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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

When Mr. E. T. Hooley was at the height of his company-promoting activities it was a well-under-stood this relief who wrote stood thing that any little hack-journalist who wrote a paragraph about him and got it published could tap him at the tap him at the rate of 10s. a line. There seems to be very much at very much the rate of 10s. a line. There seems to American with regard to a merican with regard American publicity in general and General Dawes in particular. The only difference is that the financial encourage. encouragement is not so direct. The journalist is not conscious of the son direct. The journalist is not so direct. conscious of being bribed to write up America; all he knows is the can he knows is that if he writes that sort of stuff he can sell it and the stiffer the Sell it and the more flabby the tripe the stiffer the price. In price: In many cases he is commissioned to supply the by editors it by editors, who, in their turn, have found out that the more lavishly they drape and festoon their winthe more lavishly they drape and festoon their windows with this digestible product the greater the brought of prospectus-advertisements that are but so long at all happens they may not know; holders, every one of whom is praying that American naturally linders of their shares up. These people sending the prices of whom is praying that an attract the prices of their shares up. These people the and Tripe, because they hope to cash out on since 1920, and them; they have had a rough time starts of and can do with a bit more money like the rest of and can do with a bit more money like Mr. Athelsince 1920 them; which is being promoted the 1920, and can do with a bit more money like stan Ridgway. In the Star of June 21 a Mr. Athel-did notice that of Page he says that he was the "can-

Rathering and marquises might be present at a social friend of England in time of her greatest need, and withal wrote off same page. (Our italics.)

was this same Page who, when we entered the war, post-haste to President Wilson:

British Empire has fallen into our hands." And Dawes is now here to "reconstruct" the property.

We are glad to see that the Sunday Referee (June

23) is exposing all this nonsense.
"The anti-British section of Wall Street which has already made tremendous inroads on British power by means of financial penetration and economic agreements, is alert to, and will take advantage of, every new weak-ness that appears in the fabric of Empire."

A Dawes Plan for the abolition of war ratified by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is unthinkable; it might prove to be a tragic re-enactment, yet another accident of time making him a puppet of our enemies."

Almost the first act of the Labour Government has been to sweep aside the Guardians in West Ham, Chester-le-Street and Bedwellty, who were appointed by the Ministry of Health under the late Government to supersede the elected Guardians in those places. The Morning Post calls this "a piece of vindictiveness," but the Star opposes that view, pointing out that from the first Labour opposed the substitution of nominees for elected representatives. substitution of nominees for elected representatives. It reminds the *Morning Post* that in any case the Poor Law system "is doomed from April next" when the powers of the Guardians are to be vested in the county and borough councils.

"What the Government has done is to use the powers of Mr. Chamberlain's special Act to allow the local authorities in these three of the control of the cont ties in these three places to appoint their own Guardians in the interim."

Pursuing its defence of the Labour Government, Pursuing its defence of the Labour Government, the Star says that its action is a "gesture in the right direction," because the system of Government nominees "could not go on indefinitely." ment nominees "could not go on indefinitely." The only question was "unquestionably an evil," and "the areas concerned asked for discipline." The only question was whether they disciplined unduly." were "disciplined unduly." were "disciplined unduly." The only question was whether they opportunity to prove it. But unless the new local authorities display a greater wisdom than the old they will place the Labour Government in as difficult a position as its predecessor. The point is of real moment, because it is predecessor.

the Labour Government in as difficult a position as its pre-decessor. The point is of real moment, because it is pre-cisely on such questions, rather than on any positive

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measures of Socialisation in its own program, that this Government is likely to come to grief.

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The Star is right; but it is vague about what underlies "such questions" and makes them more vital than major political measures. The explanation is that they are immediately related to the financial doctrine: "Budgets must be balanced." This doctrine over-rides all political principles. The Mansion House interests are quite prepared to stand for the principle of democratic election as long as Democracy makes both ends meet. Immediately it fails, the same interests are equally prepared to apply the principle of autocratic nomination.

Needless to say, the Press is ready to justify either attitude when the City gives the word. So long as the bankers are content, newspapers of all political traditions will sling print at each other in defence of their convictions; but at any moment when given the hint they are ready to adopt the "sagacious"

pose and warn their readers that after all we have to "make the system work." And when analysed, the successful working of the system always turns out to mean a book-keeping achievement—ending the year with a credit balance. The Strain acredit balance. year with a credit balance. The Star is a case in point. When it says that "Poplarism" asked for discipline, it is referring to the fact that under the elective system the Poplar Guardians failed to get their Budget balanced. Thus, even a dough-faced democrat like the Star becomes an iron-faced autocrat directly it sees Democracy with a debitbalance. Of course, the Star recognises that there can be such a thing as too much discipline, so is willing to defend Labour's experiment in relaxation. Whether the cane is fetched out again depends on whether the Guardians can now do their sums right.

It is interesting to recall that in regard to those areas where the elected Guardians were superseded it was held to be a great scandal that destitute people should have the power to vote for representatives charged with the duty of relieving destitution. The implication is that democracy begins to break down directly people begin to vote for what they people directly people begin to vote for what they need. Let them vote unselfishly, and then majority-rule can be trusted. Let them renounce their "sectional decires" and seek first the "interests of the be trusted. Let them renounce their sectional desires "and seek first the "interests of the community," and then nobody will quarrel with their franchise rights. It requires little reflection to see that when you have a clear issue concerning which people are ranged in two parties, the one desiring people are ranged in two parties, the one desiring to receive grants of money and the other desiring not to make those grants, the doctrine of "unselfishness," if obeyed by either party, will have the same effect as if the doctrine of selfishness had been applied by the other. If unemployed people had ployed people for "prudent" guardians, and emis to say, if the doctrine of unselfishness had been obeyed all round—there would have been unbalanced budgets all over the country, because, in general, budgets all over the country, because, in general, the extravagance-vote would have preponderated. In such a case the financial interests would have been obliged to interefere, either by trying to persuade everybody to vote selfishly, or by imposing nominees who would put matters right without reference to any voters at all So fundamentally the principle of high motivation is not laid down as absolute: the authorities will invoke or repudiate it with sole reference to the probable budgetary consequences. Whether you are right or wrong to vote for your own side depends on which side you belong to. And the authoritative decision as to which is the right side to be on proceeds ultimately from a ledger ruling. The casting vote is a monetary balance.

a parallel situation in international politics. What American statesmen condemn as

'intense nationalisms," in Europe are essentially "Poplarisms" on a national scale. symptoms of demands for relief on the part of whole communities, destitute, so to speak, of orders, profits and wages. And just as the moneyless person under the Poor Law cannot get relief where he ought to get it-i.e., out of new issues of national credit created for the purpose and based on the unused productive capacity of the nation—and can only get it, when at all, at the expense of his neighbours, so is every tradeless nation, under financial law. compelled the compelled to the createst and the creat law, compelled to satisfy its hunger, when at all, at the expense of other nations. In this connection it will be seen that the League of Nations is equivalent to the nominated Guardians: it has been created to persuade populations to forgo what they need for the sake of some vague principle of worldpeace and prosperity. The merging of Poor Law administration in with the functions of borough and county councils is an anti-democratic process: it disfranchises the voter effectively, although not formally, by multiplying the issues and confusing his mind. The result is that the politicians whom he electron are all leaves he elects are able to interpret his "mandate" as they please, just as one has seen a jury answer a series of points put to them by a judge and then sit gaping while counsel decide what the answers mean. Under the Bel decide what the answers mean. Under the Poor Law electoral system there was no confusion at all. The function of the Guardians was to look after the poor and see that they did not started. Part of the poor and see with they did not starve. People voted, therefore, with one of two objects, to ensure that the humanities should either be observed at any cost or brought with the company with the compass of a prescribed cost. So when, as in Poplar and West Ham, there appeared majority of elected Guardians who had appealed for votes on the principle "humanity first," not the most adroit sopkiet could not be their conmost adroit sophist could pretend that their constituents had meant them to do something else. could not, for instance, say, "Ah, but the votes were really given because Mr. Guardian So-and-so expressed certain views about the video widening expressed certain views about a street-widening scheme about scheme, about assessments, about motoring by laws... and so on. There was one clear issue; and the majority vote meant that the issue was obe dealt with be dealt with in one particular way. Readers of these Notes will not fail to see the contrast between democracy thus in action of the contrast between democracy thus in action and democracy electing a House of Contract of the state of a House of Commons. As if there were not thousands too many domestic problems for the House to grapple with we have grapple with, we have seen in the election just ended the whole lot of them obscured in a cloud of international peace ideals. international peace-idealism. Fleet Street is now unanimously interpreting the British citizens, mandate as one of promotive. date as one of promoting Anglo-American concordand reducing armaments. We do not say that they are wrong. are wrong. People do vote for these sentimental slogans. But what they are likely to get by this "unselfish" non-national voting is a system of externion and repression administered by a European Central Police of the sentimental people and the sentimental people are sentimental people and the sentimental people and the sentimental people are sentimental people and the sentimental people and the sentimental people are sentimental people and the sentimental people and the sentimental people are sentimental people are sentimental people and the sentimental people are sentimental people and the sentimental people are sentimental people and the sentimental people are sentimental people are sentimental people are sentimental people and the sentimental people are sentimental people are sentimental people are sentimental people and the sentimental people are sentimental peopl tortion and repression administered by a European Central Bank. Central Bank. If you vote for any other good than your own good were your own good you inevitably consolidate the power of organised finance inevitably consolidate the power. of organised finance which means nobody any good.

We asked recently what had become of the group the Labour Porty what had become of the group for the in the Labour Party who were once pressing for the Party to demand the right to elect its Cabinet when Labour next came to power. The newly formed Cabinet is of course a privately nominated body just like the Guardians of whom we have been speaking; and though in form it is Mr. MacDonald who have the selection, in truth it is other persons who made the selection, in truth it is other persons who have inspired it. In fact, Mr. MacDonald's tour of the purpose of the pur India some years ago was arranged for the purpose of giving Lord Reading, the then Viceroy, opportunity of sizing him up as a possible further Prime Minister, and, if he approved him, of coaching him in his policy and functions concerning Empire affairs. Similarly, as concerns the

Ministerial appointments, it is almost a demonstrable proposition that no Party could even fight an election successfully unless it had first afforded guarantees that its Cabinet would be a "safe" one.

Although the Labour group to which we have referred neglected to raise the elective issue before the nomination of the Cabinet, we are glad to see evidences of a move on their part to do the next best thing and elect a Committee for the purpose of keeping the Cabinet in constant touch with the wishes of the Labour movement. Exactly what such a Committee could accomplish need not be discussed, but we are constant touch with the wishest accommittee could accomplish need not be discussed, but we are constant touch with the wishest accommittee could accomplish need not be discussed, but we are constant touch with the wishest accommittee to the constant touch accommittee to the constant to the constant to the constant touch accommittee to the constant t but we are amused to see that the very mention of it has touched a nerve in the Beaverbrook headquarters. The Evening Standard published a leading article on the subject on June 26, and another leading article are large 27. leading article on the same subject on June 27.
What Whether these two consecutive articles are the prelude to a daily serial, time will show. But in any case we hope that our readers who are working in the Labour movement will appreciate the significance of this reaction in Fleet Street, and will rub in the lesson lesson, namely, that if anyone wants sincerely to raise the condition of the anyone wants and why a Labour raise the condition of the workers (and why a Labour party if not for that, first, second and all the time?)
he will receive more moral support from THE NEW AGE than from any other journal, and, more important still much portant still much portan portant still, much more practical advice on tactics. It is true that we cannot promise quick practical results arising from any Labour tactics, because we know only too well how multitudinous are the occult devices which the few reasonable is able to use devices which the financial monopoly is able to use for the frustration of forward movements of this sort sort. At the same time, and because we know where the strength same time, and because we know where the strength of the enemy lies, we are able to prescribe those policies which are best calculated to expose his one policies which are best calculated to be a policies which are best calculated to expose his one policies which are best calculated to be a policies which are better to be a policies which are better to be a policies which are be pose his weakness, and to warn reformers off those which will fall the warn to warn the whom they do which will fail to embarrass him, even when they do not actually play into his hands.

Now the policy of challenging the principle of Cabinet-autocracy is a good one. It has the advantage, from our point of view, that it carries Lord Hewart's of the land of bureaucratic lewart's attack on the principle of bureaucratic Government by Departmental officials a plane higher than he does by Transcraphic are bureaucrats bethan he does. These officials are bureaucrats because the Cabinet is itself bureaucratic. Downing Street is in effect simply an advertising office. Its function is not to do the things that the electorate tions for putting over what the bankers desire. Versy on this matter it can not only evoke disclosure. versy on this matter it can not only evoke disclosures embars matter embars embars matter embars matter embars matter em sures embarrassing to the financial oligarchy, but in doing so it will tend to attract rather than repel the sympathy will tend to attract rather Labour in In doing so it will tend to attract rather than reperbolities, not necessarily political at all, but a public book was addressed. The Labour movement in its property was an economic movement. It was the expendent origin was addressed. The Labour movement in the pression of a rank-and-file demand for more goods better conditions. and better conditions. And although to-day the business of most Labour politicians seems to be to render that basic demand inarticulate, and even condemn its articulation as "sectional" and or fall "the Labour Government must yet stand or fall on the economic consequences of its actions, and not the economic consequences. Now the Social Credit analysis has made it clear that to secure an economic dividend the Labour Movement must get economic allies; further, that it can more quickly on a frank and honest economic programme than it can set political allies (which it has been doing) on a Set and honest economic programme than it can subtle political allies (which it has been doing) on a conceals its betrayal of its duty to the workers.

Conceals its betrayal of its duty to the workers.

for new credits to expand the home demand for consumable goods. It must be based on the recognition of the identity of interest, not the conflict of interest, between employers and employed.

Left-wingers in the Labour movement may scoff as they will, but the truth remains that there must either be an economic alliance between employers and employed against the banks, or, if there is a fight, there will be an economic alliance between employers and banks against Labour. In the first alternative the bankers would be helpless, because they are numerically negligible and because they possess nothing essential to the functioning of economic activities. In the second alternative, Labour, for all its numerical strength, would be helpless, because it would be faced once again by an army of volunteer citizens financed by the City and munitioned from abroad if necessary. You have the bankers at one end and the workers at the other, with the employers in the middle. Whichever side the employers take, they carry the army and navy with them. In that fact lies the hope of a bloodless revolution on the issue of private-credit-control versus national-credit-control.

Until the enlightenment both of employers and employed (or more accurately that of their advisers) has proceeded much further, the practicability of such a revolution will not be accepted. So we have to be patient and make the best use we can of every event we see which is likely to lead to a disclosure of the nature, power, and policy of the credit-monopoly. This is why we would like to see the question of Cabinet-autocracy strenuously agitated. It will open things up. As we shall now show, the mention of the idea even of a consultive Labour Committee has evoked an attempt by the Evening Standard to justify the system of things-as-they-are. Splendid. The more arguments we see put up the better it suits us—even though no replies are permitted.

The Evening Standard's first article deals with the 'Consultative Committee' which the Parliamentary Labour Party propose to set up. This Committee is to replace the National Executive, which has been absorbed into the Government. It will consist of absorbed into the Government. It will consist of twelve members elected by ballot, and will meet every month. Of this project the writer of the article says that it raises many points of "constitutional theory and practical politics which must not be lightly passed over." It is characteristic of the Labour Party, which has always sought to "exercise control over its own leaders." trol over its own leaders.

"There were those who would have liked to have had the Government chosen in the same way. This aspiration was successfully opposed by Mr. MacDonald, who was, have a bligged to give at least one formula assurance to was successfully opposed by Mr. MacDonald, who was, however, obliged to give at least one formal assurance to the executive regarding the principles on which Ministers would be appointed. * But, generally speaking, the Administration was formed in the normal way by the Prime Minister, aided by his principal lieutenants, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Clynes."

It would be interesting to have the text of this assurance concerning the principle of selecting Ministers in view of the fact that they were actually chosen in the normal way. The only abnormal feature of the selection was the exclusion of Mr. Wheatley, who, as the *Observer* said, was one of Labour's strongest administrators in the last Government. We shall have to assume that the principle applied was that of including only those Ministers who were imbued with the "team spirit," and would be loyal to their captain, Mr. Snowden. For although Mr. Mac-Donald, as Prime Minister, leads the Cabinet, it is Donald, as Prime Minister, leads the Cabinet, it is the Chancellor of the Exchequer who effectively controls its policy. In fact Mr. Snowden has publicly

* In this and all the following quotations the italics are

declared that this was his chief function in the previous Cabinet—that, as custodian of the nation's money, he was bound to veto proposals made by his colleagues when they involved extravagant expenditure. The banks and the Treasury, as the Board of Control of the Money Game, know that in Mr. Snowden they have got a captain who whole-heartedly accepts their laws; and it is natural that in their own interests, and out of consideration for the Chancellor, they should desire to omit from the team a player who not only questions those laws, but is able, given the opportunity, to demonstrate that in theory they are mutually contradictory and in practice collectively disruptive. So we have a "normal" Cabinet; which is another way of saying, a deflationary Cabinet.

The writer proceeds:

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"We have now to see how far the appointment of the new Committee involves a departure from normality. On examination it proves to bear the appearance of something absolutely and, in some aspects, disquietingly novel in our constitutional forms. The Prime Minister is not, and never has been, under the British Constitution, the nominee of a party or responsible particularly to any party for his actions. He is the statesman chosen by the Sover-eign as being, on account of the support he enjoys in the House of Commons, the man most likely to be serviceable in the post. Once chosen, he is responsible primarily to the Sovereign and the country, not to the party which he leads."

Let us allow that in constitutional theory the Sovereign chooses a Prime Minister to advise him. The question arises: what is this "support in the House of Commons" which is held to qualify the Prime Minister to give advice to the Sovereign? Is it, in the present case, the support of the Labour Members as the majority-section of the House, or is it the general support of the whole House? That is to say; is Mr. MacDonald's duty that of giving "Labour" advice to the King, or "Coalition" advice? If "Labour" advice, on what ground should it be regarded as improper for Mr. MacDonald to appoint (if he wishes) or accept (if the Labour Members wish) a consultative committee to advise him? If, on the other hand, "Coalition" advice, on what ground is it thought necessary to hold General Elections? Why go to all the trouble and expense of asking the electors whether they like Tom best, or Dick, or Harry, if after they have made their choice Tom, Dick and Harry enter into partnership and form a sort of Constitutional Advice Corporation? Why not form the Corporation first, and ask everybody to vote: "The King, God Bless Him." The whole House would then become one uxury of appointing three Prime Ministers.

The writer goes on to say of the Consultative Committee that it would appear to be a step in the direction of putting the Cabinet under a "definite party control."

"For this body will not resemble the various 'Ginger' groups and committees which began to take form during the war and which still survive in various shapes in all the same ways and the beauty and the beauty and the same ways and the same ways are safety to be a same ways and the same ways and the same ways are safety to be a same ways and the same ways are same ways are same ways and the same ways are same ways and the same ways are same ways and the same ways are same ways three parties. These organisations were self-chosen, and represented nothing but themselves, and, while they might prove useful in keeping the Government in touch with general feeling, could be heeded or ignored as it chose.

Labour's consultative committee, formally elected by the party, will derive from that origin an authority of a wholly different sort. It will speak with the voice of the party, and, conscious of the fact, is not at all unlikely to adopt a tone of command. If it does so, and if its commands are chosen it will become its effect itself itself. mands are obeyed, it will become in effect itself the Government of the country."

This mention of "Ginger" groups comes very appropriately, for it reminds us of another group, the "Gold" group, which is self-chosen, which represents nothing but itself, and which every Government must heed and self-chosen, which represents the self-chosen which represents the self-chosen which is self-chosen, which represents the self-chosen which represents ment must heed and no Government dare ignore.

The Financial Times, in a leading article, publicly warned Mr. Lloyd George when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer that the City could destroy any Government which interfered with credit-policy. This means that while a Prime Minister and his Cabinet may in theory have a constitutional responsibility to the Sovereign they have in practice a super-constitutional responsibility to the banking monopoly. It was presumably under the stimulus of this higher loyalty that the late Conservative Government removed the King's head from the national currency-notes—the two "Oppositions not opposing.

The writer of the article while conceding that the consultative committee is able to speak with authority," suggests that it may come to command the Cabinet, in which case the Committee would become the effective Government. As a matter of fact the only effective Government is financial Government, which is in the hands of the Bank of England immediately, and ultimately is largely "commanded" by the international merger of Central Banks which has now come into being with the Federal Reserve Board of America as the dominant member. So long as the political heads of any British Government accept the principle that their policy must conform to the laws of finance as now prescribed, or even if they falter on the principle but do not know what alternative laws to put in their place, not only they, but any consultative body which might impose pells. might impose policy on them, would be helpless when the task came of administering that policy. power that can alter the Bank Rate or the Foreign Exchanges at will can thus obviously create panics in trade and investment circles when it chooses, and can destroy the prestige of any Government of which it disapproves by ascribing the panic to the Cabinet for which purpose it would use the Press, which it controls. For notwithstanding the huge capital sunk in newspaper trust in newspaper trusts and smaller enterprises, the people of whom we speak, even if they do not possess more or less direct control through majority holdings of debentures and shares, could put down as much capital again to create an opposition series of newspapers, and without revealing to the ordinary public that they had done it. As a matter of fact they would not need to put up much capital: they would only need to put up much capital: only need to pass a hint through the scullery-door of Fleet Street the scullery-door the Fleet Street that they proposed to do this, and the value of existing newspaper properties would immediately slymp. Line diately slump like that of the cotton mills; and line type machines and rotary presses would be exposed on the Official Partition and rotary presses would be exposed on the Official Receiver's market-stalls at two

So the Evening Standard leader-writer need not fear any immediate disasters as a result of the new move of the Labour Posts. move of the Labour Party. To do his common-sense justice, he are sense justice, he are sense in the common justice, he assures his readers that any weakening of the Labour Government under pressure from below would bring about its downfall. This, of course, he can predict be the country of the course, and the course, he can predict be the country of t he can predict because of the fact that Labour is not so strong as the Conservatives and Liberals combined. He concludes as follows:

"But we must ask ourselves what the situation would if some from absolute be if some future Labour Government with an absolute majority were to take office under the control of an elected party committee."

Well, we suppose the situation would depend upon what the party committee wanted the Cabinet of the writer of do. There is a wealth of significance in the writer and tacit assumption that Cabinets must always necessarily be averse from carrying out policies and vocated by their amount of their and their amount of thei vocated by their supporters. It is, indeed, true: and a good thing would be to "ask ourselves, why, it is true. Fundamental" it is true. Fundamentally the reason is that bankers policy is always and the inpolicy is always and necessarily opposed to the The stinctive desires of the whole electorate.

bankers' policy is to impose the maximum degree of abstinence on the population. The motive which impels practically every citizen to vote for a Parliamentary candidate is that of maintaining or enlarging his standard of life. This motive is hardly ever realised: like an iceberg, most of it is submerged beneath the surface of consciousness, and the emergent part refracts all sorts of dazzling lights under the sun of idealistic exhortation—so that what is frozen water appears like flaming fire—yet there is no man or woman who does not nourish some vague vestige of a hope that somehow or other the choice of the right Government will in the end improve his or her economic condition. Political propaganda is fashioned to feed that hope; for even in cases where renunciation may be enjoined on the electors there is always the implied assurance that this virtue is a means to a better condition of life.

Now a Cabinet, by reason of its subordination to bankers' policy, must of necessity break contact with the c with the electorate in general and its own section of constituents in particular. For it cannot possibly fulfil the hopes of the whole electorate. That has been demonstrated once and for all by Major Douglas's analysis of the credit-system. The best it can do is to fulfil some hopes by frustrating others. It may conceivably, for instance, decree that there shall be higher earned incomes and lower dividends. dividends, or vice versa; but it cannot decree higher earned incomes and higher dividends, because to carry that out it would have to resume the old constitutional with the Covernment to create old constitutional right of a Government to create new money. There are already numerous signs that Mr. Ramos. Where are already numerous signs to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Cabinet is proposing to take the temporal take the line of no resistance and leave the temporal needs of its of no resistance and leave the temporal needs of its supporters to be settled by direct negotiation between employers and employed just as they have all Governthey have always been settled under all Govern-ments. Description of the committee ments. But this is where the Consultative Committee is going to he had a where the Consultative Committee to the consultative is going to have something to say. According to the Lobby Correspondent of the Evening Standard,

Left-wing members of the Party in conversation say smooth its path wherever possible. They do not, however, and to disguise the fact that they intend to make a very close disguise the fact that they intend to make a very close assessment of the fact that they intend to make a very close down the fact that they intend they are the fact that they intend they are the fact that they intend they are they are the fact that they are the fact that they are they are the fact that they are they are the fact that they are they are they are they are they are the fact that they are the assessment of results within a given period. If these do not come up to expectations, they will become active critics." (Our italics.)

So much for the development within the political Labour Party.

But there is an identical development in the industrial field. And in view of the truth that economic power precedes political power it is a more important development of the first portant development than the first. The General mediate topical rades Union Congress wants the immediate repeal of the Trades Union Congress wants and contemplated the Trade Disputes Act of 1927, the Contemplation of the Trade Disputes Act of impress and contemplates forming a committee to impress claim or this claim. this claim on the Cabinet. Now, as our readers how, the ron the Cabinet. know, the repeal of this Act would not be worth twopence to the repeal of this Act would not be worth the the average worker. As a matter of fact, would be average worker. As a matter of fact, the would be average worker. reimpose on him the duty of applying to be his used from his Trade Union, whereas now he is automatically trik sed if he contributing to the privilege of conexcused if he omits to apply for the privilege of contributing. This is the real reason for the hostility they are well are the advantage to the Party the Parliamentary Labour Leaders to the Act, 101 funds of being empowered once more to exploit the Share of the advantage it is difficult to the Share of the advantage of the Share of the inertia of being empowered once more to exploit the suppose that the Cabinet is any less keen on the no effects to adopt it the reason will be that it sees it neglects to adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be the chance of adopt it the reason will be that it sees the chance of adopt it the reason will be the chance of adopt it the reason will be the chance of a dopt it the reason will be the chance of a dopt it the reason will be the chance of a dopt it the reason will be the chance of th no chance of getting a supporting majority in the the issue is not find and might be decided the issue is not fundamental and might be decided

either way by private bargaining between the three Party-leaders.

What touches the nerve of Authority is this application of the principle of outside interference with the Cabinet's discretion. The Evening Standard says that the word "consultative" is "rapidly taking to itself a connotation of bland menace," and proceeds to remark (our italics)—

"The T.U.C. believes that to it the Government owes its position, and there is at least an element of truth in the belief. It also holds that it has a right to enforce its wishes on the Government, and much effort and perhaps some unfortunate events will be required to disabuse it of this notion.

The interest of the moment centres in Mr. MacDonald's probable reaction to pressure. The facts of the situation are no doubt perfectly clear to him: the question is whether he will be able to get them into the heads of those who are making so many demands upon him. Before the election he promised certain things. He is now in office, and the T.U.C., which supported him because of his promises, sees no reason why they should

not be implemented.

"There is, however, one reason which is very plain to Mr. MacDonald. He is in office but he is also in a minority, and he cannot conduct himself as though he were not. Nor can any of his supporters complain that he should have put himself into such a position, since the Labour Party Conference was asked to pronounce against any future Labour Government without an absolute majority and emphatically refused to do so.

Within its limits this presentation of the situation is an adequate demonstration of the futility of trying to coerce the Cabinet into any action disapproved by both Opposition parties. Speaking in terms of industry, the Cabinet cannot run an employees' policy against a combination of employers. This fact is so plain that there is no ground for the writer to talk about getting it into the heads of the consultative committees. On the contrary, he can take it for committees. On the contrary he can take it for granted that the sponsors of these committees recognised the situation immediately the election results came out. The "disquieting" feature—the incipient "menace"—of the new development is that it implies a determination on the part of some sections of Labour within and without the House not to tions of Labour within and without the House not to accept the logic of the Parliamentary balance of Parties as final. It is the beginning of what we believe to be a rapidly growing disposition among the electors generally to put Parliamentary Government itself on trial. How, exactly, are we all governed? Who, in reality, has the last word in deciding whether any Party's pledges shall be fulfilled or not? Is it Westminster: or is it Threadneedle Street? These are the vital questions of the hour; and if the two new committees will take the trouble to learn the right way to go about their job, and are determined to procure either tangible results for the workers or the resignation of the Labour Government, some illuminating answers to these questions are likely to emerge from the conflict.

In case the Labour Cabinet should seek to justify its retention of office with an adverse balance of power by pleading the event considerately recalled by the Evening Standard on its behalf-namely, the wote of the Labour Party Conference—we will submit two answers.

(1) The vote was given under the assurance from the platform that Labour, even in a minority in the House, could produce some results worth having; that there was something in the mere being in office which would overcome some of the practical impediments to a Labour policy.

On this point the obvious question that the Cabinet must now answer is: "Now that you are in office, what are the things you can do? The reference would be to something practically useful; not such things as shaking hands with General Dawes, or

shaking fists at the French Republic; and, most important of all, not such things as a scheme of electoral reform which would shut out for ever the possibility of an effective Labour majority in Parliament.

The second answer that we submit is this:

(2) The Labour Party Conference decides its

business by block voting. We can remember occasions when the whole of Fleet Street has been up in arms against this voting system, calling it "undemocratic," "oligarchic," "deceptive," and a lot of other adjectives signifying that it did not afford a legitimate mandate for policy. This is only a debating point, but, as such, it is useful. Just as we have said in a previous Note that the Authorities would invoke or repudiate the principle of "unselfish" voting as it suited them, so have they done in regard to the block-vote. And the same test is used: Does the result of applying the principle on this occasion work out conformably with financial law, or does it not?

Anything worth while for anybody is bound to upset somebody's budget. Anything worth while for a nation is bound to upset some other nation's budget. And anything worth while for this planet would upset the budget of some other planet—if the present system of financing production and consumption could have been extended extra-terrestrially. This relation of cause and effect is not inherent in nature; it is the product of an unsound system of book-keeping which can be corrected at any time. The technique of the corrected system conforms with traditional habits, and therefore presents no psychological difficulties; and the results accruing from it will be approved by all sections of society directly ney get the first sample. The basic need of men and women is to enjoy life to-day, with the assurance of enjoying it to-morrow and to-morrow, they and their children after them—adequate consumption in perpetuity. The policy and technique of the banking monopoly are designed to serve an opposite purpose -restriction of consumption in perpetuity-the positive objective of this being to encourage the expansion of the means of production in perpetuity. That is to say the banks will finance the pruning away of appleblossoms but will not finance the picking of apples. In this illustration their theory could be defended on the assumption that the pruning made the trees more prolific; but it would cease to be even intelligible as soon as the trees could be relied upon to bear enough fruit season by season to satisfy everybody's requirements. Now, whatever the truth may be about an orchard there is not a doubt that organised industry to-day has the power to multiply the output of consumable goods two or three times. Take any article that was being made a century ago, and a similar article being made to-day, and compare the ratio in each case between the time required to make it and the time required to wear it out in use. Next work out the ratio between the number of people at work then and at work nowor, better, between the total populations. You will get figures which would appear to justify at least a doubling of the rate of consumption even allowing for the wholesale scrapping of machinery and plant that has gone on since the bankers started selling the industrialists up in 1920.

Now the whole political deadlock represents an economic deadlock. Tom, Dick and Harry are short of apples. The Tom Party, the Dick Party, and the Harry Party are in Parliament each to get more apples out of the other two. Picture these three fools, each standing on a mountain of rotting petals and pollen and shouting at each other: "You've got my apples!" The bees they have in their bonnets

are the bees they have put out of work. If they do not wake up and co-operate in a united refusal to allow the City to dictate how and in what measure they shall employ their energy and skill in their economic tasks they will none of them ever get their

Let us finish with the Evening Standard. It offers the suggestion that probably an amendment of the Trade Disputes Act is possible, the reason being that at the time it was passed more Liberals were against it than for it. This would "present fewer difficulties" to Mr. MacDonald and "create less necessity for the description. for the bargaining he is anxious to avoid than a root and branch repeal." (Our italics.)

"If the Labour Party is to be really a Trade Union Party, with its policy dictated by an extra-Parliamentary body, the T.U.C., it will never be in a majority.

"We have said before that Mr. MacDonald is in more danger from the demonds of his assertions than from the

danger from the demands of his supporters than from the criticism of all his opponents put together. We hope that the danger will not materialise, and that he will be given a reasonable charter. a reasonable chance to show what he can do.

The obvious comment is that if the temper of Mr. MacDonald and his Cabinet is such that they will not only funk a good row but are anxious to avoid even "bargaining," it will never be worth anybody's while giving Labour a majority. As regards giving Mr. MacDonald a chance to show what he can do, all we would give him to the can do. all we would give him would be a "reasonable chance" to announce quite plainly what he proposes to do. Even if circumstances be held to have cancelled his proposed celled his pre-election pledges, that does not excuse him from making post-election pledges. When we see his programme we can judge whether or not it is worth while giving him any chance at all to show what he can do.

WAR, DEBTS AND WAR.

A report in the Sunday Express of June 30 states that A report in the Sunday Express of June 30 states that America has formally refused to wait for France to pay up for war-stores. "If rot—!" (This is its dark headline.) We noticed in the Daily Mail last Thursday that in the town of Nice a General Rambaut, under judgment for debt and notice of distraint on his furniture, had retired into his house with his wife and had fortified it against the bailiffs and police. He had piled furniture inside the door and sandbags in front of his windows. When an inspector tried to force the door a spray of gas was delivered through the force the door a spray of gas was delivered through the keyhole. He came back with reinforcements equipped with gas masks. The General should be the content of the content gas masks. The General shouted that if they entered would shoot his wife and then himself. The police returned with a quartity of turned with a quantity of tear-gas, which they introduced into the house under the door and through the keyhole. This proved just as ineffectual. The report said that police were of the opinion that the General and his wife were provided with gas masks. The police were stated to have provided with gas masks. The police were stated to have retired to consider their next move.

"The Usine Belge and the XXieme Siecle join to-day in denunciation of egoa denunciation of what they describe as America's ego-tistical policy.' They urge a boycott of American goods and an European understant and an European understanding to take defensive measures against American economic methods. The Usine Belge more especially condenses American economic methods. more especially condemns American dumping in the motor-car industry. It declares that 70 per cent. of the motor-cars used in Belgium are being imported and sold at prices than would be charged in the United States. Holy XXieme Siecle recommends the conductor of a XXieme Siecle recommends the conclusion of a Alliance, against America under the auspices of an economic association patronised by the League of Nations, and invites of solidarity likely to impress Washington.

A B. U.P. message from Paris states that a resolution has been passed message from Paris states that a resolution has been passe by delegates from For Paris states that a resolution has been passe by delegates from 500 French Chambers of Commerce, are meeting in Paris, calling for European Governments to Show a united front against 'the exclusive and prohibitive Customs policy of the United States.' The resolution asks that the French Government should immediately under tariffe and the further a European extents against the bases. measures to further a European entente against the high tariffs which the delegates against the reasonable which the reasonabl tariffs which the delegates consider are making it increasingly difficult to trade ingly difficult to trade with the United States. Express, June 7, 1929.

Freud, Adler, and Dostoevski.

JULY 4, 1929

An article in The Realist for July, entitled "Dostoevski and Parricide," gives an excellent opportunity for comparison between the psycho-analytic system of Freud and Adler. Before entering into the question, however, may I once again say how magnificent an expositor Freud is. One knows betorehand what his conclusions will be; nevertheless the skill with which he works every strand into his pattern gives one the thrill of a display of magic. On the question of the utility or propriety of the psycho-analysis of works of art, Freud remarks correctly and briefly that the art is not dissected; it is the unconscious motives of the artist which come under analysis. The primal seeds of a work of art are shown to be the same as of all human neurotic conduct and dreams. Indeed, far from harm being done to personalities such as Dostoevski by psychoanalysis, their achievement is more firmly established. The discovery that Dostoevski revealed the origin of his neurosis in his novels as similar to that of all neurosis renders him liberator as well as artist. For more repressed minds he acts cathartically, giving vicarious relief to the pent-up feeling; while for the less repressed he is an illuminator of consciousness.

Adler's account of Dostoevski was given in some detail in THE NEW AGE of December 2, 1926. The two accounts make interesting comparative psycho-analysis, the comparison being quite possible al-though Freud treats wholly of "The Brothers Kara-mazov" who was a majnly to "Crime mazov," whereas Adler referred mainly to "Crime and Punishment." In the first-named novel, of course the cours course, the possibility of analysis of complex lines on CFdirectory on Œdipus is obvious, as is the possibility of extension to demonstrate guilty wishes among the brothers who did not do the actual killing of the

Parricide is, according to a well-known conception, the chief and primitive crime of humanity as well as of the individual primitive crime of humanity as well as of the main source of the the individual. It is in any case the main source of the sense of guilt."

In primitive humanity, after the tyrant father had been killed! been killed by the sons, the latter were left with their hate satisfied by the sons, the latter were left with their hate satisfied and their tenderness, as well as their gratitude for and their tenderness, and greater exgratistical and their tenderness, as wen as reperience, frustrated. This futile and regretful tenderness is clearly the sense of guilt. derness is closely associated with the sense of guilt. In more civilised times, when the custom of killing one's father is confined to the psychic plane alone—wish to kill the father and the wish to honour him alone to kill the father and the wish to honour him wish to kill the father and the wish to honour him along with the father and the wish to conflict along with the father and the wish to honout between them is mother, still exist, and the conflict between them is closely connected with the guilt expressed in roll is closely connected. It is not necessary pressed in religion and neurosis. It is not necessary here to probe into the elaborations of the Œdipus theme which into the elaborations of which provide theme which form the novel, and which provide about Freud's warp and weft. What is most striking test the recessary about Freud's analysis is the paucity of the necessary Complex is Dostoevski's mother. The Œdipus the plex is not described of course, by proving that hatred and love are ambivalent towards the requires. So they are to all significant persons. It desire for the demonstration of "incestuous" desire for the mother. Freud takes it for granted that hatred for the father necessarily originates in for desire to the father necessarily originates in for desire to the father necessarily originates in form desire to the father necessarily originates in form desire to the father necessarily originates in form desire to the father necessarily originates in fa the desire to remove a rival," whereas it is enough for Adler to remove a rival," whereas it is enough and and set that it is a desire to bring down a tyrant is to Adler what Frend would call "over-elaboration, Adler what Frend would call "over-elaboration. is to Adler what Freud would call "over-elaborait in Dostoevski's case.

Both Freud and Adler see Dostoevski as psychically a criminal. Freud writes:

"Two traits are important in the criminal, boundless egoism and a strong destructive tendency, both in con-

Adler would have said a boundless egoism designed Adder would have said a bounded by to compensate a sense of inferiority, along with to compensate a sense of inferiority, along with the compensation of the compensat equally boundless self-depreciation. Adler quoted as characteristic of Dostoevski's atti-tude, "a Napoleon or a louse?" For Adler the criminal is not merely a person unable to repress his destructive father hatred; he is rather one whose legitimate egoism has been frustrated by his fellows or environment; and in whom a compensatory nonsocial egoism refuses to be corrected in spite of his clash with environment. Freud adds :-

"the condition for the expression of boundless egoism and destructiveness is the absence of love."

This is far from an obvious use of love in a Freudian sense, and is almost Adlerian in terminology as well as in spirit. It should surely have been written: "absence of equivalence between self-esteem and evident esteem by others."

Throughout the article Freud speaks in terms more appropriate to a will-to-power psychology than to a libido or will-to-voluptuousness psychology. But every now and again he seems consciously to strive to bring back his exposition to the libido

"The boy wants to be in his father's place because he admires him. . . At a certain moment the child comes to understand that the attempt to remove the father as a rival would be punished by the father with castration. From fear of castration, that is, in the interests of preserving virility, arises a wish to possess the mother and to remove the father." (My italics.)

The portions italicised are all appropriate only to will-to-power interpretation of the motive. Instead of every punishment being a castration, as Freud later asserts, it is as possible and as true to interpret castration as that form of humiliation which serves as a symbol for all other forms. Men do not decapitate kings to possess queens, nor because kings threaten to castrate them. It is, indeed, the first principle of all governors that their subjects must be provided with at least the means of pleasure though they lack food. Dostoevski was a second son, and as Adler has observed, second sons are commonly very fiery, rebellious creatures; not because there are two "rivals," older brother and father, between them and the beloved mother, but because there are two masters each trainer to make because there are two masters each trying to make the boy a servant. When the father's back is turned the older boy tries to take his place, and the younger has to fight ceaselessly for his right to shine anywhere. That the aim and object of unconscious where. That the ann and object of all object of all objects of all possession would not satisfy him long. Given perfect bliss, the unconscious would deliver adventure fantasies, as Jung has shown.

French psycho-analysts tend to abandon the effort to reduce human motives to one, either to the power impulse or to the sex impulse, and regard the two as both fundamental. It is natural, of course, for a unity to be striven for, inasmuch as the attainment of unity, it seems, would bring the pursuit of motive to an end. But unity has a way of ceasing also to be useful. When the whole world has been reduced to stuff of one sort, even to the work of one God, it is necessary to divide the stuff or the God into two, and later three, for creation to become once more manifest. Even the scientist has a conscious and an unconscious mind, and Freud sometimes appears to interpret motive in terms of will-to-power while reJULY 4, 1929

fusing to admit that he does so. Every rhythm requires an alternation of emphasised forward strokes and unemphasised recoveries. So it appears in psycho-analysis. For Adler the forward stroke is will-to-power and the back-stroke flight from test; for Freud the forward stroke is will-to-pleasure. the mother being the symbol of pleasure throughout life. It is really time that the pioneers of psychoanalysis resolved some of their differences, at the expense, if need be, of complicating a little of their metaphysics.

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Up to now Adler, of course, has managed almost without metaphysics. We will, he seems to say, dispose of metaphysical problems not as persons who cannot move until reality is explained to them, but as persons ready to deal with such questions as they arise, and only in so far as they affect the practical issue. Freud, on the other side, has ventured into metaphysics, without showing any irreconcilable difference between his outlook and Adler's. Life, said Freud, is a conflict between the inherent impulse of energy, the flow into chaos, and an ego force which aims to control and shape this energy. Life is thus a conflict between will-to-pleasure and will-topower. A healthy person lives a rhythm among power. A healthy person lives a rhythm among power, pleasure, and wisdom, the beat of the rhythm varying according to state of health, period of life, and other circumstances. The neurotic has in some way lost the rhythm. If, for example, the crown points of the rhythm in healthy life are waking, working, and sleeping, representing wisdom. Power and ing, and sleeping, representing wisdom, power, and peace, the power neurotic will spend his nights in sleepless planning for greater power on the morrow, or in power dreams; while the pleasure seeker may spend his days in recovering from his nights. Somebody once said of games that the power-seeker could not lose, but the pleasure-seeker could not play. He would not put himself up for test. As long as the co-ordinating mental factor of consciousness remains intact, the individual receives an inner warning when he tends to become too absorbed in any one form of expression, in, say, the pursuit of wisdom too entirely to make use of it; in the pursuit of power too much for sociability; or in the pursuit of pleasure too violently for him either to acquire the power or the wisdom necessary for him to return the pleasure he

Returning to Freud's article on Dostoevski, and acknowledging the truth in his analysis no less than the truth in Adler's, one realises that psycho-analysis has revealed the energy-concentrations in the unconscious mind, without necessarily having formulated the final system of grouping them. It has given us the vision to see the stars, but it has not finally drawn the constellations. Unable to understand or to accept the constellations as drawn by the accept the constellations as drawn by the ancient philosophers, we are offered simplified maps. From Freud's, power is left out; from Adler's, pleasure is left out, wisdom being in both. In Adler's, also, there is a pole-star for health as well as for neurosis; but in Freud's there is a pole-star only for neurosis.

Thus we find in Freud that knowledge of neurosis Thus we find in Freud that knowledge of healthsis vastly more differentiated than in Adler, but the reverse applies as regards knowledge of health.

R. M.

PROPAGANDA.

Five small stones young David took, Five smooth stones from out the brook. Which of these, from sling well sped, Will get into the Giant's head?

The M.M. Club will meet on Wednesday, July 3, at the Holborn Restaurant (Kingsway Room),

Drama.

Red Sunday: Arts.

The events of "Red Sunday" extend from the Russian revolutionary troubles which followed the end of the Russo-Japanese war to 1920, when the Soviet Republic had become firmly established. From a cellar in Odessa, in 1906, the scene moves to Trotzky's lodgings in Siberia; and thence to the palace at St. Petersburg at the declaration of war in 1914. The second act presents a commentary between Lenin and Trotzky in Geneva in 1916 along with the event in St. Petersburg commented upon, namely, the murder of Rasputin. The last act shows, in two scenes, the demoralised and mystical egoism of the Tsar at his arrest, and finally, the death of Lenin. Mr. Hubert Griffith's play accordingly requires consideration from two quite different angles. As news it is better late than never, and as illustrated news it is more memorable than simple letterpress. While leaving the theatre I overheard some charming young person confess to her companion that she had no idea Lenin was so great a man. From the other angle, that of a dramatisation and valuation of the characters who brought about the revolution, and of those who built the Soviet Republics on the chaos, Mr. Griffith's play is of little value. For my part I came away with the feeling that the greatness of Lenin had been more revealed to me in history. revealed to me in history and in his own writings than in Mr. Griffith's dramatisation. When Lenin died the beautiful died the died the beautiful died the died the died the beautiful died the heaviness of the Russian atmosphere affected every person not insensitive to atmosphere in the world.

The dramatic portrayal of the Russian revolution by members of other nations, that is to say, by spectators rather than by participants, is necessary and inevitable. It had be presented in the state of the stat inevitable. It had to begin somewhere. For the greater part by far of English people Russians and Muscovites are just such bogeymen as they were in "Love's Labour's Lost." The adult education medium which the Press claims to be has kept our generation ignorant of an experiment destined to crowd other contains other contemporary events out of future history books. Mr. Griffith's play is at least illustrated news which has not had to suffer sub-editing for the sake of the interests. of the interests of the proprietors of the medium, or of the prejudices of the proprietors of the medium, a note appearance. On the programme a note appears over Mr. Griffith's initials almost apologising for his apparent "unreasonably pro-Bolshevist" sympathy. "Most of the details of character (such as the control of the details of character (such as the purity and disinterestedness, of Lenin's motives) are taken from such 'enemy, sources as the Memoirs of M. Paléologue As Mr. Griffith says, "the historical facts touched on are to be found in all impartial and non-Bolshevist histories of Russia." So efficient and determined have the controllers of the avenues of information have the controllers of the avenues of information been that any been that any attempt to fill in the blanks of their reports cannot be a second to the difficulties in which Lenin and his followers found themselves were invariably advertised; the difficulties they were met invariably advertised; the difficulties they were met with, and the miraculous intellectual elasticity with which they responded, were ignored. By his courage. By his courageous impartiality, that necessarily pears far from impartial, Mr. Griffith has rendered an intelligence hyperstands. an intelligence bureau service to the British public.

Drama, however, must do more than illustrate and report. The audience already filled with mixed emotions about the men and events of Russia should have had these emotions act for The about the men and events of Russia should have have had these emotions set free. They should have been levitated into D been levitated into Russia, and made to overflow with the mood and control of the with the mood and atmosphere of Russia; or, alternatively, they should have a resulting the should have a resulting to thave a resulting to the should have a resulting to the should have tively, they should have been given not a news chaos through which Lenin thought and cut Russia's

path. It may not be impossible for a dramatist to cover so long a period as 1906 to 1920, though such a project seems more appropriate to some other medium than drama. Mr. Griffith obviously directed himself more towards weaving a pattern of men and events than to revealing a man (or several men) against a background of events. For the dramatic pattern Mr. Griffith had in mind the technique of nique of representationism adopted seems insufficient. Impressionism and something besides—the latter to individuate and to throw in perspective the stature of the driving figures—seems vital. The first scene was right. It stimulated visions of Toller and Kaiser supposed by the status of the driving figures—seems vital. Kaiser surpassed later on, with Lenin, Trotzky, and the rest, emerging as giants in the fog. The second scene, however, was merely an information that at the State's expense in Siberia, and escaped to at the State's expense in Siberia, and escaped to join Lenin. The third scene, in which the Tsar vows not to make peace as long as one invader's foot is on Russian soil, is entirely preparation for the British ambassador's comment: that the last time the mob foregathered before the palace was Red Sunday. The second act was dramatic, but it dealt with the murder of Rasputin in a manner closely by the Stage Society, and was far more comprehensible to those who had seen the previous play, or were informed about Rasputin from other sources, or were informed about Rasputin from other sources, than to those who depended on this one. It was also more dominated by the difficulty of murdering Rasputin than by the aim of fixing his significance for the revolution. The murder scene itself was, indeed, so powerful that it moved the focus of the whole play from Lepin to Rasputin. While this is whole play from Lenin to Rasputin. While this is a natural enough temptation for the unconscious spectator since Parattin is fascinating and hypspectator, since Rasputin is fascinating and hypnotic when since Rasputin is fascinating and rational, notic whereas Lenin is cold, conscious, and rational, drama should be described and focus. drama should ensure true proportion and focus.

Mr. Griffith, attempting an enormous task, has et with all the dramatist of the met With all the difficulties of the dramatist of the modern world he difficulties of the dramatist of the A play modern world, without overcoming them. A play of intensity of the difficulties of the dramaust of the modern world, without overcoming them. A play of intensity of the impressionists have perof intensity, as only the impressionists have per-ceived. Nothing less can bridge the eight intervals. Modern political plays have to provide means of thinking aloud. thinking aloud, or audiences to which orations can be made. Mr., Or audiences to which orations can be both but in a way be made. Mr. Griffith attempts both, but in a way that rendered in the strong to overthat renders the difficulty he was trying to over-come more evident than the overcoming. He draws characters not by revealing their relationships to other characters not by revealing their relationships to other characters and events, but out of their own soliloguy Brom Trotzky's orations, the Tsar's over wine, and Soliloguy, Rasputin's garrulity over wine, and formed a critical interview. Mr. Griffith has performed drama. He had service rather than achieved a drama. He has shown the location and contents of treasure-ship hiding material for not one great mana but a location and content of the shirty-three parts drama but a score. Among the thirty-three parts and much a score. Among the thirty-three performance excellent acting, Lydia Sherwood's performance acting, Lydia Sherwood's misformance as Alexandra Lyona, first Trotzky's mistress and then his wife, stood out. She succeeded tragedy behind a very short time all the pathos and volsely behind a very short time all the pathos and volsely behind a very short time for deeds, whether retragedy behind men who live for deeds, whether rewas also very fine. Nicholas Hannen's Tsar was not
from interest of the many of the man sufficiently turned outside in. For the Tsar's flight from failure as God the omnipotent of Russia into mysticism and superstition the actor spoke too quharson as Lenin and Trotzky were not furnished author with the means to attain the stature by the author with the means to attain the stature thing possible with the material.

Max Clement has brought her home. The fair face and the much fairer face of Rosine are dis-

covered as still-life profile in a proximity more familiar on the screen than on the stage. Max, come to England to hate Rosine for inheriting a fortune he had banked on, has fallen in love with her; and she with him. If she marries, however, she will lose the money, the fact that it would be his gain, as it turns out, making the loss no easier. She quarrels with him, indeed, for a fortune-hunter pretending to love her in poverty or sickness for his own interests. She marries him in the end, of course, as it was certain she would. "The Truth Game" itself is played at a week-end party. It is a game alleged to be favoured by the polite classes when their masked dislike of one another has welled up beyond control. Under the privilege of sport they allow one another to be damned unpleasant if not criminally libellous. Max, of course, exploits the occasion to make love to Rosine publicly; not covertly, as it is normally made in private, but at a poetic distance, with sweeter meaning for the audience and Rosine than for the other characters. As Rosine, Lily Elsie resembles the adolescent Pygmalion come to life and speech; while Ivor Novello as Max realises that possessiveness which recognises no code and that air of chivalrous spirituality, which, combined, are adolescent love.

This, however, presents only the plot of Mr. Novello's comedy. After a considerable stretch in the first two scenes where the wit is as adolescent as the sentiment, and aristocrats are all lower middleclass in mind, if human at heart, two gorgeous characters for grown-ups begin to occupy most of the frame, Evelyn Brandon and the Lady Joan Culver. The former maintains a position in aristocratic society by earning commissions on the custom of her friends at the shops with which she has, or is just about to have, an arrangement. Lady Joan, the very plain daughter of a duke, has given up trying to please men since the effort would be futile. She cares neither for her own appearance nor for the feelings of others, and her common-sense is delightful. The negotiations between the two on Mrs. Brandon's percentage, if she should obtain for Lady Joan a rich husband and a head are the state of the should obtain. husband and a handsome settlement, are first-class comedy with a bite of healthy satire. The play goes merrily all the time Lilian Braithwaite and Viola Tree, who play Mrs. Brandon and Lady Joan respectively, are on the stage, and their entrances lighten the heart. The flavour of these characters remains when the play is over. That Mr. Novello can do this sort of work is a reason for his doing more of it, and for leaving the other to musical comedy, which youth of all ages can then have to PAUL BANKS.

The Screen Play.

Silence Comes to the Marble Arch Pavilion.

Some little time ago I suggested to the capable manager of the Marble Arch Pavilion that if he would only stand out against the craze for the "talkies" he would, within six months, be able to hang out the "House Full" boards every night. My prediction has been fulfilled in much less time. Only two sound films, one with a synchronised musical accompaniment and the other an "allmusical accompaniment and the other an "alltalkie," have so far been shown at this theatre, which last week presented two excellent silent films, with results, so far as I can judge, that must have been most satisfactory from the box-office standpoint. Add that the Regal recently showed "The Leatherneck'' in its silent form, and that "The Wonderful Lie," also silent, is now having a three weeks' season at so important a house as the Hippodrome, and some of the pointed remarks I have lately been making to members of the film trade as to the lure of the "talkie" being to a considerable extent a matter of novelty would appear to be justi-

fying themselves. The two excellent films to which I refer are "Hurrah! I'm Alive," with that admirable comedian, Nikolai Kolin, and "Temptation." The latter was originally called "Asphalt," a much better title, although largely inappropriate. Possibly our chaste censorship remembered that asphalt is a substance used for the paving of streets, and the word "street" always suggests the worst to the censorship. This is an outstanding film, which only just falls below greatness. It is produced by Erich Pommer and directed by Joe May, the two best-partnered men in the celluloid world. Gustav Frolich, as always, gets under the skin of the character he is impersonating, and Albert Steinruck gives a convincing and dignified study of the father, but it is no disrespect to either if I say that they are overshadowed by Betty Amann. She is the perfect vamp; the real thing and not the conventional siren of Hollywood. Miss Amann is so good an actress that I trust she will not be doomed henceforth to play nothing but the part of a lady of easy virtue and alluring manner. She has that quality, namely, sex appeal, which is much rarer on the films than one would judge from the publicity matter circulated by the trade.

DAVID OCKHAM.

The Philosophy of Social Credit.

[Compiled from the Writings of Major Douglas.] Now it is indisputable that a solution of the more immediately pressing problems with which civilisation is confronted at the present time does, in fact, turn on the removal of the limitations to the distribution of wealth (which limitations also re-act on its production). So that in this case, and, no doubt, in many others, it is possible to make out a theoretical case for a line of action which is also justifiable by expediency. But the great danger of placing too much reliance on the deductive method is that the whole of its conclusions are rendered misleading and dangerous if an essential factor is omitted from the premises.

essential factor is omitted from the premises.

. . . the human individual has two aspects, one of which is functional, and specialised, and is only concerned with the health and well-being of the "Great Man," i.e., Society, of which he forms a part. Out of this aspect he benefits indirectly, not directly.

. . The individual can, in the nature of things, only form a constituent of one function of the Great Man of the great at time. the Great Man at any one instant of time. . . . There seems to be nothing inherently absurd in a man being a bricklayer in the morning and a company director in the afternoon, and, in fact, there are good grounds for imagin-

afternoon, and, in fact, there are good grounds for imagining that something of this sort may very possibly come to pass. But the point it is desired to stress at the present moment is that, in this aspect, the individual is not serving his individuality, but ought to be serving his environment in the best way possible, and direct artistic gratification from work performed in this way is neither specifically to be looked for, nor is it the immediate object of the worlk.

It is most probably true that there can be no divergence between true public interest and any true private dividuality by Society can ever conduce to the well-being of conception, contains either in a latent or active form, every can be imagined to reside in a world society. Consequently, and not a means, is unobjectionable. although work for its own sake, or employment as an end, and not a means, is unobjectionable when it is purely functional . . . work for its own sake may quite easily be essential to the well-being of the individual. The difference is subtle, but it is very vital. To knit a jumper or to dig and plough because of the satisfaction of knitting a garden or a wheeffeld. dig and plough because of the satisfaction of knitting a jumper or of creating a garden or a wheatfield, or even because it is healthy, is one thing . . . to knit jumpers or to dig and plough ten hours a day, six days a week, fifty-two weeks a year, because unless this is done, the mere necessities of existence cannot be obtained, is quite another.

When we do things under the compulsion of Society,

we are blood-corpuscles, not individuals; we are doing them in the interests of *Society* primarily, and only secondarily, if at all, in the interests of our own individuality. In one way or another the various units which compose the Society are proclaiming unmistakably their objection to a purely passive role, and the conflict which we see proceeding

all over the world at the present time will clearly determine whether Society has power to re-mould the individual so that he becomes purely a passive agent in respect of purposes which he cannot understand, and has no means of estimating, or, on the other hand, whether the individual, by non-co-concretion or other hand, whether the individual, by non-co-concretion or other hand. co-operation or otherwise, can break up or re-mould Society. For my own part, I have small doubt as to the outcome.

Common-sense from Cobbett.

I add one or two more extracts from Cobbett's Rural Rides. The matter within square brackets is

"Look at this Valley of Avon. Here the people raise nearly twenty times as much food and clothing as they consume. They raise to the food and clothing to consume. They raise five times as much food and clothing as they my scale of living. . . . Where, then, is their natural tendency to increase beyond the means of sustenance for them? Beyond, indeed, the means of that sustenance which them? Beyond, indeed, the means of that sustenance which a system like this felta means of that sustenance Say a system like this [the money system] will leave them. Say that, Sawneys, and I agree with you. . . But here [he gives his boundaries] are 9,116 persons raising sufficient for 45,580 persons for 45,580 persons . . . for 136,740 persons, according to the scale on which the unhappy labourers of this fine valley are now fed and lodged. And yet there is an 'emigration committee' sitting to devise the means of getting rid, not of the [money system] but of these working people! not of the [money system] but of these working people . . . And now, if I had time, I would show that the people of Westminster would know how to turn paradise itself into hell. . . . In the meanwhile I congretulate that sensible hell. . . In the meanwhile I congratulate that sensible fellow. Burdett the tearline I congratulate that sensible fellow, Burdett [the banker], that emigration is going on at a swimming rate. . . . I will inquire one of these what right Burdett has to live in England more than those whom he proposes to send away." whom he proposes to send away."

tion to the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and others. These writings had nothing to do with the matter. These writings had nothing to do with the matter. The Revolution was produced by debts of the state, by taxes which at last became unbearable. It is curitaxes which at last became unbearable. It is curitaxes which at last became unbearable. It is curitaxet to observe how ready the supporters of tyranny distanced leaders, and particularly to writers. "It has been the fashion to ascribe the French Revolution to the writing affected leaders, and particularly to writers. will not do for them to ascribe revolutions to cause, because then the revolutions would be true

or of the most disposed to discover for them schemes for saving their money! I have lately seen a prospectus establishing what they call a County Friendly Society. establishing what they call a County Friendly Society.
This is a scheme for getting from the poor a part of they wages they receive. . . What wretched drivellers they pauper keep the pauper. . . ." pauper keep the pauper.

"The reformers [of the financial system] have many and powerful foes. . . . Nine-tenths of the press; all the channels of speedy communication of sentiment; all the pulpits; all the associations of rich people; all the taxing people . . . allies endless in number and mighty in fluence. But we have one ally worth the whole of them put together, namely, THE DEBT!"

[BARING, the banker] are very charitable that they tack a sort of condition to this charity: that with insist upon the objects of it adopting their notions regard to religion; or at least that where the people are your regard to religion; or at least that where the people are not lence.

By pursuing this principle of action, where they make the pursuing this principle of action, where they make they make the pursuing this principle of action, where they make the pursuing this principle of action, where lence. By pursuing this principle of action, when they make one good man or woman, they will make a people good. Sir Thomas does, I daresay, no the funding system, and what he would call a robbern what he calls the public creditor; and yet, God help part of the religious tracts. Amongst the labouring people to the first thing you have to look after is common and to speaking the truth, and refraining from thieving; and before from for speaking the truth, and refraining from thieving; and be secure these the labourer must have his belly-full of him ton; free from fear; and this belly-full amount of his wages, and not from benevolence of any description benevolence by using the influence which he must not have in his neighbourhood, to prevent a diminution j. S.

Retrospect.

JULY 4, 1929

Reparations—Sir Josiah Stamp's address in Brussels—the receipt of reparations means "the discouragement of some export industry "-the whole debt problem ultimately a "German-American one," Germany being the "one surplus exporter" and America the direct or indirect recipient of 60 per cent. of the goods transferred under the Dawes

Dr. Schacht's warning to the Allies in the above sense. Sir Josiah Stamp on counter-claims for old debts against

President Coolidge protests against Sir Josiah's sugges-

President Coolidge protests against Sir Josiah's suggestions at Brussels relative to America's tariff—" no lowering."

The rise, decline and fall of the Times Shipping Company—launched on a £350,000 bank-loan and £200,000 public-loan—four-fifths of nett profits not distributed but absorbed by taxes and bank-repayments—directors' private fortunes also risked to keep the concern affect and lost.

also risked to keep the concern afloat, and lost.

"Free Banking" (correspondence from Mr. H. Meulen and others, and replies).

JULY 1, 1926.

M. Caillaux's return as Finance Minister—French debts and taxation problems.

The calling-off of the Strike—conference of trade unions to investigate reasons cancelled—a diversion provided—" get ready to oppose Conservative anti-Trade Union legislation."
New taxation in Belgium and "reconstruction" of State railway finance.

Finance and Politics in Queensland. (Editorial article.)

Lord Rothermere champions Hungary—calls on American and English bankers to refuse advances to her oppressors—

demands treaty revision.

America and the naval ratio—the bearing of the Gold Standard on armaments.

Lords-Reform proposals—the Observer on the "here-dity" and the "nomination" principles. The bankers and their ever-ready stock of assorted Prime Ministers.

The Midland Bank and a Financial Inquiry. (Article by C. H. Douglas) C. H. Douglas.)

The Savidge Case—delay in report—police make no arrests
The Sanday Referee on the revalorisation of the French

Company reconstructions—Mr. Graham Hardy's table—even constructions—Mr. Graham Hardy's table seven concerns lose £47 millions. Why it happens (expository)—consumers pay the depreciation charges of capital construction during the construction during the construction during the construction during the construction itself: construction during the progress of the construction itself:
subsequent recovery of capital costs impossible.

Machino-facture—Mr. Penty's views.

Steel politics—Mr. Penty's views.

Steel Politics and Protection—American steel corporations Want politics and Protection—American
Want powers to form export-association.
Oil—the Anglo-Persian's price-policy—Mr. Churchill's refusal to intercent

The Minority Movement—Mr. Maxton comforts the Left-Wing Taxation. (Article by C. H. Douglas.)

"Jose Antonio Paez." By R. B. Cunninghame Graham. (Heinemann. 15s.)

is a man of heroic type, born to be a leader of forlorn hopes desperate antageness. His life was a most exciting desperate enterprises His life was a most exciting odrama, full of the special content of t melodrama, full of treasons, stratagems and spoils, of hairs-field is scapes of treasons, stratagems and spoils, of hairs-field is scapes of treasons, stratagems and spoils, of hairsbreadth 'scapes and most disastrous chances in flood and name of Paez was a household word in Europe. Kings sent swords of honors truespe corresponded with him. him swords of honour, queens corresponded with him.

To do honour, queens corresponded with him. historians? ", who knows of him except a few mole-eyed the Pose of Oppring the Company who knows of him except a few mole-eyed and Pose of Oppring the Company o the pose of This query encourages the reviewer to and pose of omnipotent knowledge expected from his craft to confess to confess complete ignorance until now of the very existence of General Paez, Liberator of Venezuela. Born he brought General Paez, Liberator of Li and brought up in an obscure village in the cattle plains, for ose to be go in an obscure village in the cattle plains, and the cattle plains, for ose to be go in an obscure village in the cattle plains, for ose to be go in an obscure village in the cattle plains, for ose to be go in an obscure village in the cattle plains, and the cattle plains, the ca for independence against Spain. Famous as a rider even among the horsemen of the ranches, as a brave man even course a people who regarded courage as a matter of that, himself bearing a charmed life. Despite the fact in times, he was of a merciful disposition, spared prisoners adored by the soldiers. This latter meant something, to be first man in his country during its long fight

for his troops were not docile disciplined sheep, but free riders of the plains, who followed him because he was the best man among them. It is ironic to reflect that these men were losing their lives for the name of liberty, the reality of which they completely possessed. It was only the townspeople who were oppressed by the decaying Government of

"Judge Not." By E. V. Pearson. (Fowler Wright. 7s. 6d.) This story of life in a Derbyshire village is founded on a violent death and on the mystery which enshrouds the heroine's birth. Of course the hero saves her father's life in France, neither knowing who the other is. Let us say indulgently that the author is sincere, and that the book is an honest piece of work.

"The Man Within." By Graham Greene. (Heinemann.

This is an ably written first novel. The background is This is an ably written first novel. The background is Sussex in the smuggling days. There is a perfectly good story, the chief character in which is a petty smuggler, a man of weak disposition, who turns informer against his gang and spends the rest of his life in fear of their revenge. But the author, like Joseph Conrad in "The Secret Agent," is bent on making melodrama very complicated; he psychologises subtiliess etherealises. To those who logises, subtilises, etherealises. To those who enjoy Conrad in this vein, I can commend Mr. Greene. I have a personal distaste for this allusive, sophisticated method of narration, by which an author, to paraphrase Pope, just hints a scene and hesitates a plot; but it is popular at present, and Mr. Greene is a dab hand at it. If in general it seems to me merely an adroit way of making much ado about nothing. I recognise that many readers of much ado about nothing, I recognise that many readers of modern fiction will disagree. Hence my guarded but quite sincere praise of this particular example.

J. S.

"The Gentle Art of Tramping." By Stephen Graham. New

edition. (Benn's. 6s.)
This is a new edition of Stephen Graham's epic of the Woodcraft Life. Mr. Graham is one of the most experienced "hikers" in the country, and combines accurate information with an attractive literary style. His book contains two suggestions that may diversify more ordinary woodcraft routine, the "Trespassers' Walk," in a beeline across country, and the "Zig-zag Walk," for towns, in which the explorer takes alternate turns to right and left.

I. O. E.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—The following passage from Timon of Athens (Act IV., Sc. III.) is something for those to bite on with relich who find it hard to express in their own words their relish who find it hard to express in their own words their

feelings about the power of money.

(Timon is digging for roots in the forest, and finds gold.)

"Gold? yellow, glittering, precious gold?

No, gods, I am no idle votarist.

Roots, you clear heavens! Thus much of this, will make
Black, white; foul, fair; wrong, right;
Base, noble; old, young; coward, valiant.

Why, this will have priests and servants from your

Why, this will lug your priests and servants from your

Pluck stout men's pillows from below their heads:

Pluck stout men's pillows from
This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions; bless the accurs'd;
Make the hoar leprosy ador'd; place thieves,
And give them title, knee, and approbation,
With senators on the bench; this is it,
That makes the wappen'd widow wed again;
She, whom the spital-house and ulcerous sores
Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and spices
The the April day again."

In handing out the gold he finds, he knows the true nature of what he is doing. His candour is admirable; he does not say, "Ladies and gentlemen, I am now putting you on the sound financial basis of the gold standard," but—

"There's more gold:
Do you damn others, and let this damn you,

But Timon, we must remember, had given up his political

MAURICE COLBOURNE.

ANSWER TO CORRESPONDENT.

G. B.—We are sorry, but we cannot publish a letter of such length on the book reviewed by Mr. Cousens. The subject matter of Mr. Lawrence's writing can only be of incidental interest to most readers of The New Age, and the space we gave to it seems quite sufficient. Moreover, we doubt whether your commentary will clarify anything except to people who have read the book. We have sent your letter on to Mr. Cousens, as we are not able to gather the bearing of a good deal of it.

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The Douglas Social Credit Proposals would remedy this defect by increasing the purchasing power in the hands of the community to an amount sufficient to provide effective demand for the whole product of industry. This, of course, cannot be done by the orthodox method of creating new money, prevalent during the war, which necessarily gives rise to the "vicious spiral" of increased currency, higher prices, higher wages, higher costs, still higher prices, and so on. The essentials of the scheme are the simultaneous creation of new money and the regulation of the price of consumers' goods at their real cost of production (as distinct from their apparent financial cost under the present system). The technique for effecting this is fully described in Major Douglas's books.

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