

THE "NEW TIMES"
IS OBTAINABLE
AT
ALL AUTHORISED
NEWSAGENTS

THE NEW TIMES

GLACIARIUM
ICE SKATING
THE WORLD'S OLDEST
PASTIME
Two Sessions Daily
3 and 8 p.m. Admission 2/2
Boots and Skates, 1/- pair

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER EXPOSING THE CAUSES, THE INSTITUTIONS, AND THE INDIVIDUALS THAT
KEEP US POOR IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY

Vol. 3. No. 38.

MELBOURNE, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1937.

Every Friday, 3d

The Lie Direct For R. G. Casey

*

Mr. Macmahon Ball On The Churches

*

Exit H. A. Pitt

*

Cows Before Children

THE NEW TIMES

Published every Friday by New Times Ltd., Elizabeth House, Elizabeth and Little Collins Streets, Melbourne, C.1
Postal Address: Box 1226, G.P.O., Melbourne.

Telephone: M 5384.

Vol. 3. No. 38.
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1937.

Japan and Wool Again

A few weeks ago everything was rosy in the wool market. It was confidently anticipated that Japan would operate to at least as great an extent as she had done in the closing months of last season, and that prices would equal if they did not exceed those realised in the earlier part of this year.

But now things are far from rosy. At the opening of the new season's sales Japanese buyers attended only as spectators. The word went round that Japan would not be on the market as a purchaser until after Christmas. Prices dropped. Withdrawals were heavy. General confusion reigned.

An attempt has been made, as was done last year, to discount as far as possible the effect of Japan's abstention. The suggestion that the Federal Ministry intends to retaliate with new tariffs against Japanese goods has been denied. Very little publicity has been given to the hasty visit to Canberra of the chairman of the Australian Wool Board and the acting chairman of the National Council of Wool selling Brokers. Nevertheless, the gravest anxiety prevails.

Looking to the future, it is asserted in the Japanese newspapers — which, as last year, seem to be more fully and accurately informed than anyone in Australia but the Ministerial principals—that negotiations for a long-term treaty between Japan and Australia have practically broken down, so that, bad as the present position is, prospects are much worse.

As was the case last year, Japan is ready and anxious to buy very large quantities of Australian wool, and it is only the Australian Government, which is making it impossible for her to do so. For Australian woolgrowers want to be paid for their product with Australian pounds and not with Japanese yen. And Japan cannot secure the necessary Australian pounds unless she can sell her own products to Australians. For years past, Japan has been buying something like £5 worth of Australian produce for every £2 worth of our purchases of Japanese goods. The deficiency has been made up by the transfer to us, through London, of an accumulation of Japanese funds derived from her selling to other

countries more goods than she bought in exchange. But, thanks largely to that "Imperial" policy to which our Federal Government wishes us to be hangers-on, these avenues are being pretty effectively stopped against Japan. And unless we make a direct reciprocal treaty with our Japanese neighbours nothing seems more certain than that we are fated to lose this most valuable client for one of the lines in which Australia regularly produces a genuine surplus.

That no U.A.P. Government will make such a treaty is assured. For the first plank of U.A.P.-ism is that our present monetary arrangements must not be interfered with. And since those monetary arrangements make no provision for every increase in wool production to be accompanied by an equivalent increase in our money supplies, a U.A.P.-banker ruled people, being unable to buy the whole of their own output, will be unable, either, to buy goods in exchange for that output.

"Expend or Commit"

From time to time we have drawn attention to the dishonesty of the Lyons Ministry in putting aside into so-called trust funds nearly the whole of its surpluses of receipts over expenditure during the past few years. The procedure was dishonest because the Government thus practically ignored the accumulated deficits of the years immediately before; and even had there been no such deficits, the surplus receipts of one year should rather have been used to lower taxation in the following year.

The accumulated deficit was £17,216,000 on July 1, 1935, and against this the Government out of its surpluses has offset only £1,557,558, still leaving an accumulated deficit of £15,658,442. As against this, as the Treasurer explained in the House when presenting the 1937-38 budget, "the year 1936-37 closed with approximately £3,000,000 to the credit of the defence trust accounts. We propose to expend or commit the whole of this sum in the current financial year towards making financial provision for defence. I have used the words 'expend or commit' advisedly, as it is improbable that the whole of the Government's orders for defence equipment will fall due for payment in 1937-38, but, as the whole amount will be committed, I believe it is only right so to inform the Parliament and to make provision for its possible expenditure."

What a neat little scheme! If, as the Ministry fears, it is bundled out of office at the coming elections, it will have made sure that its successors have no spare funds to play with, and it will also have made sure, by placing the orders for equipment, that its plans cannot be countermanded, even though the electors presently vote against such plans. That is the Lyons Government's idea of democracy.

The Government's "defence" proposals for this year envisage the expenditure of £11,513,000, of which £6 millions will come from taxation, £2 ½ millions from a London loan, and the balance from the "trust" funds. Speaking in the House on August 27, Mr.

Casey said, in attempting to justify the borrowing of £2½ millions (£2 millions sterling) in London: "The Government will be faced with the necessity to meet financial commitments in Britain on account of the purchase of defence equipment that cannot be manufactured in Australia, to the approximate amount of £2,000,000 sterling in the current financial year. These commitments will thus be met without necessity for encroaching on our existing body of London funds." A few minutes later his table of expenditure on public works in Australia during 1937-38 included for defence only £3,309,000, and he added: "The figures for defence in this table represent the approximate defence expenditure in Australia on works. Expenditure in Great Britain for equipment and for other purposes has been omitted."

From this we take it that of the £11,531,000 defence vote over £8 millions, and not £2½ millions, is to be spent with the armament makers in Britain, the difference of nearly £6 millions representing orders for which delivery will not be given until after next June. If this be so, then Mr. Casey's statement about the £2½ million loan in London was, to put it mildly, disingenuous. How does he propose to provide the further sum for the Merchants of Blood in Britain? Will there be another loan next year, or is he paving the way, in case Labor gets in, for a repetition of the mangling process through which Mr. Scullin and the people of Australia were put on account of a shortage of London funds?

We suggest that the Opposition should give close attention to this aspect. In no department of our public affairs is there more room for racketeering than in this matter of defence. Because of the alleged need for secrecy in our moves against an enemy who has never even been named, it seems well-nigh impossible for the public to get any information as to how or on what their hard earned money is spent. And if anyone dares to raise the question a howl of "disloyal," "anti-British," or even "Communist" at once goes up from those who have under their control the manipulation of the vast funds concerned. If this be not a racket, at least it bears all the outward and visible characteristics of one.

Cows Before Children

We mentioned last week the withholding by the Federal Government of any financial assistance for those great numbers of children who will be left crippled as a result of the epidemic of infantile paralysis in Victoria. In this connection we should like to point out that the Government which cannot spare funds for such a purpose (at least as long as Victoria is administered by a Country Party which has broken away from the U.A.P. apron strings) has just placed on its estimates for the coming year an increase of £25,000 in the subsidy provided for the eradication of cattle tick.

There is, of course, this practical aspect, that healthy cattle for export will provide handsome returns to the meat monopolists in Australia and ample funds to pay interest to

the finance monopolists in London. As for healthy children—aren't we suffering for years from surplus labour?

The "Australian Manufacturer" on Parliaments

In the course of a biting editorial, "The Stampede in Taxation—Can Nothing Check It?" the *Australian Manufacturer* in its issue of September 11 covers a good deal of the same ground as is traversed in the article on page 2 of this issue. Setting out the table of Federal taxation from 1928-29 up to the budget estimate for 1937-38 it shows, as we have done, that taxation, instead of decreasing, is sharply increasing, and that last year the Commonwealth Government took from taxpayers a sum greater than the total of £60 millions realised from our entire wool clip.

The *Manufacturer* then goes on to suggest that a "rapacious Government taxes the people to handsomely pay an expensive Civil Service." We would suggest to our contemporary that it look a little further into the destination of taxes collected by Governments, both Federal and State, from the harassed taxpayers. We think it may then be induced to modify its views in this respect. Civil servants have economic security, of a sort; most of them have reasonable hours; but we certainly deny that the Civil Services are handsomely or even decently paid. This is not really a matter for argument, but for inspection of the schedules of payment, which we invite the *Manufacturer* to peruse for itself.

Of the moneys collected by Governments, more than half go to pay interest on sums created by private companies (in the form of bank ledger entries) and lent to the sovereign people. Of the balance, a very high percentage is absorbed in the pittances paid to the destitute.

We invite the *Manufacturer*, therefore, to inquire why the interest on the national debt alone now accounts for more taxation than the sum total of combined Federal and State levies at the end of the war? Why a national debt at all? And why, in a land like Australia, does it happen that every third person who reaches old age is in financial destitution?

The *Manufacturer* concludes its editorial thus: "The incompetence and idle chatter of our Parliamentarians are bringing the great cause of Democracy into ridicule. And something should be done—and done at once—to raise the standard of ability of our Parliamentary representatives. Then we might have less Party bickering, lighter taxation, and wiser laws. In this way, and in this way only, can the manufacturing industries of Australia grow and flourish and render to the people in fullest measure the great services they are capable of rendering."

We agree that something should be done, and done at once, to make Parliament effective. And we suggest to the *Manufacturer* that the best step to take is to put business methods into Parliament, to treat our M.P.s, who, as the *Manufacturer* says, "are virtually Civil Servants themselves," as servants, to demand from them the same test of RESULTS as any manufacturer would demand of his own paid staff — in short, to put into Parlia-

ment the doctrine of personal responsibility.

Only if we do this—and in so doing refuse to let ourselves fall into Party alignments—will either the manufacturing or the primary industries of Australia "grow and flourish and render to the people in fullest measure the great services they are capable of rendering."

Strikers and the Law

In an editorial under the above heading last Friday the *Argus* lauded Sir S. Argyle for "condemning in his policy speech or Wednesday night the Dunstan Ministry's inaction in the gas strike." The *Argus* went on to say: "The Ministry was guilty of more than cowardice and ineptitude. Because of its political affiliation it deliberately refrained from enforcing against the strikers a law on the statute-book," etc., etc.

On the following page the *Argus* gave an account of the trouble in the Sunbeam Colliery at Korumburra. In the course of its narrative appeared this statement from the pit manager: "Every miner has been given one week's notice, which expires tomorrow. The colliery will be closed indefinitely, because we cannot afford to pay the men the increased award rates, which become operative from tomorrow . . . We simply cannot work the mine successfully and pay these ridiculously high wages."

Did the *Argus* have any editorial comment on this? Of course not. But it cannot have it both ways. If it denounces a strike by employees against award wages, then it should equally denounce a lock-out by the employers against award wages. But logic was never a strong point with the *Argus*, old or "new."

A New Device for Sweating Insurance Employees

The wealthy insurance companies of Australia hit upon a new excuse for sweating their employees in the Arbitration Court last week. Opposing (successfully) the claim for an all-round increase of 4/6 a week for adult female employees, the plea was put forth that female employees with more than nine years' service had been given an increase of £14 last year, and the companies had agreed that it was better to give a substantial increase to girls making a career of insurance than to spread the increases throughout the scale.

On the surface this sounds very nice and considerate towards those "making a career of insurance," and apparently on that ground the companies got away with their case. But it would be interesting to know what proportion of the female staffs of insurance companies have over nine years' service, as against the proportion who have less. It seems reasonable to conclude that a relatively small number of the girls who marry would occupy office jobs for the longer periods.

As to the morals of the arrangement, with all due respect to Chief Judge Dethridge, they are barbarous. It is just and proper that, as a general rule, higher rates of pay should be awarded for greater efficiency—which was not raised in the issue. Apart from that, it is right that a person with a dependent family should receive a family wage. But the insurance companies' award tends the other (Continued on page 5, column 1.)

THE PRINTED WORD
in
**Pamphlets, Booklets, Leaflets,
Weeklies, Monthlies, Annuals,
Newspapers, Magazines, or
Books**
**EXCELLENTLY AND
ECONOMICALLY
PRODUCED**
By
**THE ADVOCATE PRESS
143-151 a'BECKETT ST.,
MELBOURNE.**
Phone: F 2673 (3 lines).

EXIT OF MR. H. A. PITT

"Some Cruel Things"

A Letter to the Editor from BRUCE H BROWN

Sir,
Mr. H. A. Pitt, a member of the Monetary and Banking Commission, has just retired from the position of director of finance in the Victorian Government Service. On the eve of his retirement he was presented with an easy chair, and the occasion was considered important enough for a special photograph and publication in the newspapers.

In the course of his reply to the complimentary speeches, Mr. Pitt complained that some cruel things had been said about him and the part he had played in connection with the Premiers' Plan, but that what he had done had been necessary to save the State. As usual, however, there was no reference to all to the identity of the monster from whom the State had to be saved.

To me this complaint from Mr. Pitt is the sign of a troubled conscience, and, in my judgment, he would have a far better prospect of securing peace of mind for the remaining years of his life if he endeavoured to rectify the wrong he had done the community and to make some restitution. The same applies to every other man who took part in imposing the crime of the Premiers' Plan upon us. No quantity of crocodile tears will ever drown the fact that it was a crime, as even the Banking Commission itself has been obliged to admit, nor will an attitude of injured innocence enable any of the participants to escape responsibility.

The Commission's Admission

On pages 209 to 211 of the Report we may read: "Two of the most important monetary measures taken during the depression were the expansion of central bank credit in 1931 and 1932, and the movement in the exchange rate in January, 1931. In each case, in our opinion, the depression would have been lightened and some of its worst effects avoided if these measures had been taken earlier . . . the proper policy for the governments to pursue if a depression is developing is to expand public works, refrain from increasing taxation, and avoid a general contraction of government expenditure, even although deficits are incurred."

Yet Mr. Pitt, who was supposed to be a director of finance, an "expert," advocated and insisted upon the very opposite course, with its untold misery and suffering for millions of his fellow-citizens at a time when there was a superabundance of all the material things they actually needed to prevent misery and suffering. I therefore look upon him as a man who publicly helped to rob me and my family, and I want him to publicly know it.

Perhaps no one has criticised Mr. Pitt's public activities more strongly than I have done, and consequently it is possible that his charge of cruelty is intended to apply to me. Mr. Pitt has a perfect right to object to cruelty as everyone else has, but it is usually the habit of the bully to squeal when he gets a taste of what he has been passing out to others.

Powers of Commonwealth Bank

There can hardly be argument against the fact that the only cir-

cumstance that prevents our people from getting the things they need so badly is lack of money, and that money is no more real than figures and tickets, i.e., it is only a matter of bookkeeping. There is definitely no lack of goods. Here again, even the Commission has had to admit the truth, as follows: "The special function of the Commonwealth Bank is to regulate the volume of credit in the national interest, and its distinctive attribute is its control of the Note Issue. Within the limits prescribed by law, it has the power to print and issue notes as legal tender money, and every obligation undertaken by the Commonwealth Bank is backed by this power of creating the money with which to discharge it . . . it can even make money available to governments or to others free of any charge." (Page 196.)

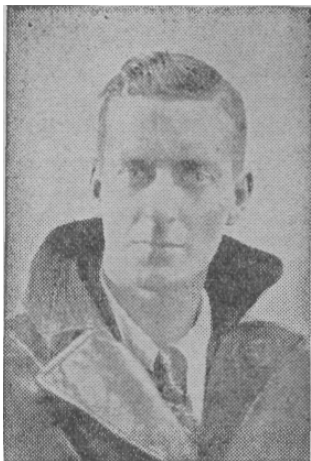
To create a thing is to bring it into existence, and this is the power vested in the Commonwealth Bank in regard to money. It can create it. If it could not create sufficient within the limits of the law, then, of course, it would be an easy matter to get the law altered. Notwithstanding this, our aged and infirm were called upon to suffer pension reductions because it was said there was not sufficient Australian money to pay them. That was not only an infamous lie, but it was a cruel and cowardly attack on those who could not defend themselves.

In simple language our only trouble at the time Mr. Pitt was brought on to the public stage was that our farmers could not get sufficient Australian money to pay their Australian debts; our business men could not get sufficient Australian money to meet their Australian costs; and our people in general could not get sufficient Australian money to buy Australian goods. Even an intelligent child could see that, but apparently Mr. Pitt and his fellow-"experts" could not. They said that the way to overcome a shortage was to intensify it by giving the people still less, an attitude so absurd that one is forced to wonder regarding the mentality of those who stood for it.

"The Quickest Way to Recovery"

In March 1934, this same Mr. Pitt opposed an increase in the basic

FREE YOURSELF FROM The Shackles of Debt Finance



In 1937
WORK and VOTE FOR:
**A. J. AMESS
FLINDERS**

1. Australia is over governed and needs only one Parliament. The Parliament of the People and No Party Politics.
2. Parliament Exists to Make the Will of the People Preval.
3. Money Must be made Man's Servant, Not Man's Master, and Must Be Issued Interest Free and Without Debt, by the National Credit Authority to the Government for all National Works.
4. Abolition of All Taxation. National Credit Authority to Equate Effective Demand with Production, and Abolish Poverty.

WE NEED YOUR HELP.
(Write for Literature)

Authorised by
W. HOLLWELL
90 Abbott St., Sandringham, S.8.
(Campaign Sec.)

wage on the ground that "the quickest way to financial recovery is to cut down expenditure of all kinds." He admitted that that would be an unpopular remedy, but said it was necessary to do that or increase taxation to secure the balancing of the Budget. He demanded that the Budget *should* be balanced. This was merely repeating the dictum of Sir Otto Niemeyer, that the lives and progress of the people must be confined within the limitations of financial figures fixed by private banks. In total disregard of the increasing wealth of the community he declared that we should be compulsorily made poorer merely to fit in with the interests of private financiers. It was not surprising that three months later his name was included in the "Honours" list with such financial notabilities as Sir Claude Reading, Sir Robert Knox and Colonel Cohen, who also had taken part in misleading the community.

In Every Deflationary Move

In July and August, 190, Sir Otto Niemeyer paid us a visit on behalf of the Bank of England (a private company), and directed action along severely deflationary lines. That is to say, producers were to get less for their production, and the general community was to have less money to spend. At the

WOOLGROWERS, PLEASE NOTE!

According to the August issue of the London Chamber of Commerce Journal, from the beginning of this year to June 19, Japan's unfavourable balance on her overseas trade amounted to 624,919,000 million yen (about £46 millions Australian).

This is due to the deliberate and progressive closing against her of all but her non-British Asiatic markets, and explains why she is having difficulty in financing purchases of Australian wool. The Australian market, like these others, has never given Japan full reciprocity.

Premiers' Conference, which assembled at the beginning of 1931, a committee of Treasury officials submitted a report "preserving much of the deflationary tone of Sir Otto Niemeyer's statement, and strongly urging the curtailment of government expenditure." Mr. Pitt was one of the Treasury officers.

At a subsequent conference of Premiers in May and June of the same year, another report of "a Committee of economists and Treasury officers" was submitted, and this report actually formed the basis of the Premiers' Plan. Professor Copland was the Chairman of that Committee, and, with Mr. G. D. Healy, Chairman of the Associated Bank's, was assisted by Mr. Pitt.

In April the following year "a Committee of experts appointed by the Commonwealth Government to make a preliminary survey of the Economic Problem," issued its report. Professor R. C. Mills (another member of the Banking Commission) was one of these experts, and the Chairman was Sir Wallace Bruce, of the bank-owning metal monopoly. Their recommendations included further cuts in wages and "the construction of public works when the reductions in costs of construction made it possible for such works to earn interest." At the back of the report Mr. Pitt expressed the opinion "that the spirit of the Premiers' Plan should be adhered to."

You see, he was in every deflationary move, and deflation means crucifixion for the masses.

Reporting the Birthday "Honours" in 1934, the Melbourne *Argus* gave the following particulars regarding Mr. Pitt: "He played a leading part at the Conferences which led to the institution of the Premiers' Plan. He is a representative of the States on the National Debt Commission, and in 1927 went to London on a financial

mission for the Victorian Government. In the last four years of financial stress his duties have been most arduous, and members of each of the Ministries which have been in power in that period have acknowledged the soundness of his advice."

In a condition of "financial" stress, deliberately engineered, the only "advice" Mr. Pitt could give was to attack everything *except the cause*. He had been directly associated with the private bankers and other representatives of the financial monopoly, and undoubtedly had been partly responsible for the imposition and intensification of suffering and hardship on the community during the years since 1930. It is not too much to say that he has been a reliable agent of the Debt system, and it is quite clear from his latest remarks that he would have permanently chained us to that murderous system. Yet he protests that criticism has been cruel! What about the cruel things his so-called Premiers' Plan did to the people? And what about the cruel motives of those agents of the International Money Monopoly (Guggenheim Gregory and Niemeyer) who came here to impose the hardships upon us?

The Dissenter

Is it any wonder that Mr. Pitt dissented from the criticisms in the Commission's Report against the failure of the Commonwealth Bank in the early stages of the depression? The fact of the matter is that the Commonwealth Bank was merely the catspaw of the Bank of England, and Mr. Pitt a catspaw of local banking interests. He had the chairman of the Associated Banks as a collaborator and recommended steps calculated to safeguard the banks quite regardless of the needs of the people.

Listen to the admissions of the Commission taken from page 212 of its Report: "...it would have been better had the expansion in central bank credit come earlier. It should have been undertaken as a matter of policy when there was a serious contraction in London funds at the end of 1929, and should have been continued on a larger scale in 1930 . . ."

Instead of this, however, Mr. Pitt, working with bank representatives, was preparing schemes calculated to place us further in pawn to money-lenders who in reality were fraudulently lending what already belonged to the nation. The Commission

also said that "Even after the Premiers' Plan of June, 1931, the Bank appears to have been rather reluctant in undertaking the required expansion." But Mr. Pitt continued to be one of its faithful agents, and three years later was still preaching further cuts and less nutrition!

In his "dissent and reservations" at the end of the Commission's Report, he has written this: "It is easy to over-rate the importance of banking functions . . . The world's monetary system is disorganised. This is largely due to the policy pursued by leading nations of throttling trade and bottling gold . . . I dissociate myself from the criticisms of the conduct of the Commonwealth Bank during the period of acute depression."

In other parts of the Report it is clearly shown that the "throttling of trade" and the "bottling of gold" are both the work of bank action, but, despite this, he deliberately leaves the impression that it is the work of the "nations," i.e., the people through their elected representatives! He also knows, and admits that he knows, that imports are purposely interfered with by the banking system to suit its own purposes, and that the hand that caused the depression is the same hand that throttled trade.

As for the "bottling of gold," that is a sad story. With the expenditure of much energy we dig it from the ground and solemnly transport it for storage in another hole called a bank vault. So far as the Australian people are concerned they have rarely seen the stuff, and their money seems to be just as effective now as it was when our Treasury held some substantial quantities of the metal referred to. So far as I have been able to find out, the people eat food—not gold; they wear clothes—not pieces of metal; they build houses and hospitals with bricks and mortar—not with money symbols. Yet Mr. Pitt has always placed, and would continue to place, mere symbols not only above the people themselves, but also above the wealth they produce, and professes to be cruelly hurt when he is denounced for such stupidity.

All men of this type must be brushed aside by a united people determined to obtain from Parliament the results they desire, and resolutely demanding that whatever is physically possible shall be made financially possible if the sovereign people so desire.

Yours faithfully,
BRUCE H BROWN

SURRENDER VALUE - OR PLUNDER?

A Policy With the M.L.C.

Further to our article a fortnight ago, "Insurance Companies as Workers' Enemies," a correspondent asks us to ventilate her experience with the Mutual Life and Citizens' Assurance Company, Limited. We give the case as set out by our correspondent:—

She took out a policy with the above company for £150 at death or £250 at 70 years of age. On this, she states, she paid four premiums of £18—£72 in all—and then, finding herself unable to continue with her payments, inquired of the company as to the cash surrender value of her policy.

She received the following reply, dated 8th inst.:—

"Dear Madam,—

"In reply to your letter of the 3rd inst., we have to advise that the present cash surrender value of the above policy, sum assured and bonuses, would be £38/4/5. This quotation will hold good until the 15th prox.

"Alternatively, a loan up to £34 would be available against the above policy which would be held as security until such time as the loan is fully repaid. Interest on advances of this nature is at the rate of 6 per cent, per annum, payable half-yearly. The loan may be repaid in a lump sum or by instalments at any time.

"This policy makes a valuable provision for payment of £250 and accrued bonuses (at present £14/7/6) at age 70, and we would recommend that the contract be continued as originally intended."

Having no hope of repaying the loan, and needing the money, our correspondent took the £38/4/5.

* * * *

We don't feel that it is necessary to comment either on the surrender value of a policy with the M.L.C. or on the rate of interest it charges its clients for the loan of part of the money they have already paid in. But we would remind readers that this company manages, by dint of a struggle, to pay its shareholders dividends of 80 per cent per annum and upwards.

(Continued from page 4.)
way. It penalises girls who may be saving up to get married, and makes some sort of restitution when they abandon the idea of marriage in favour of a "career of insurance."

This insurance company arrangement reminds one of Myer's recent announcement that "substantial" bonuses would be paid to all employees with 25 years of service behind them.

"WHAT ARE THE MEN OF THE CHURCH GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?"

"The Australian Churchman" Hits Out

Here is the excellent editorial, which was given pride of place in the *Australian Churchman* (organ of the Church of England Men's Society in Australia) of 1st inst.:

"The following resolution was recently carried by the Rockhampton Synod:—

"We, the members of the Synod of the Diocese of Rockhampton, desire to place on record in the sight of all men our grave concern at the continuance for so long of a state of poverty in the midst of abundance, as well as our deep disapproval of the increasing inroads which are still being made upon individual liberty, with the result that multitudes of God's children are

to be sincerely congratulated upon its initiative in thus leading the whole Church of Australia to think out a very important subject. It has laid its finger upon two things which are causing much searching of heart to many people in our day (a) the unnecessary existence of poverty in the midst of plenty, and (b) the Fascist tendencies that are gradually creeping into our body politic.

"With regard to (a): There was a time when the world was quite unable to produce sufficient food for all its inhabitants, and a large part of the community were of necessity living below the bread line. Poverty and under-nourishment were rife everywhere. In those days the privileged classes were those who were able to keep their larders full. They owned large lands to bear them harvests, and were able to keep in thrall-dom working for them a large retinue of serfs dependent upon them for the bare necessities of life. From these retainers they could mobilise armies to do their fighting for them, and thus by conquest acquire perhaps still further power and possessions, and unless a man wanted to starve he was forced to take service under them.

"In those days there was such a thing as *Holy Poverty*, which, in one sense, meant that the man who practised it willingly deprived himself of the necessities of life so that there might be all the more for someone else less fortunately placed. There was a virtue in thus becoming poor, and the parable of the Gospel could be literally fulfilled, the sheep and the goats.

"But those times have been left a long way behind today, through education of the masses and the advance of science in every sphere of life. Today we can grow twenty or more grains of wheat where only one could be grown before. Machinery has made it possible to prepare foods and clothing more than sufficient for the needs of all in a fraction of the time, and at the cost of a fraction of human toil. But human toil in the old days meant money or purchasing power; in other words, it was the means of distribution, and herein lies the anomaly that we are witnessing today, poverty in the midst of plenty. Work is still regarded as providing purchasing power, and only a fraction of the work is available to be done. We have changed our means of production, but not our means of distribution. Money is still power, and the haves have a strangle-hold on the have-nots by artificial means now which they held by sheer force in days gone by.

"The shareholders in a large

company, whose employees are on a stay-in strike, asking for a slight increase on their wage of £3/18/1 per week, are being regaled at their annual meeting with the news that they are to receive 7.7 per cent, dividend on their investment for the year. Coffee beans by the thousands of tons are fed to boilers, as reported in our papers only this week, in order to keep the price up. The cost of living rises with every increase in the basic wage, and so one could go on with anomaly after anomaly. And all the time it is known that there is more than enough being produced today to enable everybody to live comfortably and without nagging worry and fear for the future.

"The sheer wickedness of it all almost appalls you. One looks at the miserable hovels in which people are forced to live with their families in our capital cities, because of this thing we call poverty. A poultry farmer would not allow such shelters for his fowls if he managed his farm on the latest scientific lines. Christian men, there is only one body in the community today that can bring about a change in all this, the only body that has no vested interest, or personal axe to grind, and that body is the Christian Church. Rockhampton has led the way. Who will follow the lead?"

"With regard to (b), the tendency to encroach more and more on the personal liberty of the subject, much could be said. Australia has her Mussolinis and her Hitlers, and some of them occupy the seats of the mighty as demonstrated but a short time ago in Canberra, and they need to be watched. What are the men of the Church going to do about it?"

CATHOLICS AND COMMUNISM

Outspoken Comment by Franciscan Journal

The September issue of the widely circulated *Crusader*, published by the Franciscan Fathers in Sydney, devotes a lengthy editorial to the question of practical steps towards social reform. In the course of this, when dealing with the attitude of "the average Catholic," the *Crusader* says:—

"In Australia, unfortunately, all that the average Catholic appears to be doing to combat Communism is to abuse its adherents, and sometimes to read articles couched in a similar strain, or perhaps to listen to a lecture now and again which expatiates upon the failure of the Russian experiment or the excesses of the Government forces in Spain. The editor of *Blackfriars*, the Dominican magazine published at Oxford, says: 'The Catholic argument against Communism consists in evoking pictures of mongoloid Muscovites, with blood-imbued hands. We are not fighting a bogey, but an idea, and an idea that is so strong because part of it is so true.' And another writer in the same magazine: 'Before we speak too harshly of the Communists, it is well to remember that it is the apathy and infidelity of Christians to their social mission which has made Communism possible and plausible...'

"There is an old saying to the effect that it is not much good preaching to a hungry man until you have fed him. Similarly, it is not much good asking a Communist to abandon his creed until you have removed the abuses which have made him embrace it, and you can give him something better to put in its place. The masses of the workers today want something more material and tangible than a statement of principles, however beautiful and true. Before Christ preached to those who had followed Him throughout the day, He fed them: 'I have compassion on the multitude.'"

IT CANT HAPPEN HERE

I certify that any of the under mentioned events is so unlikely as to warrant the use of the above title.—W. Blackstone, Minister for Mendacity.

At the City Court at Melbourne today a lady was convicted on a charge of shoplifting. The *Melbourne Herald* reported the case in the following manner: "A woman was convicted on a charge of shoplifting, on a charge of larceny from a city emporium. She was sentenced to a term of imprisonment of 14 days. The emporium at which the alleged larceny took place was the well-known place of business of our best advertisers, to wit, the Myer Emporium Ltd. In fairness to the relatives of the lady concerned, we will not publish her name."

In the *Melbourne Herald* today appeared the following rather unorthodox statement: "We have for a long time been advising the public to buy only advertised brands, and of course we meant more particularly such commodities as are advertised in our own columns. We have closely scrutinised our columns over the last few weeks, and are horrified to see that the following incidents have been pictorially described:—

"(a) That a lady was successful in securing a husband by the

astray by the bleatings of a mob of benighted sectaries. In future my efforts will not be directed to the suppression of skill-ball or other trivial amusements of the poor. I intend to attack the real evils in our midst, such as the indiscriminate gambling on the Stock Exchange, the unchecked sale of liquor at privileged clubs and, what I regard as most serious of all, the frightful prevalence of race suicide—a filthy, insidious practice which has grown

SHOW THIS TO MR. LYONS, PLEASE!

A YOUTH WHO COLLAPSED LAST NIGHT IN ST. KILDA ROAD WAS FOUND, WHEN EXAMINED BY DOCTORS AT PRINCE HENRY'S HOSPITAL, TO BE SUFFERING FROM THE EFFECTS OF STARVATION.

—"Argus," Sept. 10.

apace and which must result eventually in the extinction of our race. I shall probably in the near future have something to say about the economic causes that have led to this practice, and I will certainly denounce the responsible parties, even though they include the parishioners of my most fashionable churches."

* * *

In the Central Court today Judge Hogwash gave judgment in the case of *Garnholm v. Stinchar*. The learned Judge stated that the points raised by the defendant were so difficult that he would be quite incompetent to give a decision that would not be upset by a Court of Appeal. Although he considered that the plaintiff was a liar whose mendacity was exceeded only by that of his witnesses, he (the learned Judge) must find for the plaintiff upon the facts, otherwise he might find himself in difficulty.

* * *

At the annual meeting of the Woop Woop branch of the B.M.A. Dr. Hoggleswart stated that it was deplorable that the members of the medical profession were displaying such absolute ignorance of the source of the epidemic of infantile paralysis and of the methods that should be adopted to combat this pestilence. He was unwilling to say that they were a pack of half-wits, but plenty of people would say that for him—

A Voice: "If we are, what about the legal profession?"

Dr. Hoggleswart: "Don't be dirty."

The proceedings then closed.

THE CHIEF FACTOR

The "Herald" report of Sydney wool sales:

"Most overseas countries are short of wool stocks, and this, WITH INCREASING WORLD SPENDING POWER DUE TO REARMAMENT, is the chief factor working for wool prosperity."

LAUNCESTON, TASMANIA.

Listen in to 7LA EVERY SUNDAY EVENING AT 7.40.

TO RECALL RELIGION

In the course of his charge to the Diocesan Synod in Melbourne on Monday night, Archbishop Head, pleading for a "recall to religion," also advocated rearmament, to an extent sufficient to enable Britain to "curb the military ambitions of Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado!"

Demanded that the Church throw in its lot with the armamenters.

Advocated increased taxes for this purpose.

Counselled young men to join the army.

Insisted that Australia should "stand up to her Imperial obligations."

Denounced the gas strikers. Practically said that all good churchmen should vote U.A.P.

And declared that Australian children must be taught that the policy of "the Empire" in international affairs was always right.

being kept in a state of indigence and servitude.

"We, therefore, urge that our temporal administrators take such means as will enable our people to enjoy the abundance of God's material blessings in freedom, without imposing any additional hardship on any section of the Community. We further call upon all Christian people to bring this resolution to the notice of their representatives in the Parliament of the Commonwealth by personal letter in unequivocal terms, insisting that action be taken without delay."

"The Rockhampton Diocese is

TO OUR READERS—

You may obtain your copy of "THE NEW TIMES" from any authorised newsagent. Should your agent not have supplies, please ask him to communicate direct with New Times Ltd., Box 1226, G.P.O., Melbourne, C.I. (Phone M 5384).

If you wish to have your copy posted direct from this office, please complete the form below and mail it, accompanied by remittance payable to New Times Ltd.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM.

To New Times Ltd.,

Box 1226, G.P.O., Melbourne,

Please forward me "The New Times for.....

months, beginning with issue dated....., 193.....

cheque

I enclose postal note for the sum of.....

money order

Name.....

Full Postal Address.....

Date.....

Please fill in name and address in block capitals.

The subscription rate to "THE NEW TIMES" is 15/- for 12 months; 7/6 for 6 months; 3/9 for 3 months, post-free.

ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN NOTES

VICTORIA

Electors of Australia, the time is arriving when we can be articulate. What will we have to say? Will we be "pretty joes" echoing the inane platitudes dinned into our ears by one party or another? Or will we be intelligent citizens expressing *commonsense*? Commonsense, the dictionary tells us, is the opinion of a community, and it cannot be denied that the opinion of the community is that the vast wealth, and the still greater potential wealth, of the country should be released and allowed to serve the needs of the community. As individuals, what is it that we want above all things? Ninety out of every hundred of us crave for release from fear of what the future may hold for one's self, and for those near one whom parents hold dearer than themselves; and there is a longing for self-expression—a little time to do those things one really wants to do. And this desirable state can be attained when we use our commonsense. That is, when we use our intelligence by using our right to instruct our Legislative Institution, through our paid representatives, in what we, as a people, want; and by not allowing ourselves to be divided into sections parroting the dictates of sectional interests.

Balaclava Electorate. —A meeting to discuss special activities in Balaclava will be held in the U.E.A. Rooms, 5th Floor, McEwan House, on Tuesday evening, September 21. The following meetings, so far, have been fixed and anyone willing to help in the work of advertising can get in touch with the local organiser.

Thursday, Sept. 16. - - Crofts Hall, 298 Glenhunting Road (near Kooyong Rd.), Elsternwick. Local Organiser: T. Taylor, 5 Bundeera Road, Caulfield.

Monday, Sept. 20. —St. Leonards Hall, Wollesley Grove (near New St.), Brighton Beach. Local Organiser: G. Lagoni, 2 Bagley Street, Brighton.

Thursday, Sept. 23. —A.N.A. Hall, Blanch Street (off High St., near Carlisle St., St. Kilda). Local Organiser: 5 Testar Grove, Caulfield.

Monday, Sept. 27. —A.N.A. Hall, Regent Street (near Ripponlea Railway Station). Local Organiser: A. Campbell, 21 Seymour Road, Elsternwick.

Wednesday, Sept. 29. —Social Club Hall, Spink Street (near Gardenvale Railway Station). Local Organiser: G. Chapman, 20 Younger Street, Caulfield.

Wednesday, Oct. 6. —Men's Club, Pt. Nepean Road (near Bay St.). Local Organiser: W. Iggulden, 1 Gillard Street, Brighton East.

Coburg formed a Campaign Committee at the meeting held in the Town Hall on Wednesday, September 8. The committee is to meet this week and settle down to a working basis.

Brunswick has an enthusiast in Mr. E. E. Smith, 2 Barrow Street, Brunswick, who intends to have a small meeting in Brunswick. Anyone interested should get in touch with him.

Thorpdale reports activity in leaflet distribution as a barrage to signature canvassing. "Intend to clean up the whole district in one sweep, in a couple of weeks' time," is a sentence that says things are stirring. "I have 12 acres and my neighbour 15 acres of potatoes. Good crops, but won't pay to dig them." Abundance going to waste and many homes sadly in need of potatoes. Is there justification in the Demand that Poverty be abolished?

Brighter Times Club. — Don't forget Tuesday, September 28.

Monster dance; novelties, Monte Carlo, supper. Subscription, 2/2 (includes tax), at St. Patrick's Hall, 470 Bourke Street, City.

Narre Warren. —An enthusiastic meeting was held here on Wednesday, the 8th inst. The organiser, Mr. Lukeis, of the Christian Social Order Group, got 50 enthusiasts together, despite counter attractions. Councillor Robinson showed a commendable public spirit by taking the chair. He expressed deep concern about the absence of Dr. John Dale through illness; a motion was passed wishing the Doctor a speedy recovery. Dr. Hornabrook, referred to at the meeting as the fiery doctor, dealt with the aspect of poverty from the medical angle, also the futility of the Party System. He will be a wonderful Crusader when he develops the Electoral angle of the Campaign. The

ABOUT TIME HE RETIRED

Sir Walter Massy-Greene (U.A.P., N.S.W.) was criticised in the Senate tonight for his failure to attend sittings of the Senate.

Senator G. Brown (Lab., Q.) said that some explanation was due to the Senate, and that an inquiry should be made. "I have been informed by the leader of the Government (Sir George Pearce) that out of 112 sittings of the Senate since October, 1934, Sir Walter Massy-Greene has attended only 15 times, and on only eight occasions has had leave of absence," he said. —"Argus," Sept. * 10.

It is now announced that Sir W. Massy-Greene will not seek re-election. We presume his Collins House directorships have become a full time job.

Campaign Director, O. B. Heatley, handled this angle in very simple terms, and, judging from the signatures obtained, the presentation was effective. It was learned at this meeting that Mr. J. W. Turner, of Berwick; Mr. Horrigan, of Upper Beaconsfield, and Messrs. Trimell and E. Hammond, of Officer, are anxious to start something in these districts. They will be pleased to hear from anyone willing to join them.

Mr. Butler's Tour —Mr. E. D. Butler reports from the country that the response to the Campaign is encouraging. Wangaratta is firmly entrenched and already has over 200 signatures. Mr. Butler has organised a public meeting for Wangaratta next week, and reports that things will move before the elections. Meetings are also being arranged for Benalla, Shepparton and Glenrowan. All North-Eastern towns can expect a visit from Mr. Butler, and are urged to cooperate as much as possible now that the Campaign can be definitely launched before the elections. New ground is also being opened up, and the Electoral Campaign will become a big force in the Northeast before long. Mr. Butler expects to broadcast from Shepparton, thus awakening further interest.

Business Men are behind this campaign to abolish poverty. — Businessmen are now realising that their only real problem is a poverty-stricken public. They are also realising that in this country there is no need for poverty, and that, if the people's will is crystallised and a nationwide demand made, no power in the form of monopolistic interests can withstand it. To achieve this end, shopkeepers are using their influence to publicise the Campaign to Abolish Poverty by displaying posters on their counters and by keeping a

supply of literature and Electors' Demand forms, which they are getting their customers to sign.

So that supporters of the Campaign may know the shopkeepers who are financially helping a special form bearing the signature of the campaign secretary will be made available. The displaying of this in the window will indicate that the shopkeeper is a subscriber to the Campaign also. All people connected with the movement are advised to look for these forms and to patronise to their utmost those displaying them.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Greetings from the Marquis of Tavistock —A short letter from the Marquis of Tavistock conveyed greetings to the United Democrats of South Australia. He expressed regret at not seeing his way clear to become a patron of the movement, but certainly wished us well and forwarded us a small parcel of his own writings. To show that he is convinced of the idea of pressure politics and the demand for results it will serve very well to quote from some of the literature:

"There is only one road to safety. Either these blind guides must be replaced by leaders of vision and courage who are not blind; or the people of Britain must cease to look for leadership from those who cannot lead and, *doing their own thinking and taking the initiative for themselves*, must plainly order and direct those who are supposed to represent them both as to what they shall do and also as to what they shall not do. Time is short and at any moment apathy and delay may bring disaster."

Our Campaign Director. —We are pleased to see that Mr. M. E. Dodd is doing some good work in Sydney. So glowing are the reports that we are afraid that if we are not careful the movement in N.S.W. will be trying to keep Mr. Dodd over there. If that proved to be the case we would try a little pressure politics in order to win him back again. However, we are sure that his experience in the other States will be of value to this section of the movement on his return.

A Visitor from New South Wales —During the week we were pleased to receive a visit

THE QUESTION SCIENTISTS DON'T ANSWER

"Now that international war was again knocking at the door it was rather late to begin study of crucial problems of human change," said the Professor of Mathematics at the Imperial College of Science (Professor H. Levy).

Scientists could readily tell the distance of the sun from the earth, but such an elementary question—fundamental to social life—as to why there were so many poor was unanswered.

Scientists ignored this most important of social questions because science had isolated itself from the general welfare.

"Herald," Sept. 11, reporting London Congress of British Association for the Advancement of Science.

from Mr. Norton, of Tamworth, N.S.W. It is very fine indeed to make contact with those from the other States who are interested in similar things to ourselves. We were very pleased to receive Mr. Norton's greetings from his district and we most sincerely reciprocate them. With groups working all over Australia, such as the one

represented by Mr. Norton, they must surely bring about a remarkable change in a short time.

Greetings from Perth—We have received a very interesting and encouraging letter from Mr. T. James, Campaign Director in Perth. As Western Australia was the first State to launch the Electoral Campaign, naturally their longer experience will give them a greater knowledge, part of which, no doubt, they will be glad to pass on to other States. Mr. James enclosed a circular dealing with their activities during the coming Federal Election period. Perhaps it is because the outline of their actions during this period is so similar to the less detailed plan, which we drew up that we find their circular so interesting. We would like to commend them on it

THE HISTORIC QUESTION

The following is the actual text, as taken from Hansard, page 652, of the statement of the Prime Minister concerning oil in New Guinea from which arose last week's unprecedented scenes in the House:—

OIL IN DUTCH NEW GUINEA

Mr. Lyons. —On the 27th August, the honorable member for East Sydney (Mr. Ward) asked the following question, without notice:—

"Will the Minister for the Interior communicate with the Administrator of New Guinea to ascertain whether there is any truth in the report that is circulating, that oil in commercial quantities has been found in Dutch New Guinea in close proximity to British territory?"

I desire to inform the honorable member that the Commonwealth Government has no information regarding the discovery of oil in Dutch New Guinea, and, in reply to inquiries made of them, the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua and the Administrator of New Guinea, have advised that they have no information regarding any such discovery.

and trust that this attempt to capitalise the psychological moment during the election period will bear fruit. In particular, we would like to comment on the suggestion that a trained team of speakers should attend every election meeting, in order to ask a series of questions of the candidate. These questions would be framed in a logical sequence and working up to a final decisive point. Thus, these meetings will prove educational to the team themselves, to the candidates and, lastly, to the electors assembled. We note that at these meetings nothing should be done or said to antagonise the candidates, but all is to be along the lines of education and publicity. We thank Mr. James for his letter and greetings, which are heartily reciprocated.

Lunch Hour Address —Rev. A. E. Weston delivered a very fine address to the members at the Friday luncheon. Mr. Weston said that he was not there to defend anything, not even the Church, but was going to attack. This he did, and very effectively. He pointed out how a false philosophy had resulted in the world attaching too much importance to property and practically no importance to human beings. A number of questions were asked Mr. Weston and out these came a promise from him to assist as far as possible in winning the support of quite a number of his brother Ministers.

Women's Discussion Afternoon to be held in the rooms, Wednesday, September 22, at 3 o'clock. Speaker, Miss Rose Tinge. Subject: "Woman and Social Conditions." Afternoon tea. Collection.

New Times SHOPPING GUIDE and Business Directory

PATRONISE THESE ADVERTISERS.

Their advertisement helps your paper. Say you saw it in the "New Times."

MELBOURNE (Cont.)

(Continued from page 3.)

KEW.

ANDERSON'S, 141 High St. Authorised Newsagent. Haw. 1145. BUTCHER, S. Daw. High Street, Opp. Union St. Satisfaction, S'vice. C. KENNEDY, Grocer. Haw. 229. Opp. Cemetery Clock, Parkhill Rd. DRY CLEANING, Depot & Library A. I. Fraser, 182 High St. H. 3733. E. WHITE, 109 High St. Confectionery and Smokes. FLORIST, "Mayfair," Haw. 1452 Cotham Rd., near Glenferrie Rd. GIBSON'S, High St., opp. Rialto. Hosiery, Underwear and Aprons. GIFTS, & All Jewellery Repairs. Old Gold Bought, Greaves, opp. Rialto. LADIES' Hairdresser. Haw. 5605. "Burnie Salon," 81 Cotham Rd. M. J. MARTIN, 157 High St. Haw. 3794. Shoe Store, Shoe Repairs.

KEW EAST.

WATCH, CLOCK & JEWELLERY REPAIRS. I. Pink, 16 Oswin St. WICKER & Pram Repairs. L. Pavitt, 2 Hale St. Pick up and deliver.

MORELAND.

BOOT REPAIRS. J. T. Nolan, Holmes St., 4 drs. Moreland Rd.

NORTHCOTE.

GRAY & JOHNSON Pty. Ltd. Leading Land and Estate Agents. 742 High Street, Thornbury.

SANDRINGHAM.

A. R. RYAN, SHOE REPAIRS. Opp. Stn. Tennis Racquet Repairs BIGGS & LOMAS, Tailors. First-class Workmanship. Suit Club. CONFECTIONERY and SMOKES. Gibson's, Bay Rd., opp. Theatre. GROCERS, McKAY & WHITE. Bay Rd., opp. Theatre. XW 1924. HAIRDRESSER and Tobacconist. A. E. Giddings, 13 Station St. HOME MADE CAKES. F. TAYLOR, 21 Bay Rd. XW2048. LIBRARY, 5000 BOOKS. COUTIE'S NEWSAGENCY.

PARKDALE.

RADIO REPAIRS AND SALES. C. Barnett, 19 Herbert St. XW2031.

SPRINGVALE.

DAIRY, M. Bowler. Buckingham Ave.

R. MACKAY & SONS. General Storekeepers. UM 9269. WILLIAMSTOWN.

DON B. FISKEN, Baker. 122 Douglas Parade.

DUNSTAN, DAIRYMAN. 28 Station Rd. 'Phone, W'town 124.

HAIRDRESSER and Tobacconist. C. Tomkins, 165 Nelson PL, 76 Ferguson St.

WINDSOR.

E. COOKE, 49 Chapel St. W. 8044. High Class Butcher (Cash).



Gathering of the Class on Saturday, September 25, at 8 p.m., at Hanson Street Hall. Arranged by Mrs. Baker. Supper, 1/-. Admission free.

A Course of Instruction in credit, Social Credit, money and exchange will commence on Monday, September 20, at 8 p.m., in the United Democrats' Rooms, 17 Waymouth Street, Adelaide. Fee, 5/-. At the close of the course an examination will be held and certificates granted to the successful candidates. Instructor, Mr. D. J. Amos, F.A.I.S.

WHAT I THINK OF THE CHURCHES TODAY

By **W. MACMAHON BALL, M.A.**

Senior Lecturer in Political Philosophy
and Modern Political Institutions,
the University of Melbourne.

A Broadcast delivered for the Australian Broadcasting Commission,
and printed by kind permission

abundantly clear that Mr. J. M. Keynes was right when he said that "modern capitalism is absolutely irreligious, without internal union, without much public spirit, often, though not always, a mere congeries of possessors and pursuers." In a word, capitalist economics is built on the assumption that the main purpose of life is to make as much money as possible, and that the main test of success in life is the possession of money. This system has resulted in gross injustice and widespread and unnecessary misery.

This is the sort of world we live in and there are three sorts of people who want to change it.

For my part I prefer the Christian solution. But if Christians are to change the world we would naturally expect the Christian Churches to be the organisation working for the change. There could hardly be a greater contrast than that between a Christian society and the world that we live in. We would expect the Christian Churches to be at war with the world; to be waging an incessant fight against the injustice of our economic life and the primitive tribalism of our national ideals. If Christians don't win, then it's a straight fight between Fascism and Communism for the religious loyalty of exasperated men.

The Christians' Opportunity

But there is not only a special urgency in the situation facing the Churches today; there is a special opportunity. In the first decade after the war there was a widespread spirit of disillusionment, bitterness and ennui throughout the world. The 1920's were a decade of cocktails, jazz, Freud and frivolity. But in these last six or seven years there is plenty of evidence in every country that the young people, at least, demand some rule to live by, something that will give some purpose and value, some fixity of direction to their lives. They have discovered that a life without some sort of religion, some kind of ideal bigger than their own enjoyments, is a dull and tiring life. They have found out that a life free from conventional restraints sounds much more attractive when described from the pulpit than when lived in the cabaret. They are in search of a loyalty. In Europe some find it in Fascism; some find it everywhere in Communism, others find it in the Oxford Groups. The success of all these movements is of great psychological importance. It shows that many people only find happiness when they are moved by a great ideal; when they are driven by a spiritual impetus. And it shows that there are millions of people all over the world today looking for some sort of spiritual lead.

This is the special opportunity of the Churches.

Churchmen May Protest

Already I can hear loud protests against the line I am taking. Perhaps some Catholics are listening and they will say: "Don't you know that the Catholic Church has made a number of authoritative pronouncements on social questions? Haven't you read the Papal Encyclicals, the 'Rerum Novarum' given by Leo XIII in 1891; the 'Quadragesimo Anno' of Pius XI, given in 1931; and the 'Divini Redemptoris' given in March this year? Don't you know that the Catholic Church is at war with atheistic Communism, and that the Pope has boldly denounced the nationalism of Mussolini and the racialism of Hitler?"

Yes; I don't think anyone seriously interested in social questions can afford not to read the extremely important Encyclicals of the Pope. But I still cannot escape the conviction that if the Church had used the immense spiritual, intellectual and political power it possesses to remove the economic injustices and miseries, which have produced the resentment that has given birth to Communism, then it would not need today to be marshalling all its forces against Communism itself. I can well understand the Pope's antagonism to Communism as a political creed, for Communism is avowedly and militarily atheistic; but surely Communism is a response of a social and economic disease.

And equally strong protests may come from the Protestant Churches. "You want us to enter

politics," I hear them say, "but surely you realise that that is not our business. Our work is to preach the Gospel. We try to bring a change of heart in the individual and we know that if individuals become truly Christian in conviction, their conduct will reveal the inner light and will produce a Christian civilisation."

I must confess that I can never see the strength of this argument. It is clear that the Protestant Churches do in fact concern themselves not only with questions of faith, but with questions of conduct. They put enormous energy into crusades against alcohol and gambling, and it seems to me that if they put half of this energy into the attempt to remedy a social system that produces excessive drinking and gambling they might by now have done a good deal to make a better world. Indeed, (to my mind, the most depressing feature about the Christian Churches is the annual reports of their social problems department. In these reports you may read the figures of the vast sums gambled with the bookmakers or the totalisators, but not, I think, of the vast sums gambled every week on the stock exchange. You can read figures of the numbers of illegitimate children born, but no figures of the numbers of children who die in the first year of life, or who grow up puny and undernourished owing to the penalties extorted by our economic arrangements. I can't understand how the religion of the churchman can be separated from corporate conduct. If the Churches are going to abdicate the whole field of politics and economics, it is hard to see how they can have any impact on social life. But to suggest that the Churches should enter politics is not, of course, to urge that they should canvass for the U.A.P., the Country Party or the Labor Party. If churchmen can be satisfied with any existing parties there is no point, of course, in their entering politics.

The Problem of War

Perhaps I can best make my meaning clear when I speak of the special opportunity and special urgency of a lead from the Christian Churches today by referring to the problem of war. It is, I think, generally agreed that war as it will be fought by great nations today will mean the maiming and slaughtering of great numbers of men, women and children who are themselves innocent of evil intentions. As Earl Baldwin has put it, the technique of the next war will be to kill more women and children more quickly than the enemy. War will mean the fostering of feelings of fear, hatred and contempt between avowedly Christian countries. It will mean the mass poisoning of men's minds by every guile of propaganda and deceit. It will bring an aftermath of bitterness and revenge. All this, I think, is agreed.

More than that. When a country goes to war today the Government says to its citizens, "Forget that you are Christians fighting against fellow Christians in Germany, in Italy or France. Forget that these men, women and children against whom you use all the scientific devices of war are your brothers and sisters; that they worship the same God and read the same Gospel. Remember only that you are a Britisher, or a Frenchman or a German. Remember that the political loyalties that divide you from your enemies are of much greater importance than the religious faith that unites you. Being a Britisher or being a Frenchman is, at bottom, more important than being a Christian."

I don't see any way of escaping the conclusion that that is the logic of war; the logic that puts Caesar before God. I know, of course, that the Churches' official reply would be that while war is an evil, there are nevertheless the circumstances, which may justify war. This means that the Churches distinguish in theory between just and unjust war. But I can't feel satisfied in my own mind with this position. In the first place, I have never known any national Church denounce its own government for going to war, though Churches have usually denounced, on religious grounds, the enemies of their own country. And, in the second place, the Churches do take quite a firm and unequivocal stand on certain kinds of conduct, which seem to me to have less mischievous results than modern war. The Churches do not say that stealing or immorality are right in certain circumstances; they continue to say that war is right in certain circumstances. The Society of Friends is a notable exception. And so I feel that if another war does come, and the Churches do not in the meantime re-define their attitude to war, we shall have exactly the same spectacle as in the Great War—the Christian leaders of every nation giving the blessing of God to the indiscriminate slaughter of fellow Christians; the Christians of every nation turning their God into a tribal deity.

How many of us, looking at the Churches today, would suspect that the Founder of Christianity was put to death as the enemy of established institutions?

Perhaps I may slightly mitigate the note of arrogance in the title if I explain at once that there are many sides of the Churches' life and work about which I don't intend to speak at all. I shall not speak of theology nor of religion as a personal experience. My only qualification, indeed, to express an opinion about the Churches at all is that I happen to be a student of politics, and, as you will realise, it is impossible to study politics today without, at every turn, coming up against the relation between Churches and social questions. For the Church is not only a spiritual fellowship and the guardian of a theological doctrine. It is also a social institution. Everyone knows of the conflict between religion and politics in Russia and Germany, but perhaps we do not all realise the social and political importance of Churches in our own country.

One of the things that has struck me very forcibly in recent years is that if there is a really difficult and thankless job to be done, something that brings no money, something that does not mean getting your name and your photo in the papers, or helping you in your professional advancement, something that is worth doing from the mere fact that the person doing it believes it will benefit other people; if there is this sort of job to be done you need to get either a churchman or a Communist to do it. Only there is this difference between Communists and churchmen; that no one will be accepted as a member of the Communist Party unless he is ready to put all his time and energy and money (if any) completely and unreservedly at the service of his cause; whereas anyone can belong to a Church. My personal impression is that somewhere about ten per cent, of church-goers are Christians, and by that I mean that about 10 per cent, of churchgoers live lives that mark them off from the rest of the community; lives that are not limited by personal ambition, but surrendered to service much greater than themselves; lives that show an honesty, a generosity, a courageousness for which personally I feel the deepest respect. The remaining ninety per cent, of church-goers are only distinguishable from the rest of the community by two characteristics, (1) that on Sundays they go to church, and (2) that when they commit offences against the accepted moral code they show a higher degree of self-consciousness and take fuller precautions to conceal their backsliding than their non-churchgoing fellow citizens.

Three Sincere Groups

I have bracketed the Christian and Communist together and I know that in doing so I risk offending both. But I should say that in Italy and Germany there are a number of young Fascists who show the same idealism, the same selfless devotion to a cause that you find in Christians and Communists in Australia. What I am trying to make clear is that in the present-day world a great mass of people seem to be indifferent and apathetic to anything that does not concern their personal success or amusement, but that here are three groups of people who are ready to forget themselves in working for causes that they believe to be bigger than any personal success. They are Fascists possessed with a fervour of patriotism, Communists yearning for Socialism, and Christians possessed with the determination to bring the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

And I feel, as a student of politics, that it is likely to be made a matter of supreme importance for the future of the world which of these three religions wins the victory.

I know that I am here using the world religion in a very wide sense, but you will see that I mean by it a way of life that governs not only a man's thought, but his conduct; a scheme of values by which a man lives.

And that is why it is not my purpose to make any gibes at the Churches, to pretend to judge the Churches' conduct in the past, but rather to point out that today there seems to me to be a special urgency and a special opportunity for the Churches to do something to save the world.

The World in a Mess

By special urgency I mean this. The world today is in rather a bad mess. It seems to be preparing for a second world war—much bigger and worse than the last. Indeed, at the present moment there are two pretty big armed conflicts going on. And, apart altogether from war, it is a world in which the economic arrangements give opulence and luxury and power to the few and insecurity and poverty and misery to the many. At the moment we in Australia are feeling rather cheerful economically; unless we have discovered some of the offsets of the recent rise in the basic wage. But already some economists are talking of the likelihood of another world depression in eighteen months' time. Whether there is another depression or not it is