

The Triumph of Nationalization

munity should join. Thus the proper reform of industrial life would confer a double privilege upon the individual worker. It would give him a direct voice in the ordering of his own trade and an indirect voice in all trades. It would help him to a sense of perspective and proportion in relation to his particular industry.

Whatever the steps we take in national reconstruction, our conceptions of industrial order, if they are to serve the legitimate aspirations of a new epoch, must have regard not merely to the satisfaction of material wants, important as they are, but to the consideration that man does not live by bread alone. The conditions of honourable employment must be created; such conditions are incompatible with the sale of a man's time under a wage system which excludes him from social responsibility for the processes or results of his labour, and which makes him a mechanical detail in an industrial plant owned by a scattered body of private irresponsible proprietors who know neither him nor each other. The capitalistic system has treated men as machines, without allowance for as much as costs of depreciation. The wreckage of the machines, being reported upon as never before in consequence of the war, appears in the statement that of every nine machines six are not in good order (page 30). The shameful record, after inadequate comment, has been thrust away out of sight, but the causes which produced it are still in active operation all over the country. We must not let the thing go on. War must be made upon the under-production, the ill-distribution, the unemployment, the physical deterioration, and the disease, which give us no more than three sound men in nine. And, happily, the scientific conditions of decency and order which spell release from poverty also spell freedom.

Through order alone is the greatest possible measure of freedom to be attained, and to be attained not for a caste but for all. Our existing civilization is an unscientific struggle in which we deprive ourselves of liberty through lack of organization. It is a profound mistake to suppose that, either in sport or in the business of life, happiness and freedom are to be found in playing a game without organization and without rules.