While Macdonald said he was not there to criticise the last Government, Mr Lethbridge, (Independent, Cowra) was not so inclined. He believed

the last government was in office for some nine years, and during that time we were told, as each budget was introduced, that things were

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<sup>571</sup> Mr Macdonald, *NSWPP*, 23 September 1941.

<sup>572</sup> *NSWPP*, 25 September 1941, p.1291.

<sup>573</sup> Mr Macdonald, *NSWPP*, 23 September 1941, p. 1285.

<sup>574</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>575</sup> *ibid.*, p. 1286.

flourishing...and that there would be plenty of money for most things within the state, except for the one all important thing, education.

He was correct in his doubts as to whether the necessary finances would be obtained given the reticence of the loan council, however,

the motion will have the effect of drawing the attention of the public in this state and throughout Australia to the fact that there is an urgent need for money..so that additional education facilities may be provided for the children.<sup>576</sup>

Labor and independent members lamented that the P&C was left to fund and “cadge” for educational resources, that teachers were underpaid, that a single teaching certificate was needed, and that the NSWTF request for school libraries was fundamental given education necessitated their provision.<sup>577</sup> Mr Fowles added that under Drummond the budget had been balanced for 9 years, but nothing had been done for education.<sup>578</sup>

The opposition Leader, Mair, opposed the motion, and obviously disagreed with Macdonald’s contention that there was no lack of financial resources in spite of the war. Mair was unequivocal that there should be no funding of education reform for the duration of the war.<sup>579</sup> Mr Hunter (Croydon UAP) argued the substance of the conservative position; “How can we expect in these serious times...to have five million pounds placed at our disposal ...for education?”<sup>580</sup> Mr Landa, (Labor, Bondi), replied that

Many young Australians are destined never to see their fathers. There are many fathers who have enlisted and who have sacrificed, or will yet sacrifice their lives in the cause for which we are fighting, and it would be but a small token of appreciation to make some definite steps towards the improvement of conditions for their children.<sup>581</sup>

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<sup>576</sup> Mr Macdonald, *NSWPP*, 23 September 1941, p. 1286.

<sup>577</sup> *NSWPP*, 23 September 1941, pp. 1286-92.

<sup>578</sup> Mr Fowles, (Labor Illawarra), in *NSWPP*, 23 September 1941, p. 1291.

<sup>579</sup> Mr Mair, *NSWPP*, 7 October 1941, p. 1588.

<sup>580</sup> Mr McGrath, *NSWPP*, 23 September 1941, pp. 1286-9.

<sup>581</sup> Mr Landa, *NSWPP*, 7 October 1941, p.1585.

In response, Mr A Reid (UAP) asked, “Does the Hon. Member think that the father who is absent at the war would prefer this money to be spent on education rather than ammunition?” Landa replied that “He would be happy if he knew that his child was being cared for adequately and I can think of no better way of caring for the child than by giving it a proper education to fully equip it for the battle of life.”<sup>582</sup>

Mr Weir (Labor, Dulwich Hill), suggested that “nothing is more important at the present juncture than the education of the children.”<sup>583</sup> He criticized Mair for his contention that educational streaming was required, with the implication education would be wasted on some people. They would in a sense be overeducated, with professional people walking the streets with their “seats out of their pants,” while there was a “dearth” of skilled labour.<sup>584</sup> We may observe that while in a sense Mair was lauding the dignity of labour, in another way he was reaffirming the telos of capitalist class or status streaming. Weir thought instead, that parents were acting properly if they wished for their children to be highly educated, and that “The motive for all social reform is probably a feeling on the part of parents to improve the position of their children.”<sup>585</sup>

Drummond asked for amendments to the Bill’s proposition regarding Educational Reconstruction, on the basis of, exactly “what...should be... restructured?”<sup>586</sup> JJ Cahill (Young, Labor) replied that “It would appear that the motion deals with the need for a reconstruction of the education system, while the amendment deals more with the need for an enquiry into the system with a view to post war reconstruction.”<sup>587</sup> Macdonald, the mover, accepted the amendments.

Though eminently reasonable, Drummond’s pettifogging assured that the momentum for an initial bold statement and funding was lost. However, the aligning of public education institutions in their endeavours to see education reform, and increases in funding, could not be stymied.

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<sup>582</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1585.

<sup>583</sup> Mr Weir, (Labor, Dulwich Hill), *NSWPP*, 7 October 1941, p. 1602.

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 October 1941, p. 1590.

<sup>585</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1602.

<sup>586</sup> Mr Drummond (Armidale, UAP), *NSWPP*, 4 November, 1941, p. 2322.

<sup>587</sup> Mr Cahill (Young, Labor), *NSWPP*, 4 November, 1941, p.2336.

### **Functioning system under dysfunctional circumstances**

Nonetheless during the war years, in spite of the institutional enthusiasm for reform engendered, the education bureaucracy and teachers were completely occupied with maintaining a functioning system under dysfunctional circumstances. The Public Service Board noted that the reduction in teacher numbers, the rise in class sizes, the advent of increased delinquency, as well as the lack of resources such as writing paper saw "...a greatly increased burden imposed on the administrative staff."<sup>588</sup> One teacher schools were particularly hard hit when their teachers joined the military, with 150 schools being closed by 1942.<sup>589</sup>

However, there was room for reform. Drummond's Aboriginal school segregation policy was rescinded; the fees for undertaking the Leaving and Intermediate exams were eliminated;<sup>590</sup> more experiments in intelligence testing were undertaken;<sup>591</sup> high school entrance exams were abolished, excepting for bursaries;<sup>592</sup> the introduction of Portable buildings was commenced;<sup>593</sup> and aid for the neglected libraries movement was increased.<sup>594</sup> In this program the State Government subsidised municipal libraries. In 1944 there were two municipal libraries, rising to thirty four in 1947.<sup>595</sup>

### **Technical and higher education**

In spite of the impediments outlined the enabling of technical and higher education, traditionally state concerns, was seen as an imperative prerequisite for 'total war' production and the future industrialization of the economy. By Rostow's criteria the *drive to maturity* was ending as the advent of *the age of mass consumption* dawned.<sup>596</sup> A new degree of technical exactitude was required, and it was understood by the state, as

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<sup>588</sup> 45<sup>th</sup> Annual Report, *New South Wales Public Service Board, NSWPP, 1941-2, Volume 1, Second Session*, p.420.

<sup>589</sup> 150 Schools are Still Closed, in *SMH*, 9 April 1942, p.5.

<sup>590</sup> Entrance Fees Abolished, in *SMH, Herald*, 6 June 1942, p.8.

<sup>591</sup> Intelligence Tests, in *SMH*, 24 August 1942, p.4.

<sup>592</sup> Admittance to High Schools, in *SMH*, 30 April 1943, p.4.

<sup>593</sup> Portable Rooms For Schools, in *SMH*, 31 May 1943, p.4.

<sup>594</sup> Aid for Children's Libraries, in *SMH*, 8 January 1944, p.8.

<sup>595</sup> Library Movement Grows, in *SMH*, 29 January 1947, p.10.

<sup>596</sup> WW Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, Cambridge, Cambridge, 1961, p.4.

demonstrated during World War One, that deficiencies in the skill base were dysfunctional to productively. The future of production was knowledge intensive, the corollary to capital intensive.

Moreover, education was a premise and consequence of the growth of the ‘white-collar’ “dependent... middle class... employee,”<sup>597</sup> as opposed to the elite bourgeoisie of Marx’s era, or the small scale entrepreneurial and professional petty bourgeoisie of later periods. They were not a small elite, instead the new ‘white collar’ phenomenon represented the morphing of the working class’s skill base away from simply manual labour. However, both white and blue collar workers needed enhanced skills so as to underpin economic developments trajectory away from simply staple agriculture and the pastoral industry.

The blue collar phenomenon therefore was not a thing of the past. The imperative of war production, and the modern era of ‘mass consumption’, industrial production and value adding, dependent on physical labour with technical expertise still spoke loud and clear. Technical education, premised on State Government control with Commonwealth assistance grew at an expeditious rate, from 38,536 students in 1940 to 60,185 students in 1947. Plans for a “ring” of technical schools around Sydney, and in country districts was announced in 1945.<sup>598</sup>

### **Feeder schools**

Crucially, the states centralization and expansion of technical education with Commonwealth help became the underpinning of ‘total war’ and the long boom. Nonetheless, feeder institutions were required. Educational pathways dependent on primary, then high schools were a fundamental need. The public viewed the issue very seriously, a Herald Editorial stating that “in the street, on the air, in Houses of Parliament, in women’s clubs, wherever one goes, men and women are advancing proposals for education reform.”<sup>599</sup>

Expanding tax receipts within state and federal spheres, a consequence of the ‘Long Boom’ would in time enable the accelerated construction of high schools, competing however for funding with the cold war military stance and post war housing, hospital, and

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<sup>597</sup> A Barcan, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

<sup>598</sup> State Governments Big Post War Plans, in *SMH*, 8 March 1945, p.2.

<sup>599</sup> Editorial, in *SMH*, 23 December 1944, p.2.

transport infrastructure needs. In spite of these impediments funding for building increased fivefold between 1948 and 1954, rising from (rounded) 1,027,000 pounds to 5,378,000 pounds per annum.<sup>600</sup>

### **Clive Evatt**

The first State Minister for education in the McKell Ministry was Clive Evatt. Evatt, like his predecessor Drummond, was passionate about education. Unlike Drummond, he worked closely, and was philosophically aligned with the Teachers Federation. Ex Teachers Federation members became Ministerial advisors.<sup>601</sup> J Hughes contends that the Federation persuaded Evatt to sideline Wyndham's advancement which consequently induced Wyndham to move to Commonwealth employment for the duration of the war.<sup>602</sup> This proved to be a good thing, allowing for the professional development and the enculturation of Wyndham regarding redistribution theory and processes in the Federal domain.

While on the opposition bench Evatt put questions to Education Minister Drummond in the Legislative Assembly which the NSWTF had proposed. In government the relationship continued, albeit with hiccups, such as when the Federation lobbied to stop Evatt's prohibition of corporal punishment<sup>603</sup> and when sections of the Federation opposed experiments in co-education at Canterbury Boys High and St George Girls High.<sup>604</sup>

Overall the informal arrangement with the NSWTF enhanced the perception that the new government was steering the education debate as opposed to the Federation.<sup>605</sup> The Federation was for a few years delighted that Evatt was the new Education Minister. Little wonder, when in spite of the problems outlined, he advocated "Freedom For Teachers,"<sup>606</sup> in that inspectors should advise instead of examine, which was consistent with Federation policy; authorised that left handed students could be admitted to teachers colleges;<sup>607</sup>

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<sup>600</sup> R McDonald, W Radford, P Staurengi, *Review of Education in Australia 1948-54*, ACER, , Melbourne, 1956, p.97.

<sup>601</sup> J Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>602</sup> *Ibid*, p.70.

<sup>603</sup> Exit the Cane, in *SMH*, 2 August 1941, p10; Ban on Cane to be Reviewed, in *SMH*, 30 August 1941, p.1.

<sup>604</sup> Ministers Move Resented, in *SMH*, 9 August 1943, p. 6.

<sup>605</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>606</sup> Freedom for Teachers, in *SMH*, 5 September 1941, p. 8.

<sup>607</sup> Left Handed Students, Teachers College Ban Lifted, in *SMH*, 10 November 1943, p. 6.

supported a recommendation by the NSWTF to reduce the student homework load, and therefore the teacher homework load during the war;<sup>608</sup> and, displaying his “progressive education” tendencies “invited teachers to disregard the syllabus where, by so doing, they felt they could improve the schooling of the children”;<sup>609</sup> he “Wanted Schools to be Happy Places.”

People say to me, ‘flog the children, and punish them if they misbehave’, I say why not reverse the process and see what kindness and understanding can do. I want to give my scheme a fair trial. I suppose any reform is hard to carry out, and I can stand attacks if I have public support.<sup>610</sup>

Like past and future Ministers of Education, Evatt had to harness scarce resources for an expanding system with both short and long term imperatives. The day to day needs of the education system in times of war demanded his full attention, with the lack of resources being reflected in the continuation of strike action, that is, the withdrawal of children from particular schools by the P&C.

Nonetheless, he quickly rescinded Drummond’s 1937 instruction to segregate Aboriginal students from their white classmates, a commitment Heffron would reinforce,<sup>611</sup> promoted an austerity uniform that stressed function over style on the basis of economy and the needs of war,<sup>612</sup> extended the free milk program to those schools where students needed nutritional support,<sup>613</sup> increased the number of technical education courses, introduced correspondence courses for servicemen and women, made day attendance at technical college compulsory for apprentices, as opposed to night instruction, increased bursary transfers,<sup>614</sup> and advocated the reduction of university fees, arguing that education should be “free at every age and every stage,”<sup>615</sup> eliciting a Herald editorial that questioned his claim that fees were prohibitive.<sup>616</sup>

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<sup>608</sup> Reduction In Homework- Minister Supports Teachers, in *SMH*, 22 November 1943, p.4.

<sup>609</sup> Shortage of Teachers, in *SMH*, 21 December 1943, p. 4.

<sup>610</sup> Wants Schools to be Happy Places, in *SMH*, 24 March 1942, p.4.

<sup>611</sup> A Barcan, Three Pathways to Change in NSW Education, 1937-1952, in, *Education Research and Perspectives*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 2009.

<sup>612</sup> Austerity Clothes, in *SMH*, 21 September 1942, p.5.

<sup>613</sup> Free Milk for Schools, in *SMH*, 30 October 1942, p. 9.

<sup>614</sup> New Bursary Scale, in *SMH*, 12 October 1942, p.4.

<sup>615</sup> University Fees Opposed, in *SMH*, 31 August 1942, p. 4.

<sup>616</sup> Editorial, University Fees, in *SMH*, 1 September 1942, p.4.

## **Child Welfare**

It can be argued that welfare and education have a high degree of correspondence, and it seems that the correlation may have been identified when Child Welfare was designated to the Education Minister's portfolio. Until 1956, responsibility for Child Welfare lay within the Education Minister's brief. Child Welfare termed by David Macrae in a letter to the Sydney Morning Herald as "the graveyard of buried hopes,"<sup>617</sup> was in a terrible mess. Evatt caused some consternation to his party colleagues and the bureaucracy for his exuberant, humane, disposition. Macrae argued that Evatt "inherited the legacy of the past government, in dilapidated homes, such as Parramatta, with its prison like atmosphere."<sup>618</sup>

### **Opposed to solitary confinement and the lash.**

Addressing a meeting of the Feminist Club Evatt put it that he was guardian to four thousand children, and would "make guardianship a reality, instead of the sham it had been sometimes (sic),"<sup>619</sup> and later, "I am opposed to solitary confinement and the lash."<sup>620</sup> Six months after taking on the portfolio from Drummond, such strong language as the above elicited criticism from the status quo through the press,<sup>621</sup> with accusations that under Evatt's administration riots had taken place at the Parramatta Girls Home, that more girls than before had been sent to Long Bay Jail, and that boys were escaping from the Gosford institution.

Evatt denied his actions caused the problems, and ridiculed the affidavits from the former superintendent W J Peak and The Reverend Edward Walker accusing Evatt of promising lipstick and weekly picture nights to the girls at the institution, and generally being on paternal terms with the female inmates. Evatt described The Reverend Walker as "Some low person disguised as a Minister," and that "the criticism of the Parramatta Girls Home is particularly cruel. Critics have besmirched children who have had little or no chance in life and who are at present making a brave effort towards useful citizenship."<sup>622</sup> Evatt overruled Peak, who had recommended that a certain girl, whose mother had died and

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<sup>617</sup> David Macrae, Letter to the Editor, Child Welfare in *SMH*, 17 October 1942, p.6.

<sup>618</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>619</sup> Reforming Child Delinquents, in, *SMH*, 30 July 1941, p5.

<sup>620</sup> Girls Home Problem, in *SMH*, 22 October 1942, p7.

<sup>621</sup> Criticism of Mr Evatt, in *SMH*, 1 October 1942, p. 6.

<sup>622</sup> Resentment of Criticism, in *SMH*, 23 March 1942, p 7.

whose father was in the Australian Infantry Forces, should be sent to Long Bay Jail.<sup>623</sup> Evatt commented “I have been accused of letting my heart rule my head.”<sup>624</sup> The NSWTF signalled their support for the Minister.<sup>625</sup> Things came to a head when Evatt’s attitude was declared via the SMH:

The girls had never been treated as human beings until the Labor Party had taken office. He referred to ‘isolated detention’ and alleged that Mr Peak used to ‘bash those girls according to the girls. We know that lying and cruelty often go together, and we know Peak’s a liar.’<sup>626</sup>

By June 1943 the Child Welfare Advisory Council issued a report in relation to delinquency and the bureaucracy, which the Editor of the Sydney Morning Herald saw as indicating that “the actual offenders were less to blame than the officials charged with their care,”<sup>627</sup> and that further, Mr Evatt has “no qualifications as a reformer other than a kind heart and a desire to do things that are not possible under present conditions.”<sup>628</sup> The Roman Catholic Bishop of Goulburn Dr T McGuire said Mr Evatt “was ahead of his time.”<sup>629</sup>

Evatt remained Education Minister until the putative ‘eccentricities’ of his humanist nature,<sup>630</sup> as well as clashes of style and intent within the Labour Caucus saw Heffron become the new Minister of Education in 1944.

### **Robert Heffron**

In relation to child welfare, Heffron, the old ‘Trades Hall Red’, continued where Evatt left off, overseeing the construction of new buildings and generally instituting more humane standards of care.<sup>631</sup> He saw the conditions at the Albion Street Boy’s Shelter as “utterly impossible,”<sup>632</sup> and pronounced in rebuttal to complaints opposing the construction of

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<sup>623</sup> Criticism of Mr Evatt, in *SMH*, 1 October 1942, p.6.

<sup>624</sup> Minister Replies to Pamphlet, in *SMH*, 2 October 1942, p. 9.

<sup>625</sup> Teachers Supports Minister, in *SMH*, 24 March 1942, p7.

<sup>626</sup> Child Welfare Control in *SMH*, 14 October 1942, p9.

<sup>627</sup> Editorial, Juvenile Delinquency, in *SMH*, 3 June 1943, p.4.

<sup>628</sup> Editorial, *Child Welfare and Mr Evatt*, in *SMH*, 24 October 1942, p.8.

<sup>629</sup> Bishop Praises Mr Evatt, in *SMH*, 6 November 1942, p. 9.

<sup>630</sup> Career of Mr C Evatt, in *SMH*, 1 April 1954, p.3.

<sup>631</sup> Child Welfare Changes, in *SMH*, 14 July 1944, p.5.

<sup>632</sup> Boy’s Shelter Criticised, in *SMH*, 19 July 1944, p.5.

Yasmar Boys Home at Ashfield, that delinquent children were “God’s children, not untouchable lepers”.<sup>633</sup> Given that Heffron was an atheist, to the extent of being a leading light in the Rationalist Association of NSW,<sup>634</sup> his utilization of the god metaphor, indicates he was not beyond utilizing the utility of the legitimizing power of religion to effect a change in public consciousness. In 1945 the SMH claimed Heffron had undertaken a “systematic program of practical reforms.”<sup>635</sup>

Welfare improvement was from a very low base rate, and still, today, is found wanting, with the young, old, the under educated in welfare protocols, the infirm, and Aborigines, falling through the net. However, without the humanity of Evatt and the continuity of Heffron a beginning in changing administrative culture and systems would have been further truncated.

Heffron had a keen interest in education. In relation to children he believed, if we are to take him at his word, and expressed in a book published by the Education Department that “*To-Morrow is Theirs*”,<sup>636</sup> and, that education needed to be improved radically.<sup>637</sup> Importantly a real politic costing was incorporated, Heffron enjoining the public to demand appropriate funding. Excluding Child Welfare, the additional capital expenditure required equalled 37 million pounds (rounded), while the additional annual expenditure required equalled 10 million pounds.<sup>638</sup>

Both the conservatives in opposition and the NSWTF argued that education did not have sufficient priority within the State Labor Government’s fiscal allocation. Heffron agreed,<sup>639</sup> even when receiving a record vote of funds in the Legislative Assembly. In 1947 Heffron responded to the NSWTF that half the states taxes went to education.<sup>640</sup> By 1952

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<sup>633</sup> Delinquents Gods Children, in *SMH*, 23 November 1944, p. 4.

<sup>634</sup> R Carr Robert, *James Heffron (1890-1978)*, in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/heffron-robert-james-10476>, p. 1.

<sup>635</sup> *A New Approach To Problem of Child Delinquency*, in *SMH*, 1 March 1945, p.2.

<sup>636</sup> R J Heffron, *To-Morrow (sic) is Theirs: The Present and Future of Education in New South Wales*, Department of Education Sydney, December 1946.

<sup>637</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>638</sup> J Heffron, *op. cit.*, p.134.

<sup>639</sup> Record Vote Too Small, in *SMH*, 14 December 1944, p. 7

<sup>640</sup> Revenue and Education, in *SMH*, 16 December 1947, p.7.

Heffron implored that “Unless money is forthcoming from the commonwealth...we cannot possibly accommodate 25,000 extra...next year.<sup>641</sup>”

Moreover, more so than the Commonwealth, the expenditure of the state governments had direct impact on people’s lives.<sup>642</sup> The Premier, McGirr argued that while NSW contributed 200 million pounds to the Commonwealth, it received only 48 million pounds.<sup>643</sup> For a short time work ceased on school construction, with Heffron blaming the tardiness of the Commonwealth Loans Council. In response the opposition leader said the Commonwealth was not to blame, for their priority was on military expenditure.<sup>644</sup>

However, there were other very important socialist process type demands on the state budget, specifically housing, hospitals, and the transport infrastructure. A massive program of public housing was imperative given the degree of poverty as evidenced by the presence of large areas of slum and shanty dwellings. A 1939 survey highlighted the “desperate” need for 120,000 new houses in Australia, the majority in NSW.<sup>645</sup> A NSW Housing Commission Report in 1938 outlined the problem, as well as the limitations of the private sectors response.<sup>646</sup> Not unlike education, the state needed to intervene.

It has been recognised the world over that private enterprise working on ordinary commercial lines has failed to cater for the needs of people in substandard areas..our experience over the past years has amply demonstrated that the only adequate solution at the present time is for the state to assume the burden.

The rail network, in its turn, given its capital intensity and infrastructural implications, had a seemingly unquenchable appetite for funds, with about half of the combined states debts in 1929 being for rail networks, setting the trend.<sup>647</sup>

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<sup>641</sup> *SMH*, 21 March 1952, p. 3.

<sup>642</sup> State Works, in *SMH*, 22 May 1953, p. 4.

<sup>643</sup> *SMH*, 25 March 1952.

<sup>644</sup> Minister Blames Loan Cuts, in *SMH*, 20 March 1952.

<sup>645</sup> <http://www.housing.nsw.gov.au/About+Us/History+of+Public+Housing+in+NSW/The+1930s.htm>

<sup>646</sup> Housing Commission Report for 1938, in *NSWPP*, 1948 (1948-9-50 Session) Vol 1, p. 762.

<sup>647</sup> W K Hancock, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Compounding this and the lack of Commonwealth education loan funds, in spite of short term post war liquidity, (in part due to the payment of deferred money to decommissioned soldiers, the maturing of war bonds, and a positive balance of payments derived from the US Government war debts to Australia), was the critical, Australia wide post war manpower and materials shortage,<sup>648</sup> when for a brief time in 1946 Heffron had more money than he could spend.<sup>649</sup> Crucially therefore, the construction of schools lagged the demographic development of the post war 'baby boom'.

In a 1944 article titled *Education After the War*, in a sense heralding the Wyndham Report, he discussed the leaving age being raised to 16, and in spite of his reconstruction plans being incomplete, signalled important reforms including that of the construction of comprehensive schools. He saw the moves as integral to post war reconstruction.<sup>650</sup>

### **Kindergarten and Adult Education**

Heffron acknowledged the need to attend to the extension of kindergartens and adult education, both substantially run by volunteer organizations, the Kindergarten Union of NSW and the Workers Educational Association.<sup>651</sup> This however was to engender wide debate, the volunteer nature of both being seen as problematic, and less than professional, by the NSWTF.<sup>652</sup> This, and disagreement over a perceived anti-soviet lecture by the WEA were to induce a rift between the NSWTF and the left leaning WEA, which had been a leading provider of adult education, along with left wing organizations, since its inception in 1913.

The rift however had a historical foundation, emanating from the perception that the WEA had a bourgeois liberal propensity to tell the workers what was best for them, and as Bob Boughton indicates, between 1920 and 1950 the WEA was utilized by the establishment to offset the significant influence of communist educational manifestations.<sup>653</sup> To the WEA

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<sup>648</sup> No Materials for Schools, in *SMH*, 28 August 1946, p.7.

<sup>649</sup> Minister Has More Than He Can Spend, in *SMH*, 11 December 1946, p.5.

<sup>650</sup> Education After The War, in *SMH*, 19 August 1944, p.2.

<sup>651</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>652</sup> Letter to Editor, Pre-School Education, in *SMH*, 24 March 1945, p.2, and, Pre School Education, in *The SMH*, 29 March 1945, p.3.

<sup>653</sup> B Boughton (1997), *Educating the Educators: the Communist Party of Australia and its influence on Australian Adult Education*, Latrobe University, Victoria, 1997, p. 263.

luminaries class was incidental to the workers consciousness.<sup>654</sup> At one stage a “scab” union, which is a union to do the employer’s bidding, was affiliated, leading to the withdrawal of several legitimate unions. Things improved to an extent when the scab union was disaffiliated. In 1917 a WEA personality, Meredith Atkinson advocated support for the yes vote regarding conscription leading to seventeen unions seeking disaffiliation.<sup>655</sup> Tim Rowse claims that “by 1918 it was clear to a sufficiently large number of workers that the non-partisan declarations of the WEA were unconvincing,”<sup>656</sup> such that the WEA was perceived by many “as a pact between bosses, the university, and conservative trade union leaders to undermine militancy.”<sup>657</sup>

### **The Worker’s Education Association.**

However, the WEA’s incorrect account of the nature and level of class consciousness should not be perceived as its only characteristic. Its focus was directed towards the empowerment of those disenfranchised from education, and helped form a complex of class relations that overlapped, engendering a larger drawing area for collective politicization through education. Further, the philosophies of the individual tutors was variable, from libertarian to communist, such as in the case of Lloyd Ross who played a prominent role in Newcastle, and Professor R F Irvine, Chair of Economics at Sydney University from 1912 to 1922, and who was “trusted” by the union movement to represent them in enquiries regarding wages and conditions in 1913, 1920, 1921, and 1930.<sup>658</sup> Moreover, Irvine started the University Extension Course, and argued that counter cyclical, Keynesian type economics should be used for the national welfare, as later argued by Theodore and Lang. This put him at odds with establishment economists.<sup>659</sup>

Nonetheless, the debate regarding Government adult education, or WEA adult education was at times bitter and acrimonious given the territorial implications, however, arguably, there was also a high level of convergence, when the need arose, within the educational

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<sup>654</sup> T Rowse, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>655</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>656</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>657</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>658</sup> B McFarlane, Professor Irvine’s Economics, in *Australian Labor History 1913-1933*, Canberra, Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, 1966, p.1.

<sup>659</sup> *Ibid.*, p.2.

community evidenced in the letter to the Editor by Edna Ryan, a Labor icon associated with the WEA:

Far more important to me than Communist hostility has been the apathy of Government and most municipal authorities towards providing sufficiently for this essential part of democratic living, the general education of its citizens.<sup>660</sup>

### **Kindergarten Union**

The Kindergarten Union<sup>661</sup> in its turn also wished to protect its culture and existence, while the NSWTF deferred to the 130,000 children of kindergarten age not attending kindergartens.<sup>662</sup> Eventually, both domains, adult education and kindergartens, would be substantially state controlled, following the ground laid by community based institutions.

### **Aboriginal Education**

The trajectory of Aboriginal education, and Aboriginal welfare generally, followed more the trajectory of internal imperialism than that of the Anglo-Australian population. Bob Boughton's research has discerned a linkage over time between Aboriginal organisation and advocacy with the Communist Party of Australia<sup>663</sup>, the only political organization in the period under examination that was unequivocal in its demand of equality for the Aboriginal peoples.

Surveying the public's response to these issues via letters to the editor in the SMH we can discern criticism of the status quo from Aboriginals and their institutions, as well as Anglo institutions and individuals. Importantly we can discern Heffron's<sup>664</sup> reform mentality juxtaposed to the then critical mass of institutionally and culturally ingrained racism toward Aborigines, to the extent that parents in some schools demanded Aboriginal children be removed from their schools. In the 1990's the P&C apologised via 'Sorry' books for its participation in such actions.

Today, generally, in spite of some proactive programs within the education system of NSW, educational provision for Aborigines still lags that of white Australians, and problem students are

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<sup>660</sup> Edna Ryan, Letter to Editor, Workers' Education, in *SMH*, 11 July 1949, p. 2.

<sup>661</sup> Letter to Editor, *Kindergarten Union*, in *SMH*, 22 March 1945, p.2.

<sup>662</sup> *Pre School Education*, in *SMH*, 29 March 1944, p.3.

<sup>663</sup> B Boughton (1997), *Educating the Educators: the Communist Party of Australia and its influence on Australian Adult Education*, Victoria, Latrobe University, 1997, p279. Also, Reds Blamed for Strike, in *SMH*, 20<sup>th</sup> February 1951, p.4.

<sup>664</sup> Schools Accept Thousands of Aboriginal, in *SMH*, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1947, p.4.

in practice, if not in theory, excluded from school. Aboriginal socio-economic disadvantage underwrites the lag in educational provision.

### **Children with disabilities.**

After some tentative action by Drummond, Evatt identified that only 50% of children with a disability were receiving an education.<sup>665</sup> During Heffron's tenure the education of children with disabilities was to make important yet not sufficient headway. Today, the situation is still problematic. Heffron introduced compulsory, yet limited, education for the blind and infirm in 1944; classes for the deaf; and more steps towards responsibility for blind students in 1948 and 1956; opportunity classes for "children of severe mental defect" in 1950; and for "mild defect" in 1955. In 1955 a school for emotionally disturbed children was opened at North Ryde Psychiatric Centre.<sup>666</sup>

### **Drive and imagination.**

The Herald Editorial of the 29<sup>th</sup> of December 1945 congratulated Heffron and the Education Department for their efforts during the war in maintaining the schools.<sup>667</sup> In the same vein an Editorial one year later lauded his "drive and imagination" and "energetic leadership", giving the "community proper reward for record expenditure". The increase in the number of teachers colleges, as well as the teachers' "just reward" in the new salary package were given special mention.<sup>668</sup> Today, the NSWTF sees the package as a milestone in its history. There were four teachers colleges by 1947, rising to six in 1951.<sup>669</sup>

In 1947, to offset building and funding delays, Heffron gave Inspectors the authority to spend up to fifteen hundred pounds in individual country schools.<sup>670</sup> The program was extended to city schools in 1949, Heffron claiming the country programme produced good results.<sup>671</sup> Still, by 1949 Heffron had doubts whether the Education Department could find accommodation for the growing child population,<sup>672</sup> and "handkerchief" sized playgrounds

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<sup>665</sup> *Infirm Children's Education*, in *SMH*, 29 March 1944, p.6.

<sup>666</sup> *The First Quarter of the Century*, NSW Department of Education, Sydney, 1972, pp.34-9.

<sup>667</sup> Editorial, *Education Under Review*, in *SMH*, 29 December 1945, p.2.

<sup>668</sup> Editorial, *Schools and Teaching*, in *SMH*, 26 December 1946, p.2.

<sup>669</sup> *Report of the Minister for Education, 1951*, in *NSWPP*, 1953, Second Session, Vol 1, p. 495.

<sup>670</sup> *Effort to Repair Schools*, in *SMH*, 9 May 1947, p.5.

<sup>671</sup> Power for Repairs to Schools, in *SMH*, 3 March 1949, p.1.

<sup>672</sup> Heffron's Doubts, in *SMH*, 2 February 1949, p.1.

were now perceived as inadequate.<sup>673</sup> The Leader of the NSWTF, Lewis, thought the situation was a crisis, which the SMH thought was an exaggeration given the system was not collapsing.<sup>674</sup>

In 1948 Heffron announced a plan to accelerate the construction of schools. Twenty Million pounds was to be outlaid over 4 years. However, by 1950 only two million pounds had been spent. A Herald article “School Shortages are States Big Problem” believed that no blame could be laid at the feet of the Education Department or Minister Heffron for the lag, listing their estimation of the causes as:

The chronic shortage of building materials and labour; Government policy that reserves 85% of building materials for home building leaving only 15% to be shared by hospitals, schools, factories, and commercial buildings; A big increase in the number of child migrants.<sup>675</sup>

The editorial believed, as the evidence in the Ministers annual report confirms,<sup>676</sup> that portable buildings imported from Britain “saved the situation.”<sup>677</sup> Heffron lifted the ban on the employment of married teachers in 1947,<sup>678</sup> legislated to separate Technical Education from the Education Department, incorporating The University of Technology at Ultimo in 1949,<sup>679</sup> and announced plans for “Five New Universities,” including the University of Technology at Kensington.<sup>680</sup> In 1953 the UNE received its autonomy from Sydney University

The Herald editorial of the 25<sup>th</sup> March 1949 thought the new universities were a “pipe dream”, and that The University of Sydney should be fixed first.<sup>681</sup> Many people argued that the humanities and technical studies were mutually exclusive and therefore a “university of Technology” was an oxymoron.<sup>682</sup> Others argued that both disciplines could

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<sup>673</sup> Handkerchief Sized Playgrounds to be Outdated, in *SMH*, 7 January 1947, p.4.

<sup>674</sup> Editorial, Crowded Classrooms in NSW, in *SMH*, 22 December 1949, p.2.

<sup>675</sup> School Shortages are States Big Problem, in *SMH*, 1 February 1950, p.2.

<sup>676</sup> Report of the Minister for Education, 1949, in *NSWPP, 1950-1*, Second Session, Vol 1, p.599.

<sup>677</sup> School Shortages are States Big Problem, in *SMH*, 1 February 1950, p.2.

<sup>678</sup> Ban to be lifted on Married Women Teachers, in *SMH*, 17 September 1947, p.4.

<sup>679</sup> Technical Schools, in *SMH*, 22 March 1947, p.3.

<sup>680</sup> State Plans Five New Universities, in *SMH*, 23 March 1949, p.1.

<sup>681</sup> Editorial, Pipe Dreams in Macquarie Street, in *SMH*, 25 March 1949, p.2.

<sup>682</sup> Editorial, The New University of Technology, in *SMH*, 25 February 1950, p.2.

learn from the other.<sup>683</sup> In time however the universities did come into existence, with the University of New South Wales at Kensington emphatically eulogising Heffron in 2009 for “ensuring that it did not become the victim of politicians and others unsympathetic to the need for educational change and expansion.”<sup>684</sup>

### **Debates regarding Decentralization**

Experiments in decentralization were undertaken in 1948 in the Riverina region,<sup>685</sup> in a precursor to the future regionalization of the system, where in time each region would have its own Deputy Director General of Education, and consequently a voice at the centre of power in Sussex Street, Sydney. In 1952 four more administrative areas were created, and in 1953 the region of Sydney West was added.<sup>686</sup> There was obvious merit in the creation of regions within such a large state, though nonetheless Connell argues that it is doubtful whether decentralisation maximised inclusiveness for the first twenty years after its implementation.<sup>687</sup> However, ideas in relation to decentralization did not stop there. The SMH wanted the US model implemented, in that it fostered local pride.<sup>688</sup> The divisive issue of local, municipal, even school based control were seemingly never out of vogue.

The idea of how to maximize community and parent inclusiveness, progressive education, as well as how to maximise the efficiency of supply and demand linkages is engendered within the decentralization debate. There is a certain anarchistic and libertarian logic in the argument that smaller production centres increases the operative’s democratic and productive interaction. However any theory regarding systems efficiency needs to be adjusted to the ecology of empirical imperatives and or the given resource situation. What this means is that while the atomization of work centres in theory may induce democracy and efficiency, would they achieve better outcomes in practice relative to the institutionally embedded and culturally legitimizing power and history of the State, teachers and parent institutional complex? Moreover, the atomistic model undermines the collective multi-site cultural coherence of the NSWTF, it being a prime determinate

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<sup>683</sup> Training for Scientists, in *SMH*, 19 January 1950, pp.2, 5.

<sup>684</sup> *Origins: Newsletter of the UNSW Archives*, No 12 September 2009, p.3.

<sup>685</sup> *The First Quarter of the Century*, NSW Department of Education, Sydney, 1972, p. 35.

<sup>686</sup> R McDonald, W Radford, P Staurengi, *Review of Education in Australia 1948-54*, ACER, Melbourne, 1956, p.59.

<sup>687</sup> J Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>688</sup> The Future of Education, in *SMH*, 9 January 1943.

regarding a coherent Federation with a positive cultural trajectory. This engenders all teachers having to experience comfortable and less comfortable postings, the utility being its assurance to country NSW that staffing is guaranteed.

There is a big difference between systems that engender and demand excellence in an individual school, and those that engender and demand excellence in all schools. The history of public education in NSW is the history of an educational complex for all schools. The ratcheting up of educational outcomes has demonstrably been facilitated by the powerful and coherent demands of strong institutions, consciously and unconsciously cognizant of high pedagogical theory and the socialist process.

However decentralization to the local level was perceived by some as the apogee of educational administration. ACER believed that local authorities would be more amenable to experiments in progressive education, and that they engender a putative democratic initiative. Certainly ACER had from the time of Drummond's attempt to 'privatise' technical education, championed decentralization, harking to the model of Local Education Boards in the US, and less so, that of France, UK, Germany, and Canada. ACER was generally enamoured with the decentralised US model.

Nonetheless it did come to recognize the utility and equality of opportunity emanating from the centralized NSW system. Further, it did note that in the Tennessee Case, the Scopes Trial, a science teacher was prosecuted for teaching evolution in preference to creationism, indicating that there was evidence that local councils, when given control, incorporated local "bigotry."<sup>689</sup> ACER recognised that compared with the centralised model in NSW, atomised systems produced and induced wage differentials for teachers, and between poor and rich educational areas, the poorer areas therefore attracting less skilled teachers. Further, teacher training was of variable quality with localised control.<sup>690</sup> Centralization as in NSW was able to put reform "into effect more thoroughly and more rapidly" than atomised models.<sup>691</sup> Teachers knew they could depend on a system of promotion; that they were protected from "vindictive parents", which "overseas teachers envy"; and that resource supply could be adjusted to demand. Crucially, the consequences

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<sup>689</sup> K S Cunningham, J Pratt, *Review of Education in Australia*, 1939, Melbourne University Press, 1940, p.82.

<sup>690</sup> *Ibid*, p.79.

<sup>691</sup> *Ibid*, p.82.

of change were observable in centralised systems and could be more “carefully considered.”<sup>692</sup> This leads us to the coherence and significance of the Wyndham Report, begun in 1953, and formalized with the 1961 Education Act.

### **Planning Secondary education**

In 1953 ACER lauded Heffron’s decision to undertake what came to be called the Wyndham Report, a “survey and report upon the provision of full time day education for adolescents in NSW.”<sup>693</sup> It related to the content, organisation, and objectives of secondary education. The NSWTF and the P&C had previously requested such an inquiry regarding exams, the leaving age, and the need for comprehensive education, “far less emphasis on IQ tests” and co-education.<sup>694</sup>

The Wyndham Report was a significant undertaking, formalising a new pragmatic approach to pedagogy premised on the notion of coherent comprehensive systems planning and a humane pedagogy. Wyndham, who fundamentally believed in equal opportunity, as did Wilkins and Peter Board before him, pushed for the inquiry, while Heffron, now deputy Premier, championed the enquiry, given the resistance of the fiscal conservatives in the bureaucracy and parliament.<sup>695</sup> The Public Service Board under the Leadership of Wallace Wirth, believed the scheme to be too costly.<sup>696</sup> To ensure its implementation, Heffron<sup>697</sup> sought and received the imprimatur of the 1961 Labor Party Conference, through the machinations of the fellow non-Catholic, new Education Minister Earnest Wetherall, who took each Labor Caucus member into his office to explain the imperative need for education reform. The State Labor Conference passed the motion for the scheme with the strongest majority for a motion to that time.<sup>698</sup>

### **“My own son...began talking communist bosh.” The Cold War begins.**

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<sup>692</sup> K S Cunningham, J Pratt, *Review of Education in Australia*, 1939, Melbourne University Press, 1940, pp. 80-83.

<sup>693</sup> R McDonald, W Radford, P Staurengi, *Review of Education in Australia 1948-54*, ACER, Melbourne, 1956, p. 158.

<sup>694</sup> Three Big Changes Urged in Secondary Schools, in *SMH*, 29 June 1954, p. 6.

<sup>695</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History*, *op. cit.*, p.284.

<sup>696</sup> J Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>697</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224-5.

<sup>698</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

On the sixth of June 1945, an article, *Mr Churchill's Attack on Socialism* was printed in the Herald.<sup>699</sup> The next day, the seventh of June, an article titled *Communist Doctrine in High School Alleged*, quoted the Liberal Member for Scone, Colonel A White lamenting in State Parliament that: "My own son ...began talking communist bosh."<sup>700</sup> Heffron denied communism was being taught in schools, claiming that similar charges had "been made before, and whenever proof has been asked for it has not been forthcoming."<sup>701</sup>

By 1949, up to 200,000 pupils in NSW schools were listening to the Australian Broadcasting Commission's education programs.<sup>702</sup> Technology in the form of broadcasts and films were seen as the cutting edge of new educational possibilities.<sup>703</sup> The Leader of the Opposition, Vernon Treat saw the ABC broadcasts as "little other than vehicles for socialist propaganda." The head of the ABC, Boyer, "emphatically" rejected the assertion.<sup>704</sup> In a Letter to the Editor, H D Black of Roseville thought that given the polarity of the socialist-private enterprise debate, it would be a shame if the ABC's attempts to promote critical thinking in children were "frozen out" by accusations of "bias."<sup>705</sup>

Heffron was not beyond using anti-communist rhetoric if it was to his political advantage. The issue of Bruce Milliss and the P&C, which I shall discuss at greater length shortly, being a case in point. It is indicative of the method of perception shaping of a significant portion of the Labour movement in a battle for the hearts, minds and votes of the people in an environment where the media had generally projected communism, socialism, and the Labor Party as the personification of evil. However, Heffron stopped short of invoking punitive or censorial legislation.

Heffron's anti-communist credentials were questioned in a Letter to the Editor of the Herald on the ninth of June 1945 which argued that Heffron's assurances of no communism in schools "would carry more weight" if he himself was not a communist. The

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<sup>699</sup> Mr Churchill's Attack on Socialism, in *SMH*, 6 June 1945, p. 3.

<sup>700</sup> Communist Doctrine in High School Alleged, in *SMH*, 7 June 1945, p. 3.

<sup>701</sup> Communist Teachings In Schools Denied, in *SMH*, 8 June 1945, p. 4.

<sup>702</sup> Nine Stations Reach Huge Audience with School Sessions, in *SMH*, 21 May 1949, p.2.

<sup>703</sup> Influence of Radio, Film, in *SMH*, 9 December 1946, p. 4.

<sup>704</sup> Treat Sees Bias in Broadcasts, in *SMH*, 29 August 1949, p.2.

<sup>705</sup> Letter to Editor, School Broadcasts, in *SMH*, 1 September 1949, p. 2.

author describing how thirty years previously Heffron's designation in the labour movement was that of "Tutor to the Communist Party", and the author who wrote, "...by scientifically organising our industrial forces along the lines of the Red Trades Union International we will reach the goal of our dreams on the road to which Russia is the greatest milestone passed."<sup>706</sup> In 1947 when asked in the Legislative Assembly to pursue and proscribe communists in the Department, in that they were disloyal, Heffron replied that "some Americans define a Communist as the type of person who disagrees with you or exposed your racket...I am not prepared to countenance anything in the nature of the Gestapo."<sup>707</sup>

### **The Federation of Parents and Citizens Associations of New South Wales.**

Spaull sees the prominence of the Parents and Citizens as "One of the most interesting political developments in wartime education."<sup>708</sup> Certainly, that a 'non-party-political' organization with normative benchmarks such as free, public education, a previously radical socialist dictum, could entwine itself to such an extent into the fabric of education and legislative structures is a remarkable feat. That their role has been underestimated to such an extent is also remarkable and attributable, in part, to ACER's and Professor Butts' contention in the mid-1950s that the community was disengaged from the culture of education. Butts underestimated community input and the informal watching brief of P&C activists. However Butts was correct in his criticism of the P&C having to supply education resources that were properly the responsibility of the education department.<sup>709</sup>

The Parents & Citizen phenomena was at once an organic popular manifestation, and one nurtured by the New South Wales Department of Education and Peter Board. The Minister in his 1905 report comments: "We are going to foster this movement."<sup>710</sup>

Within a short time of their inception in 1906 the utility of the Parents and Citizens Associations was apparent, displacing the unwanted, overstretched, and unpopular local School Boards. As an administrative device the School Boards were a failure, with only

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<sup>706</sup> Letter to Editor, J Hedge, Communism and Schools, in *SMH*, 9 June 1945, p. 2.

<sup>707</sup> Minister Defends Teachers Loyalty, in *SMH*, 7 November, 1947, p. 7.

<sup>708</sup> A Spaull, *op. cit.*, p.173.

<sup>709</sup> P&C Takes Pride in Community Effort, in *SMH*, 22 May 1956, p. 2.

<sup>710</sup> S Wimmer, *op. cit.*, pp.16, 17.

half of the schools in the system being covered. They were elitist in management, given the need for ‘Professionals’ to manage a ‘Cost centre,’ and ill-defined in their objectives. Moreover, boards could not make a system, as was their latent function,<sup>711</sup> for in very real terms they were lucky to make a quorum.

The P&C’s on the other hand were popular and inclusive, not class based, with no intention of running the school. When attempts were undertaken to reintroduce the US variant of school boards, now school councils, in the 1970s by the Director General of Education Jack Buggie, Liberal Education Minister Willis implied that school councils would diminish the power of the NSWTF.<sup>712</sup> Totti Cohen, the then P&C’s President was incensed that the P&C had not been given designated a role within school councils.<sup>713</sup> School Council experiments in the New England Region were short lived, but school councils were reintroduced in the 1990s. It was then argued within the P&C council, executive and journal that school councils also had the capacity to undermine the role of the P&C, and lay a self-contained administrative template for devolution, if not privatization.<sup>714</sup> Interestingly, by 2012, the system of school councils was near collapse, given only a marginal number of schools have chosen to engage.<sup>715</sup>

However, historically, what the P&C required in the long run was legislation guaranteeing administrative, pedagogical and funding coherence. In the interim, the Associations funded those things required in their local school, and which the State would not, or could not fund, such as books; pianos; furniture; radios; movie projectors and films;<sup>716</sup> televisions; school flags; classrooms; milk; writing materials; sewing machines; sporting equipment; computers; provided cleaning services;<sup>717</sup> at East Moorefield the P&C went so far as purchasing land for a new school;<sup>718</sup> while at Lindfield East Primary the P&C supplied the materials, with the pupil’s fathers then constructing the library building;<sup>719</sup> the P&C funded and built the assembly hall at Parramatta West Primary; in subsidised schools “in

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<sup>711</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>712</sup> J O’Brian, *op. cit.*, p.182.

<sup>713</sup> *Ibid.*, p.180.

<sup>714</sup> P Ellston, Restructuring Education: Public in Private Benefit? in *Parent & Citizen, Autumn*, 1993, p. 18.

<sup>715</sup> Conversations with Officers of the P&C, and with Department of Education Information Service.

<sup>716</sup> Schools to Get More Films, in *SMH*, 29 January 1947, p.1.

<sup>717</sup> Children Clean Epping School, in *SMH*, 7 February 1946, p.3.

<sup>718</sup> P&C Takes Pride in Community Effort, in *SMH*, 22 May 1956, p.2.

<sup>719</sup> School Library, in *SMH*, 20 February 1954, p.14.

many instances parents had found it necessary to make extra payments to teachers to induce them to remain;”<sup>720</sup> and by 1956 the Federation was raising around one hundred thousand pounds per year to augment education services.<sup>721</sup>

### **The reach and influence of the P&C.**

The reach of the P&C should not be underestimated. By 1927 the President of the P&C, Mr Edenborough, was asking the contending political parties in a media savvy, public manner, what they would do regarding education in return for the parent vote.<sup>722</sup> It is clear from reading the *New South Wales Parliamentary Papers* that the Federation and its individual associations were tenacious and unremitting in their advocacy and submissions to the government through local members. Time and time again both Government and Opposition members quote the concerns and opinion of their local Parents and Citizens Association, concerns that would in turn be noted in the media. The role of the P&C was prominent in the *Education Reconstruction Debate*.

The P&C was, and is, willing to work with all political parties, Government Ministries, and Director Generals, one of its chroniclers being moved to write in *A Short History* that: “Mr D H Drummond was a stout champion of the Federation, and the present Minister, the Hon. R J Heffron, MLA, has consistently been a tower of strength to it, with support, guidance, and inspiration.”<sup>723</sup>

While it would take to the 1970s before the NSWTF fully appreciated the importance and legitimacy of the structural role of Federation of P&C’s in education<sup>724</sup>the war years induced an environment favourable to the tactical alignment of the Federations. After 1944 therefore, increasingly, the NSWTF and the Education Department saw a role for the P&C in syllabus construction as well as on administrative committees. Moreover the *McKell* Ministry, through its Education Ministers Evatt and Heffron, in spite of some argument with the Teachers Federation and the Parents’ & Citizens’, was able to function as cohering agents for common ends.

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<sup>720</sup> Subsidy For Teachers, in *SMH*, 2 December 1949, p.1

<sup>721</sup> Big Projects For P&C, in *SMH*, 6 August 1956, p.11.

<sup>722</sup> Education, in, *SMH*, 29 September, 1927, p.15.

<sup>723</sup> S Wimmer, *op. cit.*, p.29.

<sup>724</sup> J O’Brien, *op. cit.*, p.64.

### **P&C membership almost doubles between 1945-6.**

The high public and media profile of the P&C, in part because of unity campaigns with the NSWTF, the P&C's imperative function of resource supply, and the success of school strikes, saw membership almost double from ten thousand to eighteen thousand members, in one year, from 1945 to 1946.<sup>725</sup> In 1948 the President of the P&C Federation, Mr Leslie Cother drew attention to the idea that the *New Deal* had two purposes, to highlight education deficiencies, and to remedy them by adequate funding generally, incorporating adequate salaries for teachers. The Assistant Secretary of the NSWTF, Kennett, described the relationship with the P&C as one where "Teachers and parents [are] working in close harmony."<sup>726</sup>

The P&C's Annual Conferences were, and are, invariably opened by either a Director General of Education, the Minister of Education, or the Premier. The organization has vociferously advocated its impartial political party status, indicating to an extent that certain previous radical socialist standards were normative and not contested by either the left or right in the political spectrum. Also, no doubt, the organization appreciated the tactical benefits of being perceived as mainstream, as in deed they were from the beginning.

### **The P&C: "The Atomic Bomb of Education"**

However, there is a history, before, during, and after the war of effective "direct action"<sup>727</sup> which may have been lost to the history books. Starting in Drummond's regime,<sup>728</sup> the history pertains to the utilization of school strikes over fifteen years, involving parents withdrawing their children from school. At times the local Trades and Labour Council were party to events.<sup>729</sup>

More often, however, the threat of a strike was sufficient to stimulate the Minister and Department to action. Between 1943 and 1954 there were 11 threats of strikes, and 7 actual

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<sup>725</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p.173.

<sup>726</sup> School Reform Urged, in *SMH*, 9 July 1945, p.4.

<sup>727</sup> 175 Pupils Absent, in *SMH*, 19 February 1952, p 3.

<sup>728</sup> *NSWPP, State Education Reconstruction Debate*, 33<sup>rd</sup> Parliament, Second Session, 4 November, 1941, p. 2334.

<sup>729</sup> Many Keep Pupils From School, in *SMH*, 22 September 1943, p.9.

strikes, 18 events in total reported in the SMH.<sup>730</sup> Large public protest meetings were also held, such as that at Ramsgate demanding a new school.<sup>731</sup> All incidents received wide publicity in the media. The President of the P&C Mr CL Cother indicated that the threat of direct action was under reported, as local associations reached outcomes with the Minister and the Director General without going to the press.<sup>732</sup>

Nonetheless, after a time they drove the Minister to distraction, the strike at Oyster Bay Public School precipitating the stern rebuke from Heffron that “From today, the Association is wiped out of existence.”<sup>733</sup> The President of the Oyster Bay P&C responded that:

Irrespective of the alleged statement by the Minister for Education, it is still the intention of the association that the withdrawal of children will continue until such a time as work commences on improvements to the school.<sup>734</sup>

It seems that the issue stopped there, at least in the press, to become presumably an in-house issue between the Education Department and the school’s P&C.

The P&C was not immune from the anti-socialist reaction, particularly to some in the Anglican Synod, when the P&C voted at its annual conference to reject the notion of daily prayers for pupils in schools.<sup>735</sup> At the Anglican Synod The Reverend Cannon HW Border’s appraisal was that the Government was encouraging the P&C to influence education. It was problematic therefore that “Communists are making every opportunity to take control of the P&C Association...already the Association is honeycombed with communism,” further, “The P&C might well become the Atomic bomb of state education.”<sup>736</sup>

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<sup>730</sup> Threatened strike action: Brookvale; Wellington; Regents Park; Erina; Glen Davis; Old Guildford; Kiama; Hardgrave Park; Coorawal; Menindee; Harboard. Undertook strike action: Keiraville; Lockhart; Berowra; Miranda; Tabouri Lake; Davidson; Arncliffe.

<sup>731</sup> Ramsgate Residents Want School, in *SMH*, 29 April 1941, p.4.

<sup>732</sup> School Repairs, in *SMH*, 15 November 1947, p 2.

<sup>733</sup> Minister Wipes Out School Association, in *SMH*, 4 November 1953, p. 4.

<sup>734</sup> Decision on School Not Political, in *SMH*, 5 November 1953, p.5.

<sup>735</sup> School Prayers Not Favoured, in *SMH*, 16 April 1945, p.5.

<sup>736</sup> Communism in Education, Allegation by Cannon, in *SMH*, 25 August 1945, p.4.

Claims of communist influence in the P&C came to public attention again six months later, in 1946, with the Herald article *Paddington Communists*, in which Alderman TJ Whelan of Paddington Council claimed that given that nine-tenths of Paddington Primary P&C members were communists they would not be included in a deputation to Education Minister Heffron to lobby for a new school. In reply, Alderman Drew, also a member of the P&C, claimed that if Alderman Whelan repeated his claims at the next P&C meeting “the meeting would be lively.”<sup>737</sup>

In 1947, in an article regarding the wife of a policeman initiating complaints and a boycott of a female teacher for using profane language in class, the President of the local P&C, Mr Milliss, told reporters that he was a member of the Katoomba Branch of the Communist Party and “strongly supported” the boycott.<sup>738</sup> A favourable follow up article quoted Milliss regarding the boycott without any references to his political allegiance.<sup>739</sup> However two years later Mr Milliss came to the public’s attention via the Labor Member for Balmain in the Legislative Assembly, Mrs M L Quirk, who claimed P&C articles had been published in the Communist newspaper, the Tribune. Minister Heffron enjoined that: “Certain prominent communists have worked their way into the Association. One of them, Mr Bruce Milliss<sup>740</sup>, is vice-president, he was expelled from the Labor Party some time ago because he was a communist.” However, he said, no action could be taken.<sup>741</sup> The next day the President of the P&C Federation, Mr S Liebert was paraphrased as saying that “the association’s constitution forbade inquiries into members’ political beliefs.”<sup>742</sup>

One month later, responding to an ultimatum from Kiama State School’s P&C that students would walk out of school unless improvements were undertaken within two weeks, Minister Heffron put it that he would “not be dictated to by a school committee...[and]...he had been advised that the person who moved the resolution was a well-known local communist.” He did not address that the move had been authorised by

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<sup>737</sup> *Paddington Communists*, in *SMH*, 22 January 1946, p.4.

<sup>738</sup> *Inquiry Into Charges*, in *SMH*, 13 November 1947, p.9.

<sup>739</sup> *Boycott at Katoomba Ends*, in *SMH*, 14 November 1947, p.10.

<sup>740</sup> See Roger Milliss’s autobiography, *Serpents Tooth*, in which the prolific extent of Bruce Milliss’s work for both the Labor Party and the Communist Party of Australia is clarified. Bruce Milliss was a business man from Katoomba NSW who did much work in fostering cultural, political, and business links with both The Soviet Union and China.

<sup>741</sup> *Communists in Parents Association*, in *SMH*, 12 October 1949, p.1.

<sup>742</sup> *Membership of P&C*, in *SMH*, 13 October 1949, p.3.

the majority of the seventy five parents present at the meeting. Speakers claimed that a teacher and 34 pupils were in a classroom “15 foot square” (sic), and that in the girl’s lavatory only “one seat in ten” was operational. No repairs had been undertaken in the last five years.<sup>743</sup>

### **School construction and repairs**

Two years previously, in 1947, Minister Heffron addressed The P&C’s Annual Conference that he had authorised expenditure of up to fifteen hundred pounds by school inspectors to expedite repairs using local labour and resources so as to circumvent bottlenecks and by implication the schools being lost in the ‘needs’ queue.<sup>744</sup>

Obviously however, local expenditure was not sufficient to remedy a state wide structural problem. Many new schools were required to meet the needs of the post war population explosion, higher retention rates, and immigration. Reflecting a national phenomenon the Minister replied the bottleneck was caused by the shortage of labour.<sup>745</sup> Given the diminution of the historic source of education capitalization, education loans, compounded by the post war materials and labour shortage that would last at least to the mid-1950s, the P&C played an important and timely role in bringing to the public’s and the Minister’s attention those areas needing to be immediately addressed.

### **The P&C’s reaction to the Cold War**

As the cold war progressed a degree of timidity infused the public face of the P&C. The barrage of accusations of communist involvement saw, presumably, a tactical reassessment of its public profile. It became more reticent to be involved in a united front, which in 1953 they saw as sometimes crossing to industrial matters when demanding more Federal funds. O’Brien claims they were “wary of campaigning against the Federal Liberal Government.”<sup>746</sup>

Within a few years however, the P&C regained its old vitality and become an integral member of the new united front, the Parent and Teacher Education Council, which would

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<sup>743</sup> Repairs to School, in *SMH*, 11 November 1949, p.6.

<sup>744</sup> Annual Conference, in *SMH*, 9 May 1947.

<sup>745</sup> Repairs to Schools, in *SMH*, 11 November 1949, p.6.

<sup>746</sup> J O’Brien, *op. cit.*, p.7.

later become The Three Federations, comprising the P&C, the NSWTF and the Infants and Nursery School Clubs. Issues relating to how to maintain autonomy within the Three Federation structure were apparent from the beginning, however these issues were resolved.<sup>747</sup> In 1957 the three organisations worked closely to make a success of a highly publicised conference regarding funding, including demands to the Commonwealth. 1500 organization were represented by the 3,500 people in attendance.<sup>748</sup>

Indeed, by 1954 public education became a cause for public celebration, with the P&C's Federation Day being transformed into Education Week, largely at the behest of the P&C.<sup>749</sup> The SMH annually advertised Education Week via a large and comprehensive supplement, outlining the achievements and high profile celebratory activities of education in NSW.

By 1962 a putative Communist takeover of the P&C was the basis for a purge of certain members. Wimmer, the P&C Historian in 1980 argued there was little use in communist takeover in that the P&C was already “relatively radical.”<sup>750</sup> In time, differences in opinion became cause for deliberation and not exclusion, notwithstanding the vigorous hurly-burly of internal institutional politics.

### **The New South Wales Teachers Federation. 1937-55**

The vision of a ‘new social order’ as it pertained to education was compounded, and to an extent driven, by the New South Wales Teachers Federation, as heralded by their high profile at the 1937 New Education Conference. The Federation of Parent’s and Citizen’s Associations was impressed with the New Education Conference,<sup>751</sup> as was the media.<sup>752</sup> It signalled the increasingly high profile of education within the public domain. Connell contends that it induced a “change in the climate of Australian Education.”<sup>753</sup> Wyndham believed that the ideas engendered were “woven into the stuff of Australian Education.”<sup>754</sup>

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<sup>747</sup> S Wimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>748</sup> J O’Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>749</sup> S Wimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>750</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>751</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>752</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>753</sup> J Hughes, *op. cit.*, p.66.

<sup>754</sup> *Ibid.*, p.68.

Mitchell sees the *New Education Conference* as both a sign and a cause of the public's increased interest in education.<sup>755</sup> It was an interest that would be nurtured through a succession of ongoing annual conferences until the 1960s that attained a high media and public profile. The 1938 Conference, *Education for a Progressive and Democratic Australia*, which was largely the work of Lewis, the future President of the NSWTF,<sup>756</sup> was a popular affair with 306 participating organizations representing 450,000 members. Parents, unions, 36 shire and municipal councils, public servants, women's, doctors', and farmers' organizations attended.<sup>757</sup>

### **Solid and sophisticated leadership.**

The Teachers Federation by this time was characterised by the confidence and unity of its executive, council, and rank and file in pressing for increased education funding and better conditions in schools.<sup>758</sup> The Federation's on-going joint campaigns with the P&C and community groups paid high dividends,<sup>759</sup> as demonstrated in the high profile of the New Deal for Education Conference in April 1946, which requested one hundred million pounds from the Federal Government, and was a joint initiative of the NSWTF, the P&C and Federation of Infant Schools Clubs. The wherewithal and inclusiveness of the NSWTF leadership played a crucial role in the coherence of the education debate and outcomes.<sup>760</sup> From a position of "hopeless isolation"<sup>761</sup> in the early 1930s, strategic positions within the Teachers Federation increasingly fell to non-doctrinaire<sup>762</sup> communists and their 'fellow travellers', such as Harry Norington, who was elected to the executive in 1934, and in 1937 became the Federation's first Organiser, and General Secretary from 1944-1962; Matt Kennett, who in 1939 was selected to the editorial board of the Federation Journal *Education*, and was General Secretary from 1962-1963; Sam Lewis, who was Deputy President from 1943, President from 1945-1952 and 1964-1967; W E Gollan, and R A Gollan, brothers, and member of the Executive in 1942; Ivor Lancaster, General secretary from 1963-1975; Hetty Ross, a member of the executive from 1938; Miss Lucy Woodcock, a member of the executive from 1924-1927 and from 1934-1953; Elizabeth

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<sup>755</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p.134.

<sup>756</sup> R Gollan, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>757</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.* pp.135-7.

<sup>758</sup> *Ibid.*, p.146.

<sup>759</sup> *Ibid.*, p.137.

<sup>760</sup> New Deal for Schools Sought, in *SMH*, 4 March 1947, p. 4.

<sup>761</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p.162.

<sup>762</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.174-179.

Mattick, research officer and Deputy President from 1968-71; Eric Nicholls, Federation Organiser; and, Joyce Clarke.<sup>763</sup>

### **The United Front.**

Within the NSWTF the united front engendered ‘mass’ and ‘united’ action,<sup>764</sup> seeing public education’s growth and consolidation as the “lynchpin” of a democratic society. By and large, the lefts tactic of following “..the long established traditions of the union.. ,”<sup>765</sup> alongside their practical application, attention to the concerns of individuals, and integrity, won them support.<sup>766</sup> Lewis, while a communist, was not sycophantic to the Communist Party. Mitchell cites the case in 1949, when after hearing both the communist unions and their opponents, Lewis in council, proposed a motion of support for the State and Federal Labor governments, [and by implication the ACTU], in opposition to the Communist supported coal strikes.<sup>767</sup>

Moreover, there was another significant tier of overlapping socialist radicals aligned with the Labor Party, including Don Taylor, sometimes described as Lewis’ lieutenant, and, WJ Whalan.<sup>768</sup> The united front was an effective tactic for the NSWTF. In 1943 the Communist Party amalgamated with the State Labor Party based on the united front,<sup>769</sup> the ACTU and the New South Wales Trades and Labour Council giving their imprimatur by a small margin. However, the ALP Federal Conference rejected the proposal,<sup>770</sup> signalling the intent of the general labour movement to distance themselves from the communists. The Communist Party by this time had insinuated itself into the leadership and rank and file membership of the Labor Party. Indeed, David McKnight points out that in the 1939 Unity Conference of the Labor Party, of the 32 member Executive, five were Communist Party Members. Moreover, its importance lies in that “clearly the political line of the Communist Party of Australia was accepted by a group of non-communist anti-Lang forces on the executive.”<sup>771</sup>

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<sup>763</sup> Ibid.

<sup>764</sup> J O’Brien, *op. cit.*, p.139.

<sup>765</sup> R Gollan, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-7.

<sup>766</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>767</sup> *Ibid.*, p.173.

<sup>768</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>769</sup> R Gollan, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>770</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>771</sup> D McKnight, *op. cit.*, p403.

Nonetheless, with these tendencies to convergence at the chalk face the Federation consequently supported and advocated the re-election of the Curtin Labor Government in 1943,<sup>772</sup> a tendency that would be consistent in the state and federal arenas until the 1965 NSW State election when more or less accidentally, the union sealed the losing fate of the State Labor Party.<sup>773</sup> That education unions wielded considerable public support in Australia during the 1940s is confirmed with the statement of the incoming Labor Education Minister in Victoria, Frank Field in 1946: “I suppose it might be true to say that by the grace of God and the teachers union I stand here this morning.”<sup>774</sup>

### **Strategic Acumen and tenacious leadership.**

By 1941 the strategic acumen of the Federation leadership saw New South Wales leading the other states in relation to wages.<sup>775</sup> Federal funding as a solution to education dysfunction was a seminal issue.<sup>776</sup> The leadership appealed to the general interests of teachers,<sup>777</sup> particularly those 200 older male, and 1100 married<sup>778</sup> female teachers called back to teaching as a consequence of twenty percent<sup>779</sup> of the teaching service moving to the military. The older teachers were familiar with the real industrial politics of education during the depression years where the conservative governments and Drummond had overseen increased workloads as wages and conditions deteriorated. The married female teachers may have remembered Drummond making them redundant.<sup>780</sup>

Through Federation’s affiliation in 1942 with the Trades and Labour Council and the Australian Council of Trade Unions,<sup>781</sup> important institutional players in their own right, their mobilization, collective energies and pressure became focused and compounded towards the opening up of educational opportunities to all Australians irrespective of their socio economic status.<sup>782</sup> The President of the Tasmanian Teachers Federation thought that

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<sup>772</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p.152.

<sup>773</sup> J O’Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>774</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p.151.

<sup>775</sup> A Barcan, *A Short History, op. cit.* p. 262.

<sup>776</sup> Education Unity, Teachers Want Federal Control, in *SMH*, 4 January 1941, p.7.

<sup>777</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>778</sup> A Barcan, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

<sup>779</sup> A Spaul, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>780</sup> Married Women Teachers, in *SMH*, 17 July 1941, p.3.

<sup>781</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p.162.

<sup>782</sup> Affiliation With The ACTU, in *SMH*, 24 December 1942, p.4.

“Federal aid to education should be Australia’s slogan.”<sup>783</sup> Lewis believed there would be a tactical advantage to affiliation with the ACTU in that it “would ease many of the difficulties placed in the way of an approach to the Federal government on education matters.”<sup>784</sup>

This tendency, in turn, was compounded by the philosophical unity of the Commonwealth and State Governments regarding general education reform, and integrative state administrative norms, such as the 1943 negotiations and agreement between the Public Service Board of NSW and the NSWTF over introducing a single certificate of teacher accreditation.<sup>785</sup> This was in spite of ongoing, sometimes bitter disagreement between the Federation and the PSB regarding the latter’s ‘inappropriate’ monopoly regarding administrative control of education in NSW. It was the issue at the heart of the disagreement between the Federation and the Labor Government that helped precipitate the Liberal Party’s victory in 1965.

Indicative of the strength of the relationship is the cooperation and lengthy negotiations between the NSWTF and the Board of Studies as to the implementation of a Social Studies syllabus in 1944. R W D Weaver, the leader of the State Opposition argued that the Social Studies syllabus, constructed in part by the ‘communist’ NSWTF would breed revolutionaries. This was the case given that the works of “the Red Dean of Canterbury<sup>786</sup> [sic], the Leftist Professor Harold Laski, the Socialist Professor G D H Cole... and the sectarian rabble-rouser Brian Fitzpatrick” would be studied. The Catholic Weekly proclaimed “Communism ousts Christianity in New Education Course.”<sup>787</sup>

In 1946, with the end of the Soviet’s role as war time liberator, anti-socialist reaction intensified within the Australian polity. Reaction to communists and their sympathisers within the Federation was therefore not long in coming, rising to a fever pitch with the cold war. The reader will recall Drummond’s condemnation of Norington as a communist

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<sup>783</sup> Federal Aid Urged, in *SMH*, 3 January 1945, p.4.

<sup>784</sup> Affiliation With The ACTU, in *SMH*, 24 December 1942, p.4.

<sup>785</sup> Teachers Hail New System, in *SMH*, 17 December 1943, p.4.

<sup>786</sup> Not to be confused with the other “Red Dean of Canterbury”, Dr Hewlett Johnson, The Dean of Canterbury. See Red Dean Heckled, in *SMH*, 26 February 1953.

<sup>787</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p.166.

in State Parliament in 1940. Through 1940 to 1947 there were intermittent but consistent accusations of a similar nature.

### **Drummond renews his attacks on the NSWTF.**

On the fifth of November 1947 Drummond renewed his accusations in State Parliament, this time aiming at the NSWTF President, S P Lewis. When Heffron vigorously defended Lewis, and inquired why Drummond had not initiated police inquiries when he was Minister for Education, Drummond replied that he had.<sup>788</sup> On the sixth of November a Herald editorial criticised the Commonwealth Government for appointing Lewis as an Australian delegate to the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), and the State Government for paying Lewis's wages in the subsequent five month research sabbatical.<sup>789</sup> Two days later in Federal Parliament, Jack Lang (*Lang-Labor*), criticised Lewis, arguing he was a traitor and his "links with the Comintern should be broken."<sup>790</sup> The Government gagged the debate. Two days later the NSWTF responded that they resented the attack given Lewis's success in achieving good outcomes for teachers over 24 years.<sup>791</sup> One month later, the Annual Conference of the Federation passed a confidence motion in support of Lewis, moved by N Nay of Uralla, by 307 votes to 22.<sup>792</sup>

### **The Anti-Communist League within the NSWTF.**

By 1947 the NSWTF Anti-Communist League formed within the Teachers Federation. By December 1948 the NSWTF Annual Conference censured the League. The motion asserted that the Federation "deplored" the "destructive expressions and activities" of the League.<sup>793</sup> M Gibbons, of the Headmasters Association, the League's Vice President, argued that "The Communist aim is to dominate the democratic rights of this country, at the instigation of a foreign power." Lewis replied that:

The allegation that I - or any member of the executive - am under the domination of any foreign Power is a downright lie...Mr Ryan has a perfect right to belong

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<sup>788</sup> Communist charge Against Lewis, in *SMH*, 5 November 1947, p.7.

<sup>789</sup> Editorial, Mr Lewis's Travels, in *SMH*, 6 November 1947, p. 2.

<sup>790</sup> Lang's Attack on S P Lewis, in *SMH*, 8 November 1947, p.7.

<sup>791</sup> Lang's Attacks Resented, in *SMH*, 10 November 1947, p.4.

<sup>792</sup> Confidence in Mr Lewis, in *SMH*, 26 December, 1947, p. 4.

<sup>793</sup> Stormy Debate Amongst Teachers, in *SMH*, 22 December 1948, p.3.

to the League, just as anyone has the right to belong to any party. They can dub the Federation red, pink, black or blue. What I want to know is; do you think they are looking after the interests of teachers, are they carrying out the decisions of Annual Conference?<sup>794</sup>

### **1949 Teachers Conference Rejects the Anti-Communist League.**

The 1949 Annual Conference passed a motion that the Federation would “resist any attempt to penalise or discriminate against any teacher for his political or religious convictions,” while H Dutton a delegate of the Headmasters Association, put as an addendum to the Annual Report that the Anti-Communist League would engender “nothing but corruption to the Federation.”<sup>795</sup>

Further to these developments, at the 1949 conference, anti-socialists within Federation put a motion to disaffiliate from the ACTU and the Trades and Labor Council. The Motion was defeated, inducing Harry Heath, a conservative and future President of the NSWTF, to lament that: “The worst day’s work we ever did was going into the trade unions, and the best days work will be getting out.”<sup>796</sup>

### **Short term conservative victory.**

In the heat of the cold war Heath won enough support within the Federation to be elected President in 1952.<sup>797</sup> In this election, the electoral rules of Federation were changed to allow for the President to be elected by all members as opposed to the delegates at the annual conference. The conservative forces believed, incorrectly, that the new electoral system would preclude the left from office. Heath’s term was characterised by the continuation of the previous leftist status quo’s campaign agenda, indicative of the normalization of socialist process rationale and strategic initiatives.

However, the conservative bloc within Federation became somewhat tarnished when Heath quit the Presidency to become the first formal education member of the PSB in 1955. Don Taylor, identified with left wing Labor, and sometimes described as “Lewis’s

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<sup>794</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>795</sup> Teachers and Communism, “Discrimination Condemned,” in *SMH*, 21 December 1949, p.2.

<sup>796</sup> Teachers Links With Unions, in *SMH*, 22 December 1949.

<sup>797</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

lieutenant”, won the next election with the new election protocols, in spite of the cold war pressure to an audience of teachers which some claim were middle class. Lewis was returned to the executive in 1957.<sup>798</sup> Taylor held office until 1964, when Lewis again won the position of President.

### **Limitations to Cold War rhetoric.**

The die had been cast; the NSWTF had a culture and ethos, with its main tenets corresponding to that of the socialist process. The anti-communist rhetoric lost much of its sting given that the excesses of McCarthyism within the United States and Australia had greatly aided its own demise.

President Truman<sup>799</sup> of the United States, Army Secretary Stevens,<sup>800</sup> *The Voice of America*,<sup>801</sup> alongside the churches,<sup>802</sup> were labelled as communist sympathisers, with demands that Robin Hood<sup>803</sup> be prohibited in the New York schools system due to its communist morality. The SMH printed articles which claimed that “trial by gossip”, “purges and book burning” had replaced the “due process of law.”<sup>804</sup> The situation was “Half ludicrous, half tragic farce.”<sup>805</sup> A Herald editorial published the claim of The Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court that the US had “lost moral leadership of the world” because “you cannot put on witch trials and lead the peace of the world.”<sup>806</sup>

In Australia, the polity was also riven by the anti-communist crusade, as the countless accusations of teachers being traitors to their country attests. The conservative Opposition in the State Parliament proclaimed it would use “all constitutional means to defeat the communist fifth column within the state,” the Herald header stating, “Opposition plans state war on Reds.”<sup>807</sup> However, in spite of split in the Labor Party and the unions by way of Santamaria’s “Movement”, when there came a time to take a stand, one way or another,

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<sup>798</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>799</sup> Violent Attack on Truman, in *SMH*, 9 August 1948, p.3.

<sup>800</sup> *SMH*, 8 March 1954, p. 1.

<sup>801</sup> *SMH*, 20 March 1953, p. 2.

<sup>802</sup> *SMH*, 20 March 1953, p. 2.

<sup>803</sup> School Ban Urged, in *SMH*, 14 November 1953, p. 3

<sup>804</sup> Trial by Gossip, in *SMH*, 21 November, 1953, p.3.

<sup>805</sup> Turmoil Raised by US Senators Outburst, in *SMH*, 31 March 1950, p. 2.

<sup>806</sup> Herald Editorial, in *SMH*, 5 June 1953, p. 2.

<sup>807</sup> Opposition Plans State War on Reds, in *SMH*, 18 May 1950, p.1.

the Australian people voted against the referendum proposal in 1951 to ban the Communist Party.

### **The Australian Council of Trade Unions; the New South Wales Trades and Labour Council**

The ACTU was formed in 1927, and, shortly thereafter adopted the Labor Parties socialization platform.<sup>808</sup> In 1942 the NSWTF affiliated with both the ACTU and the NSW Trades and Labour Council. In 1943 the ACTU presented its first Education statement, strongly influenced by the New Education Conference, the Australian Teachers' Federation and the New South Wales Teachers Federation.<sup>809</sup> In the same year the NSWTF utilised the Trades and Labor Council to urge amendments to the arbitration act, and the repeal of the Married Women Act (Teachers and Lecturers) within the state, and at the Commonwealth level a subsidised child care system.<sup>810</sup> In November 1947 an ACTU delegation to Prime Minister Chifley requested one hundred million pounds be allocated to the states' education systems in an effort to achieve a national standard of education.<sup>811</sup> Five months later in April 1948, the Minister for Post-War Reconstruction, Dedman, was presented with the same request by the New Deal for Education Conference.<sup>812</sup>

The moves were consistent with making tangible the education premise of the lefts narrative and cultural affinity with consciousness rising through education and the emulation of its icons. The narrative and folklore of the left has made much of the information that Prime Minister Curtin was originally a printer's assistant, his successor Prime Minister Chifley, a train driver and unionist. Both Prime Ministers became Australian icons, a consequence of their humble beginnings, desire for education and exceptional achievements. In the colloquial language of the Labour movement they were "thinkers." The same phenomenon occurred when Bob Hawke, a Rhodes Scholar, became leader of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, after defeating the conservative Monk in 1969. Interestingly, it is less well known that McKell the NSW Labor Premier was originally a boilermaker and unionist from working class Balmain, who was tutored for his

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<sup>808</sup> R Gollan, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>809</sup> Powers to be Reviewed, in *SMH*, 26 June 1943, p.8.

<sup>810</sup> Bruce Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp.161-2.

<sup>811</sup> Wage Inquiry Sought, in *SMH*, 19 November 1947, p.10.

<sup>812</sup> 100 Million Education Loan Sought, in *SMH*, 29 April 1948, p. 2.

exams in logic and psychology<sup>813</sup> by the Marxist anthropologist Vere Gordon Childe, famous for the terms ‘Neolithic’ and ‘urban revolution.’<sup>814</sup> Child was also a Marxist theorist of the Labor Party, the author of “How Labor Governs” regarding the problem of the corruption of ideals within the Labour movement on the assumption of parliamentary power.<sup>815</sup> One can only speculate on the real-politic conversations that ensued.

*As the New Education Conference and the Education for a Progressive and Democratic Australia Conference were in effect statements of post war pedagogical and industrial and cultural intent, no less was the Australian Council of Trade Unions statement, with whom the NSWTF was affiliated, to the Eleventh Summer School of the Australian Institute of Political Science, Sydney in January of 1945. P J Cleary, the President of the ACTU presented the case for the New Order:*

There are roughly 350 Industrial Unions in the Commonwealth, with a total membership of 1,200,000. Those trade unions are organised effectively, first as units, then through their trades and labour committees and finally through the ACTU. From the standpoint of the organisation, the movement might be regarded as the best organised section of the Australian people. It is strong industrially; it is strong politically. It has good leadership, it knows what it wants; it has economic pressure; it has political pressure, and these things need to be borne in mind when considering the trade union's requirements. I can go further and say that what the movement is demanding shall be theirs, when the war concludes . . . To live decent lives free from economic insecurity and to procure . . . the best out of society . . . The worker is not alone in demanding those things. Whether an ultra-conservative on the right or the most militant Reds on the left, everyone demands a *new order*.<sup>816</sup>

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<sup>813</sup> V Kelly, *op. cit.*, p.22.

<sup>814</sup> Jim Allen, 'Childe, Vere Gordon (1892–1957)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/childe-vere-gordon-5580/text9521>.

<sup>815</sup> Vere Gordon Child, *How Labor Governs*. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1923.

<sup>816</sup> P J Cleary et al, Industrial Relations After the War, in P J Cleary et al, *Australia's Post War Economy*, Sydney, Australasian, 1945, pp.238-9.

## **CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER FIVE**

This chapter observed the historical foundations and timely political alignment in 1941 of the institutional players regarding the theory, practice, and administration of education within the new order, which had an impact upon the ongoing construction of a socialistic and more equitable and coherent education system in NSW.

It is notable that the new order was not a rarefied phenomenon, and was substantially an endogenous socialist type agenda which became amplified under exogenous war conditions and ideas. Moreover, the sentiment of socialist process egalitarian education that permeated the new order debate transmuted into the practical educational underpinning of enhanced inputs to production, the premise of better multivariable outcomes, higher standards of living and a more humane pedagogy during the long boom.

By 1955 the socialistic forces had passed through the period of right-wing reaction to consolidate the foundations for a more equitable society. A sixfold increase in funding was achieved and a comprehensive pedagogical paradigm, the Wyndham reforms, were being actioned. Moreover, social funding and comprehensive pedagogical paradigms became institutional norms.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis rests on the premise that we live in a capitalist society resistant to reform. Consequently the narrative herein of resistance, and socialist-type institutional structures, does not diminish our understanding that the economic, political, cultural, regulatory, and coercive power of the global and national capitalist hegemony remains the ultimate context of educational provision. Nonetheless, it is a history of powerful social forces of reform that have largely been underestimated within the history of Australian social structuration.

The Streeckian insights allow us to view socialistic social responses to social problems not as rarefied abstractions, but as part of a larger historically-observed social template representing the ongoing resistance to social and individual exploitation. Importantly, the period under examination 1941-1955 was chosen because it is characterised by socialistic forces rising to the challenge of governing in times of war, weathering conservative resistance, and by 1955, with a sixfold increase in funding and the beginnings of the Wyndham report's comprehensive philosophy, establishing normative egalitarian benchmarks for the education system in NSW. These reforms were executed in the face of ideological and fiscal resistance from the Liberal-Country Party Coalition.

By and large the histories have tended to atomise the various factors within the historical narrative, particularly the internecine inter and intra-institutional intrigues within the left of the Australian polity. Too little regard has been paid to the convergent ends, means, and outcomes of institutionalised socialist and grass-roots public advocacy movements over time. To remedy the omission this enquiry has tried to give more depth, width, and explanatory power through the recognition that society in its totality is objectively more than a one-dimensional market place.

This analysis has taken into account that there is a larger social totality than the simply capitalist construct as a way of life, of measurement, and of organising society, with its inherent dynamic of perpetual social instability as a consequence of unmediated creative destruction. This is because that in spite of the hegemony and border crossing of capital, the economic and social relations of the life world, those actions and interactions not motivated by personal pecuniary avarice or the 'money unto itself' nexus, are empirically evident as embedded continuities and new social reactions to gratuitous exploitation of humans and the wider ecology. When socialist values are embedded within institutions

and nations there are correlations with high standards of living and welfare, as well as enhanced productive systems.

Consistent with these observations, by observing the developments in education from 1788 to 1941, we can discern the antecedents and foundations of the argument that the larger social totality, including socialist-type ideas, influences, and institutions, helped shape the New South Wales education system between 1941 and 1955. This involved making visible the ongoing institutional counter to a hegemonic discourse, structuring, and commodification of education. It can be discerned that system-building has been premised on cycles of reform stimulated by public reaction to the deficiencies of education provision. The deficiencies revolved around the failure of market and denominational provision of education. The evolving social classes and their institutional representatives or interlocutors adopted socialist-type strategies that were manifested in cycles of reform followed by periods of conservative reaction, revision or stagnation, then later acceptance.

Overall, however, there was no turning back the tide of reform. If one reform institution lost momentum another filled the void. Milestones of inclusive education correspond to the legislation of 1833, the Lowe Report of 1844, through the legislation of 1866, then 1880, 1904, 1925 to McKell's education reform commitment after 1941. While pressure for reform came from variegated socialist type influences, implementation took place within the medium of state legislation. The strategies were relative to the class relations to production, consumption, and aspirations, (whether, convict, aborigine, lumpenproletariat, proletariat, petty bourgeois) and their stage of institutional development and political power.

The relative consolidation and success of the public system institution to 1910 was to an extent also a default consequence of the inability of elites to construct a different coherent system due to inter and intra elite conflict between Catholic and Protestant, emancipist and exclusive, and commercial and rural capital. In effect the failure of the market and the denominations in the provision of education were powerful push factors towards public education.

The precedent was set of a fundamental break from the contemporary hegemonic educational discourse and orthodoxy of the Church of England with the dissolution of the

Anglican Schools and Church Corporation in 1833, and the ascendancy of the Irish National Public System as the foundational model in the face of reaction from the established churches, that not only broke direct Anglican hegemony, but through the utilization of non-denominational scripture, removed to a degree the spiritual and political imprimatur from all denominations, in effect a structural transference to the imprimatur of the state.

Then, we observed the Martin Ministry, with Henry Parkes as Colonial Secretary, win an 'education' election in 1858 but then being stymied by reaction in 1860, and then introducing compromise legislation in 1862 to stop denominational funding unless the denominations abided by the State's authority. We recall the Independent Radical and Colonial Secretary of NSW Parkes' comment that if everyone needed to be educated "it devolved upon the government of the state." In Parkes' 'no compromise' legislation of 1880 and his continual re-election we see the incremental legislative centralization of the Department of Public Instruction and the exclusion of the private and denominational systems from the state system, supported by the majority of the population. After 1880, both private and denominational systems needed to function without government subsidy.

We can see that these factors combined to form an environment conducive to public clamour for socialistic education reform. This manifested in State Labor's platform for free education in 1902 and the series of conferences in 1901, convened by the Public School Teachers Association and the education establishment, that helped focus the philosophy and logistics of educational reform in the 20th century, as well as set the scene for future teacher militancy.

The salient context in this early 20<sup>th</sup> Century period was the complex dynamic between the politicization of the population, the unions, the Labor Party, the formation and consolidation of an educational bureaucracy, teacher and parent institutions, the philosophy of inclusion engendered in "New Education", the relentless pressure upon constitutional and legislative provision, and the consequent incremental normalization of socialist-type Public Education theory and practise.

During the 'red twenties', Marxist communists, anti-Marxist Labor socialists, radical liberals, and the welfare demands of the population, culminated in mass demonstrations in

support of state intervention. It is clear that Jack Lang's support within the Labor Party in 1925 was based fundamentally on the strength of the 'Trades Hall Reds', for whom he had no great love, who had permeating the Labor machine. They had the numbers in the Party. The Trades Hall Reds included people like Robert Heffron, the future Education Minister and Premier of New South Wales, as well as future Communist leaders of the Teachers Federation such as Lewis and Norrington. All had an impact on the evolution and continuity of the socialist component of education in New South Wales.

With Labor's victory in the State domain, McKell was unequivocal about the goal to give "unlimited facilities to the children of the working classes from the kindergarten stage to the University."<sup>817</sup> With Minister Evatt, who believed in "progressive" education, and Minister Heffron with his practical bent, we see humane reformers trying to work outside of the usual constraints of education's low priority and limited funds. They, along with the NSWTF and the P&C, demanded a humane pedagogy, and Commonwealth funding, differentiating themselves from the conservatives, such as Mair, the leader of the UAP-CP coalition, who strenuously argued to stop all reform expenditure for the duration of the war, as evidenced in the Education Reconstruction Debate of 1942.

The reform leaders and their institutions were single minded in their endeavours not to let the very real demands of the war sabotage educational improvement specifically and welfare concerns generally. In short, the institutions believed education reform should not, and need not be, stymied by the war's unquenchable thirst for funding. The first thing required was an attitude that the community's education was synonymous with the war mandate of protecting the nation's welfare, that they were not mutually exclusive. Indeed, they were one and the same thing. In the words of Clive Evatt, the State Education Minister, "Those who would urge economy and retrenchment in education little understand the purpose for which the war is being fought."<sup>818</sup>

However, kindergarten, primary, and secondary education had to rely upon State Government finance with ongoing prompting by the NSWTF and the P&C to attain better egalitarian outcomes. A relentless game of catch-up ensued, in large part a consequence of

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<sup>817</sup> *NSWPP*, 23 July, 1941, p. 14.

<sup>818</sup> Cost of NSW Education, in *SMH*, 23 December 1941, p. 11.

the ten year pre-war lag in school construction and teacher training that occurred while the UAP-CP was in Government.

Therefore, during the war, through to the mid-1950s, State primary and secondary education was in crisis, if crisis is characterised by teacher shortages, insufficient school accommodation, and a lack of learning and teaching materials. Consequently, the lag in school and teacher resources induced school strikes by the P&C, who wished to apply maximum pressure through the media to the Government and society. The withdrawal of children from schools, or the threat thereof, stimulated further public concern and government intervention to remedy the problems as they arose. However, school strikes and the supply of equipment by the P&C were insufficient to offset a structural problem in education resourcing. Importantly, Education Minister Heffron concurred, pointing to the need for Commonwealth funding, with the Commonwealth's in-principle agreement.

The Commonwealth Curtin and Chifley Labor Governments worked under the same constraints as conservative governments yet were less constrained than the conservatives by conventional economic imperatives, priorities, and dogma. In effect, they had a "can do" attitude, incorporating Lydall's 'D' factor, which is applied when determining how two equal contenders may be differentiated for advancement to a given role. The personality or character comes into play. "D stands for drive, dynamism, doggedness or determination."<sup>819</sup> Such an attitude, founded on a tangible appreciation of the people's real distress, enabled Labor to drive the total war effort, with a social reform agenda, as opposed to the lack of a reform agenda of the conservatives. A Commonwealth institutional platform and rationale regarding education was created, with Dedman, the "full blooded socialist," becoming the first Commonwealth Minister of Education.

The Commonwealth Labor Government created an education infrastructure addressing the needs of both war and peace. The Department of Post War Reconstruction trained approximately 198,000 soldiers, sailors, and airmen. The Commonwealth Financial Assistance Scheme funded students who would have otherwise been unable to afford further education. The Universities Commission began its task to change universities from institutions synonymous with privilege and wealth.

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<sup>819</sup> H Phelps Brown, *The Inequality of Pay*, Oxford, Bath, 1979, p. 312.

The Army Education Service's extraordinary success and reach in preparing the military forces for the civilian new order has in the past been underestimated if not ignored by those who are not its historians. State technical education began to receive substantial Commonwealth funding, fundamental for increased inputs to production throughout the long boom, and a precursor to the Whitlam Labor Government's creation of TAFE in 1973.

The NSW Teachers' Federation throughout the period took the high moral ground, in effect being a corrective to the wanderings, meandering, and ad-hocery of the fiscal conservatives and denominational and private school advocates. The success of the NSWTF's united front with the P&C and other institutions, and its negotiating acumen in relation to pupil and teacher welfare, is in large part attributable to the tenacity of the largely Communist and left Labor leadership, which in taking a non-doctrinaire approach minimised the potential of schisms over off-focus doctrinal issues and gained the support of the majority of teachers.

An anti-left bloc did eventuate in the NSWTF, though Lewis' campaigns remained in place. However, the anti-left block lost power when Heath assumed the role as the formal education expert on the PSB, which the Federation had consistently and vehemently argued was an inappropriate body to control education. Consequently, Taylor, from the socialist block, won the election in 1955, in spite of, or because of, his communist associations

However, the Second World War engendered impediments to reform not easily overcome. The lack of funds from the Commonwealth Loans Council, the US dollar borrowing moratorium due to the Sterling Zone restrictions, the imperative demands of other welfare priorities such as housing and hospitals, along with the materials, labour, and teacher shortages, compounded a lag in school construction and teacher training in NSW that had been nurtured in the Depression by the contractionary fiscal regime of the Mair UAP-CP Coalition.

In summary, at the Commonwealth level an education rationale and funding platform was put in place, while at the State level there was continuing and accelerating growth, and

more sophisticated systems with an egalitarian pedagogical rationale, to utilise resources for education that would come online as tax receipts increased. The NSWTF and the P&C possessed the institutional tenacity to drive and/or compound the agenda in lieu of the varying degrees of Government leadership. Fundamentally, all institutions advocated an egalitarian socialist-process education system and compounded the normalisation of that ethos by legislative provision.

It needs to be emphasised that the needs of war and post-war economic development depended on Australia's ability to manifest the fundamental value-adding input to production of education. Consequently, those institutions favouring public education, and the NSW Labor Government's six-fold increase in education expenditure from 1941 to 1955, as well as Labor's efforts at the Federal level to 1949, need to be seen as timely and effective inputs to the efficiency of the war's execution, and the administrative and ethical foundation for a high standard of living in the post war period.

The Commonwealth education trajectory was truncated by the Commonwealth Liberal regime's anti-socialization agenda after 1949. However an education plateau had been reached. A plateau is a place from which one may descend to a lower place, or ascend to a higher place, the continuity in NSW fortuitously following the latter course, in spite of the lack of commonwealth input.

Of crucial significance is the fact that in-spite of the intensity of the cold war propaganda and its residue the electors of NSW continued to return Labor to power until 1965, during which the State Government offset Menzies' neglect at the Commonwealth level.

Spaull comments that "perhaps for education, the war years and the Whitlam years held a direct continuity?"<sup>820</sup> Spaull, I believe, is correct. He is correct not only because the main institutional players combined their efforts regarding education, and established the theoretical, material, and logistical preconditions, but also because of the popular culture of egalitarianism that permeated the Australian polity and infused the education debate.

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<sup>820</sup> A Spaull, *Australian Education, op. cit.*, p. ix.

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