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THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Programme of the
Communist Party

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Introduction

We live in an age of great scientific and technological advance. Never before in history have there been such opportunities to lighten work and enrich life, abolish poverty and squalor, wipe out disease.

But in Britain, as in other capitalist countries, a deep seated crisis of the whole economic, political and social system affects adversely every aspect of life. The wealth, effort and ingenuity which should be used to improve the lives of the people are used instead to enrich the few and wasted in war preparations. A handful of great monopolies and banks dominate the country. Home and foreign policies are framed in their interests. The rate of exploitation increases and the gap between rich and poor grows wider.

It has never been so clear that capitalism is an outdated system, unable to use the vast scientific advances to benefit the people. The new techniques and discoveries which could, in the right hands, end insecurity and poverty for all time, are misused to increase private profits and to prepare ever more devastating wars.

The Communist Party believes that if our people are to enjoy a life of opportunity and prosperity and Britain play a progressive role in the world a new social system is needed, for the present one is increasingly failing. The working people will have to make a revolutionary change, end capitalism and build a socialist society. Only then, when the people own the means of production and decide their own destiny, will the miracles of modern science perform miracles for the welfare of the great majority.

It is with the conviction that Britain must take such a new path that we put forward our programme *The British Road to Socialism*.

In this we make clear our view:

First, that socialism can only be won by the combined action of the working people led by their socialist and democratic organisations. The Communist Party has a vital part to play, but it does not seek an exclusive position of leadership.

Second, decisive advances towards socialism will be achieved to the extent that the mass of the people carry through large scale struggles to secure improvements in their living standards, for full employment, a wide expansion of democracy and a genuine policy of peace.

Third, that in the course of this many sided struggle the labour movement will find the way to throw off its right wing leadership; that new political alignments will come about, and create the conditions for the election of a Parliamentary majority and government pledged to a socialist programme.

Fourth, that a democratic advance to socialism, as outlined in our programme, entails a multi-party system in which parties contend for the people's support. We believe socialism can be achieved in Britain, not without prolonged and serious effort, but by peaceful means and without armed struggle, and this is our aim. The working people and their representatives in Parliament will have the strength and the means to deal with the resistance of reaction whatever form it may take.

Fifth, we firmly believe that the people of Britain and the world can prevent a third world war. War is in no sense a condition for the advance to socialism.

It will not be easy to make the advance to socialism. But we believe that it can be done with the backing of the vast majority of the population, if the issues are fully understood.

Our programme sets out our views on why Britain needs socialism, our proposals for making this radical change in our social order, and our ideas of the tasks that would face a British government and people dedicated to the building of socialism.

1. Britain Needs Socialism

The essential problems facing the British people stem from the nature of modern capitalist society. Only when this system is replaced by socialism, by the social ownership and democratic control of the means of production, distribution and exchange, together with socialist planning, can Britain's problems really be solved.

Economic Power

In Britain today the capitalist class through its ownership of wealth holds economic power.

Apart from small personal savings and perhaps a house, the vast majority of British people own nothing but their labour power, their ability to work.

But half of personal property in Britain is owned by 2 per cent, (2 in every 100), of the population.

The wealth is produced by those who work by hand and brain, far in excess of the wages they are paid. The surplus goes to the capitalist owners or shareholders as profit. This is capitalist exploitation, the basis of all forms of rent and interest.

A capitalist system is inevitably marked by sharp social contrasts, gross inequality of opportunity.

Modern capitalism makes mockery of the old argument that rent, interest and profit were deservedly earned by the enterprise and the risks taken by capitalists freely competing with one another.

Driven by the urge for higher profit and in fierce competition, capitalism has developed from small scale production in its early years, to present large scale

production, in which a few giant firms dominate all branches of industry.

The drive towards further mergers is an economic law of capitalism. It results in greater and greater concentration of economic power in fewer and fewer hands, and the interlocking of industrial and financial capital. Super trusts are created which do not confine their activities to one country, but straddle national frontiers. The process continues with Labour or Tories in office.

Oil, metals, chemicals, electrical engineering, motor vehicles and aircraft—all are now dominated by a handful of privately owned concerns.

While small British firms are swallowed up by larger ones, some of these in turn are swallowed by American combines with complex international ties. Some major industries cease to be solely in British hands.

As in productive industry so in the retail trade. Small shops are swallowed by chain stores and supermarkets. The working people pay more and more towards the high profits of the finance companies operating hire purchase, insurance and mortgages.

The trend to greater mergers has been enormously speeded up in the last few years, with the deliberate encouragement of the Labour Government. More and more the question is arising, either overwhelming economic power in private hands, dictating the whole course of the national life, making a farce of democracy, or power in the hands of the people.

Political Power

It is not only economic power that is in the hands of the capitalist class. Political power, state power, is in the hands of the same class. The key state organs which exercise authority in Britain are under the control of the same great monopoly groups who control the wealth of the country and serve their interests.

Governments—Labour and Tory—come and go, but

the key officials of state go on. Persisting through every change of government are the heads of the armed forces, the police, the security network, the top civil servants in the main ministries, the judges, the controllers of the nationalised industries.

Those selected for these posts have in the main, because of birth and education, training or career prospects, deep loyalties to capitalism, are conditioned to see their task as making capitalism work, and regard socialism as subversive.

Modern monopoly capitalism attacks all the essential rights and liberties that have been won over many years of struggle by the working people. In the years before the second world war the attack on democracy took the form of open fascism. Today in different conditions it takes different forms. But as the crisis of the political system and of democracy deepens, the drive to dictatorial and authoritarian rule is growing in many countries.

In Britain Parliament is by-passed more and more as the power of the executive grows. The very conception of Parliamentary democracy is under fire as the call is made for coalition government or rule by businessmen. There are increasing encroachments on the powers of local authorities.

Trade union democracy is under attack. The monopolists, with the backing of the Labour Government, are seeking to replace collective bargaining by state control of incomes and salaries, to incorporate trade unions into the machinery of state, to overturn trade union rights won over decades of struggle.

People are divorced from the process of decision making or control in the affairs of the country. The growth of monopoly is now incompatible with democracy. It is becoming ever clearer that for democracy to become real, political power must be taken out of the hands of the capitalist class and put into the hands of the people. Capitalist democracy must become socialist democracy.

Ideological Power

The capitalist class does not only hold political and economic power. The same small groups increasingly control the instruments of education, of the arts, of ideas. By direct takeover, or through the stranglehold of advertisement revenue, or carefully selected appointment, there is growing monopoly control of the mass media, the means of communication, the fields of artistic expression, of everything that influences the minds and attitudes of the people.

A handful of great magnates control the daily press, except for the *Morning Star*. Large circulation magazines and journals have come into the same hands. So have extensive holdings in television. Publishing firms are being amalgamated. In every sphere artists depend for their livelihood on smaller and smaller numbers of commercial concerns.

Power, economic, political, ideological is concentrated in the hands of a small minority who use it to serve their own interests at the expense of the vast majority.

State Monopoly Capitalism

Stage by stage British capitalism has developed to monopoly capitalism. This had already taken shape at the end of the 19th century and led to a great flow of British capital overseas to exploit other peoples and their resources. Monopoly capitalism, the basis of imperialism, has now developed to state monopoly capitalism where the capitalist state is intertwined with the great banks and monopolies.

The reasons for this development are many. One has been the political advance and economic growth of the socialist world which has constituted a challenge to capitalism. Another has been the determination of the working class at home to retain a high level of employment and a steady advance in living standards. A further reason has been the winning of national indepen-

dence by former colonies. This has resulted in British imperialism establishing new forms of state activity on behalf of the monopolies, in order to maintain and extend the economic exploitation of these newly independent countries. This is a new form of colonialism—neo-colonialism.

Then again the British economy has been developing more slowly than that of other capitalist states, and competition with industries abroad has become sharper. The great monopolies in industries with heavy capital outlay are forced to maintain a high level of output and profits; and this can only be done with state aid, to rationalise processes on new lines, and in particular, to introduce automation. Time and again private industries have been generously subsidised by the state.

For all these reasons state intervention in the economy has increased rapidly.

It was within the framework of state monopoly capitalism that nationalisation of a limited number of industries—electricity, gas, railways, coalmining and steel—was developed. Reorganised at public expense, their policies were subordinated to the interests of the private sector. They provided high compensation to former owners (many of whom, though opposed to nationalisation, were put on the governing boards), heavy payments for new capital, and cheap services for privately-owned industry.

Britain's Crisis

Yet with all this pouring out of public funds there has been no far-reaching reconstruction of industry or the economy, though British productive power is greater now than at any time in our history, and could be multiplied many times by the planned application of automation and other scientific and technological advances.

Instead the country faces recurring crises which arise from the imperialist basis of the economy. Britain, having lost its direct political control over most of its former

colonies, strives to hold on to those that remain, and still more, to exploit the newly independent states which are struggling to overcome the effects of colonialism—poverty, hunger and economic backwardness. The giant monopolies which dominate Britain also dominate the economies of these countries. There are still massive investments in most of them, as well as in other areas where the monopolies have special interests, including the oil regions of the Middle East. Controlling these investments is the financial centre of British imperialism, the City, which continues to exercise its extensive powers.

This policy involves the maintenance of costly overseas military bases, adventures abroad and huge armament programmes which would otherwise provide resources for many vital reforms at home.

The overseas bases and troops are there to influence economic and political developments; and if necessary to intervene—by any means including military—in the internal affairs of the countries involved. The profits from these investments go into private hands; the cost in lives and money is borne by the people.

The British people and those in these overseas territories therefore have a common interest in working together to defeat the domination of these big monopolies.

Since the end of the second world war Britain's involvement in the cold war against the socialist countries, and in wars against the national liberation movements has been in large measure the result of the continued efforts to maintain its imperialist position.

The high rate of overseas investment and the heavy expenditure on overseas bases and troops are formidable obstacles preventing the country securing a favourable balance of payments and building up monetary reserves. These are factors in the ever recurring balance of payments crises, aggravated by speculation on the part of home and foreign holders of sterling. This is why deflationary policies—credit squeeze, high interest rates, wage freeze, unemployment—are declared neces-

sary to safeguard the pound, and devaluation carried through; why the economy is continually thrown into recession, bringing in its turn a fall in investment which holds back development on all sides.

The endeavour to preserve as much as possible of the imperial framework—political, military and financial—to uphold the interests of the monopolies and financiers has weakened Britain step by step, and led to her dependence on the strongest and most aggressive imperialist state, the United States of America. The US is pursuing a similar policy with far greater resources in South-East Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Europe too. The British Government gives its support to the US and seeks US support in return.

Acceding to the demand of the monopolies and joining the Common Market would undermine British independence still further.

The cost and burden of armaments which flow from the Government's imperialist policy distort the economy and hold up essential modernisation of industry as well as social development. Besides penalising the people it puts our industry in a straitjacket compared with that of other states.

These policies are carried through whatever government is in office, Tory or Labour.

The People and the Crisis

The Government and the ruling class make every effort to put the burden of the crisis on the working people. The rich grow richer while the living standards of the majority are under constant attack.

Through the incomes policy wages and salaries are held back, while the cost of living soars. Taxation of the people is heavily increased; but profits rise and taxation of the rich has relatively declined.

The Government, through its economic policy, has deliberately created unemployment, and this is worsened

as mergers and rationalisation go ahead. As a result the working people are more heavily exploited and the gap between the wealthy and the poor grows greater.

Thus throughout recent years, in a period when technical advance has leapt ahead, there has been a steady growth of poverty.

In Britain today millions of people are living at or below the poverty level. They include those in the families of the lowest paid workers, many of the unemployed and their families, many of the chronic sick, millions of old people and children.

The deep contradictions of the present social system are to be seen too within the social services, working within the framework of monopoly capitalism.

Whilst a health service has been introduced, largely financed from contributions and taxes, private firms make enormous profits from selling drugs, goods and services. Local councils are empowered to build houses and schools, but the methods of providing finance compels them to pay hundreds of millions a year in interest charges to the banks. Funds to pay such interest must be found from local sources, including rates. Meanwhile private building firms make big profits on extensive contracts. Property owners can become millionaires overnight from speculative investment in land and houses.

The funds for social services have been grossly inadequate—lower, as a proportion of the Gross National Product than most countries of Western Europe. Private enterprise has been able, as a result, to extend its activities in social insurance with a rapid growth of private pension funds, and in housing.

Public housing provision and planning have been subordinated to profitable commercial development schemes and private enterprise estates. This has been accompanied by a growth in the number of homeless families, a deterioration of slums long overdue for clearance, increasing chaos in towns and cities. There

is no more vivid example of private affluence leading to public squalor.

That a small minority can pay out of private income for spacious housing, lavish educational facilities, privileged medical attention is not just in striking contrast to the disabilities of the poor, but a built-in class barrier, a denial of democracy.

Socialism the Solution

Two courses are open. Either the present accelerating trend will continue, will increase monopoly control over all our lives, still further undermine democracy and prevent vital reforms. Or steps must be taken to secure full command of the nation's resources, wrest power from the few, end the exploitation of the developing countries, and use the wealth produced by the people for the welfare of the people. There is no middle way. The only path of advance is towards socialism.

Socialism is the logical way to meet the present need for public finance and planning, for larger industrial units, for growing social services. Socialism means public control of economic resources and matches public expenditure with public need.

The economic basis of socialism is public ownership of all important means of production, distribution and exchange. Politically it is power in the hands of the working people. And this above all is what Britain needs.

Socialism will enable the community as a whole to profit from all increases in productivity, all advances in science and application of technological discoveries, and this without the present fears of redundancy, unemployment, rising prices and cuts in wages.

It will draw into the organs of government, the planning boards, the administration of the social services, the judiciary, men and women who believe in socialism, and understand the problems of the industries and services concerned and of the people as well.

It will bring a new quality of life for individuals, for the nation as a whole. By ending exploitation it allows people to make their own future, and by freeing creative energies ensures that the future will bring economic, social and cultural advances.

That is why socialism has been the aim, the guiding light of the pioneers of the labour movement and of tens of thousands in succeeding years down to today. The aim of establishing the rule of the working people in place of rule by the owners of property, has lit up what has often been a path of bitter struggle for elementary rights.

We today are heirs of that struggle and the democratic rights gained in the course of it. It is for us to consolidate those gains, and make the step for which so many have striven and which is so essential for the welfare of Britain.

Today socialism is a reality for all to see. Countries with a population of hundreds of millions are socialist states. Working class power has transformed backward Russia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with a most advanced industry, science and technology. Other socialist states are developing fast. Hundreds of millions more have ended the political rule of imperialism and achieved national independence. The working class and progressive movements are growing stronger in the remaining capitalist countries.

This new relation of forces in the world opens up new possibilities for further advance to socialism. There are now in some countries possibilities of winning political power without armed struggle. Such a peaceful, democratic advance to socialism can, in the Communist Party's view, be achieved in Britain if the great majority of the people desire it.

But this road does not lie open. It has to be opened up and kept open by the struggles of the working people. And in these struggles the labour movement has to take the lead.

2. The Communist Party and the Labour Movement

All the basic rights and liberties on which this country prides itself have been won over the years by popular action, primarily by the solidarity and militancy of the working class. To these struggles we owe the right to vote and the right to organise, and the consequent improvements in wages and working hours, better living standards, education, health and social security services.

To secure these rights by Act of Parliament has not been enough. They have had to be fought for again and again, and still must be fought for today when they are under attack.

In this process of struggle over many decades millions strong trade unions and co-operatives have been built up; and political parties—the Labour Party and the Communist Party—have been established to advance the interests of the working class.

These organisations together form the organised labour movement which is today a powerful force, capable, if united, of rallying the people for their immediate demands against the monopoly capitalists and for the advance to socialism.

The Communist Party is a Marxist party. It has stood consistently for scientific socialism, and has always formulated its policies in this light. As Marxists we understand that the interests of the capitalist class and the working class are opposed and cannot be reconciled; that capitalism can and must be ended and replaced;

that the working people, led by the working class, must win state power and build a socialist society.

The Labour Party has been dominated by reformist ideas, spread by right wing leaders who have controlled it over the years. They reject the need for the working people to win political power to bring about a revolutionary transformation of society. They seek only to maintain the existing capitalist order and administer it more efficiently. The policies of the governments they form do not differ in any fundamental way from those of the Tories and are in no sense socialist.

From this right wing within the labour movement come all the arguments designed to blind people to the realities of political power. They reject the class structure of society and class struggle, or else proclaim that class divisions are withering away. They argue that the state is neutral, above classes; that there is no need to change it. They tell the workers that they should make capitalism work, that employers and workers should co-operate to this end. They say that "managed capitalism" is a step towards socialism; that socialism can be built piecemeal within capitalism; or even that the aim should now be a mixed economy and nothing more. These ideas confuse and disarm people.

The struggle of the labour movement for better living standards, for democracy and socialist policies entails therefore not only opposition to the Tories, but also to the right wing within the movement itself. The potential strength of the movement has never been exerted for socialist aims because, in the Labour Party and mass organisations, dominant positions have been held by right wing leaders.

Reformism—the acceptance of the framework of the capitalist economy and state, the continuing of capitalist foreign policy, the renunciation of socialism—inevitably leads to fiasco. It is reformism that has caused the abject failure of successive Labour Governments.

Why Labour Governments Fail

Labour governments, like Tory governments, have in fact subordinated all their essential policies to the need of the great monopolies. They have left the overwhelming bulk of the basic means of production, distribution and exchange in private hands. They have facilitated the growth of monopoly. Their priority has been the interests of the rich, luxury goods, office buildings not homes or hospitals or schools—all for profit and little against poverty.

They have accepted lock, stock and barrel the existing state machine. They have worked within it, become its prisoner.

Tory and Labour governments alike have strengthened the capitalist state, created new government departments, adapted old ones, formed new public bodies. Such are the Department of Economic Affairs, the Ministry of Technology, the Prices and Incomes Board, the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation, the NEDC, the Land Commission, the Boards that supervise the shipbuilding and aircraft industries? On all of them the representatives of the great firms play the decisive role and advise the government on policies and practice.

Labour governments have developed nationalisation in such a way that it strengthens capitalism, helps it to work.

Like Tory governments, they have “managed” capitalism. They have introduced reforms, often material and important, but never taken decisive steps to end the power of the monopolies and the private exploitation of the country’s resources and transform the state.

Attempting to work within the framework of capitalism, to make capitalism work, they have ended by leading the attacks on the working class. All those who really attempt to fight against capitalism are seen as

enemies, come under attack, and the capitalist state is used against them, and against the working class.

The so-called prices and incomes policy aims to freeze or restrict wages while prices and capitalist income rise, and operates to limit or abolish collective bargaining, weaken organisation in the workshops and undermine the right to strike. But when powerful sections of the working class, the trade unions and co-operatives strongly resist this, it is represented as a disservice to the country, by Tories, industrialists and right wing Labour leaders.

If Labour governments and Labour leaders accept the role of managers of capitalism, if they content themselves with restricted nationalisation controlled by a state loyal to capitalism, then inevitably monopoly is strengthened and Labour governments end in fiasco.

Working Class Unity

To strengthen the immediate struggle, to clarify socialist aims, to enable the labour movement to exert its full power working class unity is essential.

The struggle for the unity of the working class is no mere tactical question. It is a matter of principle. Without such unity the numerical strength of the working class will never be used to defeat capitalism. Without such unity the advance to socialism is not possible in Britain or anywhere else.

But unity has to be fought for, has to be won, in many different ways and at many different levels.

Unity begins wherever there is common action on the immediate issues that face the working class and the working people. Of key importance is unity in the factories and the trade unions, where working class strength is concentrated and organised, and the tradition of struggle and solidarity is strongest. The daily battle conducted by the trade unions for the defence of living

standards and workers' rights is a decisive part of the opposition to capitalism, and must be seen and openly conducted as such.

Unity demands common action, without reservations, between the various sections of the labour movement—trade unions, co-operatives, the left in the Labour Party and the Communist Party. It demands consistent effort to end every type of prohibition and ban within each sector of the labour movement.

To work for the unity of the labour movement it is necessary to combat the reformist ideas spread by right wing leaders. Nothing has weakened or split the Labour Party more effectively than the attack mounted against militants, the constant moves to isolate and neutralise the left. Nothing could so much strengthen and inspire it as a decisive rejection of the idea that the task of the labour movement is confined to winning reforms within the confines of capitalism or helping capitalism to work better.

The stronger the unity of the working class the greater will be the possibility of uniting around it all other sections of the working people, of building a broad popular alliance of the people against monopoly capitalism. For unity is needed not just against the present attacks of capitalism, on immediate issues, for improved conditions, but also for a common strategy of struggle against monopoly and for advance in the direction of socialism.

The Role of the Communist Party

Socialism has never been won in any country except under the democratic, disciplined, organised leadership of parties with a clear aim and a clear understanding of the means to attain it.

The Communist Party is such a party, firmly based on a Marxist, socialist ideology and outlook. It is an

organised force which has continuously challenged and combated right wing ideas in the labour movement.

As a Marxist party it understands that the capitalist ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange means the exploitation of the great majority by a small minority; that monopoly capitalism restricts progressive development on every side, brings recurring threat of war and increasingly undermines democracy. Therefore the aim of the Communist Party is the ending of capitalism and the building of a new socialist society.

Since its foundation in 1920, from Britain's existing Marxist organisations, the Communist Party has been in the forefront of the class struggle, and has a record of activity on every question of importance to the British people. As a party with national, district and local organisations, press and publications, it combines campaigning on immediate issues with the fight for political power and socialism. Its industrial branches provide an important means for mobilising and exerting the political strength of the working class.

Its features are distinctive, not possessed by any other section of the labour movement. They enable it to make an essential contribution to the growth of socialist understanding, to the ability of the left to win majority support.

Thus the outcome of the struggle between left and right in the labour movement is bound up with increasing the strength and influence of the Communist Party. So is the outcome of the struggle of the labour movement against monopoly capital. All who desire working class unity and advance to socialism will gain from the increased public activity of the Communist Party, from increases in its membership, branches, and influence and improvements in its organisation, and from bigger votes for Communist candidates and the election of Communists to local councils and to Parliament.

The Communist Party is an integral part of the labour movement, and has always worked for the most

widely based popular action, for working class unity. Disunity, official barriers between the Communist Party and other organisations of the labour movement have been brought about by bans and proscriptions enforced by right wing Labour Party and trade union leaders.

Any such division in the movement weakens the struggle against monopoly capitalism and for revolutionary social change. It is precisely because they do not want radical social change that right wing labour leaders proscribe Communists, seek to isolate the Communist Party and divide the labour movement.

Contrary to the ideas spread by some Labour leaders it is not the aim of the Communist Party to undermine, weaken or split the Labour Party. From the first foundation of the Labour Party there has been a struggle within it between left and right wing trends. The left trends have been of many types and organised in different ways, at different levels of political clarity. Sometimes they have been weakened by anti-communism. As Communists we sincerely desire the strengthening of the left trends within the Labour Party. We believe that the struggle of the socialist forces to make it a party of action and socialism will grow, and that the growth of the Communist Party will help this development. When the Labour Party rejects reformism, moves into the attack on capitalism, ends the bans and proscriptions against the left, it will ensure itself a vital role in the building of socialism.

The Young Communist League plays a special role in the general movement of British youth. It works consistently to explain socialist ideas, to help young people move from radical rebellion against the capitalist Establishment to positive socialist ideals. It works for the unity of progressive youth in action for peace, democracy, international solidarity, against colonialism, racialism and oppression. It works side by side with the Communist Party in the fight for socialism.

To win working class unity and build a broad popular

alliance against the monopolies, the people must be informed from day to day of what is happening, be won for struggle, inspired. They must have their own forums of discussion and the freedom to express their views, now almost completely denied them by the daily press, which is overwhelmingly in the hands of a small group of millionaires. An ever widening campaign to support and co-ordinate the people's protests and advance their interests is needed. In this *The Morning Star*, the only daily newspaper free of the press lords, plays a unique part, providing a daily news service and a platform for every section of the anti-monopoly struggle and campaigning for socialism.

The Communist Party is dedicated to the defeat of the deeply entrenched monopoly forces, to the winning of political power by the working people, and on this basis, the advance to socialism. This is the aim too of many socialists in the labour movement. Labour-Communist unity for this end is the key to advance on the road to socialism.

For United Action

In many fields today close co-operation between Communists and Socialists is growing. It is time now to strengthen these links, to overcome the disillusionment brought about by right wing leadership. It is time to develop working class unity in every way.

Resistance to the right wing domination of the Labour Party, both on the political wing and in the trade unions, is developing. The protest of the Labour left deepens against policies which betray socialist principles. Former automatic votes from trade unions for right wing policies are being broken. The interest in Marxism is increasing. This in turn reflects growing understanding in wider fields of the need to take a new road.

Here is the basis to move beyond protests against right wing policies, towards the formulation of a positive alternative policy and the waging of an effective political struggle in its support.

The balance of opinion in workplaces and constituencies and in popular organisations will only be swung to a socialist solution through action in sustained campaigns. The aim must be an end to right wing domination, to open the way to effective united action by the working class.

United action in the trade unions and the factories, where working class strength is concentrated and organised and the tradition of struggle and solidarity is strongest, is vital.

The white collar workers—office workers, scientists, technologists, teachers and other professional workers whose interests are bound up with those of the working class and the labour movement as a whole, are increasingly important. They have developed powerful organisations to protect and advance their interests.

The youth and students have been active in every form of radical protest against the Establishment. They have developed new and militant forms of struggle for peace, joined in every action against colonialism and racialism, for freedom and democracy. Their protests and demonstrations, their radical and socialist organisations are of special importance in the anti-monopoly front. This energy needs to be brought fully into the labour movement which should seek to draw the youth and students towards it.

Above all it is essential that the labour movement should clearly understand the relation between its immediate objectives and the longer term aim of socialism. Without the struggles in the work place, without the struggles now on wages and hours and rents, on peace and liberty there will be no advance to socialism. Conversely without clear socialist aims the immediate struggles will lose their strength and significance.

In the process of launching and developing activity to win the labour movement to the pursuit of socialist aims, isolating and defeating the right wing, the left will clarify its own thinking as well as that of others. The experience of struggle will help towards clarity of ideas, just as clarity of perspective helps the immediate struggle.

As the working class movement grows in unity and strength it can become the core of a broad popular alliance drawing on all those whose interests are threatened by state monopoly capitalism—the overwhelming majority of the population.

3. Next Steps Ahead

How can the British labour movement and the British people begin to move in the direction of socialism? What is the next stage?

A Broad Alliance

Working class unity is essential, but it is not only the working class that is under attack from state monopoly capitalism. It is necessary and possible to build a broad popular alliance around the leadership of the working class, fighting every aspect of the policies of the monopolies; to develop a wide movement for peace, democracy and improvement of living standards, and for a democratic programme that leads in the direction of socialism.

There are many points on which all those who stand for socialism are agreed, but which can win a far broader support than that of committed socialists.

Many different organisations are battling for particular reforms. They can be won to realise the common factors in the situation, to understand that particular aims can only be achieved in the framework of wider social and economic policies.

In this way the broadest popular alliance against monopoly capitalism can be built up, embracing all working people. Thus workers in factories, offices, professions, working farmers, producers and consumers, owner-occupiers and tenants, housewives, young people and students, pensioners, workers in the peace movement and those active in defence of democracy—all

those whose lives are immediately affected by policies framed to perpetuate and uphold monopoly capitalism can be united in struggle.

Understanding can be built up of the interconnection of different aspects of monopoly policy and the fundamental issues involved. A new unity of purpose will be thus created, enabling sustained pressure to be brought to bear in favour of alternative democratic policies. Through united action for a clear programme not only will practical gains be won, but also understanding of the nature of society and the need to develop the struggle to extend democracy and win fresh advances.

When the leadership of the main organisations of the labour movement stands squarely and openly for the interests of the workers by hand and brain; when it advances a clear democratic and socialist policy, it can rally the great majority of the people against the monopolists who now control their work and their leisure, their lives and their future.

This would undermine the mass support of the Tory Party, the party of big business which nevertheless, aided by newspapers and other mass media in the hands of those hostile to working class aspirations and to socialism, attracts votes from professional workers and a large section of the working class.

What is needed is the continuous use and development of all the traditional democratic means of struggle, among all sections of the people, understanding that all aspects of struggle hang together—whether demonstration or strike, Parliamentary or extra-Parliamentary pressure.

By these means unity and confidence can rapidly grow, political understanding deepen. A great popular movement can develop for new policies and priorities, and for ending state monopoly capitalism, and can pave the way for the transition to socialism. The core of this alliance will be the working class and its organisations, the main class force in the struggle to change society

because of its key position in social production. But it will draw on all whose interests are threatened by monopoly capitalism—the overwhelming majority of the people. Their interests are also the national interest.

The Fields of Struggle

What are the main areas of struggle, the new ends to which all effort should be directed, in order to open up the process of radical change in Britain?

Living Standards

Today the labour movement demands as social rights full employment and the guarantee of work at a decent wage. Continuous struggle is needed to win and maintain these rights.

This involves ending all policies of wage restraint, whether embodied or not in legislation, and ensuring that the trade unions are able freely to carry out collective bargaining. In place of state regulation of wages what is needed is a continuous struggle to increase wages, salaries and social security payments. The movement should demand that no one is made redundant or sacked unless suitable alternative employment is provided.

If the working class is to challenge the power of the monopolists the autonomy of the trade union movement will have to be defended, for the unions constitute a most powerful force of the working class. Hence the ruling class seeks to hamstring them. Therefore collective bargaining, strike action and picketing, rights won in bitter struggle, must be maintained by the determined action of the working people. More trade union action is called for, not moves to suppress it.

The unions and the labour movement will need to carry through sustained efforts to raise the level of the lower-paid workers and win a statutory minimum wage. Equal pay for work of equal value for women workers must be made a legal obligation on employers.

In order to ensure that all increases in productivity bring increases in wages and salaries, shorter working hours, longer holidays and improved fringe benefits, the unions will have to win negotiating rights over all working conditions. The employers' powers of arbitrary dismissal can be ended by establishing 100 per cent trade union organisation, backed by strong shop stewards' and workshop organisation. Blacklisting, victimisation, discrimination for reasons of trade union or political views or activities, or on grounds of colour, sex or religion should be prohibited in all forms of employment.

The winning of these demands will raise living standards, strengthen enormously the organisation of the working people, and deal heavy blows at the power of the monopolists.

Economic Affairs—Public Ownership

There cannot be a true democratic advance in Britain unless an effective challenge is made to the big monopolies and their present domination of the economy. This challenge can be made in various ways. The labour movement must use its strength to intervene much more decisively in industrial and economic affairs, and win much greater control over the key enterprises and resources of the country. A determined struggle should be carried through to bring the monopoly concerns in the most important sections of industry and finance into public ownership, and secure a radical expansion of the nationalised sector of the economy.

But nationalisation must be made to serve the interests

of the people, not of big business as it has done in the past. This means removing the burdens of heavy interest charges and compensation and reorganising the industries on democratic lines, with governing boards made up of workers and technicians from the industry concerned.

A programme of expansion would entail:

state ownership of the electronics and computer industry

a nationally-owned fuel and power system, including oil and North Sea gas

a publicly-owned, fully integrated transport system, including rail and road passenger and goods transport, airlines, docks and waterways

nationalisation of chemicals, key sectors of engineering, shipbuilding, building materials industry, banking and insurance

nationalisation of all urban land, except that of owner occupiers

nationalised industries to be free of compensation and organised on democratic lines

no foreign-owned or controlled monopoly in Britain

a stop to further inflow of American capital

The winning of such a programme is essential for the development and planning of the economy in the public interest. It would bring about far greater industrial efficiency and social well being, and make possible the proper planning of housing, industry and transport.

To ensure both the modernisation of industry and the correct financing of the social services control of

capital investment is essential. The needs of home investment must have priority, export of capital be strictly controlled and limited.

The balance of payments position can be improved by limiting inessential imports as well as increasing exports. Britain's role as a world banker and the role of sterling as a major reserve currency should be ended. International currency co-operation would be strengthened by giving the underdeveloped states a place in the controlling bodies of the international monetary authorities.

The course must be set for economic expansion of a kind to meet the needs of the people and the nation. This involves above all shedding the burden of overseas military expenditure, and turning resources to production for home consumption and export on the basis of careful planning.

Industrial Democracy and Control

Today, trade unions are pressing in all industries for the right to intervene at all levels of management, to be informed of management plans, to negotiate on matters arising and to receive all relevant information. Elected representatives of the workers, at workshop and plant level, want the power to negotiate on work loads, work standards and manning, rights of control on safety and welfare and on all matters affecting employment.

These are justifiable demands. This right of the workers to be involved in policy-making and control in industry is essential for economic advance and to safeguard the interests of the working people.

In nationalised industries the trade unions should be directly represented on national boards and at all levels of management. At workshop and plant levels the

workers should have rights of consultation and participation in all management decisions.

The co-operative movement is a major obstacle to the growth of monopoly capitalism in the consumer industries, and its expansion is vital to the working people. As a socially-owned and democratically controlled movement it acts as a champion of the consumer. Strongly entrenched in retailing, manufacturing, banking and insurance, its actions can greatly affect the struggle for social change, and through its nation wide political, educational and guild movement it can win many for the anti-monopoly struggle and for socialism. Every effort must be made to strengthen and widen its scope of activity, and every pressure put on the Government to end discrimination against it and provide favourable conditions for its advance.

The campaign against the monopolies must include the demand to bring the Monopolies Commission under close Parliamentary control. It should be composed of a majority of trade union and consumer representatives and its proceedings should be widely publicised. Its powers should be extended to ensure that where large-scale productive or distributive concerns are operating and monopolies are ripe for merging, this is done under public ownership. New machinery is needed for rapidly collecting information about price increases and ensuring enforcement of price control. The powers of the Restrictive Practices Court which operate against price fixing must be strengthened, so that it can deal more rapidly and effectively with cases brought before it. Trade unions, co-operatives, local authorities and other democratic bodies should be drawn into the fight against restrictive trade practices.

A successful struggle to curb the monopolies on these lines would make possible new policies to foster economic growth, without any threat to living and working conditions. To succeed it will have to involve millions of people, not only manual workers, but professional

workers, scientists and technicians, housewives, farmers, small traders and producers. These problems concern the widest circle of people, and form one of the decisive fronts on which the broad popular alliance can be built. As the battle for them develops it will increasingly throw up the question of the ownership and control of the whole economy.

Peace and National Independence

The vast destructive power of modern nuclear weapons makes the prevention of a third world war the most important issue facing humanity. Such a war could result in the annihilation of Britain and the devastation of great areas throughout the world.

Peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and the ending of colonialism in all its forms should be the main objective of the British people.

This aim of establishing peaceful relations between socialist and capitalist states does not mean the damping down of the class struggle within capitalist states, nor of the liberation struggle for national independence and against imperialist influence and domination. On the contrary, those struggles, by weakening the positions of monopoly capitalism, contribute greatly to the struggle for peace.

A third world war is not inevitable; but to preserve peace imperialist aggression must be halted. The combined forces of the socialist countries, the developing countries and the labour and peace movements in the capitalist countries are strong enough to achieve this, provided they act in a resolute way.

The danger of war arises from monopoly capitalism. Imperialist expansion and aggression is its direct product. It is, then, a major task of the people in the capitalist countries to compel their governments to follow a policy of peaceful coexistence.

The main aggressive force today is American imperialism. Its military, naval and air forces are everywhere directed against democracy, national liberation and socialism. It wages war in South East Asia and occupies South Korea and Formosa for its own imperialist purposes. It dominates Nato, an alliance directed against the socialist countries and progressive movements within member countries. Its policies could precipitate a third world war.

In order that Britain can act on the side of peace British foreign policy must cease being subordinated to the United States of America and the interests of British imperialism. The ending of the British Government's support for American aggression in Vietnam is the first essential step in the struggle for world peace.

The danger to peace also arises from the growing strength and aggressive aims of West German imperialism with its demands for nuclear weapons and frontier revision. It stems too from Britain's "East of Suez" policy, from imperialist plans in the Middle East which bring us into conflict with whole peoples struggling for national liberation.

This position of acute danger can and must be ended. A policy which calls for continuous struggle on these issues can command the broadest popular support, for the peoples as a whole want peace. This has already been borne out in experience, for nowhere has opposition to capitalist policies been more widely based or more strongly felt than in the field of foreign policy.

A peace policy will vary according to events, but it must include certain main demands:

the end of subordination to U.S. imperialism

dissolution of Nato and other imperialist alliances, ending as a result the Warsaw Pact, and replacing both by an all-inclusive system of European security

curbing West German militarism and preventing its access to nuclear weapons

withdrawal of all British forces from other countries and all foreign troops from Britain

phased reduction of conventional arms

ending the manufacture and destroying all stocks of nuclear weapons

withdrawal from Seato, Cento and other such alliances which have nothing to do with the defence of Britain, but are intended to safeguard imperialist interests overseas

ending support for U.S. and other imperialist aggressions or imperialist inspired coups, and reactionary regimes.

It is equally necessary, in the interests of the British people and of the international solidarity of the working people, to end colonialism in all its forms, including the continued exploitation by the monopolies of the peoples who have achieved political independence. The right of all peoples still under British rule to self-determination must be recognised, all British armed forces withdrawn from colonial territories and bases, and the British military presence East of Suez terminated.

The enforced partition of Ireland should be ended and British troops withdrawn from Northern Ireland, leaving the Irish people free to realise their united republic.

New economic policies are needed to replace those designed to close the ranks of capitalist Europe in opposition to socialism. Such is the Common Market (European Economic Community), a combination of the biggest trusts of capitalist Europe, a lure to British monopolists determined to increase their profits and

improve their position in the world. The aim of this combination is economic and political domination of European resources, and of developing countries still dependent on European states. It represents not only a threat to democracy in Western Europe, but a hardening and strengthening of forces bitterly opposed to the working class everywhere, to the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries and to the national liberation movements.

Britain's needs would be better served by an all-European form of co-operation or trading pattern, coupled with a systematic expansion of world trade. There is no future in closed economic groupings ranged against each other. What is needed is an expansion of trade, including mutual long-term trade agreements with socialist and developing countries, as well as more trade with other states.

The decisive forces in the world are the working-class movements, the great popular movements for national liberation, freedom and democracy and the socialist countries. They look to the future, to the realising of new potentialities opening up opportunities for the many and creating a new way of life.

The fight for peaceful coexistence, international co-operation, disarmament and the end of colonialism is profoundly in the interests of the British people, as of all peoples throughout the world. It is part of the struggle against the most aggressive forces of imperialism, both here and abroad. Success in this struggle will provide favourable conditions both for the development of the national liberation forces and the advance to socialism. The fight for peace is therefore a form of struggle which can win overwhelming support, and lead to the isolation of big business both politically and morally.

Defence and Extension of Democratic Rights

It must be a main concern of the labour and popular movement to use and defend every democratic right won in the past, whilst working for a general extension of democratic liberties.

This aspect of the struggle assumes greater importance than ever as the power of the monopolists grows, and the threat to democracy becomes more open. The British people have a long, deeply rooted history of struggle for democratic rights; and this makes it possible to win wide sections of them into action to preserve what has been won, and to make new gains. Every step that extends the people's control over the affairs of the country weakens the power of big business.

Freedom of speech, of meeting, the right to organise, demonstrate, lobby, picket and strike—all are vital in securing any economic and political change. They must be defended and extended by active use and pressure.

Popular control of the mass media, especially radio and television is most urgent. The movement should demand the setting up of a national council, comprising representatives of all the main democratic organisations, to meet periodically to review programmes, put forward proposals and influence policy. The chief aim should be free discussion of controversial issues—political, industrial, ideological—by those genuinely representing different points of view, untrammelled by biased interviewing or summing up by reactionary “experts”. All democratically organised political parties must be accorded time to explain their policies, and trade unionists involved in industrial struggles be given the opportunity to state their case.

It is just as urgent to halt the growth of monopolist control over the press. The fight must be made for

legislation to prohibit any further merger or concentration of ownership of newspapers and periodicals. No firm should be permitted to own more than one daily newspaper or one Sunday paper. Practical steps should be taken to reduce dependence on advertising revenue, and government advertising should be fairly distributed.

Freedom of access to printing presses can be extended by government intervention. Publicly-owned plants should be set up to print newspapers for trade unions, co-operatives and other political and social groups and churches. The chief firms producing newsprint, ink and equipment should be nationalised and price control ensured.

The age-old struggle for equal rights for all citizens, irrespective of race, religion or sex needs to be energetically carried on, particularly in view of new threats.

Women are still the victims of discrimination and prejudice in many fields, legal, political and economic. They still have an inferior position in education and employment. The liberties and potentialities of half the population are at issue here. Equal rights and opportunities are not only a matter of justice, but would bring great benefits to the country in all spheres of work and activity.

The same applies to all citizens. Racial discrimination is still being widely practised in Britain despite recent legislation.

The Communist Party has always opposed racial discrimination and race prejudice. Racialist ideas and practices divide the working class and democratic movement, and play into the hands of big business and the enemies of democracy. Racism provides the most fertile soil for the growth of reaction and fascism. The fight against racialism and for full social, economic and political equality is therefore fundamental for democracy.

The new amended Race Relations Act (1968) is an improvement on the previous one. But it still requires

strengthening in order to secure the effective outlawing of racial discrimination in all fields, and ensure that all incitement to race hatred is made illegal and subject to appropriate punishment. The Commonwealth Immigration Acts of 1962 and 1968 should be repealed since they are in purpose and practice racially discriminatory.

Young people should be accorded the vote at 18.

Popular representation, the effectiveness of democracy would be greatly increased by introducing the principle of proportional representation in local and national elections. The £150 deposit required of all Parliamentary candidates should be abolished. They should instead be supported by a list of nominators.

The House of Lords which embodies no democratic principles, should be abolished.

Popular control over the police should be extended, not diminished, as has been happening in the amalgamation of forces. This would mean local authorities everywhere exercising close control over them through strong, democratically constituted committees.

The movement should work for the ending of all restrictions which deter members of the armed forces, the civil service, and the police from full participation in democratic, political and trade union activities.

National Rights

One of the most urgent steps in any real extension of democracy in Britain is to meet the national rights and demands of the people of Scotland and Wales, by the establishment of Scottish and Welsh Parliaments. National history, democratic right and modern development combine to make this an essential act of justice, which the entire British labour and working class movement will be the foremost to support.

Such Parliaments alone can provide an adequate focus for the energies of the people of these two coun-

tries, in the fullest expression of their cultural and economic life. They are essential to drive through the overall planning of Scotland and Wales for economic prosperity, for the best use of all their natural resources, for co-ordination of communications, and for the massive programme of social regeneration which is needed to overcome the effects of past exploitation. Only this can ensure the national future of the Welsh and Scottish peoples.

We see the Parliaments as single chamber assemblies, directly elected by proportional representation, with full powers for self-government for Scottish and Welsh affairs in the fields of trade, industry, transport, agriculture, housing, social services, radio and television.

The establishment of Scottish and Welsh Parliaments will not of itself solve the basic economic and social problems of their people. Only an effective struggle against the domination of monopoly capitalism will do that. But the struggle to achieve such Parliaments and to make them really representative of the people's will, must be a major part of any movement which mobilises the progressive forces of Scotland and Wales for the common cause of defeating British capitalism.

Whatever the best relationship finally worked out and agreed between the Welsh and Scottish Parliaments and the British Parliament, such radical constitutional reform is not only necessary for the national development of Scotland and Wales; it is in line with the urgent need for increased popular control and democratic effectiveness in the whole structure of government in England as well.

Development of Social Rights

Some of the greatest movements in British history have been developed for better social security and improved conditions of life for ordinary people.

Today, many of the benefits and conditions won are under sharp attack, and widespread struggle is growing to extend popular education, improve housing, hospital and other health facilities. Round such questions a broad alliance of people can develop that goes far wider than the labour movement.

But to achieve this it is essential to co-ordinate work undertaken by many different democratic organisations on a basic minimum programme.

Such a programme could cover first:

opposition to the proposals made by both Tories and right wing Labour leaders for wider use of means tests in social security, council housing and other services

action to avert poverty and provide for those below the poverty line, together with the fight to improve wages and purchasing power

raising of all social pensions and benefits to a level sufficient for adequate, poverty-free maintenance, to be paid as a right

local health centres in every district as the foundation of a more integrated health service, supplemented by adequate welfare facilities; a substantial hospital building programme, increased numbers of health workers and an end to the pay-bed system.

Recent years have seen the growth in all parts of the country of powerful movements for educational development, ranging from nursery schools to universities. Every effort should be made to involve still more people, not only to defend the present standards but to demand a great extension of the whole service.

The demands could include:

Speedy completion of a genuinely comprehensive reorganisation of the schools on a national scale

abolition of “public” and other fee-paying schools—
a main bulwark of class privilege

sufficient day nurseries and nursery schools for all
children

primary schools to be brought up to standard with
new buildings, smaller classes and equipment

adequate salary scales to ensure recruitment of
educational staffs and end undermanning

expansion of higher education to provide places
for all those qualified by present standards to
benefit from it, and for the increased demand
arising from reforms in school education

full financial support for everyone who continues
in full-time education beyond the school-leaving
age.

One of the biggest of all social problems is housing,
and on this there needs to be the concentrated effort,
not only of private and council tenants, but the whole
labour movement, to demand urgent measures to pro-
vide good housing for all as a social right.

Immediate steps should include:

crash programmes for local councils to clear the
slums, end overcrowding and provide enough
housing at moderate rents

government loans at low interest rates

the fullest use by public authorities of indus-
trialised building systems

more powers for local councils to take over empty
houses and finance conversions and improvements

full security and controlled rents for all tenants

mortgages at low controlled rates for those buying their own homes

legislation to ban the sale of council houses.

The quality of life of the majority of people is affected by the unplanned growth of gigantic urban areas and the associated problems of transport and housing. Monopoly capitalist interests, standing in the way of any serious town planning, rebuild town centres solely with an eye to private profit and with little regard for community needs. The result is urban congestion, a totally inadequate transport system, daytime only commercial town centres which are not community centres, the clogging of towns by private cars and vast neglected areas.

There is urgent need in all these fields for democratic planning. The public should be involved in discussion and consultation about the development of each town. Planning should preserve green belts and open spaces, ensure a modern and convenient system of public transport, and provide for the transformation of each city and town into a healthy and beautiful living centre for the people.

Strong pressure for such developments would unite tenants, those needing houses, councillors, town planners, architects and traffic experts in a joint venture to create a new environment worthy of our time.

Local government reform needs to be carried much further, and democratically elected regional councils formed with powers of regional planning. They should consult the people and bring in expert assistance in the development of the region as a whole. Such planning would aim to end chaotic urban growth and rural neglect. It would set out to provide controlled balance of industry, and agricultural development, and ensure the proper provision of educational, cultural, transport, social service and recreational facilities for town and countryside. Its purpose would be to promote

the economic, social and cultural welfare of the people of the region. Recreational facilities would include National Parks giving access to mountains, forests and foreshores.

A People's Programme

The policies of monopoly capitalism put profits first and the people last. They create chaos where there should be planned developments.

The programme which we put forward unites the interests of the working class with those of virtually all sections of the people outside big business. Such a programme, if implemented, would improve the life and opportunities of the majority of the people. But to win it requires continuous struggle and firm leadership on all the questions we have indicated—political, economic and social.

On such a programme the mass of the people can move into action; a broad popular alliance can be formed. Democratic advances along these lines, directed against the monopolies, can pave the way for the advance to socialism, represent a definite stage in social progress.

In the course of the struggle new political alignments will be created, and the people's confidence will be generated in their own ability to transform the whole social system. As the battle sharpens and the power of big business is challenged, experience and knowledge will more and more show the logical need to end the present capitalist system and build a new socialist society.

4. Building a Socialist Society

Towards Political Power

The logical outcome of the fight to extend democracy, to weaken and undermine the power now held and exercised by monopoly capitalism, is the winning of political power by the working class and its allies.

Without such a revolutionary change in society socialism cannot be built. Without such a revolution every advance that has been made in living standards and democracy will be threatened again and again.

The people of different countries have taken power into their own hands in different ways, according to the conditions in their own countries and in the world as a whole. So also the people in Britain will take power in their own way, on the basis of their historical conditions and traditions.

But whatever the conditions in any country there are certain essential requirements for the advance to socialism in every country, including Britain. Power must be taken by the working class, supported by a broad popular alliance. The working class must establish a new socialist state to defend the new social system from opposition both within the country and from outside, and to set about the building of socialism. To carry through this gigantic task the working people need a Communist Party to help lead and organise the struggle, and develop international solidarity and relations with other countries.

The working people through the experience of the struggle carried out under socialist leadership, and helped by the constant exploration of socialist ideas, will come to understand the need to win political power.

The broad popular alliance that they have established in the course of united action for a common democratic programme will give them the strength to apply the knowledge they have gained.

In the course of struggle important inroads will be made into the power of the monopolists—economic, political and social. The aim must be increasingly to isolate the monopolists and the Tories, to break the right-wing domination of the labour movement, and to win a left majority in the Labour Party.

Working class unity, vital for effective democratic struggle against monopoly capitalism, is doubly necessary for winning political power and building socialism. It is the heart of the wider political alliance. Political co-operation between the left majority in the Labour Party when it is won and the Communist Party is indispensable for successful advance to socialism.

By Peaceful Means

It is in the best interests of the working people, of the vast majority of the nation, that this mass struggle for political power should be carried through by peaceful means, without civil war.

The struggle for political power will be intense, will go through many phases and take many forms. In the Parliamentary field the aim must be to win a Parliamentary majority, pledged to decisive socialist change and actively backed by the working people. Such a Parliament would be very different from what we have today.

It will not be simple to achieve this. There will be advances and setbacks. Political power must be won; and in the struggle for power, the winning of a majority in Parliament, supreme organ of representative power, is one of the essential steps.

When a socialist majority in Parliament is won it

will need the support of the mass movement outside Parliament to uphold the decisions it has taken in Parliament. Conversely, the Parliamentary decisions will give legal endorsement to popular aims and popular struggles.

The strength of the mass movement will be felt in Parliament, and the strength of the socialist movement within Parliament will strengthen the movement outside. The one supports the other.

In this way, by political action, using our democratic rights to transform traditional institutions, Parliament can be made into the effective instrument of the people's will, able to carry through major legislation to challenge capitalist power, and replace capitalism by socialism.

These developments, this programme, will have to be fought for by the mass movement at every step, with conscious understanding of the issues at stake. The ruling class will not easily surrender wealth and power. On the contrary, it will strive by every means, direct and indirect, constitutional and unconstitutional, to restrain and impede the popular movement, to break its strength or sap its unity. Against all such attempts popular vigilance and mass action will be essential.

The working class and popular movement will need to be ready to use its organised strength to prevent or defeat attempts at violence against it, its organisations or representatives, or other illegal actions by reactionary forces at home or by agents of their foreign allies.

There will be particular dangers of such resort to force at crucial stages of the struggle, for instance when a general election is likely to result in a socialist majority; or even more when a socialist government has been returned and is taking essential measures to break the economic and political power of the monopolies.

The extent to which the popular movement, above all its working class core, is informed and vigilant, the

extent to which it is geared to bring all its formidable strength into play in support of socialist policies, will be the decisive factor. This strength will determine whether the verdict is accepted, or whether, in defence of their interests, the capitalists resist by force.

We believe that this is a perspective that can be achieved, that the working class and popular movement can, at a time of mounting class struggle, in which the overwhelming majority of the people is in action, be brought to the vital challenging stage where a general election, fought on the issue of socialist change, can bring decisive results. This country has a labour movement which potentially is most powerful, with a high degree of organisation embodying long experience and a strong democratic tradition. There are growing numbers in the professions and elsewhere who, once working class unity is established and a popular movement in being, would be ready to join their efforts to ensure a fundamental reorientation of the economy and assist in developing socialism. In these circumstances a socialist Labour and Communist majority could be returned to Parliament, and a socialist government established. This government, with the backing of the people and their powerful mass organisations, would begin to carry through the change to socialism.

Main Tasks of a Socialist Government

A primary task of the socialist government would be to deprive monopoly capitalism of economic and political power, ensure that political control remained in the hands of the freely elected representatives of the people, build up a state loyal to the working people and initiate measures to reconstruct the economy on socialist lines.

This would entail:

socialist nationalisation of all monopolies and other large-scale concerns in productive industry and distribution, of the banks and insurance companies, and control of foreign trade and overseas relations;

initiation of socialist planning to cover the economy as a whole, in order to improve the working and living conditions of the people in consultation with popular organisations in all the relevant fields;

consolidation of political power by ensuring that those in commanding positions in the armed forces and police, the civil services and diplomatic service are loyal to the socialist government;

the practical extension of democratic control over the press and broadcasting, in the conduct of elections and the administration of the law;

the establishment of new relations abroad with developing nations, with the socialist countries and other capitalist countries, based on the recognition of equal sovereign rights, friendship and peace.

The determined application of these principles, the carrying out of these policies would break the hold of capitalism over the industry and wealth of the country, and radically undermine its power over the minds of the people. For the first time British democracy would really be democracy for the people.

The aim would be to carry out these changes peacefully, as part of a programme planned to promote the welfare and assure the future of the British people. Only against illegal opposition would the force of the law be invoked; only in the case of violence against the socialist government would forceful measures be taken by the state and the people.

Socialist Democracy

Democratically organised political parties, including those hostile to socialism, would have the right to maintain their organisation, publications and propaganda, and to contest elections. With proportional representation the electors would operate their choice fully in contrast with the present unrepresentative, and in effect, two-party system.

Elections would give the people the opportunity to discuss and modify policy and to decide what government they wanted.

A socialist government which bases its policies on popular interests and aspirations, and consults and informs the people at every stage, can be confident of retaining the popular support won for its programme. Such a government sees its task both to lead and accept the guidance of the people.

A socialist Parliament would obviously involve new principles, as the aim would be for the control of the country's affairs to be administered by the people through their elected representatives. To ensure this the House of Commons would have to become the sole legislative body. There would be no place for the House of Lords and the Monarchy in a socialist Britain.

The socialist majority, now truly representative, would be directly answerable to those who elected them, would consult with them, and encourage their activities.

The House of Commons would be a real national forum as well as a decision-making body, debating statements of policy as well as voting upon Bills, drawing on the views of all relevant public organisations in discussing particular issues. It would have standing committees to enable individual members to learn about and influence administrative policies, so that these were constantly brought under public scrutiny.

If Welsh and Scottish Parliaments were not already

in being, one of the first measures of a socialist government would be to establish them. The peoples of Wales and Scotland would need to develop the most effective, democratic forms of self-government in the process of the common effort to build socialism. The peoples of Britain together would work out the best forms of association to fulfil their national, democratic and social aspirations.

A socialist government requires a socialist state machine. Without this the political power of the people, expressed in the democratic decision of the electoral majority, cannot be effective nor can socialism be built.

The leading positions in the Ministries and departments, the armed forces and the police, the nationalised industries and other authorities must, therefore, be filled by men and women loyal to socialism and with experience of the problems and way of life of the people. This ensures that the socialist policies determined on by Parliament are fully implemented. The aim is to make the socialist state machinery the servant of the people and their needs.

Great responsibilities would devolve on the trade unions. Independent of the state and retaining all their rights, they would not only negotiate on all questions affecting members, but would have a leading part to play in economic planning, in promoting scientific and technological change and in ensuring that the workers and the people as a whole benefited from it.

One of the main objectives attainable under socialist ownership of the key industries would be the development of industrial democracy. Autocratic managerial control as it exists under state monopoly capitalism would be replaced by democratic management. This would involve workers' participation in management at all levels—in the planning of industry as a whole—in the individual factories and departments of factories and at workshop level, with the right to inspect the books. The workers would play their part in deter-

mining the overall economic plan through the exercise of their rights as citizens.

The great extension of industrial democracy, with workers having the dominant say in determining environment and conditions of work, becomes possible with the removal of barriers between workers and management. This comes about with the elimination of the irreconcilable conflict between them, which exists as long as private ownership is the basis of production.

It would be the function of the trade unions, responsible to the membership, to safeguard the interests of the workers. And it would be obligatory on existing managements, in co-operation with the trade unions, to provide training and retraining so that all workers could add to and change their skills, increase their scientific and general knowledge and fit themselves for managerial responsibilities.

Co-operation as a form of public ownership would also have an important part in a socialist society, with all facilities necessary to make its full contribution in distribution, production and all democratic activity.

Civil Liberties

Civil liberties, won through the centuries, would be consolidated and extended.

They would include:

Habeas Corpus to protect citizens from arbitrary detention

the right to be tried by jury and the right to strike

freedom to think, work, travel, speak, dissent, act and believe, subject only to those limitations required in any ordered and just society to protect citizens from interference and exploitation by others, and to safeguard the state

freedom of religious worship, respect for all religions, beliefs and creeds, separation of church from state

legal prohibition of incitement to race hatred, and all forms of discrimination based on sex, race, creed or religion.

The basic rights and freedoms would be embodied in a code of citizen's rights, backed by the full force of the law. There would be constant public education, particularly in the schools, to combat racist views in any form.

The judiciary would be independent of the executive, and no longer be drawn, as at present, from a small privileged section of the community. Magistrates would come from nominations by the trade unions, co-operatives, and other representative organisations.

Arbitrary acts of officials would be subject to appeal to a democratically elected and locally based organisation; and a free legal and advice system would provide the necessary service for those who require it. The right to sit on a jury would be extended by the removal of all property qualifications. Corporal punishment and the death penalty would be abolished.

Press Freedom

The reorganisation of the press and other mass media, and the dissolution of the press monopolies would ensure the expression of a variety of views, and the transmission of news without distortion for commercial ends.

Newspapers and periodicals would be owned and controlled by political parties and social groups, trade unions, co-operatives and professional associations, organisations for women, youth and those catering for particular fields of literature, art and sport.

Publicly-owned regional and local radio and television would be expected to give widespread coverage

to events and opinions, extending opportunities to all social, religious and democratic political groups.

Creative artistic activity, experiment and innovation would be encouraged without any administrative interference. Facilities for exhibition and performance would be made available. There would be full support for scientific inquiry in the natural and social sciences. Free confrontation of ideas would be encouraged.

Such measures, using the educational potentialities of the mass media to the full, would genuinely place them at the service of the people as a whole, and could be a major stimulus to democracy and to the development of critical and creative powers.

Labour and Communist Parties

The Communist Party and the Labour Party in which the right wing had been defeated, would be the political organisations of the working class, primarily responsible for the success of the building of socialism.

In working together for this end, in breaking down step by step the old bans and barriers, members of both parties could be drawn closer together, discuss long-term aims and deep political questions—the nature of socialism, Marxism and the Marxist outlook. The Communist Party believes that, in the course of such action and joint discussion, a common approach would increasingly be found. We do not and will not in any way seek to impose Marxist ideas on the members of the Labour Party. Acceptance of the Marxist standpoint can only come through personal conviction, as the fruit of experience, discussion, argument and study.

Only when and if the majority of Labour Party members come to accept Marxist ideas will the foundation be laid for a single united Marxist party. The formation of such a party would, in our view, greatly strengthen the British labour and progressive movement.

Socialist Nationalisation and Planning

The social ownership of all the main industries and national resources makes possible for the first time effective national planning. The vast potential of modern science and technology—automation, cybernetics, advanced techniques and new sources of energy—can really be used and developed for the public benefit.

Socialist nationalisation is quite different from nationalisation undertaken within a capitalist state, bureaucratically organised, restricted mainly to the utilities and in the interests of the privately-owned sector. It serves the community as a whole.

It entails no compensation, except for reasonable life annuities to individuals paid by the state, thus avoiding debt charges of the kind that have crippled formerly nationalised industries. Funds to modernise and expand publicly-owned industries and services under socialism come from the state budget.

A socialist government would produce draft plans to rebuild industry on socialist lines for discussion in the House of Commons and by the nation at large. Once Parliament had decided on priorities, it would devolve on a new national planning authority to prepare plans in consultation with bodies at all levels—financial and industrial, regional, local and at factory level, with trade unions, co-operatives and consumer organisations. These plans would then come before Parliament for further discussion, finalisation and enactment.

Socialist nationalisation would extend to all large-scale privately-owned productive enterprises, to large-scale privately-owned multiple wholesale and retail concerns, the privately-owned banks, insurance companies and institutions, and to the land of large land-owners as well as to urban land, except that of owner occupiers.

Nationalised industries would form the core of a planned economy guided by the socialist government and state. Their boards would be composed of workers, technicians, technologists, scientists and managers with direct experience of the industry.

Socialist ownership and control of the country's wealth would allow for decisions on a proper investment policy, which would in turn define the scope of development for different industries in relation to one another and to general needs. High growth rates would result from planned investment accompanied by the rapid application in all fields of new techniques, automation, computing and nuclear power.

As a result the government could plan with full confidence for an expansion of exports of capital goods and consumer goods. It could at the same time set out steadily to improve the standard of living at home, partly through wage increases and a shorter working day, partly by devoting far more of the national product to social expenditure—on housing, education, health, pensions, social benefits and town planning.

As in industry, so on the land, socialist nationalisation of large estates could bring decisive changes, making possible for the first time the planned use of resources for homes and recreation, as well as for industrial and agricultural development.

Key aims would be the production of considerably more foodstuffs of all kinds to lessen dependence on imports, improve the national diet and contribute to overcoming the present world shortage.

All forms of co-operation developed by working farmers, including buying, marketing, use of machinery, building and cultivation would be encouraged. Some large state farms would be established as model enterprises and for purposes of scientific research.

Amenities in the countryside, particularly transport, health and welfare, could be improved to close the gap between urban and rural living conditions.

Agricultural workers could be guaranteed wages commensurate with their skill and importance to the economy, and adequate non-tied housing near their jobs.

In the supply and distribution of consumer goods the co-operative movement would make a key contribution to the national plan. There would be room to extend co-operative forms of organisation, particularly in handicrafts, fishing and farming, and to develop the co-operative production of consumer goods.

The nationalisation of large-scale industries and trades, the planning of their production and of public services, would assist small owners who have hitherto been progressively squeezed out by the monopolies. They would benefit, too, from the increased purchasing power of the people. Working farmers, craftsmen, small retailers and shopkeepers, would continue to provide essential services.

The dangers of over-centralisation of planning could be avoided by wide consultation, not only in the preparation of plans, but also in carrying them out. This would be done by drawing in workers at all levels of industry, by according regional and local responsibility for enterprises wherever possible, and by paying close attention to consumer demand and providing for its expression through encouragement of public criticism and advice.

Under socialism financial policy is a means of ensuring proper use of the country's resources. It operates to allocate labour, plant, materials and land, and to produce in a planned way what is needed to increase productive power and improve the general standard of life.

The budget of a socialist government would therefore be of a quite different pattern from those of capitalist governments.

The main sources of revenue would be the publicly-owned enterprises. Personal taxation would take a simple form, free of the present anomalies; and the aim would be to keep indirect taxation down. The

present rating system would be abolished. Budget expenditure would include funds for the further expansion of industrial and agricultural production (the source of new wealth), allowing for a systematic expansion of social services and benefits.

Large resources would become available with cancellation of the national debt, providing compensation to small investors. Drastic cuts in expenditure on armaments and the ending of overseas bases would release enormous funds hitherto put to an unproductive use.

Foreign Policy

A socialist government would have no interest in acquiring territory beyond its own boundaries, or in profiting from investments in underdeveloped countries. It would therefore pursue a genuine policy of peace, play a consistent role in strengthening the peace forces throughout the world, work to prevent imperialist aggression and show solidarity with all states and peoples fighting against imperialism.

It would take a firm stand against colonialism in every form, and for the right of all people to self-determination and full independence. It would pursue an independent foreign policy with these key aims:

- to renounce nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, while maintaining forces necessary to defend Britain from aggression; and work for a disarmament treaty covering both nuclear and conventional weapons

- to withdraw troops from the territories of all other countries and end commitments to Nato and similar military alliances

- to end all imperialist relations with former colonies, and seek close friendly relations for mutual benefit

with these and existing Commonwealth countries; and hand over property confiscated from the monopolies, and dismantle the neo-colonialist structure

to accord the right of self-determination to the peoples of the remaining colonies or dependencies of Britain, and offer aid to the newly independent and developing countries from scientific and technical know-how to trade agreements

to oppose imperialism, racialism and militarism and stand firmly opposed to all fascist or reactionary dictatorships

to enhance the status and authority of the United Nations as an all inclusive international body, in which all nations, large and small, are accorded their rightful place

to co-operate closely with other socialist countries recognising that such co-operation will be of great mutual benefit, and strengthen the world forces of peace, national liberation and socialism.

Regional Government, Town Planning and Housing

A socialist government, seeking to extend democracy, would decentralise the machinery of government and planning. Democratically elected regional councils would plan for economic and social development throughout the region. Town and country planning could be effectively undertaken as a result of nationalisation of the land, without the burden of compensation and with the exclusion of speculative building.

The destruction and decay of natural environment, the heritage of capitalism, would step by step be over-

come by large-scale urban and land renewal. Special attention and facilities could be given to areas which, under capitalism, were depressed and allowed to deteriorate. It would be the aim of planning to bring about a better distribution of population, and create balanced opportunities of employment and equal distribution of educational and cultural facilities and amenities.

The main directions of a socialist policy would be:

to vest more powers in regional and local councils, with commensurate resources, and so encourage necessary economic and social developments without putting a heavy burden on residents

to develop new and existing towns within the framework of national and regional planning, with access to extended green belts and protected countryside

to dovetail the development of transport with regional and local plans, providing urban motorways where needed; and encourage cheap or free public transport services, making full use of the most modern forms of vehicles and power.

Housing is already a responsibility of local authorities. Once it has been released from the burden of interest charges, inflated land prices, monopolies in the building and building materials industries, it becomes possible to provide each family with a separate house or flat at a low rent or purchase price.

The main aims of a socialist policy would therefore be:

to plan and build new communities with fully-equipped homes and other amenities provided and integrated—jobs, transport, shops, schools, welfare services, cultural facilities and open spaces

to clear all slums and other sub-standard housing

to give all tenants security of tenure and end private landlordism, permitting local authorities to take over privately-rented dwellings

to encourage the formation of housing associations for co-operative ownership and owner occupiers, and assist with loans at low interest rates, cheap sites, reduced legal charges and control of the costs of repairs.

Health and Social Security

To a socialist society people matter, and a new high priority is given to services for health and welfare. They are allocated the proportion of the national income necessary to promote expansion, and the allocation increases as socialism becomes more firmly established.

Therefore, under a socialist government health services would be free and available to all with no means test and the interests of the patient would be paramount. The bureaucracy and inhumanity which still cling to some of our public services, would be eliminated. A community run by the people for the people would accord, as of right, care to its children and aged, to those in need or distress.

Good health is not simply the avoidance of disease, but is a positive state of well-being. Among other things this requires good housing and earnings, security and enjoyment of work, longer holidays and the facilities to make them restful and enjoyable, the elimination of air pollution and control of industrial processes to eliminate the danger of accident and disease.

A socialist health service would place particular emphasis on preventive medicine, encouraging this by an imaginative programme of health education. There would be efficient ante-natal and maternity services. Every mother could have a hospital confinement if

she so wished. Priority would be given to regular health checks, beginning with the new-born baby and continuing at regular intervals throughout life. An occupational health service would safeguard the health of the workers. A curative service would include a comprehensive modern dental service, and offer the highest standards of medical care for all.

The cumbersome present tripartite division of the medical services, which perpetuates the harmful isolation of hospitals from the rest of the health service, would be ended. Instead, area health boards could co-ordinate all the health facilities of an area. Democratic representation would ensure that all interested sections of the community participated in the running of the health service. This would result in greater efficiency, and a sympathetic and humane attitude to sick people.

In a unified health service the general practitioner would co-ordinate G.P. and welfare services, functioning as leader in a health team based on efficient, well-staffed health centres, and working in close liaison with the district hospital. This could help eliminate the wasteful use and deployment of scarce manpower.

There would be a great increase in new hospital building to provide sufficient beds of all kinds, taking into account the special needs of the old and the young. Hospital waiting times could be reduced to a minimum. The vast problem of effective and humane treatment of the mentally ill would require not only a large extension of modern hospital beds, but the training of large numbers of medical and nursing staff of all grades with specialised experience, and the provision of proper after-care facilities for the patients' return to the community.

An up-to-date accident service would provide the most efficient available treatment for accident cases, including rehabilitation, and could co-ordinate research in this important subject.

It should be a main aim to ensure adequate resources for all medical research, which has hitherto been starved of finances.

The health service would need to be properly staffed and recruitment of all grades encouraged, with more medical students from the working class, and health workers encouraged to become doctors, should they want to. In a planned socialist society, wages and conditions of work in this vital field, in which so many women are engaged, would be commensurate with the responsibilities and the value placed on this work.

Social security depends on narrowing the gap between earnings and the payments accorded to the sick, disabled, temporarily unemployed, or retired. This would be the policy of a socialist government, to be implemented progressively as social wealth increased.

All working people would qualify for pensions and other services sufficient to support them in retirement. Those who had retired after a lifetime's service to the community would be treated as honoured citizens. But opportunities to engage gainfully in new occupations would be provided without loss of pension, as well as the special kinds of housing and welfare services needed. Pensions and other benefits would not depend on deductions from wages and salaries, but the cost would be met out of the total social product. Family allowances would be sufficient to maintain each child during childhood and during the years spent in education. In these ways the poverty line could be eliminated, and families now below it enabled to take a full part in community life.

Education, The Arts and Research

Socialist society can only develop through a system of full education for all. Such education opens up opportunities for young and old, provides the specialists

and experts, the trained and skilled people who can make the most of the country's resources, add to them and explore new prospects.

The proportion of the national income accorded to education, the scope given for the development of facilities of all kinds, is the measure of a community's belief in itself and its future. So a socialist government would accord first priority to educational expenditure.

New discoveries, applied in a planned way, would revolutionise work in most spheres and make possible the cutting back of working hours. What society would need at such a time of rapid technological change and scientific advance, would be men and women who combined sound and broadly based knowledge with imagination, resourcefulness, flexibility of mind. This would call for an end to narrow over-specialisation in school and university, for the provision of new courses of study covering a wide field, but geared to discovery, innovation, creative work. It would demand new kinds of education to increase the skills, widen the interests and promote enjoyment of all ages, and foster a critical and forward-looking spirit.

It would be one of the main aims of a socialist government to provide educational services of this kind, not only through schools and colleges, but through radio, television, the press, publishing houses, the cinema, concerts, theatre, opera and ballet; through libraries, museums and art galleries; through sporting activities of all kinds; through public discussion, debates, lectures, scientific demonstrations. This could be the main way of ensuring that the people as a whole participated in and contributed to advances in knowledge, enjoyment of the arts, and the extension of human achievement. It would be the best guarantee that the most would be made of the abilities of all.

The foundation for an education which continues throughout life is laid in the schools and the home. Qualified workers from day nurseries and child welfare

clinics would be available to help parents. Nursery education would be provided up to school entry age. The schools of a socialist society would all be genuinely public schools, maintained by and open to all the community from the nursery to university age. There would be no private fee-paying schools. The schools would provide programmes planned to stimulate mental and physical development, to ensure that the new generation was able to undertake tasks of a kind that, in this age of revolutionary discovery, we cannot yet know. Provision would be made for children's leisure activities. Special services for the physically and mentally handicapped would be extended. There would be full secondary education for all, with full maintenance provided for those who continued their full-time studies.

Colleges and universities would be planned to provide for increasing numbers, and be geared to the needs of a planned society, in the interests of both individuals and the community. All would be encouraged to combine teaching with research, so that students were brought to the frontiers of present knowledge and saw it as their task to extend them.

Besides sandwich courses for those entering industry, and courses to add to skills in particular fields, there would be ways back into full-time courses for workers in all spheres. At a time when techniques change rapidly, when knowledge is advancing on so many fronts, this is essential to ensure that industries, the arts, social services, are manned by those acquainted with and able to apply new discoveries and methods.

Encouragement and financial assistance would be given to popular organisations of all kinds promoting drama, music, literature, the visual arts, the cultivation of particular fields of study or activity. It would be the aim to provide facilities for these, rather than to promote them directly, so that they could remain under the control and administration of those concerned. The same would apply in the case of youth organisations,

which have too often been “led”, too seldom provided with the room and materials they need to promote their own activities.

With such aid, extended also to the professional theatre, cinema, opera, orchestras, present divisions between the artist and his audience could be overcome. There would be a new understanding with a new enjoyment of all forms of artistic endeavour, whether undertaken directly or in the work of others. Innovation and experiment in the arts would be encouraged.

A socialist government would extend the same principles to cover technological and scientific research. Socialist forms of organisation and participation in the factories could provide great scope for invention and innovation at the bench and in the workshop, building up to the level of production promotion and laboratory research. In offices and hospitals, in work of all kinds, links could be forged to encourage and facilitate a creative approach to work, which is the foundation of all research.

Highly specialised research institutes would be encouraged to maintain links with education on the one hand, production on the other, and to keep workers in the relevant fields continuously informed of research in progress, its direction and significance.

By all these means a socialist government would help to cultivate, draw on, direct into new fields, the infinitely various abilities of people, and ensure for them constructive and creative outlets. This would enrich not only the community but individual lives, would open up quite fresh opportunities, call on people to rise to them and to value properly their contributions. It would invest life with a purpose, make it infinitely worthwhile.

5. The Choice Is Ours

There are two ways open to the people of Britain today. We can continue under capitalism, state monopoly capitalism, or we can take the socialist road.

The Communist Party invites firm support for the policies which will take our country along the road to socialism.

We have explained why we believe this to be essential and in the interests of the great majority of the people. We have outlined what we think should be done to open up the way, and what in our opinion socialism would mean for Britain.

We have affirmed the need to extend democracy on the political, social and industrial fronts, and our belief in the open promotion of mass understanding and mass action to win socialist policies.

We have not hidden the difficulties, but have tried to show how they can be overcome. We have said that in the process of overcoming them new strength and understanding can constantly be achieved.

We have shown that in Britain today there are not only significant limitations to freedom, but growing encroachments on rights which have been won in the past. Modern monopoly capitalism, controlling the key points of the British economy, the key positions of the state, of the mass media and education, dominates the peoples' lives in countless ways.

As we have underlined, it is the mass struggles of the past that have won us our present democratic liberties. These the British people owe above all to the working class, to the labour movement, which fought for decades, under the most difficult conditions, to win rights which

we have all since enjoyed. Now we must fight to defend and extend these rights as we move on the road to socialism, to the rule of the working people, where all that has been won must be preserved and carried further, where democracy must be extended in every field—political, industrial, social.

We have shown that the unity of the labour movement can be the heart of a broad popular alliance of the working people, the vast majority of the population. We have outlined the type of programme of struggle for peace, living standards and democracy, that can unite the working people, and begin to undermine the power of monopoly capitalism. We have shown too the urgent need to secure working class unity, end bans and proscriptions, defeat the influence of reformist ideas. We have explained the need to win the working people, in the course of struggle, for socialist ideas and socialist policies, and the key role in this task of Marxist theory and the Communist Party.

There are deep differences in our country between rich and poor, between the privileges accorded as of right to birth and wealth and the limitations of the lives of those who produce the wealth.

It is our aim to remove these limitations from the lives of the majority, to use the political freedoms which we have won and shall win to achieve social and industrial freedom, to break down this class structure. It is our aim to build a society in which all are able to live a full life, free of class distinctions and divisions which condition development along prescribed lines.

But we do not believe that this can be done for the people. It can only be done by the people. To this end we work for the widest possible mass movement in the course of which a new understanding, new relations, can be forged.

We have tried to indicate how we can end for all time the aggressive reactionary role that Britain, British imperialism, has so long played; to show that there is

a fine future for Britain, with a respected place in the world, when Britain ends its colonialism, works for peace, throws its influence and efforts on the side of those states and peoples fighting against imperialism, and co-operates to the full with the socialist countries.

We have described in the broadest outline what socialism could mean for Britain, indicated the most general features of a socialist programme, which, with the aid of a socialist government, the people would struggle to fulfil. With all the difficulties that we are bound to face in building socialism it is easy to see how great an advance it would mean on our present capitalist conditions.

Socialist countries do not claim to be utopias, free of problems. They are countries in which difficulties occur and have to be overcome in the best interests of the working people. But they are countries which make full use of their material and spiritual resources, which are free of economic crises and unemployment, countries in which progress can be continuous, and where it is directed towards the satisfaction of human needs and aspirations.

The achievements of socialism, once a distant dream, are now a reality for all to see, in many countries of the world. But we are not claiming that Britain should copy others exactly in the way it advances to socialism and establishes socialist institutions. On the contrary we have outlined a *British* road to socialism.

We have traced this road in the light of the particular history that has shaped the institutions and outlook of the British people, of the relation of class forces in Britain today, and in the world. These latter have now radically changed with the successes of socialism in the Soviet Union and other countries, with the advances of the national liberation movement, and of the socialist and progressive forces within the remaining capitalist world.

We reaffirm that through the unity, socialist understanding and mobilisation of the labour movement a popular alliance can be built and maintained strong enough to end the power of monopoly capitalism and establish the rule of the working people led by the working class. Under this rule, the rule of the majority in the interests of the majority, the people can establish socialism.

We see socialist society as the first stage in the advance to a higher, communist form of society. As productive forces begin to supply an abundance of products, as the last remnants of classes vanish, as education spreads, leisure expands, and work becomes skilled and a pleasure, we will move into the realm of a truly human society, where the watchword is from each according to his ability to each according to his needs; and where, in the words of the *Communist Manifesto* "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all".

Such is the policy and perspective of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

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