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Labour Party (Gt. Brit.)
Executive Committee
Towards a new world

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Towards a New World

Being the Reconstruction Programme of the British Labor Party; together with an Introductory Article by Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Leader of the Party, and Some Explanatory Notes

A *VERY remarkable thing is happening in America. Liberals and radicals of all shades and degrees of opinion are finding a common ground, and see before them a common road leading to that new social order of which we have dreamed and toward which we have striven so long without hope of arriving at our destination in this generation or the next. That common ground is the programme of the British Labor Party. It has electrified liberal America as the speeches of President Wilson have electrified liberal Europe. And if liberal Europe looks to Wilson today as a Moses, we in turn look to the British Labor Party's programme as the Ten Commandments.*

THE PUBLIC (New York)

EVERY sign of these terrible days of war and revolutionary change, when economic and social forces are being released upon the world whose effect no political seer dare venture to conjecture, bids us search our hearts through and through and make them ready for the birth of a new day—a day, we hope and believe, of greater opportunity and greater prosperity for the average mass of struggling men and women, and of greater safety and opportunity for children.

The old party slogans have lost their significance and will mean nothing to the voter of the future, for the war is certain to change the mind of Europe as well as the mind of America. Men everywhere are searching democratic principles to their hearts in order to determine their soundness, their sincerity, their adaptability to the real needs of their life, and every man with any vision must see that the real test of justice and right action is presently to come as it never came before.

The men in the trenches, who have been freed from the economic serfdom to which some of them have been accustomed, will, it is likely, return to their homes with a new view and a new impatience of all mere political phrases, and will demand real thinking and sincere action.

The days of political and economic reconstruction which are ahead of us no man can now definitely assess, but we know this, that every programme must be shot through and through with utter disinterestedness; that no party must try to serve itself, but every party must try to serve humanity; and that the task is a very practical one, meaning that every programme, every measure in every programme, must be tested by this question, and this question only: Is it just; is it for the benefit of the average man, without influence or privilege; does it embody in real fact the highest conception of social justice and of right dealing without respect of person or class or particular interest?

This is a high test. It can be met only by those who have genuine sympathy with the mass of men and real insight into their needs and opportunities, and a purpose which is purged alike of selfish and of partisan intention.

WOODROW WILSON

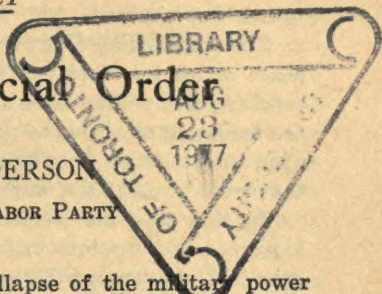
Towards a New World

INTRODUCTORY

Rebuilding the Social Order

By ARTHUR HENDERSON

LEADER OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY



WHEN victory in the sense of the collapse of the military power in the Central Empires is at last achieved, we shall be confronted with the task of translating military success into its political, economic, and social equivalents in this country and every other. It will not be a democratic victory if it results merely in the restoration of the capitalistic régime which the war has discredited and destroyed. Victory for the people means something more than the continuance of the old system of production for the profit of a small owning class, on the basis of wage-slavery for the producing classes. The hard, cruel, competitive system of production must be replaced by a system of coöperation under which the status of the workers will be revolutionized, and in which the squalor and poverty, the economic insecurity and social miseries of the past will have no place. This is the great task before the statesmen and politicians of the future.

Then we must remember that the coming period of reconstruction, even more than the remaining period of the war, will impose upon the leaders of all the civilized States new and searching tests of character and intellect. As we draw nearer to the end of the war we begin to see more clearly the magnitude of the problems that peace will bring. So vast, intricate, and fundamental have been the changes wrought during the last three and a half years that we are sometimes tempted to think the will and intelligence of men will be unequal to the task of dealing with them.

Still more may we fear sometimes that the problems of reconstruction will be handled by men too impatient to think things through, too tired and cynical to respond to the glowing faith in a finer future for the world which now inspires the multitudes of common people who have striven so heroically and suffered so patiently during the war. For

national leadership to fall into the hands of such men in the great new days upon which we shall presently enter would be a disaster almost as great as the war itself.

If there could be anything worse than an empiric in control of State policy when peace comes, it would be the influence of a cynic upon the splendid enthusiasm and revolutionary ardor of democracy, newly awakened to a consciousness of its power and eager to build a better future for mankind.

The outstanding fact of world politics at the present time—and when peace comes this fact will be made more clear—is that a great tide of revolutionary feeling is rising in every country. Everywhere the peoples are becoming conscious of power. They are beginning to sit in judgment upon their rulers. They are beginning to ask questions about the policies that have brought the world to the edge of secular ruin.

In this war the people have shown themselves capable of heroic sacrifices and resolute endurance because they love liberty and desire peace. The hope that the issue of this war will be an increase of freedom, not only for themselves, but for those who have lived under the yoke of alien tyrannies, has sustained the people throughout these years of war. It has caused them to pour out the blood of their best and bravest, to surrender hard-won liberties, to toil unremittingly in factory, field, and mine, to spend without stint the material wealth accumulated through years of peace and prosperity.

But the people will not choose to entrust their destinies at the Peace Conference to statesmen who have not perceived the moral significance of the struggle, and who are not prepared to make a people's peace. We want to replace the material force of arms by the moral force of right in the governance of the world. For that great task of the immediate future we want national leaders who are not only responsive to the inspirations and impulses of democracy, but who are qualified to guide the mighty energies of democracy in the task of building up the new social order.

Never before have the people been confronted with problems of greater magnitude, international and national, economic and political, social and personal; but never have they had so good an opportunity of taking hold of these problems for themselves. The policies and programmes of the orthodox parties have little relevance to the new situation. Political parties bound by tradition, saturated with class prejudice, out of touch with the living movements of thought and feeling among the people, cannot easily adapt themselves to the changed conditions, the new demands, the enlarged ideals to which the war has given rise.

The party of the future, upon which the chief tasks of reconstruction will devolve, will be the one which derives directly from the people them-

selves, and has been made the organ of the people's will, the voice of all the people—of both sexes and all classes—who work by hand or brain.

Through such a party, led by democratically chosen leaders who have proved their fidelity to principle and their faith in the people's cause, the best spirits of our time will be able to work as they have never been able to work in the orthodox parties of the past. Nothing but disunity and divided counsels in the democratic movement can wreck the promise of the future. For every man and woman who believes in democracy and who desires to see a new birth of freedom there is a place in the people's movement and a well-defined work to do.

In a wider sense than has hitherto been understood, the politics of the future will be human politics, and the dominating party will be the party of the common people, and of democracy. This is certain. The people will have it so, for the people are weary of wars. They have borne too long the inequalities and injustices inherent in an economic system based on competition instead of coöperation.

They are coming together in a more powerfully organized movement to achieve a new freedom, and to establish on this earth, drenched with men's blood, torn with men's struggles, wet with human tears, a fairer ideal of life; an ideal dominated not by any spirit of revenge or hatred, expressing itself in economic and financial boycott, but in love, brotherhood, and peace.

Labor and the New Social Order

*A Draft Report on Reconstruction Prepared
by a Sub-Committee of the British Labor Party
and Submitted to the Party January 1918*

IT BEHOOVES the Labor Party, in formulating its own programme for reconstruction after the war, and in criticizing the various preparations and plans that are being made by the present government, to look at the problem as a whole. We have to make clear what it is that we wish to construct. It is important to emphasize the fact that, whatever may be the case with regard to other political parties, our detailed practical proposals proceed from definitely held principles.

The End of a Civilization

We need to beware of patchwork. The view of the Labor Party is that what has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that government department, or this or that piece of social machinery; but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself. The individual worker, or for that matter the individual statesman, immersed in daily routine—like the individual soldier in a battle—easily fails to understand the magnitude and far-reaching importance of what is taking place around him. How does it fit together as a whole? How does it look from a distance? Count Okuma, one of the oldest, most experienced, and ablest of the statesmen of Japan, watching the present conflict from the other side of the globe, declares it to be nothing less than the death of European civilization. Just as in the past the civilization of Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Carthage, and the great Roman empire have been successively destroyed, so, in the judgment of this detached observer, the civilization of all Europe is even now receiving its death blow. We of the Labor Party can so far agree in this estimate as to recognize, in the present world catastrophe, if not the death, in Europe, of civilization itself, at any rate the culmination and collapse of a distinctive industrial civilization, which the workers will not seek to reconstruct. At such times of crisis it is easier to slip into ruin than to progress into higher forms of organization. That is the problem as it presents itself to the Labor Party.

What this war is consuming is not merely the security, the homes, the livelihood and the lives of millions of innocent families, and an enormous proportion of all the accumulated wealth of the world, but also the very basis of the peculiar social order in which it has arisen. The individualist system of capitalist production, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage-slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life and its hypocritical pretense of the "survival of the fittest"; with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and brutalization,

both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom, may, we hope, indeed have received a death blow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression. We of the Labor Party, whether in opposition or in due time called upon to form an administration, will certainly lend no hand to its revival. On the contrary, we shall do our utmost to see that it is buried with the millions whom it has done to death. If we in Britain are to escape from the decay of civilization itself, which the Japanese statesman foresees, we must ensure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting but on fraternity; not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned coöperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain; not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach towards a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world; not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but, in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy. We do not, of course, pretend that it is possible, even after the drastic clearing away that is now going on, to build society anew in a year or two of feverish "reconstruction." What the Labor Party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other.

The Pillars of the House

We need not here recapitulate, one by one, the different items in the Labor Party's programme, which successive party conferences have adopted. These proposals, some of them in various publications worked out in practical detail, are often carelessly derided as impracticable, even by the politicians who steal them piecemeal from us! The members of the Labor Party, themselves actually working by hand or by brain, in close contact with the facts, have perhaps at all times a more accurate appreciation of what is practicable, in industry as in politics, than those who depend solely on academic instruction or are biased by great possessions. But today no man dares to say that anything is impracticable. The war, which has scared the old political parties right out of their dogmas, has taught every statesman and every government official, to his enduring surprise, how very much more can be done along the lines that we have laid down than he had ever before thought possible. What we now promulgate as our policy, whether for opposition or for office, is not merely this or that specific reform, but a deliberately thought out, systematic, and comprehensive plan for that immediate social rebuilding which any ministry, whether or not it desires to grapple with the problem, will be driven to undertake. The four pillars of the house that we propose to erect, resting upon the common foundation of the democratic control of society in all its activities, may be termed:

- (a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum;
- (b) The Democratic Control of Industry;
- (c) The Revolution in National Finance; and
- (d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

The Universal Enforcement of a National Minimum

The first principle of the Labor Party—in significant contrast with those of the capitalist system, whether expressed by the Liberal or by the Conservative party—is the securing to every member of the community, in good times and bad alike (and not only to the strong and able, the well-born or the fortunate), of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship. This is in no sense a “class” proposal. Such an amount of social protection of the individual, however poor and lowly, from birth to death, is, as the economist now knows, as indispensable to fruitful coöperation as it is to successful combination; and it affords the only complete safeguard against that insidious degradation of the standard of life which is the worst economic and social calamity to which any community can be subjected. We are members one of another. No man liveth to himself alone. If any, even the humblest, is made to suffer, the whole community and every one of us, whether or not we recognize the fact, is thereby injured. Generation after generation this has been the corner-stone of the faith of Labor. It will be the guiding principle of any Labor government.

The Legislative Regulation of Employment

Thus it is that the Labor Party today stands for the universal application of the policy of the national minimum, to which (as embodied in the successive elaborations of the Factory, Mines, Railways, Shops, Merchant Shipping, and Truck acts, the Public Health, Housing, and Education acts, and the Minimum Wage act,—all of them aiming at the enforcement of at least the prescribed minimum of leisure, health, education, and subsistence) the spokesmen of Labor have already gained the support of the enlightened statesmen and economists of the world. All these laws purporting to protect against extreme degradation of the standard of life need considerable improvement and extension, whilst their administration leaves much to be desired. For instance, the Workmen’s Compensation act fails shamefully, not merely to secure proper provision for all the victims of accident and industrial disease, but what is much more important, does not succeed in preventing their continual increase. The amendment and consolidation of the Factory and Workshops acts, with their extension to all employed persons, is long overdue, and it will be the policy of Labor greatly to strengthen the staff of inspectors, especially by the addition of more men and women of actual experience of the workshop and the mine. The Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) act must certainly be maintained in force, and suitably amended, so as both to ensure greater uniformity of conditions among the several districts, and to make the district minimum in all cases an effective reality. The same policy will, in the interests of the agricultural laborers, dictate the perpetuation of the Legal Wage clauses of the new Corn law just passed for a term of five years, and the prompt amendment of any defects that may be revealed in their working. And, in view of the fact that many millions of wage-earners, notably women and the less skilled workmen in various occupations, are unable by combination to obtain wages adequate for decent maintenance in health, the Labor Party intends to see to it that the Trade Boards act is suitably amended and made to apply to all industrial employments in which any considerable number of those employed obtain less than thirty shillings per week.

This minimum of not less than thirty shillings per week (which will need revision according to the level of prices) ought to be the very lowest statutory base line for the least skilled adult workers, men or women, in any occupation, in all parts of the United Kingdom.

The Organization of Demobilization

But the coming industrial dislocation, which will inevitably follow the discharge from war service of half of all the working population, imposes new obligations upon the community. The demobilization and discharge of the eight million wage-earners now being paid from public funds, either for service with the colors or in munition work and other war trades, will bring to the whole wage-earning class grave peril of unemployment, reduction of wages, and a lasting degradation of the standard of life, which can be prevented only by deliberate national organization. The Labor Party has repeatedly called upon the present government to formulate its plan, and to make in advance all arrangements necessary for coping with so unparalleled a dislocation. The policy to which the Labor Party commits itself is unhesitating and uncompromising. It is plain that regard should be had, in stopping government orders, reducing the staff of the national factories, and demobilizing the army, to the actual state of employment in particular industries and in different districts, so as both to release first the kinds of labor most urgently required for the revival of peace production, and to prevent any congestion of the market. It is no less imperative that suitable provision against being turned suddenly adrift without resources should be made, not only for the soldiers, but also for the three million operatives in munition work and other war trades, who will be discharged long before most of the army can be disbanded. On this important point, which is the most urgent of all, the present government has, we believe, down to the present hour, formulated no plan, and come to no decision, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party has apparently deemed the matter worthy of agitation. Any government which should allow the discharged soldier or munition worker to fall into the clutches of charity or the Poor law would have to be instantly driven from office by an outburst of popular indignation. What every one of them will look for is a situation in accordance with his capacity.

Securing Employment for All

The Labor Party insists—as no other political party has thought fit to do—that the obligation to find suitable employment in productive work for all these men and women rests upon the government for the time being. The work of re-settling the disbanded soldiers and discharged munition workers into new situations is a national obligation; and the Labor Party emphatically protests against its being regarded as a matter for private charity. It strongly objects to this public duty being handed over either to committees of philanthropists or benevolent societies, or to any of the military or recruiting authorities. The policy of the Labor Party in this matter is to make the utmost use of the trade unions, and, equally for the brainworkers, of the various professional associations. In view of the fact that, in any trade, the best organization for placing men in situations is a national trade union having local branches throughout the kingdom, every soldier should be allowed, if he chooses, to have

a duplicate of his industrial discharge notice sent, one month before the date fixed for his discharge, to the secretary of the trade union to which he belongs or wishes to belong. Apart from this use of the trade union (and a corresponding use of the professional association) the government must, of course, avail itself of some such public machinery as that of the employment exchanges; but before the existing exchanges (which will need to be greatly extended) can receive the coöperation and support of the organized Labor movement, without which their operations can never be fully successful, it is imperative that they should be drastically reformed, on the lines laid down in the Demobilization Report of the "Labor After the War" Joint Committee; and, in particular, that each exchange should be placed under the supervision and control of a joint committee of employers and trade unionists in equal numbers.

The responsibility of the government, for the time being, in the grave industrial crisis that demobilization will produce, goes, however, far beyond the eight million men and women whom the various departments will suddenly discharge from their own service. The effect of this peremptory discharge on all the other workers has also to be taken into account. To the Labor Party it will seem the supreme concern of the government of the day to see to it that there shall be, as a result of the gigantic "General Post" which it will itself have deliberately set going, nowhere any degradation of the standard of life. The government has pledged itself to restore the trade union conditions and "pre-war practices" of the workshop, which the trade unions patriotically gave up at the direct request of the government itself; and this solemn pledge must be fulfilled, of course, in the spirit as well as in the letter. The Labor Party, moreover, holds it to be the duty of the government of the day to take all necessary steps to prevent the standard rates of wages, in any trade or occupation whatsoever, from suffering any reduction, relatively to the contemporary cost of living. Unfortunately, the present government, like the Liberal and Conservative parties, so far refuses to speak on this important matter with any clear voice. We claim that it should be a cardinal point of government policy to make it plain to every capitalist employer that any attempt to reduce the customary rates of wages when peace comes, or to take advantage of the dislocation of demobilization to worsen the conditions of employment in any grade whatsoever, will certainly lead to embittered industrial strife, which will be in the highest degree detrimental to the national interests; and that the government of the day will not hesitate to take all necessary steps to avert such a calamity. In the great impending crisis the government of the day should not only, as the greatest employer of both brainworkers and manual workers, set a good example in this respect, but should also actively seek to influence private employers by proclaiming in advance that it will not itself attempt to lower the standard rates of conditions in public employment; by announcing that it will insist on the most rigorous observance of the fair wages clause in all public contracts, and by explicitly recommending every local authority to adopt the same policy.

But nothing is more dangerous to the standard of life, or so destructive of those minimum conditions of healthy existence, which must in the interests of the community be assured to every worker, than any widespread or continued unemployment. It has always been a fundamental principle of the Labor Party (a point on which, significantly enough, it has not been followed by either of the other political parties) that, in a

modern industrial community, it is one of the foremost obligations of the government to find, for every willing worker, whether by hand or by brain, productive work at standard rates.

It is accordingly the duty of the government to adopt a policy of deliberately and systematically preventing the occurrence of unemployment, instead of, as heretofore, letting unemployment occur, and then seeking, vainly and expensively, to relieve the unemployed. It is now known that the government can, if it chooses, arrange the public works and the orders of national departments and local authorities in such a way as to maintain the aggregate demand for labor in the whole kingdom (including that of capitalist employers) approximately at a uniform level from year to year; and it is therefore a primary obligation of the government to prevent any considerable or widespread fluctuations in the total numbers employed in times of good or bad trade. But this is not all. In order to prepare for the possibility of there being any unemployment, either in the course of demobilization or in the first years of peace, it is essential that the government should make all necessary preparations for putting instantly in hand, directly or through the local authorities, such urgently needed public works as (a) the rehousing of the population alike in rural districts, mining villages, and town slums, to the extent, possibly, of a million new cottages and an outlay of three hundred millions sterling; (b) the immediate making good of the shortage of schools, training colleges, technical colleges, etc., and the engagement of the necessary additional teaching, clerical, and administrative staffs; (c) new roads; (d) light railways; (e) the unification and reorganization of the railway and canal system; (f) afforestation; (g) the reclamation of land; (h) the development and better equipment of our ports and harbors; (i) the opening up of access to land by coöperative small holdings and in other practicable ways. Moreover, in order to relieve any pressure of an overstocked labor market, the opportunity should be taken, if unemployment should threaten to become widespread, (a) immediately to raise the school-leaving age to sixteen; (b) greatly to increase the number of scholarships and bursaries for secondary and higher education; and (c) substantially to shorten the hours of labor of all young persons, even to a greater extent than the eight hours per week contemplated in the new Education bill, in order to enable them to attend technical and other classes in the daytime. Finally, wherever practicable, the hours of adult labor should be reduced to not more than forty-eight per week, without reduction of the standard rates of wages. There can be no economic or other justification for keeping any man or woman to work for long hours, or at overtime, whilst others are unemployed.

Social Insurance Against Unemployment

In so far as the government fails to prevent unemployment—when it finds it impossible to discover for any willing worker, man or woman, a suitable situation at the standard rate—the Labor Party holds that the government must, in the interest of the community as a whole, provide him or her with adequate maintenance, either with such arrangements for honorable employment or with such useful training as may be found practicable, according to age, health and previous occupation. In many ways the best form of provision for those who must be unemployed,

because the industrial organization of the community so far breaks down as to be temporarily unable to set them to work, is the Out of Work Benefit afforded by a well administered trade union. This is a special tax on the trade unionists themselves which they have voluntarily undertaken, but towards which they have a right to claim a public subvention—a subvention which was actually granted by Parliament (though only to the extent of a couple of shillings or so per week) under Part II of the Insurance act.

The arbitrary withdrawal by the government in 1915 of this statutory right of the trade unions was one of the least excusable of the war economies; and the Labor Party must insist on the resumption of this subvention immediately the war ceases, and on its increase to at least half the amount spent in Out of Work Benefit. The extension of state unemployment insurance to other occupations may afford a convenient method of providing for such of the unemployed, especially in the case of badly paid women workers and the less skilled men, whom it is difficult to organize in trade unions. But the weekly rate of the state unemployment benefit needs, in these days of high prices, to be considerably raised; whilst no industry ought to be compulsorily brought within its scope against the declared will of the workers concerned, and especially of their trade unions. In the twentieth century there must be no question of driving the unemployed to anything so obsolete and discredited as either private charity, with its haphazard and ill considered doles, or the Poor law, with the futilities and barbarities of its "Stone Yard," or its "Able-Bodied Test Workhouse." Only on the basis of a universal application of the Policy of the National Minimum, affording complete security against destitution, in sickness and health, in good times and bad alike, to every member of the community can any worthy social order be built up.

The Democratic Control of Industry

The universal application of the policy of the national minimum is, of course, only the first of the pillars of the house that the Labor Party intends to see built. What marks off this party most distinctly from any of the other political parties is its demand for the full and genuine adoption of the principle of democracy. The first condition of democracy is effective personal freedom. This has suffered so many encroachments during the war that it is necessary to state with clearness that the complete removal of all the war-time restrictions on freedom of speech, freedom of publication, freedom of the press, freedom of travel, and freedom of choice of place of residence and kind of employment must take place the day after peace is declared. The Labor Party declares emphatically against any continuance of the Military Service acts a moment longer than the imperative requirements of the war excuse. But individual freedom is of little use without complete political rights. The Labor Party sees its repeated demands largely conceded in the present Representation of the People act, but not yet wholly satisfied. The party stands, as heretofore, for complete adult suffrage, with not more than a three months' residential qualification, for effective provision for absent electors to vote, for absolutely equal rights for both sexes, for the same freedom to exercise civic rights for the "common soldier" as for the officer, for shorter Parliaments, for the complete abolition of the House

of Lords, and for a most strenuous opposition to any new Second Chamber, whether elected or not, having in it any element of heredity or privilege, or of the control of the House of Commons by any party or class. But unlike the Conservative and Liberal parties, the Labor Party insists on democracy in industry as well as in government. It demands the progressive elimination from the control of industry of the private capitalist, individual or joint-stock; and the setting free of all who work, whether by hand or by brain, for the service of the community, and of the community only. And the Labor Party refuses absolutely to believe that the British people will permanently tolerate any reconstruction or perpetuation of the disorganization, waste, and inefficiency involved in the abandonment of British industry to a jostling crowd of separate private employers, with their minds bent, not on the service of the community, but—by the very law of their being—only on the utmost possible profiteering. What the nation needs is undoubtedly a great bound onward in its aggregate productivity. But this cannot be secured merely by pressing the manual workers to more strenuous toil, or even by encouraging the "Captains of Industry" to a less wasteful organization of their several enterprises on a profit-making basis. What the Labor Party looks to is a genuinely scientific reorganization of the nation's industry, no longer deflected by individual profiteering, on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, the equitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity and only among these, and the adoption, in particular services and occupations, of those systems and methods of administration and control that may be found, in practice, best to promote the public interest.

Immediate Nationalization

The Labor Party stands not merely for the principle of the common ownership of the nation's land, to be applied as suitable opportunities occur, but also, specifically, for the immediate nationalization of railways, mines, and the production of electrical power. We hold that the very foundation of any successful reorganization of British industry must necessarily be found in the provision of the utmost facilities for transport and communication, the production of power at the cheapest possible rate, and the most economical supply of both electrical energy and coal to every corner of the kingdom. Hence the Labor Party stands, unhesitatingly, for the national ownership and administration of the railways and canals, and their union, along with harbors and roads, and the posts and telegraphs—not to say also the great lines of steamers which could at once be owned, if not immediately directly managed in detail, by the government—in a united national service of communication and transport; to be worked, unhampered by capitalist, private, or purely local interests (and with a steadily increasing participation of the organized workers in the management, both central and local), exclusively for the common good. If any government should be so misguided as to propose, when peace comes, to hand the railways back to the shareholders, or should show itself so spendthrift of the nation's property as to give these shareholders any enlarged franchise by presenting them with the economies of unification or the profits of increased railway rates, or so extravagant as to bestow public funds on the re-equipment of privately owned lines—all of which things are now being privately in-

trigued for by the railway interests,—the Labor Party will offer any such project the most strenuous opposition. The railways and canals, like the roads, must henceforth belong to the public.

In the production of electricity, for cheap power, light, and heating, this country has so far failed, because of hampering private interests, to take advantage of science. Even in the largest cities we still “peddle” our electricity on a contemptibly small scale. What is called for immediately after the war is the erection of a score of gigantic “super-power stations,” which could generate, at incredibly cheap rates, enough electricity for the use of every industrial establishment and every private household in Great Britain; the present municipal and joint-stock electrical plants being universally linked up and used for local distribution. This is inevitably the future of electricity. It is plain that so great and so powerful an enterprise, affecting every industrial enterprise and, eventually, every household, must not be allowed to pass into the hands of private capitalists. They are already pressing the government for the concession, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party has yet made up its mind to a refusal of such a new endowment of profiteering in what will presently be the life blood of modern productive industry. The Labor Party demands that the production of electricity on the necessary gigantic scale shall be made from the start (with suitable arrangements for municipal coöperation in local distribution) a national enterprise, to be worked exclusively with the object of supplying the whole kingdom with the cheapest possible power, light, and heat.

But with railways and the generation of electricity in the hands of the public, it would be criminal folly to leave to the present one thousand five hundred colliery companies the power of “holding up” the coal supply. These are now all working under public control, on terms that virtually afford to their shareholders a statutory guarantee of their swollen incomes. The Labor Party demands the immediate nationalization of mines, the extraction of coal and iron being worked as a public service (with a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and local, of the various grades of persons employed); and the whole business of the retail distribution of household coal being undertaken, as a local public service, by the elected municipal or county councils. And there is no reason why coal should fluctuate in price any more than railway fares, or why the consumer should be made to pay more in winter than in summer, or in one town than another. What the Labor party would aim at is, for household coal of standard quality, a fixed and uniform price for the whole kingdom, payable by rich and poor alike, as unalterable as the penny postage stamp.

But the sphere of immediate nationalization is not restricted to these great industries. We shall never succeed in putting the gigantic system of health insurance on a proper footing, or secure a clear field for the beneficent work of the Friendly Societies, or gain a free hand for the necessary development of the urgently called for Ministry of Health and the Local Public Health Service until the nation expropriates the profit-making industrial insurance companies, which now so tyrannously exploit the people with their wasteful house-to-house industrial life assurance. Only by such an expropriation of life assurance companies can we secure the universal provision, free from the burdensome toll of weekly pence, of the indispensable funeral benefit. Nor is it in any sense a “class”

measure. Only by the assumption by a state department of the whole business of life assurance can the millions of policy-holders of all classes be completely protected against the possibly calamitous results of the depreciation of securities and suspension of bonuses which the war is causing. Only by this means can the great staff of insurance agents find their proper place as civil servants, with equitable conditions of employment, compensation for any disturbance, and security of tenure, in a nationally organized public service for the discharge of the steadily increasing functions of the government in vital statistics and social insurance.

In quite another sphere the Labor Party sees the key to temperance reform in taking the entire manufacture and retailing of alcoholic drink out of the hands of those who find profit in promoting the utmost possible consumption. This is essentially a case in which the people, as a whole, must deal with the licensing question in accordance with local opinion. For this purpose, localities should have conferred upon them facilities (a) to prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries; (b) to reduce the number of licenses and regulate the conditions under which they may be held; and (c) if a locality decides that licenses are to be granted, to determine whether such licenses shall be under private or any form of public control.

Other main industries, especially those now becoming monopolized, should be nationalized as opportunity offers. Moreover, the Labor Party holds that the municipalities should not confine their activities to the necessarily costly services of education, sanitation, and police; nor yet rest content with acquiring control of the local water, gas, electricity, and tramways; but that every facility should be afforded to them to acquire (easily, quickly, and cheaply) all the land they require, and to extend their enterprises in housing and town planning, parks, and public libraries, the provision of music and the organization of recreation; and also to undertake, besides the retailing of coal, other services of common utility, particularly the local supply of milk, wherever this is not already fully organized by a coöperative society.

Control of Capitalist Industry

Meanwhile, however, we ought not to throw away the valuable experience now gained by the government in its assumption of the importation of wheat, wool, metals, and other commodities, and in its control of the shipping, woolen, leather, clothing, boot and shoe, milling, baking, butchering, and other industries. The Labor Party holds that, whatever may have been the shortcomings of this government importation and control, it has demonstrably prevented a lot of "profiteering." Nor can it end immediately on the declaration of peace. The people will be extremely foolish if they ever allow their indispensable industries to slip back into the unfettered control of private capitalists, who are, actually at the instance of the government itself, now rapidly combining, trade by trade, into monopolist trusts, which may presently become as ruthless in their extortion as the worst American examples. Standing as it does for the democratic control of industry, the Labor Party would think twice before it sanctioned any abandonment of the present profitable centralization of purchase of raw material; of the present carefully organized "rationing," by joint committees of the trades concerned, of

the several establishments with the materials they require; of the present elaborate system of "costing" and public audit of manufacturers' accounts, so as to stop the waste heretofore caused by the mechanical inefficiency of the more backward firms; of the present salutary publicity of manufacturing processes and expenses thereby ensured; and, on the information thus obtained (in order never again to revert to the old-time profiteering) of the present rigid fixing, for standardized products, of maximum prices at the factory, at the warehouse of the wholesale trader, and in the retail shop. This question of the retail prices of household commodities is emphatically the most practical of all political issues to the woman elector. The male politicians have too long neglected the grievances of the small household, which is the prey of every profiteering combination; and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party promises, in this respect, any amendment. This, too, is in no sense a "class" measure. It is, so the Labor Party holds, just as much the function of government, and just as necessary a part of the democratic regulation of industry, to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole, and those of all grades and sections of private consumers, in the matter of prices, as it is, by the Factory and Trade Boards acts, to protect the rights of the wage-earning producers in the matter of wages, hours of labor, and sanitation.

A Revolution in National Finance

In taxation, also, the interests of the professional and house-keeping classes are at one with those of the manual workers. Too long has our national finance been regulated, contrary to the teaching of political economy, according to the wishes of the possessing classes and the profits of the financiers. The colossal expenditure involved in the present war (of which, against the protest of the Labor Party, only a quarter has been raised by taxation, whilst three-quarters have been borrowed at onerous rates of interest, to be a burden on the nation's future) brings things to a crisis. When peace comes, capital will be needed for all sorts of social enterprises, and the resources of government will necessarily have to be vastly greater than they were before the war. Meanwhile innumerable new private fortunes are being heaped up by those who have taken advantage of the nation's needs; and the one-tenth of the population which owns nine-tenths of the riches of the United Kingdom, far from being made poorer, will find itself, in the aggregate, as a result of the war, drawing in rent and interest and dividends a larger nominal income than ever before. Such a position demands a revolution in national finance. How are we to discharge a public debt that may well reach the almost incredible figure of seven thousand million pounds sterling, and at the same time raise an annual revenue which, for local as well as central government, must probably reach one thousand millions a year? It is over this problem of taxation that the various political parties will be found to be most sharply divided.

The Labor Party stands for such a system of taxation as will yield all the necessary revenue to the government without encroaching on the prescribed national minimum standard of life of any family whatsoever, without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort, and with the nearest possible approximation to equality of sacrifice. We definitely repudiate all proposals for a protective tariff, in whatever

specious guise they may be cloaked, as a device for burdening the consumer with unnecessarily enhanced prices, to the profit of the capitalist employer or landed proprietor, who avowedly expects his profit or rent to be increased thereby. We shall strenuously oppose any taxation, of whatever kind, which would increase the price of food or of any other necessary of life. We hold that indirect taxation on commodities, whether by customs or excise, should be strictly limited to luxuries, and concentrated principally on those of which it is socially desirable that the consumption should be actually discouraged. We are at one with the manufacturer, the farmer, and the trader in objecting to taxes interfering with production or commerce, or hampering transport and communications. In all these matters—once more in contrast with the other political parties, and by no means in the interests of the wage-earners alone—the Labor Party demands that the very definite teachings of economic science should no longer be disregarded as they have been in the past.

For the raising of the greater part of the revenue now required, the Labor Party looks to the direct taxation of the incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance; and, for the requisite effort to pay off the national debt, to the direct taxation of private fortunes both during life and at death. The income tax and super-tax ought at once to be thoroughly reformed in assessment and collection, in abatements and allowances and in graduation and differentiation, so as to levy the required total sum in such a way as to make the real sacrifice of all the tax-payers as nearly as possible equal. This would involve assessment by families instead of by individual persons, so that the burden is alleviated in proportion to the number of persons to be maintained. It would involve the raising of the present unduly low minimum income assessable to the tax, and the lightening of the present unfair burden on the great mass of professional and small trading classes by a new scale of graduation, rising from a penny in the pound on the smallest assessable income up to sixteen or even nineteen shillings in the pound on the highest income of the millionaires. It would involve bringing into assessment the numerous windfalls of profit that now escape, and a further differentiation between essentially different kinds of income. The excess profits tax might well be retained in an appropriate form; whilst, so long as mining royalties exist, the mineral rights duty ought to be increased. The steadily rising unearned increment of urban and mineral land ought, by an appropriate direct taxation of land values, to be wholly brought into the public exchequer. At the same time, for the service and redemption of the national debt, the death duties ought to be regraduated, much more strictly collected, and greatly increased. In this matter we need, in fact, completely to reverse our point of view, and to rearrange the whole taxation of inheritance from the standpoint of asking what is the maximum amount that any rich man should be permitted at death to divert, by his will, from the national exchequer, which should normally be the heir to all private riches in excess of a quite moderate amount by way of family provision. But all this will not suffice. It will be imperative at the earliest possible moment to free the nation from, at any rate, the greater part of its new load of interest-bearing debt for loans which ought to have been levied as taxation; and the Labor Party stands for a special capital levy to pay off, if not the whole, a very substantial part of the entire national debt—a capital levy

chargeable like the death duties on all property, but (in order to secure approximate equality of sacrifice) with exemption of the smallest savings, and for the rest at rates very steeply graduated, so as to take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaires.

Over this issue of how the financial burden of the war is to be borne, and how the necessary revenue is to be raised, the greatest political battles will be fought. In this matter the Labor Party claims the support of four-fifths of the whole nation, for the interests of the clerk, the teacher, the doctor, the minister of religion, the average retail shop-keeper and trader, and all the mass of those living on small incomes are identical with those of the artisan. The landlords, the financial magnates, the possessors of great fortunes will not, as a class, willingly forego the relative immunity that they have hitherto enjoyed. The present unfair subjection of the coöperative society to an excess profits tax on the "profits" which it has never made—specially dangerous as "the thin end of the wedge" of penal taxation of this laudable form of democratic enterprise—will not be abandoned without a struggle. Every possible effort will be made to juggle with the taxes, so as to place upon the shoulders of the mass of laboring folk and upon the struggling households of the professional men and small traders (as was done after every previous war)—whether by customs or excise duties, by industrial monopolies, by unnecessarily high rates of postage and railway fares, or by a thousand and one other ingenious devices—an unfair share of the national burden. Against these efforts the Labor Party will take the firmest stand.

The Surplus for the Common Good

In the disposal of the surplus above the standard of life, society has hitherto gone as far wrong as in its neglect to secure the necessary basis of any genuine industrial efficiency or decent social order. We have allowed the riches of our mines, the rental value of the lands superior to the margin of cultivation, the extra profits of the fortunate capitalists, even the material outcome of scientific discoveries—which ought by now to have made this Britain of ours immune from class poverty or from any widespread destitution—to be absorbed by individual proprietors and then devoted very largely to the senseless luxury of an idle rich class. Against this misappropriation of the wealth of the community, the Labor Party—speaking in the interests not of the wage-earners alone, but of every grade and section of producers by hand or by brain, not to mention also those of the generations that are to succeed us, and of the permanent welfare of the community—emphatically protests. One main pillar of the house that the Labor Party intends to build is the future appropriation of the surplus, not to the enlargement of any individual fortune, but to the common good. It is from this constantly arising surplus (to be secured, on the one hand, by nationalization and municipalization and, on the other, by the steeply graduated taxation of private income and riches) that will have to be found the new capital which the community day by day needs for the perpetual improvement and increase of its various enterprises, for which we shall decline to be dependent on the usury-exacting financiers. It is from the same source that has to be defrayed the public provision for the sick and infirm of all kinds (including that for maternity and infancy) which is still so scandalously

insufficient; for the aged and those prematurely incapacitated by accident or disease, now in many ways so imperfectly cared for; for the education alike of children, of adolescents, and of adults, in which the Labor Party demands a genuine equality of opportunity, overcoming all differences of material circumstances; and for the organization of public improvements of all kinds, including the brightening of the lives of those now condemned to almost ceaseless toil, and a great development of the means of recreation. From the same source must come the greatly increased public provision that the Labor Party will insist on being made for scientific investigation and original research, in every branch of knowledge, not to say also for the promotion of music, literature, and fine art, which have been under capitalism so greatly neglected, and upon which, so the Labor Party holds, any real development of civilization fundamentally depends. Society, like the individual, does not live by bread alone—does not exist only for perpetual wealth production. It is in the proposal for this appropriation of every surplus for the common good—in the vision of its resolute use for the building up of the community as a whole instead of for the magnification of individual fortunes—that the Labor Party, as the party of the producers by hand or by brain, most distinctively marks itself off from the older political parties, standing, as these do, essentially for the maintenance, unimpaired, of the perpetual private mortgage upon the annual product of the nation that is involved in the individual ownership of land and capital.

The Street of Tomorrow

The house which the Labor Party intends to build, the four pillars of which have now been described, does not stand alone in the world. Where will it be in the street of tomorrow? If we repudiate, on the one hand, the imperialism that seeks to dominate other races or to impose our own will on other parts of the British empire, so we disclaim equally any conception of a selfish and insular "non-interventionism," unregarding of our special obligations to our fellow-citizens overseas, of the corporate duties of one nation to another, of the moral claims upon us of the non-adult races, and of our own indebtedness to the world of which we are part. We look for an ever-increasing intercourse, a constantly developing exchange of commodities, a continually expanding friendly coöperation among all the peoples of the world. With regard to that great commonwealth of all races, all colors, all religions, and all degrees of civilization, that we call the British empire, the Labor Party stands for its maintenance and its progressive development on the lines of local autonomy and "Home Rule All Round"; the fullest respect for the rights of each people, whatever its color, to all the democratic self-government of which it is capable, and to the proceeds of its own toil upon the resources of its own territorial home; and the closest possible coöperation among all the various members of what has become essentially not an empire in the old sense, but a Britannic alliance.

We desire to maintain the most intimate relations with the Labor parties overseas. Like them, we have no sympathy with the projects of "Imperial Federation," in so far as these imply the subjection to a common imperial legislature wielding coercive power (including dangerous facilities for coercive imperial taxation and for enforced military service), either of the existing self-governing Dominions, whose auton-

omy would be thereby invaded, or of the United Kingdom, whose freedom of democratic self-development would be thereby hampered, or of India and the colonial dependencies, which would thereby run the risk of being further exploited for the benefit of a "White Empire." We do not intend, by any such "Imperial Senate," either to bring the plutocracy of Canada and South Africa to the aid of the British aristocracy, or to enable the landlords and financiers of the mother country to unite in controlling the growing popular democracies overseas. The autonomy of each self-governing part of the empire must be intact.

What we look for, besides a constant progress in democratic self-government of every part of the Britannic alliance, and especially in India, is a continuous participation of the ministers of the Dominions, of India, and eventually of other dependencies (perhaps by means of their own ministers specially resident in London for this purpose) in the most confidential deliberations of the Cabinet, so far as foreign policy and imperial affairs are concerned; and the annual assembly of an Imperial Council, representing all constituents of the Britannic alliance and all parties in their local legislatures, which should discuss all matters of common interest, but only in order to make recommendations for the simultaneous consideration of the various autonomous local legislatures of what should increasingly take the constitutional form of an alliance of free nations. And we carry the idea further. As regards our relations to foreign countries, we disavow and disclaim any desire or intention to dispossess or to impoverish any other state or nation. We seek no increase of territory. We disclaim all idea of "economic war." We ourselves object to all protective customs tariffs; but we hold that each nation must be left free to do what it thinks best for its own economic development, without thought of injuring others. We believe that nations are in no way damaged by each other's economic prosperity or commercial progress; but, on the contrary, that they are actually themselves mutually enriched thereby. We would therefore put an end to the old entanglements and mystifications of secret diplomacy and the formation of leagues against leagues. We stand for the immediate establishment, actually as a part of the treaty of peace with which the present war will end, of a universal league or society of nations, a supernational authority, with an international high court to try all justiciable issues between nations, an international legislature to enact such common laws as can be mutually agreed upon, and an international council of mediation to endeavor to settle without ultimate conflict even those disputes which are not justiciable. We would have all the nations of the world most solemnly undertake and promise to make common cause against any one of them that broke away from this fundamental agreement. The world has suffered too much from war for the Labor Party to have any other policy than that of lasting peace.

More Light—but also More Warmth!

The Labor Party is far from assuming that it possesses a key to open all locks, or that any policy which it can formulate will solve all the problems that beset us. But we deem it important to ourselves as well as to those who may, on the one hand, wish to join the party, or, on the other, to take up arms against it, to make quite clear and definite our aim and purpose. The Labor Party wants that aim and purpose, as set forth in the preceding pages, with all its might. It calls for more

warmth in politics, for much less apathetic acquiescence in the miseries that exist, for none of the cynicism that saps the life of leisure. On the other hand, the Labor Party has no belief in any of the problems of the world being solved by good will alone. Good will without knowledge is warmth without light. Especially in all the complexities of politics, in the still undeveloped science of society, the Labor Party stands for increased study, for the scientific investigation of each succeeding problem, for the deliberate organization of research, and for a much more rapid dissemination among the whole people of all the science that exists. And it is perhaps specially the Labor Party that has the duty of placing this advancement of science in the forefront of its political programme. What the Labor Party stands for in all fields of life is, essentially, democratic coöperation; and coöperation involves a common purpose which can be agreed to, a common plan which can be explained and discussed, and such a measure of success in the adaptation of means to ends as will ensure a common satisfaction. An autocratic sultan may govern without science if his whim is law. A plutocratic party may choose to ignore science, if it is heedless whether its pretended solutions of social problems that may win political triumphs ultimately succeed or fail. But no labor party can hope to maintain its position unless its proposals are, in fact, the outcome of the best political science of its time, or to fulfil its purpose unless that science is continually wresting new fields from human ignorance. Hence, although the purpose of the Labor Party must, by the law of its being, remain for all time unchanged, its policy and its programme will, we hope, undergo a perpetual development, as knowledge grows and as new phases of the social problem present themselves, in a continually finer adjustment of our measures to our ends. If law is the mother of freedom, science, to the Labor Party, must be the parent of law.

Resolutions on Reconstruction

*Adopted by the British Labor Party
at its Summer Conference, June 1918*

The Need for Increased Production

THAT the conference cannot help noticing how very far from efficient the capitalist system has been proved to be, with its stimulus of private profit, and its evil shadow of wages driven down by competition often below subsistence level; that the conference recognizes that it is vital for any genuine social reconstruction to increase the nation's aggregate annual production, not of profit or dividend, but of useful commodities and services; that this increased productivity is obviously not to be sought in reducing the means of subsistence of the workers, whether by hand or by brain, nor yet in lengthening their hours of work, for neither "sweating" nor "driving" can be made the basis of lasting prosperity, but in the socialization of industry in order to secure

- (a) the elimination of every kind of inefficiency and waste;
- (b) the application both of more honest determination to produce the very best, and of more science and intelligence to every branch of the nation's work; together with
- (c) an improvement in social, political, and industrial organization; and
- (d) the indispensable marshaling of the nation's resources so that each need is met in the order of, and in proportion to, its real national importance.

The Maintenance and Protection of the Standard of Life

(i) That the conference holds that it is of supreme national importance that there should not be any degradation of the standard of life of the population; and it insists that it is accordingly the duty of the government to see to it that, when peace comes, the standard rates of wages in all trades should, relatively to the cost of living, be fully maintained.

(ii.) That it should be made clear to employers that any attempt to reduce the prevailing rates of wages when peace comes, or to take advantage of the dislocation of demobilization to worsen the conditions of labor, will certainly lead to embittered industrial strife, which will be in the highest degree detrimental to the national interests; and the government should therefore take all possible steps to avert such a calamity.

(iii.) That the government should not only, as the greatest employer of labor, set a good example in this respect, but should also seek to influence employers by proclaiming in advance that it will not attempt

NOTE.—Certain of the Resolutions that are rather strictly local in character, or whose content is sufficiently embodied in the Draft Report contained in the foregoing pages, are not reprinted here.—EDITOR.

to lower the standard rates or conditions in public employment, by announcing that it will insist on the most rigorous observance of the fair wages clause in public contracts, and by recommending every local authority to adopt the same policy.

(iv.) That one of the most urgent needs of social reconstruction is the universal application of the principle of the protection of the standard of life, at present embodied in the factories, workshops, merchant shipping, mines, railways, shops, truck, and trade boards acts, together with the corresponding provisions of the public health, housing, education, and workmen's compensation acts; that these imperfectly drafted and piecemeal statutes admittedly require extension and amendment at many points and supplementing by new legislation providing among other industrial reforms for the general reduction of the working week to forty-eight hours, securing to every worker, by hand or by brain, at least the prescribed minimum of health, education, leisure, and subsistence; and that, in particular, the system of a legal basic wage, introduced by the trade boards act, the miners (minimum wage) act, and the wage board clauses of the corn production act, needs to be extended and developed so as to ensure to every worker of either sex, in any occupation, in any part of the kingdom, as the very lowest statutory base line of wages (to be revised with every substantial rise in prices), not less than enough to provide all the requirements of a full development of body, mind, and character, from which the nation has no right to exclude any class or section whatsoever.

The Provision for the Soldiers and Sailors

That the conference realizes that, as soon as peace is assured, the position of the soldier or sailor will be one of great peril; that, whilst his services to the nation will be effusively praised, and promises will be made for a generous provision for his needs, there is only too much reason to fear that, unless a strong and continuous effort is made, both in Parliament and in the localities, administrative parsimony and red-tape will deprive many thousands of what is justly due to them.

The conference accordingly holds that it is imperative that the provision to be made on demobilization should not only be worked out in detail immediately, but that it should be published for general information, so that omissions may be detected, mistakes rectified, and everyone made acquainted with the steps to be taken.

The conference, noting the month's furlough, gratuity, free railway ticket, and a year's unemployment benefit if out of work already promised to the soldier, urges that

(a) there should be no gap between the cessation of his pay and separation allowance and the beginning of his unemployment benefit, and

(b) That this special ex-soldier's unemployment benefit given to all should be additional to any unemployment benefit under the National Insurance act, to which many men are already entitled in respect of contributions deducted from their wages;

(c) that the amount of the unemployment benefit should not be the present starvation pittance of seven shillings per week, but at least approaching to the combined separation and rations allowances; and

(d) that, in view of the change in the value of money, the gratuity (which should be made payable through the Post Office Savings Bank) ought to be, for the private, £20.

The conference feels, however, that what the soldiers will most seriously look to is not the sum of money doled out to them, but the provision made for ensuring them situations appropriate to their capacities and desires; it declares that this duty of placing the demobilized soldier within reach of a suitable situation at the trade union standard rate is one for the government itself to discharge, without the intervention of charity or philanthropists.

And the conference demands that the government should at once complete and make known the organization projected for fulfilling this duty, including appropriate arrangements for enabling such of the men as wish it to obtain small holdings, for others to get such training for new occupations as they require, and for all to secure such posts in productive work or service as they are capable of filling, or, in the alternative, to be maintained until such posts can be found.

The Restoration of Trade Union Conditions

(i.) That this conference reminds the government that it is pledged unreservedly and unconditionally, and the nation with it, in the most solemn manner, to the restoration after the war of all the rules, conditions, and customs that prevailed in the workshops before the war; and to the abrogation, when peace comes, of all the changes introduced not only in the national factories and the 5,000 controlled establishments, but also in the large number of others to which provisions of the munitions act have been applied.

(ii.) That the conference places on record its confident expectation and desire that if any employers should be so unscrupulous as to hesitate to fulfil this pledge, the government will see to it that, in no industry and in no district, is any quibbling evasion permitted of an obligation in which the whole labor movement has an interest.

(iii.) In view of the unsatisfactory character of the provisions in the munitions act dealing with the restoration of trade union customs after the war, the conference calls upon the government to provide adequate statutory machinery for restoration:—

(a) By securing that all provisions in the acts necessary to enforce restoration shall continue in operation for a full year after the restrictive provisions abrogating trade union rules, and giving munitions tribunals disciplinary powers over workmen have been terminated.

(b) By removing all restrictions upon the right of the workmen to strike for the restoration of the customs which have been abrogated.

(c) By limiting compulsory arbitration strictly to the war period and providing fully that the right to prosecute an employer for a failure to restore trade union customs shall continue for a full year after the termination of the restrictive powers in the acts.

(iv.) The conference further calls upon Parliament to limit all restrictive legislation directed against workpeople strictly to the war period and, subject to the above exceptions, calls for the abrogation of the clauses restrictive of personal liberty in the munitions of war acts and in the defense of the realm acts, immediately upon the conclusion of hostilities.

(v.) The conference, finally, urges that if it is considered that some of the rules, conditions, and customs are, in the industrial reorganization that is contemplated, inconsistent with the highest development of pro-

duction, or injurious to other sections of workers, it is for the government, as responsible for the fulfilment of the pledge, to submit for discussion to the trade unions concerned alternative proposals for securing the standard wage and normal day, protecting the workers from unemployment, and maintaining the position and dignity of the crafts.

The Complete Emancipation of Women

That the conference holds that the changes in the position of women during the war, in which they have rendered such good service, and the importance of securing to women, as to men, the fullest possible opportunities for individual development, make it necessary to pay special attention in the reconstruction programme to matters affecting women; and, in particular, the conference affirms—

A.—WITH REGARD TO INDUSTRY ON DEMOBILIZATION:

(i.) That work or maintenance at fair rates should be provided for all women displaced from their employment to make way for men returning from service with the forces or other national work.

(ii.) That full inquiry should be made into trades and processes previously held to be unhealthy or in any way unsuitable for women, but now being carried on by them, with a view to making recommendations as to the conditions of their further employment in such trades.

(iii.) That all women employed in trades formerly closed to them should only continue to be so employed at trade union rates of wages.

(iv.) That trade unions should be urged to accept women members in all trades in which they are employed.

(v.) That the principle of equal pay for similar duties should be everywhere adopted.

B.—WITH REGARD TO CIVIC RIGHTS:

(i.) That all legal restrictions on the entry of women to the professions on the same conditions as men should be abrogated.

(ii.) That women should have all franchises, and be eligible for election to all public bodies (including Parliament), on the same conditions as men.

(iii.) That systematic provision should be made for the inclusion of women in committees or commissions, national or local, dealing with any subjects that are not of exclusively masculine interest.

(iv.) That the present unjust provision of the income tax law, under which the married woman is not treated as an independent human being, even in respect of her own property or earnings, must be at once repealed.

The Restoration of Personal Liberty

That this conference regards as fundamental the immediate repeal and abrogation, as soon as the war ends, of the whole system of the military service acts, and of all the provisions of the defense of the realm acts restricting freedom of speech, freedom of publication, freedom of the press, freedom of travel, and freedom of choice of residence or of occupation.

Political Reforms

That the conference reaffirms its conviction that no lasting settlement of the question of political reform can be reached without a genuine adoption of

(a) complete adult suffrage, with not more than three months' residential qualification;

(b) absolutely equal rights for both sexes;

(c) effective provision for absent electors to vote and the best practicable arrangements for ensuring that every minority has its proportionate and no more than its proportionate representation;

(d) the same civic rights for the soldiers and sailors, as for the officers;

(e) shorter Parliaments; and

(f) the complete abandonment of any attempt to control the people's representatives by a House of Lords.

That the conference especially protests against the defects of the representation of the people act of last year, which failed to give votes to women under thirty years of age, denied them the right to sit in Parliament, maintained for both sexes an unnecessarily long period of residence as a qualification for the register, ignored the rights of the civilian electors who may be compulsorily away from home on polling day, and omitted any provision which would have prevented the scandal of large sections of the voters remaining unrepresented whilst members are returned to Parliament by a minority of the voting constituency.

It protests, moreover, against civil servants being denied the right, which has long been enjoyed by army and navy officers, without at once resigning their appointments, of offering themselves to the electors as Parliamentary candidates.

This conference calls for the abolition of the House of Lords without replacement of any second chamber. The conference further protests against the disenfranchisement of conscientious objectors.

Ireland

That the conference unhesitatingly recognizes the claim of the people of Ireland to Home Rule, and to self-determination in all exclusively Irish affairs; it protests against the stubborn resistance to a democratic reorganization of Irish government maintained by those who, alike in Ireland and Great Britain, are striving to keep minorities dominant; and it demands that a wide and generous measure of Home Rule should be immediately passed into law and put in operation.

Education

That the conference holds that the most important of all the measures of social reconstruction must be a genuine nationalization of education, which shall get rid of all class distinctions and privileges, and bring effectively within the reach, not only of every boy and girl, but also of every adult citizen, all the training, physical, mental and moral, literary, technical, and artistic, of which he is capable.

That the conference, whilst appreciating the advances indicated by the proposals of the present minister of education, declares that the

Labor Party cannot be satisfied with a system which condemns the great bulk of the children to merely elementary schooling with accommodation and equipment inferior to that of the secondary schools, in classes too large for efficient instruction, under teachers of whom at least one-third are insufficiently trained; which denies to the great majority of the teachers in the kingdom, whether in elementary or in secondary schools (and notably to most of the women), alike any opportunity for all-round culture, as well as for training in their art, an adequate wage, reasonable prospects of advancement, and suitable superannuation allowances; and which, notwithstanding what is yet done by way of scholarships for exceptional geniuses, still reserves the endowed secondary schools, and even more the universities, for the most part, to the sons and daughters of a small privileged class, whilst contemplating nothing better than eight weeks a year continuation schooling up to eighteen for ninety per cent. of the youth of the nation.

The conference accordingly asks for a systematic reorganization of the whole educational system, from the nursery school to the university, on the basis of

(a) social equality.

(b) the provision for each age, for child, youth, and adult, of the best and most varied education of which it is capable, and with due regard to its physical welfare and development, but without any form of military training;

(c) the educational institutions, irrespective of social class or wealth, to be planned, equipped, and staffed according to their several functions, up to the same high level for elementary, secondary, or university teaching, with regard solely to the greatest possible educational efficiency, and free maintenance of such a kind as to enable the children to derive the full benefit of the education given; and

(d) the recognition of the teaching profession, without distinction of grade, as one of the most valuable to the community.

Housing

That the conference, noting the fact that the shortage of habitable cottages in the United Kingdom now exceeds one million, and that the rent and mortgages restriction act is due to expire six months after peace, regards a national campaign of cottage building at the public expense, in town and country alike, as the most urgent of social requirements.

That the attention of the government be called to the fact that, unless steps are taken to insist that the local authorities acquire the necessary sites, prepare schemes, plans, and specifications, and obtain all required sanctions, actually before the war ends there is very little chance of the half-a-million new cottages urgently needed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales during the very first year of demobilization being ready for occupation within that time.

That it is essential that the "Million Cottages of the Great Peace," to be erected during the first two or three years after the war ends by the local authorities, with capital supplied by the national government, free of interest, and a grant-in-aid in one or other form at least sufficient to prevent the schemes involving any charge on the rates, should be worthy to serve as models to other builders; and must accordingly be not only designed with some regard to appearance, not identical throughout the

land, but adapted to local circumstances, and soundly constructed, spacious, and healthy, including four or five rooms, larder, scullery, cupboards, and fitted bath, but also suitably grouped not more than ten or twelve to the acre; and provided with sufficient garden ground.

Railways and Canals

That the conference insists on the retention in public hands of the railways and canals, and on the expropriation of the present stockholders on equitable terms, in order to permit of the organization, in conjunction with the harbors and docks, and the posts and telegraphs, of a united national public service of communications and transport, to be worked, unhampered by any private interest (and with a steadily increasing participation of the organized workers in the management, both central and local) exclusively for the common good.

The conference places on record that if any government shall be so misguided as to propose, when peace comes, to hand the railways back to the shareholders, or should show itself so spendthrift of the nation's property as to give the companies any enlarged franchise by presenting them with the economies of unification or the profits of increased railway rates, or so extravagant as to bestow public funds on the re-equipment of privately-owned lines, the Labor Party will offer any such project its most strenuous opposition.

The New Electricity Supply

With regard to the generation of electricity for the provision, both for the factory and the home, of the cheapest possible power, light and heat, the conference declares that the Labor Party stands for the provision, by the government itself, of the score of gigantic super-power stations by which the whole kingdom could be supplied, and for the linking up of the present municipal and joint stock services for distribution to factories and dwelling-houses at the lowest possible rates.

The conference notifies that the Labor Party will offer the most strenuous opposition to this great national service being entrusted, on any terms whatsoever, to private capitalism.

Coal and Iron Mines

That the conference urges that the coal mines, now under government control, should not be handed back to their capitalistic proprietors, but that the measure of nationalization, which became imperative during the war, should be completed, at the earliest possible moment, by the expropriation on equitable terms of all private interests in the extraction and distribution of the nation's coal (together with iron ore and other minerals).

The conference asks that the supply of these minerals should henceforth be conducted as a public service (with a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and local, of the workers concerned), for the cheapest and most regular supply to industry of its chief source of power, the retail distribution of household coal, at a fixed price, summer and winter alike, and identical at all railway stations throughout the kingdom, being undertaken by the elected municipal district, or county council, for the common good.

Agricultural and Rural Life

(i.) That the conference regards the present arrangements for the production and distribution of food in this country, and the life to which many thousands of country dwellers are condemned, as nothing short of a national disgrace, and as needing to be radically altered without delay.

(ii.) That it is essential that the government should resume control of the nation's agricultural land, and ensure its utilization not for rent, not for game, not for the social amenity of a small social class, not even for obtaining the largest percentage on the capital employed, but solely with a view to the production of the largest possible proportion of the foodstuffs required by the population of these islands under conditions allowing of a good life to the rural population and at a price not exceeding that for which foodstuffs can be brought from other lands.

(iii.) That this end can probably best be attained by a combination of

(a) government farms, administered on a large scale, with the utmost use of machinery;

(b) small holdings made accessible to practical agriculturists;

(c) municipal enterprises in agriculture, in conjunction with municipal institutions of various kinds, milk depots, sewage works, etc.;

(d) farms let to coöperative societies and other tenants, under covenants requiring the kind of cultivation desired.

(iv.) That under all systems the agricultural laborer must be secured a healthy and commodious cottage, with sufficient garden ground, the opportunity of getting an accessible allotment, and, when he so desires, a small holding, together with a wage continuously adequate for the requirements of body and mind.

(v.) That the conference suggests that the distribution of foodstuffs in the towns—from milk and meat to bread and vegetables—should, with equitable compensation for all interests expropriated and persons displaced, be taken out of the hands of the present multiplicity of dealers and shopkeepers, and organized by consumers, coöperative societies, and the local authorities working in conjunction.

Control of Capitalist Industry

That the conference insists, especially in view of the rapid development of amalgamations and trusts, on the necessity of retaining after the war, and of developing the present system of organizing, controlling, and auditing the processes, profits, and prices of capitalist industry; that the economies of centralized purchasing of raw materials, foodstuffs, and other imports must be continued, and, therefore, the "rationing" of all establishments under a collective control; that the publicity of processes thus obtained has a valuable effect in bringing inefficient firms up to a higher level; that the "costing" of manufacturers' processes and auditing of their accounts, so as to discover the necessary cost of production, together with the authoritative limitation of prices at the factory, the wholesale warehouse, and the retail shop, affords, in industries not nationalized, the only security against the extortion of profiteering; and that it is as much the duty of the government to protect the consumer by limiting prices as it is to protect the factory operative from unhealthy conditions, or the householder from the burglar.

National Finance

1. That in view of the enormous debts contracted during the war, and of the necessity to lighten national financial burdens, this conference demands that an equitable system of conscription of accumulated wealth should be put into operation forthwith, with exemption for fortunes below £1,000, and a graduated scale of rates for larger totals, believing that no system of taxation only of income or profits will yield enough to free the country from oppressive debts, and that any attempt to tax food or the other necessities of life would be unjust and ruinous to the masses of the people.

2. That the only solution of the difficulties that have arisen is a system by which the necessary national income shall be derived mainly from direct taxation alike of land and accumulated wealth, and of income and profits, together with suitable imposts upon luxuries, and that the death duties and the taxation upon unearned incomes should be substantially increased and equitably regarded.

3. That the whole system of land taxation should be revised so that by the direct taxation of the unearned increment of land values effect should be given to the fact that the land of the nation, which has been defended by the lives and sufferings of its people, shall belong to the nation, and be used for the nation's benefit.

Explanatory Notes

Concerning British Legislative Acts, etc., Referred to in "Labor and the New Social Order" and the Resolutions on Reconstruction Adopted by the British Labor Party

THE LEGISLATIVE REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT

The advent of the Industrial Revolution broke down the medieval system in which practically every trade had been carefully regulated by state or guild. Thenceforward the wide application of the principles of *laissez-faire* seemed likely to degrade the worker's standard of living into something utterly inhuman. The result was that from the beginning of the nineteenth century the State was compelled, in the name of mere humanity, to lay down the conditions under which industry must live. The first Factory Act dates from 1802; and little by little its principle has been extended to mines, shops, railways, and shipping. The Truck Acts, consolidated in the statute of 1887, abolished the practice of paying wages in goods instead of money, or forcing the worker to purchase his necessities at a factory-owned store. The Public Health Acts, consolidated in Disraeli's great Act of 1875, laid down the minimum standard of sanitary requirement; but they are already antiquated and need far-reaching revision. State support to education dates from 1833, but a state system of schools dates only from 1870, and a proper system of secondary education only from 1902. The recent Fisher Bill is noted later. Minimum wages have been established by law in the mines, and in certain sweated trades such as the box and chain making industries. See Hutchins and Harrison's "History of Factory Legislation"; S. and B. Webb's "History of Trade Unionism"; R. G. Bunnington's "Public Health Administration"; R. H. Tawney's "Minimum Rates in the Tailoring Trades"; S. and B. Webb's "Industrial Democracy," Ch. III., Part III.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

The fact that more than 50,000 manual workers are killed annually in Europe and the United States alone establishes the need of an insurance against injury. Liability on the part of employers was established in England after a long struggle in 1880; but the measure was inadequate, as it provided only against accidents not due to a fellow-workman, and employers were allowed, by agreement with their men, to contract out of the statute. A more liberal system of compensation was finally adopted in 1906, by which all workers earning less than £250 a year can receive compensation for accidents arising out of their employment. But (a) the compensation is very limited; (b) it depends on wages, which may be very low; (c) the employer may be insolvent; and (d) the legal possibilities involved lead to great injustice. It is still cheaper to pay for accidents than to prevent them. The procedure is too slow; the medical aid provided is inadequate; and the Insurance Act does not remedy a single one of these defects.

COAL MINE (MINIMUM WAGE) ACT

By this measure, in addition to a minimum below which the wage of the miner is not to fall, a scale is introduced by which an increase in the price of coal automatically involves an increase in the miner's wage. There have, however, been many local difficulties in its application.

CORN PRODUCTION ACT (1917)

This measure was intended, during the critical period of food shortage, to encourage agricultural production. Clauses in the measure established, for a period of five years, a minimum wage of twenty-five shillings per week for the agricultural laborer. This is probably equivalent to an hundred per cent increase in the general rate of agricultural wages.

TRADE BOARDS ACT

The Trade Boards Act of 1909 introduced into certain specified industries a Wages Board to increase the wages of all persons whose pay gave evidence of sweated conditions. By a recent amendment (1917) the National Board of Trade is given the power to extend the operation of the Act to such other trades as may seem necessary.

"LABOR AFTER THE WAR" JOINT COMMITTEE

Almost immediately upon the outbreak of the war a War Emergency Workers' Committee was appointed "to formulate a connected Labor programme and policy of such character as will more completely arrest existing distress and prevent . . . further distress and unemployment." The Labor after the War Joint Committee is an extension of this organization, representative of all sections of the trade union movement, and intended to formulate plans to mitigate the obvious dangers that will confront labor in the period of reconstruction.

FAIR WAGES CLAUSE IN PUBLIC CONTRACTS

In all contracts made by the central government, and in the majority of those made by the local authorities, the contractor is bound, under penalty of a fine, to pay rates of wages and observe hours of labor not less favorable than those commonly recognized by employers and trade societies in the trade and district where the work is carried out. The contractor who sub-lets his work is made responsible for the observance of the fair wages clause by the sub-contractor. In work undertaken by the central government this rule has, except by the War Office, been very generally observed; but the practice is unhappily less common in municipal and rural districts.

THE NEW EDUCATION BILL

The Education Act of 1918, commonly known as the Fisher Act, may be summarized as follows:

1. The following are either required or encouraged: nursery schools; central schools for advanced elementary instruction; classes for practical instruction; holiday and school camps; playing fields; arrangements for social and physical training; special treatment of exceptional children; extension of the system of medical treatment; compulsory education till 14 (or 15 by local bye-law); all persons under 18 must, in seven years

from this time, attend continuation schools for not less than 280 hours in the year.

2. Complete abolition of child-labor under the age of 12; no child over 12 to be employed before school or after 8 p.m.; no child on non-school days to be employed except between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m.; no person to be employed during continuation school hours; local education authorities to administer these provisions and prevent all child-labor which may deteriorate the health of the child or interfere with its education.

3. All continuation and elementary schools to be free.

4. Local authorities are required to frame and carry out adequate schemes for the performance of their duties; local authorities may combine and coöperate; the limit on the spending-power of local authorities for higher education is abolished; the acquisition of land for educational purposes is made cheaper and easier; provision is to be made for the encouragement of research, and for the increase of teachers' salaries; a census of educational institutions is to be undertaken. By a more recent Bill a comprehensive system of teachers' pensions has been introduced.

STATE INSURANCE

The National Insurance Act of 1911 insures compulsorily all persons, British or alien, in Great Britain between the ages of 16 and 70 who are in receipt of less than £160 a year. Sickness, maternity, and sanatorium benefits were established; and under Part II of the Act provision was made for insurance against unemployment. This latter part has undergone immense extension in connection with the method of demobilizing the army and navy.

MILITARY SERVICE ACTS OF 1916

Under these Acts Great Britain, after a long struggle, abolished the voluntary system and introduced conscription, provision being made for the conscientious objector. On the policy of conscription see Richard Lambert's "Parliamentary History of Conscription in Great Britain," and on the treatment of the conscientious objector see Emily Hobhouse's "I Appeal Unto Caesar."

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT (1917)

By this measure, adult male suffrage was introduced and female suffrage for women over thirty years of age. The number of members of Parliament was increased from 670 to 710, and a large scheme of redistribution of seats was arranged. By a more recent resolution, it has been decided that women are eligible for membership in the House of Commons.

NATIONAL CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

On this vital and complicated subject the reader should consult H. L. Gray's "War-time Control of Industry" and G. D. H. Cole's "Labor in War-time."

THE TAXATION OF INCOME

Since Mr. Lloyd George's budget of 1909, incomes in Great Britain have for the purpose of taxation been classified in two ways: (1) under or over £5,000 a year; (2) earned or unearned. Income over £5,000 is subject to a super-tax, in addition to the ordinary tax, which is gradu-

ated up to incomes of £100,000; unearned income is at every amount subject to a super-tax. During the war, all incomes above £130 a year have been subject to income-tax. Where the income is earned, the tax varies from 2.1% on an income of £131 to 42% on an income of £3,000; where it is unearned the tax begins at 2.8% on an income of £131 and increases so rapidly that on an unearned income of £100,000 the tax is 81.7%.

THE DEATH DUTIES

Under the new arrangements made by Mr. Lloyd George in 1909 and revised in August, 1914, the Death Duty is now 1% on estates of from £100 to £500; 10% on £100,000; and 20% on estates of a million pounds and over. All legacies other than those to direct or collateral relatives pay a duty of 10% in addition.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX

In the Budget of 1915-16 a tax of 50% was introduced applicable to the profits of any trading concern of any kind which in any year exceeded its profits of 1914-15 by more than £100. Certain minor abatements were allowed, as in the case of capital which had been unremunerative for a period of three years before the war. The tax has been increased so that in the past year it has varied from 60% to 80% of the excess profit.

A CAPITAL LEVY.

The interest on the present war-debt of Great Britain already amounts to more than twice the national annual revenue before the war. It has therefore been proposed to pay off the larger portion of the debt immediately by levying upon each person possessed of accumulated capital above a certain amount (usually £500 is suggested), whether in money, stocks, bonds, etc., a proportion of that capital which is to be small at first, but to increase by rapid graduation so that the larger fortunes are heavily mulcted. A full account of the plan and its advantages will be found in F. W. Pethwick-Lawrence's "A Capital Levy."

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

On the general plans for imperial federation see A. B. Keith's "Imperial Unity and the Dominions."

INDIAN REFORM

Late in 1917 the British government sent Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, to that country to inquire into the conditions under which self-government could reasonably be established. An elaborate scheme has been evolved, which is admirably summarised in an article entitled "The Montagu-Chelmsford Report," in "The Round Table" for September, 1918.

On the general problems of reconstruction, especially in its connection with labor, the following short books will be found useful: Arthur Henderson's "The Aims of Labor" (New York: Huebsch, \$1); Sidney Webb's "The Restoration of Trade Union Conditions" (New York: Huebsch, \$.50); H. J. Laski's "The Problem of Administrative Areas" (Smith College Studies, \$.75); G. D. H. Cole's "Self-Government in Industry" (New York: Macmillan, \$1.75).

SOME AMERICAN PRESS COMMENTS ON THE BRITISH LABOR PROGRAMME

A VERY remarkable thing is happening in America. Liberals and radicals of all shades and degrees of opinion are finding a common ground, and see before them a common road leading to that new social order of which we have dreamed and toward which we have striven so long without hope of arriving at our destination in this generation or the next. That common ground is the program of the British Labor Party. It has electrified liberal America as the speeches of President Wilson have electrified liberal Europe. And if liberal Europe looks to Wilson today as a Moses, we in turn look to the British Labor Party's programme as the Ten Commandments. Yet the strength of them is that they are not commandments, nor dogmas, nor final things, but a successful attempt to strike at the roots without attempting the impossible, and to be constructive without being trivial and merely ameliorative. It is that thing for which we have waited so long,—a program practicable enough for today and tomorrow, yet radical enough to bring our ultimate destination within view.

THE PUBLIC (New York)



THE Report on Reconstruction of the British Labor Party is probably the most mature and carefully formulated programme ever put forth by a responsible political party. It is the result of an exhaustive criticism of the whole English experience in social legislation during the past four generations. It is the result of a careful discrimination between what the state can and must do in order to bring about social improvement and what the contribution must be of the workers themselves. It is the result of an adjustment between many opinions and interests, whose conflicts in the past have impaired the unity and hampered the growth of the British labor movement. It is, consequently, at once an historical, a scientific and a political document which, although it was worded by a sub-committee, was written as a result of the sufferings, the struggles, the experiments, the failures, the successes, the aspirations and the thinking of the British wage-earning class during its four generations of conscious development. . . . If the American people are too limited or too blind to admit a programme of this kind into serious political discussion, they will only provoke and even justify a far more drastic and dangerous kind of agitation. The social reconstruction proposed in this programme is not put forth by some little group of social reformers or of anti-social revolutionists. It is proposed as the platform for one of the most powerful parties in Great Britain.

THE NEW REPUBLIC (New York)

THE recent Report on Reconstruction prepared by a sub-committee of the British Labor Party is the most comprehensive scheme of economic change yet formulated by a responsible political party. . . . Of even greater significance than the practical details of the programme is its spirit. . . . We are here face to face with a new type of political philosophy, a type which rests upon a definite view of the ends of life and a vision of life as a whole. . . . We are witnessing the emergence of a full-blooded humanism into political theory and practice. Beneath this report, which is in its spirit and hope an embodiment of the idealism of the British labor movement, there lies a clear sense that every man has and is an end in himself, and that he can achieve that end only in a social setting which he must share in creating. Its view is that man and the community achieve their distinctive ends in each other. The great soul and the great society will arrive together. The historical significance of this document appears to be that it presages a new stage in the development of the democratic ideal. Perhaps it is the beginning of the long-delayed economic sequel of the achievement of the French Revolution, in which case it may very well turn out to be the Magna Charta of the new democracy.

THE NATION (New York)



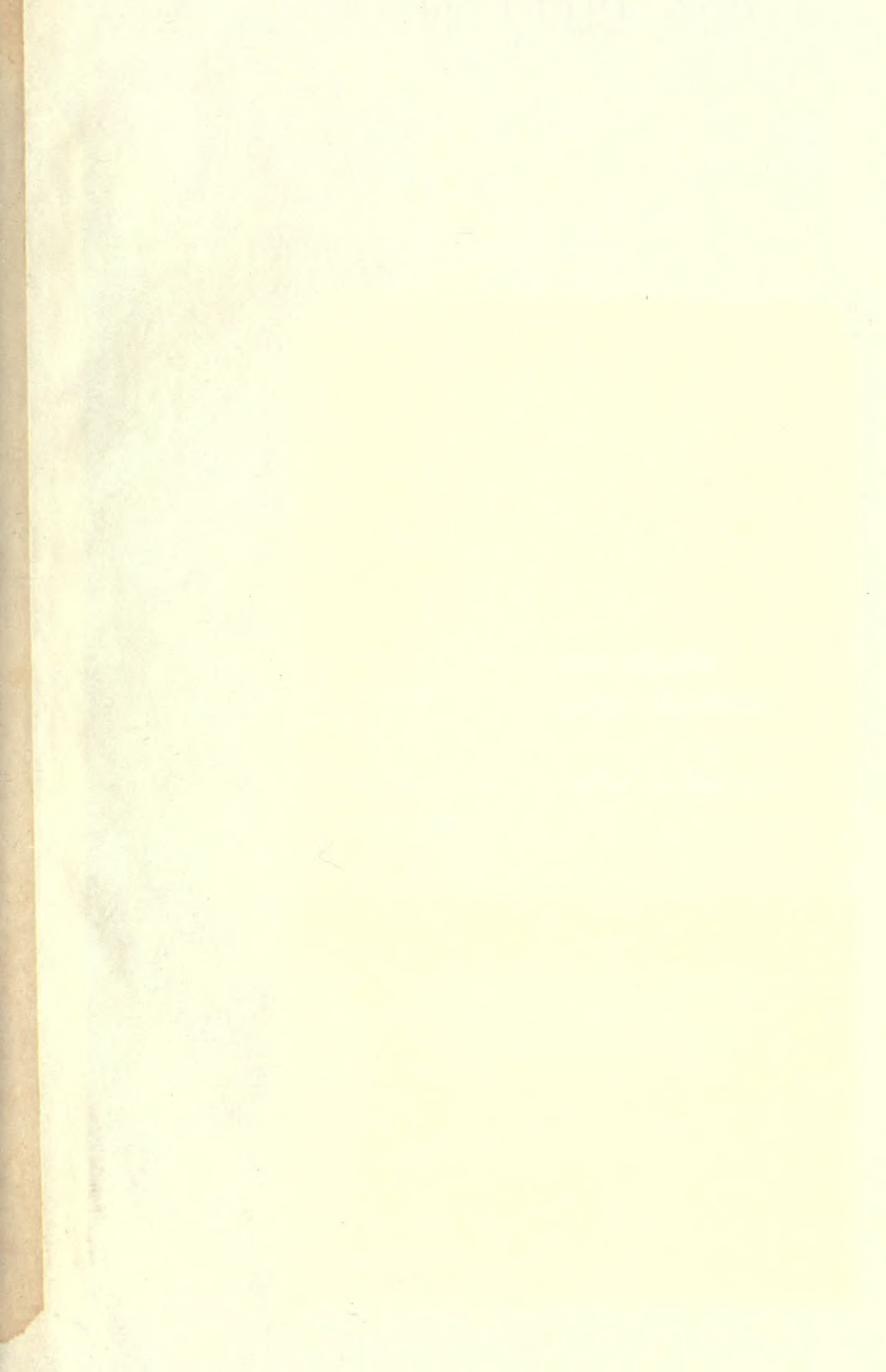
THE British Labor Party's report on Reconstruction is obviously the work of economic thinkers of rare vision and ability and it may well rank among historical documents of the highest class. . . . It is impossible not to feel that we are here dealing with a new thing in the literature of politics; and we believe that the future historian will put his finger upon this paper as the point at which a new idea of the first magnitude made effectual entrance into political theory and practice. So constant is the pressure of this idea that it breaks out here and there through the discussion of concrete economic measures in swift gleams of corroborating light. . . . Every period of political history is governed by some master idea; liberty, empire, individual rights, and so forth. The note of the coming period is already announced in the broad and generous humanism which this document reveals as the characteristic impulse of the British Labor Movement. In this report, British labor appears to assume definite leadership in the creation of the political and economic framework of the new world.

THE WORLD TOMORROW (New York)

A WORD TO THE REAL

THINKING people everywhere agree that the document reprinted in this pamphlet marks an epoch in human affairs. Here for the first time we have a clear-cut detailed, inclusive, practicable programme of social reconstruction, sanctioned by millions of the world's most intelligent workers, both by hand and by brain, out of whose daily needs and hopes and experiences it has grown. It is a programme which, in its main outlines, is of universal application. And if the world is to be made not merely safe for democracy but decent for humanity, this programme, in its essentials at least, must somehow be realized. By far the most important thing to be done at present toward realizing it is to give this document the widest possible circulation. *You*, the present reader, can further this great work in one or all of several ways: (1) by ordering one hundred or more copies of this pamphlet and distributing them among your friends and associates, and in other quarters where the document is likely to be read and pondered; (2) by inducing other interested and influential persons among your acquaintance to do the same; (3) by bringing the pamphlet directly to the attention of the labor unions, business organizations, educational bodies, church associations, etc., of your community, and suggesting that they undertake its systematic distribution among their members; (4) by organizing local meetings and study-classes to consider and discuss the programme here reprinted. Other plans and ideas for effective publicity will doubtless occur to you. But whatever can be done should be done *immediately*. The great need and the great opportunity are directly before us *today*. Special rates for quantities will be quoted upon request.

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