

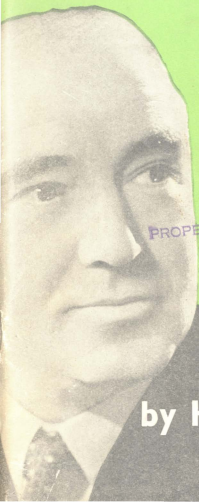
How to win the Peace

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by Harry Pollitt

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by
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CHAPTER I

WE ARE THE FUTURE

On Tuesday, June 13th, I listened to the nine o'clock news and the Special Summary of one week's events since D-Day on June 6th. The graphic dispatches about the actual landings on the French beaches, the dropping of the first paratroops, the experiences of airmen and seamen, gave a vivid picture of how one of the greatest feats of arms in all history had been organised and carried out.

I thought of all the planning and sifting of ideas, the inventive genius, bold conception and execution; of the myriad brains that had been at work; of the training, scope and perfect unity of action achieved between vast land, sea and air forces. I thought of the courage and daring, the heroism and selflessness displayed by all who took part, officers and rank and file alike.

I thought of all that had gone before to make it possible—the rally of Britain after Dunkirk, the fortitude of the British people during the "blitz," the long hours of toil, the battles in Africa, Sicily, Italy, Burma and the Pacific, American help, and what the Soviet Union, its armies and people, had endured and achieved to make possible the opening of the Western Front.

One thought kept hammering in my brain. If all this many-sided effort and sacrifice of peoples and Governments, this tremendous new international co-operation is possible for war, why not for peace too?

If so much effort has been put into the struggle to destroy fascism and defend democracy, then surely men and women of goodwill among all sections of the people will fight to see that the same inspiration, planning and use of the common resources of the United Nations shall also be employed in the coming days of peace, not to destroy, but to build; to make possible victories over poverty and want, social insecurity and unemployment, slums and malnutrition; to set every factory to work in producing the things the people need; to use every acre to grow the nutritious foodstuffs essential to a healthy, well-fed people. They will use the forces that have won the war to destroy ugliness and squalor, to plan new cities and factories, to build houses that are homes, to construct new schools, universities and hospitals, to exchange Britain's manufactures freely with the free nations of the world.

If the united effort of the people can be built up and all resources of the State organised for victory over fascism, with never a question

about where the money is to come from, the same can be done in peace-time to secure social progress, provided the people are prepared to unite and fight for these things with the same intensity and singleness of purpose that they displayed throughout the war.

We owe this to every wounded soldier, sailor and airman, to the families of those whose loved ones have given their lives in the war, to the millions of young men and women whose studies and trades have been interrupted so that victory can be won. We owe it to the workers in industry, whose heavy toil and readiness to give up hard-won and cherished customs and practices have done so much to secure victory. We owe it to the children, especially to those who have been deprived of the love, care and guidance of their fathers. We owe it to the girls whose sweethearts are no more, and to the boys who will never see the future they bought for us with their lives.

We owe it to our own consciousness of what life should hold, to our own constructive ability and purpose in life, our dignity as citizens who have solemnly resolved that out of all this turmoil and suffering, tears and pain, bereavement and sacrifice, the new Britain and the new world shall be born.

It will be no easy task to which we set our hands. The obstacles will be many. It will be a hard fight against the rich and selfish, against the few, in the interests of the many. But it is a fight that will be won, as surely as democracy is winning such magnificent military and political victories over fascism and reaction.

We are already making history—stirring history in accord with the fighting spirit of our people and with the tradition and outlook of the Labour and progressive movement. We, the people of Britain, need not be afraid of the future. We are the future.

CHAPTER II

UNITY AND VICTORY

How has it been possible for the present splendid prospects of victory in war and peace to materialise? A comparison between the present position and the bitter years before the war shows how truly amazing the change has been. It seems almost an impossible change when we cast our minds back to the years spent by our rulers in building up Hitler to crush Bolshevism. Remember the Munich period, when they refused an alliance with the Soviet Union and betrayed one small nation after another to satisfy Hitler's insatiable blackmail, believing that in this way Britain could be saved from war and Hitler turned to attack the Soviet Union. Remember how this policy brought its own reckoning and the guns did go off, but in the wrong direction. Hitler rode rough-shod over Poland, Holland, Belgium and France. Remember the days of Dunkirk and the months of the "blitz"—and Hitler so supremely confident in his strength and power that he believed he could invade and crush the Soviet Union before finally conquering the British Isles. Remember the days when Hitler stood within sight of Moscow, or when he held nine-tenths of Stalingrad.

Compare all this with the position now, when Hitler is reeling to his doom under the joint blows of the British, American and Soviet armies, when a Twenty Years' Alliance between Britain and the Soviet Union has been signed, and when the three greatest powers amongst the United Nations are pledged to build a world in which war will be eliminated for generations. For every man, woman and child, this change means a new world.

This unity has been forged in blood and tears by peoples and Governments who value freedom, who stand on their right to live like civilised human beings and to decide their destinies according to the wishes of the people. It has grown stronger as they have come to understand by first-hand knowledge and experience what fascism means.

Since fascism first came to power it has given the word "brutality" a deeper meaning. It started when Mussolini came to power in Italy in 1922, but it was not until Hitler usurped power in Germany in January, 1933, that the world really began to grasp the new terror that was arising in the civilised world—the destruction of the Labour and democratic movement in Germany, the burning of books, the extermination of education and culture, the persecution of the Jews, the preaching of naked aggression and lust for world domination.

When war broke out, we saw that these horrors were only the beginning. Then the whole foulness was let loose, and every trace of human decency wiped out in the relations of Germany with other nations and peoples. This new scientific barbarism razed Lidice to the ground, murdered prisoners of war in cold blood, subjected Jewish people to vile tortures and indignities, deliberately organised massacres and bestiality on a vast scale in those parts of the Soviet Union temporarily occupied. They killed off technicians, scientists, doctors, teachers and engineers in a number of countries bordering on Germany in order that even when defeated, Germany might be at a technical advantage as compared with its neighbours.

The very bitterness of the struggle to defeat fascism has drawn the democratic nations closer together. Many difficulties have had to be overcome in forging this unity, but it has been done. The co-operation and mutual assistance of Governments and peoples, irrespective of different social systems, racial and religious creeds, is now so strong that, given the vigilance of all democratic people throughout the world, it will never be destroyed.

As I write these lines, the greatest battles of the war are opening out on the Eastern and Western fronts. In the Far East great struggles still lie ahead before Japan is defeated. There must be no illusions about the fierce resistance that both the Germans and the Japanese will organise as the fight draws nearer and nearer to their own territories. They will fight to the last man, and resort to every means whereby they hope to avert their decisive defeat. It is better to over-estimate our enemies and prepare accordingly than to under-estimate their power, and suffer unpleasant surprises.

Those of us on the Home Front must search our consciences. If we all ask, "Is there anything extra that we can do?" we shall find that there is, in the factories, at the docks, at the railway depots, in the mines and shipyards, the aircraft and tank factories, at the hospitals, helping to alleviate the distress caused by the flying bomb, welcoming the evacuated mothers and children whom we should be proud to have in our homes, adopting wards and hospitals in which lie our wounded fighting men, keeping regular contact with our comrades in the forces, defending the interests of their dependants, comforting the bereaved and seeing that the nation fulfils its responsibilities to them.

Only in this way can we put ourselves in tune with our fighting men. Never was the unity between the front and the rear so strong as now. The stronger it grows as we move to the last decisive battles of the war, the more certain it is that the common people will not be cheated of the fruits of their common victory.

CHAPTER III

POST-WAR FEARS

It may be useful to examine some of the reactions that have been manifested now that victory is in sight. They are varied in character, representing definite vested interests, and some have appeared sooner than others.

The Tory die-hards and Munich men showed their hand immediately after the Soviet victory at Stalingrad. This, as the whole world realised at the time, marked the turning point of the war. When Hitler was defeated at Stalingrad, these people at once felt that their property and money were safe from Nazi conquest, and it did not take them long to emerge into the light of day.

Before Stalingrad they had been prepared to accept a good deal of Government control; they were even ready to deal with their workers as if they had brains as well as hands, co-operating on Joint Production Committees and recognising the Trade Unions and Shop Stewards.

But once they knew their skins were safe, off came the mask. All talk of "the interests of the nation as a whole" was soft-pedalled. In the factories they placed every obstacle in the way of the successful working of the Joint Production Committees. They showed anxiety about State control and legislation necessary to ensure the all-out mobilisation of the country's resources and man-power. They proclaimed the need for a rapid removal of all forms of control as soon as the war was over.

They took every reactionary Pole, Finn, Greek and Yugoslav to their hearts. They began to talk about Britain being a poor country after the war. They opposed the Beveridge Report and the bill to fix a minimum wage for catering workers. They started their cunning campaigns against any suggestion of nationalisation or firmer control for coal, aircraft or any other industry. They displayed anxiety about the Moscow, Cairo and Teheran conferences, and wondered whether Churchill had been outwitted by Roosevelt and Stalin. The nearer we draw to victory, the more vocal they become.

The more far-sighted elements of the capitalist class have learnt lessons from the past and the present. They realise the growing strength of the common people. They understand that the problems of economic restoration and productivity have to be solved in a new way, that if the State has had to take supreme control in war-time,

it will in the new international situation after the war have to maintain various forms of control in order to guarantee the successful carrying through of international obligations and responsibilities, on the basis of which alone world trade can be successfully organised.

They have supported co-operation between Britain, America and the Soviet Union because they know that only in this way can there be a solution of the new problems that the post-war period will bring. They know that military co-operation between states in the new conditions of our time must be followed by economic and political co-operation if there is not to be a repetition of the conditions that existed between the two wars.

They are sincerely afraid of another world economic crisis, both because it would endanger their profits and because they can no longer be confident that the profit system itself would survive another upheaval like that of 1931. Therefore, they see the path of economic and political co-operation as the only way forward to meet the new world conditions arising from the new balance of power, the increased productive resources, technical advances and changes in class relations that have taken place.

Some workers who are sceptical, unable to see their own new and stronger position, take a very gloomy view of Britain's future, and on the basis of their past bitter experience, this is not to be wondered at. But they are unconsciously playing the game of the most reactionary section of the capitalist class when they spread the idea that "it will be the same as last time," the workers will "be tricked and betrayed."

In practice, this is really the same attitude as that of the backward and unorganised worker who says: "It's hopeless to try and build a Trade Union in my shop, the workers will never stick together." He may believe what he says, but he is helping the other side, because in practice he prevents the workers from organising. Such an attitude has nothing in common with the militant tradition of our movement, which is founded on faith in the working class and our own ability to achieve real progress.

There are certain sections in the Labour movement who encourage this criticism and defeatism, who demand that Labour should now leave the Government, and who can see nothing in its record except that Labour members have been "tricked" by more cunning Tories. According to them, this is the only way to protect the interests of the working class and to advance to Socialism. It has to be clearly

understood that this is not a revolutionary viewpoint, though nobody talks more about revolution than those who advocate this policy.

To stand aside from the struggle to defeat fascism, to preach disunity at a moment when the workers are mobilised with all the allies they can win against the common enemy—this is not the path that can lead the people to power, but the path of a sterile opposition that can never seriously hope to be anything more.

On the other hand, there is a quiet confidence amongst the overwhelming majority of Labour and progressive men and women that it is *not* going to be the same as last time. They understand that the present position and all it embodies is only possible because of the unity of all who fight fascism. They are determined to strengthen the unity of all that is best in the nation, by getting unity in the ranks of the Labour movement.

They are not going to be tricked and deceived. They understand that the solidarity between members of the fighting front and the industrial front grows stronger with every battle won. They know that between 1918 and 1944, over twenty years of political education and grim experience have been at work, that lessons have been learnt, mistakes analysed and successes seen in their correct perspective. The sum total of it all is a stern determination that there shall be no going back to last time.

This is the frame of mind which is in keeping with the role, strength, power, self-confidence and fighting traditions of the working class in the past, and of the greater part it is now called upon to play in history.

Many workers say they distrust the Government because of its attitude to post-war measures like the Beveridge Report, housing, town and country planning, the Land Bill and its unemployment policy.

They are right in believing that this Government and this Parliament gives too much support to property and privilege to organise the kind of post-war reconstruction we want to see, but that is no reason for despair and defeatism, or for giving up the fight for reforms now. It is precisely the united efforts of every anti-fascist that have forced the Government to consider these social problems at all, and to make certain concessions. When this Government admits that unemployment is not a man's own fault or a law of nature, but something for which the State must be responsible and take definite steps to end, it is a recognition (however unwilling on the part of some of the Tories) that after the war, the people will not be satisfied without a positive

policy of economic and social advance. What, therefore, we now need is to take heart from our achievements and renew and unite our efforts to get more positive policies from this Government. This fight is the surest way to secure a better Government and still more rapid advance after the war.

It is upon this confidence in our own strength that we must build for the future. The people have gained such experience in handling and solving war problems—on Joint Production Committees, in Civil Defence, on Local Authorities, on Food Control Committees and the like, in their successful pressure upon the Government for closer relations with the Soviet Union, and for the opening of the Second Front—that they are not likely to leave the solution of the problems of peace to others. With their united strength and experience, they can handle and solve the problem of rebuilding Britain on the lines they want.

That is the feeling we have to create in connection with every aspect of post-war policy. We must build on the growing power of the Trade Unions, Co-operatives, Labour Party and Communist Party, on the daily developing political consciousness of millions of people who for the first time are feeling their way to the Labour movement as the people's mass movement grows all over Europe.

The key-note of this political awakening is the determination that if the whole resources of the nation can be organised for war, they shall be organised for peace. As we have seen many outstanding changes during the long five years' struggle to win the war, so we shall see even greater social changes in the peace that is now being forged. At no time in the history of Britain have the common people and our movement all over the country played such a great part in conducting affairs as in this People's War. In the days of peace they can and will play an even greater part, and through their own activity will grow the conviction not only that Socialism is the final solution, but that the people can both secure it and make it work.

CHAPTER IV

“LAST TIME AND NOW”

Let us look at the difference between the position in 1918, “last time,” and 1944. It will help us to understand how far we have travelled, and why we can face the future with full confidence.

In 1918, the capitalist world was terrified at the Russian Revolution—at Bolshevism. It was assailed as a menace to everything. The world now knows that it is this same Bolshevism which, in fact, has largely saved us and world civilisation from Nazi conquest and barbarism.

The whole aim of the capitalist nations at the close of the war in 1918 was the isolation and destruction of the Russian Revolution. Now, it is universally agreed that no solution of world economic, political and social problems is possible without the co-operation of the Soviet Union.

The dominating spectre at the Peace Conference in 1919 was not so much defeated imperialist Germany as Socialist Russia. Behind all the treatment of Germany through the armistice terms and the Peace Treaty was the over-riding concern as to how far Germany could be used as the bulwark against the spread of Bolshevism to Western Europe.

The Soviet Union was the subject of the most outrageous forms of allied intervention. She was blockaded and refused trade and credit. Now the Soviet Union has signed a Twenty Years' Treaty with Britain, and has taken a leading part in all international conferences, at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran. She is a full participant in the work of U.N.R.R.A. and in the decisions of the International Conference on Monetary and Banking problems.

This Peoples' War will be followed by a Peoples' Peace, with all the entirely different and positive political, economic and social results that this will bring.

The wheels of history have indeed turned full circle. But other changes since 1918 have to be taken into account in any serious attempt to understand every aspect of the world situation and the prospects ahead.

Since 1918 there have been astonishing political developments all over Europe. Contrast the France of Clemenceau with France of the Resistance Movement today. The Government of Czechoslovakia has signed a treaty with the Soviet Government which is a model of the way such treaties should be formulated and accepted in regard both

to present and future policy. We have no doubt that a similar treaty will be signed by those representing the real interests of the Polish people and the Soviet Government. The strength of the Resistance Movement has forced the recognition of Marshal Tito, and throughout the whole of the Balkan countries we can expect far-reaching political changes in which the power of the people and their democratic institutions will triumph over the reactionary forces that have hitherto held sway.

It has not been easy to reach this stage. The logic of events has forced a new approach and understanding of the real people's movement upon the Governments of Britain and America.

In Britain, no less significant changes have taken place. The working class is stronger, more united and with a better political understanding. There is a new awakening amongst all sections of the people in general, but particularly among all who work by hand and brain. It is widespread amongst professional people and technicians. It reflects itself in many ways, especially in every by-election, whether in a rural or industrial constituency. It has also created a group within the ranks of the capitalist class, which, although their conception is still based on the existence of capitalism as their social system, are not blind either to the new developments nationally and internationally, or to the significance of the new political stage so many millions of the people have reached.

This is the principal lesson to be drawn from the issue of the recent series of White Papers dealing with Education, Employment, Town and Country Planning, Social Security and Workmen's Compensation. They are not the kind of White Papers that a Government based on a Labour and progressive majority in Parliament would draw up, but despite all their weaknesses and protection of vested interests, they are an advance. They represent the pressure of the mass movement. If this movement has not been strong enough to obtain all that it demanded, the fundamental reason is not the character of the Government, but the fact that Labour's own ranks are not yet fully united on the basis of a common policy that alone can give our nation, in common with all other progressive countries, the leadership that it needs.

There will be no going back either to 1918 or 1939. The majority of the people have their minds made up. No going back ! If they can have work and wages in war, they will have work and wages in peace. If no distressed areas exist in war, none shall exist in peace. If co-operation between capitalist Britain and Socialist Russia takes place in war, then it must continue more firmly in peace. If we exchange mutual resources in war, so must we do in peace. Work and wages,

not only when young men have to die and vast areas of civilisation are destroyed, but when the people are determined to live in comfort and decency, and reconstruct what war has destroyed.

The shame of the past is remembered too keenly. The indictment against capitalism is too strong. The arguments for social progress are too overwhelming. I write these lines as the second evacuation of London's mothers and children is taking place. People are reading in the papers how much better dressed and fed they look in 1944, after five year of war, than they did in the "blitz" period of 1940. They are determined that it shall not be through death and destruction that people eat and dress better, because of regular wages and no unemployment; they will insist that it becomes a permanent feature of their lives, whatever vested interest has to be swept aside.

CHAPTER V

THE ADVANCE TO SOCIALISM

The profound and far-reaching changes that have taken place in the world situation do not alter the fact that so long as the capitalist system is in existence, one section of society exploits another. So long as it exists, the strivings of the people to organise society in the interests of all will be hampered by selfish interests provoking class struggle, seeking private advantage through competition for markets, and imperialist rivalries, with all the threat they bring of trade depression and, as we all know only too well, of war.

Only Socialism can bring the final and permanent solution to all the problems created by capitalism, but the advance towards Socialism is not made on the basis of abstractions and theories divorced from what is happening in the world. It is a constantly developing movement, growing ever stronger as the workers experience the weaknesses of capitalism and strengthen and unite their own ranks. We draw nearer to Socialism as the workers fight for policies that accord with the interests of the majority of the people, and always, while acting in present conditions, safeguard also their future interests.

Today, the world-wide influence of the Soviet Union and the growing Socialist outlook among millions of people the world over open up entirely new prospects for advance.

Already we have won a tremendous victory for Socialism. Who amongst us would have dared to prophesy that by 1944 the Soviet Union, the first Socialist country in the world, would occupy its present powerful and rightful position in world affairs?

The fact that in peace and war, the Soviet Union has proved in deeds that Socialism works better than capitalism, is deeply affecting the political thought and actions of millions of people the world over. Millions now know that Socialism can plan and produce, organise industry and agriculture on an immense scale and in a new way; that it produces political, military, industrial and agricultural leaders of a new type, who have earned the respect and admiration of the world. Millions now know that Socialism inspires a noble patriotism, a political and moral unity that is the envy of every other country, a capacity for selflessness and sacrifice that is without parallel in the records of nations. This recognition is beyond price.

How can such a unique and new experience fail to have enormous political consequences in all lands in removing prejudice and misunder-

standing of Socialism, in creating a desire for close unity and friendship with the Soviet Union, a desire to emulate its achievements ?

All this is political capital of a new kind. No monopolist can weaken or destroy it. It will go on working for Socialism.

This is the biggest experience in our lifetime. We have new opportunities, such as we have never before possessed, to go forward to Socialism in Britain, precisely because we have helped to defend democracy in the capitalist world and Socialism in the Soviet Union, and succeeded in both.

All over Europe, great social changes have taken and are taking place. If the new awakening after 1918 was short-lived because the Soviet Union was being attacked and was weak, because the German Revolution was betrayed, because the Labour movement was split, today the position is entirely different.

The changes spring, not only from the world-wide unity that has been created against fascism, but especially from the inspiration that Socialism gives to all who dedicate their lives to its cause. We know that it is based on scientific principles which are no dogma, but a guide to action, combining theory with practice and adapting strategy and tactics to facts as they are in reality and not in the realm of wishful thinking. And we know, too, that every fight against reaction is a step towards further social progress and Socialism.

Socialists know that events in one country react upon others. The policy applied in one country may differ from that applied in another, because of the totally different political and economic conditions, but the aim is always the same, and is directed ultimately toward the common goal. There are advances and defeats, successes and shortcomings, triumphs and setbacks, some lose faith and fall away, others are corrupted by thoughts of self and place, but the majority who embrace Socialism stick to it, unite and fight undeviatingly in its defence and for its progress, win allies and close the ranks, knowing all the time that the cause is marching on.

It is this Marxist outlook that explains why, in this Peoples' War, it is the class-conscious workers in Britain inspired by the Communist Party, who have led the fight for increased production and to make the Joint Production Committees work, have been ready to accept dilution, forego hard-earned customs and practices in industry, trained women to play the leading role they occupy in industry today, made the Civil Defence services a splendid example of heroism, initiative and devotion to duty and given an entirely new conception of service and discipline

in all sections of the Armed Forces, so that we have the magnificent Army, Navy and Air Force that exist today.

We know what similar types of workers have done in the Soviet Union, in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, China and India. Their deeds are legion. We know what they did in Nazi Germany prior to the outbreak of war, despite all the terror of the Gestapo, and we are confident that we shall yet learn of what they have tried to do during the war, in face of the most brutal and dastardly terror that mankind has ever known.

What does the sum total of all this mean in practical politics and prospects? That a new world is being born—not yet a Socialist world, but one that is already a tremendous advance towards Socialism.

Who really believes the scare stories of the coming domination of the rest of Europe by Anglo-American imperialism, or that Amgot will be the instrument through which this dominance is to be obtained? Those who do will prove to be as wrong as they were when they perpetually prophesied the downfall of the Soviet Union and the impossibility of building Socialism in one country, asserted that the Nazis would cut through the Red Army like a hot knife through butter, and that the Soviet Union had betrayed Socialism.

We believe that one of the principal differences between the position after 1918 and the position that will exist at the end of this war lies in the fact that the all-round political development and class-consciousness of the working class throughout the whole of Europe is, in spite of illegality and terror, at an infinitely higher level than it was in 1918.

Then, too, the working class has found many powerful allies among other sections of the people, so that a greater unity exists between them than ever before, and it is from this standpoint that future political developments have to be considered.

We believe that on the basis of the liberation so hardly won from fascism, new democracies will be established, in which, at the General Elections which will take place, broad, democratic People's Governments will be elected all over Europe. All of them will desire the closest connections with Britain, America and the Soviet Union, and this means an entirely new balance of forces, with all the new prospects it opens up for political and economic co-operation in solving post-war problems of reconstruction, security and trade.

In the Far East, Japan will be crushed and the peoples she has conquered and exploited freed to live their own lives. China will

assume a very important constructive role along with the Soviet Union, Britain and America.

British imperialism will be compelled by the people and by the mass Liberation Movements in Burma and Malaya, India and Ceylon, the East and West Indies and Africa, to adopt an entirely different attitude towards these countries, a policy based not on ruthless exploitation, cheap raw materials and labour and retarded native industrial development, but upon mutual assistance, co-operation and exchange of common resources.

In America, the democratic and progressive forces are working to ensure the full participation of their country and all its great resources in every field of international co-operation.

In Britain, we are confident that at any General Election that takes place, provided that there is Labour and progressive unity, the people will elect a House of Commons in which there will be a majority of Labour, Communist and progressive Members of Parliament.

The prospect today is a new one, and worth every sacrifice that victory over fascism is demanding. It is indeed a future worth fighting for. It will have to be fought for. It will involve and demand a closer unity on the part of all Labour and progressive movements than has yet been established. It will call for the organisation of great united political campaigns and struggles, but it will be won.

There is nothing new to the working class in political struggle and campaigning. The Tolpuddle Martyrs, the Rochdale Pioneers, Tom Mann, Ben Tillett, Keir Hardie, A. J. Cook, George Lansbury, William Gallacher, M.P.—all these are names that epitomise the history and development of the Labour movement.

The foundation and recognition of Trade Unions and the Labour Party, the organisation of the Co-operative movement, the winning of the right to vote, the eight-hour day, the organisation of the unorganised, the Social Insurance Act, the securing of a minimum wage for miners and agricultural workers—the whole contrast, in short, between the condition of the workers today and a century ago—is the proud history of a movement that had courage and resourcefulness, that wrenched from a reluctant and hostile capitalist class every measure of social reform that has ever been placed on the statute book.

The pioneers did not get all they fought for and demanded, but they did fight and they got much. They knew how to take advantage of the relation of forces, the balance of power as between Liberals and Tories, the contradictions within the capitalist system, and all the time they

advanced. We are stronger today, more united, richer in experience, and so can fight better to make still greater progress all along the line.

These glorious opportunities are also fortified by another very important factor in the situation. The people the world over want peace, not for a short breathing-space, but a peace which is enduring and will remove the scourge and terror of war for ever. Two wars in one lifetime have left their mark on the minds of all who have gone through them. Ten years of war out of the last thirty, together with the trade depression and the rise of fascism between the two wars, is something terrible in the experience of mankind. The loss of manpower, the flower of the world's youth, the mass suffering, the agony of the wounded and maimed, the bereavement, the interrupted careers, the loss to the world of new inventors, scientists, artists, painters and philosophers can never be estimated. Two evacuations of London's mothers and children in five years, day and night air-raids with their consequent effects upon health and nerves, have all combined to produce a fierce resolve that this shall be the last war, that men and women shall go about their lives in peace, and reap the reward for all their sacrifice.

Peace will bring no problems that the victorious people are not competent to solve, led and guided by the Labour movement, for they know they are winning more than a war.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROBLEM OF PRODUCTION

"If once again we seek to drift back to the good old times—which were not really so good for many of us after all—if we imagine that all controls can be swept aside or that we can return to the economic anarchy of the old days, we shall bring not only discredit, but disaster on ourselves."—*Mr. Anthony Eden, M.P.*

Today there is widespread concern about Britain's post-war economic future. It is often asserted that Britain will be a poor country after the war and will not be able to afford any ambitious social schemes. The capitalists are anxious about the loss of markets and overseas investments and the prospects of intensified competition. The workers and the servicemen fear a repetition of what happened after the last war—mass unemployment and attacks on wages and conditions.

After the war, Britain and the world have to face the fact that there has been an enormous increase of productive power during the war. The crux of the problem lies in whether or not steps will be taken to organise the full use of this increased productive power in peacetime for the purpose of social progress.

The increase in output is over 40 per cent. in spite of war-time difficulties and a decrease of imports of 40 per cent.

It is common knowledge that this increased production has been made possible by State planning and control to ensure that the fullest use is made of the resources available, and State orders which have provided the market for more than half of the country's total output.

On the foundation of this State planning and control, factors which have brought about greater output are: the employment of more workers (in fact, full employment), hard work, longer hours, the carrying out of proposals made by the workers' side of the Joint Production Committees, better technical organisation of production, the equipment of private and Government factories with modern plant, the application of more effective scientific methods to production, and greater incentive by means of piece-work and payment-by-result systems.

The most important point is the increase in output per man-hour, which is the real test of efficiency. This has increased during the war, over all industry, by 15 per cent., *i.e.*, by nearly one-sixth; in munitions industry by twice as much again or more. The rate of increase in war-time is over double the peace-time rate.

Our pre-war net national income (1938) was £4,604 millions. By 1943 this had risen to £8,172 millions. Allowing for the rise in prices during these years, the *Economist* (6.5.44) estimates that this means a real increase in the net national income of 25 per cent. While in 1943 the capitalists had sold some of their property abroad (£655 millions) and at home we let our capital equipment run down to the tune of £126 millions, the outstanding fact is that the volume of *output* at home has increased by roughly 40 per cent, as compared with 1938, according to Mr. Lyttelton's statement of May 20, 1944.

This increase has been brought about despite the fact that we have about five and a quarter million people in the Armed Forces and Civil Defence Services, a large proportion of whom were skilled workers. With the coming of peace, large numbers of men and women in the Armed Forces will be returning to industry, and even reckoning on the loss of a proportion of war-time women workers, we can reasonably anticipate an increase in the numbers of the occupied population of between 14 and 20 per cent.

Emphasis will be given to this point if we quote from an article by N. Kaldor, in the *Economic Journal*, June-September, 1943 :

"Given reasonably full employment, therefore, post-war home production output can be expected to be about one-quarter above pre-war level; and this expectation should provide the framework in which plans for post-war reconstruction are to be fitted."

As everyone knows, we have been spending round about £14 millions a day on the war. Where has this huge sum suddenly come from, when in 1938 we were counting our pennies on education and health services?

Supposing that in 1943 our net National Income was equal to the figure of 100, then the amount we are now spending on the war would equal $57\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of that. The *Economist* has estimated that this $57\frac{1}{2}$ per cent has been made available as follows :

Increased effort	.. .. .	25	per cent
Reduced consumption	.. .. .	$16\frac{1}{2}$	"
Reduced provision for domestic private capital		$7\frac{1}{2}$	"
Increased drafts on overseas capital	.. ..	$8\frac{1}{2}$	"
Total		$57\frac{1}{2}$	per cent

Now we have said that our National Income in 1943 was estimated at £8,172 millions. What can we expect it to be in the post-war years? If all our skilled workers returning from the forces are put to work,

if we modernise all our factories and industries, if we utilise all our resources and productive forces, if we have a progressive Government that will bring out all the effort and enthusiasm of the people, then nothing can stop a rapid growth of the National Income, and in the post-war years it may easily reach £9,000 millions, or even £10,000 millions.

But let us suppose that it remains as it is today. The astronomical figure of over £8,000 millions, taken by itself, conveys little or nothing to the average man or woman. But the trained economist can tell us quite a lot about what it means.

N. Kaldor, for example, publishing the results of an investigation in the *Economic Journal* (April, 1943) makes it clear that on the basis of this post-war national income *even if there are 1,500,000 unemployed and 1,000,000 still in the army*, we could restore national consumption to its pre-war level, spend twice as much as we did before the war on capital improvements, export sufficient to pay for all our imports, and adopt the Beveridge Plan in full—with income tax at 6s. 6d. in the pound.

If, however, the post-war Government adopted an active policy for maintaining employment, and unemployment were below the half million mark, we could, if we so desired:

“Afford to maintain the Armed Forces of the Crown permanently at strength equal to that of Hitlerite Germany in 1939; afford to face the consequences of an unprecedented—an improbable—deterioration in our international trading position, and we could afford, at the same time to maintain a rate of capital accumulation which, in a few years, would relieve us of the need of restricting consumption altogether.”

In other words, there is no basis in fact for the assertion that the Beveridge Plan, or any other measure of social reform aimed at relieving poverty, unemployment and insecurity, cannot be carried through because they would be an intolerable burden on the nation's finances.

But the needs of our own people, and of our Allies in other parts of the world, are so great that only to begin to satisfy them would require the full use of our increased productive resources for many years to come.

At home even catching up on existing needs created by the war—clothes, furniture, domestic utensils and goods of all kinds—will be a tremendous task. But are we going to be satisfied with the conditions

of 1939, with 16,000,000 people earning less than £250 a year, 4,500,000 people existing in dire poverty, one-third of the nation living at a standard below recognised health requirements, at least half the ability among elementary schoolchildren going to waste, less spent in a year on education than on advertising, housing conditions and overcrowding that were a disgrace to a civilised country?

The immediate and minimum needs of the British people are well known, and have been clearly formulated by experts and specialists in each particular field.

HOUSING. According to the Government's own estimate we shall need at least 4,000,000 houses within ten years after the war. They must be well-planned, well-built and with modern amenities.

TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING. Quite apart from the rebuilding of the "blitzed" areas, the majority of our towns and rural areas require if not rebuilding, at least reorganising.

EDUCATION. We need crèches and nursery schools for at least two million children, thousands of new elementary schools, hundreds of new secondary schools and technical colleges. A large proportion of existing schools which are structurally sound need modernising and re-equipping.

HEALTH SERVICES. Five hundred new hospitals are required to start with, to say nothing of the need to provide sanatoria, rest homes and health centres.

HOUSEHOLD AND PERSONAL NEEDS. The new houses—and the old—will need great masses of furniture and other equipment; and there will be an enormous demand for clothes and other personal needs.

INDUSTRY. Our industries in many cases want complete re-equipping with all the modern machinery and devices that have been perfected during the war. Roads, mines and railways above all cry aloud for such treatment. A scheme for the entire electrification of Britain must be planned and carried out.

The demands which will have to be met if these and other industries are to be fully equipped in a modern way are colossal; we need £100 millions replacement on the railways, £46 millions on the cotton industry, at least £100 millions on the coal industry and other huge amounts to provide piped water supplies and modern equipment for the countryside. This investment will provide a rapid and growing return in the shape of increased efficiency, for it must be remembered that the industrial efficiency of Britain was only half that of America before the war.

ART AND CULTURE. The war has shown the utter inadequacy of facilities for entertainment, relaxation and culture in the majority of our towns and their almost complete absence from our villages. There is a need for thousands of theatres, libraries, museums, concert halls and civic centres.

These are only a few of Britain's immediate needs when we have finished making the weapons to defeat fascism abroad. But there are also tremendous new openings for the products of Britain's industries abroad.

On the basis of co-operation between the nations of the world such as can and will be established by the new kind of Governments that will be elected after the war, it will be possible, even though capitalism remains, to introduce and carry out the new method of trading between the world's peoples which is essential to full employment and to peace.

It is, moreover, a world in which there is a firm resolve on the part of the four great powers, Britain, America, the Soviet Union and China, to establish and maintain world security, with control and regulation of world trade on an expanding scale.

This fact is something new in world affairs. It affords a real basis for systematic planning on the part of Britain's industry and trade to export enough to balance all necessary imports of raw materials and foodstuffs, to pay off debts, and to take full part in the re-equipment that so many parts of the world need in both capital and consumer goods.

From France to the Soviet Union, wholesale devastation has taken place. Towns, villages, industries and communications have been destroyed. There is an acute shortage of food, means of transport and communication, medical supplies and commodities of all kinds.

In the Far East is the vast country of China, which has suffered longest of all through the ravages of war, a gigantic country with gigantic needs—500,000,000 people—a potential market to which, on the basis of co-operation, there is no limit. A free China, which has overthrown imperialist domination and is now recognised as one of the great powers forming the basis of a new order of world security, has truly enormous possibilities for absorbing the products of other nations, while simultaneously developing her own resources, as the following figures will prove.

Over twenty years ago, the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen outlined what was required to develop China and its resources. Since then many others have worked on this question, and in the American magazine *Fortune*, October, 1943, there appeared an article by Theodore H. White, the Chungking correspondent for this and other magazines, in which he

stated China's requirements to be: 100,000 miles of railway (half double-track), which would require 20 million tons of steel, 25,000 locomotives, 300,000 railway wagons and 30,000 railway coaches; 500,000 new automobiles a year for ten years, one million miles of new hard-surfaced road highways; power plants to produce 20 million kilowatts; 80 million telephones; one million new houses a year; 320,000 cotton looms; 16,000 woollen looms; 94,000 silk looms; 10 million tons of ocean-going shipping.

In addition to such items, a united and independent China will take over existing mining and manufacturing from the Japanese, and will rapidly extend all industrial plant, as well as constructing great new harbours, docks and ports; there will also be every kind of modern development in housing, new cities, power, irrigation, agriculture and re-afforestation. From the rise in the standards of the Chinese people that all this economic development will bring about, a demand for consumer goods of every conceivable kind will follow.

There is India, whose progress nothing can stop. Her independence is going to be won. No longer will India be a country providing only tribute to British rentiers. Her age-long subjection will be ended, and her tremendous industrial and agricultural resources developed in full.

There are other smaller Colonial countries, hitherto regarded as the exclusive Colonial possessions of the imperialist powers. In these countries also, new political developments are taking place, co-incident with the growing demand of the majority of the people in the imperialist countries that such nations be given their freedom and independence. Great opportunities are available here also to assist future economic development and full use of the resources of these countries.

The entire situation at home and abroad shows that with the right kind of planning, control, organisation, and Government, enormous opportunities exist for using the whole of Britain's existing productive resources.

It will take years to rebuild the "blitzed" towns of Britain and devastated Europe, to build up the ruined economy of occupied Europe and China, and to assist in the industrial and agricultural development of all Colonial countries and peoples.

The demands for coal, iron and steel locomotives, ships, machinery and machine tools, electrical equipment, agricultural produce, transport vehicles, motors, textiles and consumer goods of all kinds can be enormous, given the correct policy on the part of the Government, employers and workers.

If Britain's productive resources are great, it is as well that they are.

in view of the needs at home and abroad, and the determination of the people to see that they are satisfied.

Increased production and increasing development of the productive forces is an absolute necessity for even the most modest schemes of social reform. A mere re-distribution of the national income on a more socially just basis is not nearly enough to guarantee freedom from want, even in Britain and America, let alone the backward Colonial countries and the devastated areas of Europe.

Every man and woman, therefore, who is prepared to fight for freedom from want must regard the war-time increase of production, not as a menace to be feared, but as a great ally on their side, cutting the ground from beneath the feet of those who claim that we cannot afford Beveridge, cannot afford to build four million houses, cannot afford to raise the school leaving age and give secondary education to all.

We believe that the whole of Britain's productive resources can be far more fully used even under the present, capitalist, system of production.

It cannot be done if left to the free play of employers; it can be done by taking all essential measures to organise continuity of production, regardless of vested interests, measures that relate internal demands with those from abroad in accordance with the people's needs, on a basis of complete co-operation and recognition of our obligations to devastated Europe and the Colonial countries.

It demands a complete break with what Mr. Eden rightly called "the economic anarchy of the old days," and the clear recognition that what has to be done is at the same time the transition to a new stage in society.

It demands a united Labour movement, leading and winning to its support every man and woman in the country who is determined to see there is no return to the "good old days" of mass unemployment and all the misery it entails for millions of people.

Why is it not regarded in that way by many people today? Because in peace-time under capitalism, the fact that the people need goods and workers are available to make them has never been a guarantee that the goods would be produced. Production has been carried on, not to meet the needs of the people, but in the sole interests of profit. Hence we had poverty in the midst of plenty, food burned while the people were hungry, miners in the streets while the grates in the workers' kitchens were empty. Only in war-time has the Government stepped in to guide and plan production so that priority is given to meeting the nation's needs.

It is this planning and controlling of production to meet the needs of the world that is now the decisive question for the people, and it is upon this aspect of the problem that attention must be focussed. But instead of concentrating on this, a good deal of attention, discussion and argument now centres around the question of whether increased production is a good or a bad thing, to be welcomed or to be deplored; and widespread apprehensions are voiced.

The fears expressed are confused and contradictory, but four definite points of view emerge upon examination.

1. Many employers fear increased production because they are afraid that there will be no market to absorb it. The monopolists who have that outlook seek to maintain their profits by restricting production and keeping prices up. This they regard as more important than ever in view of the competition they will face from American and other competitors. Of course, they can only achieve this aim by the imposition of tariff barriers, or quotas to keep the market to themselves.

2. Many workers also fear that increased production will mean the piling up of goods which cannot be purchased because there will not be enough purchasing power (*i.e.*, wages will not be high enough) to use up all the products. If this happens it will lead directly to a slump, the dole, distressed areas and Public Assistance Committees. This was the meaning of the poignant cry from one of the lads setting out for Normandy, who, on seeing Ernest Bevin, M.P., called out: "Ernie, when we have done this job for you, are we coming back to the dole?"

3. The highly-skilled workers fear that increased production means the increasing introduction of the assembly line, where good workers more and more become low-paid cogs in the machine.

4. There is a wrong impression that increased production—in other words, a tendency to mass production—means that everything will become standardised and ugly, and will lead eventually to the dying out of the high standard of workmanship and pride of craftsmanship which have always been such an outstanding characteristic of the British working class.

The very fact that these apprehensions exist—and they are expressed every day in speeches of Members of Parliament, the writings of economists, the trade journals of the employers, and the Trade Unions—is a challenge to the whole nation, one that can be accepted and answered.

With regard to the fears of the employers who want to keep prices

up by limiting production—on this school of thought we propose to waste very little time; for it is unthinkable that the British people will ever permit a return to the days of burning wheat and throwing fish into the sea, which, in the final analysis, is what limiting production means.

There is an alternative open to the employers. In the Beveridge proposals for providing full employment, which were worked out with the co-operation of the Labour movement, it is proposed to maintain purchasing power at a higher level than hitherto. That is to say, the State will provide the effective demand (or "outlay," as Beveridge calls it) to maintain the output of goods needed by the people at a higher level. Beveridge estimates that had we secured full employment before the war (*i.e.*, used the productive machine all out), it would have cost another £400 million, a tenth part of the national income, but we should have had more schools, better transport, a better cotton industry, and more efficient coal production to show for it.

The demand for machinery and other capital equipment does not directly depend on the purchasing power of the workers, but it can and must be maintained and increased by bringing Britain's industries up to date, helping in the rebuilding of shattered Europe and bringing forward the industrially backward countries.

Hand in hand with these policies must, of course, go a higher wages policy; increasing efficiency and higher man-hour productivity must be matched in higher wages (as the White Paper on Full Employment recognises). And, as we show below, certain controls must be maintained to see that this policy is effective.

We must see to it, in peace-time as in war-time, that by State *expenditure* and *control* the needs of the people are satisfied, as we know they can be.

With regard to the fears of the workers, however, these are very real ones, with a solid basis in bitter experience.

Many of them believe that in the long run, maybe two years, maybe five, maybe ten, but eventually, the slump will come and we shall have to go through the whole process of misery and unemployment again. We say here and now quite frankly that the only perfect solution is, of course, the Socialist one, where the entire production of the nation is so balanced by its consuming power, plus its investment in capital equipment, that there is never any over-production, and as much as can be produced by the nation is consumed by it. However, even under capitalism, a Government of Labour and progressive forces will know

much about the nation's finances which will allow this problem of booms and slumps to be tackled. Many suggestions have already been made in the recent Government White Paper, and many economists, including Sir William Beveridge, whose report is shortly expected, have also made very valuable suggestions. In the main, the following things are necessary:

1. A four or five-year-plan for the nation, which will plan our productive capacity, co-ordinate all the various industries, and balance our imports and exports; at the same time providing Britain's contribution to the reconstruction and development of other countries.

2. Control of capital investment, *i.e.*, of our new productive equipment (both of Government expenditure and of private investment), and providing Britain's share in international investment plans.

3. Keeping the consumption power of the people up to the standard where there will be no surplus of goods. The main means of doing this is by Trade Union pressure to raise wages as production increases, supplemented by adequate social security payments.

4. Taking control of some of the main important industries; mining, railways and steel will have to be either nationalised or put under some form of control in which the entire structure of the industry is co-ordinated and modernised, with the necessary investment given by the Government, and a control of prices and profits so that these key industries are working for the benefit of the nation as a whole and not merely for the shareholders.

These questions are dealt with at length in the chapter, "Britain for the People."

If this policy is adopted and the pressure of the people is kept up, so that no spanners are thrown into the works by the privileged classes, then apart from occasional or "transfer" unemployment, there need be no mass unemployment.

The third fear of many of the workers, that increased production and mass-production methods will mean harder work and the reduction of most of the workers to the status of automatons, where all they have to do is to tighten a nut on the assembly line, is a very great mistake. While it is true that where most of the workers are unskilled, mass production does mean automatic motions, in a progressive society, where the workers are becoming more and more educated and skilled as time goes on, it means that the more skilled labour power becomes available, the more machinery is produced to do the automatic work. Mass production means something else. The skill of craftsmen in handling great modern machines is much higher than was needed in

the old days. The test of skill is not the amount of hard work done, but the extent to which human toil can be lightened. Modern industrial developments are enabling the most amazing products to be produced in bewildering variety, representing an all-round saving of drudgery and hard physical toil. It means also higher wages and shorter hours, better factory conditions, and a general raising of the level of skill and craftsmanship throughout industry.

This is the very essence of the Stakhanovite movement, which does not mean more work and increased effort by the workers, but, on the contrary, the application of scientific technique to the job, so that effort is reduced to a minimum, and skill and machinery takes its place, thus producing much more than before for a minimum output of labour.

Lastly, mass production and increased output of all the necessities of life does not mean the standardisation of ugliness. Mass production only produces this type of goods when it is utilised for the sole purpose of profit, so that things are produced as cheaply as possible. In a well-planned society, where the main purpose is to serve the benefit of the nation, mass production can mean flexibility and individuality, and goods of a high standard. With all the difficulties and limitations of war-time production, the mass-produced Utility furniture of today is a tremendous advance on the thinly veneered, shoddy muck which was all that most young working couples could acquire in pre-Utility days.

So long as the main aim of production is not profits, we can mass-produce Spitfires!

The approach we have made here to the problem of production and how it can be used to its limit is, of course, the exact opposite to that adopted by the Government and employers after the short-lived trade boom from 1919 to 1921.

Our policy will produce the opposite results. There will be work and good wages for all, side by side with decisive measures of social reform. It is a policy that takes into account all the new political features of the present and coming periods. It depends for its success on the unity and strength of the Labour movement and the willingness of the employers to co-operate.

If they refuse, the consequences are theirs; but they should do well, in their own interests, to think twice, as undoubtedly some of them will, for as Mr. Wendell Willkie pointed out in his recent book "One World":

"A great process has started which no man can stop. Men and

women all over the world are on the march, physically, intellectually and spiritually. . . . Old fears no longer frighten them."

They are certainly not going to frighten the working class or the united Labour movement it is going to create.

In all the arguments here presented, we have been concerned with the immediate, post-war needs of the people, but if we consider our country's future from a long-term point of view, we see the need for utilising our productive forces to the full as the only way for Britain to play a leading part in the advance which the whole world is making. We shall be a small nation living in a world of great productive units—America with 130 million people, the Soviet Union with 200 million, India with 400 million and China with 500 million—all with vast quantities of raw materials within their own territories. China and India, and many other countries which have not been developed industrially, will be rapidly expanding their industries. They will need all the help they can get from the older industrial countries; and the experience, skill and craftsmanship traditional in British workers, as well as British scientific and technical inventiveness, will be of the greatest service in the industrial development of the world, which can keep British industry fully employed for generations.

Will the present powerful groups within the ranks of monopoly capitalism, who agree with the Twenty-Year Treaty with the Soviet Union, with the Teheran decisions, the Atlantic Charter, and the new types of international agreements now being negotiated, be prepared to fit in and adapt themselves to the new situation?

This aspect was plainly dealt with by the American Federal Reserve Board, which, in its Bulletin of May, 1944, stated:

"The choice is between high production, high employment and general prosperity—falling production, serious unemployment, widespread misery and danger to our institutions."

We are not called upon to enlarge upon this plain statement of fact, save to say that the guarantee that the right choice is made depends upon the rapidity with which all sections of the Labour and progressive movement can unite their forces to return at the next General Election a Government and a Parliament with a majority that can represent the present and future interests of the majority of the British people. The responsibility for securing this rests, above all, on the Labour movement.

CHAPTER VII

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE?

In the last chapter, we examined the mighty productive forces which now exist in Britain, and which, rightly used, can guarantee the fulfilment of all the people's hopes.

We now have to take into account the way the population of Britain is made up and the interests it represents, so that we can obtain a clear picture of who are likely to support a progressive policy, who can be won to support it, and who will oppose it.

THE CAPITALIST CLASS. Those who form the capitalist class comprise several groups within the one class as a whole, according to how they obtain their rent, interest and profit.

First—there are the big industrialists—those who own and control the key lines of production, iron, steel, coal, shipping, engineering, aircraft, shipbuilding, motors, electricity. They are organised in big combines and trusts. Their interests are not confined to one particular product or one particular country, but are all inter-connected and range all over the world. They have a finger in every pie. They are closely identified with landed interests and the banks.

Second—overlapping with the big industrial capitalists—there are the big financiers who dominate the Bank of England and the five big banks, as well as the large insurance companies and investment trusts.

Third—the great landowners, seventy-seven of whom own 25,000 square miles as direct landlords, nearly 3 per cent of the country's land, and who have big industrial and financial interests as well.

These three groups can be described as the dominant group of monopoly capitalists. In addition to their control of industry, land and finance at home, their tentacles stretch out to India and all other Colonial countries. They are linked up with rubber, tin, and other raw materials and commodities brought from abroad.

They are that section of the population who are in the main in receipt of over £10,000 a year. There are 8,000 such income recipients; they got in 1941-42 £170 millions gross, less tax at 1941-42 rates they get £35 millions which left them with an average net income of £90 a week. (Figures from Cmd.6438.1943.)

Then we have the capitalists with medium-sized businesses and the small landowners, forming a group which at the top level of income is close to the very rich section mentioned above, down to those who are paying surtax on incomes little more than £2,000 a year. It is difficult

to tell from the official returns how many of these there are, but normally the average number of those with incomes over £2,000 a year is about one hundred thousand, including the 8,000 very rich and also several thousand individuals who do not actually own great wealth or property, but draw big salaries in controlling positions in industry or finance, in the civil service and armed forces, in the law courts and the Church and in the professions.

These medium-rich people seem very important to us, but they are very small fry to the big monopolists, though sometimes they acquire both money and power, especially in some of the newer industries. But because they are active and in the seats of control, they have to be reckoned with very seriously in weighing up those who go to make the ruling class. We have seen the reactionary role this type generally plays, in the example of the late Lord Stamp, and more recently, Sir John Anderson.

How does the capitalist class administer its rule? The number who control and carry out the policy on behalf of the whole of them is not, probably, greater than one thousand. They are the active and powerful leaders. They hold in their hands various key instruments of government—the Treasury, Bank of England and the "Big Five" banks—for managing price levels, control of investment and interest, and for maintaining the bureaucracy and the State machine, military and civil. They control the boards of the big trusts and combines, they control the Tory Party, and have a powerful influence in the Liberal Party, the Press and the B.B.C.

They use their wealth and social prestige to good purpose in their West End Clubs and in big country houses like Cliveden, to organise wire-pulling, corruption and the influencing of the key people to carry out in Parliament, Press and foreign countries the policies that will bring them in the highest rates of profits and safeguard their interests at home and abroad.

The public schools, especially Eton, Harrow and Winchester and certain select colleges at the senior Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are intended to train and consolidate each generation of this ruling clique, so that business associates will also be old schoolfellows, wearing the old school tie, with all that this phrase has come to mean. This helps to reinforce and strengthen the class and social ties that bind them together, as against the sectional interests that might otherwise divide them. They also provide the education which produces reliable and class-conscious statesmen and administrators of the capitalist class as a whole.

They exercise a great monopoly in the ownership of the Press. The Astor family, with big banking and financial interests, owns the *Times* and *Sunday Observer*, the Berry brothers, now Lord Camrose and Lord Kemsley, with close connections with coal and heavy industry, own the *Daily Telegraph*, *Sunday Times*, *Daily Sketch* and *Western Mail*, and a host of provincial newspapers. The Rothermere family own the *Daily Mail*, *Evening News*, *Sunday Dispatch* and a chain of newspapers all over the country. Lord Beaverbrook owns the *Daily Express*, *Sunday Express* and *Evening Standard*. The Cadbury family, with big cocoa and chocolate interests, owns the *News Chronicle* and *Star*.

All these powerful instruments of propaganda seek to influence people's thoughts in varying degrees in the way most beneficial to the capitalist class and system.

Finally, there are the smaller capitalists—the small-scale industrialists, merchants, the farmers with medium-sized farms, and owners of shops employing a small number of workers. This group, which totals about a million, has in the main to carry on a continuous struggle to maintain their position; though their outlook is traditionally Conservative, they feel the squeeze of the big monopolists, and many realise that their interests are closely linked with those of the workers; many are now close to the Labour movement. They are on the whole unorganised, and have no independent policy; but they are as a rule anti-fascist and democratic.

They are a considerable political force in elections, but capitalist policy is determined not by them but by the big monopolists, land-owners and bankers, and that is why it is with this decisive section that we have been chiefly concerned in this brief analysis.

THE WORKING CLASS. Immediately we come to make any analysis of the working class, the class that produces all wealth, we see at once that they and their families constitute the overwhelming majority of the nation.

In 1938, the total number of workers (*i.e.*, persons insured for unemployment) was 14,800,000, to which must be added 400,000 railway workers. They are grouped in the following industries:

Engineering	..	..	..	..	2,237,000
Building and Public Works	..	..	..	..	1,870,000
Coal	..	..	..	..	858,000
Printing	..	..	..	..	446,000
Woodworking	..	..	..	..	250,000

Distribution	2,096,000
Textiles	326,000
Agriculture	719,000
Transport (excluding railways)	899,000

The effect of the war has been, in the first place, to bring a large number of new people into industry. The total active labour force is now nearly 25,000,000, of whom about 4,500,000 are in the Armed Forces and Civil Defence Services. The second important change is the big increase in technical efficiency, and the third is the big change in the relative proportion of industrial activities.

Thus, engineering has increased by over 50 per cent, building has decreased to 400,000 men. The fourth big change is the large-scale recruitment to the Trade Unions, in which there are now some eight million members. The position of the older type of skilled craft Trade Unionists has had to be adjusted, not only because of transfers and dilution, but also because of important technical changes in industry, which are bringing forward a new type of skilled worker, who, while not exactly comparable with the craftsman, represents an important development in any assessment of Britain's productive possibilities.

The total amount paid in wages has risen from £1,728 millions in 1928 to £2,909 millions in 1944, but we must take into account that this includes a large amount of overtime and extra toil and also remember the increased cost of living and deductions made for Income Tax. It is a return for additional effort that will be cut out when the war drive stops. In fact, the additional productivity in war industries has equalled, if not surpassed, the rise in the wage packet. Prices have gone up, while the percentage of the national income going in wages has fallen from 51 per cent to 48 per cent. This excludes Forces pay and incomes into which wages do not enter. (Oxford Institute of Statistics, Bulletin, 5.7.44.)

A considerable part of the working class is well organised in the various sections of the Labour movement—the Labour Party, Communist Party, Trade Unions and Co-operative organisations. It grows stronger in political understanding and class-consciousness, plays an increasingly important part in the affairs of the country as a whole, and during the war has come to recognise its own power in a way that will tolerate no misunderstanding in the future.

It has succeeded in extending collective bargaining during the war to industries hitherto largely unorganised, such as distribution, and in some industries has established its right to be consulted in what were

formerly jealously guarded "managerial functions." It has made great strides towards unity, as seen in the removal of the "Black Circular," and the admission of women into the A.E.U. Some of the most reactionary employers, notably the Coal Owners and Ford Combine, have been brought to heel and compelled to recognise the Trade Unions.

While the principal strength of the working class is in the industrial workers engaged in production, agriculture and transport, there is a considerable section of so-called "black-coated" workers, men and women clerks, technical workers such as draughtsmen, the lower-paid grades of scientific workers, and other office workers filling the lower administrative and managerial grades in business and the Civil Service. This is a group which shades off into the "middle-class," though its economic position is identical with that of the workers. In this group, too, considerable strides have been made in Trade Union organisation, though a great deal remains to be done to link this section of workers more firmly with the Labour movement.

THE MIDDLE CLASS. Now we come to that section of the population commonly known as the middle class because it represents an intermediate section between the two main classes, the capitalist class and the working class.

It, too, falls into various groupings, of which the most important are: (1) Those who run independent businesses, such as working shopkeepers and farmers, merchants and industrialists on a small scale; (2) professional people, such as doctors, lawyers, architects, and so on; and (3) salaried people filling the intermediate positions in business and the Civil Service. As is natural with a "middle" class, it shades off into the lower ranks of the capitalists at the top, and at the other end into the working class; but the typical middle class people enjoy incomes and a social position which are above those of the workers, although they cannot in any sense be treated as close to the big capitalists. In fact, their interests are very close to those of the working class, especially in relation to the big monopolists who are constantly undermining their position; and in recent years at least, large numbers of them have in the main supported anti-fascist, democratic policies.

How large is the middle class? There are no exact statistics. But it is known that there are about a million small shopkeepers, small employers and working farmers, and there are perhaps another million professional people and people in administrative posts carrying salaries

that would put them into the "middle class." With their families, the middle class is about one-tenth of the population.

What lessons can be drawn from a study of these facts?

1. The principal sources of Britain's prosperity, land, industries and transport, are owned by a mere handful of people, organised, dominated and led by the big monopolists, having at their disposal powerful means in support and defence of rent, interest and profit.

If any still doubt this, let us quote what the *Economist*, December 25th, 1943, had to say:

"The most complete estimates of the distribution of property in Great Britain are those published by Mr. H. Campion shortly before the war.* Mr. Campion's definition of property is a wide one, including land, houses and buildings, the capital of industry, transport, commerce, finance and agriculture, railways, British and foreign Government securities, other overseas investments, furniture and movable property. The total of private property in 1936 is estimated at between 15,853 and £17,548 millions. Of this total an amount estimated at between £14,604 and £14,613 millions was held by between 1,727,000 and 1,874,000 persons, each of whom held over £1,000, and these persons were between 6.8 and 7.4 per cent of the total number of persons over the age of 25. These estimates are in close agreement with Sir William Beveridge's rounder figures. That 84.5 per cent of the private property of this country should be held by 7.1 per cent of the adult persons (these figures are the middle of the range of estimates) will be a surprise to many people. It will be still more of a surprise to learn that it is necessary to go as low as a holding of £1,000 to include even as much as 7.1 per cent of the persons. Those holding over £10,000, who are 1 per cent of the persons, own 55.8 per cent of the private property. Mr. Campion estimates that the total value of *public* property in Great Britain in 1932-34 (excluding the value of roads, armaments and securities held by local authorities) was between £2,455 and £3,325 millions.

"As a rough statement therefore, it can be said that 1,800,000 persons who are 7 per cent of the adult persons in the country own 85 per cent of the private property and draw 28 per cent of the individual incomes of the country."

(*Economist*, December 25, 1943.)

* "Public and Private Property in Great Britain," by H. Campion, Oxford University Press, 1939.

But powerful as they are the capitalist class has now to face a new situation, one that has never confronted it before. What effect has the war economy had on the monopoly capitalists? Economically this section has become stronger as compared with the smaller business men. The directors of Production who plan Government orders, the controllers on the principal National Control Boards, and the Government Ministers in the key positions, have been drawn from their ranks—men like Sir James Lithgow in shipbuilding, Sir Andrew Duncan at the Ministry of Supply, nominees of the Unilever combine at the Ministry of Food, representatives of I.C.I. in sixty-one key control positions, and Sir John Anderson, formerly connected with Vickers and I.C.I., whose record of political reaction is known all over the world, as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In the national control organisations the monopolists have had an opportunity to learn the secrets of their competitors, fix high prices, consolidate their trade associations, and in general to do themselves and their interests very well.

But in relation to the world situation in general and the developing political perspective in Britain they have become weaker. Firstly, they are weaker in relation to the United States and the Dominions, both through the growth of competing productive forces and the sale of British investments. Secondly, they are politically weaker because of the defeat of fascism, the increasing role and influence of the Soviet Union in world affairs, and the coming emergence of democratic Governments all over Europe. Thirdly, because of the growth in the political consciousness and organisation of the working class during the war; and they have also lost ideological control over large sections of the middle class, who are now organising in professional trade unions to an increasing extent. This advance of the workers is always a danger to the monopolists in a period of full employment, but the political dangers this time are something new and more formidable than ever before.

At the same time the dominant section of the capitalist class face difficulties in reorganising their own forces.

The Society of Individualists, the National League of Freedom, the Economic League, the Right-wingers of the Tory and Liberal Parties, people like Lord Elton and the Earl of Glasgow, the chairmen of property companies, investment trusts, electricity combines and insurance concerns, all try to play their own game. They talk loudly about "freedom," but they mean freedom from any kind of control

and restraint of their effort to enrich themselves at the expense of the rest of the community.

The pressure of the people has on more than one occasion been able to use the differences and contradictions to advantage, to modify or change the policy of the big monopolists and the Tory Party, as, for example, in relation to Hitler, the Soviet Union and various measures of social reform. What has been done once can be done again. The capitalists are more divided than they have ever been. The opportunities for workers are correspondingly greater.

2. The consequences of Government control merit careful study. In the course of the war, State controls over imports and exports, supplies and production, prices and distribution, have been of the greatest service to the people, and to their fight against fascism. At the same time, however, because of the influence of big business in Parliament and the Government, State control has given some big advantages to the monopolists, and if only they could be sure it would always be their State, and their Government, as people like Sir John Anderson will always want to secure, they would be wholeheartedly in favour of continuing control. But they don't feel sure, and therefore they don't want to be held publicly accountable for their actions—they would rather move out of Whitehall to their own secluded board rooms where they cannot be ordered to render an account of their doings to Parliament.

Under Parliamentary democracy after the war, State control could still serve the monopolists if there is a Tory majority, or if the Labour movement has Mondist illusions of salvation through giving way to the policy of big business. But with a Parliament dominated by a Labour and progressive majority with their representatives in the key positions, and a united and watchful Labour movement outside Parliament, many of the monopolists feel that even existing controls are still dangerous. Hence the Government's White Paper on Employment, representing a compromise between the various views, is distinguished by its advocacy of the lifting of control as soon as possible, the restoration of the "blind economic forces" and a minimum of planning. The monopolists are afraid that in the post-war world they will be more planned against than planning if the idea once catches on that economic forces can be organised and got under control. If they could establish for themselves once again a Tory majority in Parliament they might change their tune.

3. The working class and their families make up the great majority of the nation, and upon them in war as in pre-war days, the greatest

burdens of all have been placed. It is from their ranks that the greatest number of our fighting men are drawn, it is their families who suffer the greatest casualties; it is their ideas and labour in the war that have brought about miracles in productive achievement when one considers the out-of-date character of so much of Britain's industrial plant, and the bitter opposition of reactionary employers towards considering any constructive part in the planning and organisation of industry that the workers above all others are capable of undertaking. It is the workers and their families who have borne the chief brunt of the air-raids and flying-bomb, and hundreds of thousands of their homes have been destroyed, their precious household goods, acquired as a result of a lifetime of sacrifice, blown sky high in a few minutes. It is their wives who have to queue for weary hours for rationed goods, and it is their women folk who have gone by the million into industry, and, as is now rightly recognised, have played a most important role throughout every aspect of the war effort.

Much has been said about the high wages the workers are alleged to have drawn, but few mention the long hours, the arduous toil, the increased output, the increased cost of living or the heavy deductions taken from their wages in income tax. It is their work, sacrifice, powers of endurance, and initiative in the factories that have enabled us to reach the present position where victory over fascism is in sight. And it is the workers and their families who will also in peace-time be that mighty constructive force in the country that will enable us to proceed to new conquests over poverty and unemployment and insecurity, win closer co-operation with the peoples of the world and be the indestructible bastion against any further rise of reaction, either at home or abroad, that can jeopardise the future peace of the world.

In the course of the war we have already seen certain new features arise in the fight to enforce the ideas and demands of the workers on both the employers and the Government. The workers in Joint Production Committees have gone further than ever before in getting a say in the actual organisation of production. They have begun to check, control and constructively improve on the organisation of the *nation's* productive machine.

We have seen how, beginning within a single factory and by putting pressure on a single employer, the workers have found it necessary to go beyond this. They have had to tackle the higher organisation of production, challenge the planning by Government departments and expose the inefficiency of managements in a manner that has compelled widespread public attention and support and forced the Government to take drastic action.

They have had to over-ride the barriers between separate competing aircraft firms and get a pooling of common experience and knowledge by bringing all Joint Production Committees together, as we saw in the case of the production of the Lancaster bomber. The result was the working out of a common plan that enabled a more rapid output of this bomber at a very vital time in the conduct of the war.

Their activity in linking up one factory with another has forced the Government to establish Boards to co-ordinate production, and has done something to cut through the jungle of vested interests and get more orderly allocation of contracts. In some cases it has led to the Government having to take over control of various firms.

Thus, in the new conditions we now have to face, the struggle begins to take on a new character, where small factory issues can develop to a point where they become matters of national concern which can only be put right by national control and planning.

4. The people of the middle class have to make up their minds which political line they mean to follow, that of the capitalist class or the working class. However much some of them believe there is a middle course or an independent role for them to pursue, such is not the case, as all experience goes to prove. They are dependent upon the turn in events brought about by the strength of the capitalist class or the working class.

Already we can see significant signs of the realisation of where their true interests lie, in the way that so many members of the middle class and their professional organisations are now allying themselves with the Trade Union Congress, and becoming members of the Liberal, Labour and Communist Parties or of Common Wealth.

It represents the knowledge out of bitter experience that, under existing conditions, capitalism acts as a restrictive force on all the aspects of life that they are especially interested in, and condemns the the majority to low salaries and great insecurity because they are not as well organised as the working class. Added to this is the influence of the Soviet Union and the way it has solved some of the social problems still confronting Britain, as well as its part in the war.

They are looking for an alternative to the restoration of the pre-war system. It is up to the Labour movement to convince them that their only future lies with the Labour and progressive forces of Britain, working for social advance and for Socialism.

5. The decisive issue for the whole population is what economic and political policy will be adopted by the Government, the capitalist class and the working class in the post-war period.

We have seen the immense possibilities that exist in Britain and throughout the world for an expansion of production, provided that it is accompanied by an expansion in the living and working conditions of the people and the carrying through of an extensive and far-reaching series of social reforms.

6. The issue facing Britain can be stated simply. Is the post-war policy to be like that which monopoly capitalism was allowed to pursue after the last war, or one suited to the totally different conditions that exist in 1944?

Let us recall what happened after the last war, and why the memory of it so deeply seared into the workers' minds. As soon as the short-lived post-war trade boom was over, the employers commenced the most vicious attack on the workers' wages and conditions: the most terrible cutting of social services and unemployment benefit took place. Britain's main industries were reduced to a secondary position, producing distressed areas and mass unemployment. Shipyards were closed down, cotton mills destroyed, invention was restricted, splendid machinery and plants smashed up. People were made poor, malnutrition and squalor increased. Two Labour Governments were brought down by the unscrupulous use of the power of the Press and finance. In short, between the two wars capitalism brought endless misery and suffering to a majority of the people.

Capitalism was responsible for strikes and lock-outs, the General Strike, the Trade Disputes Act, the severance of relations with the Soviet Union.

7. If it is not to happen again certain essential facts must be grasped and acted upon accordingly. First, there must be an entirely different kind of Parliament in Britain, one in which the domination of 265 Tories, holding 512 directorships, is brought to an end. Whatever the title or composition of the new Government—and that can only be determined as a result of the General Election—it must rest upon a solid Labour and Progressive majority, one that has gained the support of all that is best in the country, irrespective of their class or social connections. It must be backed by similar majorities in all local and county authorities, and by a mass movement throughout the country.

Such a Government will not only have to plan and guide the entire policy of the nation, but will also have to ensure that all key positions of the Government and Civil Service shall be occupied by trusted representatives who will carry out its policy and avoid the scandal of blackmail to which the two Labour Governments were subjected by the Treasury and the City of London in 1924 and 1929.

CHAPTER VIII

BRITAIN FOR THE PEOPLE

Robert Blatchford once created a tremendous political ferment with a book called *Britain for the British*. Today, a majority of the nation intend to win Britain for the People, a Britain in which we live and work in peace and friendship with the peoples of the world, and claim for ourselves nothing we will not support others in obtaining.

The people want jobs for all, good wages and shorter hours. They want homes, social security and a healthy nation. They want plenty for all, a conception of life that is not just work, bread and bed, but one which provides great opportunities for leisure and recreation, wider cultural interests and facilities through which all the genius and ability of the working people can have full scope.

They want for their children a democratic educational system from the nursery school to the University, unfettered by wealth and class privilege or reactionary religious bias, an education which fits the young to become the splendid citizens of tomorrow, strengthened in whatever trade or profession to which they care to turn their hands and brains by the knowledge that they are working and building in a new way for a new Britain; education that inspires and enlarges vision and creates dissatisfaction and resentment at things that are wrong and could so easily be put right.

The people want a fuller life, want to be able to enjoy all that the rich take for granted as their exclusive rights—to travel and study, to enjoy the arts and master science, to have in their homes all the comforts and pleasures which the rich want in theirs.

The people want to see an extension of democracy throughout all their institutions and the ending of class privilege and snobbery. They want to take part in the administration of their own country and the organisation of their own lives. For many years, the people have shown, in the conduct of their Trade Unions and Co-operative organisations, their administrative work in Parliament and in Local Authorities, that they have greater abilities than Liberals, Tories or so-called Independents and Moderates.

During the war, this democracy has been considerably extended. In the work of numerous Government Committees, Civil Defence, Fire-Watching, Home Guard, Canteen Committees, Evacuation Committees, Shelter Committees, but above all the Joint Production Committees, the people have shown how they can make democratic organisation work.

This country would not now possess the magnificent equipment it has without the suggestions for avoiding bottle-necks and for the smooth working of industry put forward by the workers on the job. Democracy has meant not merely voting, but the administration of things by the people themselves.

The people strongly desire to see this experience carried forward in peace-time reconstruction, and it is in the interests of the nation that this should be amply provided for in the post-war plans.

The people want peace. They want to live as good neighbours with the peoples of the world. They are ashamed at the appalling contrast between the conditions we have, imperfect as they are, and those we impose on countries we claim as British Colonial possessions. The people understand that there can be no real peace, democracy or freedom for themselves, so long as they are forced to acquiesce in denying the same rights to others, and in the enslavement and exploitation of other peoples.

How can it be done? We reply, by a Government based on a Labour and progressive majority in Parliament, commanding the support of all, whatever class or section they represent, who desire that the lessons of the war shall be learnt and applied in the peace.

Such a Government will be backed outside Parliament by a united and powerful Labour, Trade Union and Co-operative movement, of which the Communist Party will be recognised as an integral part. It will be backed by the will and determination of the people, expressing itself also in the winning of majorities on Local and County Authorities, so that the general policy animating progress in Parliament and industry will be supplemented and reinforced by all organs of Local Government.

Such a Government will have to challenge the right of a few big business men, controlling important industrial and financial concerns, to use or misuse our national resources as they think fit. The first duty of the Government will be to see that use is made of the productive ability and skill of every man and woman, that our industries are developed and brought up to date, that the new factories and machines we have acquired during the war are used to increase the wealth of the nation as a whole.

To do that, the Government will have to own some important industries and businesses, and exercise strict control over others. It must determine what are the most urgent needs, and set industry to work on them. It must spend money for school hospitals and houses as fearlessly as the Government has done during the war for Spitfires

and Churchill tanks, and it must encourage the raising of wages and living standards all round, for this is the surest way to prevent slumps and unemployment.

During the war, no one would tolerate a Government which allowed aircraft workers to stand idle, and let the flying bombs get through because "we can't afford any more Typhoons," or because "the company doesn't think it would pay to build any more." There is no need to tolerate it in peace-time either.

Instead of the sovereign power of a few big business men, the Government must assert the sovereign power of the people.

It is generally recognised that you cannot solve the problems arising from the growth of monopoly control in certain vital industries by a stroke of the pen, and return to the days of free competition and individual ownership. On the other hand, a point has now been reached where in a number of such industries their control by the monopolists has become a fetter on production and prevents their usage to the maximum possibilities, with the result that public opinion is moving strongly in the direction of demanding social control. This, however, can only be effective on the basis of their public ownership. We have reached a position in which only through the nationalisation of such industries can there be any real planning or full and efficient use of these productive resources for the satisfaction of the needs of the people at home and abroad.

What, therefore, are the immediate steps that such a Government should carry out, in alliance with its supporters outside Parliament?

It must take over ownership of certain key industries—coal and power, transport, iron and steel, the land and the banks, in order to guarantee the success of any plans for using our productive resources to the full, and raising our standards of life.

The people are ready for such measures. They have seen from their own experience that nothing less can give the nation what it needs. For years past they have observed the growth of larger and larger companies, the steady development towards trusts and combines, until the power to decide exactly how much Britain shall produce and at what price is concentrated in the hands of a few men. The people recognise the danger of plans made by these monopolists, who do not plan production according to the people's needs but according to what will yield the greatest profit, who have been responsible for so much unemployment, stagnation and waste in the years before the war. But the people recognise, too, that the day has gone by for unplanned economy. With the immense scale of our productive resources, the

huge and complex organisation of industry at home and throughout the world, there can be no progress or security without planning, and only a Government representing the people can be trusted to plan in their interests.

For example, we cannot build a prosperous Britain on the basis of a decayed mining industry, where conditions are so bad that the next generation loathes the idea of working in it. It is possible to provide conditions that will make mining an attractive career, and at the same time give industry plentiful supplies of coal and coal products at reasonable prices. But this cannot be done on the basis of the private ownership and private profit-making which has reduced one of our greatest national assets, the coalfields, to their present ramshackle, chaotic and inefficient condition. Putting the coalfields on a sound footing is a job beyond the vision or resources of the present owners. They must be replanned as a whole, without considerations of quick profit. The new shafts must be sunk, the machinery put where the mining engineers think it is needed, not where it suits financial interests. Only in this way can we get an efficient industry upon which the power, chemical and all coal-using industries can be securely founded.

A nationalised fuel industry, including gas and electric power, with the Local Authorities controlling their distribution, would make it possible to develop a whole number of new industries such as plastics and light metals, to transform farms and villages and end the crowding of the whole family in the kitchen because it can't afford to keep two fires going. So national control of the coal industry will increase the wealth of the nation as a whole.

In demanding this, we shall have the support not only of the miners but of the whole Labour movement and of many coal-using businesses which have been retarded because of the high price of their fuel.

The steel industry, like the coal industry, is the basis for almost all manufactured goods. The whole scale of industrial production in peace-time and the size of armies in war-time is limited by the size of the steel industry, which at present is controlled by one of the tightest and most restrictive price-fixing monopolies in Britain.

During the war, the steel ring has been able to avoid expanding its basic production at all. It has operated with one eye on the post-war period and the need at all costs to avoid "surplus capacity" because of its fear of over-production. It has left us dependent at the most critical stages of the war on steel imported from America. Already before the war, protected behind a tariff, it had made British steel about the dearest in the world, as the motor manufacturers, for instance, com-

plained, and since the war it has been able to boost prices still higher. Its slogan of "high prices and low production" goes along with serious technical backwardness, which nevertheless allows it to make huge profits at the expense of the steel-using industries. The high price of the all-steel "Portal House" is an outstanding example—in a £600 house no less than £175 is for steel.

Left in private hands, the steel monopoly would be a most serious obstacle to re-equipping our own industry and developing our most valuable exports—engineering products. It is also one of the strongholds of the monopolists, and its leading personalities are (like the coalowners, with whom they are closely inter-connected) associated with the most reactionary and pro-fascist tendencies in our political life. National ownership of steel would open out immense new possibilities for the engineering and shipbuilding industries, and its rapid modernisation on the lines of the best American and Soviet plants would be felt to advantage right through the economic system.

Inland transport is the life-line of Britain. It affects the price of every product, and has a tremendous influence on the siting of industry and the planning of towns. With the growth of cities many workers spend the equivalent of one full working day a week travelling to and from work, often in extreme discomfort. Bad transport is second only to bad housing in harmful affects on our daily lives.

Our transport system at present is a drag on the efficiency of our whole industry. On the one hand there is wasteful competition between railways and road haulage and canals, which bars the way to national development of any kind. On the other, the railways exploit their monopoly position for carrying many classes of goods, and their financial links with the bus companies, to charge high fares and freights, while neglecting electrification, larger wagons and other improvements, so long as they wring out year after year immense sums in interest and dividends. The costs of transport in Britain are believed to be four times as great as in America. Moreover, the working conditions in rail and road haulage, at least, are among the poorest in any major industry.

Only a unified national transport system can overcome the wasteful overlapping between road and rail. The Government would therefore nationalise the railways and long-distance road haulage, docks, internal air-lines, canals and coastwise shipping, and organise them as a unified system. It would take over the bus companies and transfer local services to Local Authority control, for the Local Councils are in the best position to know what services their people need. Firms would

continue to operate their own lorries, and the small lorry-owner could continue to provide a useful service in short-distance haulage.

It would be a long overdue measure of social justice if these measures of nationalisation were carried through without compensation, but we do not propose to raise that issue, because it would provoke political differences that might hold back the progress the people are waiting to realise. But whatever terms of compensation are decided upon, it is essential that the private stockholders should not be bought out with stock in the national undertakings, but with general State bonds which will carry a lower rate of interest. In this way, the finance of nationalisation should ensure a diminished burden of unremunerative charges, and increase funds available for development and for improving the conditions of the workers, while the private stockholders would cease to have any voice in how the nationally-owned industry should be run.

The management of every nationalised industry must be directly responsible to a Minister, and, through him, to Parliament. Its directors and executive officers must be appointed on the basis of efficiency and qualifications for the job, and not because they used to be financially interested in the industry when it was privately owned. The fullest opportunity must be given to the Trade Unions, at all levels, to play their part in improving the service and in enlisting the knowledge and initiative of the workers on the job. The nationalised industries will not be centralised bureaucratic machines run from Whitehall; their task will be to serve the people, to draw the people into their administration at every level, and to submit their record and their plans for popular approval, so that the strengthening of production and the extension of democracy proceed side by side. The idea of running a nationalised industry like any other business, free from popular control and without direct Parliamentary responsibility, is a most unbusinesslike fallacy which would produce not efficiency but stagnation, and defeat the purpose of national ownership.

With national ownership of the land, Local Authorities will be able to replan our towns and cities as places that are pleasant to live in, not, as so many are today, one or two expensive "residential" suburbs and the rest drab and congested. Instead of having to build new workers' houses on the cheapest sites available—the "odd lots" near railways and canal banks or factories—they will be able to plan houses and gardens and shopping centres so that it all fits in, and makes a town which is not only easy on the eye, but easy to live in, to get to work in, and to bring up a family in. It is also essential in order to

cut down the heavy price of land which is a main cause of high rents.

National ownership of the land, with security of tenure for efficient farmers, whether tenants or owner-occupiers, is essential to any real policy of consolidating the war-time advances made in agricultural production, and developing them still further.

War needs have resulted in an increase of 70 per cent in food production, with a better standard of nutrition for many sections of the people as a result of more equitable distribution of the available supplies. The prospect of world food shortage immediately after the war, and the need for industrial development, will make essential the maintenance and extension of agricultural progress.

There must be a national food policy designed to secure completely adequate nutrition for the entire population. If our land resources are fully utilised for maximum production, British agriculture can make a still larger contribution towards feeding the people.

This means a complete break with the pre-war policy which relegated agriculture to a secondary position, allowed millions of acres to go out of cultivation, relied mainly on high imports of foodstuffs and sought to maintain with subsidies a limited British agriculture.

Such a basic change in the position of agriculture will require a bold and far-reaching policy. It is necessary to remedy the root causes of inefficiency by a planned development. This will require capital and state aid, and the removal of unnecessary burdens, including those arising from the private ownership of land.

The war-time advance has been secured by the development of a balanced agriculture, by the ploughing up of land, and by the policy of "taking the plough round the farm." The extension of this process after the war will make it possible for us to provide all the milk, eggs and vegetables which we require, as well as more meat and a substantial increase in cereals, including wheat.

This policy involves, first, the planning of production on a national scale, with participation of the farmers and farm workers through the County Agricultural Committees, which must be reorganised on a democratic basis with increased representation of the working farmers and farm workers; second, special assistance to the small men, who form the majority of farmers, with the fullest encouragement and assistance for joint purchase of requirements and sale of products, provision of village granaries and fertiliser depots, pooling of machinery and joint cropping; and, third, recognition of the fact that private ownership of the land imposes unnecessarily heavy burdens and will obstruct the full development of our policy at every point.

The power of the financial centre had shaped not only the development of industry but the actions of Governments in the past. The banks used their power to influence the development of industry in the 1930s to finance companies to restrict output, close shipyards, scrap cotton mills and build up a high-price monopoly. National control of the banking system is needed to direct a steady flow of credit at low rates of interest to the expansion of new industries, the re-equipment of the mines and cotton mills, the encouragement of new enterprises in the former Distressed Areas, and the building of houses. National ownership of the Bank of England, which acts as backer both to the Government and the other banks, is needed, so that finance becomes the servant of a progressive Government and never again, as in 1931, the weapon with which a Labour Government is brought down.

Along with the banks, the Government must take over the great industrial assurance companies, whose control of the savings of millions of workers has made them an immense financial power. Beveridge has shown how necessary such a step is to end the waste of workers' money in unnecessary administrative expenses and huge dividends to the shareholders. It is still more necessary in view of the powerful reactionary role of these companies as investors.

Ownership of the banks will in itself put the Government in a position to influence where and when much of the new investment shall take place and where the new factories and machines are to be placed. But many of the most powerful companies today have built up out of their surplus profits immense funds which can be used to re-equip their old factories and build new ones without ever needing to borrow from the banks or raise money through the Stock Exchange. Their investment plans, too, must be controlled by the Government through a National Investment Board, so that there will be no disorganisation and waste of the nation's resources, but first things will come first—houses before luxury flats, and new factories for the old industrial areas getting their right place in the plan. No firm must be allowed to put any new major development into effect without a licence from this Central Board.

Only on this basis can we abolish the violent fluctuation in the level of investment from year to year which is so often the cause of disastrous slumps. A Government which directly owns some of the main investing industries, which controls the flow of credit and which exercises a firm direction over all large schemes of capital construction can do a great deal to maintain full employment.

With these strong-points firmly in its hands, the Government and

the people will be in a position to control their economic destinies to a greater extent than ever before. This does not mean the end of capitalism, but it does mean taking away from a small group of capitalists the power to restrict and confine our whole economic life, to plan our industries or leave them unplanned, so that workers are employed or thrust on to the streets at their bidding.

The capitalists will still make profits, but they will not be free to use those profits just as they like, and those who cannot make profits and pay decent wages at the same time, will have to do without the profits. They will be weaker, and the working people will be stronger.

On this basis the Government must guide and plan the whole course of production in accordance with its policy at home and abroad. The people have seen in two wars that in this supreme national crisis, private enterprise is immediately unable to safeguard the defence and well-being of the country. The State has to step in, to plan what is wanted, to build its own factories, to give the orders; has, in short, to plan and unify the whole production of the nation.

The State must take the same responsibility in time of peace. On this basis, the State would :

1. Prepare a guiding plan for production in peace-time, set targets and objectives, satisfying urgent needs first.
2. Make bulk purchases of essential goods, particularly housing materials, food and clothing. The organisation of distribution should be carried out so as to ensure that supplies are fairly shared.
3. Allocate supplies according to the importance or urgency of the work to be done.
4. Make full use of existing plant, including that of small and medium producers, in allocating contracts.
5. Turn State war factories over to peace-time use wherever possible.
6. Make State aid and credits available to enterprises for new developments that would benefit the public.
7. Give special encouragement to new industrial development in the former Distressed Areas.
8. Utilise the controlling bodies to ensure the fulfilment of the peace-time production programme, to reduce economic costs, and to promote efficiency.

Control of Privately Owned Industries. It will not be necessary to own every industry to carry out such a policy. Monopoly capitalism will still exist, though great inroads will have been made into its power, but monopolists and speculators will not be allowed the supreme and unchecked power they had before the war.

It will be necessary to maintain efficient price-controlling machinery, so that costs, prices and profits can be checked by the Government. This method has been successful during the war in preventing the crazy sky-rocketing of prices for food and clothing that went on during and after the last war, and in developing mass production of "Utility" goods. There is every reason why it should be part of the Government's job in normal times, not only to protect the people against profiteering, but to standardise good quality products and to press for the speediest introduction of new technical methods that can bring prices down and make the nation richer in real wealth.

We have had examples of how this might be done in "Utility" production, and to some extent with the factory-made house, but the weakness has been that in the monopolised industries, the control of prices has been left far too much to the judgment of the monopolists themselves. The price controls of the post-war period must not be left to the monopolists to operate as they see fit. Use can be made of Co-operators, business men from other industries, Civil Servants and Trade Unionists, to establish a much stronger and more independent central control which would not only see whether existing prices were yielding an excessive profit, but whether they could be brought down if output were increased and more efficient methods used.

A famous American banker once said that bankers don't like new inventions because they make banking unsafe. Of course, when a firm has a factory that is making profits out of boots at £1 a pair, and someone invents a machine that can turn them out for sale at 10s. a pair, it's bad business for the company and its banker, but good business for the people. One of the worst sides of private monopolies is that they own or buy up new inventions which they will neither use themselves nor allow any other company to use. Legislation must be introduced to make this illegal and to free new inventions for use by all those who are prepared to develop them.

There must be the closest Government control of international agreements affecting trusts and combines. Never again must we allow great combines—"states within a state"—to conclude agreements which divide up world markets between them so as to maintain high prices and low production, without ever consulting or even informing peoples and Parliaments. We have seen revealed in the investigations of the American Government how cartel agreements with German industries hindered our defence and prevented the United Nations from developing aluminium, synthetic rubber and other industries valuable for war, but also for peace. Economic relations between nations must be settled by the Governments in the interests of raising

living standards, not by secret treaties between the combines which make profits out of scarcity.

No one single law will deal with all the effects that spring from monopoly power. What is needed is continuous Government enquiry into the activities of trusts and combines and full and fearless publication of the results. (There has been no official investigation of their actions in Britain for over twenty years.) Above all, the Government must keep and use whenever necessary, the power it now has to nominate directors to the boards of big concerns, to replace them if their conduct of the business is unsatisfactory, and, if necessary, to take it over altogether, as was done with Short's aircraft factory.

The Government will ensure jobs for all by increasing purchasing power and living standards, and making war on restriction and high prices. It will itself spend money on houses, hospitals and schools, on new equipment for the railways, the mines and the steel-works, which can increase and cheapen their products. It will place bulk orders with private industry so that good-quality clothing and furniture can be produced in bulk to be re-sold to the public. In this way it can give the small manufacturer the assurance he needs to expand production, and guarantee good-quality products at low prices.

The Government will fight against crises and unemployment, not only by maintaining control, but also by increasing the purchasing power of the people, and this it will do, as far as Britain is concerned, largely by encouraging and aiding the work of the Trade Unions and the Co-operative movement.

During the war, the amount the worker produces every hour has increased much faster than his wages. In many industries, men or women workers, paid at semi-skilled rates, are turning out, with new machinery, more than the most skilled craftsman could do in the past. The working people as a whole could produce at least 30 per cent. per hour more than pre-war. We shall need to raise wages so that they can also buy more. This is necessary to raise living standards and to prevent crises and unemployment. For after the war, it will be the money the people have to spend that gives industry a great home market and provides jobs for everyone. Pressure of the Trade Unions for better wages and shorter hours will be one of the main forces compelling reorganisation and technical improvements.

It will not be the Government's job alone to tackle this problem. The Trade Unions will have a great part to play in securing better conditions for their members, but the Government can and will help their work forward.

The Government will free the Trade Unions from the legal fetters of the Trade Disputes Act of 1927 and Regulation 1AA., but it will go much further, and compel the employers by law, as Roosevelt has done in the United States, to recognise and negotiate with the Unions. Union agreements will be legally enforced as a minimum standard (as has been done to some extent during the war) in order to end the scandal of the anti-Trade Union employer who is able to undercut firms which keep the rules. This will also encourage Trade Union organisation where the Unions are still weak. The Government will compel the employers to recognise the Shop Stewards and Works Committees as part of the general recognition of the Trade Unions. It will safeguard the Shop Stewards against victimisation, for they have proved over and over again during the war that they can be the eyes and ears of a democratic Government control on the job.

The Government will introduce legislation for a 40-hour working week as the maximum normal hours, and at least two weeks' holiday a year with pay, not counting public holidays. The right to leisure and enjoyment will transform the lives of millions and allow them to develop new interests for the first time. The 40-hour week in France before the war resulted in a flowering of working-class life such as had never been seen before; not merely political life, but every kind of activity—sport, cycling, workers' Universities, theatres, holiday homes in the mountains—all sprang up. It would be the same here. We should hear much less complaining that working people "weren't interested" once they got a little more of the leisure that every well-to-do person takes for granted and has to excess, and the work of democratic organisation, Local Councils, Trade Unions and Co-operatives would become far more effective when the workers were not too exhausted to take part in them adequately.

Alongside higher standards for those at work, the Government will guarantee security for those who are unable to work through sickness, disablement or old age. The Beveridge proposals are a beginning on which all progressive people will agree, but the Government can do more than this. It could immediately carry out the plans for a National Health service with only one kind of treatment for everyone—the best. Instead of queueing for a hurried consultation in a crowded surgery, or relying on the patent medicine advertisements for doctoring, the worker's ailments would be diagnosed by his own doctor in a well-equipped Health Centre, with all the facilities for testing and special treatment which make medicine a science, and for which the wealthy pay their twenty guineas in Harley Street.

The school-leaving age would be raised to 16 immediately. The

building of new schools would be accelerated and generous assistance given for training more teachers, so that there can be smaller classes and every child can get the individual attention it needs.

The national production plan must give high priority to school and hospital building, and to training teachers and nurses.

The principles of these reforms are widely agreed on. What is needed is to get them carried through speedily and on a generous scale. That needs a bold and generous financial policy. Where will the Government get the money to do all these things? Won't it mean running up a huge National Debt and impoverishing the people? This is a bogey that has often been used to frighten the workers off demanding big social reforms, but in fact it is no more difficult for the Government to spend money in peace-time than in war-time—provided it is not afraid of taxing the rich.

What we call the National Debt is for the most part not money which Britain owes to any foreign country, but money which past Governments have borrowed within Britain, mainly from the profits of the rich, to finance those of its activities which were not paid for at once by taxation. Most of it was used to pay for wars. The total interest paid on this money is now about £500 millions a year. It is paid out of our taxes, mainly into the bank accounts of the well-to-do. Small savings make up only a small proportion of the total.

The Government we want to see will not be frightened by the National Debt. First of all it will see to it that the whole national income is maintained and increased by the measures it takes to control production and provide jobs for everyone. If our national income can be kept at anything like the present level, and if we no longer have to spend £4,000 millions a year on the war, we can prevent the National Debt interest of £500 millions a year being made the pretext through which attacks are made on the workers' standards of living.

It is estimated that no less than £450 millions out of the £500 millions interest payable each year on money loaned goes to rich people, large companies and banks. While the Government will have to keep taxation of the rich at a high level, it can also secure a substantial reduction in the burden of the National Debt through such a measure as a capital levy on the rich. That portion of the National Debt which is held by working people, and represents genuine savings against a rainy day, would not be affected.

The Government would immediately reduce the £1,000 millions of indirect taxes which fall mainly on the working class—their beer and tobacco, their sugar and matches, their tea and cocoa—and raise the limit below which incomes are taxed. It would, however, maintain

high rates of taxation on the higher incomes and the profits of companies. It will also have a growing source of finance in the income of the nationalised industries. Through control of the Bank of England and sources of credit it could continue to raise other funds if necessary, at low interest rates.

This programme will not mean regimenting everybody, as certain propagandists of big business like to pretend. It will mean greater freedom and security and new opportunities for the workers, who will get rid of the fear of unemployment and the poverty which imprisoned them. For the professional men, it will mean the chance to use their skill and knowledge to the full; for the small business man, security against the dangers of slumps which threaten his life savings, and protection against the "squeezing" of the monopolists. The only freedom that will be interfered with is the freedom of big business to make the nation poor.

Prosperity for Britain is linked up with the prosperity of the world. It will not be part of the Government's policy to try to restore the pre-war relations between Britain and the world, where our whole trade was organised on the basis that some £200 millions a year in interest had to be paid by the people of other countries to City of London bondholders. The Government will take every step to promote the exchange of our own products with those we need from other nations, not on the basis of a balance of profit or advantage to one country or the other, but for the mutual advantage of both.

How will it do this? First, by the measures it takes to build up the efficiency of our industries so that we no longer expect other countries to pay through the nose for their backwardness or their monopoly agreements. Secondly, by fully and fearlessly participating in the co-operation between the Governments of the United Nations on international policies for organising food supplies, currency agreements and investment to develop the industries of devastated or backward countries, especially of Colonial countries. Thirdly, by co-operating wholeheartedly with the U.S.S.R. and the other United Nations to establish security against any future fascist aggression; and fourthly, by giving the Colonial peoples their freedom, for only on that basis can the productive powers of these countries be developed to the full.

This will mean that the Government must continue to exercise considerable control over imports and exports through some extension of the war-time licensing system, though it will not require to be anything like so stringent as in war-time, when there is such a shortage of shipping. Such control is the only way to see that a proper balance

is kept; it is the only way to end the secret treaties between the combines and put trading relations on a fair basis.

The people will not be denied. Monopoly has restricted production; now monopoly must be restricted in order that the people, you and I, our neighbours next door, our mates in mill, mine and shipyard, on the sea and on the land, together with the teacher, the doctor, the scientist, the technician, and all others of good will, shall at last get together and use Britain's unlimited resources in the common interests of the vast majority of the people.

Those who work for this are the friends of the people; those who oppose and work to prevent it are the enemies of the people, and must be defeated. To get measures for a better Britain on the statute book is only the beginning of the battle. During the war we have seen how reactionary employers, backed up by reactionary magistrates, are able to misuse necessary war-time legislation to penalise the workers, but never the employers. We have seen all the obstacles put in the way of the successful functioning of Joint Production Committees, the perverse resistance to recognising the constructive part the workers have to play in the organisation of production.

How much greater will be the resistance to such social measures as we have outlined here! Highly placed financial groupings and employers will do all in their power to prevent such measures being successfully applied even though they are on the statute book. Their agents in key positions, in the State apparatus, finance, and industry alike, will be organised to try and prevent such a policy. They will use Press, platform, radio and reactionary religious and professional organisations to influence public opinion against it, with a view of bringing about the defeat of the Government.

The Government will need to mobilise all its resources—the working people in their political and Trade Union and Co-operative organisations, the Local Authorities, Works Committees, the progressive sections of the middle class and their professional organisations.

To all these various democratic movements belong countless men and women of a new type, people who want to serve their country and their fellow-citizens, people whose energies, ideas and constructive ability have all been frustrated by the restriction of the monopolists.

These are the people who have got Britain out of a mess during the war, when the competition, inefficiency and profit-seeking motives of some monopolies threatened the nation with disaster. These are the people that are the real backbone of the nation, and who, firmly united together, represent a power that cannot be denied.

CHAPTER IX

PEACE AND WORLD SECURITY

"We recognise fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the goodwill of the overwhelming masses of the people of the world, and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."—*(Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Teheran.)*

A great deal is being said and written just now about the need for the United Nations to declare their peace aims. One would imagine that the historic conference at Teheran in December, 1943, had never taken place, for at this epoch-making international conference, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin declared their aims, as quoted above, with simplicity and clarity. They are to make a peace that will "banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

Thus, if the workers of the world especially know how to act and lead, we have the possibility of the fervent declaration "Never Again!" being made a reality.

No sacrifice is too great to be made by the peace-loving peoples of the world to achieve this. To fail would be to commit a terrible crime against future generations, and to betray every man, woman and child who in this war have lost their lives that peace—the greatest prize of all—may be won.

The foundations of such a firm and lasting peace must be:—

1. The co-operation of Britain, America, the Soviet Union and China in fulfilling the responsibility of leadership for the maintenance of world security and peace.
2. The complete destruction of the power of German fascism and reaction, as of Japanese reaction, and effective measures to prevent new aggression by Germany or Japan.
3. The establishment of a world organisation of democratic nations, based on the freedom and equality of all nations, under the leadership of the four principal powers, for the maintenance of world peace and promotion of international co-operation.
4. Development of international economic co-operation.

This programme can be carried out, given the unity and determination of the people in all countries to ensure its fulfilment.

But we cannot be blind to the campaign which is being conducted from many quarters to undermine these principles and wreck the prospect of lasting peace.

There are those who still oppose firm and lasting co-operation between Britain and America, and the Soviet Union, and put forward instead the aim of exclusive Anglo-American co-operation in isolation from the rest of the world. Such a policy would lead to a most dangerous division, repeating the evils of the situation which preceded the present war and giving an easy opportunity for the revival of German reaction and military power.

Then again there are those who oppose the whole aim of co-operation between the four leading powers as a "revival of power politics." They fail to see that the evil of "power politics" consisted in balancing one power or group of powers against another power or group of powers; and that the unity of all the democratic nations represents overwhelming power capable of maintaining world peace against any would-be aggressor, which is the indispensable condition for lasting peace.

Finally, there are those powerful economic and political interests which were responsible for the pro-fascist policies of Munich, and which today are already exercising their influence to save German reaction from its doom and conducting a campaign against the stern and just measures which have been accepted by the United Nations to crush the power of German aggression and prevent its revival.

Alongside these reactionary pro-fascists and enemies of the Teheran programme there is also a section in the Labour and progressive movement, who play into the hands of these reactionaries and join in the campaign against Teheran.

You can read their speeches in Parliament, their articles in their sixpenny weeklies, the manifestos of people who know they are too old to go through another war and who are too selfish to think of their children, calling for "a clear statement of peace aims," or protesting against any harsh treatment of Germany.

You can read the same kind of stuff presented from another angle in the periodicals of the most reactionary clerical circles, and those of the pro-fascists who think the moment opportune for them to rear their heads again—but you never hear of any of these people making their speeches in an area devastated by the flying bomb.

What are they after? "Justice for Germany": But always it takes the form of acquitting the guilty aggressor nation and accusing those nations who have withstood its aggression of having the most perverted motives.

Already there are ample signs of what we can expect from these gentry. It began at the end of the Kharkov trial of three Nazi war

criminals. Immediately they were found guilty and hanged, out came protests that the Soviet had "acted hastily," that it would be better to wait until the end of the war before bringing war criminals to justice.

They were equally vocal after the trial of the French traitor, Pucheu. But their full fury vented itself against those French people who shaved the hair off certain women's heads and paraded them round the town. These women had betrayed the leaders of the Resistance Movement in that locality, and we should have thought they were lucky to have been paraded with their heads on. Then when Rennes was liberated we read of how those French traitors who had collaborated with the Nazis had "been insulted and struck in the streets."

Never a word of pity for the French patriots these foul creatures had betrayed! Never a tear of sympathy for the Soviet people upon whose bodies the Nazis have inflicted unheard of atrocities!

On the other hand, you have the Vansittart crowd, who see all Germans alike and express only a familiar jingo policy for the crushing of Germany for all time.

Both groups play into the hands of Hitler. Both bring grist to the propaganda mill of Goebbels. Both fear the rising movement of the liberated peoples, and both are objectively counter-revolutionary, although from the lips of some, loud words are constantly issuing about the "coming European revolution."

Both are the enemies of a real peace and both foster policies that can only result in another world war in a shorter space of time than elapsed between 1918 and 1939.

What is the true position? We are fighting a war that no peoples in Europe save only the Nazis wanted or organised. It is a Peoples' War, a just war, and the Peace Treaty that will be made will be both a Peoples' Peace Treaty and a just Peace Treaty.

It will not be a Treaty of Versailles, where the victorious imperialist nations were more concerned with crushing the first Socialist revolution in Russia than they were with making it impossible for defeated imperialist Germany ever to be in a position to resume the war she lost in 1918.

It will be a Peace Treaty to which the Soviet Union, with all its power and influence in world politics, will be one of the signatories, and the Soviet Union never has been, nor ever will be, connected with any policy that was not in the interest of the common peoples all over the world.

That fact is well known to all that is best in the German people, to

the people of Italy (as was so strikingly demonstrated in a feature article in *The Times* on August 7th, 1944) and to the people of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland and the Balkan countries.

But peace depends upon security and immunity from aggression and any treaty that did not recognise this cardinal principle would not in a few years' time be worth the paper it was written on.

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin also declared at the Teheran Conference:

"No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their planes from the air."

Is it to be argued that after five years' titanic struggle to destroy the German war machine, with all the colossal sacrifice that has been made in so doing, any sane person can actually sit back and contemplate a repetition of this war in either their own or their children's lifetime?

To do so would be the biggest insult that could be offered, not only to the intelligence of the peoples of the United Nations, but to the Labour and progressive forces of Germany, for the latter will also take all the steps that are necessary to prevent any repetition of Germany's present shame.

The people want a peace that will guarantee them security from future wars and will, to that end, ensure that Germany is denied any possibility of starting further aggression or creating a war machine that could make this possible.

They will support every measure that can establish such a peace and such security, whether in the form of adjustments of frontiers that strengthen countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Balkans, Austria, Holland, France and Belgium and guarantee their independence, or the complete suppression of all forms of armament manufacture and conscript armed forces of any kind, or the maintenance of United Nations Armed Forces to see that the provisions of the Peace Treaty are carried out and all attempts of the Nazis, the Junkers and big industrialists to evade retribution and restitution are mercilessly suppressed. It must not be forgotten that the Nazis came to power only because they were placed there by the most reactionary landlords and representatives of finance capital.

All such measures are not only necessary but will be warmly supported by the Labour and progressive elements in Germany because they also are concerned with the preservation of peace, which is essential to the rebirth and growth of democracy in Germany.

Our people will insist on the stern punishment of war criminals.

They will tolerate no namby-pamby treatment of these scoundrels, and will insist that they are brought to justice wherever and whoever they are.

This determination lies at the back of the hope that is expressed every day in factories, clubs, streets and Trade Union branches: "I hope the Red Army gets to Berlin first!"

There will be no exile to Elba or Holland this time! The world must be purged of Nazi filth. There can be no re-education of the Hitlers, Goebbels, Goerings, Himmlers and their willing lieutenants.

The British people are no longer in a mood where phlebitis can become the alibi for organised brutality and murder, for the flying bomb is bringing with it its own nemesis. A very significant transformation is now taking place in the attitude of millions of British people to Germany. We are sometimes described as an easy-going nation who find it difficult to believe all the stories we hear of conditions in other countries, and our Government gives the impression of conducting itself on "gentlemanly" lines in dealing with the Nazis. Certainly there has been hesitation in believing all the dreadful stories of Nazi crimes and barbarities that have come from the Soviet Union. They have been thought in some quarters to be "just the usual war propaganda," that we had last time, or "exaggerations."

The shooting of the R.A.F. officers started the first wave of hatred and the flying bomb has completed it. There has been a tremendous growth of hatred towards the Nazis in these last few weeks, and it is not confined to London and Southern England, for as evacuees have been sent all over the country, they have given their relatives and hosts some idea of what the flying bomb is like. This has let loose a wave of revulsion against the Nazis which is of the greatest importance in these decisive stages of the war. It will be a firm barrier preventing any patched-up peace, any succumbing to Hitler's peace intrigues, or to the shameful propaganda of pacifists and defeatists who argue that there is no difference between bombing Berlin and the flying bomb, and to whom a rounded phrase is more important than a mangled body.

We have no doubt that before these lines are read, London especially will have had further painful evidence of the Nazi mind, and the depths to which it can stoop in its last desperate attempts to avoid the justice that is going to be meted out.

The guarantee that this will be carried out is to be seen already in the way liberated peoples deal with their own citizens suspected of having had any dealings with the Nazis. It is evidence of a movement

that will grow, not least of all in Germany itself, and the greatest justice of all will be if the German people take matters into their own hands, and in their own way avenge both themselves and the peoples of the whole world.

Yes! Justice is coming. Not simply in the form depicted in the unforgettable film of that name. Not simply because of the atrocities inflicted by fascism on the Russian people, but because of what it has inflicted on the whole world since Hitler came to power in 1933. Now the whole foulness of fascism has been brought home to the British people more sharply than ever before. The appalling atrocities in Russia, the wiping out of the Jewish population in occupied Europe, the shooting of R.A.F. officers, the use of the flying bomb today and maybe the more deadly rocket gun tomorrow—all are seen to be an inseparable part of the Nazi way of life. There can be no real peace for decent men and women, no real progress, while a vestige of fascism remains on the earth. It has been a hard lesson to learn, but it is being learnt at last.

Yes! Justice is coming, with many-millioned feet, in the form of the armies of the United Nations. They are fighting not only a military offensive, but an offensive for decency in human affairs, for the right of the people to determine their own way of life. They will avenge the nightmare of these latter years and the loss of the flower of our young people which will affect every aspect of our life.

The people will insist that due restitution shall be made for all the destruction and misery that Nazi Germany has brought to the world, but in a way that does not harm the peoples of the United Nations as did reparations after the last war.

Those who have destroyed Europe must be the first to be mobilised to rebuild it. Those who heiled Hitler as he rode rough-shod over Europe must be made to understand that there is a price to pay and they have got to pay it in full. All these scare stories about the Germans being made to do forced labour in the Soviet Union are plain nonsense. There isn't an honest German worker who will not be thankful to have the chance to assist in the reconstruction of what fascism has destroyed in the Soviet Union. Of course, the real reason for all the anxiety is fear of the political consequences that such daily contact with Soviet life might have, not only in Germany but throughout Europe.

The loot and treasure of other lands must be restored. Warsaw, Belgrade, Rotterdam and Stalingrad must be rebuilt. Reparation must be made for all that Nazi Germany has inflicted on the world. It is

a price that has to be paid, for millions have paid an even greater price in crushing fascism in the interests of themselves and the best of the German people.

Just as the peoples of the world will insist upon the carrying out of these elementary principles, they will no less support and help those among the German people who resolutely fight the enemies within their own gates, so that never again shall there arise in Germany any group, clique or faction that can menace the peace of the world.

The people will demand that the Peace Treaty shall provide for the preservation of all European States, large or small, so that their independence is assured, and none shall be looked upon as the sphere of influence of any outside capitalist power.

They have fought the war for freedom and democracy, for the right of all peoples to elect the Governments of their choice, and will never permit any capitalist state or group of states to look upon the smaller nations of Europe as their special sphere, into which they inject their capital as a means of either getting a stranglehold on the country or influencing it in their particular direction.

It will be a new Europe after the war, in which the sovereign authority will be the people. There will be profound political changes, and these are the guarantee against the fears of Anglo-American domination, fears, incidentally, which are propagated most feverishly by those who see always the power of monopoly capitalism and never the power of the people.

Above all, the people want world security, and international co-operation of all nations and peoples on this secure foundation. They welcome every development that leads to a transformation of the present military alliance of the United Nations into a political alliance. They rejoice that a new and firm understanding already exists between Britain, America, the Soviet Union and China.

They know that difficulties and differences in outlook and on policy are inevitable, but they are determined they can and shall be overcome. The declaration of these four great Powers, that they seek to organise a world family of nations, has been received with enthusiasm by the war-weary peoples of the world, for they see therein the possibility of setting up a general international organisation of democratic nations which can lead not only to the maintenance of peace and prevention of aggression, but to new forms of international co-operation for the economic reconstruction of the world, founded upon the ever-increasing prosperity and well-being of the peoples of the entire world.

CHAPTER X

INDIA AND THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

"They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

This quotation from Clause 3 of the Atlantic Charter is of great importance when we come to consider what policy our country should adopt to India or to the peoples of Africa, the East and West Indies, Malaya, Burma and Ceylon—nations and peoples to whom Britain should long ago have given the right she is now pledged to restore to European nations.

These are nations and peoples forcibly deprived by British conquest of their sovereign rights, and deprived of free and democratic opportunities to choose their own form of Government.

So long as this policy is allowed to continue, so long do we lay ourselves open to charges of hypocrisy, and hand to Japan and to Nazi-Germany, opportunities for anti-British propaganda.

Mr. Churchill has made it clear that so far as he is concerned, this clause of the Atlantic Charter is not meant to apply to these countries. But this, like many other questions, is an issue that will be decided by the people and not by Mr. Churchill or those vested interests which are the chief exploiters of subject nations.

The issue now looms doubly urgent for two reasons. First, the possibilities of a swift and complete defeat of Japan in the Far East, following from the coming victory over Hitler in Europe. Second, there can be no lasting solution of post-war problems except through complete and free co-operation with the peoples of India and other Colonial nations.

We here in Britain cannot be really free so long as we are parties to the suppression of other peoples, especially when this is enforced by the most brutal repression. We cannot establish the kind of Britain we are striving to win unless we link it with our struggle for a better future for all the subject peoples of the British Empire.

Our approach to this problem cannot be based on narrow and short-sighted calculations which seek to divide such countries into spheres of influence between Britain and America, or allowing an alleged free competition which leaves millions of native peoples at the mercy of unscrupulous rival monopolists.

A more fundamental and just approach is required. One free people must work in co-operation with another, trying to find the best ways and means through which they can help each other to use their common resources to the maximum, and to exchange all forms of help and assistance one with another.

Any other approach merely evades the issue, sowing the seeds from which can spring future imperialist quarrels and wars.

The present position is indefensible. The conditions of the people in India and the other Colonial countries are the greatest condemnation of the present policy.

The three principal characteristics common to all the enslaved Colonial nations are :

1. They are subject to foreign rule. None are self-governing; even when some limited form of representative institution exists, it is devoid of real power.

2. Economic subordination to the ruling power, sometimes directly by the Government, sometimes by monopolies obtaining concessions or by settlers appropriating the best land and resources, sometimes indirectly, through trade relationships, by production for marketing by big outside monopolies.

3. Extreme backwardness, arrested development in industry and agriculture, low standards of living, inadequate facilities for education, lack of elementary social services and amenities.

All these countries are looked upon by our capitalists in Britain as places where cheap raw materials and labour can be obtained, and from which capital can get a higher profit than in its home industries. They become the profitable hunting ground for such big monopolies as Unilevers, Tate and Lyle, Imperial Chemical Industries, the big banks. Some of these are held up as model employers in Britain, but the concessions and advantages they may give to their workers here are wrung from the misery and poverty of the Colonial countries from which they obtain their raw materials.

Industrial development in these Colonial countries, essential for overcoming their poverty, has been impeded and restricted. What little native industry has been able to come into existence has had to operate within the narrow scope left by foreign control of the main resources, finance and trade of the country. Yet the conditions in all these countries cry aloud for large-scale development.

The consequences of this foreign yoke for the native peoples are the impoverishment of millions, illiteracy, disease, malnutrition, shameful living conditions, low wages, long hours and famine. All this is imposed on them by dictatorial forms of rule that we in Britain would

not tolerate for ourselves. The right of public meeting is denied, the Press suppressed, leaders arrested *en masse*. Those who go from Britain to try and help the native peoples to organise, expressing the solidarity of those sections of the British people who have not the same outlook as the Government and the ruling class, are summarily deported. Flogging and imprisonment take the place of progress. Efforts are made to prevent the native peoples from fully uniting their forces by the fomentation of racial, religious and communal differences. This is the real picture. It is covered up by the corruption of a few native elements whose alleged appreciation of the work of the "trustees" is publicised in the hope that one or two swallows will make a summer.

And, to cap it all, those responsible for all this will on occasion, calmly turn round on their own workpeople, deploring the necessity of reducing their wages, on the ground that they cannot meet the competition of cheap labour in the Colonial countries!

There is still another side of the case. What happened in the Far East when Japan struck? The native peoples as a whole did not resist the Japanese with all the strength they could have done, because they did not see the war as a war for their own freedom, or for the defence of their own countries, but only as a question of change of masters. This fact has prolonged the war in the Far East and made it much more difficult to wage, involving heavy additional sacrifice in British and American lives.

In his book *World Economic Development*, published by the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, Eugene Staley says :

"When one looks at the unfilled material wants of the vast majority of the world's people, it is quickly apparent that nothing but a radical advance in their capacity to produce will bring them within hailing distance of any modern conception of freedom from want."

None can deny how forcibly this applies to the people of India and the Colonial peoples generally. Mr. Staley goes on to show that while 60 per cent. of the world's gainfully occupied population are engaged in producing food, three-quarters of Asia's 1,000 million inhabitants have a diet far below the minimum health standard; that if all people used as much cotton for clothing and furnishing as the pre-war average in America, world cotton consumption would be three times its highest point in the past; that if the rest of the world had half as much soap as the average American, world production would have to be more than doubled; that in America before the war, there were 10.7 per cent. hospital beds per 1,000 citizens, when many rural areas were un-

provided, but for a country like China one hospital bed for every 5,000 would represent a tremendous advance, which is true of all the Colonial countries.

It would take 600 million radio sets to bring the rest of the world up to the rate of American consumption level. The American output of radio sets was 11,500,000. For the rest of the world to have as many motor cars in proportion to those in America, we would need 450 million extra vehicles, or 75 years' output of the American automobile industry at its present rate. To give the world a road network per square mile equivalent to that of America and Canada combined would need 17,500,000 miles of new road construction.

We mention these facts and figures, because of their special urgency in relation to opening up the economic and agricultural development of all the Colonial countries in particular, and to show that, given a correct policy, the existing productive resources of the world have a gigantic task to fulfil before any one should dare to talk about them being too great.

What is the only way in which we can really tackle the problem that we ourselves have created in the Colonial countries?

India. We must fight for India's right to complete independence, a demand that is already supported by very wide sections of the people. In the process of obtaining this fundamental objective, we must press for the right of the Indian people to choose their own National Government, for the British Government to enter into new negotiations with the Indian National Congress on the basis of Gandhi's recent statement and for the release of all anti-fascists from prisons and concentration camps. We must make all the necessary preparations to relieve the distress and suffering caused by famine and embark upon measures to prevent its recurrence.

The proposals of responsible Indian industrialists for a great expansion of India's industries must be sympathetically considered, together with all other proposals coming from responsible organisations.

The industrialist's plan indicates the tremendous scope existing throughout India for economic development on a scale that would not only greatly improve the conditions of its own people but make equally great demands for every kind of products we could manufacture in Britain to assist them in carrying out such a plan.

The plan would cost 100,000 million rupees (£7,500 millions) and aims at the following: To increase the national income of India from 22,000 million rupees (£1,650 millions) to 60,000 million rupees (£4,500 millions). The income from industry is to be raised five times, from agriculture by one-third, various services, *i.e.*, banking, shipping,

insurance, twice. By the end of the fifteenth year, the income per head of the population would be 135 rupees (about £10 yearly), compared with the present income per head of 56 rupees (£4 4s.). This latter figure was given by Sir James Grigg, when he was Finance Minister of the Government of India, in his Budget speech to the Central Legislative Assembly in India, in April, 1938.

Of outstanding significance is the emphasis laid on industry and industrial development. Out of the total capital cost of the plan as a whole, 44 per cent is to be used to develop the basic industries, mining, engineering, power, chemicals, ships, automobiles, aircraft and armaments. 12 per cent goes to agriculture, 10 per cent to communications, 22 per cent for housing and 10 per cent for education and health.

To realise any such plan of large scale economic development in India the proposals of the National Planning Commission set up by the Indian National Congress in 1938 require to be operated. These provide for the nationalisation of the key industries, smashing the power of the big landlords, ending rural indebtedness, and establishing a minimum living wage. The finance necessary to carry all this through must be raised from those who are best able to provide it. Control of profits, of high salaries and non-productive luxuries are required. Finally, the plan demands that there shall be the necessary political power in India to carry it through, and this can only be obtained by a democratic Government representing the people of India as a whole.

Just consider the results that would accrue from the adoption of such a policy. An age-long conflict would be ended. A deep blot would be removed from our name. The large standing armies that we keep there to hold down one of the greatest peoples in the world could be removed. There would be no limit to the mutual assistance that Britain and India could give each other in the development of this vast country, building new railways, docks and harbours, new ships, roads and all forms of transport. Every kind of agricultural machinery is needed. Millions of homes are required; tens of thousands of schools, health centres and hospitals. A large-scale plan for the building of new factories and the creation of new industries are required. The consequent raising of the standards of over 400 million people would open up enormous opportunities for Britain's manufactured goods.

This is not a dream. It is possible. It is practicable. It can be carried out, not by coercion but on the basis of free and independent co-operation, based on mutual trust and understanding, on the fulfilment of common needs. If this is to happen, then here and now we have to look at India and its people with the same outlook and attitude as we have towards Austria, Czechoslovakia, France and Norway. If

it is right that these countries have their sovereign rights restored, and are allowed to choose the form of Government they desire, then it is inescapably right and just that this principle be applied to India.

Other Colonial Countries. While striving to secure the application of the Atlantic Charter to countries like Africa, the East and West Indies, Malaya, Burma and Ceylon, we also have the immediate responsibility for seeing that a comprehensive series of reforms are carried through—the removal of restrictions upon civil rights, the ending of racial discrimination, freedom of organisation and Press, the abolition of the Poll and Hut Tax, abolition of Pass Laws, establishment of the representative democratic institutions based on the entire adult population, compulsory and accessible education for all children of school age, the extension of secondary, technical and higher education, the introduction of adequate public health services and of minimum labour and social legislation.

The same picture of economic, political and social progress that we have envisaged in the case of India would be repeated in all the Colonial countries. They occupy vast areas and have great populations. Their industrial and agricultural development is long overdue. Unprecedented demands would be made on our engineering, shipbuilding, motor and textile industries particularly. In exchange we could use all the products of these countries—their tea, rubber, cotton, jute, tin, rice and fruit.

The desire for social progress cannot be looked upon as the sole prerogative of the peoples of Europe and America. The same desires animate the thoughts and actions of millions of Colonial peoples.

The position was well expressed by Mr. A. MacLeish, Librarian of the American Congress, when speaking in Cambridge on July 30th, 1942, he said :—

“The truth is—and it is a truth we will do well to recognise—that there is a stirring in the world; a gathering of human power—of the power of humanity; a forward thrusting and overflowing of human hope and human will which must be given channel or it will dig a channel for itself.”

No people in the world have such an obligation to help their comrades in the Colonial countries to dig this channel as we in Britain.

The apprehension of creating new competition which will be a menace in the future is unfounded. We have to visualise the enormous and expanding internal needs of these countries for many generations to come, once the dead hand of monopoly has been checked and co-operation organised between Government and Government.

Nearly every worker now understands that low wages, long hours and intense exploitation in *any* country are a menace to his own conditions. The more that can be done to increase the level of production in backward countries, the more will the standard of living in those countries rise, bringing in its train, not merely improved wages and conditions of work for the peoples of these countries, but creating new needs and new markets which cannot for some time be fulfilled by home production alone, rapidly though it may grow.

When an industrially advanced country takes part in the industrial development of a backward country, whose people are striving for liberty and progress, it exports something more than the steel and concrete, machines and tools. It exports knowledge, skill, technique. In doing so, it certainly does not deplete its own resources, but adds enormously to the slender, inadequate resources of the country which is struggling to full industrial maturity. Did the skill, knowledge and technique which the Soviet Union imported from Britain and America weaken our industry? Not at all; but it is that same skill, knowledge and technique which have played such a decisive part in helping the Soviet Union, and the world, to defeat fascism.

Let the people make up their minds that they are going to seize the new chances open to them, and make common cause with all the Liberation Movements that are working towards the same end.

None can dispute that the development of prosperity in the Colonial countries is intertwined with our own future. A happy and prosperous Britain is impossible of attainment apart from a happy and prosperous India and Colonial world generally, but this can only be won when monopoly exploitation is ended, all peoples are free, and democracy is extended to the Colonies.

Those who doubt the possibility of granting freedom and equality to backward peoples, of opening up the rapid development of native industry and agriculture, of building a firm and indivisible framework of unity between ourselves and these erst-while dependencies, will do well to study the policy of the Soviet Government towards the countries and nationalities formerly held subject to imperial Russia. In less than a quarter of a century these lands, populated by men and women whose conditions were fully as backward as any obtaining in the British Empire today, have been helped, encouraged and developed to the stage where, during the past three years, they have proved one of the Soviet Union's greatest military and economic assets, and where the contribution they have made to the victory which is now so near is quite incalculable.

CHAPTER XI

THE GENERAL ELECTION

The programme we have put forward represents the policy that can realise the hopes and desires of the majority of the people for a better Britain after the war. It is one on which a united Labour movement can rally around it all men and women of goodwill to press for its immediate fulfilment, and upon which a Labour and progressive majority can be won at the next General Election.

It will be the most important General Election in our lifetime. The attitude taken towards it and the policy put forward for the consideration of the electorate will be both a test of the promises made in the course of winning the war, and of the statesmanship and sense of political reality with which it is approached, especially by the Labour movement.

The present Parliament, with its overwhelming Tory majority, was elected in 1935. It is commonly known that the Tories under Mr. Baldwin won that election by deceit and trickery, now openly admitted, even by those who were responsible for organising it.

In June, 1944, the Parliament was made up as follows:

Unionists (Tories)	..	..	..	349
Ulster Unionists	..	..	..	10
Independent Unionist	..	..	..	1
"National"	..	..	..	5
Independent National	..	..	..	2
Labour	..	..	..	169
I.L.P.	..	..	..	3
National Liberal	..	..	..	28
National Labour	..	..	..	6
Liberals	..	..	..	18
Independents	..	..	..	15
Common Wealth	..	..	..	3
Communist	..	..	..	1
Irish Nationalist Abstentionists	..	..	..	2
Total				612

Even a glance at these figures, and the knowledge of the resources of finance, Press, religion and radio possessed or influenced by the Tory Party, will reveal what a formidable task has to be carried through

successfully if the domination of Britain by the Tory Party is to be ended.

If there is to be progress, a Labour and progressive majority has to be won, but success will demand the most arduous and sustained political campaigning this country has yet seen.

Every conceivable weapon that vested and selfish interests can bring forward will be used to prevent its success. Every artifice of propaganda will be let loose. Prophecies of the dreadful effects of a policy such as is outlined here will be widely made. All the old mumbo-jumbo will be brought out of cold storage. We shall be told that "Britain is now a poor country," that "exports will have to pay for imports," that "our standards must not be higher than those existing in other countries," that "you can't get more out of a pint pot than is in it."

We must be prepared to face a repetition of the kind of scare stories that they worked off on the people at the General Election in 1931 about having to use Post Office savings to pay for social services; only this time the threat may be widened to include War Savings.

Every die-hard, reactionary and pro-fascist will unite and come out against any real progressive policy. They will wave the nation's flag as if it were their exclusive property, and exploit Mr. Churchill's role in the war, as if they had never previously driven him into the political wilderness, until they had brought Britain to the very verge of defeat. They will use popular officer heroes and generals as if the rank and file of the Armed Forces had done nothing.

But those who attempt those methods forget three things. First, that the workers have noticed, during five years of war, that no one has ever questioned where the money is to come from. Second, that the "pint pot" of production has been very quickly expanded to a pint and a half during the war. Third, that the world over, working-class standards are going to rise, and the old game of playing off one country's workers against another's will no longer take a trick.

It will be a fight for the daily interests of the vast majority against those who consider only themselves and their own selfish interests. It will be a fight for the whole future of Britain and its people, to decide whether or not we are to keep in line with the great political developments all over Europe or to sink to the position of a politically backward country and a drag on world progress.

The scurrilous articles attacking the Labour Party and the Trade Unions that appeared in the *Sunday Pictorial* and the *Sunday Times* in July and August are a sharp reminder that the fight for power at

the next General Election is already on. These efforts to disparage the capacity of the Labour movement to guide the destinies of the country in the post-war period are only the first shots in the campaign of the most reactionary elements in Britain.

Against these forces of reaction the Labour movement must unite for it really speaks for Britain. It should strengthen its relations with allies it has already made during the war, and reach out to win new ones for peace-time progress.

Hard as the fight will be, it can be won on one condition: that it is fought by a united Labour movement with a common policy and understanding, drawing into association with it all the progressive forces of the country, whatever their party, class or social connections.

Without this there can be no real success. There can be at best partial gains, an uncertain balance of forces in Parliament and outside. In such an unstable political situation, disappointment, confusion and uncertainty may become the happy hunting ground for the reactionaries to exploit as part of their future preparations for gaining the upper hand completely.

What are the positive features of the present position, which, despite all the resources of the Tory Party and reactionary monopolists, give the Labour movement not only new opportunities, but the responsibility to unite and lead the nation forward and help to fulfil its hopes?

A new political outlook prevails among millions of people of the type that never thought about politics before. They have learned from the part played by the Soviet Union, the experiences of the Resistance Movement in Europe and their own experiences during five years of war. They are to be found in town and countryside alike, among the workers in industry and transport, and those in the professions and technical establishments, as well as in every branch of the Armed Forces and Civil Defence.

There is a great desire for unity; the new forces coming forward cannot understand why it is not already firmly cemented. They are impatient of the old shibboleths that are alleged to stand in the way. There is a fierce determination, expressed in every by-election, whether in industrial, suburban or rural areas, to end the present Tory majority in Parliament.

There is a response in the factories and villages to every extra effort demanded by the Government for the winning of the war because the people feel that this is the best way to advance towards the building of a better Britain when peace is won.

There is a Trade Union movement 8 million strong, assisted in every phase of its work by the Shop Stewards all over the country.

There is the Co-operative movement 9 million strong, and now celebrating its centenary. It contains men and women with great business and administrative experience, capable of running big undertakings and accepting great responsibilities.

There is the Labour Party with its affiliated Trade Union membership, its individual members, and its affiliated membership from a number of Socialist and Co-operative Societies, and a basis of over 8 million votes which it won in the General Election of 1935.

There is the Communist Party with its registered and fully paid up membership of nearly fifty thousand, with a daily paper that exercise a tremendous influence and which, but for the paper restrictions, would reach out to half a million readers every day, an active political force in the country. The capacity of its members for work and sacrifice in defence of the interests of the people and in fighting for Socialism is the envy of every other section of the Labour movement; it wields a political influence far larger than its present membership.

There are the people influenced by Common Wealth and the large Liberal influence that still exists.

All this organised political movement is backed up by the mass desire for social change as indicated, for example, by the welcome given to the Beveridge Report. There is a new outlook among the men in the Armed Forces, clearly shown in education discussions, such high lights as the Cairo Parliament, and in wall newspapers, which represents something entirely new in British politics. This is not an army conscripted by unemployment, but one in which millions are politically minded, many more than is realised thoroughly class conscious, and all of them, because of their experiences in the war, determined to see there is no nonsense about tolerating any reaction at home in times of peace.

But all these powerful potential forces and votes are at present unorganised in one vast common movement. Each section is still playing for its own hand, its own special programme, and in this lies the greatest danger for those who desire social progress in Britain and the greatest strength for those who are determined either to oppose it or keep it down to the very minimum of political window-dressing.

Unless this position is radically changed, no real certainty exists that under the conditions in which the new General Election will be fought, a decisive Labour and progressive majority can be won.

Above all, the leaders of the Labour Party now bear the heaviest responsibility as to which way Britain shall go, for it is in their power, more than any other Party leaders in the country, to bring all the common forces together.

The question arises, however, whether victory at the next General Election is what the leaders of the Labour Party want? We know that some of them are loud in their professions that they do, but their actions belie their fine words. We do know from the feeling expressed at the last Labour Party Conference that the rank and file of the Labour Party want to go into the General Election untrammelled by electoral pacts with reactionary Tories and coupon systems. This was so strongly expressed that Mr. Attlee had to give a guarantee that before the next General Election a special conference of the Labour Party will be called to discuss the situation that exists at that time and to determine what the policy and tactics of the Labour Party should be.

In our opinion, there can be no question as to the general line of Labour Party policy now in preparation for the most important and fateful General Election in the history of British politics. Its Executive Committee should now be bringing together for conversations and discussions the representatives of all other working-class and progressive organisations in the country, trying to find a basis upon which they can all accept a common electoral programme of social advance and come to arrangements in every constituency that can avoid any division in the Labour and progressive vote.

In such negotiations it is clear that all who take part will have to be prepared to act in the spirit of give and take, and sincere co-operation, especially in regard to policy, demands and proposals on which great keenness is felt, as well as the choice of candidates and constituencies.

On the question of candidates, we consider that the aim should be to get the very best that each Party has within its ranks. No privileged claims should stand in the way. The fight for Britain's future demands that a place shall be found in a new Parliament for those who, in industry and the Armed Forces, have done such splendid deeds, for more young men and women, for those devoid of cynicism and belief that "politics is all a game," for those who can bring into Parliament some of the motives that animated them when there was a production problem that seemed almost insoluble, but to which they managed to find the solution, or the thoughts they had on going into battle on land, sea or air.

An end should be made of pocket boroughs, whatever Party tries to stake such claims. It is the youth who have made the greatest sacrifices of all in war; it is youth that can, alongside the older and more experienced leaders of the Labour movement, make the greatest contribution to building the new world of tomorrow.

Parliament must be regarded as the place to which we send men and women not bent on careers, but on service to the people; as a place to which we do not send the aged and cynical, but those who have the power and the enthusiasm to carry forward the movement to new heights and achievements.

Such a policy will demand sacrifices of particular demands, points and candidates by all who are prepared to subscribe to the common programme and electoral arrangements in the constituencies, but these very sacrifices will reap rich dividends in the triumphant results they will bring at the next General Election.

The Communist Party has on two occasions in 1944 suggested to the Labour Party that it should take the initiative in arranging such a meeting as we have suggested. Unfortunately, on both occasions our proposal has been turned down on the ground that "it would serve no useful purpose."

On April 2nd, 1944, the *Daily Worker* organised an open discussion conference in London to consider how best the unity of the Labour and progressive forces could be established, and what might be the policy on which the General Election could be won. Despite the ban imposed by the Labour Party on the conference, it was attended by 1,762 delegates, representing over two million people. On the eve of the conference, Mr. Ben Gardner, General Secretary of the powerful Amalgamated Engineering Union, sent a letter to the organisers stating that in view of the ban of the Labour Party, his Union could not be represented, and going on to make this significant statement:

"In view of this recommendation, my Executive Council have decided to stand by the organisations to which they are affiliated, but believe that the subject matter is worthy of discussion and that such a meeting ought to be organised by the Labour Party."

The Executive Council of the A.E.U., then sent a letter to the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, asking them to convene:—

"A conference to formulate a common policy for the working-class movement in readiness for the next General Election."

The proposal made by the A.E.U. has found favour in similar resolutions passed by the A.S.L.E. and F., the S.W.M.F., F.B.U., A.E.S.D., E.T.U. and the Scottish Miners, and in addition received

the mass support of many sections of the Trade Unions and Labour Party all over the country.

What is the alternative to such a proposal? To give the Tories a new lease of power, whatever arrangements are come to in regard to the composition of the Government after the election; to refuse to learn the cardinal lesson of the war, which is that to defeat fascism you have to win allies. Exactly the same principle is also required in the fight to defeat the giants of poverty, unemployment, want and insecurity; and these allies are to hand among the Labour and progressive movement.

Never in our history have such opportunities for great social progress been presented to us. Never before have we had such political capital which, rightly invested and directed, can end once and for all the possibility of Parliament ever again being dominated by a Tory majority.

Whatever the character of the Government that will be formed (and this will be decided by the results of the election and the conditions at that time), it can be forced by the people to carry out a policy, at home and abroad, that is in accord with their determination to have a better Britain and a better world.

Nothing will fall from the laps of the gods. The pro-fascists, the die-hard Tories, the merely selfish, all alike will fight to prevent these developments from taking place. They have powerful weapons at their disposal. They are entrenched in high places, but they can be defeated. Arrayed against them, however, must be an enlightened democracy, led and united by the Labour movement, which will then be inspired with new strength as it seizes the new opportunities of our time to fulfil the needs of the common people. Thereby it will make great strides towards the realisation of those Socialist principles which, side by side with similar developments in other lands, can hasten the creation of a new world Socialist society.

CHAPTER XII

THE UNITY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

There is a very old slogan which is known to every worker. It is inscribed on Trade Union banners; it forms the theme of every May-Day peroration; it has inspired working men and women to do great things: "United we Stand. Divided we Fall."

If ever there was a time when the profound truth of this expression of working-class solidarity should be uppermost in our minds, and the guide to our every action, it is now.

Today, the Labour movement is not fully united. Acute divisions in the ranks of the Labour Party are revealed almost every week in Parliamentary debates and in the division lobbies. There is inability to reach decisions on important issues, and when decisions are made, there is lack of loyalty in carrying them out. The country often has the unedifying spectacle of one set of Labour Members of Parliament opposing another. There is conflict between the so-called "intellectuals" and the Trade Union leaders, between the Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. Within the Labour Party there is distrust of some of their leaders and suspicion of their intentions.

There is no sustained political campaigning by the Labour Party for its policy. The *electoral* truce has quite deliberately been distorted into a *political* truce. One result of this is that the local Labour Parties are unable to report anything like the same rate of progress in recruiting new members as the other political parties of the Labour and progressive movement.

But most important of all, because it lies at the heart of all these facts, is the stubborn refusal of the dominant leaders of the Labour Party to accept the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party or take any steps to bring together all working-class and progressive organisations with a view to reaching agreement on policy and candidates at the General Election.

How long is this unsatisfactory position to be allowed to continue? It is a challenge to every honest Socialist. No power in the country could prevent a striking success at the General Election if the Labour movement were itself united, for a united Labour movement would have far greater power to attract to its support many important sections of the community who now stand aloof, feeling that Labour should put its own house in order before trying to run the country.

Given a united Labour movement, far wider unity, based on the overwhelming majority of the nation—real national unity—would be gained.

Why is the present indefensible attitude adopted by the Labour Party? Because certain Labour leaders are afraid of the political consequences that would follow the strengthening of their own movement. They prate loudly about Socialism, but they are afraid of anything that really brings it nearer. They actually prefer to be in minor positions of responsibility in a coalition Government, rather than to lead a Government which has a majority of Labour and progressive Members of Parliament behind it. They cover this up by their attacks on the Communist Party as the pretext for opposing the unity of the Labour movement.

Can any of us be happy that we are the only country in Europe in which there is not either an understanding between Socialists and Communists, or a definite working agreement?

Why is it that at the moment when British Socialists and Communists are fighting and dying side by side in France, Italy and Burma, in the air and on the high sea, they are not allowed by the Labour Party to fight and live side by side, to make a peace that is worthy of those who have given their lives to secure it?

Why is it that in the factories, on Joint Production Committees, in Shop Stewards' Committees, Socialists and Communists work splendidly together, getting production flowing smoothly, building up the Trade Unions, and yet are prevented from working together in the Labour Party?

When a flying bomb falls and smashes acres of houses Socialists and Communists alike rush to the spot, to help in the rescue of those engulfed in the debris, salvage precious household goods, repair windows and roofs so that people can live in their damaged homes because of the desperate housing shortage. Yet the Labour Party would refuse them the right to work together for the return at the next General Election of a Labour and progressive majority that would pursue such a policy that never again would the people be subjected to the terror of flying bombs.

Churchill and Stalin, Eden and Molotov, find it possible to work together; then why not Gallacher and Attlee, Pollitt and Morrison, Horner and Bevin? Only the blind prejudice of these Labour leaders stands in the way.

The Communists and Socialists are the backbone of every Resistance Movement in Europe. In France, Czechoslovakia, Poland,

Greece, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the Balkan countries and within Nazi Germany, there is a common understanding between Socialists and Communists, and after the General Elections in these countries, the Communists will play a leading part in the Governments and in national affairs generally.

Everyone who desires progress welcomes this. Then why can we not reach the same position in Britain? Simply because a handful of Labour leaders refuse to rise above their petty prejudices and jealousies, are content to see persons and not principles, parties instead of the movement, differences instead of agreements, their vested interests instead of the common good, and they use their power unscrupulously to prevent the rank and file of the Labour movement from exerting their undoubted desire for unity between the Labour Party and the Communist Party.

All sorts of strange anomalies are to be observed in the present position of the Labour and Communist Parties. Under the Constitution of the Labour Party, no member of the Communist Party is allowed to be an individual member, yet any member of the Communist Party who is eligible for membership of a Trade Union and pays the political levy is a member; and be it noted that neither the Trade Unions nor the Labour Party refuse to take from members of the Communist Party the money which helps to keep the Labour Party going!

No member of the Communist Party is allowed to represent his Trade Union, either locally or nationally, at any Labour Party Conference, but Arthur Horner, a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, is also the President of the South Wales Miners' Federation and a member of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. He is recognised as an outstanding personality in the Labour movement. He puts the miners' case before Government departments, before meetings of Labour Members of Parliament in the House of Commons, before the Trades Union Congress. He is to represent the Trades Union Congress in America at the 1944 Convention of the American Federation of Labour, and sits on sub-committees of the Labour Party to draft statements on mining policy. But he is not allowed to represent the miners at a Labour Party Conference, or to be put forward as a miners' nominee for the Executive Committee of the Labour Party. Why should the miners be penalised in this way?

Or to take the case of J. R. Scott, the well-known member of the Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. He is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

He sits on a committee of the Labour Party to consider how to make a drive for better response to the payment of the political levy, but he is not allowed to attend a Labour Party Conference or to be nominated by his Union for the Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

Such examples could be multiplied many times. How absurd such contradictions are! And these contradictions at the top are repeated all through the Labour movement. Communist men and women of proved ability and loyalty to the workers' cause are kept out of local Labour Parties and prevented from giving their energy and devotion to strengthening the Labour Party and winning support for it in the constituencies.

The Communist Party has a great deal to learn from Labour Party, but it also has a great deal to teach. Even our enemies admit that our Party consists of men and women who are not out for money, careers or self-seeking. Their only desire is to dedicate their every endeavour to the cause of the people and the establishment of Socialism. Its activity and meetings, sales of literature and financial support from the workers are the envy of every other political organisation.

The Labour movement needs the Communist Party. It is a party of the working class which works to strengthen the organisation, political understanding and activity of the workers by hand and brain, for the advancement of their standards and conditions and for the achievement of Socialism. It seeks to co-operate with all other sections of the Labour movement to win support for our common aims. It works to preserve, develop and use to the full the democratic rights of free speech, press, assembly, organisation and representation in Parliament, Local Authorities and other public bodies, in order to advance the best interests of the people and secure a Government truly representative of the majority of the people. It supports the aspirations of all peoples in the British Empire to choose the form of government under which they will live, and the determination of the peoples of all countries to secure freedom, democratic rights and social progress as the basis for the development of economic and social co-operation for the benefit of all nations and the maintenance of peace.

These are not a mere formal expression of aims; they represent the basis of the ceaseless daily activities of the Communist Party, wherever it has one single member. The outstanding difference between the Communist Party and all other working-class organisations is that not only does every member pay dues, but is also active.

The record of the members of the Communist Party in translating into deeds the aims to which they have set their hands is well known

throughout the length and breadth of the land. They are to be found among the most active Shop Stewards in the factories, constantly recruiting new members to the Trade Unions, safeguarding the conditions of the workers throughout industry, trying to bring closer unity between one Trade Union and another, taking up grievances and demands of the workers in the localities. They are the driving forces behind the Tenants' Associations. In the great struggles of the past, when mighty Hunger Marches compelled the nation to pay attention to the demands of the unemployed, they were there. Furthermore, it was undoubtedly the work of the Communist Party in the years of mass unemployment, organising these forms of solidarity between employed and unemployed, that prevented a single strike from being broken by blacklegs or the playing off of the employed against unemployed workers.

The Communist Party organised the British Battalion of the International Brigade, to whose proud record in Spain Major Attlee himself paid tribute by giving it his name. Our struggle against fascism needs no recounting; we were the first to warn of its dangers, the first to fight against Mosley, the first to campaign for unity in the ranks of the Labour and democratic movement and for a People's Government whose policy could have prevented this war.

We will do all in our power to gain affiliation to the Labour Party, to avoid any splitting of the Labour and progressive vote at the General Election. At the same time, because we stand for unity and believe that our Party is a powerful weapon for unity and for strengthening the Labour movement, we shall strive to make it still stronger, more powerful and influential, tireless in its defence of the workers' immediate interests, carrying out its great work of Marxist education and advancement of Socialism.

The Communist Party is a political force that has to be reckoned with. The influence of its daily newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, is recognised on all sides. Its Marxist literature is bringing clarity, understanding and a deeper class consciousness to the whole movement. The manner in which it strengthens the Labour movement is apparent in many Trade Unions at the present time. For a number of years now, there has been a significant growth, not only in Trade Union membership, but in the number of important leading positions in the Trade Unions occupied by members of the Communist Party, positions which have been won by overwhelming majorities in democratic elections. This number would be far larger if in other Trade Unions the reactionary leaders abolished the undemocratic rules which prevent members of the Communist Party from standing for election

to official positions.

Similarly, if the Communist Party were affiliated to the Labour Party, it would strengthen it in Parliament and the Local Authorities. Another fifty William Gallachers in Parliament would not weaken Labour, but tremendously strengthen it; and at the General Election, with or without an agreement with the Labour Party, we shall strive to reach this objective.

There is also another side to this question of affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party. It would represent the first step in the creation of a single working-class party, based on fully Socialist principles and with a definite Socialist programme. To work to this end is an aim that every Labour, Trade Union, Co-operative and Communist man and woman can be proud of.

Consider also our obligations to the international working class. In the majority of European countries, a terrible price has been paid in the fight waged against fascism, both before and during the war—their movement forced into illegality, their funds, premises and newspapers gone. They need generous help from us to rebuild. How much more sincere and practical that help can be when it is carried out by a united Labour movement which, while it is helping to rebuild the Socialist Parties, Trade Unions and Co-operatives on the continent of Europe is at the same time trying to create a united international Labour movement.

Whatever may be the Labour Party's efforts to secure international unity, they cannot produce the best results unless they are based on unity of the Labour movement at home. This alone constitutes the firm basis upon which the exhortation of Marx and Engels, "*Workers of the World, Unite,*" can become a reality. A united Labour movement in Britain is the key to victory. It will unlock many doors of opposition and misunderstanding. To a movement that sometimes seems to have grown cynical and career-minded, it will restore the vision and fighting spirit of the old pioneers.

Unity in the Labour movement means that the Labour Party would grow in membership and influence throughout the country, that its local organisations would be more active than ever before in their history. It means victory at the next General and Local Elections.

Unity places the Trade Unions in a stronger position in negotiations with employers and in recruiting millions of unorganised workers.

Unity means a stronger fight against the monopolists who seek to weaken and restrict the Co-operative movement.

Unity means a better Britain, nearer to the wishes and desires of the people. It will constitute a greater step towards a Socialist Britain

than is yet realised. It will demand keen political fighting and confidence in the cause. But, despite all obstacles, it can and will be won.

For the winning of such unity, we of the Communist Party pledge our maximum contribution. Through Labour unity, and through the leadership which a united Labour movement can give to all progressive sections of the nation, we see the way forward to the carrying out of what Marx and Engels defined in the historic Communist Manifesto of 1848 as one of the principal tasks of the Communists, to "labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries."

The aim of a united Labour movement is a splendid one. The cynics, the hard-boiled, the careerists, those with no faith in the working class, will sneer and scoff. They will abuse and slander those who fight for it. It will be derided as a dream.

So it would be, if no one fought for it. But millions of workers have made up their minds that it is a dream that is going to come true. When Ernest Bevin made his funeral oration over Ben Tillett's grave, he referred to Ben, Tom Mann and John Burns as having raised "the divine banner of discontent." There were many who said that these men were dreamers, but their banner is now held aloft by millions of willing hands. Their dreams of a powerful Trade Union movement, uniting skilled and unskilled, of an eight-hour day, of a powerful Labour Party independent of the capitalist parties, have all come true, because they were dreams that were believed in and fought for by nameless millions.

Today, new visions, new tasks and new responsibilities stand before us. A united Labour movement is the way to win them and to secure what our great traditions and our duty to our own people demand from each one of us. It can be done if in our time we are as convinced of the old slogan "United we Stand, Divided we Fall," as were the pioneers in theirs.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

What have been the aims of this booklet?

1. To show what is new in the political, economic and social situation at home and abroad, and to be guided in our analysis and conclusions by the experiences of the people before and during the war.
2. To give a feeling of strength and confidence to the organised Labour movement on the basis of which it can attract to its policy and leadership every man and woman who is determined that our country shall be in the vanguard of the political awakening that is taking place all over the world.
3. To take note of the profound international changes that are manifesting themselves, which cannot leave Britain untouched and which call for a new approach to a new situation from every intelligent person in this country.

In this attempt we have had constantly in mind the theory and practice of Marxism, an unfailing guide to progress, however difficult and complicated the position may be. In this connection we believe that it will be as helpful to our readers as it has been to ourselves if we here quote a passage from Lenin that has aided us in trying to estimate the next stage, to reach which the working class in particular needs to unite its ranks and use its full power.

"The social structure of society and of State power is characterised by changes; and unless these changes are understood, not a single step can be taken in any sphere of social activity. The understanding of these changes determines the prospects, by which we mean, of course, not idle guessing about things nobody knows, but the fundamental trends of economic and political development—those trends, the resultant of which determines the immediate future of the country, those trends which determine the tasks, direction and character of the activity of every intelligent public man."

Selected Works, Lenin, Vol. 4, p. 71.

Every essential for progress does now exist. We have seen during the war the establishment of striking new alliances and unity of purpose between nation and nation, class and class, even when the most fundamental differences in social systems, politics, religion and class outlook existed. Without such unity fascism would have triumphed; the clock would have been put back. Mankind would have been held back, perhaps for generations, in its historic mission to fight its way forward to ever-improving economic and social conditions, developing the productive resources and the mastery of man over nature.

Victory over fascism will not in itself solve the ever-present problems of poverty, unemployment, and social insecurity, but after what has been done by the united action of the democratic nations of the world in war, is there any intelligent man or woman who would dare to say that we are not given unprecedented opportunities for making a united frontal assault on these enemies of mankind?

We do not pretend that the proposals advocated are those that would be carried out in a Socialist Britain. They are only a step towards it. But let us bear in mind two things. First, in defeating fascism, we have won a decisive victory for democracy in the capitalist countries and for Socialism, in the Soviet Union. Secondly, the policy we have outlined would be a tremendous step towards developing and strengthening the people and all their organisations for the achievement of Socialism.

We have no doubt that what has been proposed will be fiercely attacked from two sides. The reactionary capitalists will describe it as "British bolshevism," and the so-called "left" of the Labour movement—those without mass influence or serious responsibility—will describe it as "a betrayal of Socialism."

What is the real position? To secure the carrying out of this policy will necessitate some of the greatest political fights this country has ever seen, and it is in the course of the struggle against reaction that the working class has gained its political experience and united and strengthened its ranks.

It is not how "left" the immediate programme itself may be that determines whether it carries us forward towards liberation, towards Socialism. It is the degree to which the workers and the people generally can be united to fight for it, and their enemies be isolated and exposed. It is the degree to which the progressive forces can increase their power. Moreover, we have to realise that the actual *achievement* of this programme, or even a part of it, will itself change the country we live in, the conditions in which we carry on our work, and—most important of all—it will change the minds of the people in the process of carrying it out and prepare them for yet other far-reaching changes.

What separates us from Socialism? Since capitalism first arose it has been true that "we are many" and our oppressors are few. Why, then, have we not yet reached the stage of Socialism? What have we to change in order to get there?

How often do we hear the answer from those who have lost faith in the workers: "The people are apathetic. The people are doped by the propaganda of the capitalists. They'll agree with you, but they will say

nothing can be done about it. They say there will always be rich and poor. As long as they get bread in their mouths they don't bother. They say it will always be the same."

Of course, there is something in all this. The minds of the people have been shaped by society, and capitalism has a thousand ways to shape them to its mould. Some workers have still too much respect and fear for the class that usurps Government, and not yet enough confidence in their own ability to do the job better. They have not yet realised that the good things of life should and could be for them.

How can we change this? How can the people learn their own strength?

Never, Lenin told us, by propaganda alone. If it were only a question of propaganda, the capitalist class possesses far more opportunities and channels which they can use. People learn above all from their own experience. As we have seen, we have learned through scores of years of bitter oppression and Trade Union resistance that united we are strong, divided we are weak. We have learnt during the war that "managerial functions" are not a magic sixth sense which goes with a certain education and manner of speech; the Soviet Union, where the workers exercise these functions entirely, has been the most successful power in the war. We have learned we can do more than bargain for the terms on which we sell our labour; we can begin to bargain about what we will make, and how much of it, the price at which it is to be sold, and the profit that can be made out of it.

If a Government such as we have outlined is selected and begins to carry out its programme, will not this further change the people? If four years of full employment in war have so strengthened working-class organisation despite all the difficulties of war-time, what will it mean to go on with it when all the lads come back from the forces?

If three years of Joint Production Committees have had such an effect, what will be the effect of key industries in national hands, the workers and the Government running them? If the workers have become impatient with poverty during the war, what will it be when there is no longer the immense drain of war-time on our resources? Will the example of the Soviet Union peacefully rebuilding be less inspiring than its example in war-time?

Above all, we believe that the people who have been able to extend democracy in war-time—with elections banned, and the movement not roused by its leaders to exert its full strength in shaping the country's policy—will find a new enthusiasm and energy when the job they have to do is one of building for plenty.

It may be that some who genuinely desire social progress will think that our programme goes too far. If that proves an obstacle to securing the maximum unity of all the Labour and progressive people and their organisations, we would be prepared to meet and discuss any modifications which might be considered more practical, or make it more readily acceptable as a basis for the common movement.

We understand that despite the forms of mutual assistance and economic co-operation we have suggested as between nation and nation and the domestic policy of Britain, the capitalist would still make profits and the worker still draw wages. We have no illusions about that. But this policy will mean higher wages, shorter hours and full employment. It will mean a more united and stronger Labour movement, the strangle-hold of monopoly capitalism immediately weakened and all the pre-requisites for further development towards Socialism.

We are living in a new stage in the development of society. On the whole, the capitalist class is weaker and the working class stronger than in 1939, and the working class has proved in deeds, particularly since the Russian Revolution, that it also knows how to take advantage of the weaknesses and contradictions of the capitalist world.

If there is one lesson we can learn with great profit from the experience of the Soviet Union since 1917, it is that at every new stage in the international situation, the Socialist State knew how to act. I have heard endless accusations that the Soviet Union has betrayed Socialism because at some particular time it made a turn in its domestic and foreign policy, a new alliance or agreement. But is not the influence of the Soviet Union in the world now outstanding? Has not every turn in its policy resulted precisely in winning its present proud position? No one can deny this. Similarly here in Britain, we have to learn how to adapt our policies to what is new in the situation, strengthening our faith in the working class and uniting our power against all the enemies of social progress.

During the war the main enemy has been fascism and those who help it. We as Communists, and the Labour movement as a whole, have been willing to work with anyone against it, whether or not we agree in other respects. After the war the whole nation must unite against reactionary sections of capitalism who, for whatever motives, oppose the use of the nation's resources to meet the nation's needs. The people who have been strong enough to defeat Hitler will also be strong enough to defeat those who are prepared to go back to the old sterile policy of wage cuts, victimisation and unemployment; those who organise scarcity because they profit from it; those who are willing

to plunge the nations back into the turmoil and menace of imperialist rivalries and war.

The unity so painfully established during five years of war must not be rent asunder the day the last All-Clear sounds. No one would welcome such a policy more than reactionary monopolists, landowners and bankers on the one hand, and the armchair "revolutionaries" on the other. What is needed is a new unity in which the Labour movement takes the lead of all that is best in the nation.

Consider what is the alternative to the policy we have suggested. It is to use production simply for securing the highest rate of profit and not to satisfy the urgent needs of the population. It means restriction of output, wage cuts, intensified exploitation, a dog-eat-dog fight with trade competitors at home and abroad. It means slashing at social services, playing off the workers of one industry against another, of one country against another. It means imperialist rivalry and struggles for sources of raw material and profitable investment. It means the continued repression of the Colonial peoples. It means economic crisis, unemployment, and another world war.

It would mean that in a world in which countries like America, the Dominions and the Soviet Union have enormously increased their productive power, where the new Europe (already arising before our eyes) is strong and established, and where the National Liberation Movement has made mighty advances in every Colonial country, Britain would be isolated and defeated. The country that led the world in forming a Labour movement would sink to the position of a third-rate power and become a drag on world social progress.

It would mean a betrayal of every soldier, sailor and airman who has given his life for the right of democratic people to advance to a new life and a new world.

On the other hand, what of our policy?

It would mean a continuation of Britain's war-time co-operation with America, the Soviet Union, China and the rest of the United Nations, assisting in the restoration of devastated Europe, helping the development of a free India and other Colonial countries in common with other nations.

It would mean, as set out in an earlier chapter, planning and producing what Britain so urgently requires, with all that would result in good health, happiness, better education and skill.

It would mean being good neighbours with all countries, resulting in work and good wages, real town and country planning, more leisure for all kinds of sport, cultural and intellectual development. It would mean a curtailment of rent, interest and profit which would have to

be faced and accepted by the handful of people who believe it is their divine right to draw it.

It would mean that the Government would be progressively formed from the best men and women that the nation could provide. It would mean that there need be no ploughing under of wheat and corn, no burning of coffee, no destruction of crops or of machinery, no distressed areas or hunger marches.

Arising from all this would develop stronger and more united Trade Unions, a more powerful Co-operative movement, extending its constructive and beneficial work throughout the country, a far more powerful united Labour Party, steadily moving, through the affiliation to it of the Communist Party, towards a single working-class political party that could inspire and lead the whole country.

It would mean important steps towards Socialism, in line with the new conditions and new international situation.

The capitalist class will make their own choice as to which alternative they are prepared to accept and help carry through. But fortunately the working class, having made up its own mind as it has done, can also assist the capitalists to make their choice. For if ever there was a time to remember "We are many, they are few" it is now.

Signs are not wanting that the position is clearly understood even in the ranks of monopoly capitalism. They require no warnings and threats from us—they get them from their own statesmen, writers and economists every week. I am writing this on the day (July 25th, 1944) that the *Financial News* is commenting editorially on the results of the International Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods in America and I notice it sums up the results in this significant way:—

"This is the first constructive essay in—and probably the world's last chance of—rebuilding trade and prosperity on international lines."

That warning is urgently applicable to every problem that peace will bring to the capitalist and working class alike.

It may be argued that what we have outlined here represents a series of developments that can only lead to State Capitalism. Well, what is wrong about that? Does it not represent the victory of the popular forces over those of reaction? For the difference between National "Socialism" in a fascist country, and State Capitalism in a democratic one is this: The one rests upon the terror and dictatorship of the most aggressive, reactionary and powerful dominant section of monopoly capitalism, in which every vestige of liberty, freedom and Socialist thought has been exterminated, the other, upon the basis of democratic institutions with a Government elected by the people and

under the leadership of a Labour and progressive majority, with democracy continually extending and organised planning carried out in co-operation with all other nations, Socialist thought making headway, and in which great changes are bound to take place in the state machine.

It is a fundamental difference, because while the one retards the possibility of any advance towards Socialism, the other enormously assists the speedy advance towards working-class power and the full establishment of Socialism.

Does our conception of social progress mean, then, that there is no class struggle? Of course not. The achievement of the limited programme we have outlined will demand fierce political struggles if it is to be won. If the solid core of the dyed-in-the-wool Tories now in control of Parliament fought as they did against the Catering Bill, which aimed only at giving a minimum wage in this industry, we can appreciate how violently they will fight against any proposal to nationalise anything at any time.

But they can be beaten by a united Labour movement organising great political meetings, demonstrations and conferences, using its Labour, Communist, Trade Union and Co-operative press, rousing and organising the people, carrying it all through with the enthusiasm, conviction and fervour of a great revival, calling upon the young people, the new, promising leaders who are emerging everywhere, especially those who have gone through the war on land, sea and air, using every propagandist and writer, every novelist and publicist, the films and radio, the street corner and the Town Hall, the Trade Union, the Labour Party and Communist Party branch rooms, Co-operative Party and Guild meetings, the Trade Union Congress, the Co-operative Congress and the Labour Party Conference.

Have not the reactionaries in the Tory and Liberal Parties opposed every measure of social progress? Did they not declare that Britain was going to be ruined if child labour was abolished in mill and mine if Factory Acts were introduced, the eight-hour day, social insurance, or votes for women? In those days they used the press to slander the pioneers, accused them of being in receipt of "foreign gold," used the Church and parson, corrupted Labour leaders—but in the end they were beaten, as we can beat them now.

No, it does not mean the end of the struggle we have carried on for so many years. It means the carrying forward of that struggle into new territory, so that instead of hitting only at a single employer or group of employers, extracting this or that concession, we are

fighting for control and power at key points in the economic system of monopoly capitalism itself. The very scale of modern monopoly makes such a development of our struggle absolutely necessary.

It is not simply a Parliamentary fight. The power and control of such a Government as we envisage will rest no less on the active work and initiative of the organised Labour and progressive movement, in Factory Committees and Trade Unions, in Co-operatives and Tenants' Associations, than on the traditional forces of the state. Undoubtedly such a Government may be faced with the need to modernise the State machinery, to make it more democratic and to give greater scope for the co-operation of the voluntary organisations of the people.

As capitalism becomes more and more monopolised, as the individual factory becomes part of a nationally organised network, so the big decisions about wages and hours cease to be matters which can be regarded, even temporarily, as matters between the workers and employers alone. Inevitably they become matters of national concern affecting the whole of economic life, and it is essential, if we are to advance at all, that the working class should have no illusions about a "pure" industrial struggle in which no issues arise except "Trade Union" issues. A change of power in the State is necessary to give full effect to the growing strength of the movement in the factories and Trade Unions.

As the movement advances, therefore, it will be more and more important to seek to influence and bring under its control not only wages and hours within an industry, but the whole organisation of industry and the development of production as a whole. Nationalisation of the mines has become the main demand of the miners as the condition of further Trade Union and social advance. The problems of the cotton workers cannot be solved without bringing in some form of State control as the only alternative to what monopoly did to Lancashire in pre-war days. The engineering and shipbuilding workers cannot win the wages and conditions they want after the war without the agreements the Government makes with foreign countries and the steps it takes to develop the home market, especially through its control of investment and re-equipment.

The very weaknesses and contradictions inherent in monopoly capitalism in its present stage requires an extension of State control if Britain is to be saved from disaster after a short-lived trade boom after the war.

Never have there been such opportunities for the Trade Unions to use their power and influence as now, but the new conditions also

demand a new outlook on the part of Trade Unionists and their leaders, so that no short-sighted policy shall replace the long-term view through which alone we can fulfil all that the working class is expecting of the Trade Union movement.

The pressure of the organised and united workers for a better standard of life will have to be the main driving force which, together with a Labour and progressive majority in Parliament, can compel the reorganisation and drastic changes required throughout industry, at the same time as it assists Parliament to overcome the opposition of all reactionary forces.

Workers will not unite and fight for things they believe to be impossible; they will fight for what they consider just, fair and reasonable. In so doing they will gain victories not only in the present situation but in preparing the way for advances towards Socialism, as the necessary conditions mature and as more and more people are convinced of the desirability of this decisive change in society and are organised and prepared to fight for it.

What is Socialism? It means that the ownership of the means of production—the factories, the mines, the workshops, the railways and ships, the land and machinery to till it—has passed out of the ownership of private capitalists into public ownership on behalf of the nation.

It means that because of this, most of the political and economic problems which seem difficult to solve under capitalism would disappear. There would no longer be any problem of how to prevent business crises, unemployment and war; no fight between the interests of the private capitalist, who wants low wages and high prices, and the worker, who wants high wages and low prices. There would cease to be a problem of "over-production."

This would mean unfettering the productive powers of our country on a scale that would make the war effort look slow and halting, and on this basis there could be a much freer and fuller life for every man and woman.

There would be no more blind alley jobs, no more unskilled labour. There would be time to think, time to grow, not on the basis of "state regimentation," but of the fullest expression of democracy and liberty. "Every cook must learn to rule the state," Lenin once said, and Socialism makes it both possible and practicable.

Socialism would change people, change them from individuals trained to keep their end up against the world into people without fear, able to co-operate and work collectively without a thought of

personal gain. It would bridge the gap between manual and intellectual work which gives us so many bored workers and sterile intellectuals. It means the emancipation of women, with all the power and strength they would bring in service to the people in industry, agriculture, the arts and sciences, and the home.

We cannot, of course, foretell exactly what will be done, but we do know what things people will not endure under Socialism—poverty, misery, unemployment, want, racial hatred and religious discrimination.

Only a Socialist Britain, co-operating with all other peoples of the world in close, friendly, free and equal association, will be able so to plan the use of all Britain's material, productive and scientific resources that every citizen will be guaranteed security, the right to work and leisure, a steadily rising standard of living, liberty and equal opportunity for a full and happy life.

Only Socialism can completely abolish the causes of poverty, unemployment and war, and use to their utmost limits all the productive resources of our country to satisfy the ever-increasing needs of the people and those with whom they are in co-operative association.

It means employing every man and every machine usefully, bringing every acre of land into fruitful cultivation, planning our whole resources, exchanging our products for the products, raw materials and foodstuffs of other nations.

It would end restrictions on inventions, lighten toil in heavy and dangerous industries, use all the limitless possibilities of modern science and technique to increase productivity and lessen manual labour.

Socialism would end the robbery of the poor by the rich and the exploitation of one man by another, and open up a new conception of human purpose and endeavour. It would transform our towns and villages from the present drab and dreary places into centres of light, convenience and comfort.

All men and women would have to work, and would enjoy equal rights, equal facilities. Class privilege and profit, class inequalities and monopoly would have gone. The contrast between rich and poor, between the West End and the East End, would have been abolished. The great country houses of the rich would become rest homes for workers who need rest and facilities for recuperation.

Socialism would make possible a really healthy nation and people, opening up opportunities for education and technical development that would reflect themselves in every phase of industry, agriculture, cultural and social life. It would give time for play, recreation and travel that would be used in a new way by new people. All modern travel

facilities would be used to the full. The conception of Blackpool, Southend and Brighton as the last word in holidays would be laughed at. The workers would be able to see the places they have dreamt about and so far seen only at the cinema.

The arts, crafts and sciences would flourish. The prostitution of sport would come to an end, and instead of being a racket it would become possible for all workers to develop their own Sports Clubs and cease to be content to watch a few paid professionals because they themselves are too tired to take part, or because they have been denied all opportunity.

Under Socialism, democracy would continually expand as the workers guide and control the destinies of their own country. Scientists and technicians would find new scope for their genius and inventive ability. There would be no restriction of invention because it would restrict profit; instead it would be encouraged because it would bring about better planning and equipment, continual improvement in housing and social conditions, in lightening toil and increasing the time for leisure.

Socialism would give to the small manufacturers, farmers and shopkeepers a security they have never known under capitalism. Their association with State and Co-operative concerns would provide them not only with a better livelihood than they can obtain in their present scramble to make ends meet and their constant anxiety to avoid being crushed by the big monopolies, but would also convince them that Socialism is a superior system to capitalism.

Socialism means real and permanent international co-operation, helping backward countries to develop, reaching out to others to assist them to enjoy the new life we are building for ourselves. It means going forward to the realisation of a world Socialist order of society.

It would give men and women a new sense of their importance and responsibility, their dignity and stature, their power and how to use it.

If you say it cannot be done, we say it is being done before our very eyes in the Soviet Union, which, although it is the only Socialist country in the world, has clearly demonstrated that in peace and war, Socialism is a better, more efficient, and inspiring system of society than capitalism. Socialism gives to all who believe in it a new purpose and aim in life. It gives confidence and strength. It enables men and women to dare and to endure, to face persecution and hardship, to die if need be in service to the cause. It enabled the Hamburg docker, August Lutgens, to request his Nazi executioners that his hands should

be untied before he placed his head on the block, and when freed, to use his powerful fists to smash in the jaws of his executioners. It enable the Soviet girl Tanya to have confidence and strength to call out as the Nazi noose was tightening around her neck: "Don't cry, Mother, it is a great happiness to die for one's people." It gave the French Communist Gabriel Peri strength to send out his last message to the world: "If I had my time again I would go the same road."

Socialism has given to countless unknown heroes, men and women alike, in our mining villages, engineering and shipbuilding towns, textile works and rural areas, the strength and vision to fight, organise, agitate and educate, even when it all seemed impossible. Though all was for them as the blackness of night, they always saw the dawn. Victimisation, imprisonment, deportation, starvation, seeing their children peak and pine, their wives grow hungry and weak—and yet to stick to it, never to lose faith.

Yesterday such people were few. Today we are millions because of what they did. Let us now prove worthy of them, their example, and their achievements. We are so much stronger, more united, politically better equipped; and so, on the basis of our indestructible faith in Socialism, let us continue to fight.

If we do so along the direction we have indicated in this booklet we believe we can win a Better Britain today and a Socialist Britain tomorrow.

Communist Party Policy Statements :

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