

# On the British Road to Socialism

*J.V. Stalin*

Copy  
Top Secret

## **To Comrade Stalin**

In his letter addressed to you the General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of England, Harry Pollitt, who had been to the Soviet Union for treatment, requests advice on the tactics of the Communist Party during the coming elections to the Parliament that in his opinion may take place during the fall of the current year.

H. Pollitt is of the opinion that the basic tactical task of the Communist Party in the coming elections must consist in preventing victory of the Conservatives. H. Pollitt writes that in these elections the Communist Party should somewhat reduce the number of its candidates (in elections conducted during February this year the Communist Party put forward 100 candidates); to recommend to the electors to vote for Labour candidates where the Party has not put forward its candidate and where the leaders of the Labour Party are not contesting. While doing so, a demand shall be put before the Labour Party candidate to support the major demands of the working class movement of England (scrap wage freeze; development of trade with the Soviet Union; prohibition on nuclear weapons etc.)

In connection with the questions raised by H. Pollitt, the Foreign Policy Commission puts forward the suggestion to direct Com. Suslov to receive H. Pollitt and put before him the following opinion of the CC AUCP (b) regarding the questions touched upon by him in his letter:

(a) In case of elections for the Parliament during the fall of 1950 it would be imperative for the CP to widely explain, as in her pre-election Programme so also during the entire conduct of the election campaign, that there is no substantial difference between the politics of the Labour and of the Conservatives as the politics of this and the other party is directed towards the preparation for a new war, an attack on the living standards of the working class and of all the workforce, putting on the working class the great burden of military expenditure and subordination of the politics of the Labour government to the interests of the American Imperialism. In this context the Communist Party does not support the Labour candidates for Parliament:

(b) The Communist Party must use the Parliament elections for the purpose of carrying out a wide and active struggle for peace, establishing the struggle against the threat of a new war as the foundation of their election platform. Safeguarding peace and the question of the threat of a new war should be closely linked with the struggle for the improvement of the living standards of the workers and other toilers of England, against a freeze on the wages, for the solution of the housing crisis, for equal pay for work among men and women, than during earlier elections.

(c) For the purpose of maintaining the independent line of the CP in the elections and distinguishing it from the programme of the Labour and the Conservative parties, the Communist

Party must put forward her own candidates in a number of election constituencies, and in many others but in lesser numbers than in the earlier elections.

Communist candidates should also be put forward in those constituencies where the leaders of the Conservative Party and the Labour Party would be standing for election, using the presence of the candidates of the CP for the purpose of the exposing the reactionary essence of the Labour politics.

The Communist Party should pay special attention to those areas where the Communists and other progressive forces have significantly more influence so as to try, even if in a few constituencies, to get the Communist candidates elected to Parliament.

(d) In those constituencies, where the CP shall not put forward her candidates, she should announce its support to Labour candidates under conditions that the Labour Party expresses commitment to support the Communist candidates to the Parliament.

In case of a rejection by the Labour Party of this suggestion of the Communist Party a demand should be put forward on behalf of the electors to the Labour candidates to fight for peace and speak against the dangers of a new war, support the demand for prohibition of nuclear armaments and declaring that government as a war criminal that first uses such arms, for struggle for better relations with the Soviet Union, countries of Peoples' Democracies and Democratic China, to struggle for the improvement of living conditions of the working masses.

If the Labour candidate refuses to accept these suggestions, then one should refuse to support to such a candidate.

(e) The CP should support independent Labourites (Platts-Mills, Pritt etc.) putting before them the demand for the protection of peace, prohibition of atomic armaments, struggle for the betterment of relations with the Soviet Union, improving the living standards of the working people (increase in salaries, betterment of housing conditions, condemnation of the pro-American politics of the ruling circles of England, etc.);

(f) It is necessary to try electoral alliance with grass-root trade unions and cooperative organisations, and also organisations of the Labour Party for support to the Communist candidates, independent Labourites and also with Labourites who give an undertaking to support democratic demands of the electors;

(g) The most significant condition for the successful conduct of the election campaign for Parliament and for the fulfillment of the most important tasks that stand before the CP of England, is the decisive turn of the party to the carrying out on a wide scale political and organisational work among the masses, strengthening of the struggle against the remnants of reformism, strengthening the links with trade union organisations, decisive reorganisation of work of the primary party organisations and of the party press for the purpose of strengthening and widening of links of the party with the masses.

Request your direction.

**Annex. Letter from H. Pollitt.**

Chairman of Foreign Political Commission, CC, VCP(b)  
(Signed) (B. Grigoriyan)

23rd May 1950

Copies sent to  
Comrades:

Malenkov  
Molotov  
Beria  
Mikoyan  
Kaganovich  
Bulganin

No. 25-S-849

**RGASPI, Fond 558, Opis 11, Delo 287, Listy 22-24.**

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### **Meeting Between Comrades Stalin and H. Pollitt**

**31st May 1950**

Present: Com. Malenkov and Pavlov (Interpreter).

**Pollitt** says that he had had for the first time met Comrade Stalin 29 years ago, when Comrade Stalin had expressed his wish to meet the future Secretary of the English Communist Party.

**Comrade Stalin** answers that he remembers this and asks Pollitt what questions he has.

**Pollitt** says that his questions of interest regarding tactics of the English Communists in the coming elections to Parliament

have been sent in detail in his letter addressed to the CC AUCP (b).

**Comrade Stalin** says that he has received the letter of Pollitt. He, Comrade Stalin, considers the position of Pollitt concerning the tactics of the English Communists for the coming elections to Parliament as correct. It is necessary, says Comrade Stalin, in so far as possible not to permit a victory of the Conservatives. Certainly the Labour Party is better, though only a little bit better than the Conservatives. However, one should consider that the working class of England considers a Labour government as their government.

**Comrade Stalin** asks whether the elections have taken place in Dumbarton and whether the Communists had put up any candidate in the elections.

**Pollitt** answers that the by-elections in Dumbarton have already taken place. The Communist Party did not put forward its candidates in these elections so that there may not be any division of votes that would have permitted the Conservative candidate to get through. The Labourites won the election in Dumbarton.

**Comrade Stalin** asks would there have been re- elections in case the candidate had received equal votes?

**Pollitt** answers that re-elections are held in case the candidate elected in the main elections had died. The majority system of elections in England, observes Pollitt is extremely unfavourable for English Communists. The rightist parties in France are at the moment conducting a struggle for the introduction of a similar system in France.

**Comrade Stalin** says that within the English working class there are taking place certain processes that are seen but which are unnoticeable from the outside, that explain the fact that the Conservatives managed to amass such a large quantity of votes in the last elections.

To illustrate the processes taking place in the English electorate that are not observable for an outside observer, he, Comrade Stalin, could cite the fact that the results of the elections in 1945 in England were unexpected for Churchill and Eden as well as for Attlee and Bevin. Labourites as well as Conservatives have an apparatus, informing the leadership of the party about the mood of the electors. In 1945 Churchill was confident of his victory in the elections, and Attlee did not expect the victory of the Labourites. The information providing apparatus let them down. Apparently in 1945 in the mood of the electors there took place some hidden internal processes, as a result of which the Labourites unexpectedly emerged victorious. And at the present time too something is happening to the mood of the British working class.

**Pollitt** answers, that in 1945 nobody expected the victory of the Labourites because every worker out of millions of English workers who had lived through the hard years of depression, when the Conservatives were in power, took a decision for themselves that they shall not permit the Conservatives to come to power.

**Comrade Stalin** comments, that neither the leaders of the Labourites nor the Conservatives could understand this.

**Pollitt** answers that this happened because the leaders did not continue with the contacts with the masses of the English people. As also, during the war years the working people of

England openly talked among themselves in bomb-shelters and in the Metro, where they used to take shelter from bombings that they shall never again permit the Conservatives to come to power.

**Comrade Stalin** asks – how would Pollitt characterise the mood of the English working class.

**Pollitt** answers, that the mood of the English working class could be characterised, firstly, a fear of the onslaught of unemployment in England, secondly, fear of war. Such mood is especially widespread among those workers who have not experienced the massive unemployment during the pre-war years.

**Comrade Stalin** asks – why did the Conservatives get such a large number of votes?

**Pollitt** answers that the number of votes cast for the Labourites on the last elections in industrial regions of England has grown significantly and on the whole as a party the Labourites got unprecedentedly more votes in the history of England.

**Comrade Stalin** observes that none the less the Conservatives also got a large number of votes.

**Pollitt** answers that Labour party got a record number of votes in the last elections. In 1945 the Labourites attracted the middle classes to their side. In 1950 the Labourites lost the support of the middle classes who were not happy with the taxes, rationing of benzene and other steps of the Labour government that hurt the interests of the small shopkeepers. However, the miners, ship-builders, workers in the heavy machine building industry, textile workers, metallurgists, they all together voted

for the Labourites. All these sectors of the working class had experienced the years of depression during pre-war days when the Conservatives were in power. Now they think that the Labour government shall save them from the onslaught of a new depression. Similarly, this fact also requires attention that England has millions of voters who are between 25 and 35 years of age. These voters have never known unemployment, have not experienced on their own skin the effects of lock-outs and have not participated in the demonstrations of the unemployed. Their salaries today are higher than ever earlier. To the same one may add that factually at the moment there is no unemployment in England.

**Comrade Stalin** again asks if at present there is no unemployment in England.

**Pollitt** answers that the general quantity of unemployed in England at the moment consists of 350 thousand, while the unemployed in the main are the old people. The concentration of unemployed has the following distribution: Liverpool – 40 thousand; South Wells – 35 thousand; Scotland – 50 thousand; all these in the main are old people.

Pollitt says that the English workers obsessed by the danger of Conservatives coming to power, do not vote for the Communists as they do not want a division of votes of those candidates who are inclined against the Conservatives. English workers think that there is no sense in voting for the English Communists as the English Communists have no chance of coming to power.

**Comrade Stalin** says, in any case in the mood of the electorate certain changes are taking place that favour Conservatives.

**Pollitt** answers, that taking recourse to all sorts of demagoguery the Conservatives have organised a strong youth movement.

**Comrade Stalin** says that certain sections of the English electors have been disillusioned from the Labourites. It is not just chance that the Conservatives got such large number of votes in the last elections.

**Pollitt** answers that the middle classes have left the Labourites which the Conservatives captured to their side by promising change in a number of limitations including the rationing of benzene. Conservatives were also succeeded in gathering to their side a large number of votes by playing on the mood for peace among the people. As is well known, during the election campaign Churchill made the announcement that in case of the Conservatives being elected he will personally talk to the Soviet leaders. This trick of Churchill put the Labourites in confusion. Bevin very messily replied to this speech of Churchill.

Pollitt said that some workers were influenced by the announcement of the Conservatives that with a more close relationship with the Americans, which they could support after coming to power, the English working class shall be guaranteed against unemployment.

**Comrade Stalin** says that such a strong union with the Americans, as that of the Labourites, the Conservatives never had. The Labourites are simply subservient to the Americans.

**Pollitt** says that this is completely true. However, the Conservatives had announced during the last elections that they, if they come to power, would support the union with the Americans on conditions that are less harsh for England. Some

electors believed the Conservatives as they thought that Churchill shall not so easily submit to the Americans.

**Comrade Stalin** asked has the CP of England got its own Programme calculated for a long period.

**Pollitt** answers that the CP of England has no such Programme.

**Comrade Stalin** says he would like to know how the English Communists would counter the Labourite plan of nationalisation of industry and the establishment of socialist society. It is important to give direction and an ideal to the English masses. The Labourites are giving a direction to the English masses.

**Pollitt** answers that the Party Line is given in the brochure entitled '*British Road to Socialism*'. Labourites have their Programme titled '*Labourites Believe in England*' and the Conservatives have titled their published Programme as '*The Correct Path for Britain*'.

Pollitt says that in their Programme the English Communists have put forward demands: pay enhancement, betterment of residential conditions, trade with the Soviet Union and with the countries of Peoples' Democracies, and also demands nationalisation of all important branches of English industry under conditions that the representatives of the English working class should manage these.

**Comrade Stalin** asks how do the English Communists counter the Labourite plan of nationalisation. As much as we know, says Comrade Stalin, in branches of industry that have been nationalised by the Labourites, the capitalists have remained in

their posts, their profits are rising, but the pay of the workers remains frozen. Do the English Communists criticise this situation?

**Pollitt** answers that the English Communists do criticise the Labourites for this, considering the struggle against freezing of pay as their major line of struggle.

**Comrade Stalin** states that as he thinks, the Communist Party of England takes a very soft and completely unprincipled position in the struggle against the Labour Party. The English Communists should have told the Labourites that they, the Labourites, are not at all Socialist but the left wing of the Conservative Party. This is not done. This needs to be openly pronounced. English Communists must state that under the Labour government the capitalists feel very fine, that their profits grow. This one fact speaks out that the Labourites are building no socialism.

In England the workers want that they be involved in the management of the nationalised branches of industries. It appears that in the nationalised industries in England the capitalists continue to direct the economy and get huge profits. This situation is incomprehensible for the Soviet people who under nationalisation understand that if any branch of industry is nationalised, the capitalists are removed from there and it is managed only by the representatives of the working class. Soviet people cannot visualise any other nationalisation. In England, the capitalists continue to manage it and as a consequence, their profits grow.

Comrade Stalin further states that, in the elections the defeat of the Labour Party should certainly not be permitted, but one should criticise the Labour Party from the principles of

socialism. Such criticism impresses the workers as the workers see that nationalisation brought about by the Labourites does not give them, the workers, any benefits and, on the contrary, secures for the capitalists all sorts of profits. It does not happen that the profits of capitalists grow and at the same time the conditions of the working class also improve. If the profits grow then the condition of the workers does not improve but goes down. This is how we, the Soviet people, understand this and the British workers shall also understand such agitation.

Comrade Stalin says that without a Programme meant for a long period of time, the Party cannot grow, develop and increase the number of its supporters among the working class.

English Communists are accused in England that they have put before themselves the aim of establishing Soviet power in England. The English Communists must respond to this in their Programme that they do not want to weaken the Parliament, that England shall reach socialism through its own path and not through the path traversed by Soviet power but through a democratic republic that shall be guided not by capitalists but by representatives of peoples' power i.e. a coalition of workers, working intelligentsia, lower classes of the cities as well as farmers. Communists must declare that this power shall act through the Parliament.

Comrade Stalin continued to say that the Communists in Anglo-Saxon countries are inclined to concentrate their forces on current everyday tasks of purely practical character and not looking far ahead. This shortsightedness of narrow practicality has led to the Communist parties in Anglo-Saxon countries being weak. The Communist Party of England should provide to the English people a perspective of a long term development of England and her future.

Comrade Stalin continued to state that it should be pointed out in the Programme that only a coalition of the working class, working intelligentsia, lower strata of the cities and of farmers can guarantee to the English people peace, increase in salaries and the supply of raw material for English industries and markets for English goods. If the English Communists give this perspective to the English people and shall propagate their programme without demagogy then the best among the working class shall return from the Labourites to the side of the Communists.

Comrade Stalin said that the talk should be of a Peoples' Democratic path for the movement of England to Socialism and not of the Soviet path but of that path on which the countries of Peoples' Democracy are moving towards socialism.

**Pollitt** said that English Communist Party has no such programme that could open before the English people the perspective for the future of Britain.

**Comrade Stalin** said that among the workers there are thinking people who would like to listen to the British Communist Party regarding where the CP of England wants to take England. If the English Communists prepare such a programme opening a perspective of development of England to Socialism then such a programme shall be understood and supported by the English working class.

Comrade Stalin continued to state that such is our opinion about the working of the CP of England and that he, Comrade Stalin, has expressed it as a matter of advice. It is the job of the English Communist party to decide how to proceed further. If Pollitt could postpone his departure so that the main points of

the programme could be put on paper, then he, Comrade Stalin, and other leading comrades from the CC AUCP (b) could see the document prepared by Pollitt and would be able to give advice.

**Pollitt** announces that he is fully in agreement with what Comrade Stalin has said about the Programme. However he, Pollitt, thinks it to be imperative that such a document is collectively prepared in England together with other comrades from the English Communist Party, in particular, as he desired, together with Dutt.

**Comrade Stalin** said that this certainly was good. However, he, Comrade Stalin does not propose that Pollitt prepare the draft of the Programme immediately. It would be desirable if Pollitt could put in writing the major formulations of the programme so that one could be convinced that he, Comrade Stalin, and Pollitt properly understood each other.

Comrade Stalin said that in their programme the Communists of England should also respond to the accusations that they are trying to destroy Britain. Communists must make it clear that it is not they but the Conservatives and Labourites who are destroying Britain. He, Comrade Stalin, is convinced that the British Communists not only should not destroy Britain but must strengthen it on its own basis, putting to an end the present abnormal mutual relations between peoples that are now under the British Empire. We, continued Comrade Stalin, also had colonies in the East and South of Russia. However, we established a new relationship; a relationship of friendship with the erstwhile colonial people of Russia and today, not one of the earlier Russian colonies wants to exit from the Soviet Union.

Comrade Stalin continued to say that the English Communists are shying away from these questions. However, these must be answered.

Comrade Stalin asks as to what are the left Labourites like Platts-Mills, Pritt and others.

**Pollitt** answers that Platts-Mills, Pritt, Hutchinson and Solly are people who vote for the Communists. They try to join the Communist Party but he, Pollitt, restrains them from doing so. Desirous to similarly join the Communist Party is the well known physicist Professor Bernal who is conducting very big and very useful work for the struggle for peace in Britain. He, Pollitt, has also not recommended Bernal to join Communist Party.

**Comrade Stalin** asks as to why Pollitt does this?

**Pollitt** answers that enlisting such persons who command high influence in such strata of the people which the Communist Party is not in a position to influence. If Bernal, Pritt and others join the CP then they as members of the CP may lose their influence.

**Comrade Stalin** says that for such persons the English CP could establish an institution of sympathisers. Among the sympathisers there could be persons who do not fully agree with the Programme of the CP but sympathise with it as a whole. The institution of sympathisers could also act as verification of those who want to join the Party as its members. We have, continued Comrade Stalin, an institution for the Candidate members of the Party. We sometimes verify the candidates over a period of ten years before accepting them as members of the Party. Candidates and sympathisers are not so

linked as members of the Party. This is why he, Comrade Stalin, would recommend introducing the institution of sympathisers.

Comrade Stalin asks as to what position the English Communists have in the Trade Unions and in the Cooperative movement.

**Pollitt** answers that the Communists have some position in the cooperative movement but this is not significant as the cooperative organisations as a norm do not permit election of Communists in leading positions. In the Trade Unions the English Communists have, and continue to hold, a sufficiently wide field of activities.

**Comrade Stalin** asks if the Cooperative Party puts forward its candidates in the Parliament elections.

**Pollitt** answers that the Cooperative Party puts forward its candidates in elections in agreement with the Labour Party.

**Comrade Stalin** comments that in this manner the Cooperative Party in fact is a branch of the Labour Party.

**Pollitt** supports this comment.

**Comrade Stalin** says that it is imperative to break this link between the Cooperative and the Labour Parties so that the Cooperative Party became more independent and more objective.

Comrade Stalin says that there are indications that the system of rationing on some categories of goods in England causes harm to the workers. During the war there was such a system

of rationing in the Soviet Union. The prices of some so rationed goods in the Soviet Union were lower and the people liked it. However, the norms of the supply of goods were never high. This is why the workers were compelled to buy supplementary supplies from the free market where the price of the products were a number of times higher than in the chain of state trading. When the workers calculated their budget, they were convinced that the rationing system was very harmful for him. The state then changed the system of rationing but without limiting the supply of products. After this the state started to reduce the price of various products and at present the worker may buy any amount of products on reasonable price.

Comrade Stalin asks if the English worker is not compelled to buy supplementary products from the free market as the distribution of products as per norms is not sufficient as the British norms of distribution of such products as meat and butter are quite low.

**Pollitt** answers on the whole the English worker does not buy his products from the free market as for him and his family the products supplied as per norm are sufficient though the norms for such products as meat and butter in fact are extremely low. The matter, however, is that the price of rationed commodities go on continuously rising. This is especially so after devaluation. The prices of those commodities are sharply rising whose distribution is no longer covered by rationing. For example till the month of May this year when oranges were given on cards, the price of oranges was 8 pence per pound. In the beginning of May rationing of oranges was abolished and its price increased three times. Sometimes back the government changed rationing on confectionery and sugar. This led to the

situation that in shops the prices of confectionery and sugar increased.

In the beginning of May similarly the government withdrew the rationing on fish and as a result the price of fish sharply increased. The house-wives organised a boycott of the fish vendors and did not buy fish from them at such prices. After three days after the announcement of the boycott the shopkeepers were compelled to reduce the price of fish.

Pollitt said that in the light of the facts stated by him the rationing system in Britain is not unpopular.

**Comrade Stalin** commented that the rationing system is not a healthy step.

**Pollitt** said that he considers the rationing system as a type of game of dice in itself that the Labour government is playing.

**Comrade Stalin** said that he has no more questions to ask Pollitt.

**Pollitt** asks if he has correctly understood that Comrade Stalin approves of the tactics of the English Party for the coming elections as he, Pollitt, put it in his note addressed to the CC A-UCP (b) as he, Pollitt, expects the elections to the Parliament to be held in September.

**Comrade Stalin** answers that he considers the tactics, put forward by Pollitt in the note as correct.

**Pollitt** says that unfortunately he has not kept a copy of his note for himself.

**Comrade Stalin** promises to give copy of the letter of Pollitt to him.

**Pollitt** asks if it will be proper for the CP to give first place to the struggle for peace in its election campaign.

**Comrade Stalin** answers that it will be proper in so far as the discussion is about foreign policy. Besides this, in the field of internal affairs they should speak out for the improvement in the living conditions of the working class.

**Pollitt** thanks Comrade Stalin for the discussion and for the good advice that he gave. He, Pollitt, is fully in agreement with what was said by Comrade Stalin about the Programme. The draft of such Programme he, Pollitt, shall certainly prepare though he thinks that it would be better if it is done in England. After a month he, Pollitt, shall send the draft of the Programme to Moscow.

**Comrade Stalin** answers that this could be done.

While taking leave of Comrade Stalin, Pollitt said he is confident that the English workers desire that he, Pollitt, say to Comrade Stalin: Big thanks to you Comrade Stalin for all that you have done for finishing the Second World War, for victory in the Second World War and all that you are doing at the present moment for the preservation of peace.

**Comrade Stalin** said that it would be good if the English people supported the efforts of the Soviet government for the protection of peace.

**Pollitt** says that he will do everything that he can to this end.

The discussion continued for one hour and twenty minutes.

Noted by (Signed) V. Pavlov

**RGASPI, Fond 558, Opis 11, Delo 287, Listy 41-56.**

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### **Translation from English**

**Communist Party Executive Committee  
London, W.C.2, King Street-16**

**11th July 1950**

Dear Comrade Stalin!

On 31st of May in your comments you made a suggestion that probably it would be sensible to prepare the draft of a Programme calculated to cover a long period, so that you may be convinced whether we correctly understood each other in the process that you consider to be very significant for our future work.

Already I had exchange of opinion with my friends and am sending to you the draft in order to get your advice and suggestions.

I noticed that during our discussion in London about different drafts the necessity of having something linked with the 'Workers' in the heading of it was always underlined.

There is a suggestion that, possibly the heading 'For a Progressive Workers' Government and a Peoples' Democratic England' would be better than the one present in the suggested draft.

For me it would be a matter of great happiness to meet you again.

With best wishes  
Fraternally Yours  
(Harry Pollitt)

Translated by Nekrasov.

**RGASPI, Fond 558, Opis 11, Delo 288, Listy 4.**

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### **To Comrade Harry Pollitt**

Received your letter with the draft of the programme 'For Peoples' Parliament and Peoples' England' annexed to it. Having acquainted myself with this document, I fulfill your request and give my comments on the draft of the programme sent by you.

1. A half-hearted criticism of the politics of the leadership of the Labour Party is a serious shortcoming of the document. Criticism of the Labourites in the draft programme is timid and insufficiently concrete. The English Communists in the programme of their party should openly say that the Labourites are not at all socialists but in fact are the left-wing of the Conservative Party. It is necessary to say more clearly that

under a Labour government the capitalists feel very good and their profits go on increasing and that this one fact itself tells that the Labourites are in no way about to build socialism.

2. The draft programme does not answer the charge that the English Communists, as if, are trying to destroy the British Empire. This question, from which it is not possible to shy away and which should be given a direct answer has exclusive significance. It is necessary to directly announce that Britain is being destroyed not by the English Communists but by the Conservatives and the Labourites who by their repressions and colonial loot are weakening Britain and are leading to its dissolution; that the Communists, on the contrary put forward before them the objective to strengthen Britain on a new democratic foundation, putting an end to the earlier abnormal relations between peoples constituting the British Empire, establishing friendship of the English people with them on the basis of equality.

3. The draft of the programme correctly puts forward the task of utilising the traditional English institutions (Parliament) in the struggle for socialism. It is well known that the English Communists are being accused that they will establish Soviet Power in England. Hence it is imperative that in the draft of the programme it should be very clearly and definitely stated that the English Communists are not going to delegitimise Parliament, that England shall come to socialism through its own path and not through Soviet Power, but through Peoples' Democracy that would be guided by peoples' power and not by capitalists; peoples' power representing a coalition of working class as the leading force of the coalition, working intelligentsia, small and middle strata of the cities as well as farmers. The Communists must declare that this power shall act through the Parliament. The programme must underline that

only this given coalition can provide to the English people peace, higher wages, and raw material for English industry and markets for English products. The Programme must talk about Peoples' Democracy as the path for the movement of England toward the path to Socialism, the path on which the countries of Peoples' Democracy are moving towards socialism.

4. The draft of the Programme insufficiently underlines the task of the struggle of the Communist Party for national independence of England from American Imperialism. It is necessary to show in the Programme that the English Communists are real defenders of the national interests of the English people, as they forcefully and persistently participate in exposing the exploitative politics of the Labourite leadership, directed towards subordination of the country to American capital. It is especially important to underline in the Programme that even the Conservatives did not have such a strong alliance with the capitalists of America as the Labourites. Labourites are directly subordinated to the imperialist groups of America and openly betray the national interests of England.

5. It is essential to explain in detail in the draft Programme the questions regarding a stable and prolonged peace, explaining that the politics of the arms race, the conversion of England into an American front for a new world war goes against the national interests of England and is laden with very serious consequences for the English people. It is necessary to show that the achievement of the ultimate goals of the struggle mentioned in the draft of the Programme is inseparably linked with the over all-struggle of the peoples for peace and against the threat of a new war.

6. The Draft of the Programme correctly explains the essence of Labour's nationalisation policy which is based on the policy of bestowing huge compensations paid to earlier owners of the 'nationalised' branches of industries.

In this part of the Programme it should be stated that the English workers want socialist nationalisation; they want to be involved in the management of the nationalised industries and the system is ended in which the capitalists continue to manage the so called 'nationalised' industries while getting grandiose profits.

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It should be noted that the draft Programme in its structure and characteristics of presentation more significantly reminds one of an election platform with which the English Communist Party often enters the Parliament elections and not a Programme of the English Communist Party that is calculated for a long period of time and provides direction and ideal to the masses of the English people.

In order to overcome these shortcomings in the Programme it would be appropriate to introduce in part the following sections after a general introduction.

1. Tasks of the Party in the struggle for lasting peace and against the threat of a new war.
2. English Communists are the only rightful champion for the national independence of England and for the strengthening of the British Empire on a democratic foundation.

3. England shall come to socialism through its own path – not through Soviet Power, but through Peoples' Democracy.
4. We do not want capitalist but socialist nationalisation headed by the working class of England.
5. The immediate task of the Party is achieving a wage raise for the workers.

It is necessary to pay attention to the fact that the character of the above mentioned presentation be clear and understandable for the wide masses of the English people.

The Programme of the English Communist Party worked out by you would undoubtedly help in the growth and development of the Party, for the strengthening of its position in the masses of the workers of England and in an increase in the number of supporters of the English communists among them. Such a Programme shall provide to the English working class masses sharp and clear direction and shall point to the path of the struggle for the vital interests of the English people.

With respects  
Your co-discussant

28th September 1950.

**RGASPI, Fond 558, Opis 11, Delo 288, Listy 84-87.**

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**Translation from English**

Bucharest, 18. 10. 1950

Dear Comrade Stalin

I received your letter dated 28th September and thank you for your advice and help.

I assume that you should be informed about the happenings that took place after our last meeting on 31st May.

On 9th July I spoke in the meeting of the Executive Committee of our Party *concerning the struggle for peace and unity, about the necessity of the Programme of the Party and about our election tactics in the next general elections.*

In the speech I tried to do serious self-criticism and it was published for the members of the Party as a separate brochure and its 30,000 copies were sold.

In this lecture, I put forward some political formulations that we had discussed on 31st of May and about which you again recalled in your letter of 28th September.

My July speech was discussed by our Party and by the end of August the overwhelming majority of the members of the Party supported the criticism and self-criticism as well as the policies put forward in the speech.

In the July session, the Executive Committee of the Politbureau was given the task of preparing the Programme of the Party calculated for a long period of time and to present it for discussion in the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

A Commission was constituted for drafting the Programme. The Politbureau a number of times discussed different versions of the draft Programme that were prepared by the Commission.

I sent to you a version that we considered possible for adoption as a basic text. In the meeting of the Politbureau held on 20th September we again, while discussing the draft of the Programme, decided to reject it as *we considered that it appears as the reading of an election programme and not as a Programme meant for over a long period of time and that it appears to be resting between two stools.*

We got down to re-writing the new draft that should be presented for discussion of the Executive Committee on 25th November.

Later I was informed about the necessity of going to Bucharest for getting your letter. As the urgent extraordinary meeting of the Executive Committee regarding the final mobilisation of the Party for the preparation of the Second World Congress of the Supporters of Peace was scheduled for *14-15 October*, I assumed that it would be better to go to Bucharest *after* the meeting of the Executive Committee.

I very attentively read your letter and shall yet more deeply study it in the next few days. It shall render us big help from the point of view of form as well as from the point of view of the content of the new Programme of the Party. Now we are beginning the preparation of this Programme with a view to discuss the new draft on *25th November*.

I assure you that we are doing everything possible to guarantee exclusive success to the Second World Congress of the Supporters of Peace to be held in Sheffield.

I thank you once again and send you best wishes.

With fraternal greetings  
(Harry Pollitt)

Translated by Andreeva

**RGASPI, Fond 558, Opis 11, Delo 288, Listy 94-5.**

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### **Transcript of the Meeting of Comrade Stalin with Harry Pollitt**

**5th January 1951**

Present: Comrades V.M. Molotov and Pavlov (Interpreter).

**Comrade Stalin** said that the document (Draft of the Programme of the Communist Party of England) has come up well.

**Pollitt** answered that it is the final draft and was prepared in accordance with the September letter of Comrade Stalin.

**Comrade Stalin** said that he has made some amendments to the draft and he wanted to know the opinion of Pollitt about these amendments. He, Comrade Stalin, brought to attention the fact that the draft talks about equality of nations that enter the Commonwealth of Nations. In the press or in public speeches one may talk about equality of nations. However, this is not scientific. It will be more appropriate to talk about the equal rights of nations and not of the equality of nations. One nation cannot be equal to the other in the same way as one man

cannot be equal to the other. For example, irrespective of what concessions the Malayan nation may get from the English government, the Malayan nation shall not immediately become equal to the English nation as the cultural level of the English nation is higher than that of the Malayan nation. Besides, the English nation commands incomparably more significant quantity of prepared cadre than the Malaysians. Consequently, we may talk about providing to the nations not equality but equal rights which one nation may use better than the other. He, Comrade Stalin, would like to know whether Comrade **Pollitt** agrees with it.

**Pollitt** answers that he fully agrees with this amendment.

**Comrade Stalin** says that in the Programme the question of nationalisation is not put forward clearly. Basing on what is stated on this count one may conclude that the entire landed property shall be nationalised. We, says Comrade Stalin, think that the landed property of the small landholders in agricultural regions should not be nationalised. If Comrade Pollitt wants to establish a coalition with the working class, working intelligentsia, lower and middle strata in the cities and small property holders in the villages then one has to deny nationalisation of small landed property. In this there is nothing dangerous. In the countries of People's Democracies, for example, small landholdings have not been nationalised.

Comrade Stalin further continues that he wanted to propose an amendment regarding the question of compensation to the owners of the property which would be nationalised. The draft of the Programme does not visualise any compensation with the exception of compensation for those property holders who are found to be in a difficult material condition. He, Comrade Stalin, thinks it is necessary to think about such partial

compensation for those property holders who shall have loyal relationship with the people's government but denying compensation to those owners of nationalised property who shall resist the people's government.

Comrade Stalin jokingly commented that just as Comrade Pollitt may notice, Comrade Stalin criticises the draft of the Programme from the rightist position.

**Pollitt** laughed and said that the criticism of the draft made by Comrade Stalin is fully justified as here and there we have certainly introduced elements of Leftism in the draft.

**Comrade Stalin** reads out that the section from the part titled '*People's Democracy – The Way to Socialism*' in which it is said that, as experience has shown, it is possible to march towards socialism through the path of People's Democracy just as it is being done in the countries of People's Democracy in Western Europe and in the People's Republic of China.

Comrade Stalin says that this statement is not precise as the People's Republic of China has not yet reached the stage of People's Democracy. In China the national bourgeoisie yet remains untouched; nationalisation has encompassed only the property of the Japanese. The Chinese think it to be correct that for the present they have not touched the national bourgeoisie. Consequently, if the draft wants to cite the People's Republic of China then there shall be no harmony as the draft foresees the nationalisation of the big private property of the English bourgeoisie.

**Pollitt** answers that he understands the erroneousness of mentioning the example of People's Republic of China.

**Comrade Stalin** says that it would have been proper to forewarn the English people in the Programme that the capitalists shall not voluntarily give up their property and their disproportionate profits for the benefit of the English people. It would be more proper to propose that they shall actively resist the decisions of the people's Parliament and shall fight with all means for the preservation of their privileges including the use of force. This is why the English people and the people's government should be ready in self-defence to give a befitting reply to such attempts. This should be said in the Programme.

**Pollitt** answered that he agrees with this.

**Comrade Stalin** said that in the section titled '*Socialist Nationalisation*' where it is said that small shopkeepers and managers shall be freed from the limitations imposed by the monopolists, he suggested that after the word, 'small shopkeepers and managers', words 'and also the small property holders in agricultural regions' be added.

Comrade Stalin added that in the section titled '*Social Service*' where equal pay for work to men and women is discussed, the words 'for equal labour' should be added.

Comrade Stalin continues, that at the end of the draft of the Programme where the establishment of a free and happy Socialist Britain is mentioned, he would remove the words 'and for the liberation of mankind' and proposed that the sentence should end with the following words, 'establishment of a free and happy, strong and powerful socialist Great Britain'. Recalling in the draft only about Britain may create a feeling that the CP of England renounces the dominions and other English ownerships.

**Pollitt** said, that as Great Britain includes only England, Wales and Scotland, it would be better to mention about the establishment of free and happy, strong and powerful Socialist Britain and Commonwealth of Nations. In so far as the words 'liberation of mankind' is concerned, these are rhetorical and these should in fact be excluded.

**Comrade Stalin** says, he agrees that the word 'Great Britain' should be changed by the words 'Britain and Commonwealth of Nations'.

Comrade Stalin says, that in the section titled '*National Independence of the English People and of all the Peoples of British Empire*' where it says that, 'All Relationships Between the Peoples of Contemporary Empire that are based on political, economic and military domination should come to an end and be transformed into new relationships based on complete national independence and equality. This requires the recall of all military forces and of English administrative personnel from the territories of the colonial and dependent countries, handing over of sovereignty to governments freely elected by the people and return of the wealth and of the natural resources to the people of these countries that have been appropriated by industries, traders and by monopoly banks'. He, Comrade Stalin, would have excluded the words, 'and return to the people of these countries their wealth and natural resources that were these were appropriated by industries, traders and bank monopolies'. In the present formulation a very complex question has been raised. It is hardly possible to have a complete solution of this problem if only for the reason that it is impossible, for example, to return to the people of the colonial and dependent countries those resources that have already been consumed by the metropolis. Certainly if the pocket of Comrade Pollitt be full of money,

then he may compensate the countries exploited by British imperialism. However, he, Comrade Stalin, has his doubts on this count.

**Pollitt** answers that Comrade Stalin is perfectly right. Certainly, the people's government shall not have sufficient resources for the satisfaction of the task suggested in the Programme. He, Pollitt, thinks the suggestion of Comrade Stalin to have the concerned formulation mentioned above to be removed from the Programme to be correct. He, Pollitt, would like to know the opinion of Comrade Stalin as to whether the formulation regarding the return of the English administrative personnel from the territories of colonial and dependent countries as discussed in the passage discussed earlier. The fact is that the governments, to whom the sovereignty over these territories shall be handed over, shall ask the people's government for help by English cadre.

**Comrade Stalin** said that he has doubts whether it is worthwhile to discuss at this moment the return of English administrative personnel. It is possible that the Americans may want the return of the English administrative personnel recalled by the people's government to put in these territories under discussion their own administrative personnel. This is why he, Comrade Stalin, thinks that may be it is better to talk about the return of the English bureaucratic apparatus. However, he agrees with Comrade Pollitt that one should not at all talk about the return of the English administrative personnel and exclude the words 'and English administrative personnel'.

**Pollitt** asks how Comrade Stalin evaluates the draft of the Programme as a whole.

**Comrade Stalin** answers that the draft has been well prepared and says that the appearance of the Programme of the Communist Party of England occupies a turning point in the history of the working class movement of the Anglo-Saxon countries. This Programme in its essence is a suitable document for the Communist Parties of USA, Canada, Australia and other Anglo-Saxon countries. The Communist Party of the USA at the moment is in a hard situation; they have a lot of confusion. One should, however, recognise, says Comrade Stalin, that however much the Americans may take pride in their democracy, in monarchist England there is more freedom than in the USA.

**Pollitt** says that he is in full agreement with it.

**Comrade Stalin** asks when the Programme is expected to be passed and published.

**Pollitt** answers that the Plenum of the Executive Committee is fixed for 13th of January where the Programme must be discussed and approved. Thus the Programme would be published by the end of January.

**Comrade Stalin** says that the Programme should be published in as large numbers as possible and be sent to the USA, Canada, Australia and to other Anglo-Saxon countries. If help is required for the publication of the Programme then we, says Comrade Stalin, shall help.

**Pollitt** says that he has taken on himself the responsibility to send the draft of the Programme to Tim Buck in Canada.

**Comrade Stalin** said that he has put before Pollitt the main amendments to the draft. There are other less significant



## **People's Democracy for Britain**

*The Report introducing the Communist Party Programme, "The British Road to Socialism", to the 22nd National Congress of the Communist Party, Easter, 1952.*

The publication of our Programme, The British Road to Socialism, just over a year ago was a landmark in the history of the Communist Party and the British working-class movement.

It appeared at a moment when it was admitted on all sides that Britain faced a crisis unprecedented in her long history, when as the Programme stated, "the past half-century has shown more and more clearly the breakdown of the old society and its inability to serve the needs of the people". The crisis has since got worse, and no one in ruling class circles or among the right-wing Labour leaders can find any real way out of it.

The Labour Party is discussing the need for a new programme. It is a clear sign of the bankruptcy of its official policy that such a discussion could take place after six years of Labour rule. The right-wing leaders have publicly abandoned the aim of Socialism. But among the rank and file of the Labour Party, the trade union and co-operative movement, alarm and disquiet was never greater, as they search for a new policy which can solve Britain's problems and carry forward the fight for the aim of the socialist pioneers.

Our Programme, therefore, could not have been presented at a more appropriate time. Over 200,000 copies have been sold. Never has any pamphlet published by any section of the

Labour Movement been so eagerly sought after and discussed. That is a tribute to its scope and message.

In drawing up our Programme, the Party has been guided by the advice given by Harry Pollitt at our Executive Committee in July 1950, when he said:

*"Our Party must and can formulate such a statement of policy as, alongside our fight for immediate demands, will attract wide attention, discussion and support. It must be concrete and not general. It must be immediately practicable and not only possible after some capitalist and Transport House bogey of a 'bloody revolution'. It must be applicable to British conditions and be based upon them and British institutions ... Any serious reflection will show that such a programme is essential if we are to prove our Party a serious political party anxious to make a serious contribution to solving the problems that face the British people ... Such a programme would end our present living from hand to mouth stage, and correctly link up our fight for immediate demands with a clear perspective for the future. Immediate issues and generalisations about Socialism are not enough. Thinking people want a perspective. They want to see the line of march and the path ahead. We have to outline a programme for such."*

This is what *The British Road to Socialism* has done, and as a result, has placed our Party in an enormously strong position.

This, then, is a long-term programme in the sense that sets out fundamental objectives, but not in the sense that it will necessarily take decades to achieve. How long this will take depends on the rapidity with which we can develop the mass united struggle and the determination of the British people to see that it is achieved.

## **Peace and Friendship**

From the outset the new approach of the Programme must be thoroughly grasped. It places as the first great issue the fight for a "lasting peace as the vital need for the British people". While capitalism is exposed as the basic cause of modern wars, it is the aggressive policy of American Big Business backed by British reaction and the Tory and right-wing Labour leaders, the Programme states; "which has undermined the unity of the war years, divided the world into two camps ... and created the danger of a third world war".

Harry Pollitt's report has dealt with this danger in detail and with what the people must do to win peace.

Despite this acute danger, however, and in the midst of the prevailing war hysteria, our Programme strikes a note of sanity by its categorical rejection of the inevitability of war between the socialist and capitalist camps.

On the contrary, it declares that the peaceful co-existence of Socialism and capitalism is possible on the basis of mutual respect for national rights and independence. It is possible, but it depends on the struggle of the people. From the socialist side there is no threat of war and cannot be. Socialist countries need no colonies or spheres of investment. What they produce is for the people's needs, and, since they have abolished private profit, they have no need to "conquer" foreign markets, but require only honest mutual trade. A socialist foreign policy can only be a peaceful one. The clearest example of that is the history of the Soviet Union. Every war she has fought has been a defensive war, forced on her by imperialist aggression. She is the only Great Power in the United Nations whose troops are not at war now and whose mighty resources, wealth and effort

are engaged, not in exploiting colonial peoples, but in the huge internal construction schemes of Communism.

Our Programme brands as a lie "the charge that Communism is to be imposed by aggression and conquest and declares that socialist transformation can only come through internal changes in accordance with the actual conditions in each country". "The export of revolution is nonsense", said Stalin to Roy Howard in 1936. "Every country will make its own revolution if it wants to, and if it does not want to, there will be no revolution". This capitalist lie that Communism is to be imposed by conquest and aggression is the hoariest of all. It is a claim that every social change that comes anywhere, every movement of the workers for better conditions, is to be blamed on the Soviet Union. It is an insult to the fighting traditions of the British people to say someone will bring social liberation to us. We will win it for ourselves.

It is the capitalist Western Powers which are against any understanding or agreement, political or economic, with the U.S.S.R. They don't want peaceful co-existence, but the crushing of Socialism.

It is the task of the people to ensure co-existence by imposing peace upon the warmongers through the mass struggle of the great world peace movement. They can win, if they tear aside the web of lies and deceit with which the imperialists are concealing their aggressive designs. They can win because on their side is the mighty strength and effort of the Soviet Union, whose ceaseless initiative and struggle for peace is the inspiration and example to the people of the entire world.

The key importance of Britain in world affairs must be grasped. As Harry Pollitt says, "If Britain pursued an

independent foreign policy, it would become such a force as to make it impossible for the American war plans to be carried through'.

"It takes a man and a gun to fight", Eisenhower told the U.S. Senators in Paris last year. "The U.S. is providing the gun, Europe the man." The retort is obvious. Let the European man refuse to shoulder the American gun, and it will never go off!

The national interests of Britain, as well as the very future of the British people, demand that Britain finish once and for all with the American policy of aggression and world conquest which can only end in national disaster for us.

Our Programme demands a British policy for peace. We want to finish with the Atlantic War Alliance and replace it with a Peace Pact of the Five Great Powers and restore the United Nations as an organisation for peace. Britain's interests require a Peace Treaty with a united democratic peace-loving Germany instead of a revived West German militarism in the aggressive American war bloc. They demand a new Japanese Peace Treaty which will ensure a peaceful Japan. Our Programme would end the wars against the peoples of Malaya, Korea and Egypt. And above all it demands the abolition of the atom bomb and all weapons of mass destruction, with international control and all-round reduction in armaments.

### **For National Independence**

Our struggle, we say, takes place on the background of American attempts to dominate the world. Above all, these are aimed at Britain.

I would direct your attention again to that key passage in Harry Pollitt's report:

*"The Labour Government, carrying out the policy of British Imperialism and following the path marked out in Churchill's Fulton speech in 1946."*

Calculated that it could do a deal with American imperialism...  
These plans have ended.

For the first time in history, declares our Programme, our country has lost her independence and freedom of action in her foreign, economic and military policy to a foreign power-the United States of America.

The apparatus of American domination over Britain is widespread and at its head is the Atlantic Pact organisation and its manifold committees. U.S. control over Britain is exercised in the first place over our Army by Eisenhower, the self-styled Supreme Commander. Britain is to provide fourteen divisions for his command, which will be the bulk of the British Army. The Navy is under effective U.S. control by the appointment of the U.S. Supreme Atlantic Commander and a U.S. Mediterranean Commander.

Any independent foreign policy has long since ceased to exist. American control• comes via repeated degrading journeys of, British Prime Ministers to Washington. The Foreign Minister is periodically summoned to see Acheson in the Atlantic Deputies meetings. And in case we do not thoroughly understand this relationship, The Times correspondent told us on January 14 after the Washington meeting, that things have gone too far for M r. Acheson "to be able to accept any other Foreign Minister as an equal".

Economic control is exercised by the Finance Committee under Harriman. By issuing its orders on the size of Britain's armament programme, it, in effect, dominates our economic life. Through the E.C.A. administration in London, which still exists with diplomatic status although the Marshall "aid" has gone, complete access is assured to the British Treasury, which is obliged to submit for Washington's approval complete details of its economic plans and policies. Through the Battle Bill and the provision of the Mutual Aid Act, etc., the U.S. controls the direction of British trade.

Still nominally an independent State, Britain has now lost control over her currency, her tariffs, the direction of her trade, the use of her materials, manpower and industrial resources, and the strength, armament and strategic disposition of her armed forces.

Military occupation of Britain is carried out by the 3rd U.S. Air Force occupying nineteen bases, with its own Courts, H.Q., anti-aircraft armament and the U.S. Military Advisory and Military Assistance Groups.

The right-wing Labour leaders and the Tories have competed with one another in servility and national betrayal to America. But the prize goes to Churchill when he said at the Society of Cincinnati, "I am proud of my American ancestry. I think it wonderful that I should have the honour to rejoice in that fact ..." and then, recalling himself, hastily, added, "while at the same time I have never failed in my constitutional duty to my own country". "Treason and proud of it" should be the slogan of the Tory Party!

But our Party speaks for Britain. Our programme seeks to rally all who are prepared to defend our country's national

independence. It issues this truly patriotic clarion call: "We stand for a Britain, free, strong and independent. We want our country to be subordinate and subservient to no foreign power, but to stand in friendly association and equal alliance with all powers that recognise and respect Britain's national interests."

Alone among the political parties in Britain our hands are clean. We would restore to the British Parliament its exclusive sovereign right to control the country's financial, economic and military affairs. We would tell Eisenhower that from now on the British Army will be under British command and tell MacCormick that our Navy will answer only to a British Admiral. We would send all American missions, advisers, confidence men and tricksters packing.

And above all, we would send the United States air force, its atom bombs, chewing gum and brothels back to where they belong. Burtonwood, Mildenhall and Lakenheath would once again become 'British- territory. And by doing all this, we would be striking a major blow for the peace of the world.

### **For Colonial Freedom**

Our programme rejects all theories which declare national sovereignty to be out of date and thus seek to justify the sell-out to the United States or aggression against other nations. Britain's national independence is bound up with ensuring that all nations within the present British Empire also enjoy full national rights and independence. Today in the era of extreme crisis of British imperialism and its domination by America, the struggle for national independence has become a common struggle of the British people and all peoples of the Empire against the combined British and U.S. imperialists.

"Above all", states our Programme, "the Communist Party would solve the question of the relations of Britain with the countries of the British Empire".

There is hardly a single colony or dependent territory today where British rule or domination has not burst out into violence or open warfare. British colonial policy today is the crime of the war against the Malayan people, the Lyttelton policy of bullets before ballots, of hanging and concentration camps. It is the undeclared war in Egypt. It is the threat to impose white Federation on the Rhodesias which will invoke a general strike and mass civil disobedience of the African peoples. It is the shameful British role in America's horrible war in Korea.

That is why our Programme says: "The enemies of communism declare that the Communist Party, by underhand subversive means, is aiming at the destruction of Britain and the British Empire. This is a lie. On the contrary, it is precisely the Tories and the Labour leaders who are doing this by their policy of armed repression and colonial exploitation."

Not only is this policy a crime against the colonial peoples. Hundreds of thousands of British troops and conscript lads are fighting and dying in these lands. And while the City gets the colonial profits, the British people pay for the colonial wars in slums, overcrowded schools and rising prices.

"The Communist Party", our Programme states, "would put an end to the present abnormal relation of colonial war and repression between the British people and the people of the Empire by establishing durable friendship with them on the basis of equal rights". The present relations based on political, economic and military enslavement would be replaced by a new association based on full national independence and equal

rights. The British troops would be withdrawn by the People's Government and sovereignty handed over to Governments freely chosen by the peoples of the territories concerned.

Our People's Government, the Programme declares, would enter into free mutual arrangements with these popular Governments to ensure Britain "the normal supplies of the vital food and raw materials necessary for her economic life"-- no longer on the basis of imperialist exploitation but on the basis of equal exchange. To the liberated colonial countries we would send "the products of British industry needed by those countries for their own economic development". Our industries will continue to need cotton, rubber, tin, copper, oil and wool, etc. which come in a large measure from the colonial countries. At present they are increasingly "paid" for in useless sterling balances, the colonial peoples thus being swindled twice over. In a People's Britain, where industry would advance by leaps and bounds, such supplies would continue to be vital. Precisely because of the People's Government policy of national liberation and the completely new co-operative spirit it would engender, such supplies could be securely guaranteed. Our capital goods, machinery, transport equipment, electrical goods and apparatus, would be our payment-equipment of the utmost assistance to the liberated colonial territories for their economic transformation. We would offer technical specialists in a spirit of genuine fraternal co-operation. A new, harmonious, mutually beneficial economic and social collaboration would replace the previous unequal relations of imperialist exploitation. The enmity of the past would give way to a new friendship. Of course the British financiers will not get the colonial super-profits, but we will shed no tears for they will not be getting the profits out of our labour either.

All this, continues our Programme, "would provide the' basis for a new, close, voluntary and fraternal association of the British people and the liberated peoples of the present Empire to promote mutually beneficial economic exchange and co-operation, and to defend in common their freedom against American imperialist aggression".

It should be noted that unlike the Tory and Labour imperialists, the Communist Party does not seek to impose any form of association. It is a voluntary association "based on full national independence and equal rights" which is proposed. Why do we suggest that a People's Government should propose this? It is a big step forward in our policy and arises out of the expansionist aggressive policy of the United States and her dominating role in the imperialist world.

The fight of the peoples of the Empire for national independence can no longer be seen in isolation as when developing British imperialism dominated the world. It is now a fight against an Anglo-American imperialist bloc with America as the dominant force and Britain as the junior partner. It is necessarily a fight not only against British imperialism, but equally against American imperialism and its local quislings in each case. This fight requires close association and co-operation for victory not only in the winning of national independence but also, after liberation, in preserving .that independence from American aggression.

These proposals will not only be an act of long-overdue historical justice. They will strengthen Britain on a new democratic basis and make our position more secure than ever before.

## **People's Democracy – The Path to Socialism**

The kernel of our Programme is this section. It raises the central issue of the political struggle, the issue of State power.

Criticising bourgeois democracy the Programme declares:

*"The people cannot advance to Socialism, therefore, without real political power, which must be taken from the hands of the capitalist minority and firmly grasped by the majority of the people led by the working class. Only by this means can democracy become a reality."*

By this our Programme is reiterating the famous demand of the Communist Manifesto, to raise the working class to the position of the ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

Answering those who say that the Communists wish to abolish Parliament and introduce Soviet Power into Britain, our Programme makes its now famous key formulation:

*"Britain will reach Socialism by her own road. Just as the Russian people realised political power by the Soviet road which was dictated by their historical conditions and background of Tsarist rule, and the working people in the People's Democracies and China won political power in their own way in their historical conditions, so the British Communists declare that the people of Britain can transform capitalist democracy into a real People's Democracy, transforming Parliament, the product of Britain's historic struggle for democracy, into the democratic instrument of the will of the vast majority of her people."*

Why can we put the issue in this way? It does not arise from a utopian desire based on illusions about the character of the British capitalist class or of the capitalist State machine. We

make it because of the new historical opportunities arising out of the general crisis of capitalism.

Lenin' and Stalin, have proved that capitalism long ago became over-ripe and exhausted itself, historically speaking. The transition from capitalism to Socialism, being identical in content in all countries, is carried out in its own fashion in each country, depending on the concrete historical conditions. Lenin stressed that because of the existence of national and state differences between countries and peoples, it is necessary in the liberation struggle of the working class of different countries to take account of what is nationally particular and specific.

People's Democracy as a new form of the political organisation of society was able to appear because of the particular conditions after the Second World War, and above all, because of the existence of the mighty Soviet Union.

It arose, that is, put of the further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, the growth of the working-class movement; and the strengthening of the national liberation struggle in the colonial countries, and the radically changing international relation of forces in favour of Socialism.

The great October Socialist Revolution ushered a new social system into the world. It mortally wounded capitalism and opened up the era of its collapse. The building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., following the triumphant development and consolidation of the Soviet Union, was a new powerful blow at world capitalism.

As a result of the victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, and the defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan, world capitalism suffered another severe defeat.

The system of imperialism, therefore, was immeasurably weakened while the socialist system emerged far more powerful than before. Favourable conditions were created for the struggle and victory of the masses of the working people in Europe and Asia.

After the defeat of Germany and Japan they did not want to trust their destinies to the reactionaries; they did not want to live in the old way. The reactionary classes were incapable of ruling these countries in the old way; their positions were undermined and weakened. A new round in the liberation movement of the working class and its allies in the capitalist countries and of the colonial peoples began, for national freedom, for democracy and Socialism through the establishment of People's Democracies.

It is wrong to think that these great political developments arising out of the Second World War have not also affected Britain. The First World War shook the British capitalist and imperialist system to its foundations, bringing stagnation and decline. The Second World War has immeasurably sharpened the crisis of British imperialism and has brought about a developing crisis in its political institutions.

The British party system in its early stages did not countenance democracy. Sir Reginald Banks, Tory theorist, in his book, *The Conservative Case*, published in 1929, wrote:

"Only in very recent times has England ever pretended to be a democratic state. The great Parliamentarians of the eighteenth

and early nineteenth centuries repudiated with disgust any such theory."

The struggle for the right to vote was a long, drawn-out, and bitter battle in which the Chartists wrote some of the finest pages in working class history. It took a century of struggle from the Reform Act of 1832 to the Act of 1929 to achieve universal suffrage. Every concession had to be forced out of a ruling class whose conception of democracy was that there should be no questioning of the social system of capitalist property.

The whole structure and system of British bourgeois democracy, its methods and rules, the monarchy, the Lords and Commons, the Cabinet system judiciary and Civil Service, was built on this assumption, an assumption regarded by the bourgeoisie as unchallengeable.

Lord Balfour summed up this basic outlook in his introduction to Bagehot's Victorian classic on the English Constitution when he wrote:

*"Our alternating Cabinets, though belonging to different Parties, have never differed about the foundations of society. And it is evident that our whole political machinery presupposes a people so fundamentally at one that they can safely afford to bicker; and so sure of their own moderation that they are not dangerously disturbed by the never-ending din of political conflict. May it always be so."*

By and large this has been true. The party struggle of the Whigs and Tories, and later of the Tories and the Liberals, was concerned to facilitate the rise of capitalism and to transfer the

control of Parliament from the landed aristocracy to the forces of industrial capitalism.

The true inference to be drawn from Bagehot and Balfour, argued Harold Laski, correctly, is that:

*"Since 1689 we have hold for all effective purposes, a single party in control of the State. It has been divided, no doubt, into two wings ... Its quarrels ... have always been family quarrels in which there has always been ample room for compromise."* (Parliamentary Government, p. 94.)

But the British people did not fight for democracy and the right to vote just to participate in the traditional two-party system with its mimic warfare, effective capitalist control and frustration of the people's will. The emergence of the Labour Party was regarded by the workers as a challenge to this system.

The Labour movement was built by the sacrifice of the workers to end this control and bring in a new era for the people. But the right-wing Labour leaders have adapted themselves to the policy and interests of the capitalists and thus held back the realisation of this aim. They have swallowed, hook, line and sinker, the whole conception and method of bourgeois democracy.

Reformist theoreticians admit all this. In his History of the Labour Party since 1914, G. D. H. Cole wrote (p. 258):

*"The Labour Government of 1929-31 had never attempted to apply a constructive socialist policy, or even follow the mild precepts of Labour and the Nation which dealt with social reform and with employment policy ... It is a sorry story; and*

*there is nothing to be gained by attempting to make it out as better than it actually was."*

And Harold Laski was forced to write this epitaph on the right-wing leaders between the wars:

*"In all the great crises of the post-war period, their principles of strategy seem to have been based upon the belief that it is better to compromise with capitalist power than to threaten it." (p. 191.)*

The experiences since 1945 only serve to confirm these conclusions. The defeat of the Tories and the election of the Labour Government was the direct outcome of the deep political experiences of the Second World War, but no basic social change took place under its rule. The power of monopoly capitalism grew stronger, it became more entrenched, the limited measures of capitalist nationalisation did not seriously affect the capitalist structure. Real wages went down and profits went up. The measures of social reform were engulfed by the rearmament programme arising out of the anti-Soviet, imperialist foreign policy. There was no change at all in the capitalist state structure.

During this period the *Tory Observer* (May 23, 1948) could argue approvingly in language almost identical with that of Lord Balfour:

*"Until lately the (two-party) system worked smoothly in this country; Liberals and Conservatives differed sufficiently to give the country a choice, and agreed sufficiently to maintain the continuity of national life. Is a similar harmony possible between Socialists and Conservatives? Yes, it is possible; modern Conservatives and moderate Socialists have a good*

*deal of common ground. They could alternate in office without vast, destructive reversals of legislation."*

Had the Labour Government operated a real socialist policy destroying the economic power of the monopolists it would have rallied the widest sections of the workers. The big monopolists would have been increasingly isolated and a united, enthusiastic working class would have swung over decisive sections of the middle class, farmers, small businessmen, professional people and shopkeepers in an invincible alliance in support of socialist policies.

As we know, the opposite happened. Instead of fighting the Tories, the right-wing Labour leaders repudiated the class struggle and fought only the Communists and the leftward moving sections of their own Party. The T.U.C. preached class collaboration, while purging and disrupting the trade unions to the advantage of the Tories and the employers.

This disruptive role of the right-wing Labour leaders, serving the interests of monopoly capitalism, is the main reason why Labour proved incapable of holding and consolidating the 1945 majority and extending it. Along with the British electoral system which is devised to perpetuate ruling class domination, it brought about the huge reduction of Labour representation in 1950 and the electoral defeat of 1951.

As a Government, the right-wing Labour leaders refused to carry out those decisive measures which were urgently needed in the present and future interests of the British people. Having thus prepared the way for the victory of the Tories, they have become Her Majesty's "loyal opposition" in Parliament, and a majority of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress assured the Tory Government of "amicable" working relations.

They want to confine "opposition" to the unpopular Tory measures to verbal gestures in Parliament. They condemn and bitterly oppose the rising mass movement of action against them. They openly support the major Tory measures, endorse the huge armaments programme, and want to expel any Labour M.P. who votes against it. They support the present feverish steps to prepare the Atlantic Alliance for war.

They want a class truce and class collaboration of the employers and the trade unions for this purpose. In other words, they want a virtual coalition with the Tories to prepare war.

Yet these election results were anything but a sweeping victory for Toryism. They registered a deep political division in the country despite the coalescence of policy of the Party machines at the top. And the alarm of the bourgeoisie at this division is patent. Churchill expressed it on the 1950 results on March 7 of that year when he said in the House of Commons:

*"We should not survive by splitting into two nations; yet that was the road we were travelling now, and there was, no sign of our reaching or even approaching journey's end."*

And the 1951 election result confirmed this so-called electoral deadlock and the crisis in British political institutions.

It is all this which underlines the significance of the policies we outline in our Programme and the methods to achieve them. Ours is the only answer to the entire position. The Tories can never win the working class, but the working class can and must win the overwhelming majority of the working people, isolate and defeat the Tories, and prepare the way for the advance to a real people's democracy.

The British Labour movement must learn the bitter lessons of these past six years if it is now to advance. What are these lessons?

(1) The entire policies and tactics of the right-wing Labour leaders have proved bankrupt.

(2) The so-called electoral deadlock is the result of these tactics. To overcome it a complete change in policy is needed. This change can be brought about and the right-wing leaders defeated by Labour and Communist unity.

(3) Only fundamental social change leading to the establishment of Socialism can bring a lasting solution to Britain's problems.

(4) British political institutions, as at present constituted, were evolved by the ruling class to preserve the existing social order. To achieve real advance, Parliament must be transformed into an instrument reflecting the will of the people.

It is here that the whole strategy outlined in our programme to achieve a People's Government directly links up with the present political situation and the electoral deadlock. Our Programme states:

*"The essential condition for establishing such a people's power is the building up of a broad coalition or popular alliance of all sections of the working people: of the organised working class, of all workers by hand and brain, of professional people and technicians, of all lower and middle sections in the towns, and of the farmers in the countryside."*

Taken together, all those sections comprise the overwhelming majority of the population. Their interests are equally threatened by the big landlords and industrialists who dominate the Tory Party. They represent a mighty political force, fully capable of defeating the present exploiters, isolating the Tory Party and returning a Parliamentary majority which can form a People's Government.

Why, then, has the Tory Party, representing the handful of exploiters, been able to maintain its malign influence and grip on British political life between the wars, and after a six years' interlude of Labour Governments, why is it now back in the saddle?

As we have seen it is because this potentially mighty political force is split, divided and misled by the propaganda of the ruling class and the policy and outlook of the right-wing Labour leaders, who in practice, in or out of Government, support the ruling class.

To build this broad people's alliance, therefore, is the pre-requisite for the advance to a People's Government and it can only be built on the basis of a united working class as its decisive force – the class that is most concerned in the struggle for a new social order.

Comrade Pollitt in his report has shown the way forward. The call of the Communist Party is to raise the developing powerful mass movement to new heights in a united anti-Tory struggle that can make its influence felt inside the Labour Party and help bring about serious changes in its policy and leadership. Not only can this mass movement successfully defend living standards, it can also force a General Election, crushingly

defeat the Tories and return a Labour Government which would be compelled to carry through an entirely new policy.

The unity of the working class is in the first place that vital link in the chain which can bring the Tories down, and as it grows in strength draw together the great new alliance of all working people that in the near future can elect a People's Government.

The necessary objective political conditions for the creation of this alliance are daily maturing as the crisis deepens, the war danger grows, and the American domination of our country increases. The possibilities will grow of uniting the majority of the British people in the struggle for peace and to rally all honest patriots to break the Yankee grip. Enormous opportunities are being created to draw in the mass of the teachers, doctors, health workers, architects and technicians to save the social services.

Our socialist Programme to solve Britain's economic problems will attract still wider sections as it becomes increasingly clear that it offers the only way out of the impasse.

Increasingly they will realise that there is no future for the professions and the arts under capitalism, Toryism and rearmament. The working farmer, the small shopkeeper and the small business man, already under attack by the monopolists, will be further squeezed. The developing slump brings the menace of professional unemployment and the bankruptcy of the small man. But a People's Government, freed from the restrictions of capitalism, with its vast socialist programme of economic development, its great social plans, has a future to offer such people in co-operation with the working class, such as could never be dreamt of under the present social order.

It is out of the struggle for peace, wages and social advance that we see the broad people's alliance emerging. And the measure of its success will turn on the degree to which we can establish working-class unity Labour, trade union, co-operative and Communist. Only by this unity can the working class rally its forces and those of its allies for decisive action to win a Parliamentary majority pledged to form a People's Government.

What is the Programme of the People's Government? We summarise it as follows; it would:

*"Break the power of the millionaire monopolists and other big capitalists by socialist nationalisation of large-scale industry, the banks, big distributive monopolies, insurance companies and the land of the large land-owners, and introduce a government monopoly of foreign trade.*

*"Introduce a planned economy based on socialist principles aimed at fundamental social change.*

*"Transform the existing unequal imperialist Empire into a strong, free, equal association of peoples by granting national independence to the colonies.*

*"Make Britain strong, free and independent with a foreign policy of peace.*

*"Break the political hold of the capitalist class by democratic electoral reform, democratic ownership of the press, the people's control of the B.B.C. and the democratic transformation of the Civil Service, Foreign Office, Armed Forces and Police, the Law Courts, and the administration of Justice."*

Such a Programme represents a fundamental departure in British political life and is designed to bring about a radical solution to our country's problems. This, therefore, will be no ordinary electoral victory in the traditional political sense. As we see, it is the crowning act, the Parliamentary expression of the great people's movement, an alliance which has routed the Tories on a programme of decisive challenge to capitalism.

The winning of this victory is only the first task of the alliance. The People's Government will rely on it to mobilise the mass of the people for the decisive measures to break the economic and political power of the big exploiters. Up till now Parliament has, in the main, legislated in the interests of the ruling class. Such Parliaments and Governments feared the political activity of the people between elections. By the very nature of things, it would be directed against Parliament, as in the 1920 wars of intervention, the General Strike, the Cuts of 1931, Munich, the agitation for the Second. Front, etc. Both Tory and right-wing Labour leaders, therefore, have always wanted to keep the people quiet, as they do today. The exact opposite will be the case with the, People's Government.

Secondly, the key motive in transforming the *whole* legislative and executive machinery of the State will be to make it continuously responsive to the democratic will of the people and to draw the whole of the people into active participation in the control and administration of every phase of national life.

Thirdly, for the first time in history, Parliament will act only in the interests of the working people, and the People's Government will rely on the strength of the organised workers to ensure that its programme is operated in practice and that all attempts to resist or sabotage it are defeated.

People's Democracy, therefore, in contradistinction to bourgeois democracy, is a democracy of politically active men and women. Parliament and the People's Government are its crowning expressions, but the continuous mass struggle, organisation and work of the people, led by the working class, is the real source of its strength and power. Socialism is achieved through the mass movement of the people transforming Parliament into an instrument of its will and using it to legislate for Socialism.

For over six hundred years political struggle has moulded and changed the British Parliament. In the first phase it was a struggle to increase Parliament's power against the absolute Monarchy and the Divine Right of Kings. It culminated in the revolution of 1640 and the subsequent political compromise. In the second phase the struggle was for a Parliament which would represent the developing industrial capitalism. This was achieved in the Reform Acts of the nineteenth century.

Parliament has thus developed as the instrument of the rule of big business with the Cabinet, in many cases largely composed of business men, controlling Parliament; with the "lobbies" of the F.B.I., the brewers and high finance bringing direct pressure to bear on the government; with the division of legislative and executive power and with the higher state administration drawn from the ruling class, comprising a permanent, unelected Tory majority; and the House of Lords maintained as a useful Tory instrument of obstruction should the need arise, This, then, is the "democracy" of the ruling class, which, combined with its economic power, comprises in reality a disguised dictatorship of the capitalist class over the working class. Labour Governments have not changed this set-up in any way.

The rules of debate and standing orders, the very structure of His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, reflect the basic ruling "class assumption already stated, that fundamental social change is not intended. As Jennings puts it in *Cabinet Government* (p. 464), "In fact, opposition and Government are carried on alike by agreement. ... The most important elements "in parliamentary procedure are the discussions 'behind the Speaker's Chair' or 'through the usual channels'."

Churchill, Attlee and the ruling class would like us to think that Parliament, having reached this stage, must now stand still. Extolling its virtues, Jennings recalls that Cromwell said when he dissolved the Long Parliament that not a dog barked, "The dogs bark in Parliament", he concludes, "if there were no Parliament, they might bite", Well, we want a Parliament that bites!

The electoral victory of the people's alliance will rout the ruling class representatives in Parliament. Of the present 321 Tories in the House of Commons, no less than 158, or practically half, are company directors holding between them 618 directorships. If a Stock Exchange roll call were taken at Westminster, the names of Lloyds Bank, Westminster Bank, I.C.I., Courtaulds, Arthur Guinness, Consolidated Goldfields, United Steel, Associated Electrical Industries, the Prudential, Tunnel Cement, and dozens of others would resound through St. Stephen's Hall. After our nationalisation legislation such interests would never again dominate Parliament, for these companies would be in the hands of the people.

Of the thirty-three Ministers comprising the present Government, twenty six came from the public schools; nineteen were, until appointed, company directors; fourteen

belong to or were married into the families of the old nobility! Some democrats! For whom will they legislate-their class or ours? We give no prize for the answer,

But the Cabinet of the People's Government would be truly representative of the British people. Its decisions, as its Programme shows, can only be in the interests of the people. The days when big business dominated the highest organ of British Government would be finished, never to return.

And of course the People's Government would deal with the House of Lords, that pillar of reaction, as an hereditary non-elected Chamber is an historical anachronism in a democratic society. The Labour Movement in the past was pledged to its abolition, but the Labour Government did not abolish it."

The Lords, these days, represents not so much the aristocracy as the plutocracy, Baron Kirkwood of Bearsden notwithstanding. Half its membership dates from the last sixty years. An analysis made in 1938 showed that of its 750 members, 12 were Labour, 84 were Liberals of various hues, and 400 were declared Tories. The position has not changed appreciably since.

Only a handful usually attend. But they are a reserve weapon of the Tory enemy. Their Lordships rally from their stately country homes or West End Clubs when there is a job of obstruction to be done. It is noteworthy also that in the present tense political situation the Tories are pledged to restore some of the lost powers of the House of Lords.

Seven members of the Cabinet and fourteen members of the present Government are members of the House of Lords-real Government by the non-elected. This body cannot be, and

should not be re-formed. It should be thrown into the dustbin of history, and a People's Government would do just that.

The People's Government would reform the undemocratic, fraudulent electoral system. In 1951 the Labour Party polled 200,000 more votes than the Tory Party. Yet the Labour Party won only 293 seats, while the Tories got 320 seats. Mr. Churchill was rejected by the British people. But Mr. Churchill is the Prime Minister. Not one of the Parliaments elected in the General Elections between 1918 and 1935 really represented the people. In the 1918 election the Tory-Liberal coalition polled 5.5 million votes and got 428 seats. The opposition polled 4.1 million and got only 81 seats. Only once has the system benefited the Labour Party. And the value of this system as a bulwark for reaction is seen when it is realised that on the Continent, reactionary Governments, with American support, are reforming the electoral system increasingly on the British model in order to stop the democratic advance of the Communist Parties. The People's Government would reform the electoral system on the basis of proportional representation and would grant the vote at 18.

Along with all these changes the Government would carry through the democratic transformation of the state apparatus. It would begin with the civil service, the armed forces, the judiciary and the diplomatic service. All the leading figures in these services, correctly observed Laski, "... come in fact, from an extraordinarily narrow class within the community. With; individual exceptions they bring to their work an attitude which accepts the fundamental assumptions of the present social order as outside the realm of controversy". (*Parliamentary Government*, p. 321.)

In the civil service it is the higher administrative class, the advisers of ministers and the makers of policy, which is the key. Most of them come from the ruling class circles and were educated in the public schools and Oxford and Cambridge. Sixty-five per cent of the leading personnel in the Foreign Office came from eleven public schools.

Capitalist in social outlook and training, Tory in politics, it is idle to think that such elements would be friends of a People's Government. On the contrary, they are part and parcel of the class enemy, bound up with the capitalist system by a hundred ties.

The whole tradition and outlook of the Foreign Office since 1917 is based on enmity to the Soviet Union and the maintenance of the most reactionary feudal regimes throughout the world. Its role during Munich was notorious; and since 1945 its main concern has been to re-establish imperialism in South-East Asia, put a fascist king back on the Greek throne, sabotage the development of the People's Democracies, re-establish relations with Franco Spain, rebuild German and Japanese militarism, and cement the war alliance with the United States and generally obstruct the United Nations.

The General Staff at this moment is engaged on perfecting plans for war on the Soviet Union in association with their American opposite numbers. And they bring to this task an enthusiasm they never displayed for the opening of the Second Front. Even bourgeois constitutional authorities, with the experience of the army leaders during the Ulster rebellion and their general conduct during the First World War, question their political impartiality. "There is evidence that senior military officers ... cannot be trusted", writes Jennings. "Their

'discipline' may stop short at the highest military rank, and their 'loyalty' may not extend to the politicians who are in control."

And most important, the leadership and direction of the police, the C.I.D., Special Branch and M.1.5 make these bodies the direct oppressive instruments of the ruling class against the Labour and progressive movements. They are a Government within a Government, and one Labour leader related in his memoirs how M.I.5 simply refused to disclose to the 'first Labour Government any details of its work.

Finally, the penetration of the United States into the higher organs of the British State is an alarming new factor in the situation. Its influence through the E.C.A. on the Treasury and the Board of Trade, the control exercised over our armed forces through the Atlantic Pact organisations, the influence of the G-men in M.1.5 and the Secret Service are all additional, urgent reasons for sweeping changes.

It was commonplace in the Labour movement to say in earlier days that the people in these key positions would be changed. No such steps were taken in the Labour Governments of 1924, 1929 or 1945. Carrying out capitalist policies they felt no need to change the capitalist personnel.

Any People's Government serious about fundamental change would have to clear out those who uphold the old system in all positions of authority in the state apparatus and replace them by men and women who are determined and loyal advocates of the people's power. It would welcome the assistance of all those officials who genuinely wished to serve the People's Government. In Ministries such as the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Labour, Education, Health, Works, etc., new leading forces would be found from the factories and the organisations

of the Labour movement, the progressive sections of the professional people, economists, scientists, etc. and progressive elements already in these Ministries would be promoted. At the same time steps would be taken to train the best young people for state administrative work.

The main diplomats and section heads of the Foreign Office would be replaced by men and women who could truly reflect the entirely new era in British foreign relations which a People's Government would usher in. Above all, action would be taken to democratise the armed forces and police, to extend their democratic rights and establish full opportunities for promotion from the ranks and training for the highest positions. Those who served with distinction in the anti-fascist war and who sympathise with the People's Government would occupy the highest positions in the services. After all, the Soviet Armed Forces and the new Chinese Army operating on this basis 110 not work so badly, as the fascists learned to their cost. We have faith in the British people and its youth that such a system won't work badly here also.

The judiciary and the judicial system would be changed. Dr. Jennings has said that the law is for the most part a legacy of the day when the country was governed by a small section of the population and when the "lower orders" had no function but to obey. It was long ago admitted by Professor- Dicey that, as the law now stands, normal political controversy is' only permissible because the Government does not seek to enforce the law. He might have added, and because the people will not let them. Its bias against the trade unions and progressive movement is notorious. Sir Walter Citrine observed in a letter to The Times in 1927: "The trade union movement has little faith in either the competence or the impartiality of the courts in matters affecting organised labour". So did such an

outstanding legal authority as the late Professor Geldart. In general, in every great period of social reform in Britain, notorious judicial conservatism has been a stumbling block to social progress.

Of exceptional seriousness, with the development of the crisis and the increasing war danger, is the vicious ruling class attack on the civil liberties of the people. In the years immediately before the war, the Sedition Act and the Public Order Act were passed; the 1381 legislation was used against Tom Mann and the hunger marchers. Since the war we have seen the repeated use of the Emergency Powers Act of 1921 against the workers, and the use of troops in industrial disputes, National Arbitration Order 1305, the system of purges, espionage and forced narking in the Civil Service, and the new Reserve (Auxiliary Forces) Act for the call up of Z men, which makes the most serious inroads into long-established British democratic rights. These measures have nothing to do with security. They are an attack on liberty and to their eternal dishonour the Labour Government is mainly responsible for the use of them.

Finally, the British judges are recruited from the ranks of successful lawyers who have spent the 111a.im part of their lives serving the interests of property. Of the 24 Queen's Bench Judges, 15 came from Public Schools, 19 are members of West End clubs. Is it any wonder that the attitude of 'the courts has reflected the general atmosphere in which British society has functioned these past hundred years? There is no such thing as passionless and objective justice.

The People's Government would sweep away all the old legislation which infringes the basic liberties of the people. It would recast the law of Sedition and the Emergency 'Powers

Act and all such measures, so that all menaces to the people's liberty were removed. It would appoint the High Court Judges from the ranks of progressive lawyers and take steps to ensure entry into the legal profession and progress to its highest ranks from the sons of the people: Keeping the best of English law, it would overhaul the whole legal code to conform with the aims and objects of a Socialist State.

A People's Government would end the power of the millionaire press. We cannot have a real democracy or a genuine free press while the bulk of the newspapers are in the hands of a dozen capitalist combines and press lords. How can we expect anything else than what we have got? Anti-Soviet, anti-trade-union, anti-Labour, sensational newspapers, monuments of bias, suppression, misrepresentation and misinformation. The millionaire-owned newspapers will be taken over and placed at the disposal of the working class and democratic organisations.

Of crucial importance for the working of any democracy is the broadcasting system. The B.B.C. is probably the most potent instrument of the ruling class today for waging the cold war. Real working-class expression is frozen out. The whole ideological content of its work serves to maintain capitalism and capitalist institutions. It will be transformed into an instrument expressing the interests of the people in every aspect of its work.

A key role would be performed by the trade unions, without which no People's Democracy can function. National arbitration would be abolished and full powers of collective bargaining on wages and conditions restored. They would participate in the work of the Ministry of Labour and National Insurance and ensure the operation of the labour laws. Similarly the co-operative organisations with their accumulated

experience would play a responsible part in the organisation and control of distribution and supplies.

By all these measures the position within Britain would be radically transformed. Power would be transferred from the hands of an insignificant group of monopolists, as at present, to the hands of the overwhelming majority of the people headed by the working class, bringing about the radical reconstruction of the whole state structure. Long ago, Lenin observed "the proletariat alone is capable of bringing about the complete democratisation of the political and social system because such democratisation would place the system in the hands of the workers". The People's Government would do just that.

Thus after the People's Government comes to power, the radical transformation of the State structure and the democratic reconstruction of the State institutions will be carried out in the interests of the people. Parliament will be preserved, but it will be transformed, and in this new form included in the state structure of people's democracy.

In carrying through these decisive measures to implement the democratic will of the people the utmost resistance of the capitalist class can be expected. If there is one thing that the history of the class struggle teaches, it is that the capitalist class never commits suicide. It will fight to the bitter end to try to keep its power, and when it loses power, it will in every possible way try to regain it.

All the experiences of the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe prove this; the class struggle will sharpen in every way. Our Programme, therefore, makes the most categorical warning:

*"It would be wrong to believe that the big capitalists will voluntarily give up their property and their big profits in the interests of the British people. It would be more correct to expect them to offer an active resistance to the decisions of the People's Government, and to fight for the retention of their privileges by all means in their power, including force."*

To all such efforts, which would be the unconstitutional flouting of the nation's democratic decision, the reply of the People's Government will be, and must be, unhesitating and effective. The People's Government will rely, above all, on the strength of the organised working class to support it in all the necessary measures to overcome any effort to overthrow it and thus wipe out the democratic verdict of the people.

### **Socialist Nationalisation and the Use of Britain's Resources**

Socialist nationalisation, as our Programme says, "is the cornerstone of the economic policy of the People's Government". By taking over the great -industries, the banks, and the land, it breaks the economic power of the monopolists once and for all, puts industry in the hands of the people, finishes capitalist profit making, ensures the control of our national life and makes socialist economic planning a reality. Britain will be changed decisively from a capitalist country to one on the road to Socialism.

Our Programme proposes:

*"All large-scale industry and transport, the banks, monopoly-owned wholesale and retail trading concerns, as well as large landed property, will be brought under social ownership by the People's State."*

*"The National Debt and stock representing compensation for industries previously nationalised will be annulled. Where concerns are taken over or stock is annulled, there will be partial compensation to those who do not resist the policy of the People's Government, but no compensation to those who resist the People's Government."*

The so-called "mixed economy" of the Labour Government was already visibly breaking down before the election. It was neither socialist nor democratic. Their capitalist nationalisation measures covered only a small section of industry, most of it, such as coal, steel and railways already bankrupt and left the great industries in private and capitalist hands.

Exploitation continued as fiercely as ever before, the previous profits of the ex-owners returning to them in the form of interest on compensation the first charge on the nationalised industries, some £80 million a year guaranteed by the State. The old capitalists and bureaucratic management remained the directors and managers of the new nationalised industries with a few right-wing trade union officials thrown in for luck. Almost half of the 131 members of the central nationalised boards hold directorships in private industry and of the remainder twenty-three are knights, nine are landlords. A People's Government would sack the lot.

As before, the workers were frozen out of management, wage increases were resisted and the unions had to threaten strike action to improve conditions. Dissatisfaction among the workers was rampant.

In industry as a whole, the system of so-called "controls" was directed by the big monopolists and the so-called democratic planning was a farce. Profits and prices soared, and real wages

declined. The controls were evaded right and left, proved more and more unworkable, and were virtually abandoned in practice. Finally, nationalisation as a policy was abandoned. The present set-up with the monopolists in control of eighty per cent of industry in the opinion of the Labour leaders was to last forever.

Far from a voiding disruption and crisis, the whole system staggered from one crisis to another in foreign trade and home production and trade. Finally with rearmament and the end of the post-war boom an economic slump was threatening the whole economy.

Even before the defeat of the Labour Government therefore the bankruptcy of the so-called mixed economy was evident. It was the old capitalist system with the flimsiest of disguises.

Socialist nationalisation would eliminate the exploitation of the workers, and end the burden of profit rent and interest. The People's Government, however, would pay partial compensation to those previous share and stockholders who do not resist its policy. Such shareholders prepared to facilitate these just social changes would thus receive fair treatment from the Government, but those who resist will not get, and do not deserve, a penny. The small people need not fear that they will be left penniless. It is the big monopolist who is the enemy. As the People's Government will also annul National Debt Stock on the same basis it will relieve the Budget of a large part of the burden of £580 million a year. It could use the money thus saved to give the old age pensioners the decent pension they deserve.

The Boards of the new socialist concerns would be composed entirely of workers and technicians. All proposals, economic

plans and targets would be placed before the workers for discussion and joint decision. The democratic participation of the workers and the unions in management would be ensured from top to bottom. With capitalist profit and control abolished, the unions and the workers could really become the driving force for raising production, for every increase in production would mean a higher standard of living for all.

All these measures will free society from the restrictive fetters of capitalism which have held it back. They will usher in a great new period of the swift development of British industry and trade. With the immense social wealth hitherto stolen in capitalist profit we can re-equip and reorganise our industries. Our socialist economic plan will do for Britain what Stalin's construction schemes are doing for the Soviet Union. With the landlords out of the way, the slums will be cleared, and new planned cities will arise. Six million more acres will be brought into cultivation. Schemes discussed for years under capitalism, such as the Severn barrage and Forth Road Bridge, will become living reality. We will electrify the railways, modern machines will replace back-aching toil, and we will master the application of atomic power to productive use.

Above all our great socialist national plan to increase the productive resources will bring about far-reaching improvements in the wages and conditions of all those who work, reduce prices, extend all social services and end forever the danger of economic crisis and unemployment.

### **Social and Cultural Advance**

In order to make the people pay for rearmament an all-out attack has been launched by the Tories against the social services, and a decisive effort is being made to change the

whole character of the so-called Welfare State in accordance with a far-reaching Tory plan.

When the Labour Government placed a financial ceiling on these services they took the first serious step fundamentally to undermine them and slashed their effective value by ten per cent. Now the Tories are carrying forward the attack begun by the Labour leaders by cutting education, the health service, housing, and the food subsidies.

They are now out to end the idea of the universality of the services, the conception that they should be available without charge to anyone irrespective of income. They are re-introducing the Poor House approach, service without charge only to those in direct need.

Charges for the services are being extended into a general principle with steep increases in the insurance contributions so that the people pay twice over. At every stage the Means Test is being introduced. Instead of the Welfare State we are getting the Means Test State.

There is a steady, systematic reduction in the existing services and, of course, an automatic and continuous reduction in the real value of all social service payments and benefits due to rising prices. Finally, there is the complete abandonment of the wider perspectives solemnly agreed to long ago; the abandonment of the raising of the school age to 16 and the County Colleges, the abandonment of the Health Centres and the industrial health service, etc.

The People's Government would not only save the social services from creeping death but would raise them to great new heights. Because of its policy of socialist nationalisation and

rapidly expanding socialist production and wealth, annulment of the national debt and slashing of the armaments burden, it would:

*Solve the housing question and clear the slums by a great housing programme and by taking over empty or half-empty houses for the people.*

*End the system of workers' contributions to social insurance. All will be paid by socialist industry and the State and all benefits raised to levels necessary for a decent life.*

*Develop the existing Health Service into a comprehensive, free service, building the necessary hospitals and health centres for this purpose.*

*Transform the existing class education service into a single comprehensive service from primary school to university, with the necessary new schools and buildings.*

Introduce the principle of equal pay for causal work and provide the necessary facilities so that women can play their full part in the life of the nation.

Make the health, welfare and development of the youth the first charge on the nation's resources, and it is to the youth above all that the People's Government will turn for the driving force for the new society.

## **Conclusion**

The Communist Party issues this Programme in no sectional spirit, but for consideration by the entire Labour movement and especially by those who, alarmed by right-wing policy, are

seeking a new way of socialist advance. The way to achieve the Programme lies in the united action of the working people. That is the call of the Communist Party.

We Communists have no separate interests from the rest of the working class, the organised Labour movement and the working people. We work for the unity of all sections behind the People's Government to end the rule of the rich and to march forward to Socialism.

The Communist Party unites in its ranks, our Programme says, the vanguard of the militant working-class socialist fighters, inheriting the traditions of generations of democratic and working-class struggle. Its policy and programme is based on the impregnable foundation of Marxist theory, enriched and developed by Lenin and Stalin. History has shown that Marxism is the theory and practice that brings victory and Socialism. History proves that without such a Party the battle for Socialism cannot be won.

Go forward boldly to recruit to and build the Party. To the degree we build it, the quicker this great Programme will be transmitted from a paper document to glowing, living reality.

We face the days ahead with the confidence of our class that the future belongs to us, the new developing force. The old rulers of Britain are the representatives of a dying, decaying, social order. They dare not look forward, they can only look back. For them it is the terrible twentieth century, the century of the common people and of Socialism. With but half the century gone, a third of the world is socialist. Before it ends, Socialism will embrace the entire world.



# THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM

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**THE  
BRITISH  
ROAD  
TO  
SOCIALISM**

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## CONTENTS

<a href="#"><u>THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM</u></a> .....	5
<a href="#"><u>INTRODUCTION</u></a> .....	5
<a href="#"><u>PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL PEOPLES</u></a> .....	7
<a href="#"><u>NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE AND OF ALL PEOPLES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE</u></a> .....	13
<a href="#"><u>PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY—THE PATH TO SOCIALISM</u></a> .....	17
<a href="#"><u>SOCIALIST NATIONALISATION AND THE USE OF BRITAIN'S RESOURCES</u></a> .....	27
<a href="#"><u>SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ADVANCE</u></a> .....	31
<a href="#"><u>THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WAY FORWARD</u></a> .....	33

# THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM

## INTRODUCTION

THE TIME has come when big changes are necessary in Britain. The past half-century has shown more and more clearly the breakdown of the old society and its inability to serve the needs of the people.

Two world wars, poverty, malnutrition, slumps and mass unemployment have been the lot of the common people. But the millionaires of Britain, the big industrialists and the great monopolists have made their fortunes out of the people's labour.

At the end of the Second World War in 1945, the people of Britain were determined that there should be a change. They wanted to ensure that there would never again be another war. They wanted great social changes which would weaken capitalism and open the way to Socialism. So at the General Election in 1945 they returned a Labour Government with a large Parliamentary majority. They rejected the Tories, the Party of big business, which had ruled Britain for most of the black years between the wars. They supported the Labour Party, which declared that its aim was peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, and Socialism in Britain.

But no basic social change took place under its rule. Britain remained tied to the policies of imperialism which have involved surrender to the United States, colonial wars, heavy rearmament and consequent worsening of the economic conditions of the people.

Its policies ended in a Tory electoral victory and the establishment of a Tory Government which is carrying forward this policy and bringing new difficulties to Britain.

As a result of this policy, Britain is being sold out to America, and its national independence undermined. The alliance with America against the U.S.S.R. has caused international tension, isolated Britain from the progressive people of the world, and gravely increased the danger of a third world war which would mean disaster for our country. The colonial war in Malaya, the war in Korea, the effort to hold the British imperialist base in the Middle East, not only face inevitable failure, but are draining Britain's resources and manpower.

Britain's policy is resulting in ever-extending colonial wars declared and undeclared.

The huge armaments programme resulting from this policy has deepened the crisis of British imperialism. The economy of the country has been distorted and is threatened with ruin. Prices have been forced up to abnormal heights, real wages reduced, and every social gain won since the war is now under attack.

The right-wing Labour leaders and the Tories are equally responsible for this disastrous policy. The dominant Labour leaders have shown by their record in the Government and since the General Election that they have no major difference in policy with the Tories.

The dominant Labour Party leaders, Attlee, Gaitskell and Morrison—like MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas before them—have nothing in common with Socialism or the interests of the working people. Their outlook and practice reflects that of the Tories and the wealthy ruling class whose interests they serve, and not the aims of the working people.

The lesson of the failure of the Labour Government is not the failure of Socialism. It is the failure of Labour reformism and Labour imperialism, which is the servant of the big capitalist interests.

If the people are to advance, both the Tories and their allies in the Labour Movement, the right-wing Labour leaders, must be fought and defeated.

The need to find an entirely new path forward is presented to the British people and the British Labour Movement in the sharpest possible fashion. Whether carried out by the Tories or the right-wing Labour leaders, the policy of British imperialism has proved bankrupt.

Britain's problems can be solved only by a completely new programme and policy, which represents a decisive break with imperialism, the drive to war, and surrender to the United States, and ends once and for all the ownership of Britain's wealth by a tiny exploiting minority and establishes the real political and economic freedom of the people.

Such a programme is the Programme of the Communist Party. It represents the true interests of the entire Labour Movement and would achieve the aims of the pioneers. It represents the true interests of the overwhelming majority of the British people—the industrial workers, farmers, professional people, scientists and technicians, housewives—against the handful of big landlords, bankers and monopolists who exploit them.

## **PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL PEOPLES**

The Communist Party fights for lasting peace as the vital need of the British people.

The First World War dealt a crippling blow to Britain and opened the long years of decline under Tory rule. The Second World War weakened Britain still more. The policy of the real ruling circles of Britain, pursued by the Labour and Tory Governments alike, has led to greater

economic difficulties and domination by American big business. By handing over bases to the United States Air Force, Britain has become a front line in any future world war. A third world war under modern conditions of atomic warfare would bring untold destruction to Britain and the British people.

It is capitalism which gives rise to the danger of war. The big capitalist Powers have forcibly conquered or subjugated the territories of other nations so that the big trusts can have an opportunity of squeezing out their super-profits. They have fought between themselves, as in the First World War, to conquer each other's territories and colonies and to rob those countries.

The unity of the Soviet Union, America and Great Britain brought about the defeat of Nazi Germany and fascist Japan—whose big trusts were seeking new countries to exploit—in the Second World War.

Since then the Soviet Union has fought for a lasting peace to follow the people's victory over fascism, a peace based on national independence, colonial freedom, and a democratic and demilitarised Germany and Japan. But American big business, afraid of the advance of the people's forces throughout the world, and wanting to control great areas in order to obtain its vast profits, is trying, as Hitler did, to dominate the world. Especially is it hostile to the Soviet Union, because it fears the advance of Socialism and the working class. American big business is backed and assisted by reaction in Britain, by the Tory and right-wing Labour Party leaders.

It is this aggressive policy which has undermined the allied unity of the war years, divided the world into two camps, the war camp and the peace camp, and created the danger of a third world war. The deceitful formula of

“peace through strength” is used, in fact, to cover aggression all over the world.

It has produced the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, America’s war alliance, formed in violation of the United Nations Charter.

Imperialist America, leading the war camp, has conducted aggressive war in Korea, is openly threatening China, and rearming Western Germany and Japan. It has war bases all over the world, and in the interests of a handful of exploiters tries to dictate to all nations and to crush popular struggles for freedom. It piles up atom bombs and colossal offensive armaments, and is openly preparing for a third world war.

It is already dictating what policies the countries of Western Europe, including Britain, shall pursue in rearmament and foreign trade; it aims at the forcible suppression of colonial liberation movements and at organising an aggressive war against the U.S.S.R.

The peace camp, with the support of lovers of peace all over the world, works for world peace and international co-operation and a Peace Pact between the five Great Powers, the freedom and equal rights of all nations, the banning of the atom bomb, and the reduction of armaments. Socialist countries do not need colonies or spheres of investment for obtaining super-profits. What they produce is for the people’s needs, and, since they have abolished private profit, they have no need to “conquer” foreign markets, but only to trade honestly on a free and equal basis. A Socialist foreign policy can only be a policy of peace.

Despite the acute danger of war, the Communist Party declares that a third world war is neither necessary nor inevitable. The Communist Party rejects the “theory” of the inevitability of war between the Socialist and capitalist

camps. On the contrary, it declares that the peaceful co-existence of Socialism and capitalism is possible on the basis of mutual respect for national rights and independence. The Communist Party stands for trade with all States on a mutual, honest basis, and for co-operation with all States in the preservation of peace through the United Nations, in strict accordance with the Charter

The Communist Party brands as a lie the charge that Communism is to be imposed by aggression and conquest, and declares that social transformation can only come through internal changes in accordance with the actual conditions in each country.

A lasting peace is the vital need for all peoples and a main aim of Communist policy.

It is an aim which can and should unite the people of Britain, whatever religious or political views they hold. Their united action can be decisive for the preservation of peace. That is why all organisations and individuals who really want peace are working to develop a mass movement for peace.

The plans for a third world war, openly prepared by imperialist America and its supporters in Britain—the Churchills and Attlees—would make Britain the principal war base for an aggressive atomic war against Socialism in Europe and Asia.

The rearmament programme, carried out on American orders, has already brought widespread attacks on the social standards of the people. It has enormously increased Britain's adverse balance of trade disrupted East-West trade and distorted the country's economy. It has led to soaring prices, a fall in real wages, and shortages of raw materials; and hence, there is short time and unemployment in consumption goods

industries. It threatens our traditional civil liberties, and still further undermines our national independence. Two years' conscription has been imposed, and reservists are being called back to the Forces.

A third world war, waged with atomic weapons, would annihilate our major cities, blot out millions of our population, and throw Britain back for centuries. It could only end in a dreadful catastrophe for the British people.

A free, strong and independent Britain is essential for the preservation of the peace of the world. The national interests of Britain as well as the very future of the British people, demand that Britain should finish once and for all with the American policy of aggression and world conquest. To follow that policy can only end in national disaster for Britain.

**Britain should free herself from all war alliances and entanglements, like the Atlantic Pact, the Middle East Command and the Brussels Pact; put an end to all colonial wars of invasion of other peoples countries, as in Malaya and Korea; end all attempts to occupy and dominate Egypt and subject countries all over the world; and bring home the troops which are at present used to occupy and dominate these countries.**

**American troops and planes should be ordered to leave Britain immediately, and the present U.S. bases in Britain should revert to British possession.**

**In conformity with the Potsdam Agreement between the Great Powers, Britain should oppose all attempts to re-create a West German Army as part and parcel of the American War Alliance. In association with France, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Britain should work out a common policy for a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany.**

**Britain should oppose the rearmament of Japan. Britain should associate her efforts with the Socialist Soviet Union, People's China, India and all peace-loving countries to promote peace and international co-operation, restore co-operation between the Great Powers by a Five-Power Peace Pact, strengthen the United Nations as the bastion of peace, and stop efforts being made to use It as an instrument of war. As the country most vulnerable to atomic warfare, and most weighed down by the burden of armaments, Britain should take the lead in pressing for the banning of the atom bomb and all weapons of mass destruction, with international control and inspection, and for an all-round reduction of armaments.**

**As a country greatly dependent on world trade, Britain should oppose all restrictions on international trade imposed by the U.S.A., and especially should promote East-West trade, which is indispensable for our economic recovery.**

Unless such a policy for peace is fought for and won, the post-war gains of the working class, already under attack, will be completely lost, and there can be no lightening of the burden on the working people, improvement of living conditions, or solution of Britain's problems.

The future of the British people, their prosperity and welfare, and the victory of the aims of Socialism in Britain, are inseparably bound up with the united international struggle of the peoples of all countries for peace, freedom and national independence.

## **NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE AND OF ALL PEOPLES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE**

The Communist Party fights for the national independence and the true national interests of the British people and of all the peoples of the British Empire. The subjection of Britain to American imperialism is a betrayal of the British people in the interests of big business and of those who are planning a new world war. In the economic sphere, Britain has been turned into a satellite of America. An American monopolist has been placed in supreme command of British industry; American economic controllers and supervisors have been established in London and report to Washington. American big business controls our financial policy, imposes trade restrictions and bans, openly dictates policy (as in the case of devaluation) and is extending the network of American financial penetration and control. In the military sphere, Britain has been turned into an American base and the American army of occupation is growing. The new arms programme was decided on American instructions, and, under the Atlantic Pact, Britain's armed forces have been placed under American Supreme Command. Important sections of the British Navy have been placed under U.S. Command. In the same way, the British Empire has been subjected to increasing American financial and military penetration. For the first time in history, our country has lost its independence and freedom of action in its foreign, economic and military policy to a foreign power—the United States of America. The Government and its advisers dare to take no major step without American permission, and the leaders of the

Tory and Labour Parties vie with one another in servility to the Americans. They have become spokesmen of a foreign power.

Concerned only to defend capitalism and profit, the Labour leaders and the Tories are openly betraying Britain's national interests. Such differences as they allow themselves with America are those of the bankrupt junior partner striving to retain what he can in face of American pressure.

The restoration of British national independence, which has been given away by the leaders of the Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties, is the indispensable condition for Britain's recovery and political, economic and social advance.

The Communist Party declares that the leaders of the Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties and their spokesmen in the press and on the B.B.C. are betraying the interests of Britain to dollar imperialism. It calls for the unity of all true patriots to defend British national interests and independence.

We stand for a Britain, free, strong and independent. We want our country to be subordinate and subservient to no foreign power, but to stand in friendly association and equal alliance with all powers that recognise and respect Britain's national interests.

The Communist Party would break with the policy of sell-out to America. It would restore to the British Parliament its exclusive sovereign right to control the country's financial, economic and military policy, close the country to foreign capitalist penetration and restore the command of the British Armed Forces to British commanders.

The restoration of control of her own affairs to Britain, enabling her power to be used on the basis of an

independent foreign policy, would be a great contribution towards the preservation of world peace.

The Communist Party therefore rejects all theories which declare national sovereignty to be out-of-date and so seek to justify enslavement to American imperialism or aggression against other nations. Real international co-operation can be based only on the sovereign freedom and equal rights of all nations, great and small. For this reason, the cause of Britain's national independence is bound up with ensuring that all nations in the present Empire also enjoy full national rights and independence.

Within the British Isles the enforced partition of Ireland and the maintenance of British troops in Northern Ireland must be ended, to enable Irish national unity to be realised. There must be full recognition of the national claims of the Scottish and Welsh peoples, to be settled in accordance with their wishes.

Above all, the Communist Party would solve the question of the relations of Britain with the countries of the British Empire.

The enemies of Communism declare that the Communist Party, by underhand subversive means, is aiming at the destruction of Britain and the British Empire, This is a lie. On the contrary, it is precisely the Tories and the Labour leaders who are doing this by their policy of armed repression and colonial exploitation. Britain's colonial policy and the efforts to maintain Britain's strategic, political and economic stranglehold in Egypt, Persia and the Middle East generally, have resulted in the undying resistance and hostility of the people of Malaya, Africa and Egypt, and the whole Middle East, towards Britain.

In fighting to impose Syngman Rhee on the Korean people and in supporting reactionary puppets in South-East Asia, the Government has earned the hatred of the

people of Asia, and thus placed our country at loggerheads with the majority of mankind.

The colonial policy of the Tory and Labour leaders is not only a crime against the colonial peoples, it is draining away our manpower in endless colonial wars, and has cost, and will continue to cost, hundreds of millions of pounds. It has disrupted the production of food and raw materials. It can only weaken Britain still further. The colonial peoples struggling for national liberation can never be subdued.

The Communist Party would put an end to the present abnormal relations of colonial war and repression between the British people and the peoples of the Empire by establishing durable friendship with them on the basis of equal rights. This act of historical justice would help to wipe out the bitterness of the past, and would enormously strengthen Britain on a new democratic basis. In a like manner, British armed occupation of semi-colonial countries, nominally independent, would be ended and new relations of friendship and mutual trade with such countries developed.

**All relations between the peoples of the present Empire which are based on political, economic and military enslavement must be ended, and replaced by relations based on full national independence and equal rights. This requires the withdrawal of all armed forces from the colonial and dependent territories and handing over of sovereignty to Governments freely chosen by the peoples.**

**Only by this means can Britain be assured of the normal supplies of the vital food and raw materials necessary for her economic life, obtaining them in equal exchange for the products of British industry, needed by those countries for their own economic**

**development.**

**This would provide the basis for a new, close, voluntary and fraternal association of the British people and the liberated peoples of the present Empire to promote mutually beneficial economic exchange and co-operation, and to defend in common their freedom against American imperialist aggression.**

## **PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY—THE PATH TO SOCIALISM**

Only by the establishment of Socialism can Britain's problems be finally solved and its people guaranteed a good life, lasting peace and steadily rising living standards.

Socialism means an end to capitalist profit and exploitation, for it will deprive the capitalists of their ownership and control of the factories and workshops, mills and mines, banks and land shipyards and transport and ensure that production is organised for the use of the people and not for the profit of the tiny minority of capitalists.

Socialism means an end to slumps and unemployment. The causes of these evils lie in the capitalist system, under which, despite the constant increase in the productive capacity of society, the consumption of the masses of the people is restricted by the capitalists in the interests of private profit.

Because it abolishes the capitalist profit system, Socialism means that the workers purchasing power will always keep pace with increases in production.

Socialism means peace and an end to the danger of wars, because under Socialism there are no longer

capitalists who want to conquer new markets, and to exploit the colonial and dependent peoples and cheap labour.

Socialism ends all the restrictive policies of capitalism in regard to the working people. It ends the gulf between rich and poor and the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty, and frees the creative energies of the people and the productive resources of the nation for gigantic economic, social and cultural advances on the basis of a planned socialist economy.

Socialism means freedom for the people—freedom from poverty and insecurity, freedom for men, women and children to develop their capacities to the full without fear or favour. For women it means equal rights with men in the social, economic and political life of the nation; for young people, the opening of new opportunities with the whole resources of the country behind them; for the family, a real home life, fuller interests and closer ties based on security and new respect for the individual.

But Socialism means the abolition of capitalism. The Labour leaders do not want to abolish capitalism.

Their so-called “democratic socialism” is a screen behind which they , seek to justify their defence of the system of capitalist profit and exploitation, defend the position of the capitalists and monopolists and seek to prop up the bankrupt capitalist social structure of riches for the few, poverty and low-living standards for the many, and ever-recurring danger of slump and war.

They attempt to disguise their betrayal of Socialism with such “theories” as the “mixed economy” and the defence of the “free world” ideas with which they try to justify their defence of capitalist profits, class collaboration and imperialism. They aim to blunt the class-consciousness of the workers, distort the very meaning of the word

Socialism, and disarm the working class in the face of the capitalist enemy.

The working class of Britain in industry and agriculture form the immense majority of the population and constitute with their families fully two-thirds of the population. To these must be added the great bulk of the clerical and professional workers, the teachers, technicians and scientists, the working farmers, shopkeepers and small business men, whose interests are equally threatened by the big landowning, industrial and financial capitalists, and whose security and future prospects are closely bound up with those of the industrial working class.

Together these represent a mighty political force, fully capable of defeating the present exploiters and rulers of the British people and returning a majority to Parliament which represents the Interests of all working people, and a Government determined to carry through, with the active political and industrial backing of the people, a policy that will open out a new and glorious future for Britain.

But at present this potentially mighty political force is split and divided, misled by the propaganda of the ruling class and the policy and outlook of the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party and the right-wing leaders of the trade unions and co-operative organisations, who in practice support the ruling class and carried on the Labour Government in the interests of capitalism.

This disruptive role of the right-wing Labour leaders was the main reason for the victory of the Tories in the 1951 General Election.

Despite the fact that the Tories represent the interests of the tiny minority of exploiters and landlords, they obtained 48 per cent of the votes. Only a strong, united

working class, decisively rejecting the right-wing policies, with a fighting policy for peace and social advance can rally the unorganised workers and those sections of the middle class, professional workers and farmers, etc. who voted Tory.

The undemocratic electoral system, with all its limitations, is deliberately used to make real Parliamentary expression of opinions other than those of the two dominant party leaderships a matter of the utmost difficulty.

The traditional two-Party system in Britain has assured effective capitalist control, and frustration of the will of the people. The Labour movement was built by the sacrifice of the workers to end this control and bring in a new era for the people. But the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party have adapted themselves to the policy and interests of the capitalists and thus held back the realisation of this aim.

For real democratic advance the right-wing Labour leaders must be defeated, the policy of the Labour Party transformed, and a fight waged by a united Labour Movement to elect Labour and Communist representatives to Parliament who will carry through a consistent policy of Peace and Socialism.

Despite the democratic rights which have so far been won by the struggles of the people, the real power in Britain is still concentrated in the hands of the tiny section of the rich property-owners. They control the land, large-scale industry, finance and trade; their representatives hold the commanding positions in the Civil Service, the Armed Forces, the Judiciary, the Diplomatic and Colonial Services; they also control the greater part of the newspapers and periodicals, the B.B.C. and the cinemas. Democracy under present conditions is restricted for the

majority of the people by the privilege and power of the wealthy few and their agents, and is being reduced by attacks on the fights of free speech and organisation, and on the right to strike. The democratic rights won by years of working-class struggle must be defended with the utmost strength against the attacks of the capitalists and warmongers and their agents. At the same time we declare that the so-called "free world" is in fact the world of capitalism, in which the capitalist class exercises a disguised dictatorship over the working class. The Labour leaders' "democratic socialism" has done nothing to change this.

The people cannot advance to Socialism, therefore, without real political power, which must be taken from the hands of the capitalist minority and firmly grasped by the majority of the people, led by the working class. Only by this means can democracy become a reality.

The enemies of Communism accuse the Communist Party of aiming to introduce Soviet Power in Britain and abolish Parliament. This is a slanderous misrepresentation of our policy. Experience has shown that in present conditions the advance to Socialism can be made just as well by a different road; for example, through People's Democracy, without establishing Soviet Power, as in the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe.

Britain will reach Socialism by her own road. Just as the Russian people won political power by the Soviet road which was dictated by their historical conditions and background of Tsarist rule, and the working people in the People's Democracies and China won political power in their own way in their historical conditions, so the British Communists declare that the people of Britain can transform capitalist democracy into a real People's

Democracy, transforming Parliament, the product of Britain's historic struggle for democracy, into the democratic instrument of the will of the vast majority of her people.

The path forward for the British people will be to establish a People's Government on the basis of a Parliament truly representative of the people.

Such a People's Government would:

**Break the power of the millionaire monopolists and other big capitalists by socialist nationalisation of large-scale industry, the banks, big distributive monopolies, insurance companies and the land of the large land-owners, and introduce a government monopoly of foreign trade.**

**Introduce a planned economy based on socialist principles aimed at fundamental social change.**

**Transform the existing unequal imperialist Empire into a strong, free, equal association of peoples by granting national independence to the colonies.**

**Make Britain strong, free and independent with a foreign policy of peace.**

**Break the political hold of the capitalist class by democratic electoral reform, democratic ownership of the press, the people's control of the B.B.C., and the democratic transformation of the Civil Service, Foreign Office, Armed Forces and Police, the Law Courts and the administration of justice.**

The essential condition for decisively defeating the Tories and right-wing Labour leaders and establishing such a people's power is the building up of a broad coalition or popular alliance of all sections of the working people; of the organised working class, of all workers by hand and brain, of professional people and technicians, of all lower and middle sections in the towns, and of the farmers in

the countryside.

This broad popular alliance of all sections of the people determined to end the arbitrary power of the rich over the future of Britain can be built only on the basis of a united working class as its decisive leading force—the class that is most concerned in the struggle for a new order of society.

The Labour Party, with its present policy and under its present leadership, is preventing the building up of such an alliance and splitting instead of uniting the working-class movement.

The right-wing Labour leaders act as the main supporters of capitalism, and are doing their best to safeguard the privileges and profits of the capitalists, and provide them with opportunities to continue their exploitation of the British and colonial peoples. As a Government they refused to carry out those decisive measures which were urgently needed in the present and future interests of the British working people. Having thus prepared the way for the victory of the Tories, they have before Her Majesty's "loyal opposition" in Parliament, supporting the Tories in the application of this policy, and, in the trade union movement, assuring the Tory Government of "amicable" working relations.

The present leadership of the Labour Party, both in Government and in opposition, is disrupting and demoralising the Labour Movement by its poisonous propaganda preaching collaboration with capitalism and capitulation to capitalism. It has betrayed every principle on which the British Labour Movement was formed.

In order, therefore, to bring about a decisive change in Britain, the millions of workers in the trade unions, co-operatives and individual members' sections of the Labour Party will have to use their political and industrial

strength to make it impossible for either the right-wing Labour leaders or the Tories to carry on their present pernicious policy. They will have to rouse all the working people and progressive sections for active struggle against the present policy of surrender to American political and economic interests, against the war preparations and the wars in Malaya, Egypt and Korea, against the two years' conscription and the calling-up of reservists. Such a struggle is also necessary to defeat the Tory attacks on wages and the social services and to secure higher wages and salaries, more houses, schools and hospitals, the raising of benefits and pensions, and on all issues which affect the people. It is through this struggle that the unity of all workers by hand and brain, of professional people and farmers can develop into a movement strong enough to bring down the Tories and to defeat the rich and their defenders in the Labour Party and to ensure peace and a future for all working people. Because of this working-class unity, the united action of all sections of the working-class movement—Labour, trade union, co-operative and Communist—is the vital need. Only by united action between all sections of the Labour Movement can the working class rally all its forces and all its allies for decisive action to win a Parliamentary majority and form a People's Government.

**A People's Parliament and Government which draws its strength from a united movement of the people, with the working class as its core, will be able to mobilise the overwhelming majority of the people for decisive measures to break the economic and political power of the big exploiters. The whole legislative and executive machinery of the country will be made continuously responsive to the**

democratic will of the people, and the whole of the people will be drawn into active participation in the control and administration of every sphere of national life.

A key rôle would be performed by the trade unions, without which no People's Democracy can function. National arbitration would be abolished and full powers of collective bargaining on wages and conditions restored, the socialist economic plan ensuring the basis for steadily advancing wages and conditions. The trade unions would participate in drawing up the economic plan and in the administration of the nationalised industries, nationally, regionally and in every factory. They would participate in the work of the Ministries of Labour and National Insurance and ensure the operation of the labour laws.

Similarly the co-operative organisations with their accumulated experience would play a responsible part in the organisation and control of distribution and supplies.

The electoral system would be democratically reformed with proportional representation and votes at eighteen, and the House of Commons would be made the sole national authority, freed from the restrictive influences of the House of Lords and the Monarchy.

Men and women who are determined and loyal advocates of the people's power will replace those who uphold the old system in all positions of authority in the Civil Service, the Armed Forces, the Judiciary and the Diplomatic Service.

The millionaire-owned newspapers will be taken over and placed at the disposal of the working class and

**democratic organisations, so that the policy expressed in these journals is that of the working people, and their influence can strengthen the determination of the people to carry through the decisive changes in the social order.**

**The B.B.C. will be similarly transformed into an instrument expressing the interests of the people in every aspect of its work.**

**Freedom of religious worship will be guaranteed, and all religious creeds and beliefs respected.**

In carrying through these decisive measures to implement the democratic will of the people, every effort of the capitalist class to defy the People's Government and Parliament will be resisted and defeated.

The great broad popular alliance, led by the working class, firmly based on the factories, which has democratically placed the People's Government in power, will have the strength to deal with the attacks of the capitalist warmongers and their agents.

The Government will rely on the strength of the organised workers to ensure that the programme decided upon by Parliament is operated in practice, and that all attempts to resist or sabotage it are defeated, and the enemies of the working class brought to justice.

It would be wrong to believe that the big capitalists will voluntarily give up their property and their big profits in the interests of the British people.

It would be more correct to expect them to offer active resistance to the decisions of the People's Government, and to fight for the retention of their privileges by all means in their power, including force.

Therefore the British people and the People's Government should be ready decisively to rebuff such

attempts.

The power of the working people, uniting all those sections who recognise the need for social change and participate in carrying it through, as expressed and laid down through the elected Parliament, is alone capable of securing peace, high wages for working people, raw materials for British industry and markets for British goods, and creating the conditions for the establishment of Socialism in Britain.

### **SOCIALIST NATIONALISATION AND THE USE OF BRITAIN'S RESOURCES**

Socialist nationalisation is the cornerstone of the economic policy of a People's Government. It is necessary not only to break once and for all the power of the monopolists, but to place industry in the hands of the people. Socialist nationalisation is necessary to put an end to capitalist profit-making and exploitation of the workers, to ensure control over our economic life and to make economic planning a reality, and to lay the basis for a great advance in the living conditions of the people. It is the way to transform the system of capitalist private owners into socialised people's ownership.

**All large-scale industry and transport, the banks, monopoly-owned wholesale and retail trading concerns, as well as large landed property, will be brought under social ownership by the People's State.**

**The National Debt and stock representing compensation for industries previously nationalised will be annulled; there will be partial compensation to**

**those who do not resist the policy of the People's Government, but no compensation to those who resist the People's Government.**

This socialist nationalisation differs fundamentally from the measures of capitalist nationalisation carried the widespread criticism of the workers.

The capitalist nationalisation measures carried out by the Labour Government have extended only to a limited section of industry, leaving in private capitalist hands the main fields owned by big business from which it draws its profits. This nationalised section of industry has covered mainly auxiliary services, providing transport and power for capitalist industry, which were proving inefficient and even yielding a loss under private capitalist management. Thus these measures of state ownership were beneficial to capitalism as a whole, and in no way changed the capitalist character of British economy any more than similar measures carried out by Bismarck or Hitler, or British Tory Governments in the past.

Socialist nationalisation carried out by the People's Government, by extending to the whole sphere of large-scale industry and trade, the land of the large land-owners, and the banks, would change Britain decisively from a capitalist country to a country on the road towards Socialism.

Capitalist nationalisation makes no change in the exploitation of the workers, because the compensation paid to the former owners guarantees to them the continuance of their unearned income at the expense of the workers, with the added safeguard of state power to ensure its payment. The capital held by the capitalists remains the same; only the form of stock is changed. But the purpose of capitalist nationalisation is not only to

keep up the compensation payments to the former owners. Its aim is also to benefit the employers in the rest of industry by supplying them with goods and services at a cheap rate. It is for these reasons that the workers in the nationalised industries are being speeded up and their wages kept low. Capitalist nationalisation is being used to benefit capitalism as a whole at the expense of the workers in the nationalised industries.

Socialist nationalisation, on the contrary, ends once and for all the robbery of the workers for the benefit of private owners, lifts the burden of rent, interest and profit from the shoulders of the working people, and makes the whole product of industry the property of the people.

Capitalist nationalisation is bureaucratically administered. The governing Boards of the nationalised industries are dominated by the former owners or their associates. The change is only a change in form; the workers continue to be ruled by capitalist bosses.

Socialist nationalisation completely eliminates the capitalists and their representatives. The Governing Boards are composed entirely of the workers and technicians. All proposals, plans and targets are placed before the workers in every industry and factory for discussion and joint decision. The democratic participation of the workers and their trade unions in management is thus ensured from top to bottom. With the capitalist class and capitalist profit-making and exploitation excluded, the trade unions and the workers thus become the main force for raising production, as every increase in production means increased earnings and a higher standard of life.

The ending of capitalist monopoly control of the country's economic political and social life will free society from the restrictive influences that have held it back, and will

generate tremendous forces for the rapid development of industry, trade and social services, bringing security and far-reaching improvements in the conditions, not only of the working class, but of the professional workers and of the middle sections of society.

Socialist nationalisation will thus make available for social use immense wealth that has hitherto gone to build up the capitalist profits and power of the rich property owners.

It will enable the Government, with the co-operation of the workers and technicians, to end restrictions and bring about a great increase in production, to re-equip and re-organise industry on the basis of a national plan to increase the productive resources of the country, improve wages and working conditions, reduce prices, extend all social services and remove for ever the danger of economic crisis and unemployment.

Co-operatively owned production and consumers' enterprises will be encouraged and assisted to develop, taking over appropriate services now in the hands of the monopolies.

Small shopkeepers and business men, as well as small landowners and farmers in the countryside, will be freed from restrictions imposed by the monopolists, and will benefit from the rising turnover resulting from the new conditions.

Foreign trade will be made a Government monopoly, serving the interests of the people; and trade will be developed with all countries.

Special attention will be given to the development of agriculture, helping the working farmers and encouraging the development of co-operative marketing and use of machinery, bringing all available land into cultivation and with the help of modern agricultural science increasing

the output so as to reduce Britain's dependence on foreign supplies of basic foodstuffs.

## **SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ADVANCE**

As part of its policy of making the people pay for rearmament and war the Labour Government commenced a systematic attack on the, social services, undermining the hard-won social gains of the last ten years. The Tory Government is continuing and extending these attacks and threatens Britain's social services with complete retrogression.

The ownership and control by the people of all the main productive and distributive resources of the country will provide the means necessary for the reorganisation and extension of all social services, and the direct participation of the people in administering them.

A Government representing the interests of the working people will do what no other Government can do—solve the housing problem for the people. It will proceed at once to build an adequate number of new houses take over empty and half-used houses for the working people, and clear the slums. By nationalising the big landed estates and the principal enterprises concerned with building and building materials, and by putting an end to interest payments, it will be possible to build houses and flats in large numbers at low costs, and to let them at low rents. The large country houses of the rich will be taken over for use as holiday rest homes, sanatoria for adult and children, and similar social purposes.

Our great cultural heritage will be made the property of the people. Every encouragement and material assistance will be given to science, art, literature, music,

drama, and all other social activities that can help the all-round development of the people and enrich their lives and leisure.

There will be an end to workers' contributions to social service insurance funds, which will be provided entirely by industry and the Government. Benefits to old-age pensioners, to the war disabled, to ex-Servicemen and women, to children and to those prevented from working by ill-health, temporarily or permanently, will be raised to a level which will make it possible for the aged and infirm to live a decent life and for the nation's children to grow up healthy and strong.

The present health services will be extended into an effective and comprehensive State Medical Service, manned by an increasing number of doctors and specialists, so as to give free and efficient service to the working people and their families. New hospitals and sanatoria will be built as well as Health Centres and Clinics in every locality. The improvement in the health of the people that will result from better housing conditions and a higher standard of living will be further helped by the provision of more sports grounds and open spaces, swimming pools, and other facilities for keeping fit and the healthy enjoyment of leisure.

The present educational system, with its structure of class privilege barely modified by successive reforms, will be completely transformed into a single comprehensive system giving all children the best facilities and the fullest opportunities for development. There will be an end to restrictive selection, which now deprives so many children of full educational opportunities. There will be an end to the privately owned schools and the so-called "public schools" where the children of the rich are trained as members of the ruling class. The rapid growth of

industry and agriculture, with the application of the most modern technique and the rapid extension of all social services, together with the raising of the qualifications of the workers and the extension of the educational system itself, will require a much larger and increasing number of trained people and specialists in every sphere. The increase in the number of schools required to provide all children with adequate educational facilities must, therefore, be accompanied by similar extension of the universities and technical colleges, and the children of working people must be assisted to take full advantage of these extended facilities.

The principle of equal pay for equal work for women will be applied at once throughout the public services, industry and trade; the provision of crèches and nursery schools in adequate numbers will help to remove the practical difficulties in the way of women playing their full part in the life of the nation.

The young people of the country will be made the first charge on the nation's resources, and the educational and health services will be supplemented by greatly increased facilities for young people to develop in an all-round way and become useful citizens with full opportunities in every sphere.

## **THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WAY FORWARD**

The way forward to the achievement of the aims of this programme lies through the united action of the working people. That is why the Communist Party calls upon all working people to unite and fight now for peace and to protect and improve their standards and living conditions; to win increased wages; to combat high prices, taxation

and rents, to defend their trade union and democratic rights; and in this daily struggle to strengthen and extend the unity, organisation, solidarity, confidence and political consciousness of all sections of the workers.

The Communist Party has no separate interests from the rest of the working class, the organised Labour Movement and the whole of the working people. It therefore works for unity of all sections of the people behind a People's Government that will end the rule of the rich and carry through the change to Socialism.

The Communist Party unites in its ranks the vanguard of the militant socialist fighters of the working class, inheriting the traditions of generations of struggle of the democratic and working-class movement in Britain. Its policy and programme is based on the impregnable foundations of Marxist theory, the science embodying the experiences of the international working class, as developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and demonstrated in history as the theory and practice which brings victory to the working class and Socialism. History proves that without such a Party the battle for Socialism cannot be won.

Devoting all its efforts to winning the Labour Movement and the majority of the British people for the fulfilment of this programme, the Communist Party calls for the support and enrolment in its ranks of all workers, trade unionists, co-operators, Socialists and all progressive people who recognise the necessity of basic social change and the socialist reconstruction of society, and who are prepared to play their part in the realisation of these glorious aims—a free and happy, strong and powerful Socialist Britain in free association with the Commonwealth nations.

***In conjunction with this programme read also “Britain Arise” (1s.), the Political Report made by Harry Pollitt to the Twenty-Second National Congress of the Communist Party; and “People’s Democracy for Britain” (6d.), the report made by John Gollan introducing the programme to the Congress.***

**EVERY DAY—READ THE “DAILY WORKER”**



# 22nd CONGRESS COMMUNIST PARTY 1952

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*October 2009*

# BRITAIN ARISE

# HARRY POLLITT

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# BRITAIN ARISE

## 22<sup>nd</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party

Political Report made by

**HARRY POLLITT**

*General Secretary*

LONDON

1952

CONTENTS

<a href="#">BRITAIN ARISE</a> .....	7	
<a href="#">I. INTRODUCTION</a> .....	7	
<a href="#">II. THE ECONOMIC POSITION</a> .....	9	
<a href="#">Capitalist "Remedies"</a> .....	13	
<a href="#">The Alternative Of The Communist Party</a> .....	15	
<a href="#">III. THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE</a> .....		19
<a href="#">The Fight For Peace</a> .....	20	
<a href="#">The Contradictions In The War Camp</a> .....	23	
<a href="#">The Bankruptcy Of British Policy</a> .....	24	
<a href="#">The Fight For Peace In Britain</a> .....	25	
<a href="#">IV. UNITY WITH THE COLONIAL PEOPLES</a> .....	30	
<a href="#">The Crisis Of British Imperialism</a> .....	31	
<a href="#">The Movement For National Liberation</a> .....	33	
<a href="#">Our Responsibility In Britain</a> .....	34	

<u>V. HOW TO DEFEAT TORIES</u> .....	35
<u>Our Main Task</u> .....	35
<u>Our Immediate Aim</u> .....	36
<u>Unity Is Possible</u> .....	39
<u>A New Approach To Labour Party Members</u> .....	41
<u>Trade Unionists And The Struggle</u> .....	45
<u>More Rank And File Control</u> .....	49
<u>Shop Committees And Shop Stewards</u> .....	50
<u>Organising The Unorganised</u> .....	51
<u>What To Do</u> .....	53
<u>International Trade Union Unity</u> .....	54
<u>Our Duty</u> .....	55
<u>Our Approach To Co-operators</u> .....	56
<u>Our Approach To Women</u> .....	57
<u>Winning The Young People</u> .....	58
<u>Our Responsibility</u> .....	60
<u>VI. THE FIGHT FOR COMMUNIST IDEAS</u> .....	62
<u>The Battle Of Ideas</u> .....	63
<u>Marxist Education</u> .....	66
<u>VII. THE COMMUNIST PARTY, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, AND THE “DAILY WORKER”</u> .....	69
<u>Communist Party Decisive For Working-Class Unity</u> .....	71
<u>The Young Communist League</u> .....	81
<u>The “Daily Worker”</u> .....	82
<u>A New Situation Faces Us</u> .....	84
<u>VIII. THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM</u> .....	86
<u>IX. IT CAN BE DONE</u> .....	89

# BRITAIN ARISE

By HARRY POLLITT

## I. INTRODUCTION

The supreme task standing before this Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party is to find the means through which, on the basis of a policy of immediate demands, a mighty united front of all workers by hand and brain can be created, so that by their common efforts day in and day out, they can successfully defend and improve their living conditions, help maintain peace in the world and put an end to the domination of British affairs by the American millionaires.

There can be no lasting peace, no social advances, no constructive full employment, no security for the war-disabled, old-age pensioners and all who depend upon the social services, no lasting friendship with the peoples of the Empire, until the Tories have been decisively defeated.

The Tories, and the arch-warmonger, Churchill, in their hatred of Socialism would prefer to see Britain in abject subjection to American imperialism, rather than a Britain standing on its own feet, going forward on the path to social progress and living in peace and friendship with the peoples of the world.

The Communist Party declares war on the Tory Party and its Government.

We denounce all policies of Toryism and imperialism on the part of the right-wing leadership of the Labour movement, and will fight side by side with Labour Party members, trade unionists and co-operators for the decisive changes of policy and leadership which are now necessary.

We will work as never before to help organise the working people of our country to resist every aspect of the policy of the Tory Government and force the Tories to call a new General Election at which a Labour Government will be returned on the basis of a progressive programme. We shall fight to secure the election of a number of Communist Members of Parliament to carry forward the splendid traditions of Comrades Gallacher and Piratin.

The rise in the cost of food, rents, fares, gas, coal, electricity; the cuts in food subsidies and social services; the dreadful plight of the war-disabled, old-age pensioners and unemployed; the impositions of the Budget; the shame of British lads being forced to shoot down other lads in Korea, Malaya and Egypt; the loss of our national independence to foreign power, and, above all, the appalling horrors which would fall on Britain in the event of a third world war, all these are the grim features of the present position that should sweep away all barriers to the building-up of a mighty united front of struggle which can bring about a transformation in the position at home and abroad.

The Communist Party holds out the hand of sincere friendship and unity to all working people irrespective of their political or religious opinions, so that this great aim can be achieved.

We warn the British people that those who now speak of a "national emergency" and a "national crisis", whether they be Tory, Liberal or right-wing Labour leaders, are

precisely those who by their past, present and contemplated future policies, have brought our country to its present position and sold Britain down the river to the dollar millionaires, those Yankee warmongers whose plan is to send British lads as cannon-fodder in an American-organised war against the Soviet Union and with British cities and large numbers of civilians being wiped out in an atomic war.

Our Congress will not hesitate critically and self-critically to examine weaknesses and mistakes in our work since the last Party Congress, understanding that this will strengthen us for the great fights which are ahead.

We proudly proclaim our faith in the glorious principles of Communism, and our determination to fight harder than ever for the right to expound these principles. We shall not be intimidated by threats, slanders or purges.

We draw renewed strength from the knowledge that what we stand for will yet triumph. This is as certain as night follows the day.

This is why we so confidently ask all members of the Communist Party to ensure that our fight to win support for the policy we are now about to outline shall be accompanied by the most serious efforts to win new members for the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, and new readers for the *Daily Worker*.

## II. THE ECONOMIC POSITION

The signs of the worsened economic position of Britain are self-evident.

Externally they are seen in the extreme sharpening of the adverse balance of trade and the balance of payments crisis. The gravity of the position is leading, not only to difficulties in relation to dollar imports, but to strained relations within the sterling area, many of whose countries are piling up sterling balances in Britain which they are unable to use and are cutting imports from Britain.

Internally, the critical economic situation is seen in the ceaseless rise of prices, the worsening of living standards, and the ruthless cutting of social expenditure. What are the reasons for this situation? The basic cause lies in the crisis of British imperialism, which is a part of the general crisis of the capitalist world. For many decades British economy has been maintained on the basis of world tribute from the colonial and dependent countries. Already before the First World War, nearly one-third of Britain's imports were no longer paid for by exports of goods. The rottenness of this system has been more and more exposed by all that has happened since then..

The general crisis of capitalism, which was ushered in with the First World War, has profoundly weakened the basis of British imperialism; first, by the withdrawal of an increasing sector of the world now extending over one-third, from the orbit of imperialism; second, by the advance of newer imperialisms, especially the increasing domination of American imperialism and its undermining of Britain's economy; third, by the advance of the struggle of the colonial peoples who are fighting to win their freedom and possession of their countries.

Hence, already before the Second World War, British imperialism was revealing a deficit in its balance of payments. This process was accelerated by the effects of the Second World War, with the liquidation of a considerable proportion of Britain's overseas capital, the further restriction of the sphere of imperialism, the advance of the relative strength of American imperialism, and the advance of the colonial peoples' liberation struggle.

All the efforts of the British Government since the war have been directed to

restoring the basis of imperialist economy by increasing exploitation of the colonial peoples and the British workers alike. The volume of tribute from the colonial and dependent peoples has been forced up, and is reflected in the rapid rise of the sterling balances.

The immediate factors leading to the extremely sharpened deterioration of Britain's economic position in the most recent period are clear. First, the huge rearmament programme imposed on Britain and the other countries of Western Europe by the United States. Second, the American stockpiling programme, which has raised the prices of the food and raw materials which Europe buys much faster than the price of manufactured goods which it sells. Third, the American action in pushing down the prices of certain sterling area raw materials, such as tin, rubber and wool, while maintaining the price of dollar materials at a very high level. Fourth, the intensification of the ban on East-West trade.

American imperialism has taken advantage of the weakened position of the British imperialists to launch an offensive against Britain, penetrate into the British Empire, force the devaluation of the pound, press forward the Schuman Plan to menace Britain's steel and coal industries, rebuild West German and Japanese monopoly capitalism under its control, and establish its domination over Britain.

All the Marshall Aid glamour stories have been blown to smithereens, and Britain is worse off than when it started. Part of the price paid was subservience to the U.S. war plans, and the result is £700 million more on armaments this year than in 1949, more than the total Marshall Aid to Britain *in three years*. So Britain pays out more than it got, and this despite the craven acceptance of U.S. occupation.

The rearmament programme is also responsible for the growing distortion in Britain's internal economy. The rise in prices and the reduction in the purchasing power of the working people has led to a severe drop in the sales of such goods as clothing, furniture and radios. As a consequence, unemployment is already a serious problem in the clothing, textile and furniture industries.

The theory that "war means work" is being disproved in practice by this growth in unemployment. The war preparations do not end the contradictions of capitalism, On the contrary, all the internal and external contradictions of world capitalism are sharpening. The expansion of war industry at the expense of the consuming power of the people is leading to ever greater economic difficulties and increasing the danger of a slump in the future,

Wage rates have lagged behind price rises continuously since 1947, and the increases in wages won by the workers since 1951 have not closed the gap. Nor have the overtime working and piece-work and bonus working, to which many workers have resorted, done more than keep pace with the rising cost of living: What has happened is an increase in the number of hours worked a week, an increase in industrial production per worker employed amounting to 29 per cent between 1947 and 1951, and thus a tremendous increase in the exploitation of the workers.

At the same time, in view of the fact that most social security benefits have not been increased since 1947, their real value has fallen by nearly 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent.

Raw material shortages, both of home produced and imported raw materials, are also acutely affecting production in many industries and leading to increased hardships for the people.

But all this does not mean a reduction in profits for the capitalist class. On the contrary, profits have continued to rise and their rise has been far greater in proportion than the rise in wages.

### Capitalist “Remedies”

There is no solution along the line of policy that is being pursued by the Tory Government and was before then taken by the right-wing Labour leaders. Insufficiency of resources for the course on which it is embarked has already compelled British imperialism to sacrifice independence of action on matters of the highest importance, in favour of the U.S. imperialists, with whom an alliance of a very unequal nature is accepted in return for assistance in holding down those whom imperialism exploits.

This unequal alliance with the U.S.A., however, solves nothing. The ruling class makes frantic efforts to overcome the dislocation of the economy, the acute balance of payments problems and the exhaustion of the gold reserves, in which the underlying crisis of British imperialism, accentuated by crippling rearmament, finds recurrent expression at the expense of the working people of Britain and of the colonial and dependent countries. After the short and inconspicuous “recovery” of early 1950, the capitalist class is now talking of “the worst crisis yet”. All this will be repeated as long as decaying British monopoly capitalism exists.

The produce of British industry and agriculture is not sufficient to carry the burden imposed by British imperialist policy.

The Tory Government is determined to make a desperate effort to re-establish the position of British imperialism at the expense of the working class and the colonial peoples.

The new Tory policy intensifies the policy of the Labour Government.

It is more active in effecting price rises. The Budget has directly raised the cost of rationed foods by the drastic cut in food subsidies. The result of cutting the subsidies will mean that for most working-class families the increased cost of food per head will be considerably more than Butler’s forecast of 1s. 6d. In addition, rationed goods will rise in price still further as a result of increases in the cost of both imported and home-produced food, and all unrationed foods will also go up in price as a result of the import cuts. Thus the increased price of food is likely to be several shillings per person per week.

The raising of the bank rate to 4 per cent will also lead to a general all-round rise in prices. Coming on top of the increase in interest rates to local authorities, the increased bank rate will lead to a further rise in interest rates and mean higher rents and rates. In addition the proposals on the Utility Scheme will mean higher prices for the medium and top ranges of utility clothing, footwear etc.

Continuing rising prices in the U.S.A., the intensified rearmament drive, increased indirect taxation and the measures already mentioned, will cause a further rise in prices. The value of wages and the social insurance benefits will continue to decline.

The Tory Government has embarked upon a new monetary policy. The essence of this new policy is restriction of credit.

The underlying objectives are to lower living standards, to weaken the economic position of the working class and to create “pools of unemployment, so that workers are forced into arms and export industries and also to act as a weapon to prevent wage increases.

With rising prices and growing unemployment, and the threat of German and Japanese cheap labour, the capitalists also hope to induce the workers to work longer hours, to accept “payment by result” and so to combine a reduction of real wages with a drive for higher intensity of work.

American imperialism is not at all interested in preserving the strength of British

Imperialism. The inevitable price for new doles from the U.S.A. will be more subservience to American policies that further undermine Britain's economic position, acceptance of U.S. participation in the exploitation of the British Empire, the use of British troops ("aided" by American arms) to put down resistance of the peoples of South-East Asia and Africa for the benefit of U.S. investors with the British Trusts as their junior partners.

### **The Alternative Of The Communist Party**

What is the way out for Britain?

The first and crucial step is to cut arms expenditure. This would immediately make possible a reduction in those imported materials which today are being swallowed up in increasing quantities by armaments production. It would also free valuable engineering capacity and make possible a greater supply of capital goods for export. Cuts in capital expenditure could be immediately restored and a larger and expanding social services programme could be proceeded with at an early date.

A drastic reduction in arms expenditure would make possible a big increase in the housing programme, the building of new schools and hospitals and the expansion of the whole health and education services, increases in social service benefits, a reduction in taxation on the working people, and an all-round reduction in prices.

The second step needed is a vigorous fight for the withdrawal of the Budget and for higher wages for all workers, and a drastic cutting of the vast profits of the employers. Unless the workers fight now to get further wage increases, those sections which have already won some increases will find that the rise in prices will soon make their position worse than before.

The fight for increased wages now is the best way to defeat the plans which will undoubtedly be made to impose a new wage freeze.

Alongside the wages fight, should go the fight to increase all social service benefits, including old age pensions, the pensions of the war disabled and unemployment benefit. The third step needed is a complete break with the present policy of the U.S.A. and the most rapid development of East-West trade, together with the granting of independence to the peoples of the Empire and the development of mutually beneficial trade with them.

Trade with the Soviet Union was of great importance to Britain in the period between the wars, in supplying much-needed goods to Britain and providing a market for some of Britain's principal exports.

In the period 1929-32, during the great world economic slump, the U.S.S.R. was the only country to increase its imports from Britain, doubling its purchases between 1928 and 1932.

In 1932 the Soviet Union took more than 25 per cent of all the basic machinery exported from Britain, and more than 80 per cent of the machine tools. It also supplied 25 per cent of Britain's grain imports, and about 40 per cent of her timber imports.

Today Britain needs trade with the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and China more than ever.

To import from the U.S.A. the quantity of coarse grains we have been getting from the U.S.S.R. would add, more than \$80 million to our dollar deficit every year. Despite the U.S. bans and the hostility of Labour and Tory Governments alike towards the Soviet Union, we are now getting from that country one-fifth of the timber

and a third of the coarse grains which we import.

From Eastern Europe we can obtain considerable quantities of food-stuffs and timber. For example, under the Anglo-Polish trade agreement we are due to receive 150,000 tons of bacon, over 100 million dozen eggs, and timber for 170,000 houses, as well as 10,000 tons of cheese, 17,000 tons of butter, 30,000 tons of poultry and 10,000 tons of tinned meat.

From China we have in the past obtained bristles, silks, oils and dairy produce. In addition, China is able to export, as is shown by her trade agreements with the Soviet Union and countries of Eastern Europe, hides, wolfram, tungsten, lead, mercury, asbestos, antimony and hemp.

These countries particularly need engineering goods from Britain. They are all engaged in the most rapid building of their industry and agriculture and in great construction projects.

Of China, for example, the *Survey of European Engineering Industry* (United Nations, April 1951) said: "A great and growing opportunity may possibly be opened for the engineering industry of Western Europe". Of Europe, the Secretary of the U.S. Economic Commission for Europe, Gunnar Myrdal, pointed out in May 1950:

"The realisation of the extensive plans of economic development in the countries of Eastern Europe on the one hand, and the existence of serious difficulties of payments in the West European countries on the other, create rich potential opportunities for the development of mutual trade."

The strength of the people must be used to force the Government to extend vastly our trade with the East.

The statements of leaders of the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies have made clear that a genuine approach by the Government aimed at extending East-West trade and concluding trade agreements would meet with an immediate response from them.

Such a policy could bring an end to the rapid deterioration in the people's standards which is now beginning.

The working class must resist every attempt to solve the crisis of British imperialism at the expense of the working people of Britain and the Empire, and, in alliance with the colonial peoples, fight for the ultimate defeat of British imperialism.

The fundamental solution of Britain's problems demands the end of the ownership of Britain's resources by a tiny minority of capitalists, the complete reorganisation of British industry, the nationalisation of all key industrial undertakings, and the complete breaking of the power of the monopoly capitalists in industry and finance.

### **III. THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE**

Our Congress must sound the sharpest note of warning to the people of Britain about the danger of war.

The scale and character of the war preparations which the, American imperialists and their associates are carrying forward far surpass many times even those of Hitler in the, period immediately before the Second World War, and we have not yet succeeded in mobilising all our members to take an active part in the fight for peace.

The growing strength of the world forces for peace does not mean that the imperialists cease their preparations for war. On the contrary, they speed them up and intensify them, in the endeavour to launch new acts of aggression before the peace movement becomes so strong as to make it impossible.

The recent actions of the imperialists have shown how serious the danger is. In Korea the Americans have sabotaged the truce talks for months, and are now using bacteriological warfare; while prominent American statesmen like Toft, Stassen and John Foster Dulles openly call for the extension of the war against China. At the same time the rearmament of the Japanese fascists is under way.

In Europe the Lisbon meetings of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation set the aim of fifty divisions in Europe this year, and 100 by 1954, and imposed new rearmament burdens on the countries of Western Europe.

The Americans are frantically trying to push their plans through for a Western German Army and Air Force, which, it is openly stated, would have in the immediate future nearly 400,000 men, 1,500 fighters, and light bombers, and 2,750 tanks. In other words, it is proposed to place in the hands of Western German imperialism a stronger force than that which was used to invade France and the Low Countries in 1940.

The aim of all these American actions and plans was expressed clearly by General Eisenhower when, early in November 1951 (according to the *Christian Science Monitor*), he told President Truman that "the essential military decision is for the United States and its allies to act as if war were inevitable in 1952".

The lesson for all patriots and lovers of peace in Britain is clear; it is necessary to arouse the people to an understanding of the terrible danger in which the policy of British Governments since 1945 has placed them, and strengthen enormously the people's fight for peace.

We are confident that if this is done, the wars now being waged can be ended and a third world war prevented.

For while the warm angers are speeding up their preparations, it is also true that over the past period there has been a tremendous increase in the power of the world forces which fight for peace.

### **The Fight For Peace**

At the head of the mighty peace camp stands the Soviet Union, which is daily giving new proofs to the world that its one desire is to maintain world peace. No honest person who looks at the record can believe any longer the slander that the Soviet Union wants war. It was the Soviet Union which fought in the Conference of Foreign Ministers' Deputies a long battle for the solution of the German problem in conformity with the Potsdam Agreement, and for the establishment of a united, independent, democratic and peace-loving Germany, and which continues that fight today, as witnessed in the important new proposals it has made for a peace treaty with Germany. It was Mr. Malik, on behalf of the Soviet Union, who proposed a cease-fire in Korea last June. The Soviet Union has given its full support to the demand made by hundreds of millions throughout the world for the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact. Mr. Vyshinsky's fight in the United Nations General Assembly for the banning of the atom bomb and a genuine plan for disarmament opened the eyes of new millions, exposed the hypocrisy and falsity of the American pretence to be in favour of disarmament, and showed the sincerity and consistency of the stand taken by the Soviet Union.

The fact that the Soviet Union has no interest in fomenting a new war is also strikingly demonstrated by the gigantic advances being made in every sphere of Soviet life and in the character of its Budget, in this period of the transition from

Socialism to Communism.

The heroic fight of the Korean people and the Chinese volunteers has also been an immense contribution to the cause of peace and a check to the insane aggressive aims of American imperialism.

While assisting the Korean people in their just struggle, the great Chinese people, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party, have, since the Chinese People's Republic was established in October 1949, made astounding advances in the reconstruction of their vast country.

The People's Democracies, with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, have continued their work of transforming their countries from some of the most backward in Europe into highly industrialised advanced States, which will soon reach and surpass the level of the West European countries.

At the same time, warned by the fate of Yugoslavia, where the Tito regime is now revealed for all to see as the semi-colony and slavish satellite of Wall Street, the People's Democracies have rid themselves of many of the agents, spies and traitors which American and British imperialism infiltrated into their countries.

When to these developments are added the achievements of the German Democratic Republic, the fight of the German people against rearmament, the strength of the movement for peace and against American domination in France and Italy, expressed especially in the elections of 1951, and the powerful growth in the liberation movements in the colonies, the Middle East, the Near East and North Africa, it is abundantly clear that the forces of peace are far stronger than the forces of war.

The co-ordination and development of the great peace forces of the world is led by the World Peace Council, which, representing the will and desires of the great majority of mankind, has initiated and carried through world-wide campaigns which have had a profound effect.

The 500 million signatories obtained to the Stockholm Appeal, and the 596 million obtained so far to the Appeal for a Five-Power Pact of Peace, are an expression of humanity's determination to impose peace on the warmongers unparalleled in the previous history of mankind.

### **The Contradictions In The War Camp**

The contradictions within the camp of the warmongers are becoming increasingly sharp. It is no exaggeration to say that the relations between the Atlantic Pact Powers have reached the stage of crisis. The rearmament programmes which the Americans insist on and which they demand that every West European country should increase, weaken the economies of the American satellites and increase the unbalance between America and the rest of the capitalist world. The building up of West Germany and Japan causes even reactionary and capitalist circles in Europe and Asia to fear both the economic consequences and the danger to national interests which such a policy represents.

Whereas a year ago only the extreme Left were warning of the danger that American policy would lead to a third world war, now very wide circles are openly expressing the gravest concern lest the Americans should precipitate a conflict.

The deepest contradiction within the Atlantic War Alliance is that between Britain and the United States.

After the Second World War, instead of learning from their experiences with Hitler of the fatal consequences to Britain of pursuing an anti-Soviet policy, the British

imperialists continued with such a policy. The Labour Government, carrying out the policy of British imperialism and following the path marked out by Churchill's Fulton speech in 1946, calculated that it could do a deal with American imperialism, secure American help in holding down the colonies, incorporate Western Europe in the area dominated by British imperialism, and prepare, in association with the United States, for aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

### **The Bankruptcy Of British Policy**

These plans have ended in complete and ignominious failure, for they resulted not in a "partnership" with the United States, but complete capitulation to the stronger American imperialism. The powerful and ruthless American imperialists took advantage of this criminal policy of the Labour and Tory leaders to intensify and speed up American penetration into all British spheres of influence, to invade the British Empire, establish American bases in the colonies and the Dominions, and turn Britain itself into an advance atomic base.

Twenty thousand American troops occupy our country, and the Americans propose to double the nineteen bases they have already established in Britain. They do not even pay for the upkeep of these bases, but force Britain to pay half.

American generals and admirals are placed in command of British armed forces. The American militarists openly calculate on using our lads as cannon-fodder in the war they are preparing. No major decision on policy is taken by the British Government without the agreement of the United States. American methods are introduced into the trade union movement, the attack on civil liberties goes forward under American inspiration, and British culture is threatened by the inroads being made in Britain by the decadent and degenerate character of American literature and films.

This whole disastrous policy has already led to the loss of our political, military and economic independence. If continued it will mean the destruction of our country in a third world war.

Britain can be great, strong and independent once the American shackles are broken and friendly relations established with all peace-loving countries.

If Britain pursued an independent foreign policy, aimed at preserving the peace of the world, then alongside the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and People's China, it would represent such a force that it would be impossible for the American war plans to be carried through.

We take our stand on the principle of the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the capitalist and socialist systems.

The leaders of the Soviet Union have always based their policy on the possibility and necessity of peaceful co-operation between the capitalist and socialist nations. Their view was expressed by Stalin in his letter to Henry Wallace in May 1948:

"The Government of the U.S.S.R. believes that, despite the differences in economic systems and ideologies, the co-existence of these systems and the peaceful settlement of differences between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are not only possible but absolutely necessary in the interests of universal peace."

It is the working people whose united fight, will alone ensure that this possibility is made a reality.

### **The Fight For Peace In Britain**

It is this that places on us so great a responsibility in developing the fight for peace in Britain.

Very important developments in the peace movement have taken place in the recent period. The signature campaign for the Stockholm Appeal, launched by the British Peace Committee, resulted in 1,300,000 signatures, and in an immense amount of propaganda being carried out on the doorsteps, in the factories and at meetings which changed the attitude of great numbers of people, and was responsible for many of the developments which followed.

The campaign for the Second World Peace Congress, which was to have been held in Sheffield, further earned forward the fight for peace.

The great upsurge of public opinion in November 1950 against the threat to use the atom bomb in Korea and extend the war against China which resulted in Attlee flying to Washington, was a strong demonstration of the growing awakening of the people.

The signature campaign for the Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact has also achieved an impressive total of signatures, and every experience has shown an even greater readiness to sign on the part of the people than at the time of the Stockholm Appeal.

Within the Labour Movement the feeling for peace and the opposition to the Labour Government's policy were expressed in the large number of critical resolutions put down for the last Labour Party Conference, and in the discussion and voting at the last Trades Union Congress.

Important actions for peace have also been undertaken by such bodies as the British Soviet Friendship Society, the Britain-China Friendship Association, the Peace With China Council, the National Peace Council, the Society of Friends; and a number of organisations and professional and religious groupings working for peace have been established.

Above all, it was in the General Election that the people made clear their desire for peace, and in spite of the intention of the Labour and Tory leaders to maintain a conspiracy of silence on foreign affairs the electors forced peace to the forefront as the central issue of the election.

We should draw some important lessons from these experiences in the fight for peace.

Firstly, and most important, *we are still underestimating the desire of the peoples for peace and their readiness to fight for it.* Otherwise we would not be continually surprised by the response to petitions, or at the kind of development I have referred to in connection with the General Election.

Secondly, *there is still a failure to understand what is meant when it is said that "peace is the central task".* We have often failed to link all the many issues affecting the people, on which our Party is active, with the fight for peace. This has been especially a serious weakness in connection with the Appeal for a Five-Power Pact of Peace.

Thirdly, we need to conduct a continuous fight against the two dangers of *underestimating the war danger, and a fatalist attitude to the question of war.* Both these errors lead to passivity in the fight for peace, and both must be strongly combated.

Fourthly, the greatest weakness of the peace movement in Britain is *its lack of roots in industry and in the factories.*

The entire Party must face this fact and the challenge that it represents. We Communists have a very heavy responsibility for allowing this to continue without the most serious efforts being made to overcome it, and to eliminate it:

The fact must be faced that on the central task, the fight for peace, we are not conducting an offensive battle in industry.

It is true that on a number of issues—the Butler cuts, the Budget, wages and other economic and social questions—many of our comrades, indeed the Party generally, in factories and workshops conducts an offensive battle with, in many instances, really magnificent struggles being fought for action in defence of living standards. And we want such campaigning to be developed and extended in every possible way, and at every opportunity.

But around the principal issue facing the British people—peace and the Five-Power Appeal—there should be no dubiety about the fact that we are not conducting a general offensive battle in industry.

From this Congress there must be a rapid and radical change. We cannot afford any longer to regard the fight for peace, and the building of the peace movement, as being of less than first and decisive importance throughout the great industries of Britain, wherein are gathered the millions of workers whose united strength and power organised and exerted in support of a real peace policy can ensure victory for a secure and prosperous future.

All the resources of the Party must be mobilised to ensure that we fight our way out of the present situation. A great campaign must be immediately organised and carried through by the Party Centre, every district and branch, to ensure that the issues of the fight for peace and the policy for victory are presented to the workers in industry on a mass, popular scale far surpassing the best that we have yet been able to do.

Fifthly, our Party members give far too little assistance in the efforts being made by the British Peace Committee and the local Peace Committees *to strengthen the organisation of the peace movement*.

Sixthly, we could do great deal more than we are doing to assist in the *further development of the great propaganda campaign already begun by the peace movement*, so that there is not a town, village or factory in Britain where meetings are not held and the literature of the peace movement sold.

If in all these ways we correct our past weaknesses, and in all our work for peace make the greatest efforts to develop unity of action with the members and organisations of the Labour movement, we can be confident that such a mighty movement for peace will be developed in Britain that neither this nor any other government will be able to continue with policies of war and national betrayal.

The fight for peace and the fight for Socialism are indivisible. To the extent that the people gather their forces to halt the plans of the warmongers, they will also strengthen themselves for the fight to end the capitalist system and finally put an end to the causes of war.

The aim we set of the winning of political power by the working people is based on a perspective of peace, not war. The maintenance of world peace creates the most favourable conditions for the people to advance in the speediest way to the ending of capitalist class rule and the establishment of people's power.

The Communist Party puts the defence of peace as its most urgent and noble task. We speak for all those people who treasure the maintenance of peace as the apple of their eye, who want to live their lives without ever again having to hear the wail of a siren; who want their children never again to have to be evacuated from their homes because of death being rained from the skies; and who have no quarrels with their fellow workers in any country in the world.

We speak for all those who want a Britain, free, strong and independent, subservient

and subordinate to no other country in the world.

#### IV. UNITY WITH THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

The fight for peace and the national independence of the British people cannot be separated from the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples of the British Empire for national liberation. Unity of the peoples in the Empire against the unholy alliance of American imperialism and British imperialism is the essential means to win a common victory for national independence and for peace.

The wars now being waged are wars of imperialist aggression against Asiatic peoples—in Korea, Viet Nam and Malaya, as well as the undeclared war against Egypt. Already they contain the seeds of a new world war. They can only be ended on the basis of full withdrawal of armed invading forces and occupation forces and the recognition of the independence and equal rights of all peoples who are fighting for their freedom.

The heroic liberation struggle of the peoples of Korea, Malaya, South-East Asia and the Middle East is a powerful factor in the fight for world peace.

In their greed and lust for power the Yankee imperialists are not satisfied with the domination of Britain and Western Europe. They aim to secure new war bases in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. They seek to capture Britain's foreign markets. They push forward with bigger financial investments in the British colonies and semi-colonies. They strive to extract bigger super-profits from the exploitation of the colonial peoples, reserving for British imperialism the function of applying more devilish methods of armed suppression (as in Malaya) or phoney constitutions to deceive the colonial peoples (as in Africa).

The Tories and right-wing Labour leaders, in their betrayal of Britain's national independence, have become junior partners in the alliance with their Yankee foreign masters to increase the exploitation of the colonial peoples and to crush their resistance.

#### The Crisis Of British Imperialism

Britain's present crisis springs from the crisis of imperialism and the breakdown of its colonial system. In his classic analysis, *Imperialism*, Lenin revealed that during the period of its expansion, imperialism was able to devote part of its super-profits to bribe the workers and provide a basis for reformism.

This system of sharing in the loot of Empire was never in the true interests of the working class. For the mass of the workers it brought only the strengthening of the bonds of capitalist domination the arrested development of industry and agriculture in Britain, and the toll of heavy taxation and wars. But today a stage has been reached when the ever-rising cost of armaments and colonial wars is reversing the machinery of social concessions and bringing instead ever-increasing cuts, burdens and sacrifices. This is brought out in Comrade Dutt's *Britain's Crisis of Empire* in these words:

"Whereas previously social democracy could claim that its Empire policy brought results in the shape of social concessions to sections of the workers, the reverse is now the case. The prosecution of the imperialist policy requires cuts at the expense of the working class."

Malaya gives striking proof of this new process. Alongside all the violent measures of repression, the rubber planters and the owners of tin mines are doing well for themselves. Last year the Southern Malaya Company doubled its profits, the Bekeh Consolidated Rubber Estates Ltd. increased its profits five times, and the Merlimau Pegoh Ltd., six times.

These huge profits go to the few rich parasites in Britain. But it is the British people who have to bear the cost of armed aggression in Malaya to extract super-profits, and pay for it by cuts in living standards. Even Churchill admits that £50 million a year is now being spent in this terrible war in Malaya.

Nor do the loudly-advertised schemes of so-called economic aid change the basic process of imperialist exploitation and retarding of industrial development in the colonies. On the contrary, their aim and practical effect is to intensify the exploitation of the colonial peoples and to provide strategic bases as part of the imperialist war plans.

This intensive exploitation is shown in the sterling balances of the colonies, which increased from £510 million in 1947 to £908 million in 1951, and represents goods extracted from the colonies with no current payment.

Once there is an end to the robbery and suppression of the colonies, their vast resources and favourable balances can be devoted to building a balanced economy which can provide a steadily rising standard of life for the people, and at the same time provide a basis for mutual trading relations to the common benefit of the British people and the peoples of the colonies.

### **The Movement For National Liberation**

The biggest obstacle to the increased exploitation and the carrying through of war plans in the colonial countries is the growing movement for colonial and national liberation. This great struggle for national independence, peace and freedom, which has reached its highest point in Korea, Viet Nam and Malaya, has stimulated the oppressed, people in all parts of the world. It gives a new inspiration to the national movement in Iran, which takes a firm stand against the impudent demands of the British Government and the oil kings. It gives new strength to the great mass movement in Egypt and the Sudan, which is determined to end for ever the domination of British imperialism in the Nile Valley.

Even within the limits of the undemocratic constitutions which the imperialists have established in order to counter the demand for full independence, recent elections in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria have expressed the passionate desire of the African people to manage their own affairs. It is also revealed in the opposition to the reactionary Central African Federation plan, the demand of the Bamangwato for the return of Seretse, the resistance to racial discrimination in South Africa, and in the growth of the national movement in all parts of Africa.

The alliance of imperialism and Indian reaction has not damped down the popular movement. The Indian people are becoming aware that the Mountbatten settlement is a pretence of real independence which can no longer hide the actual exploitation and oppression of the masses. The united struggle of the workers and peasants is reaching a new stage, with increasing united action of the trade unions and is leading the way to the development of a broad, democratic front for India's liberation.

## **Our Responsibility In Britain**

We cannot avoid the heavy responsibility of the British people in this common fight for national independence.

Too long has the use of armed violence by British imperialism against other nations gone on without a serious challenge from the British Labour movement. Too long has the hypocrisy and cant about assisting backward territories and people been allowed to hide the actual process of increased exploitation and armed aggression.

We have been too slow in responding to the heroic struggle of the peoples for national and colonial liberation. And it is expressed most sharply in the low level of activity in the Labour movement against the infamous war in Malaya. There can be no advance in Britain towards peace, national independence and Socialism without unity with the colonial peoples.

The colonial peoples are fellow fighters, who stand in the forefront of the great battles against the common enemy. They serve the interests of the British people no less than their own. Their dauntless courage and heroism, their sacrifice and determination put us all to shame. We in Britain are in danger of losing our national independence, while the colonial people are fighting to achieve it. It is only our common struggle that can win a united victory on the basis of national independence and equal rights, and lead to a new fraternal association when victory is won.

This demands a serious political turn in all our activity so that this united fight reaches a new and higher level. It demands greater political conviction on the challenge that now confronts it. It is our political duty, and a condition of our own successful struggle, to unite with the colonial cause, and to assist the colonial peoples in every way to carry forward their heroic struggle.

If we play our part in Britain there is nothing that can prevent this great advance of the liberation movement throughout the world.

## **V. HOW TO DEFEAT TORIES**

### **Our Main Task**

From what we have already said, it is clear that our Party is faced with great responsibilities, and we shall discharge them successfully only if we understand and realise the character of the powerful enemies we are up against.

The main enemy of the working class is the capitalist class, and its principal agent, the Tory Party. This is the political party of monopoly capitalism, which controls the main industries in which the workers are robbed of the full fruits of their labour; the main instruments of propaganda which hourly and daily disseminate falsehoods and distortions of the facts in the endeavour to warp the better judgment of the people, and whose representatives under either Labour or Tory Governments always occupy all the leading positions in the armed forces and Civil Service.

The Tory Party, as all its past history so abundantly proves, will stop at nothing to preserve its system of rent, interest and profit to enable a handful of exploiters, rentiers and parasites to live in idleness and luxury at the expense of the vast majority of working people.

To defeat the Tory Party at every stage of its efforts to impose its reactionary policy

on the people is Priority Number One for the Communist Party.

We repudiate the defeatism and treachery of the Attlees and Morrisons in their advice to the Labour Movement that its attitude towards the Tory Government should be, "Be quiet—don't fight against the Tories now—give them enough rope to hang themselves".

We denounce the shameful declaration of the General Council of the T.U.C. that it would work amicably with this Tory Government. There can be nothing in common between the working class and its hated traditional Tory enemies.

Disunity is a gift to the Tories. To the degree the working class is split and divided, the Tories are strengthened. They can keep in power only to the extent that we are divided. That is why we Communists work night and day to help achieve the maximum possible unity between all those in the Labour movement and outside it who have common aims.

### **Our Immediate Aim**

The deep and serious alarm now being experienced throughout the Labour movement at the increasing attacks on their standard of living, and the rapidity with which Britain is being dragged along the American path to war, is one of the outstanding features of the present situation.

But alarm, concern and anxiety of themselves cannot produce the vital changes which are necessary if the British people are to be saved from disaster. Nor will the solution be found merely in Parliamentary revolts against the size of rearmament, for everything depends on building the organised movement in the pits and factories against the Tory policy as a whole.

The burning need of these times is to organise now the largest possible sections of the Labour movement, and especially the rank and file members of the Labour Party and trade unions, into a united mass movement, with its main base in the factories and pits, docks and transport, and the local organisations of the Labour movement.

In this manner alone can the united strength of the whole working class be exerted inside and outside of Parliament, around a series of positive immediate demands so that it becomes impossible for the Tories to carry out their policy, and forces a new General Election. At the last General Election the slogan in every factory was "Keep the Tories Out". Today it is "Get the Tories Out Now"—and this can be achieved.

Because of the serious character of the whole situation, and the mass opposition to the policy of the Tories that is already to be seen, County and Borough Council elections this year have a special significance.

They give opportunities for developing on a local and county scale, and in accordance with the local conditions and the demands of the working people, forms of united action that can inflict a salutary defeat on the open Tory candidates, and their stooges disguised as "Independents".

The Borough and County Councils have the responsibility of carrying out the reactionary legislation of the Tory Government, and the more Councils that can be elected to fight against such reactionary legislation the stronger becomes the mass basis for defeating the Tories at the next General Election.

The powerful mass movement already rising can be developed to great new heights in a united struggle against the Tories, that can make its influence felt inside the Labour Party and help bring about serious changes in its policy and leadership.

It will be the aim of this mass movement not only to defend successfully the living

standards of the working people, but, gaining strength from this, to ensure the crushing defeat of the Tories at the next General Election, and the return of a Labour Government which would be compelled to carry through an entirely new policy.

We suggest this policy should be based upon the following measures:

1. The withdrawal of all cuts in the social services, restoration of cuts in food subsidies; wage increases to meet the rise in the cost of living, and increased benefits for the unemployed, old-aged and war disabled.
2. The development of East-West trade.
3. The reduction of armaments.
4. The signing of a Five-Power Peace Pact.
5. Withdrawal of British troops from Korea, Malaya and Egypt.
6. Throwing off America's domination of Britain.

We are confident that such aims will command the support of decisive sections of the Labour movement as a whole.

If all the members and various groups within the Labour movement who are profoundly dissatisfied with the whole policy of the Tory Government and the right-wing Labour leaders now got together to try and reach agreement on a programme of immediate demands, and then organise a nation-wide united campaign to achieve them, it could completely transform the political situation in Britain.

It is not a question of working out a programme that suits only some particular section or grouping in the Labour movement, but the policy to save Britain from disaster on which unity can be reached.

This is one of the most urgent tasks before every section of the Labour movement, and one that should succeed in getting all sectional and personal interests put on one side in order to secure the greatest good for the greatest number of Britain's working people.

### **Unity Is Possible**

Even before the present sharp increases in the cost of living, slashing of the social services, increasing unemployment in the light industries, the still greater increase in the cost of living and unemployment that are inevitable because of Butler's Budget, and growing threats of Britain being involved in new military adventures in China and South-East Asia, there was already a growing ferment inside the Labour movement.

It manifested itself at the last Trades Union Congress, in the agenda of the last Labour Party Conference, and in the election of the Constituency Labour Party representatives to the National Executive Committee.

It is to be seen in the strikes and token stoppages constantly breaking out, especially among the miners, in the magnificent united actions of the workers in Glasgow against the proposal to sell houses and not to rent them; in the actions of the workers in Tilbury and Dagenham in support of the Bata workers; the march of London's building trade workers in support of their demand for a wage increase of sixpence per hour, the splendid solidarity actions of the Fire Brigades Union, despite the use of the State machine against them, in the growing support for a Five-Power Peace Pact, and in the growing protests and demonstrations against the raising of fares, reductions in the Social Services and Butler's Budget.

The desire to fight back is also strikingly seen in the actions of women workers and housewives on all issues affecting the cost of living, wages, equal pay, the defence of the children, the remarkable response to the National Women's Assembly, and the

defence of peace. Among young people it is to be seen in their struggle for better conditions, in the engineering apprentices' strike for the pound a week advance in wages, against militarisation, and for the unity of the youth of the world against war." The discontent of the rank and file of the Labour Party, trade unions and co-operative movement is being publicly expressed in the character of the resolutions now appearing on the agendas of annual conferences of these organisations. Those to be found in the conference agendas of the trade unions, the Co-operative Party and Co-operative Women's Guild are already significant evidence of this. We are confident the same tendencies will be expressed in the agendas of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party.

Before making a series of suggestions as to the best way in which the Communist Party can endeavour to build up united action alongside members of the Labour Party, trade unions and co-operative organisations, we think it essential to state openly that any decisive successes in this direction depend above all else on the work and organisations of the Communist Party in the factories.

Experience proves that wherever there is a live and vigorous movement manifesting itself in any locality, it is because the most intense activity is carried on in the factories in that area by the members of the Communist Party, and where we have strong and active factory branches.

Experience also proves that where the trade union branches fight best on wage issues and factory conditions, where the branch meetings are well attended, where they decide on resolutions and deputations to the local authorities or Members of Parliament on such questions as rents, fares, education, the Five-Power Peace Pact, there you will find we have the best factory branches.

Where local Labour Party branches are the most active, the delegates to them from the trade unions the most militant, there you will find it is because of the activity carried on in the factories, pits, depots, docks and offices.

This is why at the very heart of the problem of how to build up the united front of struggle against the policy of the Tory Government and right-wing Labour leaders lies the basic issue of improving and strengthening our work and organisation in every place of work where we have members of the Communist Party.

### **A New Approach To Labour Party Members**

Let every Communist Party branch approach the local Labour Party branch now to find out how we can jointly work against the Tory attacks, against the sale of houses for rent, evictions, cuts in the social services and food subsidies, German rearmament, short-time working, growing unemployment, and for a reduction of armaments and a real policy of peace.

In the factories and other places of work, workers of all political opinions confront the employing class in defence of their common interests. Here the activity of Communists, in close association with the Labour members and others, has to be directed to strengthening the fighting spirit and solidarity of the workers in the struggle to defend and advance the wages and conditions of every section of the workers.

It means also bringing to our fellow workers the class outlook that only Communists can give, by political education that links the struggles in the factories with the fight against the war policy of the Tories and right-wing Labour leaders, and shows the need to end capitalist rule and replace it with people's democracy.

The struggle in the factories will be reflected in the trade union branches, which will more and more express the growing militant unity and class outlook of their members in the factories. The trade union branches in turn will express it in the election of officials and of delegates to their union conferences, of delegates to Labour Parties and trades councils, and the nomination and selection of candidates for local and parliamentary elections. Communists should everywhere be working with the Labour Party and non-Party members of their trade union branches, in order to help them in choosing for these positions the most militant and class-conscious members of the branch, and in putting forward a working-class policy on all issues, as opposed to the collaboration policy of the right-wing trade union and Labour leaders.

The members of our Party should be working with members of the Labour Party to ensure that their trade union branches are affiliated to their local Labour Parties, that militant delegates are sent and attend regularly, and that those delegates are mandated on all important issues.

There is another aspect of the democratic rights of trade unionists on which our comrades should be working alongside their fellow trade unionists who desire a change in Labour Party policy.

At present, owing to the splitting decisions taken by the labour Party under the influence of the right-wing leaders, trade unionists who are members of the Communist Party (although they pay the political levy) are not accepted by Labour Parties as delegates from trade union branches nor may they be nominated as Labour candidates, local or Parliamentary. This refusal of democratic rights to certain trade unionists is a violation of working-class principle which has weakened the fight for working-class policy. It is in the interests of all trade unionists to insist on the reversal of this decision, so that they can send forward as delegates to Labour Parties those members who, in their opinion, can best represent the interests and outlook of their branch members.

Similarly, Communist members of trade unions, since they pay the political levy, should have the same right as their fellow members to (be nominated for trade union Parliamentary panels, and to receive support from their union at elections, if the membership of the union consider them the best representatives of their interests.

At the same time, our comrades must also help the Labour Party individual members to reach and express the class policy on which the future of the Labour movement depends. For the time being, the splitting policy of the right-wing leaders prevents us from being affiliated to the Labour Party and thus working alongside these comrades in the Labour Party itself. But life itself provides many opportunities for working alongside them, and once we have the conviction that it is essential to the future of the Labour movement we work together, we can find the way.

Every aspect of the developing situation is justifying by bitter experience the correctness of the analysis of the position made by the Communist Party and the policies it has advanced to meet it.

This undeniable fact can be used to help break down the prejudices that still exist in the minds of rank-and-file members of the Labour Party against working with Communists, because of the lies and slanders levelled against them by the right-wing Labour leaders. It is being increasingly noticed, however, by the rank and file of the Labour Party, that when any opposition is offered to the policy of the right-wing Labour leaders by members of the Labour Party inside or outside of Parliament, then exactly the same methods are applied against such people as have been used against the Communists.

It is above all our own work in the factories, in the organisations, and in the localities that will determine how rapidly united action on a mass scale develops. And in order to hasten it forward, alongside the initiative and public activity of the Party, we need to establish and maintain personal contacts with individual members of the Labour Party, both officials and rank and file. We must discuss with them how our joint problems can be solved, in what way questions can be raised, and what forms of action should be proposed.

### **Trade Unionists And The Struggle**

Today there are millions of trade unionists who have never experienced the hard class battles their parents went through, and who have grown up in a period when the most systematic efforts are being made by the right-wing Labour leaders to try to prove that “the old functions of the trade unions are now out of date”.

It is necessary to teach these young trade unionists what these “old functions of the trade unions” were. They were to defend at every point the working and living conditions of their members; constantly to use their power to improve these conditions; to go further and further along the road of trade union unity and amalgamation, and, practice the historic watchwords of trade unionism: “United We Stand—Divided We Fall”; “An Injury to One is an Injury to All”.

The trade unions were born out of the struggles of the working class against their employers. The old pioneers of trade unionism fought, suffered were victimised and died in their efforts to organise the unorganised. They knew from bitter experience that there was nothing in common between those who transported them to Botany Bay and themselves. They knew it was not their job to try and teach the boss how to run his business better than he could do it himself. They were of the working class and lived and endured the hardships of working-class life.

It is time to get back to these vital truths, especially at a time when the right-wing trade union leaders ceaselessly peddle their theories of class collaboration, try to prevent the workers using their industrial power to win their demands in conditions which are most favourable for them to do so. When the boot has been on the other foot, the employers have shown what they do with their power.

The workers have no interest in trying to teach managements how to run the job, or going on tours to be taught how to increase the exploitation of labour and how to increase the surplus value of the capitalist class.

It is high time that the rank and file of the trade union movement forced their leaders either to change their present reactionary policies, or get rid of them to make way for leaders who know what the true functions of trade unionism are, and will guarantee that they are carried out.

There is a great gulf between the conditions of the majority of trade union leaders and their own members, as there is also a great difference between being sent to Botany Bay for fighting the bosses, and being summoned to Buckingham Palace to receive “honours” for serving the bosses so well.

A growing recognition is now developing that it is time for new policies and battles against the capitalists and their Tory Government. A new spirit is beginning to sweep through the mines, mills, factories and fields, as is seen in the magnificent political activity carried out by the trade unionists to prevent the return of a Tory Government. It can be harnessed to pull still greater weight and influence in the coming class

struggles for higher wages and peace.

The trade unions possessing the support of the key sections of the working class, with the invincible power in the workshops and industry to make their will prevail, have the key role in the present situation to lead the fight against the Tory offensive and bring down the Government.

The rank-and-file trade unionists will repudiate with indignation the suggestions being made to them by certain Labour leaders, both on the industrial and on the political sides of the Labour movement, that they should not use their industrial power to bring about changes in the policy of the Tory Government on the ground that "this is a Parliamentary matter which can be left in the hands of the Parliamentary Labour Party".

Apart from the fact that the principal problems which the trade unionists are having to face at the present time spring from the previous reactionary policies of the Labour Government, the trade unions exist to protect the living standards of their members. Therefore, if a Tory Government introduces measures and budgets which still further increase the cost of living, or increase the danger of war, it is the solemn duty of all trade unionists to fight with every means in their power to prevent such policies being carried out.

The more powerful and united such industrial action becomes, the more united and powerful does the whole political struggle against the Tories become, thus laying an impregnable foundation for defending the conditions of the trade unionists in the immediate situation, and for the decisive defeat of the Tories at the next General Election.

Some of the proudest pages in the history of British trade unionism are those where industrial action was resorted to for what were described as "political objectives": for instance, the actions in 1914 in defence of the South African trade union leaders who were deported to Britain; in the great rent strikes organised in Glasgow by the trade unionists in 1915; in the action of the London dockers in 1920 in refusing to load munitions on the *Jolly George*, which not only stopped a war on Russia at that time, but in the words of both Churchill and the late Lloyd George: "completely transformed the entire international situation"; and in defence of the miners in the General Strike of 1926. These are the traditions which need to be recalled and emulated in the present fight against the whole policy of the Tory Government, and its efforts to find a way out of the economic crisis at the expense of the working class and their families.

Trade unionists, when they hear the advice: "Leave political matters to the Parliamentary Labour Party" will know from bitter experience that the employers never "leave it to the Tory Party or Government" when they decide the moment is favourable for them to attack the workers.

In every attack they make upon trade unionists, the employers rely on the full backing both of the Tory Party and its representatives in Parliament. They know full well they will never be repudiated by Churchill, Butler and Eden, but on the contrary, what they do against the workers is with the full approval of the Tory Party and its Government.

It is a fact that since the formation of the Tory Government, the employers have been attacking workers' conditions all along the line especially in the way they are using short time and unemployment to dismiss shop stewards who are the most trusted representatives of the trade unionists on the job. It is more than time that the whole trade union movement was engaged in a great united counter-offensive both against the employers and the Tory Government.

It has not escaped notice that those Labour leaders most opposed to trade unionists using their industrial power to secure their demands are those most responsible for the Tories being in power.

The truth of the matter is quite simple. The stronger the fight inside and outside the workshops becomes, the stronger can become the fight of all those in the Parliamentary Labour Party who are genuinely desirous of opposing the reactionary policies of their own leaders as well as of the Tory Government.

### **More Rank And File Control**

Despite the important wage increases that have been gained, the fact remains that wages are lagging behind the rapidly rising prices. The distortion of our economy by rearmament has created serious problems of unemployment and under-employment in textiles, clothing, furniture, boot and shoe and the tobacco industries.

The right-wing leaders who have got temporary control of the powerful British trade union movement endeavour to adopt policies of class collaboration not only in their general relations with the Tory Government, but also when, as a result of pressure of the rank and file, they are involved in negotiations with the employers on wages and conditions.

They develop the practice of closed-door negotiations and secrecy, and sometimes even on the character of the claim they are submitting, right up until decisions are reached by trade union executive committees. They deliberately discourage actions that would rouse the militancy of the workers and develop mass support that could win the workers' full demands. Instead, they often go out of their way to whittle down demands or make concessions to protect the employers' profits.

When recommendations on wage claims have been reached, the right-wing union leaders submit them to hurriedly convened delegate conferences, often without giving the rank and file the chance to exercise their democratic rights of consultation and decision. No wage agreements should be reached without adequate rank-and-file consideration and decision.

In the fight to increase wages and protect hard-won gains in working conditions, there needs to be the maximum reporting back to members and full democratic rights for the branches and lodges in determining each issue. The guarantee of this, of course, is maximum activity in the factories and pits reflecting itself in a vastly improved local trade union branch life, into which the majority of its members are drawn to participate with conviction and enthusiasm.

### **Shop Committees And Shop Stewards**

Never was the importance of the strongest organisation of the workers' forces in the factories so essential as at the present time. This is why, alongside the campaign for 100 per cent trade unionism, should go the formation of elected shop committees and shop stewards. But with this should go the determination of the workers to fully support and defend those they elect to carry out their serious and onerous duties.

With the employers and Tory Government's growing offensive against the living conditions of the workers, and the new problems being created by shortages of raw materials, short-time working and unemployment, it is in the factories where their effects are first manifested, and where the workers on the job have to act quickly and effectively. The more united and powerful their workshop organisation becomes, the

quicker the necessary reactions in the trade unions and trades councils also become.

The truth of this is to be seen in the fact that employers always try to get rid of shop stewards first when any question of dismissals arises. It is also borne out by long experience that where workers fail to defend successfully their shop stewards they seldom succeed in defending their living standards.

The closest linking up of the shop stewards on a national scale in every industry represents a further strengthening both of workshop organisation and trade unionism as a whole.

At the same time, shop committees and shop stewards will find their work gains greater support in the degree to which they keep their members in the factories and trade union branches fully informed of all that is taking place in the factories, the discussions with managements, and what policies should be adopted by the workers.

The development of such a practice will in turn strengthen the fight for greater democracy inside the trade unions, and help to secure greater rank-and-file control and the right of final consultation and decision on all trade union agreements with the employers' organisations.

### **Organising The Unorganised**

We would be failing in our duty to the great trade union movement if at this Congress we did not once again raise the urgency of a great campaign to organise the unorganised men, women and young workers into their appropriate trade unions.

There are 7,827,945 trade unionists affiliated to the Trades Union Congress. But there are 22,399,000 male and female workers who are eligible to join trade unions. The complacency with which this great problem is looked upon by the majority of trade union leaders is in marked contrast to their activity and enthusiasm in conducting campaigns against Communists, who are among the best, most devoted and loyal trade unionists in the country.

Here is a gigantic potential source of strength for the Labour Movement, both on its industrial and political sides.

It is especially necessary to try and organise all clerical and professional workers, not only to help them improve their own conditions and end the present gaps between "the office" and "the workshop" but in order that the full force of all the organised workers can be exerted against the employers to secure their full demands.

To organise these workers means to develop class-consciousness, widen their political experience, bring new masses into the active struggle against capitalism, and thus help to make certain that the Tory Party is decisively defeated at any future General Election. The stronger the bonds between all the workers by hand and brain become, the stronger does the whole line of fight against capitalism become possible, leading to a common political outlook and understanding that will be of decisive importance, not only in defending living standards and peace, but in the serious tasks which have to be carried out when the working class in Britain and its allies come to power and commence the building of Socialism.

We should also work to secure the affiliation of all professional trade union organisations to the Trades Union Congress, so that they become an integral part of the organised trade union movement, making their most important contribution in

formulating policies whereby the conditions of all workers by hand and brain can be improved, the links between them strengthened, sectional outlooks abolished, and in this way enable the full force of the Labour movement to be used to achieve both its industrial and political aims.

### **What To Do**

How can the organised workers meet the threats to their standards?

(1) The entire trade union movement should go boldly forward with the slogans: restoration of all cuts in social services and food subsidies; increased wages now in every industry; equal pay for equal work; no toleration of any reductions in living standards.

(2) The trade unions should combat all unemployment and short time. They should fight for the raw materials in every civilian industry threatened in this way. They should demand a fall-back wage where short time exists, and demand that no foreign labour imported by the Government to keep down wages should be employed while a British worker is unemployed or on short time: They should demand increased unemployment benefit and the abolition of the three days' waiting time.

(3) Every union should fight for the implementation of the T.U.C. resolution for an increase in social benefits to meet the rising cost of living.

(4) Every union should support all actions against the Atlantic War Pact, the rearming of Western Germany to serve America's war plans, and be identified in every way possible with the peace movement.

Around these demands the widest united mass movement could be generated, bringing into action every union branch, shop stewards committee and trades council.

### **International Trade Union Unity**

Never was the need for a united international trade union movement so essential as it is at the present time, and for none more so than the trade unionists of this country. We are in a period of sharpening class struggle, when every capitalist nation is engaged in a cut-throat export competition; when the cheap-labour commodities of Western Germany and Japan have once again appeared on the world market, constituting in particular a grave threat to the British working-class standards of life. It is also a period when the British workers have a vested interest in strengthening the bonds of trade union solidarity with the colonial workers of the world through a united international trade union movement.

Above all, the dark clouds of a new world war hang over the peoples of the world, and if there is one force more than any other that can prevent such a war breaking out, it is the organised workers of the world.

Yet it is in this situation that the reactionary trade union leaders of all capitalist countries, instructed and dominated by the Americans, have split the international trade union movement. This is, of course, the logic of their policy in their own countries, but it is one that needs to be immediately fought and defeated.

The trade unionists of Britain can be won for ending the split and reuniting the British trade unionists with their brothers in the World Federation of Trade Unions, on the basis of joint actions in defence of the living standards of the people and for peace. The rank and file of the Trades Union Congress were never consulted by the

Deakins and Lawthers before they walked out of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and, in obedience to the dictates of the reactionary. American Federation of Labour, set up the so-called International Confederation of Trade Unions.

Millions of dollars are being spent by the American Government more or less directly, and through the American Federation of Labour and Committee of Industrial Organisation groups which are acting as agents of the American Government, to split the trade union movement, not only in Europe, but, throughout the world.

The British T.U.C. has also been collecting considerable sums from affiliated unions for similar action, particularly in colonial countries. We are certain that if the rank-and-file members of the British trade union movement were allowed a democratic vote taken on this issue of reuniting the trade unions of Britain with their brothers of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the answer would be an emphatic "Yes".

### **Our Duty**

Every single member of our Party and Young Communist League who is eligible has the duty of being a member of his or her trade union and co-operative organisation and attending the trade union branch meetings and taking the lead in winning all other workers to become active members of their trade unions.

We need to conduct ourselves in the most helpful manner in these meetings, always striving to find unity between ourselves and our fellow members so that there is the maximum support for all progressive demands put forward, that organisation in the factory is strong and united, that our union has 100 per cent membership, and that our branch is affiliated to the local trades council and plays an active part in enabling it to become the unifying centre of all trade union activity in the areas where we live and work.

### **Our Approach To Co-operators**

In the Co-operatives, too, unity against the Tories depends, firstly, on winning conviction in regard to the need to fight for a new policy in the Labour movement, and, secondly, on helping the rank-and-file co-operators to go into action for their demands. To defend and extend the co-operatives against Tory big business means to break with the outlook of right-wing committee men and officials who are prepared to accept capitalist policies.

The attacks on living standards arising from the rearmament policy are directly affecting the co-operative movement, compelling many members to withdraw their savings and cut down their spending. Capitalist remedies, such as wage restrictions and increased profit margins, cannot possibly save the co-operatives, which can flourish only with advancing standards for working people.

Already many co-operative organisations have shown that they are for peace, for friendship with the peoples of all countries, and against the spreading of poisonous American ideas among young people. The vital interests of the co-operative movement and all that it stands for now demand from its members more activity, side by side with other sections of the Labour movement, to defend peace and to fight for trade between East and West, for wage advances and for better social services.

But there are tens of thousands of working people trading at co-operative shops who are not yet part of the organised movement. It is our responsibility to help in bringing these people, whose first point of contact is the co-operative shop, into the organised

movement, into the ranks of those who can be relied on to stand firm against Tory provocation. In particular, the strengthening of the Co-operative Guilds, this great potential force, would bring new life into the movement.

### **Our Approach To Women**

Is there anything new in the mood of the women, and in our own experience among them? Yes, there is, and the proof of this is to be seen in the great response among large numbers of women to all the activities of the peace movement and the coming to the fore of scores of hitherto unknown comrades as peace champions and leaders of agitational action, whom we do not yet help sufficiently. The tremendous support given to the National Assembly of Women proves how greatly we have underestimated what is going on and being thought about by millions of women all over Britain.

But there is a tremendous gap between what is needed and what is possible, and what we are doing. Particularly if we consider that there are over 2,000 women's sections of the Labour Party with whom our daily contact is almost nil; nearly 100,000 women organised in the Co-operative Guilds, and millions of women not belonging to any organisations.

Our influence in industries where women's labour is predominant is very, very small, and the question of trade union organisation of the unorganised workers is particularly burning in relation to women workers.

We have said many times that the job of winning the women as equal partners in a united, and fighting working-class movement is the job of the whole Party. For years we have been talking about helping to develop a mass movement among women. Well, one is developing before our eyes, and we should be proud to do everything we can to give it assistance.

### **Winning The Young People**

This generation of young people is living under a Tory Government for the first time. With Churchill in control, the attack on youth is stepped up.

The claims of the Tories to be a party for youth have been exploded and many thousands of young people, including sections of the Young Tories, see the danger that faces Britain and world peace, and what it means for them.

With the Tories in power, the most vicious attacks are being made on Britain's young workers.

Short time and unemployment in the clothing, cotton, furniture and hosiery industries hits young people first.

The light engineering industries employ tens of thousands of young workers whose jobs are threatened.

In basic industries, the young miners still do not get the adult rate at eighteen, engineering apprentices receive scandalously low wages, and the Master-Apprentice Scheme in the building industry comes to an end this year.

The education cuts affect tens of thousands of young people learning a trade at night school, going to evening recreational classes or working for a scholarship to go to university.

Those on trade training courses will have to pay higher fees or get out. The

prohibitive cost of recreational classes and the cuts in grants to the youth service will force thousands more on to the street corner, and opportunity for higher education will remain the preserve only of the rich.

The very first act of the Tory Government was to rush through the new Short-Service Scheme for the Regular Army. This scheme presents three years in the Regular Army at full rates of pay, together with four years in the paid reserve, as a more attractive proposition than two years at conscript's pay followed by three and a half years' compulsory service in the Territorial Army.

Every effort is being made to persuade national service men to stay longer in the armed forces. This year there will be five call-ups instead of four, and the age of conscription has been reduced by three months of eighteen years in order to obtain the biggest ever peace-time call-up of 235,000 young men.

The unity in action developed during the General Election between Labour and Communist youth, the struggle of the apprentices for higher wages and growing opposition to the militarisation of Britain's youth, must now be strengthened in the development of a mighty movement of young workers assisting the defeat of a Tory Government.

What is needed now is the most active assistance of every militant and serious-minded worker in the Labour and trade union movement to bring the young workers into mass activity and into the leadership of the youth movement in the factories and trade unions.

Proof of the profound feeling of Britain's young people for peace is shown in the growing support for the British Youth Peace Festival at Sheffield this Whitsun among the widest sections.

This young generation can and must be won for a policy of peace. We make it clear that we are resolutely opposed to the militarisation of British youth on American orders. Twelve months in uniform is sufficient for the defence of Britain and we are prepared to unite with all sections of the Labour movement who are opposed to two years' conscription and for bringing our lads home. At the same time we are for the vote at eighteen, on the principle "old enough to fight—old enough to vote".

The advancement of youth's demands for increased wages, training and education at the expense of profits and armaments expenditure is in the interests of the entire Labour movement.

The struggle for the solution of the burning social questions of young people, and ensuring them homes, health and happiness would also assist to win youth for solid support for the working-class movement.

### **Our Responsibility**

It must be clearly recognised by every member of the Communist Party that to secure such unity as we have now outlined demands an end once and for all of the deep-seated sectarianism which still persists in our ranks, which refuses to see the need of winning allies, which is content to stand alone and glory in it, as if it was something to boast about, that is in its element when it believes it is doing a good job by working in what is misguidedly looked upon as "splendid isolation".

Such comrades should understand that the leadership of the working class will never be attained by a process of spontaneity. The leading role of a Communist Party does not come of itself. It has to be won in action. This is why we need to remember that the best way of establishing unity in action consists, not in posing the demands

which we think the masses want, but in leading the fight for the demands that the masses themselves are expressing a desire to secure.

There is also the need to end the opportunist danger that believes unity can best be achieved by soft-peddalling our Party policy, that wants to hide the face of the Party, that does not see that without the work and leadership of the Communist Party no effective and lasting unity can be established, that thinks that good personal relationships "without bringing the Party into it" can best do the trick.

The more quickly and effectively the Communist Party eliminates both these wrong political tendencies, the more quickly it can really get down to the job of trying to build up the strongest possible united front.

Why have we dealt at length with the decisive issue of working-class unity? Because it is the very heart of the problem we have to solve if the Labour movement is to go forward to great new victories over its historic class enemies in the next round of class battles.

If such a unity as we have in mind can be established, what a complete transformation this would mean for the whole Labour movement! A more united and militant Labour Party, Trades Union Congress and co-operative movement. An end to Tory rule and the formation of a Labour Government pledged to base its policy on the measures suggested in this report.

And an end to right-wing betrayals; to "left" careerism and personal opportunism.

It would mean a working class so united and strong that it would inspire all who love peace and hate war, all who want social advance and not social decay and decadence, and the surety of a happy, peaceful and prosperous life, to rally to the Labour movement and take an active part in its work.

This is why we call upon every member of the Communist Party in the first place to set the personal example in trying to achieve our aims. Now is the time to use the influence, talents and energy we all possess in some degree or other to try to establish that unity in action which can guarantee fulfilling the immediate aims, aspirations and desires of all working people, who, above all else in the world, desire a lasting peace and the possibility of those forms of social progress which can help forward the developments towards the establishment of Socialism in Britain.

## VI. THE FIGHT FOR COMMUNIST IDEAS

The period that faces us is a period of struggle-struggle for peace, struggles on wages and every issue of living standards and social welfare, struggle to defend and restore the national independence of Britain, and to organise the decisive defeat of the Tories.

But can we achieve victory in the field of mass *struggle alone*? No! We have to link at every stage and level the mass struggles with a struggle in the *ideological field* against the ideas and theories of the class enemy.

How do workers learn? What will give to the decisive section of the working people led by the working class the conviction that the perspective of the *British Road to Socialism* is a correct one and the readiness to make every sacrifice in putting it into practice? What will give to the mass movement of struggle a Socialist consciousness?

*It is, precisely, the linking at every stage of the ideological and the practical struggle.*

## The Battle Of Ideas

Our class enemy, the monopoly capitalists, never under-estimate the power of ideas. They use to the full the State power that is theirs, the Press that they own, their cinemas and theatres, their radio and television stations, to instil in the minds of the people false theories and ideas that disarm them, hinder their struggles, hold them back in the fight against capitalism.

They teach that wars are inevitable, that war is a product of human nature; they turn truth on its head and paint the defenders of peace as aggressors, and aggression as the defence of peace; they try to divert the mass of the people away from the struggle for peace by what Comrade Stalin so truly described as "enmeshing them in a net of lies."

They try to smother and damp down the patriotism and pride of the people in their cultural heritage and their past achievements, to teach that national sovereignty is an old out-moded conception and to drag the people into acceptance of the domination of American imperialism over every field of British life.

Above all, they use their direct representatives *inside* the Labour movement, the right-wing Labour leaders, to disarm the Labour movement from *within*.

The ideology of social democracy grew up on the basis of British imperialism. These were the ideas that have won so tight a grip in the British Labour movement: that Socialism would be achieved gradually and peacefully *inside* the capitalist system; that the class struggle should be rejected; that the State was a neutral organism above classes that would serve whichever Party was elected to office; that the workers would always depend on the best capitalist brains, that foreign policy was a "national" issue transcending classes and the task of Labour was to "continue" the foreign policy of Liberals and Tories; and that the maintenance of Empire domination and exploitation (hypocritically veiled under the title "Free Commonwealth of Nations") was essential for the standard of living of the working class.

But today the ideas of social democracy reflect still more closely the decaying ideology of monopoly capitalism. Even the vaguest ideals of Socialism are forgotten, class collaboration is openly vaunted, American imperialism praised as the spokesman of civilisation, wars against colonial peoples supported and justified, lies and hatred are spread about the countries of Socialism and People's Democracy.

The monopolists also send into the Labour and progressive movement their direct agents—Titoites and Trotskyists—who with lying demagogic phrases, under a leftist cover, try to hold back those who are turning away from the right-wing social democrats, and to prevent the development of that unity in action which they fear above all else.

Why do the ideas of social democracy still exercise so great an influence over the working-class movement in Britain? The economic basis that gives rise to them has been deeply undermined. But is it not true, that the old ideas of social democracy still linger on in the minds of the workers, as an evil heritage of the past, when the economic situation that gave rise to them is fast disappearing?

And is it not above all true that these ideas will linger on in the minds of men *until they are driven out*, in bitter struggle, in the battle of ideas, by the idea of Socialism, of Marxism-Leninism?

Have we understood that lesson? No, we have not.

We have tended in recent years to look upon the battle of ideas as the task of the specialised few, writers, professional men and women, of a handful of "theoreticians".

Now all these comrades who work in specialised fields have an important role to play in the battle of ideas, each in his own sphere—philosophy, art, history, science and literature. We have many achievements in these fields, and we call on these comrades to do still more to combat in a living, militant way the ideology of decaying capitalism and to put forward creatively the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

But the lesson that we want you all to take away from this Party Congress is that the ideological struggle is a struggle that must be carried on by the whole Party—in the factories and pits, in the railway depots, in the streets, in the trade unions and co-operatives, as well as in the universities and organisations of cultural and scientific workers.

Socialism will never be achieved by propaganda and education *alone*. It is true that the workers learn through experience, experience that is won in hard, mass struggles. But no amount of struggle alone will be successful in getting rid once and for all of the ideas and theories that hold them back, the ideas of the ruling class, whether in their social democratic or other forms. No amount of struggle *alone* will give the working class and the working people a Socialist consciousness and a class perspective. Of along what road to advance to Socialism. How many bitter experiences have we known in the history of our British Labour movement where great class struggles have won temporary victories only to be changed into defeats by a cunning enemy because the movement lacked theory, perspective and Socialist consciousness.

And, therefore, we put it to you, that in order to fight successfully to make a reality of the perspective in *The British Road to Socialism* we must couple to our mass practical struggles the struggles in the ideological field—against the ideas of the warmongers, ideas of fatalism, of inevitability of war; against the false theories that seek to justify the sacrifice to U.S. imperialism of our national sovereignty, against the false theories of social democracy.

### **Marxist Education**

But how can we achieve this? How can we secure the decisive defeat of the ideas of social democracy and reaction that still exercise so great an influence amongst the working people and the working class?

This puts before the whole Party the urgent task of lifting the political level of the Party at all levels, and through the work of the Party lifting the level of political understanding of the working class and the working people.

We raised our neglect of Marxist education very sharply at the Extended Meeting of the Executive Committee in October, 1950. We saw then that there were a number of serious weaknesses in this field of our work—there was a tendency to separate our educational work from the general life of the Party, to separate theory and practice; for our most active comrades to disregard the need for study and for education to be put in the hands of those remote from Party activity. Education was at an especially low level in the Party branches; there was a gross neglect of, and under-estimation of, the importance of personal study as the essential means of achieving an understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory.

We believe that as a result of the discussions and of the decisions taken at that meeting we have secured a certain improvement in our work. The Marxist Study Themes that were initiated then have brought about still more consistent study and political discussion in our Branches. The Reading Programmes, despite some

weaknesses, have helped a considerable number of the cadres of our Party to undertake consistent personal study. Our National Schools have more successfully linked the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete problems facing us in Britain, and there have been considerable developments of long-term schools for leading cadres in the Districts.

But can we be satisfied? No. There is no doubt in my mind that the weaknesses in our Branch life and the large number of relatively inactive comrades are linked with the lack of consistent political education and discussion that still prevails in many branches.

There is no doubt that many leading comrades, especially in the field of industry, are resting on studies carried out fifteen or twenty years ago, that many comrades are not studying consistently and not helping those for whom they are responsible to study consistently. There is no doubt that there are still those who boast that they are so active that they never have time to study, forgetting that activity without political clarity is not always of great value to the working class.

There is no doubt that the fluctuations in our Party membership, which still continue on so high a scale, are also linked with an insufficient effort to give the new recruits to the Party an understanding of the Party that they have joined and what it is fighting for.

And so, what tasks in this field can we put before our Party from our 22nd Congress? We would say, *firstly*, that continuing along the line put forward at the Executive Committee in October, 1950, we must work still harder to develop regular, planned education in our Party branches, and particularly in our Factory Branches; that we must extend planned self-study amongst all sections of the Party, involving all leading comrades in this work; that we must fight for the extension of regular Party Schools at all levels-National, District and local.

We would say, *secondly*, that we must more and more *turn outwards* in our work of Marxist-Leninist education. The understanding of Marxism must *not be confined* to the Party. Tens of thousands of militant Labour workers are posing profound questions, and seeing, though not yet clearly, that they have been misled and betrayed by their right-wing leaders, looking for an answer to the problems that confront them, not just on immediate issues, but on all the vast fundamental issues of our time. How can we help them find that answer?

Our Party education must be turned outwards. In the trade unions, in the Co-operatives, everywhere where Labour workers are present, amongst the women and the youth, there must be more public discussions, public meetings, where the deep issues of the road to Socialism are raised alongside the immediate issues.

There is a *third task* that we would like to mention here in connection with the educational work of our Party. The Communist Party is the heir to all that is finest and most militant in the history of Labour struggle over the last century and a half. It is the heir to the struggles of the past and defends our cultural heritage. But have we done sufficient to use our Marxism, to apply our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism to the problems of the past, present and future of our own country? Social democracy has tried in its efforts to disarm the workers, to rewrite the history of the British Labour movement, omitting its struggles and sacrifices, and to bring up the youth in ignorance of our deep traditions of class struggle.

We would emphasise once again that the battle of ideas is the task of the whole Party and in particular of all its leading Committees. When Socialism and Socialist understanding are married to the mass Labour movement, when theory is wed with practice, then the British Labour movement will prove invincible.

## VII. THE COMMUNIST PARTY, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, AND THE "DAILY WORKER"

The policy outlined in this Report can only be carried to complete success by a far larger Party and factory organisation and a more powerful and influential *Daily Worker* than we possess at this moment.

But let everyone here ask themselves again and again: "Why are the Party membership and *Daily Worker* circulation no bigger now than at the last Congress?" When we point to the sweeping away of the wage freeze, or Order 1305, or to the "Smash the Tory Committees" in the factories during the General Election; when we point to the great growth of the peace sentiment among the people, then all of us see clearly and appreciate the active part played by our Party in helping to lead and inspire these great developments.

But that is surely being wise after the event, and in any case is only one side of the medal.

For example, there was one point in my report to the Executive Committee meeting last November which received less attention in our Party than the rest of it.

Let me repeat that point again. If our Party of 35,000 inspired and led the great anti-Tory rally, it is even more certain that if we had 50,000 to 60,000 members at the time, there would have been no Tory victory, and we challenge any delegate here to get up and deny it.

We have done a grand job as part of the peace movement to rally the masses of people behind the world demand for a Five-Power Peace Pact.

We have championed the just cause of the Korean people against the American aggressors. But the fact that we have not yet forced a British Government to negotiate a Five-Power Peace Pact, the fact that terrible wars continue in Korea and Malaya, must weigh heavily on our consciences. If our Party was stronger, if we had double the number of *factory branches*, if the circulation of the *Daily Worker* was a quarter of a million, it could make the difference between war and peace.

Two hundred thousand people have read *The British Road to Socialism*. These represent many of the most advanced, class-conscious workers in the Labour movement. But until we win a substantial section of these into our Party, we shall not advance far along that "Road".

What has been proven in practice over and over again throughout the world? That the attainment of working-class power, the advance to Socialism, is impossible under the old social democratic Parties. That for such an advance the "Party of a new type", the Communist Party, is needed.

Can anybody imagine that if the Communist Party had been in office for six years after the war the Tories would be in office today? Yet that is precisely one of the main political lessons that must be driven home.

Can anyone imagine that if there had been no Communist Party and *Daily Worker* the fight of the left in the Labour movement would have developed to the degree that it has today? Does it not follow that the stronger the Communist Party and *Daily Worker*, the stronger will this left become? ,

Those, who say that "There is no need for a Communist Party—the 'left' in the Labour Party can do the job", forget that it is precisely the organised work of the Communist Party—its activities, meetings, publications and the day-to-day explanation and fighting lead of the *Daily Worker*—which has brought about the new

mood in the Labour movement and the beginnings of a fight for a changed policy. The struggle to establish working-class unity on the basis of the fight for a new policy means that the building of the Communist Party assumes not less, but indeed an over-riding importance.

### **Communist Party Decisive For Working-Class Unity**

But it needs to be clearly understood by our Labour Party comrades, as well as by our own comrades, that the building of such working-class unity, the fight for our immediate policy as well as our long-term programme, demands not less but more from the Communist Party. The stronger the Communist Party, in the factories, in Parliament, in the trade unions, co-operatives and localities, the more effective and united become the immediate struggles on all issues.

When the Labour movement goes through occasional periods of temporary confusion due to the right-wing leadership, such as over the wage freeze in 1948, it takes the Communist Party, which clearly sees the future as, well as the immediate interests of the whole working class, to raise aloft the banner of struggle against such pernicious policies. Eventually the rank and file of the movement were won for what at first was only the Communist Party's stand; indeed, as all trade unionists know, the right wing considered it a legitimate argument at trade union conferences to tell workers to vote for the wage freeze because the Communists were against it.

In the same way they try to stop Labour Party members and trade unionists giving their support to the demand for a Five-Power Peace Pact on the grounds that the Communists are supporting it.

The point of all this is that without the Communist Party, the struggle of the working class is paralysed; the workers would be completely at the mercy of the right-wing leaders. Confusion and chaos would reign in the Labour movement if there were no Communist Party.

But all this itself arises from deeper reasons and principles. It is not that the members of the Communist Party are superior people to the members of the Labour Party. It is that the whole basic theory and practice of the Labour Party is devoted mainly to Parliamentary elections and procedure, with the kind of Parliamentary methods which allow the Tories to violate the real will of the people, to get back into office, and to share in turn government and opposition with the Labour Party.

Arising from this outlook and theory, the whole organisational principle of the Labour Party is to build an electoral machine only. The work of the Labour Party branch is divorced in this way from the daily struggle against capitalism in all its aspects. The factories, for example, are regarded by the Labour Party as provinces of trade unionism at the most, and even there, in only a limited number of industries do the Labour Party encourage trade union action on a workshop floor basis. At best, however, the Labour Party conducts no activity in the factory directed to showing the workers the link between the daily issues and the eventual achievement of Socialism.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, puts the question of political work and organisation in the factory as the most important kind of work for the Party, and strives to make it understood that work in the factory, depot and pit is the highest priority and must come before anything else.

Why is this? Because our theory and principle is that the class struggle begins at the

point of production, that in the factory the worker is continuously exploited, that in the factory is grouped together by capitalism itself the most revolutionary and advanced section of the people, the industrial working class.

The concentration of such large bodies of workers lends itself more easily to organisation than, say, the scattered small bodies of workers or agricultural labourers or people just living in a given locality. All these are also important, and we always strive to build there too. But it is the factory that is the real centre of political thought and discussion; from the factory come the trade unionists to build and staff the trade union branches. In the factory the workers learn fastest from each other and gain a clear class outlook and eventual political understanding that helps them to see from a *class* viewpoint.

Our best factory branches not only help provide and stimulate the shop stewards and active trade union branch leaders, not only lead the way in defending the daily interests of the workers. Above all, they try to develop mass political work through the sales of the *Daily Worker* and our literature. They hold regular classes and branch meetings at which the political level of the members is constantly raised. They show the workers how to, fight for peace, they collect jointly with their fellow workers hundreds of signatures for the Five-Power Pact. They organise deputations to their M.P.s on Korea, Malaya, or the steel shortage arising out of the rearmament programme. They try to draw the lessons from all this for all the workers in the factory. They steadily try to build the Party and our fighting *Daily Worker*. They organise factory gate meetings, evening meetings and film shows, classes on political economy, the State, *British Road* and other basic aspects of Marxism-Leninism, or Scientific Socialism as many workers call it.

The Communist Party is the vanguard, and its vanguard role is precisely that it is enabled to see the whole line of march and not merely the immediate issues. Because its whole basis and training is devoted to constantly raising the level of the working class, it regards the factory branch as the highest form of Party organisation. If instead of this conception of the role of the Party we encouraged belief that an ordinary, militant branch of the Labour Party would be sufficient, we would find ourselves in a position of always lagging behind the changing moods of the workers, of just following in the rear and recording events.

The Communist Party, through the structure of factory branches, sees its job as being one of decisively influencing events, including the moods of the workers; it therefore constantly strives to raise the level of the workers, overcoming difficulties, wrong moods and outlooks. It never passes the buck to the workers or blames the workers for "apathy". This of course is an essential part of the stock in trade of social democracy, it always blames the workers for the outcome of its own shortcomings.

My object in so emphasising the role of our Party, especially the decisive role of our factory branches, is not only to show that the Communist Party is essential for the whole Labour movement. It is also to try and secure greater conviction in our Party, for many of our members still have a "hang-over" from social democracy. Many comrades still do not understand that the factories are all-important. There are even many good active comrades in area branches who just refuse to work in the factory branch. Nor is it good enough, to dismiss the factory branch as a day-time affair only, while in the evenings and at week-ends it is the area branch that counts. Of course, leading comrades will be active in all spheres in addition to their factory branch, and that is good and natural. But the point we want to make is that the factory branch is not just a "working time affair" only. On the contrary, it cannot function without proper evening or week-end meetings; it is bound to organise the political education of its

members, run open meetings, film shows, rally workers along to the various trade union branch meetings, play a part in the work of the Trades Councils.

In addition, it should itself be campaigning on all the main social issues, both in working and non-working hours. The Glasgow factory comrades led the way in the agitation and action against the Tory plan to sell Council houses. The 5,000 workers who demonstrated on the streets there were brought from the factories by the work of the shop stewards, Party and growing united front of the workers. The factory branch should organise socials and outings and cultural events as part of its ideological life and work. In addition to signatures in the factory; teams of peace volunteers have been to the forefront in collecting signatures in the areas both near the factory and eventually further afield.

In a word, the factory branch working correctly eventually plays a leading role in the whole economic, political and social life of the area as well as in the factory, trade union and Labour Party locally. The anti-Tory Committees of one kind and another, i.e., the united front on the factory floor between the Communist and Labour workers, that grew up so rapidly as a feature of the General Election, contains the sort of picture that if developed widely would spearhead every development of the working class in this country. The factories played the leading part in the election campaign. They should play the leading part in every campaign. In this way they become the driving force for unifying and strengthening every form of trade union and factory organisation. They build unity on the workshop floor, and deepen the roots of the Party among their workmates.

When we convince workers in the factories where we have three or more members to come into our Party in whole groups, when we build a thousand factory branches equal to our present best, then we will be laying the decisive basis for winning the struggle for Socialism.

This is what we mean by "A Party of a New Type".

Of course an improvement in the character of our Party branch life and methods of collective leadership would be invaluable in solving this problem.

We think there are four important points bearing on our Party branch life which we should keep in mind.

*Firstly*, that the branch meeting must be the real centre of political discussion in which all current local and other practical questions are discussed in the light of our main aims, tactics and campaigns at the time. These regular branch meetings must also be the main channels of the basic Marxist education of our membership.

Lively, healthy regular branch meetings are the first essential to building the Party and advancing its policy. We do not think it is sufficiently realised that the character of our branch meetings has a profound effect both in helping to win new members and retaining them when they have joined the Communist Party.

New members join the Party with a great respect for it; they have been deeply impressed at some mass demonstration or in watching the activity and example of their fellow workers in the factories and streets who so tirelessly work for the Communist Party, and they expect a very high standard from us when they attend their first branch meeting.

We are afraid that many of them get a shock. Perhaps 20 per cent of the Party members in attendance, a lot of moaning going on about all the work being put on a few, and "that so and so is not a proper Communist". No. serious political discussions on the events of the day, and in general quite an opposite impression is created to that which was expected.

Indeed, I know many good comrades that will quite frankly tell you that they hesitate

to make new members who they know have a respect and admiration for the Party, but who would be so sadly disillusioned if they attended some of our branch meetings.

We plead most earnestly, therefore, for a real change to be brought about in the conduct and character of our branch meetings, so that all of them are brought up to the standard of the best, which it is a pleasure to attend, and which strengthen and inspire us to intensify our fight for the policy of the Communist Party, and to be proud to bring new members into our Party.

*Secondly*, there must never be any decisions on activity which do not include steps to be taken to mobilise a greater proportion of members. I hear lots of branch committees that complain about the lack of response from their members. If we don't mobilise members, let's look to ourselves to see what can be improved in our methods and approach.

The branch committee should aim deliberately at spreading the work. Many comrades will, if consulted, accept a responsibility that involves them in activity and helps spread the work. We want to end hit-and-miss methods of selection of cadres, and this demands integration of all educational work. Let us have the greatest care and attention to the treatment and training of the new members coming into the Party.

Bear in mind the member joining our Party is attracted by our general conception. He or she has yet to be helped to become a Communist. Every activity has to be from conviction and inspiration, and not from "obeying orders".

*Thirdly*, the leadership from top to bottom and especially at the vital district, area and borough level, must always be at the front. We have to learn to lead, not to drive.

Personal examples of enthusiasm and steadfastness combined are always essential in getting a better mobilisation of members for the jobs in hand. The West Middlesex district completed its re-registration first. Yorkshire, Midlands and Scotland are way ahead on Peace signatures. One reason for their success is the personal leadership and example at district, area and borough level in these districts.

*Fourthly*, in the course of developing all our campaigns throughout the country as a whole, very many-sided and heavy demands are placed upon our Party organisation. It does not always mean that everyone of these demands has to be met or attempted in exactly the same way, and with as great a concentration. We do not want our Party to be merely a recording and amplifying apparatus. The art of leadership is to be able to select for greatest concentration the main essential campaigning point and use that as a link to pull the whole chain forward.

We need also to be constantly breaking new ground. Every district should again look to the factories, towns and villages, or even areas in big cities, where we have no members, and consider the steps needed to establish Party organisation there.

With effective work, especially in the coalfields, we can build many new strong points for the Party.

It is essential that in the present period, when every active Communist Party member speaks about the great change that has taken place in the attitude of their fellow workers to our Party, that we seriously improve both the quality and quantity of our agitation and propaganda.

Never was there a time when the working people were more ready to listen to what we have to say, and this calls for more regular public meetings than we have ever organised before.

It is not sufficient for our branches and districts to limit themselves to one or two big public meetings a year, and not even organise these unless they can be guaranteed

what are described as “our big national speakers”. The Party should be showing its face everywhere and doing so consistently. Outside the factory gates, in the local market places, organising selective meetings in houses or small halls. Trying to get our speakers into every local organisation to state our policy.

There needs to be a more effective and systematic distribution of our leaflets and pamphlets, for the effect of the written word cannot be overestimated. We are always struck by the number of new members who apply for membership on a form that has appeared either in the *Daily Worker* or on the back of a leaflet or pamphlet.

Everyone of us claiming to be public speakers has the duty of realising that we have to weigh every word very carefully, that we must prepare what we are going to say, and above all, that the major portion of our speeches is devoted to seriously explaining point by point, backed up by every possible fact and argument, the positive policy of the Communist Party.

Serious-minded audiences do not come to be entertained, but to listen and learn. They are not interested in seeing how clever we are in exposing the other political parties and their policies; they want to know what we stand for, how we would tackle the problems of the day, and what constructive alternatives we have to offer to the other political parties.

Our speakers should never be on the defensive about the Soviet Union, People's China or the New People's Democracies. So many great positive and gigantic constructive developments are taking place in all these countries, that they give the complete answer both to what Socialism really means, and how it works.

We also need to do more in explaining the great principles of Socialism, and if they were applied in Britain what a glorious country this would speedily become.

Therefore, comrades, let everyone of us understand that the wider and deeper the character of the anti-Tory movement develops, the more necessary it is that we expound our constructive policy, for no mass movement yet was ever successfully built that depended on the anti-character of its propaganda and not upon its constructive policy.

Let the coming spring and summer campaigns mark this vital turning point in the quantity and quality of our propaganda work all over the country.

Our scientists, historians, writers and other professional workers have been active in the fight for peace, and have done much to rouse interest among their colleagues on this issue. In their own special fields, our comrades have produced many important books and articles for our Press; artists, musicians and actors have given much help in our propaganda. Our comrades in the professions, however, need to be thinking how they can relate their work more closely to the general line and campaigns of the Party, and how they can win more members for the Party from among their colleagues.

Our district committees and branches should also give more thought to the work of our comrades in the professions, as well as to the fuller use of cultural activities in all our propaganda. There are now many films available dealing with life in the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and China, which should be shown all over the country; and more music and singing can help to make our public meetings more attractive.

### **The Young Communist League**

For our Party the winning of the youth is a life-and-death matter. The Tories and

right-wing Labour leaders are making tremendous efforts to confuse young people and prevent them coming into the fight for peace and a better life. This places on us a heavy responsibility, which it cannot be left to the Young Communist League alone to fulfil, to lead young people into action and educate them in the principles of Socialism.

We have to end the position where the Young Communist League has only 3,000 members. This will demand the release of more cadres by the Party, building a branch of the Young Communist League wherever there is a Party branch and no League branch, and turning the attention of the Party more towards the problems of youth.

We have to learn to harness all the love of adventure, courage and life that our Young Communist League members, like other youth, possess so abundantly. This means changing our methods of work so that the entire work of the League and all who assist it, is towards thee youth, opening the doors of the League to all who agree with its policy, creating League branches which are lively centres of public activity. In all this, the circulation of *Challenge* in many thousands as an educator of youth in Socialism is of decisive importance.

### **The “Daily Worker”**

Here I want to say something about the *Daily Worker*, because if we were really convinced about its role, the growth of our Party would be far more rapid.

During the election, everyone, including many active workers in the Labour Party who took it for the first time, gave it the highest praise for the manner in which the issues of the election were presented, the arguments put, and the workers mobilised for action. It won new members for the Party and the Y.C.L. Yet we have recorded cases where automatically at the end of the election, Party organisations in the factories cancelled every extra order with the result in some cases of non-Party workers coming to them and asking for the *Daily Worker* without being able to get a copy.

Again, during a recent industrial dispute in London, 150 extra copies were sold daily to the workers concerned. Our paper was the only one that gave consistent support to and fully reported their struggle. At the end, the 150 copies stopped.

Now, I am not going to argue that we can maintain every copy we put on during an election or a strike; but I do assert that there is a serious failure to understand the role of the *Daily Worker* on the part of many of us. This is in marked contrast to the really magnificent job consistently done on early morning stances, at week-ends and in a number of factories by devoted Party comrades. They know the value of the paper.

If you have any doubts on this matter, ask the workers at Duples what the *Daily Worker* did before, during and after their strike. If ever there was an example of the role of our paper as “collective agitator, propaganda and organiser”, it was surely seen in the recent Bata eviction scandal. Here were these hundreds of workers and their families, intimidated for years by this feudal bunch of exploiters with one of the worst tied-cottage systems ever to come to light in Britain. Not a newspaper would touch the issue, despite their much-vaunted freedom of the press. Here were these workers, with no one to speak up and demand justice on their behalf. The *Daily Worker* stepped in and championed them, as it has done’ for every section of workers on every just issue from the time of its inception.

The result of all this was that a thousand workers at East Tilbury saw our paper for the first time. A thousand workers saw a glimpse of how their special problem linked itself with the problems of the working class as a whole. Today there are many regular readers of our paper and new members of our Party in East Tilbury. These comrades of ours, new to our ranks, will one day deal with Bata and Company as the Czech workers dealt with them.

Only our paper can and does give a correct analysis of events and policies which mobilises the movement to more effective struggle and actions for peace and socialism. But how can we hope to win over the broad masses with our present small circulation? If the *Daily Worker* was getting to twice as many people, the movement would become irresistible. It is in these factories where the role of the *Daily Worker* has really been grasped by our comrades that the Branches are developing into real Communist Party Branches able decisively to influence and lead the workers. The *Daily Worker* is the main way in which the Party can fulfil its role in the factories and Labour movement.

### **A New Situation Faces Us**

Seldom has there been a period in which there have been such rapid developments and changes in the political situation.

It is against all the teachings of Marxism not to see that in such a rapidly developing situation a big growth of the Communist Party is not only possible, but is the most important issue.

Our scientific principles teach us that change occurs suddenly and rapidly following periods of seemingly gradual; slow development. Lenin once wrote of how "there come days which are the concentrated essence of years of previous development". In this critical year, 1952, the whole of humanity is at a great cross-roads. The decisive struggle between the forces of war and peace is mounting to a climax. In these days can be reaped not only the harvest of years of past hard work by our Party, but there can be sown the seeds too of a more golden harvest yet to come. At all costs we must seize the opportunities now with us. We cannot look at the problem of building our Party with the same measuring instruments used since 1945. *That period is over—a new situation faces us.*

We have got to get from this Congress the conception of a general upward movement in the months ahead in our membership and *Daily Worker* readership. To reach outwards to a force of 50,000 Party members, a larger Young Communist League, and 150,000 daily circulation of our paper as the big task of 1952. The achieving of such an aim will signify enormous victories in the fight to save peace, defend the living standards of the people, build the united front to sweep out the Tories.

In the first half of this century, 40 per cent of mankind have already overthrown capitalism, and are on the road to Socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party. In the rest of the world, the Communist Party is a great and powerful force; in France and Italy, it is the largest Party. In this, our first Congress in the second half of the century, let us understand that once we can make the break in Britain, it is the end of world capitalism.

## VIII. THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM

The historic mission of the British working class is to put an end to capitalism and establish Socialism in Britain. This is a task that faces the British workers with increasing urgency because capitalism, in its present imperialist stage, is placing ever greater hardships on the people and offers only the perspective of a third world war and ruin for our country.

Our Party has, therefore, issued its programme, *The British Road to Socialism*, which for the first time puts clearly before the working people of Britain the necessary steps towards the winning of power, on the basis of the actual situation and the outlook and traditions of our country."

The detailed discussion on our Programme is a separate item on our agenda. Here I want only to bring out some of the principal ideas in this important document, which is regarded by our brother Parties as an outstanding contribution to creative Marxism.

Starting from the actual situation today, *The British Road to Socialism* puts in the first place the struggle for peace, and points out that:

"The future of the British people, their prosperity and welfare, and the victory of the aims of Socialism in Britain, are inseparably bound up with the united struggle of the people of all countries for peace, freedom and national independence."

At the heart of the struggle for peace, so far as the British working class is concerned, is the fight to end American domination over British economic, trade, foreign and military policy; that is to say, a sharp break must be made with the policy of sell-out to America, which has been followed both by the right-wing Labour Governments and the present Tory Government.

They have followed this policy because both have been concerned to maintain British imperialist interests and continue the exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, an aim which at the present time can only be carried out with American aid. Therefore, the independence of our own country is inseparably bound up with putting an end to "the present abnormal relations of colonial war and repression between the British people and the peoples of the Empire, by establishing durable friendship with them on the basis of equal rights".

Durable friendship requires "the withdrawal of all armed forces from the colonial and dependent territories, and handing over of sovereignty to Governments freely chosen by the peoples". This would give the basis for "a new, close, voluntary and fraternal association", with mutually beneficial economic exchange and co-operation, and mutual defence against American imperialist aggression.

This is an extremely important new conception, for the first time clearly stated. It recognises the necessity not only to end all relations between the peoples of the present Empire which are based on political, economic and military enslavement, but also, in doing this, to take into account the economic needs of all the peoples concerned, and especially the American imperialist threat to any isolated country.

Our Programme then declares that only Socialism can finally solve Britain's problems and guarantee its people a good life, lasting peace and steadily rising living standards. But the right-wing Labour leaders do not want to abolish capitalism, and in practice support the ruling class, which still holds in its hands the real power in Britain.

The people cannot advance to Socialism, therefore, unless, led by the working class, they take this power from the capitalist minority and grasp it firmly in their own hands. It is not our view that this, in British conditions; requires Soviet Power and the

abolition of Parliament. We consider that the people can transform Parliament into the democratic instrument of their will, and transform capitalist democracy into a real People's Democracy, through which a People's Government can break the economic, the political and the propaganda power of the capitalist class, and create the conditions for Socialism in Britain.

But this transformation can only be carried through by a united, working class which has ended collaboration with and capitulation to capitalism, leading to a popular alliance of all sections of the working people—clerical and professional workers, teachers, technicians and scientists, working farmers, shopkeepers and small businessmen.

This movement can only be built up in a struggle for peace, and independence from America, for higher wages and benefits and improved social services, so that the strength and unity of the movement make it impossible for the Tories and right-wing Labour leaders to carry through their policy.

We make it clear that this great, popular alliance, having won a Parliamentary majority and formed a People's Government, will have to use its strength to ensure that the programme decided upon by the workers by hand and brain will be carried through in the new Parliament, against the resistance of the big capitalists who will fight for the retention of their privileges by all means in their power, including force.

*The British Road to Socialism* outlines the programme of such a People's Government, with Socialist nationalisation of large-scale concerns as the cornerstone of its economic policy, in contrast to the capitalist nationalisation carried out by the Labour Government.

It stresses the role of the Communist Party, based on the impregnable foundation of Marxist theory, in building up the united working-class and popular movement through which the perspective of *The British Road to Socialism* can be achieved.

Comrades, we speak of this Programme as not an immediate, but a long-term programme. We do not mean by this that it is some distant vision that can perhaps be realised in twenty or fifty years. We mean that its achievement depends on our first building up the unity of the working class and all working people which alone can realise the programme. That building up is not some far-off task, but one for today and tomorrow, and in the first place, in the fight to bring down the Tory Government.

How rapidly we can proceed beyond that, how soon a People's Government will become an immediate slogan, is not a matter of any set term of months or years, but entirely of our own successful work, together with all that is best in the Labour movement, in the actual struggle on every issue that concerns the people.

## IX. IT CAN BE DONE

In our Report we have endeavoured to give a clear picture of the situation at home and abroad, the problems and difficulties which beset our working people, and the lines of policies which, if carried through, could not only alleviate "the harsh burdens and anxieties now being imposed upon the people, but enable a more powerful and united working-class movement to take its place in fighting to win its demands and thus enormously help forward the mass movement towards Socialism.

We have shown that this is not possible unless there is a far stronger Communist Party and Young Communist League than exist at the present time, and a *Daily Worker* with a circulation far exceeding its present one; and we have stated that to accomplish all these things it is essential that day in and day out the pernicious ideas

of the capitalists and right-wing Labour leaders need to be exposed and fought at every stage.

The tasks we have set our Party are indeed great. But they are not impossible tasks. If everyone of us is inspired by the same fighting spirit that long ago took the pioneers to the street corners to expound the "gospel of Socialism" (that is how they used to describe it) as they knew it, and if we fed all the stronger because of the mighty advance the workers of the world have made since those early days, then we will gain new strength to win the working people of Britain for our policy.

Above all, if we are ourselves imbued with the consciousness of what Socialism means, what it could accomplish in our native land, then indeed we ourselves will find new determination and strength. Socialism means the abolition of poverty, unemployment, the end of slums, the end of oppressing other nations and peoples, the end of war. It means the beginning of new educational and cultural advances, adding to the dignity of all men and women, giving all young people new opportunities that would indeed open out a new world to them; making it possible for women at last to take their rightful place in the new society and make a tremendous contribution in the building up of the new world.

It means giving to every worker the fullest opportunities for advancing their own constructive ideas without the fear of putting anyone out of a job. It means strengthening the productive resources of their own Britain, their own Socialist system of society. It means developing a new form of democracy in which the full genius of the working people will flower in a way that will astonish the world. For we British workers are the heirs, of those who first gave the world the machines, ships, textiles, power and countless other inventions which are meant to lighten the toil of man.

We could reclaim and make fertile the waste lands of Britain; bring water and electricity to our farms; harness the tides of the Severn and other estuaries to provide cheap and plentiful power. We could plan and rebuild our cities, getting rid of the dirt and squalor of the past and building splendid new housing estates, schools and hospitals, clubs, sports stadiums and theatres. Instead of art and culture being monopolised by a wealthy few in the West End of London, every city and town would have its share of the finest performances going at working-class prices. Instead of football and cricket in the back streets and on bomb-sites, we would provide playing fields, parks and the best expert training for the youngsters of our cities. The cities where the working class live would become beautiful; the age-old contrast between West End and East End would be ended.

Once Britain is freed from capitalism, then we shall see increases in production that can never be evoked from a working class that is exploited by another class. Then our people will freely and gladly hasten to the assistance of every nation in the world whose own resources are undeveloped, whose people are anxious to be trained and become as skilled as our people are. This will be done all the more readily because it will help to wipe out the dark days of British imperialism, and help to establish new bonds of international solidarity in which we shall be helping each other to use our mutual resources for the health, well-being and happiness of all peoples in a world that is, and always will be, at peace.

To live in peace; to know that it is a lasting peace—this is perhaps the greatest victory of all that Socialism has to offer.

Let the cynics scoff at all this. Let doubters say: "It cannot be done". Today we are in a position to do what the old pioneers could never do. We can prove our case. They could only make propaganda of a general character for Socialism. They could only

give others a gleam of Socialism. Today we can give the facts of accomplishment; prove that the lily does indeed bloom; that men like ourselves are performing greater miracles in the realm of Socialist and Communist construction than it was thought that even gods could ever do.

We often think how we miss things that have taken place in our lifetime. How often we underestimate what is going on in the Socialist sector of the world at the present time!

Let us spend a few minutes showing the actual contrasts between the dying world of capitalism and the triumphantly advancing world of Socialism and Communism.

In the capitalist world the cost of living goes up and up as a result of the arms drive. In Britain prices rose by 13 per cent in the past year; in France by 22 per cent; in Western Germany (food) by 20 per cent; in Austria by 31 per cent. In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, prices were greatly reduced in March 1952, and this was the fifth successive reduction since the war.

In the capitalist countries, because of the poverty of the people, less and less goods are sold in the shops. In Britain, the sales of clothing are 20 per cent lower, of furniture, 15 per cent lower than a year ago. In the United States trade is also falling. There are huge stocks of unsold goods, production of cars has fallen by 45 per cent and of household goods by over 50 per cent.

But in the Soviet Union, retail trade, through State and Co-operative shops, increased in quantity by 30 per cent in 1950, while 1951 showed a further increase of 15 per cent (including a 14 per cent rise for clothing, and 50 per cent for furniture). In 1951, the people got 86 per cent more bicycles, 25 per cent more radios, 18 per cent more cotton textiles, 32 per cent more meat, 35 per cent more milk and dairy products than in 1950.

In the capitalist world, key raw materials are being hoarded by the American overlords for rearmament, while the production of other countries is starved and dislocated. Thus in Britain steel production has fallen by 450,000 tons a year because of shortage of steel-making materials; but in the U.S.S.R., steel production has risen by 4 million tons this year and is now equivalent to that of Britain, France, Belgium and Sweden put together. Whereas Western Europe cannot produce the coal to feed its industries and is driven to import coal from America, in the U.S.S.R. coal output is increasing each year at the rate of 24 million tons, thanks to the good working and living conditions provided for the miners.

In the countries of Western Europe, capital expenditure is being cut to the bone to make room for the armaments programme. Our power stations cannot meet the peak winter load for years to come, because even the steel needed for maintenance and repairs is not forthcoming and the building programme for the new stations has been repeatedly cut. But in the socialist world, enormous new peaceful construction schemes are in progress, bringing power and fertility to thousands upon thousands of square miles of former deserts. The new power stations of the Stalin plans alone will supply two-fifths as much electricity as the whole annual output in Britain; the extra water supply will make it possible to produce an *extra* three million tons of cotton-one-third as much as the American crop-as well as millions of tons of grain and meat. And these huge schemes are being carried out at top speed, not with pick and shovel as earlier Soviet schemes had to be, but with the largest and most up-to-date excavators and construction machines in the world.

In Western Europe education and the social services are being continuously reduced. In Britain the building of new schools is stopped, and there is talk of cutting a year off the school life; part-time courses, University grants and scholarships are

being cut. In the U.S.A. the majority of universities and higher educational bodies are facing financial breakdown because of smaller student entries and rising costs. But in the U.S.S.R. the number of students went up last year by 60,000. With a population about four times that of our own, the Soviet Union already has a full-time student population ten times larger, and is "just completing the magnificent new buildings for Moscow University.

While the Tories talk about their 300,000 phantom houses, the reality in Britain is that fewer than 200,000 houses are being built, the well-to-do go to the front of the queue, and housing standards are lowered. Compare this with the way the U.S.S.R. and People's Democracies are tackling the even more formidable housing problem that faced them arising from the devastation of war—the new city of Warsaw that has arisen in five years from the flattened ruins of the old; the new Stalingrad; the development and use of new techniques of building and prefabrication.

The countries that have become satellites of the United States, including Britain, find their trade dwindling under American bans, their industries strangled. There is crisis in the steel and textile industries of Britain and France. But between the Soviet Union and its allies, trade is conducted on a fair and equal basis, and economic and technical aid from the U.S.S.R. has helped Poland and Hungary to raise their industrial output to 2½ times pre-war, Bulgaria to 3½ times, and Czechoslovakia (which was already highly industrialised) to two-thirds above pre-war. While the colonies of the imperialist powers are gutted of their materials and foodstuffs by the imperialists, and suffer increasing inflation and impoverishment, People's China has taken giant strides towards prosperity, controlling the rivers that used to flood and drown thousands, overcoming famine, building industries which already can produce their first native motor cars and textile machinery.

The greatest contrast of all is in the minds and hearts of the people.

In the capitalist west, the growing crisis and war talk leads to a feeling of impotence and helplessness. Science, art and literature reflect despair, disgust with humanity, or a retreat into mysticism and magic, while the "culture" provided for the people by Hollywood and the press is more vulgar and more brutal in its glorification of violence than ever before.

In the Socialist world, on the contrary, the spirit is one of hope and confidence in the future. Art and science flourish. The classics of British culture, such as Shakespeare, Burns and Dickens, are more widely presented and enjoyed there than here, while a new optimistic art of the Socialist people appears everywhere. Instead of swamping every country with American jazz and films, Socialism is reviving and renewing the national art, music and drama of the East European countries, Socialism means not only more pig-iron, but more theatres and cinemas and concert halls; more football grounds and sports stadiums; more novels and children's books; more recreation where the workers are not merely spectators, but join in to the full.

To the new generation in the socialist countries, no doors are Closed. They know they will be encouraged and helped to develop their talents to the full, to help to win new victories over poverty and backwardness; that they will never in their lives be unemployed or "redundant", oppressed themselves or oppressors of others. All over the Soviet Union, for example, the finest of the young generation are training and equipping themselves to be skilled workers on the great Stalin construction projects. These people can never be cowed or beaten by the American war-mongers. They are the vanguard of the irresistible forces for peace.

Even to talk of peace has become a dangerous activity in the capitalist world, bringing the risk of losing one's job and even facing trial for "treason". Paul Robeson

and Dubois in America; Henri Martin in France; Lilli Waechter in Germany, and Monica Felton in Britain have been persecuted and victimised by their Governments because they spoke out for peace on behalf of millions. But in the Socialist world, peoples and Governments are at one in their efforts for peace, expressed in the great Peace movement and in the untiring work and leadership in the fight for peace given by the U.S.S.R. in the United Nations and on a world scale.

So with these significant contrasts in mind, comrades, let us go into the battle like lions after slumber, determined and confident that in our lifetime, too, the reins of power will be in the hands of the British working people, and they too will begin to write their new glorious pages of history, the grandeur of which time will never efface.

And the test for all of us in trying to realise this aim, will be how we will win new members for the Communist Party and Young Communist League, and new readers for the *Daily Worker*.

**FOR PEACE AND THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF BRITAIN!  
FOR THE UNITY OF ALL BRITISH WORKING PEOPLE!  
FOR A MIGHTY COMMUNIST PARTY,  
YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, AND DAILY WORKER! FOR SOCIALISM!**

These are the watchwords of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party.

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