

because they have never controlled politics. Going on to another statement by Roosevelt about four freedoms, you cannot have political freedom without economic freedom. And given the latter, people would be less hesitant about taking over their political responsibility. Roosevelt's freedoms are passive freedoms: freedom from want, freedom from fear, etc. I prefer an active freedom. Freedom *to* — freedom to live in comfort and basic security; freedom to buy food and education for children; freedom to develop natural abilities.

I feel the Convention's discussions have not gone deeply enough into the roots of things. There are inequalities which stand in the way of economic and political freedoms, and in the way of social justice. I wonder if it is not time we examined our methods and attitudes. The attitude taken in economic matters will go far in determining the action taken in political matters. Old age pensions and fishermen's insurance are not enough. They are only salve where surgery is needed. The Convention's search for political constitutions will be ineffectual if it is not allied to a desire for social justice, and an economic set-up more in keeping with the principles of Christian democracy.<sup>1</sup>

I maintain that how we think about these matters will determine our choice of a constitution. We must take chances on the future, but our job is to reduce those chances as much as we can. Neither optimism or pessimism will get us anywhere. We must know where we stand. It is a grand thing to walk with your chin up, but we must have our feet on the ground. If I have a criticism, it is that I have wondered if our feet were planted on the ground.

I have tried today to get outside of the political issue. I have considered it, if not as an anarchist, than as one who is not interested in any particular form of government. One point and I will close. In the early days we heard a lot about an open mind, and I doubted then that there was any such thing. But I say now that I do have an open mind. **Mr. Bailey** I must apologise to the people for the barrage of words from the National Convention, but I must give an explanation as to why I feel this country is in a sound economical position.

Full justice cannot be given to our position without considering the epoch we live in. Much can be done for a country to solve its internal problems, but this has a limit. For example, the first blow to our economy was a revolution in Brazil, then sanctions against Italy. Both of these contributed to our economic state. If one studies history then one will see that whenever there is a war there is a surge forward in human endeavour. War and revolution bring men to their best, and make them see clearly. If we had had a war near our shores maybe we would see clearer. Today's events are the greatest leap forward the world has ever seen, and the future is bright. Notwithstanding what our pessimists say, that wave of progress will reach us here in Newfoundland. The Americans are spending billions of dollars on the Marshall Plan, and we should keep this in mind. You should examine the conduct of the United States, and ask why they care about people thousands of miles away. In the 1920s the US withdrew into itself and left Europe in a slum of poverty and discontent, in which fascism grew. But that is not happening now because great minds are working against that, because we are all in the front lines now. The world has learned that it has to help itself. And the benefit of that will come to Newfoundland. There cannot be another world depression, and that's the reason that I know government revenue will stay up.<sup>2</sup>

Ask ourselves the question and think deeply about it: is the great USA, having shouldered the expenses of the Marshall Plan, and aid to Greece, Turkey, UNNRA, and the other billions the world will want, going to sit idly by and allow the eastern tide of communism to swamp all the sacrifices that the US government and people will make? All of you can and do remember that not alone Newfoundland, but the world was poorest when all the necessities of life were most plentiful. Can anybody believe that the veterans of this war, not only in the US, but all over the world, will sell apples on the street corners? If you do, then you have another guess coming.

The bomb that fell on Bikini cleared many more cobwebs than that, and whether we have capitalism or communism or socialism or whatever ideology we are burdened with, there

<sup>1</sup>The section reconstructed from the *Evening Telegram* ends here. The rest of Mr. Newell's speech and the start of Mr. Bailey's speech are taken from the recording of the proceedings.

<sup>2</sup>The section taken from the recording ends here.