

The fear of unemployment which arises where, despite a willingness to work, work is not to be had, is only one of many fears which arise out of a sense of insecurity to haunt the minds of the workers. These fears arise where, through inadequate compensation, sickness, invalidity or accident, the capacity to earn is gradually, if not wholly, lost. Fears arise where extra outlays to meet the most immediate of family needs result in extra privation. Fear is ever present at the mere thought of age being confronted with the alternative of poverty or dependence. Until these fears have been eliminated, the war for freedom will not be won.

The Basis of the New Order

A new world order will come into being only as the legitimate fears of mankind are removed. The old order has been based on fear, resulting in conflict alike in industrial and in international relations. The new order must be based on faith, leading to co-operation between the parties in industry and to co-operation among the nations of the world. The new order must be based on human rights; not on the rights of property, privilege, or position. The new order must be a world order. It must be governed by a universal rule of law. To bring the new order into being, we shall need a spiritual, not a material interpretation of life. In estimating human values, the new order will be concerned with men's character and personality, not with their power and position, nor with the extent of their possessions. The souls of men will be more precious than their bodies.

The era of freedom will be achieved only as social security and human welfare become the main concern of men and nations.

It is necessary that social security and human welfare should be expressed in definite terms. It is, however, not my purpose to attempt to give a blue-print of the new order. Of the kind of objectives I have in mind, I would merely mention the following as a national minimum: useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age.

The Rights of the Community

In war, the preservation of the existence of the community is placed before the interests of individuals or groups. Here, too, is a lesson for meeting the problems of peace.

By placing the interests of the community before the interests of individuals or groups; by social control, in which government, labour and management all share, human well-being can be vastly increased.

Monopoly of control must give way to joint control in all that pertains to industrial relations. I should like to see labour-management committees in every industry in our country. I should like to see production committees in every branch of agricultural effort. Happily the principle of the partnership of management, of workers and the community is making steady progress. Where it is tried, it is proving its worth. It is only by fully realizing and accepting this partnership that the necessities of industry can be harmonized with the hopes of humanity.

The war has shown us that the way of monopoly, of unrestricted power, is a way that leads to destruction, desolation and death. The only path of prosperity and of peace is, I believe, the path of equality, of co-operation, and of human brotherhood.

That is the victory for which alike in international and industrial relations we must fight and work. Nothing less can give us the will to accept the hardships, to make the efforts and to bear the burdens which are ours to-day at the crossroads of humanity. No lesser hope will suffice to sustain our march on the highway to a better future.

I do not need to remind you of what free men have to lose in a Nazi victory. I do not need to tell an audience of workers how the Nazis, in their own country and in the lands they have conquered, regard the rights of Labour. We all know something of what has happened to the workers in Poland, in Norway, in the Low Countries, in France, and in Central and Southern Europe.

No Compromise with Evil Forces

None of us would willingly do anything to contribute to a Nazi victory. There is, however, a subtle danger that such might be the effect of Nazi propaganda. We begin to hear it said that the war must end in a stalemate—in some kind of compromise. This is a dangerous suggestion for the very reason that it exploits many of our deepest fears:—the fear of the hardships, burdens and sacrifices of war; the fear of the bloodshed and horrors of war, the fear of the loss of our loved ones. It is the old idea that we are not our brothers' keepers; that what happens in other continents need not be our concern. It hints at a compromise between slavery in the old world and freedom in the new.

Those of you who are Americans have but to turn back the pages of your own history to know that such a compromise cannot endure. Compromise nearly destroyed the American union. To attempt such a compromise to-day would, in the end, be no less fatal to the future of the world.