

# **A FAIR HEARING FOR SOCIALISM**

---

**Marx and Socialism**

by

**KURT MERZ**

**Socialism in Australia**

by

**RALPH GIBSON**

**Christianity and Socialism**

by

**FARNHAM E. MAYNARD**

---

PREFACE BY THE BISHOP OF BALLARAT

FOREWORD BY THE DEAN OF MELBOURNE

PRESENTED TO  
THE  
STATE LIBRARY  
OF VICTORIA

BY

Mr A. T. Brodney

1978

THE STATE LIBRARY OF VICTORIA  
MELBOURNE

STATE LIBRARY

30 JUL 1982

SUBJ. DON.

CALL No.

LTP

235.00994

F158

A FAIR HEARING FOR SOCIALISM.

1

PREFACE.

By the Bishop of Ballarat.

The Right Reverend W. H. Johnson, B.A., Th. Soc.

These lectures were delivered to large audiences in the Chapter House of St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne; and they now appear in print, in response to the enthusiastic appeal of those who heard them. The first lecture is a scientific examination of Marxian Socialism; the second seeks to explain what Australia would appear like under a socialistic regime; the third deals with Christianity and Socialism. Each of these three statements is set forth by a lecturer competent to do so.

In our modern world, a considerable section of the people is pre-disposed towards a religion of revolt. The revolt against the evils of unemployment, poverty, profiteering and slums has become to some a real crusade. So far as the Church has failed to expose and denounce these evils, it has no ground for complaint if these crusaders regard Christianity as a religion of complacency. The Church would be false to the commission of its divine Lord were it to limit its concern to the next world and leave the field to its critics and opponents in this world. Of course, this danger does not exist in fact; but if the Church is to rally the coming generation to it, the Church must preach the Gospel as it touches the whole of man's life.

So far, then, as socialist teaching causes Christians to consider where they fall short of their own profession, Socialism is rendering a service to Christianity. But there are two provisos to be added. First, the Church can have no part in party politics. History shows that the association of the Church with party politics has always been disastrous to its real work, which is to bring men into right relationship with God and with one another. This brings us to the second proviso, which is that in all our consideration of this subject it must be remembered that while Socialism need not necessarily be the enemy of Christianity, Socialism concerns itself with the present life, and with the material more than the spiritual; while Christianity, although not ignoring the material, is concerned with eternal values, and seeks to lead men to a way of life that has virtue only in so far as it springs from voluntary impulses of the human spirit—impulses that are checked and directed by faith in a God concerned perpetually and eternally with men, all of whom are called to be the sons of God.

I warmly commend the initiative displayed in arranging these lectures, and I sincerely hope that the book will have as successful a career as did the meetings at which the lectures were delivered.

WILLIAM BALLARAT.

Bishopscourt, Ballarat.

June 1, 1944.



## FOREWORD BY THE DEAN OF MELBOURNE.

The series of three lectures, given in the Chapter House in May, 1944, proved most successful, both in the attendances and the keen responsiveness of the audiences. Canon Maynard planned the series. My small part was to preside on the last occasion, and to provoke some discussion by putting forward questions at the preceeding lectures.

I was pleased with their objective character. Mr. Kurt Merz, in a very able summary, gave the necessary background for understanding Marx and his social doctrine. Mr. Ralph Gibson gave a forecast of how Socialism might be implemented in Australia. He might be accused of pleading a cause. But my feeling on hearing him was that, like the other lecturers, he was there to give information and to answer questions. Canon Maynard added the necessary qualifications from the Christian point of view. To a question whether the introduction of Socialism would be by revolution and violence, Mr. Gibson gave the safe reply that he hoped it would not be necessary.

Herein is the value of these popular studies and discussions. They will help us to be more of one mind and purpose when the time comes for radical changes in the social structure. Men of goodwill will find a way out into the undiscovered country of the future, with the necessary steps and compromises, without violence if they understand each other and are seeking the same great end—a square deal for all men everywhere. In Russia there was no possibility of such understanding. With us there is. Given the fact that churches are inherently conservative, here they are free, and more enlightened than the old Orthodox church, and they have before them the lessons of two wars, and the object lesson of the transformation of Russia. However dark the colours in which the record of the revolution may be painted, no one can obliterate the fact that a new order has been created which not only is vindicated by its inherent strength and unity, but by its achievement in turning back the Nazi forces and thereby helping to save the world.

For what is the world to be saved? In no small measure the answer lies with the Church. Will she rise to the height of her creed and claim the whole of life for the kingdom of the Lord of all good life? Will she be open-minded enough to receive the truths that Marx and others outside and opposed to the Church have to give? Will she bring to the solutions that are offered her own faith in the spiritual destiny of man, and an inexhaustible and inexhaustible love?

H. T. LANGLEY.

## THE CONTRIBUTORS.

## Mr. Kurt Merz.

Mr. Merz was born and educated in Vienna. Some months after the invasion by Hitler, having had experience of Nazi domination, he left for England, and a year later came to Australia, shortly before the outbreak of war.

His experiences led Mr. Merz to become a keen student of social affairs. His belief is that it is important to know all that science can teach about sociology, though the final answer to the needs of humanity lies in Religion. He has made a particular study of Karl Marx, having read all his translated works and some untranslated ones, translating himself Marx's original doctor's thesis.

Mr. Merz is now studying for priesthood in the Anglican Church, having been accepted as a candidate for Holy Orders by the Right Reverend E. H. Burgmann, Bishop of Goulburn.

## Mr. Ralph Gibson, M.A.

Mr. Gibson is a son of the late Professor Gibson, of the Melbourne University. He is graduate of the Melbourne and Manchester Universities, where he studied History and Economics.

He became a member of the Communist Party in 1932, as a result of convictions formed during the economic crisis.

Mr. Gibson is now the Victorian President of the Communist Party.

## Rev. Canon Maynard, Th. Soc., B.Sc.

Canon Maynard studied engineering at the London University; but realised a long-felt call to the priesthood in 1907. After a few years in a South London parish, containing some of the worst slums, he came to Australia and worked in the diocese of Rockhampton. After eight years as Rector of Mount Morgan, he took a job in the mine, as a labourer and trucker, to gain first-hand experience of the miners' life. Later, when Rector of All Saints', Brisbane, he actively supported the seamen in the Seamen's strike of 1925. He became Vicar of St. Peter's, Melbourne, 1926. In 1929, when the economic crisis was impending, he published a book entitled "Economics and the Kingdom of God," which received the commendation of Bishop Gore. He is not attached to a political party. His views on Socialism may be gathered from the contents of his contribution to this volume.

Note:—The measure of agreement between the writers will be readily perceived by the reader of the following pages. Each writer, however, is solely responsible for his particular statements and expressed opinions.



## MARX AND SOCIALISM.

Any adequate discussion of Socialism must take into account the contribution Marx made to it. There are two reasons for the outstanding importance of Karl Marx. Firstly, it is beyond doubt that he was a man of great intellectual ability. And secondly, he happened to be born just at the right time for the application of his special genius. His life falls between the years 1818 to 1883. It was then that all the aspects of capitalistic society which he set out to describe could be seen for the first time in their full significance.

Europe had just emerged from the age of the Great French Revolution. Many of the men who fought for "Freedom, Equality, Fraternity," were still alive. And although Napoleon had followed, and later on the monarchs who wanted to turn back to a bygone age, the gains of the revolution could not be destroyed, because they were, above all, the gains of the new Middle Class, a class growing in economic strength and political aspirations. During the preceding fifty years Commerce and Industry had advanced at a tremendous pace. With it science had grown. Invention followed upon invention and added new powers to man, and as a consequence man grew richer and more confident. This was progress! And there was a tendency to think progress was to be henceforth the only way of moving.

### The Youth of Marx.

It was to this world of gigantic possibilities that Karl Marx brought his great talents. In the beginning of 1818 he was born in the Rhineland; industrially the most advanced part of Germany. For a time it was under French occupation; for that it hated Napoleon; nevertheless the French occupation gave it a better understanding of the French ideas than any other part of Germany.

Marx came from a typical middle class family. Politically they were liberals; by no means revolutionaries. Materially they were well off; and as they had mapped out for their son a prosperous future, they sent him to the University at Bonn to study Jurisprudence. In Bonn he joined the usual student life, he became a member of the tavern club, and wrote poetry. Early in his youth, just as he did later on, he subjected himself to a severe self-criticism. And though encouraged by his father to write still more poetry, he realised he was not to be a poet—a judgment fully justified by the poems that have come down to us.

He turns to Philosophy and History. The famous German philosopher Hegel was then the fashion. He starts reading at furious pace. Father is quite worried about the intensity with which Marx studies; he fears for his health. The letters speak about a "scholar gone wild." He goes through a period of intense intellectual struggle. His father could not quite understand it all; he merely noticed the growing bills. Marx had invested his father's money in books, and the father comments on the bills in a letter: "How can a man who invents every week or so an entire new philosophical system, and

tears it up the next day, how can he be bothered about such trifles as money?" It was a good investment, however, because from this period dates the beginning of a most fruitful philosophical outlook.

Into this period falls another wild deed of Karl. He got engaged to Jenny of Westphalia. A girl of noble birth, unusual beauty, great intelligence, and admirable character. His father was very fond of Jenny, but he could not understand how it happened that Marx had conquered the heart of a girl of such outstanding character and position. Seven years later she became his wife, and followed him into exile. They remained devoted to each other until their death.

At the age of twenty there was before Marx the prospect of success in every sphere of life. His brilliant academic career seemed likely to get him the chair of Philosophy in Bonn, and with it a secure income, renown, and a happy family life with a girl for whom thousands would envy him. His father was quite right when he asked, "Did not fortune smile upon you, even from the cradle onward? Did not nature give you all the gifts she had to give?"

But material success never was a temptation to Marx. Often he used to quote Dante: "Follow your path, and let people say what they will." And that meant for him above all to take his own convictions seriously. These convictions lead him away from academic philosophy to political philosophy, and finally into the field of practical politics. Instead of a lecturer, he became the editor of a political paper. Soon the paper was suppressed, and that was followed by his expulsion from Germany.

He finds just time enough to get married to Jenny, and then he turns immediately to the study of socialist thought of his own time, because his editorship has shown him that he is not yet fully equipped for the task. The idyllic happiness of the honeymoon was not impaired by the circumstance that during these months Marx made in five large exercise books extracts from nearly a hundred volumes of political and social histories and theories. Never had Marx's brain worked more rapidly, never more clearly.

### Marx in Exile.

Then he went into permanent exile. This is the second part of his life, financially it was a most precarious existence. There followed thirty years of extreme poverty and privation. In Paris first, then Brussels, finally London. More than half of his life was spent in London.

A man of his calibre would have had a chance to make good in any sort of society. Indeed, many offers were made to him that would have enabled him to lead a comfortable life. But without hesitation he refused them when they conflicted with his mission in life, which was "to help in one way or another to destroy Capitalism and help build Socialism."\* He had found his mission, and he stuck to it with passion and tenacity.

The help he gave to the cause of Socialism was primarily that of a scientist. He wanted to "provide a scientific foundation for the

\*Engels at his graveside. "Reminiscences of Karl Marx." (Sydney, 1942), p. 63.



socialist movement, which down to his day had been lost in utopian mists."† This work consisted mainly in the analysis of Capitalist society, and for that purpose he spent the greater part of his life in the British Museum. In his researches he was conscientious and painstaking, and just as incorruptible as in all other affairs. Rarely did he stay away, and then only because he did not have enough money to buy paper to write on, or because he had no shoes.

Though he was primarily a student, he did not despise action. On the contrary, in his famous thesis on Feuerbach he reproached all previous philosophers because they had merely described the world, while the point was to change it. However, he agreed that one had to describe the world before one could change it. And it fell to his lot to do that.

When, however, he had laid down this first part—the necessary preparation for change—he took a very active part in practical politics. First in the Communist League, and later in the famous First International. In this practical work he was just as active as in his studies. Finally, his health was undermined, and at the age of sixty-five he died, worn out by a strenuous life.

Marx was not only a scholar and leader, he was a very human person. His friend Liebknecht has left us a charming account of Marx amongst his family. On Sundays they used to go for walks on Hampstead Heath; he shortened the walks by inventing the most fantastic fairy tales, which the grown-ups enjoyed as much as the children. The greatest treat of all was to hire a donkey for the children to ride on, but nothing amused the children more than to see Marx himself ride. They greeted the comical scene with uproarious laughter. Marx's only qualification for riding, according to Engels, was the three lessons he took thirty years earlier in his student days, but even then he did not get far. He did not mind being laughed at, and rather enjoyed himself.

The little spare time he had he used to spend reading his favourite poets. Marx was a personal friend of Heine, who acknowledges many inspirations to Marx. Marx was very fond of Balzac, and wanted to write a criticism of his major works. Aeschylus he read at least once every year in the original Greek. Goethe and Shakespeare he knew by heart, particularly Shakespeare. There was a veritable Shakespeare cult in the Marx family, and all the children knew parts of the greater plays by heart.

These aspects of Marx's character enabled him perhaps to put up with more hardships, but they remain only minor aspects. Above all, Marx will be remembered as a great scientist, and an incorruptible leader.

The story of his life will always make interesting reading; but Marx himself thought his theories of far greater importance, and that must be our view, too. When *Das Kapital* appeared, his German friends wanted to advertise it by means of a short biographical sketch of the author. Marx told them to stop such nonsense, and added, "I consider that that sort of thing is beneath the dignity of a

†Op. cit., p. 5.

man of science."\* He refused a similar request from Myer's Encyclopaedia. He rather wanted people to read his books.

And in Russia people have read his books. The Russian Communist Party has acted in accordance with his principles. Lenin and Stalin have gone further than Marx, but both claim Marxism as the foundation of their work. And this is the reason why to-day it is still of the greatest interest to study the books which were written nearly a hundred years ago.

### Philosophy.

Marxism itself has a history. It is not the invention of one man, but a summing up, and a critical selection from previously accumulated knowledge. It is a fusion of German philosophy, French revolutionary temperament and Socialist thought, and English political economy.

What he got out of the philosophy of Hegel was an attitude towards the world, rather than philosophical conclusions.

For Hegel the Universe was a unity, everything was connected somehow with everything else. This was not new, the thought is at least as old as Plato; but Hegel's Universe was not frozen stiff like that of Plato. There was movement, activity, and development. Not in a gradual, evolutionary way, but in an explosive way. There were leaps and jerks, conflicts and tensions within the Universe, within society, and even within the inanimate objects. It was a Universe just as busy as the nineteenth century.

This outlook Marx brought to all his detailed scientific studies. He never looked at things in isolation, but in connection with other things. The history of Law, for instance, he considered in connection with the economic and political situation in which it rose. Hegel had directed his attention to the development through which all things pass. When he turned to the study of society he examined the past in order to understand the present and anticipate the future. He expected leaps and jerks—revolutions in the history of society. He was not surprised to find tensions where the appearance of harmony meets the eye of the casual observer.

With this philosophical outlook he studied the Socialism of his own time. As yet Socialism was but a sentiment, a revolt of Utopians against existing conditions. Marx was in full agreement with this sentiment, but he thought it must be based on science in order to become effective. One should not say what ought to be done unless one understands what could be done. And that was a scientific question.

In order to understand what can be done one has to examine history. Human history, he said, could be treated in a scientific way. One should be able to find the laws of movement of human society, just as one can find the laws of movement of physical objects. In this expectation he differed from many of his contemporaries. Some of them said: History never repeats itself, that is why you can't generalise; in any case human beings are quite unpredictable. History is not, and cannot be, a science. The modern expression of

\*"Karl Marx: The Story of his Life," by Mehring; p. 272.



this attitude can be found in the writings of people like the English historian, H. A. L. Fisher. He, too, writes that he can see no laws governing history. He can only see "one emergency following upon another as wave follows upon wave."<sup>\*</sup>

To this Marx would have said: Quite right, history does appear just as you say; history is just as inexplicable to the ordinary man as wave motion is to you the historian. But the physicists have been very successful in explaining how wave follows upon wave, and we too ought to turn our attention to researches that will explain how one emergency follows upon another.

There were others who said: History can be explained; all you have to do is to understand how the minds of Great Men work. History is what a Napoleon, a Lenin, or a Hitler make of it. This is a theory still widely held to-day.

To this Marx would have said: Great Men cannot do their great deeds without the help of ordinary men, and perhaps great men are not quite as great as they are said to be. It is true that "men make their own history—but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past."<sup>†</sup>

Therefore it is most important to examine carefully these circumstances found, given and transmitted from the past, because only such an examination will show what kind of political proposals are practicable and possible in given circumstances. The greatest men are of no use if the circumstances do not permit their great deeds.

It was in the course of this investigation that Marx made his great discovery which his friend Friedrich Engels described in these words:—

"Marx discovered the simple fact that mankind must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, religion, and art.

And that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence during a given period form the foundation upon which State institutions, legal conceptions, the art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which these things must be explained."<sup>\*\*</sup>

This is what Marx called the Materialist Conception of History. He believed it to be the key to the understanding of the past and the anticipation of the future. Since that is the main feature of any scientific theory, Engels was quite right when he said that "just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history."

It is the experience of any teacher that one can only proceed from the known to the unknown. Whenever we have to learn a new

<sup>\*</sup>H. A. L. Fisher: "History of Europe," p. v.

<sup>†</sup>Karl Marx: "The Eighteenth Brumaire," of Louis Bonaparte, p. 13.

<sup>\*\*</sup>F. Engels. Quoted "Reminiscences of Karl Marx" (Sydney, 1942), p. 63.

idea we must do it in terms of things with which we are familiar. But what is there with which we are more familiar than our daily jobs? At least half of our waking life is under the influence of the way in which we make our living. This is what Marx had in mind when he said that **ideas about government, art, or anything else, develop on the economic bases—the way in which people produce the immediate material means of subsistence.**

This is a very helpful theory. It tells you, for instance, that it is very unlikely that in a society of primitive cave men one fine day the idea would arise that Parliamentary Government by secret ballot is really the only decent way of handling human affairs. Nor is it any more likely that the nomadic tribes of Arabia should decide that it was now time to have an Industrial Revolution and a commission to invent the steam engine.

Parliamentary Government and steam engines are invented at a time when the material conditions of society are ripe for them.

This has important consequences for the future. It teaches social reformers to proceed from the actually existing material conditions of society and not from their own fancies. It prevents them from wasting their time and energy on inventing Utopias of various kinds.

#### Political Economy.

This conception of history drew Marx's attention to the examination of the way in which society as a whole made its living, that is to political economy. The greater part of his life he spent in what he called "a critical analysis of capitalist production." In order to understand Capitalism fully, he had to go back in time.

Even a superficial glance at the Middle Ages shows that people then lived in a vastly different way from our own time. How, then, did Capitalism come out of Feudalism?

In Feudal times most people worked on the land, on manors which belonged to the feudal lords. Peasants were not free; they belonged to the land, the real property of the lord. Manors were small economic units, walled off against each other by heavy forests and bad roads, and as they were economically self-sufficient, there was no stimulus for trade.

The little trade there was came from the towns, hardly more than big villages by our own standards. Industry consisted mainly in small workshops of artisans, who were subject to the regulations of special guilds.

This system had some stability, and gave some security to its members, but that security was often threatened by famines, epidemics, and droughts. The means at the disposal of mankind were all too few for adequate defence against the dangers of nature.

#### Origin of Capitalism.

How was it that this system broke down? It was the trader who brought to an end the isolation of the manors. As trade increased merchants needed more products to sell, hence industries and towns grew. But why did trade suddenly develop? Events altogether beyond the control of individuals had opened up new opportunities for the traders. Marx has described these events in the Communist Manifesto.



"The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East India and China markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, increase in the means of exchange and commodities in general, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known."\*

These events had far reaching consequences, much more far reaching than was either planned or anticipated by anybody.

Marx goes on:—

"The Feudal system of industry now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets, the manufacturing system took its place, the guild masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class."\*

This new Middle Class grew richer, and with its growing wealth it also became more powerful. The organisers of world trade, of manufacturing industry, they were the real leaders of men, the builders of empires. Compared with them the feudal lords sank into economic insignificance.

But politically they still retained power, and they were quite unwilling to give it up. The political power they held was suitable to feudal conditions; by it they wanted to perpetuate feudal conditions. In the words of Marx, these "conditions became so many fetters; they had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder."

This bursting asunder of the fetters of feudal society is the real significance of the revolution in England of 1649, and the French revolution of 1789. Both were led by the rising Middle Class. In these revolutions, and similar ones which followed in all European countries which had reached that stage of development, society found a new form of social organisation, suitable to its new way of earning a living.

#### The Nature of Capitalism.

The bursting asunder of the feudal ties had a liberating effect. Unheard of powers were released, and resulted in great achievements. Marx is quite enthusiastic about this period.

The new Middle Class "has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian Pyramids, Roman Aqueducts, Gothic Cathedrals, it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former exoduses of nations and crusades."\*

These achievements were due to a system that owed its driving power to the promise of economic profit. This led to a struggle of each against all. Profit was the reward for victory, economic extinction of the fate of the weak. Such was the practice of Capitalism. Many people suffered under it, but the capitalists grew richer, and they had to justify their practice. A school of philosophy, Utilitarianism, arose, which said, My gain is the gain of the whole of society, and the more I gain the better it will be for everybody. And if not everybody had enough yet, this was only due to the fact that not enough profit was being made. In order that more profit might be made they advocated a policy of *laissez faire*. The State was told to keep

\*Communist Manifesto.

its hands off business. State interference could only be conceived as hindrance to the making of profit, and that would be bad for everybody. According to their views the unrestricted making of profit was the only condition which would guarantee the welfare of the whole of society. It certainly was the condition of the welfare of the ruling class. But for the ever growing number of workmen it meant unmitigated exploitation.\* As profits grew, as markets were opened up, the ruling class grew richer. It was proud of its own achievements, which it regarded as universal progress. The Middle Class had just as much confidence in the necessity of progress as it had in its own ability. Hence Progress became a dogma.

Marx saw the cost at which this progress was achieved, and foresaw the pattern towards which society was moving.

True, Capitalism had freed the serfs from serfdom, but Capitalism had also divorced them from the land which they once farmed. Capitalism had deprived them of the only means of subsistence they knew. They drifted into towns and became the class of labourers "who live only as long as they find work and who find work only as long as they increase capital."

They sold their power to work. A power needed by the new factory system. The growing industry could use all kinds of labours, of men, children, and women. Children of three and five years were not thought too young to work for twelve and fourteen hours, women not too weak to work still longer hours. The conditions of health were poor; the conditions of work very exacting; the supervision of work-people ruthless. All sorts of obstacles were placed in the way of State interference on their behalf; this would have interfered also with profit making, and profit was the condition of progress. This utilisation of labour for private profit Marx called exploitation.

Capitalism, then, does not mean unqualified progress. Marx could not share the optimism of the capitalists. A careful analysis of Capitalism convinced him that Capitalism was less beneficial for the whole of society than the ruling class made it out to be. He did not deny that Capitalism had achieved great things, or that it did mean progress in the beginning, but he showed that by the very nature of capitalist production, it was bound to become a fetter of society, just as feudal conditions became. Capitalism has within it the seeds of its own destruction.

#### Competition.

Capitalism produces only in order to make money. The motive is profit, not use. There is no natural limit to making money, as there is to the satisfaction of our ordinary human needs. And free competition sees to it that the race for profit does not stop at any limit. Marx said, "One capitalist always kills many." We know well the story of free competition which destroys the small man and makes the big one bigger still. In biology Darwin called that sort of thing "the survival of the fittest." The capitalists were quick to claim the same biological justification for themselves. The survivors were fitter

\*Even insurance, unemployment relief, and Trade Unions were considered harmful interference in economic affairs.



in a sense. The many economic weaklings were beaten and went under. The victors supplied the community cheaper and faster, often through ruthless exploitation and shameless deception of the customers. Sometimes, however, it did happen that competition benefited the public. If it did happen it was purely incidental, a mere by-product of profit-making. The capitalist had to make profit; he could make it only by producing more. He could produce cheaper only by producing still more. And even if he wanted to stop at some point and say "I have earned enough, I want no more," competition drove him on and threatened him with economic extinction if he did not further increase his profits, and production with it.

What Marx saw was that this sort of system was bound to result in periodical economic crises. In Marx's own time crises had already begun to occur. Contrary to other economists, he taught that they were not exceptional events. Crises were of the very nature of capitalist society. Modern crises differed from all previous ones. "Periodically there breaks out an epidemic that in all earlier epochs would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production."\*

This does not mean that more is produced that people can use; it merely means that more is produced than people can buy. And just because they can't buy, industry comes to a standstill, workers lose their jobs, hence they can buy still less, hence profits diminish, which makes things still worse. Such a crisis is a time of universal anxiety, poverty, and privation, just because no profits can be made.

#### The Race for Colonies, Markets.

But profits must be made, goods must be sold, so new markets must be found. This is one way of solving the crises, so the race for colonies begins. At first there is a world to conquer. But of course this is no permanent solution. Sooner or later colonies too learn the capitalist mode of production. Presently they themselves will become competitors. Legal restrictions may retard this development, but avoided it cannot be.

Then, sooner or later, the world is divided up into spheres of influence. Yet the crises still occur. A new kind of war begins. No longer is the war for the division of the world; it must be a struggle for a new division of the world. Some nations will cry for more "lebensraum." Capitalists realise, just as Marx did, that "by their periodical return economic crises put on its trial, each time more threateningly; the existence of the whole capitalist society."\* And by increasingly drastic methods they strive to put off the day when their power will be lost. They must expand, they must also brutally suppress the rising tide of working-class movements. This is what the Marxists mean when they say that Capitalism can lead to Fascism. They do not want to say that all† capitalists make up on purpose the nonsense of the fascist dogmas, in order to deceive the

\*Communist Manifesto.

†Some of the German capitalists certainly did. See P. Dutt: "Fascism and the Social Revolution."

people, but they do say that in times of crises such theories will spring up, and that exasperated capitalists will take to them like ducks to water.

#### Capitalist Planning.

The fascist way of meeting the problem of economic crises is not the only one. It may happen that the rigid individualists combine and plan for their mutual recovery. This is the significance of the American New Deal. By recovery they mean the recovery of profit.

In 1934 the "New York Tribune" wrote: "There is no use talking about recovery unless capitalists begin to invest in enterprises for the purpose of earning a profit. They will not do it to earn a Blue Eagle, they will not do it for patriotism's sake, or as an act of public service. They will do it because they see a chance to make money. This is the Capitalist system, this is the way it works."

This explains the strange nature of the New Deal. It planned for profits. It planned to keep up prices, and this was only possible by limiting production, and even destroying what was already produced. We remember the burning of coffee, the throwing of fruit into the sea, and the ploughing in of cotton; and all this in spite of the fact that all these things were badly needed.

Marx predicted this. Capitalism cannot solve the greatest and most urgent problem it has created—the Economic Crises. Almost a hundred years ago he wrote in the Communist Manifesto:

"How then does the Bourgeoisie get over these crises? By paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises can be prevented."

It is no use hankering for normal times in which there are no wars, crises, unemployment, insecurity, poverty in the midst of plenty, because these things are of the very nature of capitalist society. These things just are normal at this stage of development of Capitalism.

This is a gloomy view, the dogma of progress can hardly be recognised.

#### Beyond Capitalism.

There is, however, a brighter outlook if we can see beyond Capitalism. Our productive system has advanced so far that for the first time in human history it is able to satisfy all our material needs. One feels strongly that it was time we had finished with fighting for mere economic security. Life holds so many finer things, so many higher things, it is time we had settled this preliminary step towards them.

What is it that holds up the solution of this problem? Marx's answer is: the present capitalist system. "The conditions of capitalist society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by it." The basis of the system is the private ownership of the factories and mines, of land, and all the other means of production. As long as they remain in private hands we cannot plan for the whole of society in a scientific way. Production and distribution will be left to the



blind working of the profit motive rather than to rational control for the benefit of humanity. Experience has made that clear. The American attempts at planning have shown that; and so has the planning for Australia's war production. You cannot plan in such a way that incompatible interests shall all be satisfied. In Capitalism the interests of the community at large come second, profit comes first.

That is why Marx said the theory of Communism can be summed up in one sentence: the abolition of private property in the means of production. Privately owned factories have become a fetter on society, just as much as Feudal castles once were. Marx did not advocate the abolition of private property in all the things we use as consumers. On the contrary, the sole purpose of the abolition of private property in the means of production was to supply more goods for the consumption of society.

Marx had little hope that the capitalists would voluntarily abandon Capitalism; nor did he think they could do so as a class. He turned therefore to the workers. He said they were qualified to do away with Capitalism, for Capitalism itself trained and prepared them for the job. It would be a very painful process, and take quite a long time; but in the end the workers would learn the necessary co-operation, and the planning of the industrial processes.

Under Capitalism the workers have learnt the value of discipline and organisation. So far they have learnt it only in the interest of the profit of others. But it is easy to see how their training can be turned to the benefit of the whole of society. Capitalists have taught them how planning within the factory can be done. The workers will see to it that planning is extended to production as a whole and to distribution. This is what Marx had in mind when he spoke of the historic mission of the proletariat. There is nothing mysterious about it. An analysis of Capitalism reveals their qualification. The conditions of their own material existence, their position in capitalist society, will make them the builders of the New Social Order. Other classes of our society are not forced to become socialists by their own material conditions, but they can reach by intellectual means the convictions that Socialism really is the best way of solving the economic question. Marx and his followers hoped that many would.

To-day there is a better chance than ever before that people from every class of society will become Socialists. Especially as we can see clearly that Marx's confidence in the working class was justified. Now we can study what the Socialist planning of the workers of the Soviet Union has achieved. Marx insisted that "One nation can, and should, learn from another." And if in this way not all the hardships of social change may be avoided, at least one can, as Marx said in his Preface to "Das Kapital," "shorten and lessen the birth pangs" of the New Society.

## "WHAT SOCIALISM WOULD MEAN TO AUSTRALIA."

The great Socialist thinker, Karl Marx, once said: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please. They do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given, and transmitted from the past."\*

It is no use sitting down and weaving ideas about the world out of our own fancy. If we are serious about building a New Society we must see what materials we have from which to build and what social forces exist to do the building.

To-night, therefore, I shall not begin by talking about Socialism, I shall begin by asking what are the main characteristics of our present-day economic system from which Socialism must arise. Several characteristics stand out.

### A Land of Plenty.

First, we live in a land that is richly endowed by nature.

We have enough coal to last us at our present rate of extraction for nearly 5000 years. There is a giant coal-belt, as yet barely touched, which extends right under Newcastle and right under the sea. In the Latrobe Valley, in Victoria, we have the largest brown coal deposit yet found in any country. We have still great mountains of iron and other metals.†

We have not the splendid waterways of Russia or the United States, but we have ample waterways to irrigate vast new areas, and we have in Queensland what geologists believe to be the largest artesian water basin in the world. We have all grades of climate capable of maintaining all kinds of plants and animals from seals in the south to sugar in the north.

The few things we can't provide for ourselves we can easily gain from other countries in exchange for those things we can supply in abundance.

Secondly, we live in a land that is richly endowed by science. A land of marvellous new machinery which has made possible an enormous output of goods and services for the people.

Some of you will have seen, at Yallourn, the great open cut, with electric shovels that delve into the coal, and the trucks that automatically receive and deposit the coal without ever stopping, and the other trucks that automatically take the coal to the power house and the briquetting factory. When this open cut started it became possible for a quarter the number of workers to produce eighty times as much coal as before. The power to produce was multiplied 320 times at one stroke.††

Or take another example, this time from agriculture. When wheat was harvested with a sickle and threshed with a flail, over 40 hours of labour would probably be required for harvesting and

\*"Eighteenth Brumaire," Karl Marx.

†"Economics of Australian Coal," by F. R. E. Mauldon.

††See "Monopoly," Left Book Club Research Group.



threshing an acre of wheat with a yield of 15 bushels. A combined harvester-thresher will do the same job in three-quarters of an hour, or in less than a fiftieth of the time.††

These few examples should prove to us what mighty powers of production modern science has created in our midst.

Our power of production has increased faster than ever during the present war. Whole new industries have been created which are now providing war materials, but can later be turned over to producing peace-time needs.

Above all, the war has compelled us to develop a large-scale machine and tool industry. No nation is ever a first-class industrial nation unless it has the machines to produce its own machines; and that is what Australia, under the pressure of the war, has been getting. Australia is now a highly industrialised country.

#### Big People and Little People.

But who controls this vast wealth conferred on our country by nature and by science? It is mainly controlled by a handful of people.

A few millionaires control the Broken Hill Proprietary, which controls directly or indirectly almost the whole iron and steel industry of Australia. The same men who control the B.H.P. control banks, ships, coalmines, textile mills, newspaper mills, and what not.\*

A few other millionaires control the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, and they also control banks, ships, great pastoral and other enterprises.

The banking business of Australia is done by nine banks. Three of these banks are owned by the Broken Hill group, three by the Colonial Sugar group, and the other three by a similar small group of gentlemen of equal wealth and power residing in London.\*

There are, of course, many small capitalists in Australia—farmers, shopkeepers, owners of small businesses. But they have little stake in the country.

For example, three-quarters of the farmers in Victoria have farms less than 500 acres in size. On the other hand, huge estates are owned by a few great private landowners. Four great land companies own 22 million acres of the finest land in Australia.

To buy their land and carry on their work, the farmers have got heavily in debt to big interests. In 1934 Sir Herbert Gepp after an inquiry found that the wheat farmers alone owed £150 million. They owed half of it to banks and finance companies, and nearly all the rest to private machinery firms, private mortgagees, or government bodies that were in turn heavily in debt to private bondholders.\*

Then, when their produce is sold, it is sold to big flourmills, big jam companies, big refineries, and so on.

The farmers are just the little people in among the big people. If you don't believe me, ask the farmers.

††Sydney Labour Research Bureau, 1931.

\*Report of Royal Commission on Wheat Industry, 1934.

#### State Ownership—For Whom?

Some things are owned by the State. But in fact, under our present order, they are owned by the State on behalf of the monopolists.

Take the State railways for example. The greatest users of the State railways are the great owners of industry and owners of sheep and cattle stations. They get a better and cheaper service because the railways are State railways, and therefore not run for private profit. State railways help their profits. The same railways are in debt to private bondholders to the tune of £350 million, and yield them a handsome regular income.

Or take the Commonwealth Bank. At no time did the Commonwealth Bank set out to compete with the private banks; and since 1924 it has been under the control of a Board composed of a representative of private owners of industry, a representative of the pastoralists, a representative of the great commercial firms, and other similar people.

The State enterprises that have existed in Australia in the past have not challenged the rule of private monopoly, and have in fact often strengthened it.

During the war the Commonwealth Government has of course made serious inroads into the monopoly preserve. It has set up a great public munition industry and has assumed some fairly large powers over private concerns—powers over supplies, over production, employment, prices, and so on—powers that have been assumed in the last war and in this war in all countries where a serious national danger arose—powers that have had to be assumed to avoid the widespread waste of machinery and labour that normally occurs under our present system in time of peace. These powers are hated by the monopolists, who accept them during the war, but are clamouring to have them removed immediately the war ends.

However, even these powers have not vitally affected the rights of the monopolists, who continue as owners of their industries, making large profits and wielding large power over hundreds of thousands of working people.

You will notice, too, that the heads of the great private concerns have been appointed to nearly all the leading Government and economic positions—Mr. Essington Lewis, of the B.H.P., as director of munitions and aircraft; the late Sir Colin Fraser as director of materials supply; Mr. Theodore as director of Allied Works.

This condition of affairs, in which the State carries on economic activities in a manner suitable to the great capitalists, is called State Capitalism, and is something we should sharply distinguish from Socialism, which can only come into being when the great capitalists as such exist no more.

#### Poverty and Crisis.

Under monopoly rule, while the power of production has been increased many times over, the standard of living of the people remains much the same as before.

The late Commonwealth Statistician, Sir George Knibbs, declared that from 1871 to 1911 "the increase in productivity per



head in Australia was relatively far greater than the increase in effective wages." In later years the situation became worse. According to the Commonwealth census of 1933, taking into account the increased prices and the worse unemployment, the average purchasing power per worker was 4 per cent. lower than in 1911.

At the beginning of this war you could say that the real standard of living was just about the same as at the beginning of the century.

And what happened? What was bound to happen, with the powers of production rapidly increasing and the purchasing power of the people no greater than before? Only one thing could happen, and that was that every few years we should pass through a disastrous crisis in which there would be mountains of goods that could not be sold, miles of machines lying idle, and tens of thousands of workers turned out of their jobs to starve.

As the powers of production became greater the crises became worse, and between 1929 and 1932 came the longest and deepest crisis of all, when hundreds of thousands were unemployed, many of them for years on end, while their children starved and their homes went to ruin, while countless shopkeepers went bankrupt, and the bottom went out of the farmer's market, and he too became nearly destitute.

It was no accident that this crisis occurred. It was the natural result of the system of great monopolies which put their private profit first, and have never aimed to give full employment or to sell abundant goods at low prices to the people. Such a system, which keeps the people poor, destroys the market for the goods that modern industry can so easily pour forth.

#### The Labour Movement.

But in Australia, as in other capitalist countries, there has grown up in the last hundred years a modern industrial working class—a class of men working together in large numbers in factories, in mines, ships, shearing sheds, and other places. Because they have worked together they have been able to organize.

The farmers and the middle class find it hard to organise, however exploited they may be, because they are broken up into their separate farms and shops and small factories. But modern mass production welds together, organizes and unites the industrial working class.

This has been even more so in Australia than elsewhere. Outside Soviet Russia there is no other country in which as high a proportion of workers are organized in Trade Unions. There is no other country in which a Labour Party has such a large mass following and such a strong position in Parliament. Finally there is the Communist Party, which has a smaller, but rapidly increasing, mass support. It has now gained its first seat in Parliament, possesses a great influence in the Unions, and has an active organization with a strongly socialist programme. The Trade Unions, the Labour Party, and the Communist Party together form the Australian Labour Movement.

This Labour Movement is the force that will lead the Australian people in changing their social system. There is no other force that can lead the people in changing it.

A man like Mr. H. G. Wells, who wants to re-organize the world from above by a select group of scientists and intellectuals like Mr. H. G. Wells, and who has no faith in the working class—such a man, for all his brilliance, only plunges from mistake into mistake. The working class has been selected by history as the necessary driving force for any big change that is to be made.

To sum up this review—we live in a land that is richly endowed by nature and richly endowed by science; in which our powers of production have lately been multiplied; in which our wealth is mainly controlled by a few private monopolists or by the State acting in association with them; in which poverty has led to crisis, and crisis in turn has led to poverty; and in which the driving force for social change already exists in a highly organized Labour Movement.

These are the circumstances out of which we must make our history. Given these circumstances, what sort of society are we to create and how are we to go about the job?

#### What Socialism is Not.

We socialists believe that what is needed is to end the control of the main sources of our economic life by a handful of people. What is needed is that the majority of the Australian people should establish a Government which will truly represent their interests and which will bring under its control the land, the large factories, the mines, the banks, the transport system, and the foreign trade of the country.

Such a Government, elected by the majority of the people, would be sensible. It would not do any of the mad things that the critics of Socialism often suppose.

It would not pay equal incomes to everybody. It would pay larger incomes to skilled workers than unskilled, larger incomes still to managers and expert technicians. It would reward people according to the services they performed (as Marx forecast quite clearly eighty years ago).

There would be no more rent, interest and profit for idle private owners of large concerns, but the people who did the best and the most skilled work would get the highest income.

Again, a Socialist Government would not take over all personal property. On the contrary, it would aim to secure for the average person for the first time some personal property worth having. It would end the private ownership of land, banks, and great factories which enables a few monopolists to keep the rest of the people poor and without property, and would use these things to supply for the people more, not less, personal property in food, clothes, houses, books, furniture, pictures, radios, motor cars, and other articles of personal use.

Nor would it expropriate the small owners of factories, shops and farms. It would not need to take over anything except the larger concerns which occupy the decisive place in our economic life.



There is little doubt that in Australia, as in Russia, collective farming and State and co-operative shopkeeping would make rapid headway under a Socialist Government, but there would be time for small owners to adapt themselves to new ways of making a living which would in fact give them more security and a better income.

**"Work for All, Leisure for All, Abundance for All."**

What, then, would a Socialist Government do? It would first of all set up a planning commission to work out in advance an economic plan for the whole country. A commission of engineers, economists, and others who would have no question of private profit, to consider but one thing and one thing only—how to increase the welfare of the people as a whole.

Such a planning commission would work out how much the various industries should produce, what supply of materials they should have, what new factories should be built, and so on; and it would also work out the levels of wages and the prices at which goods would be offered for sale. In other words, it would be planning **not only the production of goods, but of the capacity of the people to purchase them.** It would see that if more goods were produced for the market the people would have more income to buy them with. And it would therefore be on the road to conquering crisis and unemployment.

All the planning might not be perfect, and particularly at the outset quite a few mistakes might be made; but the planning commission would never be guilty of filling factories, shops and warehouses full to the brim with all kinds of goods that people couldn't buy. It would never be guilty of the criminal waste and stupidity of economic crises as they have been known under capitalism every few years during the past century.

**"Leisure for All."**

Not only would much more be produced, but it would be produced in a much shorter time. Under socialism in Russia hours of work were reduced from ten or twelve to six or seven per day. Here, with many advantages the Russians did not have in 1917, they should be reduced more quickly. Machines would serve, as they should serve in any reasonable society, not only to increase the supply of the world's goods, but to bring new leisure, and therefore more freedom into the lives of the people—new freedom for sport, for reading and improving the mind, for family and social life—freedom that only leisure can give.

In Victoria the Labour Movement first gained the 8-hour day in 1856, and still finds the 8-hour day the accepted standard, nearly ninety years later, in spite of all the wonderful new machines produced in the meantime. Socialism would see the end of this snail's rate of advance.

Increased production would mean increased revenue for the Government. For in a socialist Australia the State would obtain its revenue mainly from the profits of socialised industry, which would increase with the level of production.

In Australia, in the year just before the war, only two per cent. of the Government revenue was obtained from the profits of public industries and about 40 per cent. came from loans. In Russia, in 1941, only six per cent. came from loans and 70 per cent. came from the socialised industries. That is the main way in which revenue will always come in a Socialist State.

Now this system of social ownership and planning would send production forward by leaps and bounds. History proves it.

In the last crisis all the capitalist countries fell heavily from their production peak in 1929 down to rock-bottom in 1932, and took years to climb back to their 1929 level. In the Soviet Union, production in 1933 was double that of 1929, and production in 1938 was five times that of 1929.

Under a system of social ownership and planning the only limit to production is the physical limit set by the quantity of labour, machines, and materials available.

The ideal of Henry George—"Work for all, leisure for all, abundance for all"—can be translated into real life.

And what would be done with the ever-rising profits of socialised industry?

More free social services would be provided for the people. A socialist government would, for example, provide a free medical and hospital service.

It would turn the doctors into State servants—highly honoured and well-paid State servants such as they should be proud to become. It would end the scandal of the shortage of hospital beds which is the cause of many prolonged illnesses and many deaths. It would set up a network of good clinics where those could go at any hour of the day and receive free of charge any treatment, including dental and X-ray treatment, which did not require a stay in hospital. It would go further and aim, through medical examination and periods of rest, to prevent sickness as well as cure it. It would act on the principal that no effort was too great to preserve the health and life of the people.

Rising standards of living and security for all would in themselves improve the people's health. Listen to our City Health Officer, Dr. Dale:—"As a health officer, I know that there is a great deal of sickness among the people. The principal cause of it on the physical side is the failure to get the food, clothing and shelter which are necessary for health; and on the mental side the worry and anxiety which, in the main, are due to the struggle to obtain the things that are necessary for physical health. In short, sickness is due mainly to poverty and the fear of poverty."

I can imagine what some of the other free social services would be. Free education with adequate allowances for secondary and university students—that would be one. Free sporting facilities of all kinds, free seats in concerts and theatres, free periods in rest homes, free lighting and heating, free housing and milk supply. One would not expect all these at once; but it would be normal, as Socialism develops, for the number of these free services to increase.



As well as these free services there would be a very complete scheme of social insurance covering all possible mishaps from birth to death. In Russia there is such a scheme, which the great British economists, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, describe as providing "unlimited and universal security for the entire wage-earning population." The funds are provided by the State but the scheme is administered by the unions; and that would be the best way for such a scheme to be administered in this country also.

#### Developing Australia.

Increased Government revenue would also enable the carrying out of great public works. Take an example. Some years ago, the designer of Sydney Harbour Bridge, Dr. Bradfield, put forward a plan to provide water for the whole of southern Queensland by damming and linking the rivers in the heavy rainfall area in the north. He estimated that it would cost £20,000,000, but would pave the way for settlement of 20,000,000 people. I do not know if his estimate is correct, but at any rate the plan was ignored, not because Governments doubted his estimate, but because they would not spend the money. He had more luck with Sydney Harbour Bridge, which was built at the cost of £10,000,000; but the £10,000,000 was borrowed, and thus allowed to become a burden on the people. A socialist government could carry out even the greatest public works from the profits of ever-expanding socialist industry.

Two questions worry many people when they think of the development of Australia—the question of population and the question of decentralisation. What answer has Socialism to these two questions? First the question of population.

Population is not produced by propaganda. In Italy, Mussolini campaigned for ten years for a higher birth-rate, and the birth-rate fell 5 per cent. Hitler's campaign had some success, but raised the German birth-rate only to a low figure.\* In one country, however, the birth-rate through all these years was outstandingly high—the Soviet Union. Our birth-rate is well under 20 per 1000; the Soviet birth-rate has been well over 40 per 1000. And this is because Soviet parents know that the future of their children is secure—that no child of theirs will suffer want or be denied the opportunity of a good life. The same result will follow in Australia when the same guarantee of security is given. Births will increase, and also more people will migrate from other lands and they will receive a better welcome.

Next the question of decentralisation. There is much moaning over the fact that half the population of Australia is concentrated in the capital cities. Well, the simple truth is that private monopoly has its headquarters in the capital cities, and wants all the business to come there.

In Victoria, big city interests deliberately prevented the growth of industry in country towns. They used their influence with Government after Government to prevent Portland developing its own har-

\*"World Population," by Kuczynski.

bour and its own independent railway connection with the wheat country in the north-west of Victoria. They secured the fixing of railway freights in such a way that flour-milling and similar operations would be concentrated in Melbourne. In 1879, Victoria's great liberal premier, Mr. Berry, altered railway freights to make them dearer on the Melbourne side of Ballarat and Bendigo than on the other side, and sure enough flour-mills and similar works began to prosper in Ballarat and Bendigo. But when Berry went, the new freight system went with him. Only the social control of industry can guarantee that it will be spread through country towns as it should be in the interests of country people.†

#### Security for the Farmer.

What would happen to the farmer under Socialism?

The land would be nationalised. This does not mean that his land will be taken away from him. It means that he will hold his land much more securely than before.

The only farmers that will lose their estates will be such farmers as Dalgety & Co. The estates of these great owners, if close to country towns and rail centres, will be opened up for closer settlement, and, if in more remote areas, will be run directly by the State. But except for these great estates, the farmer will be secured in the tenure of his land.

The farmer's debt to the banks and big business will be cancelled when the State, acting for the workers and farmers, takes over the banks and big businesses. At the same time the farmer will gain a good home market owing to the increased standard of living of the worker in industry.

Secured in his land, relieved of his crushing debt, and gaining a larger home market, the farmer would reap an immediate benefit from Socialism. It might take him a while to go further and adopt collective farming. There would be no compulsion for him to do so. But he would go over to collective farming sooner or later because he would see its efficiency. Groups of collective farmers will arise electing their own management committee, pooling their land and implements, working the land collectively, all getting the use of the best machines available, sharing the total return according to the work done by each, and working a maximum eight-hour day unknown on the individual farm; and they will find life on the collective much better than their life of days gone by.

But this change will be carried out when the farmers want it, and are ready for it, and not before.

#### Australians of the Future.

What sort of men and women will the new Australia bring forth?

I say that under Socialism, the Australian people will rise for the first time to their full mental and moral stature. We have heard of the splendid moral heights reached by the people of the Soviet Union. Most of the Soviet people, and nearly all the Red

†Sted's Magazine, 1922. Art by Meyer.



Army men, have been brought up and educated in a growing socialist society. And this growing socialist society has set its stamp on their character.

Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, writes of the Soviet people, "The Plan creates a new sense of ownership and responsibility. The knowledge that every man, woman and child has a place in the Plan and a share in its product creates a sense of ownership. Peasants, artisans, students and children, speak of 'our' country, 'our' factory, 'our' store, 'our' metro."

Major Attlee, leader of the British Labour Party, made a similar comment when he returned from the Soviet Union before the war. He said he was "tremendously impressed" by the "sense of responsibility" of this people who were "building up their own society." "They recognise," he said, "that they are taking part in the life of the whole of society and are not mere cogs in a wheel."

**A sense of responsibility, a sense that one is taking part in the whole life of society—that is the first thing that comes to a socialist people.**

That is why groups of workers all over the country have been striving one with the other to improve their work. That is why workers stand over their machines at the end of their shifts thinking out some new method of work or testing out some new part of a machine. That is why they made a national hero of the miner Stakhanov, who set out to produce with much greater speed and less human effort.

It is **THEIR** country, and no one is out to exploit their effort for private gain. All they do is for themselves, their fellow-citizens and their children in the years to come. In a socialist Australia, the position would be the same, and it would have the same moral effect on the people.

Australians are capable of showing the same sense of responsibility and the same splendid initiative. Let us not forget how, even under this social order, the waterside workers at Port Kembla, in 1938, sacrificed many weeks' wages and risked their whole future for no personal gain but through a high sense of national responsibility for preventing Australian iron being used by the Japanese war-lords against the Australian people.

The Dean of Canterbury makes another profound statement about the Soviet Union. He says, "Russia has achieved what it is our bounden duty to achieve, the complete economic security of the common man. This economic security is destined to have wonderful effects. It releases men for creative tasks."

Human beings throughout history, except for a fortunate few, have been compelled to devote overwhelmingly the greater part of their working time to the struggle for food, clothing and shelter. They have, on the whole, been able to devote little attention to anything else.

But when once the battle for a living is ended, and men enjoy security and leisure, then they are able to develop what is best and noblest in their natures.

The heights of art, science and culture in ancient societies were reached by leisured classes making use of the labour of ever so many human slaves. But the new heights of art, science and culture in our future Australian society will be reached by a leisured people making use of the labour of ever so many machines.

The rise of humanity under Socialism was summed up last century by Marx's friend and colleague, Frederick Engels, when he wrote:—

"The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real conscious lord of nature because he has now become master of his own social organisation. Man's social organisation, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."\*

#### From Socialism to Communism.

To fit people for this higher mode of life, Socialism will require a new system of education. This system will have as its aim to create a many-sided and cultured human being.

A socialist Australia will have great respect for its experts. The people with expert knowledge and capacity will have the honour that in our present society is mainly accorded to people with money. But they will gain their highly specialised knowledge after first receiving a very wide general education. They will learn the subjects that children learn to-day, but not only these. From early years they will learn the first principles of agriculture in garden plots around schools, and the first principles of industry in workshops near by. They will construct models of houses, cars and aeroplanes, working together in groups as they must do in real modern life. They will learn of the science and culture of all the ages, and will be encouraged to create their own science and culture—to paint, to compose, to write, to invent. From early years they will elect their representatives to school committees, and will be trained in the management of their own affairs. They will be trained to be masters of nature and of society.

They will grow up with one absorbing aim—to make the greatest possible contribution to the work of society without thought of personal benefits.

New generations brought up on these lines, able through the advance of science to produce all kinds of goods in the greatest abundance, will go forward from Socialism to Communism.

**Communism is the state of society summed up in the old motto, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."**

\*"Socialism Utopian and Scientific," by Engels.



It could not follow in one leap from our present society, but it will grow naturally from generations of Socialism.

In this state of society, men and women will not work for reward, but will help freely to produce a great common store of goods, and will take freely. Money will disappear.

Government based on force will also disappear. Courts, police and prisons, will become unnecessary. To quote the great socialist leader, Lenin, "There will vanish all need for force, for the subjection of one man to another, of one section of society to another, since people will grow accustomed to observing the elementary conditions of social existence without force and without subjection."<sup>††</sup>

#### Violence Can be Avoided.

In 1847, Engels wrote on the question whether the capitalist system could be abolished peacefully.

He said, "It were to be wished that this could happen, and the Communists would certainly be the last to take exception thereto . . . They also see, however, that the development of the working class in all civilised lands is forcibly suppressed, and that in this way the opponents of the communists are making with all their might for a revolution. Should the oppressed working class be, in this way, driven finally to a revolution, then we communists will defend the cause of the workers just as well with deeds as we now do with words."

In the twenty years before this war, the "forcible suppression of the working class" went on apace. Over nearly the whole of Europe, in Japan, and in South America, there arose Fascist dictatorships backed by the great millionaires, who aimed to preserve the present order by stamping out Democracy and all social progress. By 1941, the Fascists dominated over 500,000,000 people.

But to-day we are fortunate. For, through all the blood and suffering of this terrible war we are now approaching the moment when the allied armies will destroy Fascism and strike a mortal blow at the principles for which Fascism stands. We are on the eve of a great new burst of democratic activity over the whole world. To-day, moreover, the country of Socialism, the Soviet Union, is not isolated, but is bound with the leading countries of Capitalism in a common anti-fascist alliance.

Therefore, the road of a more peaceful approach to Socialism is now open, in Australia as in other countries, and the majority of the Australian people can freely decide their own future.

Whoever, among the masters of our present society, would seek to follow the example of Hitler and Tojo, and once again close that road by violence, will be taking a terrible responsibility. He will not only cause bloodshed at the moment of the change to Socialism, but will compel the new socialist society to defend itself by repressive measures. For whatever violent minority has to be put down by force at the moment of the change will have to be kept down by force afterwards.

<sup>††</sup>"State and Revolution," by Lenin, 1917.

Whether we in this country can go forward peacefully to Socialism will be determined above all by one thing. It will be determined by the future of the great British-American-Soviet alliance. This alliance, alone, can secure the complete crushing of Fascism, and alone can ensure a peaceful and progressive world after the war. Without it we are doomed to the survival of Fascism—a third World War, and unprecedented violence.

This alliance, crowned last year at the Teheran conference, is so important that just now it overshadows all else. All who stand behind this alliance, whatever their political views, should act together as close friends. All who aim to break this alliance, or who undermine it by their words or actions, must be fought as the enemies of humanity.

#### Nations Must Co-operate.

At the Teheran conference, the three great allied leaders, Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and Marshall Stalin, pledged co-operation after the war in economic as well as political matters.

This brings us to an important question for the building of Socialism in Australia. Australia has a great international trade, in normal years she has exported one-third of her total produce, and two-thirds of her wheat and wool.

Under Socialism, it is true, there will be a larger home market. It is true, also, that some of the productive effort that is now devoted to wheat and wool may be turned into other channels. But Australia will still have a large international trade and will be greatly affected by international conditions.

A more ordered world economy based on international agreement over prices, markets, and materials, has become possible through British-American-Soviet co-operation, and can greatly help the building of Socialism inside Australia.

#### The Fight Against Bureaucracy.

Many of the objections raised against Socialism can be summed up in the one word "Bureaucracy."

People picture a vast army of officials following a slow routine and taking ages to get anything done. They picture these same officials issuing masses of regulations, ordering every detail of everybody's daily life.

Well, let us admit that bureaucracy is something that exists and must be fought against. It exists under big business control as well as State control. The leading capitalist concerns have great staffs of managers, under-managers, personnel managers, salesmen and clerks of all descriptions. In fact, big capitalism carries bureaucracy to the limit; for each great concern has its separate large staff partly engaged in taking custom away from others.

Under socialism, as distinct from the State capitalism we know to-day, the danger of bureaucracy exists, but it can be fought against more successfully. Russia has fought against it very successfully in the last twenty years. She has fought against it by bringing the people themselves into action.



For example, the State Planning Commission draws up the economic plan for the country. But the plan is sent out for discussion in every factory, office and collective farm and "counter-plans" are submitted, which are adopted by the Commission wherever possible.

In Russia, the Government is a "Soviet" Government ("Soviet" is the Russian word for "council"). "Soviet" members are more democratically controlled than members of our parliaments or local councils. They are elected by all adults from 18 years upwards, they can be "recalled" by the electors at any time, they receive instructions from their electors, and report to them frequently on what they are doing.

In Australia, we would not use the word "Soviet," which is a Russian word, but our governing bodies under Socialism would doubtless be of the "Soviet" type. That would be a safeguard against the evils of "bureaucracy."

Members of "Soviets" not only control the administration, but are themselves the administrators. A very large part of their time is spent, not in discussing laws, but in carrying them out. They co-opt large numbers of other people into all kinds of voluntary administrative service.

Australians have an excellent capacity for stepping forward and carrying out the work of government. Ten years ago, when the Wonthaggi miners, who are now breaking all production records in the fight against Japan, were carrying on a fight against injustice in the mines, they maintained a five-month strike. And they carried it out in a new way. They set up a large strike committee with numerous sub-committees, and hundreds of miners actively engaged, not only in speaking and collecting funds, but in fishing, rabbiting, boot repairing, hairdressing, and other activities.

This surging up of the people themselves becomes the usual thing in a socialist society, and spells an end to the hard-and-fast, stuck-in-the-mud methods of bureaucrats.

#### Religious Freedom.

One special misrepresentation should be answered. It is asserted in some quarters that the Communists, who are playing a big part in the movement for Socialism, stand for the suppression of religious freedom. On behalf of the Communist Party, I can say that there is no ground whatever for this view, and that we always have stood and always will stand, for the right of all people to believe and worship as they choose.

#### A Job for To-day.

We cannot raise the question of Socialism as an immediate issue in the middle of the war. It would divide the nation at the most vital moment of its history.

Socialists, above all, have an interest in uniting all forces for the victory of democracy. For democracy is the condition of progress to Socialism. The great socialist leader Lenin once said, "There is no other road to Socialism except through political Democracy."

But we should even now be actively preparing the minds of the people for the new system that is to take the place of Capitalism. We should be reaching nearer and nearer the point where it will command the support of the majority of the Australian people.

We can also be taking steps to strengthen, to advocate and unite into one solid body the great Australian Labour Movement which must be the driving force to Socialism.

#### A Faith for Australian Patriots.

In doing this we shall not be, as some think, translating Russian ideas into Australia. Socialist ideas were born in western Europe, not in Russia. And they are as suitable to Australia as to any other country.

Socialists are in fact the truest Australian patriots, because they believe that Australia should be owned by the seven million Australians who live in it and not by a handful of proprietors who own it to-day.

They are the truest Australian patriots because they believe it is possible under a new social order to turn Australia into the finest country ever known on earth.



## CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM.

The question whether or not a Christian can be a Socialist is of supreme importance to any Christian who is attracted to the socialistic programme, and there are many. But it is of far wider interest also. Christianity and Socialism are two powerful forces in the world to-day, and it must be of consequence to every man whether or not these two forces in society must be arrayed against one another.

To-day we are more interested in Socialism than ever before, for two reasons; the first is the negative one that between the Two Wars determined attempts were made by those in authority to cure the crying evils of the industrial system in Europe, **without success.** Finally we were plunged into the second world war. The second reason is that the drastic Socialistic experiment made in Russia seems to have been, in some respects at any rate, extraordinarily successful.

### Collective control of industry a necessity.

There would seem to be no doubt that if business is left to private enterprise and mutual competition, as in the past, it is impossible to avoid certain disastrous consequences. The first is recurrent booms and depressions due to the periodic production of more goods than can be sold. When there is shortage of goods of any kind, factories are run up and industry gets busy. Firm competes with firm to sell as quickly and as cheaply as possible. The necessity to produce cheaply tends to keep wages low, so that there is an inevitable conflict of interest between employer and employee, while goods are poured out in the vast quantities which modern production has made possible. In a short time the market is saturated. Goods can no longer be sold. The machines stop. The factories close down, and men in vast numbers find themselves out of employment, while warehouses are glutted with enormous quantities of unsaleable goods.

At the end of 1930, when a large section of the community was still short of the very necessities of life, fourteen million men, it is reckoned, were out of employment in Great Britain, Germany, and U.S.A. During the same depression statistics record that six million dairy cattle, and two million sheep were destroyed in U.S.A.; half a million sheep were deliberately burnt to cinders in Chile; the Pacific Ocean swallowed up twenty-six million bags of coffee, while hundreds of thousands of acres of cotton were ploughed into the earth unused. And this, not because men had no need of these things, but because they could not be profitably sold.

Mr. Gibson has referred to other similar facts, and, if I venture to recall them at the outset of this discussion, it is because I am sure we need to keep the facts of the situation steadily in mind if we are to think wisely. In our day we are faced with circumstances new to the world. The problem of production has been solved for the first time. Owing to the colossal increase in powers of production it is, for the first time, possible to eliminate poverty if we use our resources wisely.

This was probably true at the end of the last war; but we need only recall the way in which we have been able to live for the past four years, while millions upon millions of pounds have been spent on instruments of destruction, to put the statement beyond dispute. **The revolution in methods and power of production would seem to necessitate a new pattern of social order to correspond to it.** It is at any rate certain that men must learn to control these terrific powers in their interests, if they are not to be destroyed by them. At present we are being destroyed by them.\*

### The Frustration of Science.

The second reason why we cannot be content to leave industry in the control of private enterprise is less serious, but still important. In 1935 there appeared a book entitled "The Frustration of Science." This symposium, consisting of essays by eight scientists, eminent in their own different departments, showed how time and time again humanity has been denied benefits, which science could have conferred, because private interests stood in the way. A few quotations will indicate the thought that oppresses these scientists.

In the essay, "Science and Agriculture," Sir Daniel Hall writes: "In any general sense over-production of foodstuffs should be indefinitely remote. The distinguishing feature of the consumers' demand for food is its flexibility in the matter of quality, even if we allow that the whole population is satisfied as regards quantity, which is far from being the case. . . . From this point of view it is idle to postulate over-production of foodstuffs. Yet over-production as measured by the actual demand and by prices does exist, and science is asked to call a halt in its endeavours to increase production. The only remedy for the situation that is being generally attempted is restriction of output. International agreements are being made to restrict the production of wheat, of sugar, and of rubber. . . . It necessitates a social revolution" (p. 26-29). J. D. Bernal, in "Science and Industry," writes: "The actual achievements of applied science and techniques, great as they seem, should not hide the fact that they represent but a fraction of what could be done by utilising existing technical knowledge, and an infinitesimal part of what the new theories of the twentieth century could do if, and when, they are applied. . . . The great discoveries of the 20th century have not yet found their way into practice. . . . This change is held up by the immense vested interests of the iron and steel industries. . . . For the sake of preserving the present economic system we continue to use primitive methods. The alternative, if science is to be used beneficially, is to scrap the system and introduce a rational one." In the section on "Medicine" Professor Mottram writes: "Though medical research shows what we ought to do in certain conditions, the distribution of wealth is so uneven that those who should be receiving the treatment indicated cannot afford it. The most glaring instance

\*"A society that has become incurably divided against itself is almost certain to 'put back into the business' of war the greater part of those additional resources, human and material, which the same business has brought into its hands." ("A Study of History," Toynbee. Volume V., p. 16).



is that of diet. Medical research has shown that the addition of one pint of milk per day of a growing boy improves the growth rate, the physique, and the power of resistance to disease, and the mentality out of all proportion. The production of milk in Great Britain—one of the best fitted in the world for dairy produce—is so badly organised that there is not one pint per head of the population even, if we could get it to them. And if we could get it to them, the majority could not afford to pay for it. . . . Until it is so organised, most of the striking advances in medical science are doomed to frustration." Dr. Enid Charles has the striking phrase: "The trouble is, that an *Acquisitive Society* cannot create the conditions for applying knowledge of human nature to its own benefit." In the final essay Professor Blackett opens with the remark: "I think everyone will agree that the most striking fact about the present-day world is the contrast between the vast possibilities of prosperity and the appalling poverty of the majority of the population." In the course of his summing up of the situation as seen by these scientists, he says: "We cannot look to scientists for salvation. Mr. Wells at one time appeared to think that the scientists might save us. Then more recently it was going to be the international financiers. But so many of them committed suicide. So now it is going to be the aviators. Perhaps soon we will be told to pin our hopes on a dictatorship of midwives. I think the tendency to lay all the blame for what goes wrong on the politician is both silly and mean. And what nonsense this stupidity theory makes of history! . . . It is surely perfectly clear that it is the internal economic position of a country that drives it simultaneously to economic imperialism and economic self-sufficiency, and therefore to violent nationalism and war. . . . This is the way that capitalism is now taking, and it leads to Fascism. The other way is complete Socialistic planning on a large scale; this would be as planning for a maximum possible of output and not a planned restriction of output. I believe that there are only these two ways."

#### Divergent Opinions.

Now there are many Christian people who have come to the same conclusion as these scientists; but they are disturbed by loud voices crying, "You cannot be both a Christian and a Socialist." If this is true, certainly the reason does not lie on the surface. One would think it was the most Christian thing possible to try to bring God's good gifts right home to all the needy, and to organise society so that this can be done. Certainly one would think that it was the most Christian thing possible to develop God-given powers to the limit of their capacity, and to use the riches of the earth for the benefit of all mankind.

Yet it is a fact that two Popes on the one side (Leo XIII. and Pius XI.), and Lenin on the other, have declared that Christianity and Socialism are incompatible. For those who rely exclusively on the dicta of the mighty that may close the question; but others will want to take account of further facts. For very many years there has been a strong Christian Socialist movement in England. Many of the leaders of the Socialist party have been convinced Christian

men. George Lansbury, the first Leader of a Labour Opposition in the House of Commons, was a regular communicant of the Church of England. Keir Hardy, who in his day was referred to as "the grandest figure of the Labour Movement," was commented on thus in a book entitled "Slums and Society" by one of his friends: "His was a rugged, straight-forward religion, expressed in his lion-like countenance. . . . He really meant it when he said (in Canning Town Hall): 'Send me to Parliament to work for the souls of those for whom Christ died.'"\* A whole host of men with Socialistic sympathies, some of them in the van of the Socialist Movement in England, such as Tom Mann, Lewis Donaldson, Bishop Gore, Conrad Noel, not to mention such priests of the Church as Charles Kingsley and F. D. Maurice, in their day, and the Dean of Canterbury in our own, have helped to keep the Socialistic movement in England from becoming anti-Christian, as it did become so largely on the Continent, thus leading directly to the tragedies of France and Spain.

Some then will say: In the face of such facts, what on earth is the good of saying you can't be a Christian and a Socialist? It is obvious you can. Theories must give way to facts. These men were not muddled-headed fools. Undoubtedly the fact that Christianity has leavened all political parties in England is one of the main reasons why the political situation in England is far healthier, and more full of hope, than on the Continent.

Add also to these considerations this fact that, after a period of severest trial, the Orthodox Church in Russia has quite come to the conclusion that the Social Order of that country is not an anti-Christian thing to be fought to the bitter end, but that, on the contrary, Christians can and should support the existing order. In a publication issued by the restored Patriarchate in 1943 we read, republished with approval, the last message of the Patriarch Tikon: "Without sinning against our Faith, or our Church, and allowing no concessions or compromises in matters concerning our Faith, in civic affairs we must be sincere in our attitude towards the Soviet Government, work with it for the commonweal, and condemn all propaganda, overt or covert, against the new system of Government."

The same line of thought might be further supported by reference to the Malvern Conference of 1941. This Conference of leaders of thought in the Church of England, presided over by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, made such pronouncements as caused people to say that the Church of England had gone "red." An exaggeration undoubtedly, but indicative of an answer to our question.

\*"The chief founder of the political Labour Party was the late Mr. Keir Hardy, the best loved by all the masses . . . at the height of his power, he declared, 'If I were thirty years younger, with the experience I have gained during the past thirty-five years, I would, methinks, abandon house and home, wife and children, if need be, to go forth among the people to proclaim afresh and anew the full message of the Gospel of Jesus of Nazareth.'" ("Labour Speaks for itself on Religion," p. 145).



### Historical Perspective.

The only way of understanding how such contrary opinions can be held as to the possibility of a Christian being a Socialist is to see the question in historical perspective.

Karl Marx was not the originator of Socialism or Communism; but his life's work left a very definite impress upon the doctrine and practice of socialism. In 1847 Marx and his co-worker Engels put forth the "Communist Manifesto." This document has commanded great attention, and has directed the thoughts of a large number of leading socialists. There is no document of like historic importance for Socialism. It was natural then that the leading ideas of socialists should be taken from the Manifesto; and to this manifesto the Papal Encyclical "Rerum Novarum," issued by Leo XIII. in 1891, clearly refers.

This Encyclical contains the statement: "The main tenet of Socialism, the community of goods, must be utterly rejected; for it would injure those whom it was intended to benefit, it would be contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and it would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonwealth. Our first and most fundamental principle, therefore, when we undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property."

In 1931, Pius XI. issued the Encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno," in which, while stating that since the earlier encyclical the entire economic scene had been changed, went on to re-affirm the teaching of "Rerum Novarum"; and made the unequivocal statement:

"Whether considered as a doctrine, or as an historic fact, or as a movement, Socialism, if it really remains Socialism, cannot be brought into harmony with the dogmas of the Catholic Church."

And again,

"Communism teaches and pursues a twofold aim: merciless class-warfare, and complete abolition of private ownership; and it does this, not in secret and by hidden methods, but openly, publicly, and by every means even the most violent."

These quotations bring to a focus the objections often brought against Socialism from the consideration of Christian principles.

### The Question of Property.

The real gravamen of the objection to Socialism, which comes from very many Christians, and which is here so clearly expressed, is directed to the socialist attack upon property. This needs careful attention if we are to understand either the socialist position, or the objection to it.

First let us ask, What is this "private property" referred to in the Encyclical, to which it is stated every man has a natural right? This is made clear by the preceding paragraphs.

"Socialists, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavour to destroy private property, and maintain that individual

possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the State, or by Municipal bodies. They hold that by thus transferring private property from private persons to the community, the present evil state of things will be set to rights, because each citizen will then have his equal share of whatever there is to enjoy. But their proposals are so clearly futile for all practical purposes, that if they were carried out the working man would himself be among the first to suffer."

This of course was written in 1891. It would hardly be possible to write it to-day. In the light of subsequent history who could write: "Their proposals are so clearly futile for all practical purposes that if they were carried out the working man would be the first to suffer?" They have been carried out in Russia; and, whatever opinions of it we may have formed, the Russian experiment cannot be said to have been futile. Nor is there the least indication that the working-man there considers that he has been the first to suffer. The most dispassionate observers, and even anti-socialistic observers, bring back no reports of futility, or of any wide-spread desire to revert from Socialism to the Capitalistic order.

Why then was the Pope so manifestly wrong on these points? Surely, in part at any rate, because he had not grasped what was proposed. Throughout the Encyclical there is no distinction drawn between "private bourgeois property" and "individual property"; a vital distinction in the "Manifesto," and one maintained by leading Socialists in their teaching, and in their practice. If the "Manifesto" contains, as it does, the phrase: "In this sense the theory of Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: 'Abolition of private property,' it must be read with the preceding paragraph: "The distinguishing feature of Communism is **not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property.**" This is explained to mean property such as gives a man the power to exploit his neighbour; that is, **property in the means of production.** It is further stated: "Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society: all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation."

In line with this, Article 10 of the Russian Constitution of 1936 reads: "The right of citizens to personal property in their income from work and in all their savings, in their dwelling houses and auxiliary household economy, their domestic furniture and utensils and objects of personal use and comfort, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens are protected by law."

But it is well to understand the ground of the Christian insistence upon the right to personal, or individual, property. St. Thomas in the "Summa Theologica," states it thus: "Man needs in this life the necessities of the body both for the operation of contemplative virtue, and for the operation of active virtue, for which latter he needs many other things by means of which to perform its operations" (Pt. II., First Part, Q. iv., Art. 7.). The other references to personal property need not detain us. The line of thought is a familiar one amongst Christians. It is two-fold: first, that personal property is a good thing for the sake of industry and peace; and



secondly, that it is in some sort an extension of a man's personality, so that through his possessions he becomes something more than he otherwise could be. It is clear that the argument applies to personal, or individual property and has no connection with property in means of production; for this can certainly only be the property of a comparatively few, and therefore cannot be generally necessary for human welfare.

Now it is also clear that, in the existing circumstances, a vast number of persons do not have that amount of personal property which St. Thomas says is necessary for the good life on earth. In fact the existing order deprives the majority of the human race of that measure of property which is their natural right, and necessary for the expression of their personalities. When then "Rerum Novarum" asks: "Is it just that the fruit of a man's sweat and labour should be enjoyed by another?" We answer: Certainly not; but this is precisely what does occur under Capitalism on the grand scale, and which Socialism aims to end. It is not too much to say that Socialism professes to be the scientific way of establishing the conditions which St. Thomas demands for the achievement of man's true end. For, the abolition of "private bourgeois property" (i.e., property in the means of production), is the condition under which individual property can be distributed in such a way as to ensure the possibility of the enjoyment of life, and the development of mental and bodily activities throughout the whole of society.

#### Papal Obstruction.

If I have drawn attention to this criticism of Socialism as expressed in the Papal Encyclicals, it is in no spirit of captious criticism, but because nowhere is this type of attack more clearly, or so authoritatively, expressed. Although my Church is not at present in communion with the see of Rome, as a Christian I should always wish to hold in respect any utterance of the premier Bishop of Christendom. But in the last resort all such statements must be valued according to their intrinsic merits. Nor do Roman Catholics claim that any sort of infallibility attaches to such pronouncements.

A Roman Catholic friend in England sent me, some time ago, a pamphlet which is of interest in this connection. It deals primarily with the question of War and Peace, but bears intimately upon the economic question also. The pamphlet is entitled, "The Evolution of Peace." It has a foreword by Mr. Eric Gill, whose genius gave to the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Westminster the remarkable "Stations of the Cross" to be seen there to-day. Mr. Gill states that the pamphlet is written by "a distinguished Catholic priest and philosopher." The name is not given, but we have Mr. Gill's word for the authorship. Speaking of the "Friburg Committee of Social Moralists," the writer says:—

"This is quite a respectable and representative body, since it wrote the 'Rerum Novarum' which was signed by Leo XIII. This organisation some three years ago (the date of the pamphlet is 1910) came to the conclusion that the best one could do with the medieval theology on war was to scrap it, since it had been negatived by modern conditions, and by the scientific improvement of

the destructive character of war. It decided, however, that Catholic thought had not developed enough to justify any conclusions, until Catholics had done some thinking for themselves, and that Catholic thinkers would be well advised to drop the charming habit of theirs of always repeating what Popes and Bishops and theologians had said before them on the subject, and instead to do some pioneering thinking for themselves. The function of Popes and Bishops and learned bodies is not to lead the laity, and anticipate their thought, but to follow in the rear, there to pick up what is best, and worth preserving, and synthesize into a Catholic system. The laity's function is therefore, according to that learned body of Friburg priests, to do the thinking even at the risk of a little heresy here and there, and let the Bishops follow after to take their pick and cast the results into useful encyclicals and bulls. Coming from a body that once summarised the Catholic laity's thinking for the benefit of Pope Leo XIII. and the Catholic Church, this advice merits our attention."

It is clear then that Roman Catholics, no less than ourselves, have the responsibility of asking whether the remedies proposed for the world's sickness in 1891, or even 1931, are adequate to the present situation.\*

Before leaving this point it may be worth while drawing attention to an interesting parallel from the Middle Ages, when the world was perplexed by a different economic problem. The Church at first took over the prohibition of usury from the Old Testament. To lend money and to receive back a farthing more than the sum lent was usury; and usury was a mortal sin. There was no great difficulty about this until trade began to expand. For long trade was rather frowned upon. A passage attributed to St. Chrysostom ran: "Whosoever buyeth a thing, not that he may sell it whole and unchanged, but that it may be a material for fashioning something, he is no merchant. But the man that buyeth it in order that he may gain, by selling it again unchanged and as he bought it, that man is of the buyers and sellers who are cast forth from God's Temple." In other words, a man might buy raw material for his own work; but to buy for trade was sinful. This was incorporated into the "Corpus Juris Canonici," compiled about 1150, which enjoyed enormous prestige in the Middle Ages and after. Gradually, however, the development of events forced the Church to recede from this rigorous position. In the twelfth century the problem created by the prohibition of usury became acute. Trade was expanding, and merchants went on long and expensive journeys. It was obvious that it would be to their advantage if they could get others to assist them in fitting out their expeditions. Others would be glad to do so, if they had a chance of sharing in the profits. But was not this usury? A good deal of the kind went on; yet consciences were uneasy. A treatise of popular theology was written about that time in which such practice was condemned as notoriously sinful. The matter was presently referred

\*"One thing is certain, and that is that as time passes, members of European socialist parties will assert with greater energy than in the past their right to be at the same time Catholics and Socialists." (Emile Vandervelde, leader of the Belgian Labour Party, in "Labour Speaks for Itself on Religion," p. 257).



to the Pope for decision. Gregory IX. dealt with it in the decree "Naviganti." In this decree he puts the case of the lender who receives back, in addition to his principal, a share in the profits of the voyage. The Pope decides the question bluntly in two words: "usura est." It is usury. This was nailing the flag to the mast. Gregory thus upheld the tradition of the past in flat defiance of the changing commercial situation. "Naviganti" became the law of Christendom. Fortunately, however, theologians did not hesitate to question the Pope's ruling, which was in time totally neglected, and finally superseded by the new Canon Law in 1917. The parallel between "Naviganti" and "Rerum Novarum" is illuminating. In neither case is any attempt made to analyse scientifically the existing situation, or to recognise that radically changed conditions need to be met with changed behaviour.

#### Class-antagonism.

The second great objection levelled at Socialism consists in the accusation that Socialists and Communists preach class hatred; and, to gain their ends, would resort to violence to overthrow the existing order of society.

This is of course not really an objection to Socialism, but to certain methods of arriving at it. Some socialists have been revolutionaries, others have believed in peaceful evolution. In the writings of Marx there is a strong emphasis on class antagonism. Marx, however, as is shown earlier in this pamphlet, was not trying to create this. His attitude was that of the scientific observer. He believed that it existed, and was inherent in the capitalistic system. He tried to show why it existed, and to point to the only possible way in which it could be overcome.

Forty years after the "Manifesto" was first published, Engels wrote a preface to it, in which their view is clearly set out. He says:

"The whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been the history of class struggles—contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes. The history of these struggles forms a series of evolutions in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinction, and class struggles."

It is important to notice that what is here visualised is the final disappearance of class distinction; that is, the elimination of the disastrous division of society into two opposing classes—one which controls production, and the other which works for the controllers.

How was this to come about? Marx and Engels saw that in the past possessing and ruling classes had frequently had to yield up their privileges when the order to which they belonged had become effete or obsolete; but that they had never done so without violent resistance. Hence the various revolutions, such as those with which we are familiar in our history books of England and

France, and such as we have witnessed in our own time in Spain and Italy.\* For Fascism is the resistance on the grand scale of the movement towards the expropriation of the exploiters of labour. It is the attempt to retain the grading of society into the privileged and the unprivileged. It is the deliberate plan to enslave the multitude for the benefit of aristocrats, whether conceived on racial, national or economic lines. Socialism, on the other hand, aspires to be the expression of the essential brotherhood of the whole human race.

Now when Marx and Engels wrote, it was hardly possible to suppose that the change over from a privileged order to an egalitarian order of society would be possible without having to meet with the forcible resistance of the privileged. To-day there is far better hope that it may be peaceably effected.

Mr. Gibson has referred to the possibilities opened by the Teheran Conference of November, 1943. Further, the World War has brought before men's minds very vividly the evil character of Fascism. Perhaps this is the best thing that has come out of the catastrophe of the war; for perhaps this, more than anything else, may make possible a peaceful transition from the old order to the new. In any case, the socialistic plan can only be attempted when the people want it. It cannot, and will not, be forced upon them. That, at least, is the teaching of Socialists to-day. Socialism therefore cannot be said to be creating class antagonism, or to be making revolution. Circumstances beyond the control of any of us are doing both these things. Socialism attempts to show the right way of ending the class antagonism, and implementing the great adjustment necessary. Whether or not there will be armed resistance to the change when it comes depends upon so many factors that it is impossible to foretell. But, unless one holds the extreme pacifist position, it cannot be said to be unchristian to defend a social order which aims at making better use of the wealth of the world, at distributing it more equitably, at eliminating class antagonism, and which is desired by the majority of the people of the country.

#### Why Socialists have Opposed Religion.

I have tried to show why Christians have sometimes opposed Socialism; let us now see why Socialists have sometimes opposed Religion. I say "Religion" because if they have opposed Christianity it is because they opposed all Religion. Lenin is often quoted to this effect. His language lends itself to quotation by those who imagine violence of expression to add strength to argument. More important than his emotional outbursts against Gorky and others are his reasons for thinking that Religion deserves them. Lenin held that:

"God is (historically and socially) first of all a complex of ideas engendered by the ignorance of mankind, and by its subjection, first beneath the forces of nature, secondly by class-oppression—ideas which perpetuate this ignorance and by class-struggle. . . . Now in Europe, just as in Russia, every defence or justification of the idea of God, even the most refined and well intentioned, is a justification of reaction." (This was written in 1913).



In his theory as to the origin of the idea of God Lenin was following Marx and Engels. It is important to understand their attitude of mind, for it has undoubtedly had a great effect upon the socialist movement.

This theory is nowhere better set out than by Engels in his "Anti-During" treatise. He writes:—

"All religion, however, is nothing but the fantastic reflection in man's mind of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces. In the beginnings of history it was the forces of nature which were at first so reflected, and in the course of further evolution they underwent the most manifold and various personifications amongst various peoples. . . . But it is not long before, side by side with the forces of nature, social forces begin to be active; forces which present themselves to man as equally extraneous and at first equally inexplicable, dominating them with the same apparent necessity as the forces of nature themselves.

The fantastic personifications, which at first only reflected the mysterious forces of Nature, at this point acquire social attributes, become representatives of the forces of history. At a still further stage of evolution, all the natural and social attributes of the innumerable gods are transferred to the one almighty God, who himself once more is only the reflex of abstract man. Such was the origin of monotheism, which was historically the last product of the vulgarised philosophy of the later Greeks, and found its incarnation in the exclusively national god of the Jews, Jehovah. In this convenient, handy, and readily adaptable form, religion can continue to exist as the immediate, that is, the sentimental, form of man's relation to the extraneous natural and social forces which dominate them so long as they remain under the control of these forces.

We have already seen more than once that in the existing bourgeois society men are dominated by the economic conditions created by themselves, by the means of production which they themselves have produced, as if by an extraneous force. The actual basis of religious reflex action therefore continues to exist, and with it the religious reflex itself. And although bourgeois political economy has given a certain insight into the causal basis of this domination by extraneous forces, this makes no essential difference. Bourgeois economics can neither prevent crises in general nor protect the individual capitalist from losses, bad debts, and bankruptcy; nor secure the individual worker against unemployment and destitution. It is still true that man proposes production) disposes. Mere knowledge of the capitalist mode of further and deeper than that of bourgeois economics, is not enough to bring social forces under the control of society. What is above all necessary for this is a social act. And when this act has been accomplished, when society, by taking possession of all the means of production, and using them on a planned basis, has freed itself, and all its members from the bondage in which they are at present held by these same means of production which they themselves have produced, but which now confront them as an irresistible extraneous force; when therefore man no longer proposes, but also disposes—only then will the last extraneous force which is reflected in religion, vanish; and with it will vanish also the religious reflection itself, for the simple reason that there will be nothing left to reflect." ("Anti-During," pp. 346-348).

This is a lucid statement of an extremely important attitude of mind. It is important not only because it makes clear what is be-

lieved about religion—and if we admitted it as an adequate account of religion it would go far to justify all that Lenin said about it—but it is important also because it forms the basis of the policy of the Communist Party with regard to religion. Engels himself goes on to point out that if this is the nature of religion, it is of no use to try to suppress it forcibly, or to get rid of it by persecution. Persecution, according to this theory, must defeat its own ends. Religion, regarded as a fantastic reflection in man's consciousness produced by bewilderment and social pressures, can only be got rid of by enlightening ignorance and removing social pressures.

Now we Christians can gladly join hands with all who try to enlighten ignorance and relieve all who are oppressed in mind, body or estate. The question between us is not whether these things should be done away with as far as is possible. On the contrary, we can work together to abolish ignorance, poverty, and disease; and to reduce the menace of calamity and the burden of old age. In this wide range of human activity there is a vast common ground for action. On Engel's theory when these ills are abolished religion will vanish away. Christians are not afraid of the test. If Religion did, in fact, thus vanish away, it would not be worth preserving. We are completely confident that nothing of the kind will happen, because we know that the spring of our religion is just not where Engels thought it to be. However, unless we can convert one another peaceably, there is nothing for it but to work together for the elimination of all things injurious to human life, and let history decide who is right.

There is one thing important for both Marxists and non-Marxists to remember, and it is that Marx professed to be a scientist, and not a prophet with a revelation. An interesting illustration of this may be seen by comparing the first words of the "Manifesto" which runs: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," with a later edition of the "Manifesto" to which Engels added a long note to say that when this was written the pre-history of society was all but unknown. Since then evidence of the common ownership of land had been discovered and the statement must be revised accordingly.

If we look at the times in which Marx and Engels wrote, it is easy to see an element of historical determination in the view they took of religion. They were not primarily interested in religion. It figures little in their voluminous writings. Believing in the necessity for a radical change in the pattern of society, they could not help seeing in religion a powerful conservative force. History showed that religion had been used time and again to stabilize society. Constantine had so used Christianity in his day. Peter I. in Russia had enslaved the Church and made it an instrument of his government. Napoleon had come to terms with the Pope to use the authority of the Papacy to consolidate his power. It seemed to them that throne and altar held together, and that change in the social order would certainly be resisted, not only by the civil powers and the possessing class, but also by the authorities of the Church. Therefore, religion was an enemy to progress.



But, how to get it out of the way, that was the problem. History showed the futility of persecution. But if it could not be persecuted out of existence, it could be discredited. If it was false, and a mere obstruction to progress, the discrediting of it was part of their job. A way lay readily open. In the hey-day of the scientific era materialism was in the ascendent. Marx was strongly influenced by the materialism of Feuerbach; and many scientists, less conscious of the limitations of the scientific method than now, thought they were on the way to "explaining" everything in heaven and earth.

It was a day of sweeping generalizations, of wide theories, which were commonly believed to cover far more than in fact they did. Darwin's theory of the "Survival of the Fittest," was of this kind; so, also, was Marx's own sociological theory concerning the dominance of the economic factor in determining the pattern of society. Engels came himself to see that there had been exaggeration in the statement and application of the theory. In a letter to Bloch, in 1890, he wrote:—

"Marx and I are partly responsible for the fact that at times our disciples have laid more weight upon the economic factor than belongs to it. We were compelled to emphasise its central character in opposition to our opponents who denied it . . . Unfortunately, it is only too frequent that a person believes he has completely understood a new theory, and is capable of applying it, when he has taken over its fundamental ideas—and even then in an incomplete form. From this reproach I cannot spare many of the recent Marxists. They have certainly turned out a rare kind of tommy-rot."

Now Engel's own theory of the origin and nature of religion is precisely of this kind of generalisation: useful up to a point, but only up to a point. If he had been as interested in religion as he was in social science, he could hardly have failed to come to see the limitations of this theory also. The fault of the theory lies open in the first words of the quotation above: "All religion is nothing but . . ." This is exactly the kind of generalisation that almost invariably calls for qualification, even if it is generally true.

Of course, Christians would be prepared to admit that much which has passed for religion has sprung from man's bewilderment in the face of the forces of Nature, and perhaps—though this is more doubtful—from the unaccountable behaviour of economic forces. It is certainly true that the gods and goddesses of primitive people were personifications of the powers of Nature both fearful and beneficent. This was—on one side and on one side only—the crude stuff out of which later forms of religion developed.

#### Scientific Explanation.

Marx and Engels lived at a time when there was a strong tendency to regard a thing as "explained" when one had traced it to its origin. This is now recognised as mistaken. In his recent book "God and Evil" Professor Joad reviews his life-long agnostic position, and finds it unsatisfactory. He exposes ruthlessly the error of supposing that you know all about a thing if you track it down to its beginning.

"The argument from origins is often used to discredit religion. Religion, it is pointed out, began as propitiation and sacrifice. Its appeal was to fear. . . . And therefore? Therefore, there is no more in the developed religion of civilised people than propitiation and sacrifice, fear. . . . A similar argument might of course be applied to mathematics, a development of which also proceeds by traceable steps from the savage's capacity to count on the fingers of one hand. But it is not so applied, since to apply it would be to expose its falsity. Nobody supposes that the demonstration that Einstein was once a fish, and still carries under the skin of his neck the rudiments of gills, tells us much about the mind of Einstein now. . . . When one is interpreting a developing thing, and trying to give some account of its present nature and condition, it is as legitimate to look to what it is trying to become as to that which it once was."

This, which is a commonplace to-day, was hardly recognised in the science of the last century. But it is obviously true. And just as man cannot be understood in his uniqueness by looking to his animal origin, so neither can the Christian Religion be understood if we lump it together with "all religions." Its nature and function can be appreciated only by an examination of its actual effect in human life, and on human lives.

The study of comparative religion is intensely interesting. In the last century it was in its infancy; much has been learnt since the days of Marx and Engels. One thing has been made abundantly clear, and that is, that while there are common elements in all religions, the contrast between the higher and lower religions is at least as striking as the resemblance.

According to Christian belief we should indeed expect to find elements of value in the non-Christian religions, because Christ is "the true light that lighteneth every man coming into the world." "The true light that lighteneth every man coming from God. But Man, in his reason and conscience, has a real light from God. But also, according to Christian teaching, man is not an unspoiled creature, but possesses a twist towards evil which inclines him to turn from light and truth, and to hide from God. Christianity is a religion of redemption. And Christians are no more ashamed of the links of their religion with pagan religions than they are of the links they are more than animals, as they know that their religion stands above all other faiths. A religion, if you want to be truly scientific, must be judged by its fruits, not merely by its roots.

#### Dialectical Materialism.

Now it is this sequence, in which the lower precedes the higher, which is the important truth in what Marx called Dialectical Materialism, not perhaps a very good name for it, for it tends to suggest that matter is more important than mind. I do not think Marx would have said that, but he thought you could not have mind without matter. In our experience this is certainly true. The Biblical "creation story" says the same: First light, then matter, then the lower forms of life, finally man. Later St. Paul expressed it when he said: "First that which is natural, afterwards that which is spiritual." This primacy of the material and instinctive, as contrasted with that which is rational and spiritual, is common ground.



If that were all that dialectical materialism meant we could have no quarrel with it. But it means more. It carries with it the metaphysical speculation that mind cannot exist apart from matter, even that it is produced by matter. There is, of course, no scientific foundation to metaphysical speculations of that sort. Marx hated metaphysics, and thought his ideas were scientifically grounded. In so far as they were scientifically grounded, they are not in conflict with Christian thought. But in the nineteenth century, particularly in the earlier period, the limitations of the scientific method were not understood; and science was often pressed into the support of metaphysical doctrines of the materialistic type. A metaphysical primacy of matter over mind was asserted; and it was this that frequently led to the supposition that Science was antagonistic to Religion. The latter part of the nineteenth century was full of the dust of this controversy. This has almost disappeared, for whatever view we take of the ultimate nature of the Universe, it is now realised that Science cannot determine the question. The nature and methods of Science are such that they answer only the question, How observable things happen, and not Why they happen.

#### Religion and Science.

This is not just a Christian defence against materialism. A whole army of philosophers and scientists could be quoted to the same effect. For instance, Sir Ray Lancaster, the eminent biologist and rationalist, in his "Kingdom of Man," writes:

"So far as I have been able to ascertain, after many years in which these matters have engaged my attention, there is no relation, in the sense of connection or influence, between science and religion. . . . Science proceeds on its path without any contact with religion, and religion has not, in its essential qualities, anything to hope for or to fear from science."

Undoubtedly science and other disciplines can expose the falsehood of various superstitions, but these have nothing to do with real religion. Professor John Macmurray, of the London University, draws clearly the important distinction between real religion and false religion, which is not drawn in the Engels' quotation given above. In his "Creative Society" he writes:—

"Anyone who is familiar with the Communist theory knows that the Communist identifies religion with idealism. For him religion in its very essence, consists of the creation of a world of illusion which will provide an imaginary consolation for the inevitable frustrations of actual life. For him religion is essentially a defence-mechanism of the human animal against fear. Its hidden motive is to provide an illusion of freedom and community in the absence of the reality. By so doing it diverts human consciousness from the struggle in which the reality of human life consists, the struggle to create freedom and community in the world, not of ideas but of fact. Thus the Communist attitude to religion depends on the identification of all religion with what we have described as the religion of illusion. Real religion finds its true enemy not in irreligion, but in the sham religion, which turns belief in God into belief in the Devil. So far from opposing the Communist on this point, real religion will inevitably join hands with him. But it will go further. It will counter his attack, by re-

vealing in itself the unperverted reality of religion against which the attack must fail. The only answer to the atheism of the Communist is the revelation, as a creative force in material human life, of the religion of reality. There is no novelty in the view of religion expounded in this chapter. It is no more than a commentary upon the religion of Jesus."

#### Three Elements in Religion.

What needs to be recognised is that Christianity not only shares with all Religions an institutional element which is in its very nature conservative—for it is part of the function of religion to conserve the fruits of the spirit, and the values of the past, by according supernatural sanctions to the customs and traditions in which they are enshrined—but it possesses also intellectual and mystical elements, which are restless and dynamic, and which continually threaten the stability of the existing order by the incidence of new truths and spiritual power.\* It was because of these elements that the Prophets of the Old Testament were continually disturbing priestly complacency, and coming into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities of their day. These Prophets were frequently persecuted, and sometimes killed; but the successors of the Priests who compassed their deaths, conserved their messages. This co-operative work cannot be said to have been conducted on the best lines; but it was really co-operative work. And both priestly and prophetic elements are essential to a living religion. Institutional conservatism is like inertia in matter; while it resists change, it is the ground of the possibility both of change and stability. Reformers are frequently impatient of the institutional element in religion; but it will be needed to conserve their gains.

An adequate discussion of the relation of Socialism to Christianity lies far beyond the scope of a mere pamphlet; but perhaps enough may have been said to indicate that Christians would do well to study closely the pattern of society which Socialists advocate, with minds unprejudiced by attacks on institutional religion; and that Socialists would do well to look again at Christianity to see whether, in the repudiation of "all religion," they are not in danger of excluding something of vital importance to humanity.†

\*"It seems to me clearly written in history that Religion has often been the driving force of a social revolution which would have been impossible without it" (Professor Macmurray in "Creative Society," p. 138).

†There are two movements to-day purporting to offer to the world a universal principle or purpose which supersedes war: Christianity and Communism. . . . It is not inconceivable that the new leadership for which the world craves may arise from within the Christian Church. But this hypothesis appears to presuppose the transformation of Christianity, or a revival of its primitive spirit which would in itself amount to a revolution. . . . Communism like Christianity, has suffered from the shortcomings of those who practice it. Its creed has the major defect that, true to the nineteenth century tradition of Marxism, it expresses itself in terms of material process rather than of a moral end. But it has in fact generated amongst its followers a strong sense of moral purpose. . . . The co-



### The Future.

What difference will it make whether Christians and Socialists walk together, or are set in opposition? Frankly, I doubt if it will make any difference, in the long run, to the coming of a socialistic order. If indeed the analysis is correct, and socialism in some form is the natural pattern for society which produces as we produce, then it must come sooner or later. Capitalism must give way to Socialism, as Feudalism once gave way to Capitalism. We have no power to prevent such change, any more than we can prevent the incoming tide. But we can welcome, or resist it. It may come peaceably, or through violent revolution. That is the choice. And the Christian Church may very well be the determining factor in this choice. Here is the immense responsibility of Christians. It is obvious that if the Church adopts an intransigent attitude towards an irresistible force, it will experience terrible suffering before it is able to adjust its life to the new order. This has happened already in Russia. But there is no need to repeat that mistake.

And, after Socialism is established, What then? What of Religion? Already there are signs in Russia of renewed interest in Religion; and it seems as certain as anything in life that man cannot live by bread alone. It is not Religion that is fantastic, but the idea that man can be satisfied without religion that is fantastic. Religion has inspired man's highest art, finest music, most glorious architecture, and noblest lives. To create worthily man must have a worthy ideal. To live worthily man must have a worthy goal. Until he finds this, he wanders aimlessly, or contents himself with short-range purposes. Ardent Socialists to-day may, in some sort, satisfy their souls by devotion to The Cause; but when the goal is reached, the cause victorious, and the struggle over, With what shall a man satisfy his instinct for achievement? With fitting out expeditions to the Moon, as Mr. Wells suggests? Perhaps, but perhaps not. Certainly he will not find his satisfaction in a six-hour day, with plenty of comfort, and home conveniences, etc., etc. The "Brave

operation between the Western peoples and Soviet Russia in the war should help to resolve the antithesis, incidental rather than fundamental, between the secular ideals of Christianity and those of Communism" (Professor Carr in "Conditions of Peace," pp. 116, 117).

"Christians believe—and a study of history assuredly proves them right that—(beyond the narrow circle of the tribe, in which the parochial 'honour among thieves' is maintained at the prohibitive moral price of an Ishmaelitic warfare against a world of foreign enemies) the brotherhood of Man is impossible for Man to achieve in any other way than by enrolling himself as a citizen of a 'Civitas Dei' which transcends the human world and has God himself for its King. And any one who holds this belief will feel certain, a priori, that the Marxian excerpt from a Christian Socialism is an experiment which is doomed to failure because it has denied itself the aid of the spiritual power which alone is capable of making Socialism a success. The Christian critic will have no quarrel with the Marxian Socialism for going as far as it does: he will criticise it for not going far enough. Its fatal flaw in his eyes will be a sin of omission, not of commission." ("A Study of History," Toynbee. Volume V., p. 585).

New World" with God left out, can never satisfy; for it means in its totality simply nothing at all. All the answers that science can give us as to How things happen, do not begin to tell him what he really wants to know: namely: What is the purpose and meaning of his existence? The Christian answer is: That a man may know God, and love God, and serve God, and enjoy Him for ever. I find that answer good. I believe it is true.

Certainly it was not bewilderment in the face of natural forces, or any social pressure, that caused one of the world's most powerful thinkers to exclaim:

"O God, Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our heart is restless until it rests in Thee."

Christians believe that this life is infinitely worth while, because it is the school-room for a fuller life after death. No one has disproved this. Nor has anyone given a more intelligent explanation of our being here at all. There are many positive evidences for the truth of Christianity. They have been attacked all down the centuries, but not destroyed. The Communist historian of Religion, Julius Hecker, in his book, "Religion and Communism," writes, on his last page, of those who are now being brought up on atheism:

"I cannot help thinking that future generations of Russian people will rediscover Jesus, whose historicity is now denied. . . . The young Soviet people have demands and interests which to-day are not satisfied."

How could it be otherwise? A society even if ideally planned and perfectly efficient, but with no idea of what it was all about, would be—as someone has said—like a party all dressed up, but with nowhere to go!

### The Conclusion.

Can then Christians who believe that Socialism is the right and necessary pattern for society in the immediate future work together with non-Christian Socialists? The answer of course cannot come from one side only; but I believe the Christian answer should be, "We are willing, if you are willing." Failure in co-operation may mean failure to achieve, at least in the near future, the set up of society along lines absolutely necessary for peace. There is no possible return to the pre-capitalistic order. The alternatives are: some form of Fascism, or some form of Socialism. The former means the perpetuation of privilege and competition, with inevitable strife and war. The latter means the removal of what is to-day the main cause of social unrest and international tension.

There stood by the bed-side of a very sick man three doctors in consultation. The man was in agony; his pain had nearly driven him to suicide. The first doctor said: "The patient must be kept quiet. He must be poulticed with 'good-will, and a dose or two of the mixture called 'monetary reform' should relieve him considerably. Of course," he added, "his health has always been poor, and we must expect him to be an invalid." The second doctor said: "The man needs an immediate operation. A growth, not indigestion, is the cause of his pain. If I operate on him he will be per-





30328500656573

A FAIR HEARING FOR SOCIALISM.

What do  
walk together  
make any difference  
order. If in  
is the nature  
then it must  
Socialism, as  
power to pre-  
incoming tide  
peaceably, on  
the Christian  
this choice.  
obvious that  
an irresistibly  
able to adjust  
in Russia.

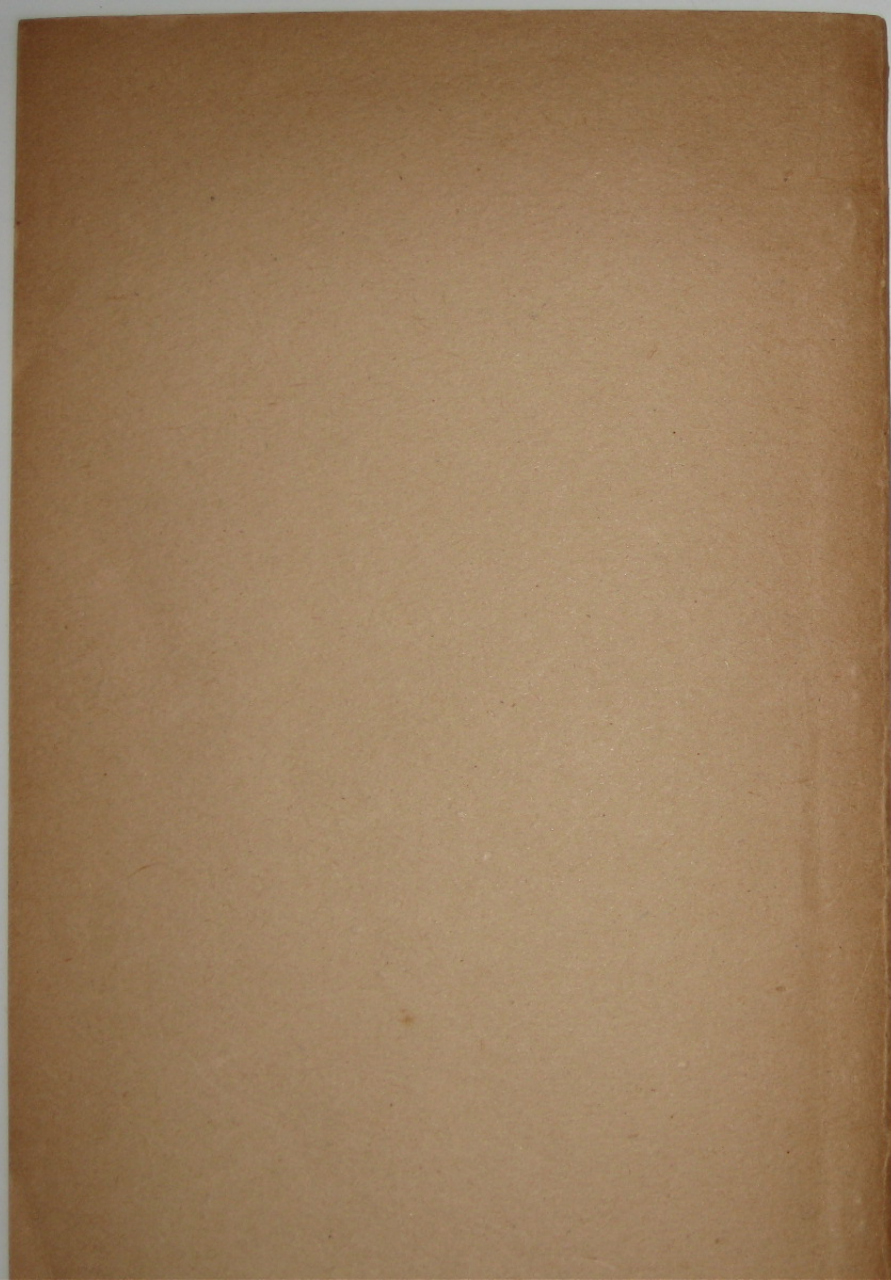
And, a  
gion? Al-  
Religion; as  
live by bread  
that man can  
has inspired  
ture, and a  
ideal. To  
this, he was  
poses. As  
souls by de-  
cause vict-  
satisfy his  
to the Mc  
Certainly  
plenty of

operation  
war should  
fundament-  
of Commu-  
116, 117)  
"Chr-  
them right  
parochial  
moral pri-  
enemies)  
any other  
which tra-  
And any  
Marxian  
is doomed  
spiritual  
cess. The  
Socialism

fectly fit in no time." The third doctor said: "I agree with you, an operation is necessary, and the longer it is delayed the worse his chances of recovery. But I think he is even more sick than you think. He will need a careful course of treatment even after the operation." While these two doctors were arguing how the sick man should be treated after the operation, and the first was getting his poultice warmed up, the man collapsed.

That is what may happen to society if Christians and Socialists cannot work together to see humanity through one of the greatest, and yet most promising, of all the crises of history. But if we are to work together for an agreed social order, there must be complete sincerity. We shall not ask non-Christian socialists to pretend religion; and they must understand that we are in the struggle against the monopoly by the few of the means of production, not because we have turned our backs on Religion, but just because we do believe in God, and Christ, and the principles of His Kingdom.







# A FAIR HEARING FOR SOCIALISM

---

Marx and Socialism

by

JOSEPH WOOD

Socialism in Australia

by

JOSEPH WOOD

Christianity and Socialism

by

FRANKLIN D. MORTON

---

Published by the Bureau of Publications

Published by the Bureau of Publications

B<sup>2</sup>