

IDEALS OF THE LABOR PARTY SET OUT BY ARTHUR HENDERSON

British Labor Leader Issues Statement Regarding the Aims of His Party—Stand for a Truly Democratic Rule for Every Country—Would Nationalize All the Essential Industries.

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By THE RIGHT HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M. P.
(Secretary Labor Party and Formerly Labor Advisor to British Government.)

London, Aug. 10.—It would be a profound mistake to regard the economic and political life which are at the present moment afflicting the world as wholly attributable to the economic effects of the war on the material fabric of world society. Immenes and widespread as was the material wreckage wrought by the conflict between nations, the deep spiritual change which the war brooded and the more vivid consciousness of the moral ascendancy and supremacy of the rights of humanity over narrow political, territorial, and commercial exigencies are far greater importance and significance. They promise, so it seems to me, a new epoch in the progressive development of political organization and the democratic control and direction of human affairs.

The Labor party is admittedly rising steadily to a position of political ascendancy in this country. The chief reason for this is to be found in the fact that it is more truly representative of the spirit of the times than either of the other political parties. It has a more intimate and sympathetic understanding of the aspirations of those who are responsible, whether by brain work or manual labor, for the material prosperity of the nation. In its comprehensive program of reconstruction it has provided a practical policy which aims at translating these popular aspirations into realities.

A Reconstructed Society.
The ultimate aim of the Labor party is a reconstructed system of society founded upon the widest possible form of democracy, and in which all members will co-operate in fruitful service in order to provide for every member of society an opportunity to enjoy that fulness and richness of life which is the rightful inheritance of every citizen.

The Conservative party and the Liberal party profess to regard Labor's conception of society as ideal and utopian, but quite impossible of attainment, "human nature being what it is." It is their lack of faith in the possibilities of human nature which definitely marks off the other political parties from Labor. The Labor party holds it as an article of faith that, regarding the people in the mass, human nature quickly reacts to progressive improvements in the conditions of life, and is capable not only of generous and unselfish service, but even of supreme sacrifices when inspired to a lofty and noble purpose. If proof of the latter statement were required it is to be found in abundance in the response of our people to the ideal for which they fought, and secured, and secured.

But this instance of the power of an ideal and the heights to which human nature can rise in its pursuit of an ideal is drawn from a period, in which destruction of life and material treasure was a dominating motive. It is honestly contended that human nature is incapable of equally noble service for the preservation and enrichment of life, for the elevation of its conditions, and for a more equitable distribution of its fruits? Labor differs from Liberalism and Conservatism in that its philosophy is more human and its spirit more vital and quickening. Its strength is derived from the people themselves and its objective is to provide an opportunity for the whole people to satisfy their varied needs.

Must Proceed by Stages.
In working towards its final objective the Labor party must necessarily proceed stage by stage and deal with the realities of the changing situation as they arise. It is perhaps in relation to present-day problems, national, imperial, and international, that the fundamental differences between Labor and other parties are most sharply defined, and most easily comprehended. Whether it be national finance or industry, the problem of Ireland or international policy—which are the four primary issues of the moment—Labor policy is related to each of them in principle, in detail and in the policies of their orthodox opponents.

Must Tax Capital.
With regard to finance we are convinced that the present heavy burden of taxation can only be reduced within a reasonable period of time if extraordinary means are resorted to in order to extinguish a substantial part of our abnormal national debt. It will take several generations to wipe off the debt if we rely solely on taxation of income. The Labor party proposes a graduated tax on capital, which will not affect small capital holdings—as the only means whereby a drastic reduction of our national financial burden can be secured within a few years. With regard to the principles of taxation, Labor is opposed to all forms of indirect taxation, and proposes that all revenue should be raised by direct taxation on the basis of ability to pay. Thus the incidence of all taxes will be clearly understood by taxpayers. The tax duty, the excess profits duty, and other similar taxes are in effect indirect taxes which fall ultimately upon the community, and they are in contradiction to the principle of taxation in accordance with ability to pay.

Nationalize Industries.
Labor's policy with regard to industry is, perhaps, more strongly criticized and more misrepresented than any other part of its program. The principles upon which our industrial policy is based are public ownership and democratic control. As a first step in the re-organization of industry we advocate the elimination of private ownership from the staple industries and services of the nation, such as coal, transport, electricity, and shipping, in order to secure that they shall be operated not for private profit, but for the benefit of the whole community. There is no question of confiscating privately-owned enterprises; they would be taken over by the State on fair terms and would be worked under a system of joint control, which would provide the workers with a higher status in their industry than they enjoy under private enterprise, and enable them real participation with the State in the control of their industry. It is only by such a system of democratic control that bureaucratic control, with all its degrading effects, can be avoided.

Empire a Commonwealth.
Labor's conception of Imperial policy is that the British Empire should be a commonwealth of self-governing nations, resting upon the principle of government by consent, with full rights of self-determination. The recognition of the right to self-determination must be recognized equally in the case of Ireland as in the case of Canada or Australia. Real partnership can only rest upon the consent of the people, and not upon compulsion. Self-determination must be accorded to Ireland, whatever may be the implications involved. Reservations or limitations imposed by Great Britain would be an infringement of the principle, and ought to be a matter for discussion and mutual agreement. If the choice, to the British Labor party, lies between recognizing a claim to independence properly registered by the majority of the Irish people, and her subjection and forcible retention within the Empire, we would unhesitatingly repudiate the aid of force to keep her an unwilling and resentful member.

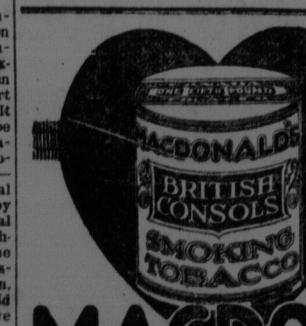
Democratic Foreign Policy.
The Labor party is the only political party in the country which has a coherent and consistent foreign policy resting upon democratic principles. It is true that Liberalism is being compelled under pressure of circumstances and popular clamor, to gravitate towards Labor on questions of foreign policy; but the fact remains that Labor has stood almost alone from the day of the armistice and even before, in its advocacy of a real democratic policy in relation to foreign nations.

World-peace, world-disarmament, the right of nations to self-determination, equality of opportunity for all peoples in trade and commerce—these are the principles which Labor, in its policy, revision of the Peace Treaty, international co-operation, action to deal with the problem of universal economic disarmament, the immediate establishment of a League of Nations which shall include not only the late enemy countries, but also Russia, recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia, and the immediate conclusion of peace and the resumption of trade relations—these and many others are matters which, in the estimation of Labor, call not for mere lip-service, but for real action. The winning of the war was only one stage in the long and difficult process towards achieving full-grown democracy in a world permanently at peace; the conflict between irreconcilable ideas persists today in the form of opposing political conceptions and between opposing political parties in all countries. Political strife in this country is not a depressing industry; it is a healthy and necessary exercise. It is both the outward evidence of the continuous struggle to progress and the guarantee against violent revolution.

The Labor party is opposed to dictatorship, whether by a reactionary or a proletarian minority. It stands for the will of a full and free democracy as the determining factor on local, national, and international affairs. It aims at establishing the unity of all classes in a concerted effort to bring about, by peaceful methods, those changes in the organization of industry, or society, and of international relations which are the predominant needs of the times. It rejects as dangerous and indefensible the present-day tendency towards an alliance of class interests and prejudices while the Coalition is encouraging, and upon which it relies in order to sustain and prolong class domination in the direction and control of national affairs. The only sure and durable basis of government and of national prosperity, is a union of the people and not an alliance of class interests; and in striving to promote the welfare of the people as a whole, irrespective of class distinctions and social differences, the Labor party believes they will best be assisting in building the new world which is the hope and aim of all peoples.

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The above statement was made by A. O. Hunter, 106 W. 7th St., Cincinnati, Ohio, a well-known mechanic now in the employ of the Cincinnati Abattoir Co.

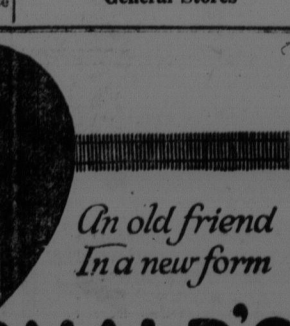
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NOTICE TO CONTRACTORS.

SEALED TENDERS for the construction of the substructure of an International Bridge between Edmundston, N. B., and Madawaska, Maine, will be received by the undersigned at the office of the Supervising Engineer of the Department of Public Works, Post Office, Quebec, up to the hour of three o'clock p. m., Wednesday, August 18, 1920, and there publicly opened and read. The envelope containing the tender should be endorsed "Tender for the construction of the substructure of the Edmundston, N. B., and Madawaska, Maine, International Bridge," and should be addressed as follows:

R. C. DESROCHERS, Secretary,
Department of Public Works,
Canada.

PAUL D. SARGENT, Chief Engineer,
Maine State Highway Commission,
Care Supervising Engineer,
Department of Public Works,
Quebec.

Tenders are notified that:—
Tenders will not be considered unless made on the forms supplied and signed with the actual signatures of the tenderers stating their occupations and places of residence. In the case of firms the actual signature and words of the occupation and place of residence of each member of the firm must be given.

Each tender must be accompanied by an accepted cheque, on a chartered bank, equal to 10 p. c. of the total amount of the tender and payable to the order of the Minister of Public Works, Canada, and the State Highway Commission, Maine, jointly, as a guarantee that the tenderer will execute the contract within ten days of the award and furnish a satisfactory bond amounting to one-half of the contract price for the faithful performance of the work.

The cheque will be forfeited should the tenderer fail to enter into a contract when called upon to do so, and returned if the tender is not accepted. Plans, specifications, bond and contract can be seen, and forms of tender obtained, at the following places in Canada: Department of Public Works, Hunter Building, Ottawa, Ontario; at the office of the Public Works, Custom House, St. John, N. B.; Supervising Engineer, Department of Public Works, Post Office, Quebec, P. Q.; District Engineer, Department of Public Works, Shaughnessy Building, Montreal, P. Q.; also at the office of the Postmaster at Edmundston, N. B., and at the office of the State Highway Commission, Augusta, Maine.

The Department of Public Works of Canada and the Highway Commission of the State of Maine do not bind themselves to accept the lowest or any tender.

By Order of
R. C. DESROCHERS,
Secretary,
Dept. Public Works, Canada.

PAUL D. SARGENT,
Chief Engineer,
Maine State Highway Commission.

Department of Public Works, Canada,
Ottawa, July 29, 1920.

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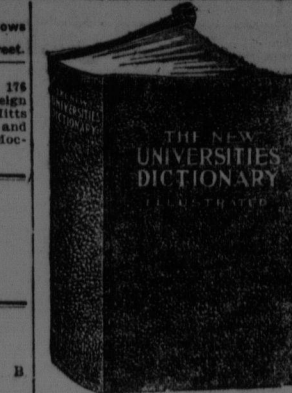
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