THE PARADOX OF FREEDOM 1936.
Ashfield, Kent. (Easter Conference of MMM Birkbeck College, S.C.M. Group) .

Introduction:

At a time when freedom and liberty seem to be ata discount, I shouldlike to assert the unique and spurteme importance and v value of the principle offreedom.

I will do this by mainting three propositions:

a. that the ENNNNNNNNNN present world cridis WELLEN HELD WITH THE MAN AND MAN AND MAN AND THE STATE OF mainly with the problemof freedom;

b. that this crisis has arisen out of past efforts of man

kind to achieve more ample freedom:

c. and that this crisis can find its solution only IMMMMHMMMMMMMM inthe direction of fuller freedom.

We will deal first with the past, thenwith the present, lastly with the future.

Western civ. has arisen out of a vast move towards a greater self-determination of man (renaissance, humanism . HENDEME

to free him form the bondage to Nature; (science, technology, machines, the industrial age).

b. to free him from the bondage toman i.e. to Prince droit de li homme, rights of citizenshi

(The industrial age is to on) thro the agency and First phase: a vast expansion of freedom under the cadership of the machine ECONOMICS the ownersof these machines. (a new class)

POLITICS

representative democracy

a public of harmony: increasing self-determination under the leadership of the owners of the new meansof prog

the new principlesoffreedomwork out their implications. Second pahse

free competition leads to monolopoly; ECONOMICS free property rights lead to the expropriation of the masses (yeomen , craftsmen etc)

POLITICS universal suffrage leads to a growing influence of th disposessed classes in sepresetnative institutions phase of growing tension and unrest: the proce for

increased freedom, bas to be payed. INCOMPATIBLITY BETWEEN THEATWO MAIN PATHS TO FREEDOM,: THE ECONOMIC AND THE POLITICAL.

It's already happeny defite interpetations ¿ Econ Nationalism of the causes of the seal rown 3 2. Technological unemployment 1.) Lave testrit. 2.) bredst-ystem! Cloudened ! Unuelay executorate - but it cannot be arrested from 3). Capitalist of comminist Leisuro! eit Bornot? Tradeoyele: c unit monetary system K. marx. Sath) + Riesia Fine year plan of this state race or watering Outcome ! Churches to cooperation) + Unlay Comen (goodnet agriculturely mated wilitation to New Deal"

Nake the torture on section to bester to tentime to the torture the dild, Howdamler they are 1) nabsolute (?) necessed) forishim exicolation the State fut key dewring? Fuse alternative. 4) Whates Socialism?

a) means of porchon

6) common man Thereholders parties) Masions? (selfsuffice Transcendente ford surrement ford: lagrent hirst frankling maduri In

I

PART II THE PRESENT.

The incompatibility between Capitalism and Democracy is therefore not a purely made on, indeed intheir nature they are both part of a move towrads freedom . Their incompatibility arises out of the concrete features of their The nature of an autonouns economic sphere (goberned by itsown a; completely new thing, unknown to earlier times. b: dissociated from the religious sanction of society c: infinitely more fatheful thanbefore, because of the vastly increased interdependence of regions, functions, et c. d: especially: new: motive (profit motive) : moteand to he muralles e: vastly ingreased power ofer profit motives of the individuals f: a rationalisation of human relatonships (cash nexus) g: this system inherently vitiated by trade cycyt. (insecur. The na ture of an increasingly democractic political state a: increasing protective powers of the State regulative powers " b: necessity of protection against insecurity, against C: protonged unemployment, against obvious injustives of the system; (illusionsm of ! heatdheated "captialist, of "levellling" outoftrade cycle, of" equalising incomes " (* redistribut -tion of income by taxation) d: the competetive system encompassing greated and greater units (up to whole continents); e; the nedessityof protecting thevictims of this system : the ienvitability of dointg this with the hepp of the Riberal Statacies m. political system; entionism The nature of Intervitations : Dostoievski's paradigma . The wum toteal of matieral goodsproduced — optimum;
The sumtoteal of human fredomproduced. Alternatives: Handin over mankind to the inherent laws of the /captialist (autonomous) mechialismism:

Capitalism undermining democracy (U.S.A., :Big Business against

Washington; Continental mass-democracy ecause

Fas cism is the movement against democracy because

Democracy leads to wping class influence (Interventionalms).

Democracy trying to get hold of the economic machinerey (the factor ries, inorder to safeguard the lies of the people/

C/ The nature of the Crisis: A sudden feeling of insecurity inconsequence of a danger of the failure of both the political and the economic system

THE TWO SOLUTIONS : Antithethic .

bet or book



PART III THE FUTURE.

The Fascist solution: Abolishing the political sphere, the sphere of freedom as a concesiou achievemnt, of responsibility lity, of the freedom of man as against man;

Democarcy goes, the training becomes the whole of society. (Corporative state).

The Socialist Solution is the democrativ solution; Extension, more effective democracy; extended to the whole of society.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW POLITICANO = ECONOMICUNITS (...)

The inevitability of war; the helpless nations. (drifting)
the new organs of international economics; the
New Nationalism, a consequence of the politico-economic units.

The two tteypes of units mutually exclusive intheir world outlook a.the democratic socialist; b, the fascist -capitallist.

The non-democratic units incapable of solving the prolbem of war. The burdens of the inevitable economic disl locations (which follow from the necessary adjustments) can never be carried by communities lacking in real unity.

THE HIGHER TYPES OF FREEDOM.

Freedom in the economic sphere for all . I.e. responsibility, comon conern, no antagonistic interests on which standards of life primarily depend.

Freedom to detemine the rate of progress. Accumulation in capit alism necessarily automatic. Pay the price, if you want M. to get the goods.

Freedom from the blind fate of history, ofwars and bloody conflicts. Freedomtobuild a universal community.

This freedomwe have not today. Economic flow of goods is not under our control. World peace can be brought about only by community who are preaped to pay the price and know what the price is, AND CAN PAY IT. Our nations cannot know it and cannot pay it the price (heir prepared as the price (heir prepared as the price).

This is the next step towards freedom. It will be taken . Socialism does not come by economic or physical necessity. It comes by spitiural necessity. Mankind may fail (economic or social laws do not exclude this). But then it will perish pyssecally and momently beculase it has failed spiritually, --it hase sacrificed its freedom