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THE NEW TIMES

NO X
October 8
—Adv.

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

Vol. 4. No. 31.

MELBOURNE, FRIDAY, AUGUST 5, 1938.

Every Friday, 3d.

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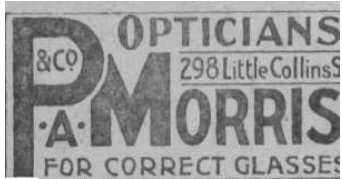
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While Parliament Sleeps

While the estimable people for whom we vote 1, or against whom without avail we vote 2 or more, are playing darts, drinking tea at ladies' afternoon parties, or doing whatever it is they do to avoid legislating for us, our home-grown bureaucracy adds mesh after mesh to the net from which we shall eventually be unable to escape.

We could, of course, return members in the hope that they would be part-time intelligent, but this is not easy within the existing electoral framework. Alternatively we can give orders to the existing members as to our general desires. This is the technique aimed at by the Electoral Campaign, which requires as a first essential that the electors shall associate and agree upon broad lines of policy. If this is done, it is not necessary to consider the methods by which that policy may be implemented. If members of Parliament can be made to realise that their primary function is to act as a mouthpiece, or better, a megaphone, through which the desires of the people are made known, they can then readily be trained to demand of the technical experts working plans with full details.

Who Shall Watch Parliament?

If we succeed in making our politicians realise that they are to be retrievers, fetching for us the things which we indicate as being desirable, it will perhaps be too much to expect that they will also be good watchdogs. Without being dog fanciers, we suspect that the two qualities are sufficiently dissimilar as not to be readily found to a satisfactory degree in the one breed. If that is so, we may find that our members retrieve well, but may let the experts put it over them as to the physical possibility of what the people demand or the means whereby it can be granted or obtained. With that possibility ever present, it will be seen that the interests of the people will require safeguarding by some extra-parliamentary body capable of keeping an eye upon any anti-social tendencies which may be shown on the part of the experts to whom Parliament looks for methods and details.

To demonstrate what we apprehend, let us take the case of another Sydney Harbour Bridge being considered necessary by the people. Parliament would advise engineers and others that a bridge was required, and order the preparation of plans and estimates. Having approved of the design, orders would be given for the material and labour to be obtained and the work commenced. If, however, the financial experts advised Parliament that the bridge could be built, but that for ever afterwards the persons who used the bridge would have to pay a toll, in order to pay for it, Parliament might accept such advice without question, precisely as has been done with the existing Harbour Bridge.

Now, anyone who has any understanding of economics and an appreciation of realities, knows that the bridge was paid for as soon as it was completed. That is to say, it was paid for in a physical sense. Existing material and energy were expended, and the bridge resulted. The physical cost was the expenditure or application of those real things to the particular purpose. The financial cost, which is merely an expression in figures of the physical cost, should remain an expression, interesting for record purposes, but of no more import than any other form of statistics.

Perverved Accountancy

Under our present crazy system of accountancy, we create an asset such as a bridge, and charge the monetary expression of its physical cost as a repayable debt against the existing stock of money, without

having first made sure that the stock of money has actually been increased by at least the financial cost of the bridge.

If the bridge cost £500,000 and the money supply was increased by at least that amount, it would be physically possible, if desired, to withdraw that sum from circulation in proportion as the bridge depreciated. In that way the bridge, at any time in its existence, would have its then monetary equivalent held by the people, and, therefore, collectable from them in depreciation charges in the future. We know that, unfortunately, the money system as now operated does not work that way. We measure our real wealth in unrepayable money debts, and the more wealthy we become as a people (regarding wealth in its proper significance of assets, real and cultural), the nearer we approach to insolvency on paper.

Some Safeguards are Necessary

Enough has surely been said to show that our Parliaments must be prevented in future from weakly acquiescing in unnatural and ridiculous propositions, such as they assented to in the case of the Sydney Harbour Bridge. We refer, of course, to the happy days when our politicians behave as envisaged by the notions underlying the Electoral Campaign.

In last week's article, "White-Anting Our Liberty," the necessity was stressed, and a suggestion made as to how that might be done. A further and startling example of how our Parliaments sleep while our liberty seeps slowly away, may not be out of place, and may serve to press home the importance of our contentions.

Habitual use of new inventions brings reductions in the cost of their production. They then graduate from the luxury class to the wider class of inexpensive amenities. Shortly thereafter we develop a degree of dependence upon them which brings them into the ever-growing class of necessities. In emergency we can well do without them, but the more universal they become in use the more we lean upon them. From this follows the mental attitude that life without them is infinitely more disagreeable, and even bordering upon the intolerable.

It is a defect of our civilisation that we should become progressively more dependent for our happiness upon material things. Oriental philosophy tends towards the elimination of such a state of affairs, and there is little doubt that the East holds a lesson in that regard which one day the West must learn if it hopes to retain its present ascendancy.

Our Dependence Upon Electricity

Let us point the moral of our little homily. The modern home is ill-equipped if it does not contain most of the following amenities: electric lighting and heating, electric radio set, vacuum cleaner, iron and cooking appliances. Before the advent of electric power, supplied in almost unlimited quantity by power lines, we had similar things, operated in various ways other than by electricity. They were, however, neither as convenient, cheap and efficient as the modern appliances, which do our bidding at the click of a switch. Furthermore, the sources of electric power are such that there is little probability of us ever having to do without electricity as a helpmate, except temporarily, as in the case of a momentary breakdown in the machinery of supply.

Briefly put, we would feel deeply aggrieved, and suffer a sense of considerable loss if suddenly electricity were denied to us. In a purely physical sense, this is not likely to occur, as it may occur in the case of petrol, or coal, the supplies of which are limited and are

being steadily and rapidly reduced. Even in their case, the cessation of supply is a possibility of the rather remote future, and we can feel reasonably confident that when the supply shows signs of petering out, an adequate substitute or substitutes will be devised by the fertile genius of our scientists.

The Unpleasant Truth

Physically, the position is fairly clear. Politically, the seriousness of the situation is quite obscure, and is probably not known to many. Let us break it gently by saying that in Melbourne, and many parts of Victoria, the supply of electricity may be withheld from any person, group of persons, or any business. *The supply may be denied without reason, and may be cut off without warning, and only the intervention of Parliament itself could remedy the position.*

The electric supply of Melbourne is controlled by the State Electricity Commission, which is in effect a Government monopoly created by the State Electricity Commission Act 1920. Prior to that time a private undertaking, the Melbourne Electric Supply Company supplied electricity to the people of Melbourne, just as the Metropolitan Gas Company supplies them with gas.

When the privilege of supplying a necessity is granted to a private enterprise, it is customary, for the most obvious reasons, to ensure that, while the monopoly exists, each citizen shall be entitled to supply as of right, subject only to his conforming with the regulations governing supply and payment of the standard charge. For example, while the M.E.S.C., a private monopoly, was supplying Melbourne, it was subject to the provisions of the Electric Light and Power Act 1915, and under Section 38 of that Act (as consolidated in 1928), the rights of the individual were safeguarded in the following way:

"Where a supply of electricity is provided in any part of an area for private purposes, then, except in so far as is otherwise provided by the terms of the order authorising such supply, every council, company or person within that part of the area shall, on application, be entitled to a supply on the same terms on which any other council, company or person in such part of the area is entitled under similar circumstances to a corresponding supply."

The Bureaucracy Shows Its Teeth

Under Section 23 of the State Electricity Commission Act, power is given to the Commission to buy out any existing private undertaking, and the Act goes on to say that the Electric Light and Power Act is not to be deemed to hinder the Commission, and that no electrical undertaking of the Commission shall be subject to the provisions of the Electric Light and Power Act.

These provisions set the scene for a nice little piece of work, for Section 43 of the State Electricity Commission Act says, without mincing matters:

"Notwithstanding anything in this Act or in any contract, it shall not be compulsory for the Commission to supply electricity."

Now the fly in the ointment becomes painfully apparent, for the Electricity Commission has taken over from the M.E.S.C., and the whole of Melbourne and a large part of Victoria is under its control, so far as electric supply is concerned.

Now, individuals have no rights whatsoever to a supply of current. The supply may be refused to them or existing supply discontinued, and the Commission cannot be forced even to explain or justify its action. Consider what that can mean. If the Electricity Commission wished to ruin an existing business, dependent,

as all businesses are, upon electricity for its efficient operation, it could ruin that business overnight by discontinuing the electric supply. If at individual falls foul of the Commission, he can be condemned even afterwards to a life without electricity. His only redress, and that of any business which might be victimised, would be to exert enough influence or pressure on the Parliament of Victoria to have the State Electricity Commission Act amended. The courts cannot help because, under the Act, nobody has a right to supply under any conditions.

An Actual Case

It may be asserted that the Commission would not abuse the powers it has. Don't you believe it! That is a fairy tale for the very young and very credulous. We know of one actual case when a dispute between the Commission and a consumer, as to the validity of a charge, was abruptly terminated in favour of the Commission by the arrival of a mechanic armed with instructions to disconnect the supply if the charge were not paid forthwith. In this case the Commission had been advised that its charge was not a lawful one, and had been invited to test its validity before a court. While a letter from the consumer to the Commission awaited answer, the knockout blow was delivered without warning, in the form of threat to cut off the supply. The result was that the consumer was forced to pay the charge, to suffer considerable inconvenience, or possibly spend the rest of his days without the benefits of electricity.

The Bureaucracy Shows Its Teeth

When the bureaucracy is prepared to show its teeth like that, we can make a fair estimate of the sort of treatment we may expect in the future, when the process of white-anting our liberty is further advanced. Fascist Italy and Germany will be Tweedledum to our Tweedledee, and we will not only get regularly kicked in the pants but we will have to like it!

There are two possible explanations of how such iniquitous legislation came to be passed without demur. Either Parliament knew that it was selling the people into bondage, and did not care or not fear the power of the dog; or else it did not know what could be the results of passing such an Act as the State Electricity Commission Act in its present form. We prefer to believe that it did know and that it was by inadvertence that the bureaucrats were permitted to make such a scandalous inroad upon our freedom.

In this particular matter inadvertence has the same baneful effect as deliberate intent, for our necks are collectively and individually bared to the bureaucratic axe. It rests with us whether our birthright of personal freedom is to be filched from us without protest by us or on our behalf, while Parliament sleeps; or whether we are prepared to fight to retain freedom that should be ours.

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RATS IN THE BELFRY

By YAFFLE, in "Reynolds News."

When I invented my germ-proof spat, the newspapers took no notice of it.

When I proved, by sticking pins into barn owls, that children with bunions should not be put into tight boots, my pamphlet was not mentioned in a single weekly review.

When I—but I will not weary you by multiplying instances. The point I wish to make is this: That the greatest discoveries—those which are destined to change the whole trend of human thought, invariably pass almost unnoticed at the time. I often weep about this.

Let me give you an example. Last week the press gave prominence to the Report of the Industrial Health Research Board, one of the functions of which is to make bored workers think that dull jobs are frightfully interesting.

Another of its functions is to find out, by what is called Industrial Psychology, which kind of workers are able to carry on which kind of footling occupations without running amok and beaming their bosses with a brick.

Now, I am not saying that the Press has ignored all the important findings of the Board.

THE PROVISION OF INCENTIVES.

For instance, there is the great discovery that "one of the most important factors in determining efficiency and pleasure in work is the inclination or will to work, and this, in turn, is largely dependent on the provision of effective incentives."

This discovery alone, I admit, raises Industrial Psychologists to the biscuit-worthy or bun-deserving class.

Till then, of course, Science had been under the impression that an incentive tended rather to put a man off his work. They imagined the child of a worker going to the foreman and saying: "Father can't come to work to-day. He's got an incentive."

But the psychologists did not stop there. Inspired by their discovery, they probed more deeply into the mysteries of the human mind, and set the following startling fact on record in their Report:—

"Of these incentives the most potent is probably the weekly wage."

That men cannot develop such powers of deduction without at least one meal a day, consisting exclusively of spinach, will be readily conceded.

Nevertheless, the idea that workers go into industry mainly to get wages was too startling and revolutionary for the scientific mind to accept without exhaustive experiments to test its validity.

Perhaps they lined all the workers up and offered them wages to test their reactions, noting carefully how many accepted them without surprise, and how many refused them with an exclamation of repugnance, such as, "Sir, you insult me."

Suffice it to say that the discovery has given psychologists a new insight into the mind of the workers, and has refuted their former theory that the main reason why a worker goes into a factory is to get away from his wife.

IMPORTANT EXPERIMENTS.

All this the Press has noted. Yet the most important experiments of all were hidden away obscurely in a single newspaper. Let me give them to the world:

On behalf of the Industrial Research Board, Prof. Bartlett, Director of the Cambridge University Psychological Laboratory, is conducting experiments on incentive with a colony of rats.

Before the rats can reach their food they have to pass through an area where they are subjected to an electric shock.

"We have discovered," said Prof. Bartlett, "that the animals, knowing that they have to face this deterrent, become all the keener on their food."

"From the knowledge we are gaining we may be able to ascertain what are the best forms of incentive for the ordinary worker, and what lies behind human motives of effort."

I need not point out why it is necessary to give a rat an electric shock before you know whether workers want wages or not. The logic of the process is apparent.

It bears out what I have always

SACRIFICE—AN ANCIENT VICE

By F.E.H.

There is a good deal of truth in the claim that vices are exaggerated virtues. The desire for gain arises out of the necessity for supplying our own wants, but when it has become a dominant passion it leads to greed and profiteering. Similarly the desire to triumph over obstacles may develop into a lust for power over others. The evils resulting from greed and lust for power are often pointed out but it is not so commonly recognised that an obsession for sacrifice can be as disastrous to human welfare.

Getting and sharing are natural desires in the life of every true Christian, who desires the material and spiritual gifts of God in order to enrich his own life and have more to share with others. Many of the greatest Christians have given up or sacrificed their comfort, their time, and their lives to help others in greater need than they. Many lives have been enriched and made happier by this sacrifice. The Electoral Campaign to Abolish Poverty is greatly indebted to those who have given up their time and personal pleasure for this cause. Such a spirit, however, has little in com-

mon with the "sacrifice" propaganda which is so often heard from the press and pulpit, and which implies that sacrifice is of value for its own sake, quite independently of the object achieved.

The obsession for sacrifice has been in existence from the very earliest times, and was originally associated with the idea that sacrifice was necessary to propitiate the wrath of God for human sin. The Christian, however, knows a God of love. Another ancient idea is that suffering and sacrifice are necessary for moral welfare. However, as God has been steadily increasing His bounty to us (with the co-operation of the scientist), sacrifice for its own sake means nothing less than rejecting the gifts of God!

A call for sacrifice still has a strong emotional appeal, because it is felt that there is something noble in sacrifice, quite independently of the purpose to be achieved. This weakness for sacrifice is exploited to the full by that small section who are dominated by greed and the lust for power. Let those who want to sacrifice do something that will make the lot of their fellows happier and brighter. But, if they are prepared to accept meekly a money-shortage, or to take up arms in any cause, merely because they have been asked to "sacrifice," they might just as well starve themselves and torture their flesh, like the ascetics of old.

The Rat is the Test of modern research. No university ever thinks of buying a new professor before it has asked, "Is he a good Ratter?"

I can only hope that, in order that our Industrial Psychologists may gain sufficient incentive to further triumphs of deduction, someone will find a way of making them pass through an area where they will be subjected to a shock before they can reach their laboratory.

One question remains: "Is there a limit to the pursuit of knowledge, or will the Industrial Psychologists some day discover the difference between a man and a rat?"

AN OPEN LETTER TO COLONEL COHEN

Colonel H. Cohen, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O.,
V.D., M.L.A.,
Parliament House,
Melbourne.

Dear Colonel,—

You saw fit last week to answer a letter written to the press opposing a possible influx of alien Jews. In that answer you asserted, without, it must be confessed, any undue modesty, certain desirable, personal attributes of yourself and a Mr. Michaelis, M.L.A.

The obvious implication was that Australia may expect to gain similar paragons by the admission of Eastern European Jews. We will pay you the tribute of saying that they do not resemble you.

To establish this, let us first look at the record of alien Jews within the Empire. Whatever may be the case with Melbourne (which would seem to require more searching official inspection) the East End London Jew has built a sweater's paradise in England's green and pleasant land.

Or, let us consider Palestine. (One presumes, Colonel, that as a champion of democracy you frowned on the refusal of the British Socialist Government of 1924 to grant the Arabs' request for a democratic constitution for that country.) It is notorious that Jewish settlements are hotbeds of that Red sedition, in which Jewry bulks so large. (We note, incidentally, that your dislike of the concealment of people's names is shared neither by Karl Marx, Trotsky, Litvinov, nor numerous other alien, and, indeed, local, Jews.)

Furthermore, as an example of that arrogance from which you and the said Michaelis are so happily free, one need refer only to Theo. Fink's "Herald" which last week published photographs of those same outcast Jews, whom it is proposed to let loose in Australia, rioting against British police—because a British tribunal tried and executed a Jewish murderer!

Many of these mettlesome blades are out of Germany and Austria. There they suffered those

wrongs on which the excellent international Jewish publicity so assiduously harps. (Less mention is made of the slightly earlier activities, in neighbouring Hungary, of the bestial Red sadist, Bela Kun, a Jew, who later infested Spain, and then Russia; and whom, if he is still alive, Australia is presumably not to exclude.)

But are there not German Christians—musicians of genius, famous scientists, skilled technicians—suffering just as much for their religion as is any Jew for his race? Could not they, too, find outside Germany as profitable a market for their talents as have many runaway Jews?

The difference is that the former remain, despite incredible cruelty and oppression, in the hope of some day saving their country from Hitler's barbarous excesses. The alien Jews, on the other hand, felt no such loyalty. So long as Germany suited them, Germans they were. But once things grew awkward for Israel, out they sped like rats, to protest undying devotion to some other gullible land.

For the alien Jew, no matter how many generations he was German, Israel evidently came first; his temporary home came nowhere. And so he cannot complain if the Gentile returns the compliment.

We have at the present moment quite enough to do looking after thousands of our own underpaid and under-privileged people. Australia first, Colonel Cohen! Race and religion are a man's own affair; but the paid employee of the Australian public will do well to keep its interests first, and those of alien vagrants, no matter how dear to his private heart, very much second.

We appreciate your efforts on behalf of aliens and we think that your attitude does credit to your heart, but we think, also, that some real effort on behalf of your own suffering fellow-Australians would not only justify your position as their representative in Parliament, but would also earn the full approval of

THE NEW TIMES.

Box Hill Town Hall

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REV. C. D. BROCK

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on

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(Continued from page 2.)

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(Continued on page 7.)

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Moans from the Woolgrowers

Protests against the adulteration of woollen materials and the competition of artificial fibres were expressed at the annual meeting of the Australian Sheepbreeders' Association.

A motion was moved by Mr. J. F. Guthrie expressing concern at the growth in production and consumption of artificial fibres, the use of substitutes for sheep's wool, and the adulteration of woollen materials by mixing artificial fibres with them.

It is curious how self-interest can distort one's outlook. Mr. Guthrie can see that the tendency to use substitutes for wool will adversely affect him and his fellow-woolgrowers, and his concern is not surprising. It seems hardly accurate, however, to refer to the mixing of artificial fibres with wool as "adulteration" of the wool. Adulteration usually carries the sense of improperly adding baser ingredients with intent to falsify a given substance. If the use of such an expression is confined to those cases in which the mixed substance or the artificial fibre materials are sold as being of pure wool, then Mr. Guthrie's use of the term might be correct. We gather that it is more the fact that pure wool is being replaced in use by mixtures containing a small percentage of wool, or no wool at all, which is the main cause for the sheepbreeders' lament.

It must be obvious that, if this is so, the complaint is both unjustified and ridiculous. The Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works might, with equal justice and reason, complain that its product, water, was being "adulterated" with lemon syrup, whisky, gin and other substances, or that some people were drinking substitutes like orange juice.

The hammer descended somewhere near the head of the nail at the sheepbreeders' meeting, when Mr. A. Barber said that the wool industry was being attacked by artificial fibres, and that the way to meet the position effectively was to supply the world with a pure wool material of such a quality and price that the world could buy it. This is without question, one part of the way to meet the position. The other part, and the more important part, is to make sure that the world has enough money to buy pure wool materials, which they would assuredly do if possible, rather than use cheaper and less satisfactory substitutes in cases where wool is demonstrable superior.

If that is done, it will not be a question of producing down to a price, but up to a quality; and this is a practice which should appeal to all who grow, breed or manufacture, and take a legitimate pride in the results of their efforts.

The one costless thing, money, is in a chronic state of short supply all over the world. It is kept in short supply by the bankers of the world, who produce nothing more valuable than figures, and who don't know the difference between a merino ram and a comeback wether; and yet have the audacity and the power to make life a precarious existence for people, such as the sheepbreeders, who do produce things of real value to the community.

The remedy is ultimately in our own hands, and this applies to wool-growers and every other sort of growers, and everyone who consumes what is grown. The first requisite is a clear understanding of the money swindle. After that is achieved, it will be seen that there are many avenues of action open to those who are unwilling to remain any longer supine under the yoke of the money monopoly.

Christian Endeavour

Special trains and overseas liners have brought 5000 delegates to Melbourne from all parts of Australasia, Europe, America and Asia to the tenth world convention of the World Christian Endeavour Union. As might be expected, the society had its origin in the United States of America, and it is somehow appropriate that the convention should be held at the Exhibition Building.

According to the Rev. Daniel A. Poling, the World President of the society, who hails from the Grace Baptist Tabernacle, Philadelphia, U.S.A., "Peace will come through the efforts of those who follow the Prince of Peace." Well, we presume that the Endeavourers have been working for peace ever since 1881, when the Rev. Francis E. Clark started the ball rolling at Wilisdon Congregational Church, Maine (also in the U.S.A.), and it is unfortunate that on the eve of the tenth grand world convention, there should be reported the news of fighting in Manchukuo between Russia and Japan. The same evening it is reported from the Spanish Civil War that between July 13 and July 25, Italian aircraft in Spain made 2808 war flights, dropped 7½ tons of bombs and fired 45,000 rounds from machine guns upon people with whom they are not at war. Again, despite the tenth world convention, presided over by the Great Panjandrim himself, Germany is reported in the same paper as employing 300,000 men on her western frontier fortifications.

Far be it from us to decry the efforts of well-intentioned people, but we feel that 57 years of endeavour, directed at the ending of war and strife, should produce better results than this. As a matter of plain fact, little can be expected from a movement which believes practically Christianity to consist principally of reading the Bible every day, sending verses of Scripture to monthly consecration meetings to be read in response to one's name at roll call, and attending world conventions. Even less can be expected when the movement is proud of the fact that it has steadfastly refused to become political. It is precisely in the field of politics that wars are contrived

A HOUSEWIFE'S DAY

Thoughts and Trials

PART III.

By LEONORA POLKINGHORNE.

And now, drawing near the end of her working day, her son brings in the afternoon paper. She glances over it while the vegetables are cooking. One arresting paragraph tells of the heroic rescue of a boy on a cliff-face by two policemen. Very great initiative, courage, endurance and tenacity of purpose were shown by these two men who undertook this very serious risk. Without such an effort, the boy must have perished. She contrasts this incident with the moan of the preacher over our essential badness of heart, and she knows very well that this is by no means an isolated incident, for one reads of things of the kind taking place every day. It would seem, then, that human nature is not bad and hopeless, but, on the contrary, is capable of rising in emergency to great heights of selfless devotion. Her own life is one of ceaseless service without monetary reward, fixed hours or holidays. Yet she has heard more than one preacher affirm that all our economic ills are due to our innate wickedness.

What Her Neighbour Said

And even on the tramcar last week she met a neighbour who was sure that our troubles were due to our extravagance and bad habit of living beyond our means. She was specially severe on the girls who wore silk stockings, and the small-income families that invested in a motor car. Our housewife answered that she had read somewhere that this was an age of plenty, and she was sure that someone had told her that there was a rayon factory in New Jersey that turned out millions of pairs of silk stockings, and that the factory was operated by a single man at a switch-board. If then great quantities of silk stockings could be so easily turned out in such quantities, how could we say it was extravagant to wear them? What were they made for, if not for girls and women to wear? Her neighbour, who was one of those people who arrive at shallow conclusions with great force, and without the tedious process of thinking, said emphatically: "But what is the good of that, if they can't afford to buy them?"

Why?

And our housewife had no answer. Because she knew that if there were a factory in the next street making millions of silk, or even artificial silk, stockings six days in the week, it would not make any difference to her stock of those articles. She would still be straining her eyes with needle and thread to darn the holes in her

and economic justice is made a mockery; and it is only by the most drastic and concerted action by the lovers of peace in the shambles of politics, that wars can be averted and the economic security, which a beneficent Maker has made possible for all can be achieved.

However, five million endeavours can't be wrong, and so, with the praise of Archbishop Head, they will hold their tenth world convention, and sing their hymns, and read their verses at roll-call, and believe that they are following in the footsteps of the Prince of Peace. Maybe they are; but it is a very, very long way behind, and if ever world peace is achieved, it will be not because of, but in spite of, those who interpret the message of Christ as a call to inaction.

If we have spoken bitterly, it is because we feel deeply, for we yield to no one in our sincerity and economic justice.

old ones. Why? What are things made for if people are not allowed to have them? And why do the people of Denmark have to eat margarine, and send all their butter away to a foreign market, where it brings down the price of our Australian butter? Why must we send away thousands of miles so many things that we really want and need ourselves? And why must we have to put up with all that is cheap and shoddy, why confine our buying to the "nothing over half-a-crown" shops' goods that are often the rejects of the potteries and the factories, when we would really like the fine and the good? Why is shoddy made and sold at all, when it must be quite possible to make the best and finest? And does not our whole life, our whole outlook suffer a decline to lower and shabbier levels when we have to put up with inferior quality in everything, even in entertainment? Has not all this a cheapening and debasing quality?

Daughters, Sons and Jobs

She turns from these thoughts once more to her paper. In the correspondence column she finds letters on all sorts of subjects, but, boiled down, they all spring from the same root. Here, for instance, is a man protesting against the employment of girls in industry. "Girls," he says, "should stay at home and let the men have all the jobs." She reads this out to her young son, who quite agrees with it. "How are we going to make a home of our own when we are old enough," he says, "if we can't get jobs, and how can we get jobs, if the girls are doing it cheaper?" "Yes," says his mother, "but how can the girls live if they don't earn any money either?" Her son replies, not very convincingly, that he supposes that they can hang on somehow till they are married.

But his mother persists: "But who is going to pay for their clothes and other things they need till they do? Would you be able to save up and marry if you had to give up your pay to keep three sisters? And supposing they did not get married at all? Plenty don't, for so many men can't afford to marry." He did not know. He was quite sure that he would not like to give up any of his pay to keep girls in frocks and shoes and stockings, even if he didn't want to get married, for he reckoned that a fellow just about needed it all these days, what with taxes and insurance and things. "So it seems", said his mother, gently, "that girls are a sort of mistake, and yet I don't suppose that the world could really do without them."

Enter Father

At this point father and the others come home, and they all sit down to dinner. Father looks careworn and tired. He likes his home and his family, but he finds it an unceasing effort to pay the mortgage interest on their house; and a chap in the tram told him that we were "in for" another depression. In that case, would he be able to keep his job? When he mentions this the soup loses its flavour. "But we are not really out of the last one yet," says his wife. "You know, we never got any of that money back that was owed us in 1932. And we have

never been able to register the car since then."

Treadmill

Her husband replies that that is so, as he lost his business in 1932, though lucky to get a job; but, of course, all thoughts of the week-end shack in the hills had to go, along with many other things, such as the eldest boy's chance of entering the University. "And yet we worked so hard," the wife murmurs. "That won't get you anywhere," retorts her husband, bitterly. "I don't know how it is, but it seems to me that we are up against something we don't understand—something that is frustrating all our efforts to get a footing, to be safe, to be able to sleep at night. We have been honest, we have paid our way, we have not lived beyond our income. You are not able to have help in the house, I ought to be thinking of retiring, but we are both harnessed to the plough, and must go on till we drop."

Cross-Examining Dad

"Dad!" says the youngest son, "What makes us keep on having depressions? Can't we grow crops and make the things we want any more?" "Why, of course, my son. That is the trouble. We have too much of everything, and we can't sell it all at a paying price." "But why can't we?" "Children ask such foolish questions! Because the people haven't money enough to buy it all at a paying price." "But why haven't they? Is money so very hard to get?"

Then the housewife speaks up, with a flush in her cheek, "Yes, Dad, answer that. Why have we such an abundance of everything that everyone is moaning about it, and the only thing that would make everything right, the money, is so hard to get that very few people have enough of it?" "Well, I find it hard enough to get, anyway," says her husband. "Yes," his wife persists. "But why? How is it that we can fly across the world in a few days, and make all sorts of wonderful things out of material that we despised as common and plentiful, just weeds some of it, and we can't make the money to buy them. What is this money, anyway?" "Well," her husband says, slowly. "Mostly cheques, I suppose, these days." The youngest son speaks again, eagerly: "And they must be AWFUL hard to make, mustn't they, Dad?" Dad is silent. At length, he said: "Women and children do not understand these things. Now let me read my paper. I see that some people are agitating for a section of the Banking Commission's Report to be implemented. That would be a great mistake. Whatever we do, we must not interfere with our banking system."

"Why mustn't we, Dad?" asks the irrepressible son, still thirsty for information.

"Yes!" puts in the wife. "Why mustn't we? Goodness knows, the powers that be interfere with every other blessed thing we do, and earn, and say, and buy, and sell."

"Because, my dear," replies her husband, "when everything else crashed, the banks stood firm."

"Did they?" she replied, unsatisfied. "That seems kind of funny to me. What made everything crash, and how was it that the banks escaped?"

The man of the house unfolded his paper,

"Women can't understand these things," he said.

Now this housewife of ours, like Mary of old, kept all these sayings in her heart, and next week I shall tell you of some interesting conclusions she came to while darning the socks.

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LETS TALK IT OVER

Things That Matter to You and Me

By A. N. FIELD, Author of "The Truth About the Slump," etc.

Condensed from "The Mirror" (New Zealand).

The Butter Quota

It is a surprising thing, when you come to think about it, that we have all these Governments busy about the butter quota, and the only point that never seems to be mentioned by anybody in the whole business is: How much butter do the people in England need to keep them fit and well, and are they getting it now? The English farmer thinks that, if outside butter is shut off, he can get more money for what he produces. The New Zealand farmer wants to be let in, and thinks it should be good enough to shut the foreigner out. The whole trouble, and the whole wretched bickering, is simply due to the fact that the poor people in England haven't got enough money to pay for butter or anything else. If we won't face that fact we cannot hope to get anywhere, as everything depends not on the consuming-power, but on the buying-power of our customers.

Teachers and War

I see some teachers' organisation has been passing resolutions against war. If what we are having to-day can be called peace, I think it is time we passed resolutions to the effect that we have had enough of it. It is really war, and a very one-sided war at that, with an enemy gaining ground all along the line.

Local Paper Money

The idea mooted in Auckland at the local body conference on unemployment for local issues of currency notes to 25 per cent. of the local revenue, is quite an interesting one. In the early days of New Zealand, when money was in short supply, there was much local token money in circulation, issued by private firms. In Nelson, for instance, the old firm of Morrison and Sclanders kept the whole province going for about eight years with paper money. This was from 1847 onwards. Under the law then the paper could only be issued by a private concern if it was payable in not less than twelve months. The notes were so worded, but in practice they were redeemed on demand by cheques on the Union "Bank in Wellington—there was no bank in Nelson during this period. At first, only one-pound notes were issued, but a scarcity of silver developed, and five-shilling notes were then also put into circulation. This unofficial money was for years practically the only sort seen over a good part of the province, and was used for every purpose, except the payment of Government dues and taxes, which had to be in legal tender. There was just about enough of that sort of money in circulation to do this, and it seems to have been kept on hand for the purpose, and business at large done in the unofficial paper. Eventually the Union Bank opened business again in Nelson and the community then carried on with the orthodox bank notes.

A Wellington Experiment

About thirty-five years ago there was a paper-money experiment in Wellington that

lasted for a few years. Its inaugurator was Mr. Michael Flurscheim, who held strong views on the subject of currency, and came to New Zealand, under the impressions that it was fond of innovations and a good place to try out his ideas. His bank was called the Commercial Exchange Company, and its paper was worded so as to comply with the law regarding promissory notes, conveying a promise to deliver good, and/or services to the amount specified on the note. Numbers of business houses joined up as members of the company and took so much percent, of the paper in payment for purchases. So far as the writer remembers, about 300 or 400 firms in the province joined in, but the banks did not approve of the idea and the paper never got into wide enough circulation to be of very great service. In the end the enterprise was wound up; Mr. Flurscheim considering he could do more for the cause he

EXPLOITATION OF THE PEOPLE'S STUPIDITY

In his "Clue to the Economic Labyrinth," a book published early this century and dedicated "to the people of New Zealand," Michael Flurscheim describes the banking system in the following words:

"The whole arrangements remind me very much of a story I once heard in America:

"The Mississippi had overflowed its banks. Hundreds of fine logs were rapidly drifting past a crowd of negroes who had gathered on the shore. They looked shiftlessly at the timber, when a white man, a stranger in those parts, addressed them.

"'Boys,' he said, 'I'll give every one of you one-half of the logs as salvage that he lands!'

"With a will the men went into the water, and soon quite a number of valuable logs were piled on the shore. They took half of them for their labour, and the stranger took possession of his share and sold it to a neighbouring sawmill.

"'Fools, those negroes,' the reader will say. 'Nothing prevented them from securing the timber for themselves, without giving a share to the stranger, who had not moved a finger, and who had not the least claim on the timber.'

"Certainly, but, my dear friend, are you not acting in the same manner whenever you pay a bank for the right of an overdraft? The bank, in this case, only allows you to make use of your neighbour's labour or its products, whom you finally repay by the products of your own labour. The bank only does the service of a clearing-house for you. It provides the tokens required for this mutual exchange, and for this service the banks of New Zealand, after paying all expenses, pocket at least £400,000 a year. It is this price you pay for the permission to secure the logs."

had at heart by propaganda than by a circumscribed experiment. The head of one business house which took the paper stated recently that he never had any trouble with it from start to finish.

Born in 1844, of a family of bankers, Michael Flurscheim had a variegated career as a banker, importer, manufacturer and inventor in Germany and the United States, and for fifteen years ran a ironworks with great success in Germany. He became interested in the land reform ideas of Henry George, and in the early 'ninties founded a co-operative colony in Mexico. While in New Zealand he wrote his book (one of many), "The

Clue to the Economic Labyrinth," the said clue being that purchasing power fails to equal producing power. Most of what passes for up-to-the-minute ideas on currency reform will be found in this tome of thirty-odd years ago, now mouldering in the dust on back shelves in public libraries.

A Classic Example

One of the earliest currency cranks was M. de Meulle, French Intendant in Canada in 1685. In that year the usual remittance of coin failed to arrive from France for paying the Government expenses. M. de Meulle, to keep things going, called in all the packs of playing cards he could get, cut them into quarters, and wrote on each the amount of money it was supposed to represent. He paid the troops with these bits of cardboard, and posted up a proclamation ordering business people to accept them as money, and undertaking to redeem them when in funds. The whole business was taken in good part, and Canada got along just as if the actual money had come from France. There were no economy commissions, no ten per cent, cuts, no wages tax, no sales tax, no hordes of unemployed. Eventually funds came and the playing-card money was withdrawn. This device was repeatedly used in French Canada to tide over money shortages, down to as late as 1749. And the odd thing about it is that the emergency currency always had to be in the form of playing cards! This shows what creatures of habit we all are in money matters. The principle in the thing wasn't apparently in the least understood—all they knew was that M. de Meulle had used playing cards in place of cash, and it worked—so out the playing cards had to come again when the next crisis arrived. If anybody had suggested using Sunday-school tickets instead, no doubt, it would have been regarded as a very wild and dangerous idea, liable to upset the whole internal economy of the country. It is interesting to note that the financiers in Paris approved most strongly of the whole proceeding.

The Sweepstake Fever

It is a great bore to be able to see both sides of the question. If you are cursed with this gift you will never have any peace of mind. Some nagging little imp will suddenly pull you up in the middle of a heated argument and make you flustered and doubtful. Take this question of sweepstakes—a question which, because of the amount of money which has been won by New Zealanders in overseas lotteries has been uppermost in the minds of a great many people. Are you pro or con? Can you answer that question? I honestly admit that I can't.

Here are two reasons why I am pro: Firstly, I violently dislike anything which interferes with the liberty of the subject, provided that the liberty in question is

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"NEW TIMES" ARTICLES AND NEW ZEALAND

My dear Sir, —

There are two matters about which I feel that I should write. The first is to commend the general excellence of the *New Times*. It is a joy to read each edition. Particularly am I impressed with your article, "Anti-Liquor Sob-Stuff," of 15/7/38. Though practically a total abstainer, I can appreciate the search after Truth in that and the other articles which your writers so ably pen.

The other matter is of vital importance, I think. I have just received a letter from, the vice-president of "The Crusade for Social Justice" in New Zealand, in which he states this very important fact: "It was considered at the time that this movement was the greatest force in turning out the previous Government and in placing in power the present Labour Government, which is committed to debt-free money—has already made use of it in its housing scheme—is about to use it again in . . . etc." I read a little time ago in a paper which advocates the cause of Social Justice, that Mr. Savage had not fulfilled his promises to the electors, and that among other things, had not honoured his pledge to use debt-free money in his administration. Apparently he has now done so in this latter regard, and it would be excellent propaganda if you seized on this fact and encouraged him to go on and embrace the whole system which will ensure social justice for his people. I know the dangers of (debt-free money without adequate price control, but if your very excellent paper duly acknowledged the start already made, and dealt in a kindly way with the pitfalls to be avoided, we might in a comparatively short time see in New Zealand a social system such, as so many of us long for. New Zealand, with its one Government, is an admirable country in which the new order could be founded. It has no hostile Federal Government or neighbouring States to contend with, as a State Government in Australia would, and Alberta, in Canada, does. Economic sanity once established in New Zealand, our chances to emulate their example on this continent would be considerably enhanced.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

S. T. M. PIERCE.

Rockhampton, Qld.

[We have on previous occasions dealt sympathetically with the Savage administration in New Zealand,

not harmful to other subjects.

2. The goddess of luck is the only vestige of romance left in the lives of the poor. She may be a thin and cheating goddess, and she may display her charms in the cheapest ways, but, though she appears so seldom, the thought of her presence is a comfort to thousands. And, for this reason, it would be a tragedy if we curtailed her activities.

and will do so again as definite information is available and circumstance warrants.

"The Crusade for Social Justice" movement, referred to by our correspondent, states its aims and objects as follows: "(1) To obtain Christian Social Order and to educate all in Christian principles; (2) To obtain Social Justice and Economic Security for all with Individual Liberty; (3) To work for Peace by removing the causes of War; (4) To see that all in New Zealand are able to lead a full life with full spiritual, mental and physical opportunities; (5) To unite all people and organisations working for the up-lifting of humanity, to ensure that their efforts produce results."

The movement also states, *inter alia*: "The Crusade is uniting all New Zealanders who have the welfare of our people at heart in a united demand to obtain the objectives and results they desire. Wilberforce and Shaftesbury successfully conducted the campaigns for the Abolition of Slavery and Child Labour in this way."

The influence of the movement may be judged, in part by the formidable "battery" of Church leaders who are active Patrons. The "big guns" in the "battery" are: The Most Rev. Archbishop Averill, D.D., Anglican Primate of N.Z.; the Rev. Percy Paris, President of the Methodist Church of N.Z.; the Very Rev. T. H. Roseveare, B.D., Past Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly of N.Z.; M. F. W. Horner, President of the Baptist Union of N.Z.; the Rev. C. Nelson, B.A., Chairman of the Congregational Union of N.Z.; Pastor A. G. Saunders, B.A., Past President of the Associated Churches of Christ of N.Z., and Brigadier A. Suter, Divisional Commander of the Salvation Army. The President is Mrs. J. T. F. Mitchell, the Vice President is the Rev. Canon Walter Averill, B.A., and the Hon. Director is Mr. Brian Dunningham. —Ed. "N.T."]

IRVING BENSON AND LIQUOR

Dear Sir, —Knowing my interest in economic and social reconstruction, a friend handed me a copy the *New Times* to peruse. The issue was dated 8th July 1938. I am wondering if you would resent frank opinion regarding it. The first thing I noticed was headlines stating - - "The *New Times* is a non-party, non-sectarian weekly newspaper, exposing causes, the institutions, and the individuals who keep us poor in midst of plenty."

I see, on reading your paper that you have allotted a whole page attacking two well-known and definitely practical workers among unemployed, needy and sick; men who have been for years doing what I term "ambulance" work among the victims of our present economic and social systems. Although they do not see eye to eye with you it seems to me very unjust that they should be defamed as though they were men who bled the worker; and callously ignored his sufferings.

Your headlines state that your paper exposes the causes that keep "us poor in the midst of plenty! Then why harp on the one string? You attack finance as if that was the only cause. Any social worker in congested and slum areas will tell you that liquor leaves a more degraded victim than finance, and equally as guilty of being a cause which keeps men, women and children poor in the midst of plenty.

On page eight your paper supports the liquor party by accepting an advertisement inserted by them. The inconsistency of a paper proclaiming to be on the side of the victims, and yet at the same time accepting cash from one of their assailants, seems to me to savour of hypocrisy. Would you insert an advertisement from any of the large financial institutions of our city, in which they urge the workers to keep

(Continued on page 8)

Frank Devlin

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MORE MISERY INEVITABLE Unless the Federal Parliament Stops It

A Letter to the Editor from BRUCE H. BROWN.

Sir,—In the last two issues of the *New Times*, following the remarks of Chief Judge Dethridge that we "may" have a depression "in a year or two," facts have been brought forward with the object of showing that the depression is actually being precipitated now, and that general conditions must inevitably go from bad to worse unless the *people* take steps to require protective measures from their Federal Parliament. In this letter I want to call attention to additional particulars, giving further confirmation of the statements already made.

Premier of Tasmania's Warning

At Hobart on February 15 the Premier of Tasmania pointed to the trend of events, and his remarks on that occasion are quoted from the *Hobart Mercury* as follows: "Due to the fall in the prices of Australian commodities the adverse balance in Australia's overseas trading was £12,500,000 worse at January 31 than for the same period last year." (Since then, as pointed out last week, the trade balance has gone back still more alarmingly.) "Since July the Australian export price index covering twenty commodities had fallen progressively, and in January was over 20 per cent, lower." (Since then there have been further heavy falls, and we must always remember that the fall in prices was brought about by the Bank of England manipulating the bank rate—vide paragraph 93 of the Report of the Monetary and Banking Commission.) "Wool prices at Hobart and Launceston sales were from 25 to 30 per cent, lower than last season. In January of this year, compared with January of 1937, the price of copper was lower by 19.4 per cent, the price of zinc by 29.2 per cent, and the price of tin by 19.7 per cent." All these are matters of finance, and whoever controls finance controls the prices.

Duller and Drearier

On March 7 the Melbourne *Sun* issued the following report from London: "The Stock Exchange might as well have been closed, as so little business passed during the week. Day after day brokers said this was the quietest day they could remember. Each succeeding day was duller and drearier than the last." The same paper announced that bank deposits were at a record high level, which meant that the banks were reaching the position in which they would have to reduce the people's deposits or be found out as the greatest confidence

tricksters of all time. Deposits are liabilities on the part of the bank to the members of the community, and high deposits mean high liabilities. A record high level of deposits, therefore, indicates that the banks have gone on writing promises to pay to such an extent that their liabilities have become, to an abnormal extent, far greater than their ability to meet them. This in turn explains why, despite increasing production of the things we all so badly need and would like to buy, there is to be a serious curtailment of the quantity of Australian money available to the Australian people. The banking institutions are reducing the volume of cheque money in order to improve what is known as their "liquidity."

Press Discussions

Press discussions on the subject of the forthcoming loan conversions are preparing us for higher charges by way of interest or discount. Very soon now the annual burden of the interest bill will be even greater than it was in 1929 before any of the Premiers' Plan conversions had taken place, and the possibilities in this respect become alarming when it is borne in mind that the average income of the Australian citizen is declining, and the field of taxation becoming more and more circumscribed. That state of affairs cannot go on indefinitely, and unless it is rectified some of the men now holding high public office are certain to receive tremendous shocks in the not-distant future.

Still Following New York

On July 11 the Melbourne *Argus* told us that "the London stock market is still following New York," and also that "Wall Street was easier towards the end of the week, and this, coupled with uneasiness about the political situation, caused prices to fall in London on Friday." On July 12 the Adelaide *Advertiser* published an article, with the headlines, "BRITISH BUSINESS DECLINE," "WORLD ECONOMIC FRONT DETERIORATES." The following extracts from this latter should be illuminating to Chief Judge Dethridge: "... The pace of the decline in British business activity had increased, according to the May trade supplement of the *Economist*. These tendencies were reflected in the index of business activity, which is adjusted for seasonal variations. Between January and February the index showed a decline of 1½ points, between February and March it lost 2 points, and fell

as much as 3 points between March and April. Moreover, the index for April was 4½ points lower than that for April, 1937. The latest reports and statistics did not point to an early reversal of the downward trend in British business, in spite of the growing defence expenditure. The position on the world economic front was still deteriorating, the index of the volume of world trade calculated by the League of Nations having fallen from 100 in the last quarter of 1937 to 88 in the first quarter of 1938. The trend in the prices of primary products and of shipping freight rates had also remained downwards. . . . Among consumption-goods trades, those which, like cotton and wool, depend largely on exports, had relapsed into serious depression. Even in the domestic market, the volume of sales of consumers' goods, including motor cars, was declining, partly because the increase in purchasing power had not kept pace with the rise in prices." (Why this should be, when Professor Copland argues that industry does not increase costs faster than it distributes the money to meet them, has not been explained. It is also very puzzling to know why people should be making fewer purchases when they are receiving less incomes. Surely this is the time when they should be purchasing more!)

Recession in Canada

This same Adelaide paper, on the following day, told us that there had also been business recession in Canada. It said: "There was a significant decrease in employment, and carloadings were appreciably lower. The wholesale price level fell . . . while the rate of turnover of bank deposits declined slightly . . . Although it was the time of year when employment normally expanded, there was a slight decline . . . After seasonal adjustment, employment lost ground in the manufacturing industries—notably, those making iron and steel, motor cars, electrical apparatus, woollen and silk textiles, and pulp and paper. The working forces engaged in woods operations was also curtailed more sharply than usual, while employment in building construction failed to increase seasonally . . . The further decline in wholesale prices was fairly general in character . . ." (Remember always that we are still FOLLOWING America and Britain!)

Gloomy Predictions

On the same day the *Advertiser* had another significant paragraph, with the headlines: "GLOOMY PREDICTION OF LEAGUE EXPERTS," and "SERIOUS ECONOMIC CRISIS IMMINENT." This paragraph read as follows: "The League's financial experts take a gloomy view of the world's economic situation, says the Geneva correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. In their report to the financial committee of the League, they express the view that another serious crisis is imminent, and that the decline in commercial activity is so grave, at least in the United States, that it can no longer be considered a slight recession, holding out hope of an automatic recovery. During the first three months of 1938, the report says, world industrial production lost the ground regained in the previous two years, and was about 15 per cent, below the 1929 figure. World commerce fell to 90 per cent, of the 1929 level, and unemployment was increasing in most countries." These conditions are dictated by financiers and they usually start in the United States!

Britain's Trade

On July 16 the Melbourne *Argus* reported a further fall in British trade, and included the following: "Even allowing for the lower prices ruling this year, the decline in Britain's external trade is assuming large proportions. . . . The loss of trade has been felt most in

the iron and steel, cotton, coal, woollen and worsted, textile and chemical industries. On the whole, the volume of new orders has not increased, and, despite considerable restriction of output in some directions, stocks have remained substantial. British investors have, apparently, been influenced by the continuation of the unfavourable trend in the country's oversea trade, which has been apparent for several months."

No More From Britain

A week later the *Argus* reported Mr. T. W. Haynes, president of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, as follows: "I feel strongly with the Prime Minister that Australia cannot expect to get more and more from Great Britain as it did in the past. . . . Notwithstanding statements to the contrary, Great Britain's prosperity may be based on the artificial and temporary boom of armament manufacture. We know that in certain industrial English districts unemployment through lack of orders is much greater than it was two years ago, and we know that it is becoming greater." (The truth of the matter, of course, is that Great Britain has received far more from Australia than has come from Britain to us, but, apparently, Mr. Haynes does not prepare his own statements! Apart from this, however, he has apparently guessed the truth about the trend of trade.)

Coming Home Disappointed

This gloomy picture was followed on July 26 with an intimation that "the Australian Ministers who conducted the trade talks with British Ministers are coming home bitterly disappointed. . . . It was also understood that there was some straight talking at the meetings, and afterwards personal relations, in some cases, were more or less strained." A leading Australian in London had said: "The British Ministers entered the talks in a spirit of sheer hard bargaining, with no One Empire Family spirit at all." Reference to earlier issues of the *New Times* will show that this is exactly the sort of result we predicted.

Apprehension About Future

Again, on the very next day, the *Argus*, commenting on conditions in London, said: ". . . The deterioration of export trade, plus a decline in home demand in many industries, is giving rise to some apprehension about the future trend of British industry . . . the falling off of activity in many industries is a disquieting feature." (We should always remember that "demand" in England is controlled by the Bank of England manipulating the bank rate—vide paragraph 93 of the Report of the Monetary and Banking Commission.)

Still Falling!

Index figures published by the *Financial Times* were quoted by the Adelaide *Advertiser* on July 28, showing the following position in New York:

Year	Railroads		Industrials	
	Highest	Lowest	Highest	Lowest
1936	69.89	40.66	184.90	143.11
1937	64.46	29.15	194.40	113.64
1938	32.33	19.00	144.91	98.95

It was also reported that "export prices are still falling" and that they had now reached the lowest level for three years. The report was issued from Canberra, and read as follows: "Last month's Australian export prices were at their lowest level for three years, and 24 per cent, lower than those of June, 1937. Pre-depression price levels were reached in April 1937, but since then there has been a fall of 31 per cent. . . . During June wheat prices fell 7 per cent, those of butter, 6 per cent; mutton, 5 per cent; wool and copper, 4 per cent; spelter and lead, 3 per cent; and lamb, 2 per cent."

Another Wage Cut?

The first official advocacy of another Premier's Plan or its equivalent has come from the pre-

sident of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce at its annual meeting on July 27. While opposing any measures to reform the Australian banking system, which is responsible for the increasing difficulties in Australia to-day, he is reported as follows: "Referring to the drop in prices for primary products, compared with those ruling in the early part of the year, Mr. Hawkes said that the movement should be taken as a timely warning that our expenditure, both public and private, should be brought into line with our income." (Not a word about the people responsible for reducing the incomes!)

Same in England?

This gratuitous advice coincided strangely with a report in the press from London, dated July 27, intimating that public works expenditure is to be cut in Britain. The report included the following: "The Prime Minister (Mr. Chamberlain) has virtually decided not to introduce further public works schemes at the moment to alleviate unemployment. . . . He is convinced that the slightest rise in the trade level would be far more effective in reducing unemployment than artificial schemes, and accordingly his policy henceforth will be devoted to stimulating trade, not only financially and economically, but by efforts to remove political anxieties and create international appeasement. Mr. Chamberlain considers that this will lead to expansion and more normal flow of trade. Meanwhile, with armament expenditure mounting, Government economy will be the order of the day." (In March of last year it was also announced in the United States that Government economy was the order of the day, and we are following the *United States!*)

Bankers' Propaganda

And while all this is going on, the newspapers are giving great prominence to the bankers' campaign against any governmental steps to make the money system serve the community, instead of allowing the bankers to use it to dominate and coerce the nation. This serves two purposes. It helps to keep from the people the knowledge that the depression is already on, and it diverts the attention of the community from their real enemies to the Government. Presidents of Chambers of Commerce and Manufactures are openly helping in this propaganda, which, if they only realised it, is detrimental to the great bulk of their members. In this respect, it is interesting to know that one such president (Mr. E. W. Holden, M.L.C.) is to be the speaker at the Wesley Mission P.S.A. in Adelaide next Sunday afternoon! The minister in charge of that church has had his name in the "Honours" List! The Church is the place to do the dirty work.

The Only Escape

After all this, Mr. Editor, do you think another depression is a "possibility" and "may" blow along in a year or two, or do you think its vanguard is already in view? If the former then perhaps you will be content to wait and see, but if the latter, then you are sure to realise that our only hope of escape from "the suffering caused by depression and disorganisation of industry and finance" (Professor Copland!) is through pressure on the members of the Federal Parliament. It is within the power of that body to prevent a depression in Australia by seeing that the Australian people are regularly supplied with sufficient Australian money to purchase Australian production, and we must, therefore, hold the Federal politicians personally responsible for any shortage of purchasing power. The U.E.A. was more than justified in issuing its timely warning, and we should seize the opportunity afforded by that organisation to protect ourselves against a repetition of the 1929 outrage. —Yours faithfully,

BRUCE H. BROWN.

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FOLLY OF BLOODY REVOLUTION

What Bertrand Russell Wrote in 1920

From his book, "The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism."

(Coming, as it did, from the pen of one who professed Communism, though not Bolshevism, and written *without* the lesson of what has happened in Russia during the past eighteen years before him, the following is of exceptional interest:)

The Bolshevik argument against Parliamentary democracy as a method of achieving Socialism is a powerful one. My answer to it lies rather in pointing out what I believe to be fallacies in the Bolshevik method, from which I conclude that no swift method exists of establishing any desirable form of Socialism. But let us first see what the Bolshevik argument is.

In the first place, it assumes that those to whom it is addressed are absolutely certain that Communism is desirable, so certain that they are willing, if necessary, to force it upon an unwilling population at the point of the bayonet. It then proceeds to argue that, while Capitalism retains its hold over propaganda and its means of corruption, Parliamentary methods are very unlikely to give a majority for Communism in the House of Commons, or to lead to effective action by such a majority even if it existed. Communists point out how the people are deceived, and how their chosen leaders have again and again betrayed them. From this they argue that the destruction of Capitalism must be sudden and catastrophic; that it must be the work of a minority; and that it cannot be effected constitutionally or without violence. It is, therefore, in their view, the duty of the Communist party in a capitalist country to prepare for armed conflict, and to take all possible measures for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming that part of the proletariat which is willing to support the Communists.

Politics and Humbug

There is an air of realism and disillusionment about this position, which makes it attractive to those idealists who wish to think themselves cynics. But I think there are various points in which it fails to be as realistic as it pretends.

In the first place, it makes much of the treachery of Labour leaders in constitutional movements, but does not consider the possibility of the treachery of Communist leaders in a revolution. To this the Marxian would reply that in constitutional movements men are bought, directly or indirectly, by the money of the Capitalists, but the revolutionary Communism would leave the Capitalists no money with which to attempt revolution. This has been achieved in Russia, and could be achieved elsewhere. But selling oneself to the Capitalists is not the only possible form of treachery. It is also possible, having acquired power, to use it for one's own ends, instead of for the people. This is what I believe to be likely to happen in Russia; the establishment of a bureaucratic aristocracy, concentrating authority in its own hands, and creating a regime just as oppressive and cruel as that of Capitalism. Marxians never sufficiently recognise that love of power is quite as strong a motive, and quite as great a source of injustice, as love of money; yet this must be obvious to any unbiassed student of politics. It is also obvious that the method of violent revolution leading to a minority dictatorship is one peculiarly calculated to create habits of despotism which would survive the crisis by which they were generated. Communist politicians are likely to become just like the politicians of

other parties: a few will be honest, but the great majority will merely cultivate the art of telling a plausible tale with a view to tricking the people into entrusting them with power. The only possible way by which politicians as a class can be improved is the political and psychological education of the people, so that they may learn to detect humbug. In England men have reached the point of suspecting a good speaker, but if a man speaks badly they think he must be honest. Unfortunately, virtue is not so widely diffused as this theory would imply.

Demonstrable Errors

In the second place, it is assumed by the Communist argument that, although Capitalist propaganda can prevent a majority from becoming Communists, yet Capitalist laws and police forces cannot prevent the Communists, while still a minority, from acquiring supremacy of military power. It is thought that secret propaganda can undermine the army and navy, although it is admittedly impossible to get the majority to vote at elections for the programme of the Bolsheviks. This view is based upon Russian experience, where the army and navy had suffered defeat and had been brutally ill-used by incompetent Czarist authorities. The argument has no application to more efficient and successful States. Among the Germans, even in defeat, it was the civilian population that began revolution.

There is a further assumption in the Bolshevik argument which seems to me quite unwarrantable. It assumed that the Capitalist Governments will have learned nothing from the experience of Russia. Before the Russian revolution, Governments had not studied Bolshevik theory. And defeat in war created a revolutionary mood throughout Central and Eastern Europe. But now the holders of power are on their guard. There seems no reason whatever to suppose that they will supinely permit a preponderance of armed force to pass into the hands of those who wish to overthrow them, while, according to the Bolshevik theory, they are still sufficiently popular to be supported by a majority at the polls. Is it not as clear as noonday that in a democratic country it is more difficult for the proletariat to destroy the Government by arms than to defeat it in a general election? Seeing the immense advantages of a Government in dealing with rebels, it seems clear that rebellion could have little hope of success, unless a very large majority supported it. Of course, if the army and navy were specially revolutionary, they might effect an unpopular revolution; but this situation, though something like it occurred in Russia, is hardly to be expected in the Western nations. This whole Bolshevik theory of revolution by a minority is one which might just conceivably have succeeded as a secret plot, but becomes impossible as soon as it is openly avowed and advocated.

Power and Its Uses

But perhaps it will be said that I am caricaturing the Bolshevik doctrine of revolution. It is urged by advocates of this doctrine, quite truly, that all political events are brought about by minorities, since the majority are indifferent to politics. But there is a difference between a minority in which the indifferent acquiesce, and a minority so hated as to startle the indifferent into belated action. To make the Bolshevik doctrine reasonable, it is necessary to suppose that they believe the majority can be induced to acquiesce

at least temporarily, in the revolution made by the class-conscious minority. This, again, is based upon Russian experience; desire for peace and land led to a widespread support of the Bolsheviks in November 1917, on the part of people who have subsequently shown no love for Communism.

I think we come here to an essential part of Bolshevik philosophy. In the moment of revolution, Communists are to have some popular cry by which they win more support than mere Communism could win. Having thus acquired the State machine, they are to use it for their own ends. But this, again, is a method which can only be practised successfully so long as it is not avowed. It is to some extent habitual in politics. The Unionists in 1900 won a majority on the Boer War, and used it to endow brewers and church Schools. The Liberals, in 1906, won a majority on Chinese labour, and used it to cement the secret alliance with France and to make an alliance with Czarist Russia. President Wilson, in 1916, won his majority on neutrality, and used it to come into the war. This method is part of the stock-in-trade of democracy. But its success depends upon repudiating it until the moment comes to practise it. Those who, like the Bolsheviks, have the honesty to proclaim in advance their intention of using power for other ends than those for which it was given them, are not likely to have a chance of carrying out their designs.

No Success by Violence

What seems to me to emerge from these considerations is this: That in a democratic and politically-educated country, armed revolution in favour of Communism would have no chance of succeeding unless it were supported by a larger majority than would be required for the election of a Communist Government by constitutional methods. *It is possible that, if such a Government came into existence and proceeded to carry out its programme, it would be met by armed resistance on the part of capital, including a large proportion of the officers in the army and navy. But in subduing this resistance it would have the support of that great body of opinion which believes in legality and upholds the Constitution.* Moreover, having, by hypothesis, converted a majority of the nation, a Communist Government could be sure of loyal help from immense numbers of workers, and would not be forced, as the Bolsheviks are in Russia, to suspect treachery everywhere. Under these circumstances, I believe that the resistance of the Capitalists could be quelled without much difficulty, and would receive little support from moderate people. Whereas, in a minority revolt of Communists against a Capitalist Government, all moderate opinion would be on the side of Capitalism.

The contention that Capitalist propaganda is what prevents the adoption of Communism by wage-earners is only very partially true. Capitalist propaganda has never been able to prevent the Irish from voting against the English, though it has been applied to this object with great vigour. It has proved itself powerless, over and over again, in opposing Nationalist movements which had almost no moneyed support. It has been unable to cope with religious feeling. And those industrial populations which would most obviously benefit by Socialism have, in the main, adopted it, in spite of the opposition of employers. The plain truth is that Socialism does not arouse the same passionate interest in the average citizen as is aroused by nationality and used to be roused by religion. *It is not unlikely that things may change in this respect; we may be approaching a period of economic civil wars comparable to that of the religious civil wars that followed the Reformation.* In such a period Nationalism is submerged by party; British and German

Socialists, or British and German Capitalists, will feel more kinship with each other than with compatriots of the opposite political camp. But when that day comes, there will be no difficulty, in highly industrial countries, in securing Socialist majorities; if Socialism is not then carried without bloodshed, it will be due to the unconstitutional action of the rich, not to the need of revolutionary violence on the part of the advocates of the proletariat. Whether such a state of opinion grows up or not depends mainly upon the stubbornness or conciliatoriness of the possessing classes, and, conversely, upon the moderation or violence of those who desire fundamental economic change. The majority which Bolsheviks regard as unattainable is chiefly prevented by the ruthlessness of their own tactics.

Prophetic!

Apart from all arguments of detail, there are two broad objections to violent revolution in a democratic community. The first is that, when once the principle of respecting majorities as expressed at the ballot box is abandoned there is no reason to suppose that victory will be secured by the particular minority to which one happens to belong. There are many minorities besides Communists—religious minorities, teetotal minorities, militarist minorities, Capitalist minorities. Any one of these could adopt the method of obtaining power advocated by the Bolsheviks, and any one would be just as likely to succeed as they are. What restrains these minorities, more or less, at present, is respect for the law and the Constitution. Bolsheviks tacitly assume that every other party will preserve this respect, while they themselves, unhindered, prepare the revolution. But if their philosophy of violence becomes popular, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that they will be its beneficiaries. They believe that Communism is for the good of the majority; they ought to believe that they can persuade the majority on this question, and to have the patience to set about the task of winning by propaganda.

The second argument of principle against the method of minority violence is that abandonment of law, when it becomes widespread, lets loose the wild beast and gives a free rein to the primitive lusts and egotisms which civilisation in some degree curbs. Every student of mediaeval thought must have been struck by the extraordinarily high value placed upon law in that period. The reason was that, in countries infested by robber barons, law was the first requisite of progress. We, in the modern world, take it for granted that most people will be law-abiding, and we hardly realise what centuries of effort have gone to making such an assumption possible. We forget how many of the good things that we unquestionably expect would disappear out of life if murder, rape and robbery with violence became common. And we forget even more how very easily this might happen. The universal class-war foreshadowed by the Third International, following upon the loosening of restraints produced by the late war, and combined with a deliberate inculcation of disrespect for law and constitutional Government, might, and I believe would, produce a state of affairs in which it would be habitual to murder men for a crust of bread, and in which women would only be safe while armed men protected them. The civilised nations have accepted democratic government as a method of settling internal disputes without violence. Democratic government may have all the faults attributed to it, but it has the one great merit that people are, on the whole, willing to accept it as a substitute for civil war in political disputes. Whoever sets to work to weaken this acceptance, whether in Ulster or in Moscow, is taking a fearful responsibility. Civilisation is not so stable that it cannot be broken up; and a condition of lawless violence is not one out of

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(Continued from page 8.)

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which any good thing is likely to emerge. For this reason, if for no other revolutionary violence in a democracy is infinitely dangerous.

Hot-House

Now the price that Russia is having to pay is very great. The almost universal poverty might be thought to be a small evil in comparison with the ultimate gain, but it brings with it other evils, of which the magnitude would be acknowledged even by those who have never known poverty and therefore, make light of it. Hunger brings an absorption in the question of food, which to most people makes life almost purely animal. The general shortage makes people fierce, and reacts upon the political atmosphere. The necessity of inculcating Communism produces a hot house condition, where every (Continued overleaf.)

FOLLY OF BLOODY REVOLUTION

(Continued from previous page.)
breath of fresh air must be excluded: *people are to be taught to think in a certain way, and all free intelligence becomes taboo. Every kind of liberty is banned as being "bourgeois," but it remains a fact that intelligence languishes where thought is not free.*

Advocacy of Communism by those who believe in Bolshevik methods rests upon the assumption that there is no slavery except economic slavery, and that when all goods are held in common there must be perfect liberty. I fear this is a delusion. There must be administration. There must be officials to control distribution. These men, in a Communist State, are the repositories of power. So long as they control the army, they are able, as in Russia at this moment, to wield despotic power, even if they are a small minority. The fact that there is Communism—to a certain extent—does not mean that there is liberty. If the Communism were more complete, it would not necessarily mean more freedom; there would still be certain officials in control of the food supply, and these officials could govern as they pleased so long as they retained the support of the soldiers. This is not mere theory; it is the patent lesson of the present condition of Russia. The Bolshevik theory is that a small minority are to seize power and are to hold it until Communism is accepted practically, universally, which, they admit, may take a long time. *But power is sweet, and few men surrender it voluntarily. It is especially sweet to those who have the habit of it, and the habit becomes most ingrained in those who have governed by bayonets, without popular support. Is it not almost inevitable that men placed as the Bolsheviks are in Russia, and as they maintain that the Communists must maintain themselves wherever the social revolution succeeds, will be loath to relinquish their monopoly of power, and will find reasons for remaining until some new revolutionists oust them? Would it not be fatally easy for them, without altering the economic structure, to decree large salaries for high Government officials, and so reintroduce the old inequalities of wealth? What motive is possible, except idealism, love of mankind, non-economic motives of the sort that Bolsheviks decry? The system created by violence and the forcible rule of a minority must necessarily allow of tyranny and exploitation; and, if human nature is what Marxians assert it to be, why should the rulers neglect such opportunities of selfish advantage?*

It is sheer nonsense to pretend

ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN NOTES VICTORIA

KEW MEETING.—In spite of appalling weather conditions, the Kew Recreation Hall meeting was well attended, which is a great tribute to the interest the campaign is causing in Kooyong. Owing to pressure on space, a comprehensive report of this very important meeting is being held over until next issue.

YOUTH SECTION.—The effects of the excellent Brighton meeting are bringing in many new recruits, and the youth are getting into their stride. That their first meeting electrified Melbourne is supported by the fact that good publicity has been given to it by all the dailies.

A very intense campaign is now being drawn up for the whole of Melbourne. The first three meetings will take place at Elsternwick, Caulfield and Sandringham, and all arrangements are being made to start in about a fortnight. Those who missed the Brighton meeting are urged to take the opportunity of hearing this team, which, the Youth Section is confident, will pack every hall in Melbourne before very long.

All supporters who have young people are urged to induce them to join up. Big plans are being drawn up, and will be published as they come to hand.

The chairman of the youth section is John Iggulden, of 1 Gillard-street, Brighton. He will be pleased to get in touch with any young enthusiasts in any part of Melbourne with a view to furthering the work of the Youth

that the rulers of a great empire, such as Soviet Russia, when they have become accustomed to power, retain the proletarian psychology, and feel that their class-interest is the same as that of the ordinary working-man. This is not the case, in fact, in Russia now, however the truth may be concealed by fine phrases. The Government has a class-consciousness and a class interest quite distinct from those of the genuine proletarian, who is not to be confounded with the paper proletarian of the Marxian scheme. *In a Capitalist State the Government and the Capitalists on the whole hang together and form one class. In Soviet Russia, the Government has absorbed the Capitalist mentality, together with the Governmental, and the fusion has given increased strength to the upper class. But I see no reason whatever to expect equality or freedom to result from such a system, except reasons derived from false psychology and a mistaken analysis of the sources of political power.*

Section. All young people are asked to note this.

ERIC BUTLER spent several days in Gippsland with a view to furthering the campaign in a more organised manner throughout Gippsland. He addressed a very good gathering at Narre Warren on Wednesday night of last week, and, after some discussion, it was arranged that Eric get in touch with as many supporters in Gippsland as possible with a view to starting a regular broadcast over 3UL, Warragul. Eric had a talk with Warragul supporters on the following evening, and they are desirous of helping with the broadcast. Attention is drawn to this important matter in a special paragraph, and we urge all supporters in Gippsland to help as much as possible. Whether you are interested will be shown by the response to this proposed line of attack.

On Monday night Eric addressed a large audience in the Temperance Hall, under the auspices of the Righteous Government Forum, and, according to one supporter who was present, gave one of the finest expositions yet heard. Those who are desirous of utilising this young speaker are urged to get in touch with U.E.A. headquarters, McEwan House, Melbourne, and make arrangements for him to address either a public meeting or a private meeting.

VISIT OF REV. C. D. BROCK.—We are to have Rev. Brock, from South Australia, visiting us during the next week, and supporters will have the opportunity of hearing this well-known clergyman, who is taking such a prominent part in the campaign in South Australia. A big public meeting will take place at Box Hill Town Hall next Monday night, August 8, at which Rev. Brock and Eric Butler will launch the campaign in Deakin. Dr. Dale will be chairman. All supporters are urged to be present to hear these two brilliant speakers. Rev. Brock comes to us with a reputation as a man who gets things done, while Eric Butler is well known to all supporters.

Rev. Brock will also address the Housewives at Croydon, on Wednesday, August 10.

SOUTH MELBOURNE.—Reports to hand from this area show that steady work is proceeding, and, although nothing spectacular is taking place at the moment, the campaign is being firmly entrenched. Mr. Simpson addressed an excellent meeting in this area on the subject of money, and several new recruits were obtained.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

WOMEN'S DIVISION.

Activities are proceeding smoothly. The monthly luncheon was held on Wednesday, July 27, and was attended by twenty members and friends. Rev. C. D. Brock gave an interesting address on the "Tyranny of Words"—a contrast between the hypnotising phrases of orthodoxy and the simplicity of the language of those who are beginning to know what they want. Mr. Brock concluded by quoting the words of Bruno Barnabe, at a meeting of the "Electoral Campaign for Economic Security" in Melbourne, as reported to the *Adelaide News* of July 25:

"Instead of letting a system give orders to your M.P., it is time that you gave the orders. The money system must be altered to give economic Freedom and Social Security. Don't tell them how to alter it—don't bother about methods. Demand results. Don't let people worry you about conditions in Germany and Italy. They are sidetracks. Australia is your problem. Make your demands

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from page 5.)

them firmly entrenched in their present position? I think not!

Such, sir, is the opinion that this particular issue of the *New Times* caused me to form.

Yours faithfully,

HAROLD GODWIN. Melbourne.

[The third paragraph of the foregoing apparently refers to the criticism, by another correspondent, of the Revs. Irving Benson and Cain. They were not "defamed as though they were men who bled the worker and callously ignored his sufferings." They were criticised as though they were men who offered the worker Charity while obstructing the Justice that would ABOLISH his sufferings. We do not regard it as "definitely practical" to persist in patching-up an obsolete, hopelessly inefficient and dangerous

motor car without making any attempt to put into service one of the readily available latest models.

Re paragraph 4 above. We deny that liquor is a cause of poverty in the midst of plenty. How could the consuming of part of the plenty prevent the consumption of the enormous remainder?

This paper does not support the "liquor party," and we have agreed to accept advertising from their opponents. The question of accepting advertising from large financial institutions is not analogous. —Ed., "N.T."]

PRAISE—AND A GENTLE GIBE

Dear Sir, —I have been a reader of the *New Times* for some six months, and am really grateful to the friend who first put me on to it as a good thing. I find a decided mental stimulus in its pages, and am entirely with you in your aim, though not fully in your methods.

I must confess that I find it difficult to believe that all the individuals exposed in your paper are so completely convinced of the truth of your views and yet so determined to suppress the truth as your articles suggest. I do not recall any single opponent of yours ever being given the credit for sincerity in his attitude.

I am also greatly intrigued by the article, "Anti-Liquor Sob-Stuff," in the issue of July 15. After reading and carefully re-reading this, I would be glad if you would inform your readers which particular "cause, institution, or individual that keeps us poor in the midst of plenty" is exposed therein.

Yours sincerely,
J. E. HULL.
The Parsonage,
Red Cliffs, Vic.

[We think we could recall instances of "opponents" being credited with sincerity. Perhaps our recent articles on the Oxford Group and our Open Letter of July 1, to Mr. Inchbold, M.L.C. ("without wishing to question your sincerity, we certainly must question your sanity.") might be conceded as being cases in point.

In reply to Mr. Hull's last sentence, it should suffice to say that the *New Times* does not pretend to devote itself EXCLUSIVELY to "exposing the causes" . . . etc. To do so would involve the non-appearance of, for example, reports of Electoral Campaign activities!—Ed., "N.T."]

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TO ALL SUPPORTERS IN GIPPSLAND Will You Help to Launch the Campaign ?

As reported in our notes, Eric Butler has made tentative arrangements for a regular weekly broadcast over 3UL, Warragul. This station covers a large area in Gippsland, and would prove a very cheap and effective way of getting the message of democracy to the people in this part of the State. It is proposed to take a contract for three months, and the weekly talk will take 10 minutes. A central address will be given, so that inquiries can be dealt with, and we feel sure, after carefully examining the proposition, that it would pave the way for really effective action:

WHAT IS IT GOING TO COST?

A three months' contract, at 10 minutes per week, will cost £1/9 - per week. Surely 29 people can forward 1/-per week for 13 weeks!

If you feel you can help, no matter how small the amount, kindly fill in the following form and post to Box 1226, G.P.O., Melbourne.

I hereby undertake to give.....towards the proposed broadcast over 3UL, Warragul, or will pay.....per week towards same.

Signed.....

Address.....

NO LICENCE DOES MEAN PROHIBITION

A "Yes" Vote will undoubtedly deprive of their Licences, Hotels, Grocers, Spirit Merchants, Clubs and Wine Sellers.

Eminent Victorian Counsel has given his opinion that if the "No-Licence" resolution were carried at the Poll on October 8, apart from temporary provisions and unimportant exceptions, the following position would exist:

The manufacture of liquor will not be prohibited, but after manufacture it can be sold only for delivery beyond the limits of the State.

Within the State of Victoria the sale, supply, barter or disposal of liquor will be illegal and punishable.

Brewers and vignerons will not be able within the law to sell or make delivery of liquor, and even if other retailers were able to obtain supplies of liquor from manufacturers, they could not legally sell it or even gratuitously dispose of it.

Even assuming that liquor could be obtained; the prohibition against its supply or disposal would apply to the gratuitous supply of liquor to a guest in a private house.

THIS IS PROHIBITION WITH A VENGEANCE

VOTE NO **X**
AT THE PROHIBITION POLL, OCTOBER 8.

Authorised by J. J. Liston and Brig.-General J. C. Stewart, Assistant Director, The Block, Collins Street, C.1.