

I think it is imperative that Liberal economic thought should summarize its fundamental principles now and announce them without further delay. The statement should be positive and emphatic; it should not give detailed suggestion but proclaim our conception of the purpose of society and of the technique for pursuing that purpose. The more specifically economic purpose of producing material goods for individual use must be represented in its proper position as one section of the purposes of society which comprise both the not only individual, but also communal, aims, qualified by a mixture of spiritual as well as material values. A liberal manifesto must make clear the principles by which the greatest total benefit of society is to be attained in the joint fields of communal and individual satisfaction, and must also show the way to a maximum benefit in the sum total of spiritual and material products of social life. The liberal manifesto must set out the framework of a Good Society.

If, with this broader aim in view, I address myself to economic thought and not to political philosophy, my reason is that the most urgent task and the most decisive one lies in this part of social theory. I doubt whether there is any primary process of decay effecting the ideas of civil liberty which comes to us from the Reformation and the French Revolution. Before the suppression of these principles in Soviet Russia and in the Fascist countries there prevailed a phase of great freedom of thought and expression, which were only broken down by a violent upheaval. There was decay, it is true in the political field; it was political liberty which in Germany, Italy, Russia and also France failed to maintain its functions and retain its leadership. But the disruption of political democracy was due to the clashes of opposing economic ideas, arising in a medium of profound confusion regarding economic matters. The source poisoning the social body lies in the sphere of economic thought.

The Russian Revolution was an outcome of the Socialist doctrines of the

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nineteenth century, its aim was to attain State ownership through victory in a revolutionary class war. The Russian Revolution, however, had little virulence for maintaining itself and still less for spreading abroad. In Russia it was in full retreat by 1921 and in Europe, where it had gained response in some areas in which dissociation through defeat and inflation had been far reaching, the Bolshevik tide was already receding by 1921. By that date the movement had also broken down in America and Japan.

In the period of European reconstruction, (1924-29) the political arrogance of the new masters and the blindness of their economic policies - among which reparations played a prominent part as an incorporation of the prevailing blend of greed and stupidity - kept <sup>u</sup> p a sufficient amount of unrest to prevent completion of the healing process. Germany which had just emerged from nine years of Civil war and inflation was selected for the experiment of inducing a country to be a happy and contented partner of the European order, while forcing it to undertake a payment of about £100,000,000 a year under the strict understanding to avoid every specific form of payment available among nations.

It was this weakening of the European social structure, in the Balkans, in Poland, and in Germany, which turned the receding tide of revolution in Russia and led in 1928 to a new departure on Socialist lines. While a Right Wing was urging further concessions to the peasants and a further restitution of the market, and a Left Wing, was pressing for a new attack on the lines of 1917-18, the intervention of Stalin destroyed both these factions and led on to a programme of huge investments, in the course of which, by about 1930, the principles of a marketing economy under State ownership were laid down in its first outlines.

The recovery of the socialist offensive in the U.S.S.R. coincided with the collapse of economic life in the West, reaching the point of deepest depression and most widespread despair in 1932, at the very moment when the Soviets were

proclaiming the completion in  $\frac{4}{5}$  years of their first Five Year Plan; a constellation which gave a decisive new turn to the mental development of humanity.