

their fellow-countrymen can neither work nor live, but of all who bring their contribution of useful service to the common stock. Its Socialism, therefore, is neither a sentimental aspiration for an impossible Utopia, nor a blind movement of revolt against poverty and oppression. It is the practical recognition of the familiar commonplace that "morality is in the nature of things," and that men are all, in very truth, members one of another. [It is a conscious, systematic and unflagging effort to use the weapons forged in the victorious struggle for political democracy to end the capitalist dictatorship in which democracy finds everywhere its most insidious and most relentless foe.]

### *The Lessons of Experience*

What has made industrial civilisation, with all its horrors, less intolerable to-day than the nightmare of squalor and greed which shocked the conscience of mankind a century ago—what alone, indeed, has enabled industrial civilisation to survive and expand—is precisely the tentative, doctrineless socialism, which, amid cries of impending ruin from the more thoughtless members of the privileged classes, has found tardy and imperfect recognition in the care for Public Health and Public Education, in Factory Acts and Mines Regulation Acts and Minimum Wage Acts, in the development of Local Government and the expansion of municipal enterprise, in the growth of public expenditure upon social services, and in the provision of the financial resources by which such services may be maintained. The Labour Party believes that the time has come when principles should be deduced from experience, and the teaching of history should be turned to practical account. It stands for the deliberate establishment, by experimental methods, without violence or disturbance, with the fullest utilisation of scientific knowledge and administrative skill, of a social order in which the resources of the community shall be organised and administered with a single eye to securing for all its members the largest possible measure of economic welfare and personal freedom.

### *The Red Bogy Once More*

The nation has been deafened with warnings from the Press and from politicians of the horrors which the triumph of the Socialist idea must bring in its train, and that venerable bogy will be resuscitated, no doubt—skull and crossbones, clanking chains, bloody dagger and all—at the next Election. The Labour Party is concerned with grave realities, not with picturesque fairy tales. If its opponents care to rehearse once more a time-honoured fiction, in which even the most ignorant of them no longer believe, they are welcome to such tainted profits as mendacity can bring to their bankrupt exchequer. Practical men and women will consider, not fables regarding to-morrow, but the facts of to-day. They will not be argued into submitting to present miseries because the future contains problems that only the future can solve. They will refuse to be deterred from coping with pressing evils and initiating urgent reforms by hypothetical terrors brandished before them by interests which cling to the former for the profits which they yield, and dread the latter for the personal loss which may be