

BRITAIN ARISE

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People's Democracy for Britain

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6d.

The British Road to Socialism

Programme of the Communist Party

4d.

Resolutions and Proceedings

4d.

Published by

THE COMMUNIST PARTY,
16 KING STREET,
LONDON, W.C.2.

April, 1952

Printed by

FARLEIGH PRESS LTD.

(T.U. all depts.),

BEECHWOOD WORKS, WATFORD, HERTS.

CP/T/62/4/52

1952
BRITAIN

ARISE



**22nd National Congress
of the Communist Party**

Political Report made by

HARRY POLLITT

General Secretary

LONDON

1952

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BRITAIN ARISE

By HARRY POLLITT

I

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

The rise in the cost of food, rents, fares, gas, coal, electricity; the cuts in food subsidies and social services; the dreadful plight of the war-disabled, old-age pensioners and unemployed; the impositions of the Budget; the shame of British lads being forced to shoot down other lads in Korea, Malaya and Egypt; the loss of our national independence to foreign power, and, above all, the appalling horrors

which would fall on Britain in the event of a third world war, all these are the grim features of the present position that should sweep away all barriers to the building-up of a mighty united front of struggle which can bring about a transformation in the position at home and abroad.

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

We warn the British people that those who now speak of a "national emergency" and a "national crisis", whether they be Tory, Liberal or right-wing Labour leaders, are precisely those who by their past, present and contemplated future policies, have brought our country to its present position and sold Britain down the river to the dollar millionaires, those Yankee warmongers whose plan is to send British lads as cannon-fodder in an American-organised war against the Soviet Union, and with British cities and large numbers of civilians being wiped out in an atomic war.

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

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

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

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

II

The Economic Position

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

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

Internally, the critical economic situation is seen in the ceaseless rise of prices, the worsening of living standards, and the ruthless cutting of social expenditure.

What are the reasons for this situation? The basic cause lies in the crisis of British imperialism, which is a part of the general crisis of

the capitalist world. For many decades British economy has been maintained on the basis of world tribute from the colonial and dependent countries. Already before the First World War, nearly one-third of Britain's imports were no longer paid for by exports of goods. The rottenness of this system has been more and more exposed by all that has happened since then.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CAPITALIST "REMEDIES"

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

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

yet". All this will be repeated as long as decaying British monopoly capitalism exists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

American imperialism is not at all interested in preserving the strength of British imperialism. The inevitable price for new doles from the U.S.A. will be more subservience to American policies that further undermine Britain's economic position, acceptance of U.S. participation in the exploitation of the British Empire, the use of British troops ("aided" by American arms) to put down resistance of the peoples of South-East Asia and Africa for the benefit of U.S. investors, with the British Trusts as their junior partners.

THE ALTERNATIVE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

What is the way out for Britain?

The first and crucial step is to cut arms expenditure. This would

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

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

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

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

Alongside the wages fight, should go the fight to increase all social service benefits, including old age pensions, the pensions of the war disabled and unemployment benefit.

The third step needed is a complete break with the present policy of the U.S.A. and the most rapid development of East-West trade, together with the granting of independence to the peoples of the Empire and the development of mutually beneficial trade with them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

cheese, 17,000 tons of butter, 30,000 tons of poultry and 10,000 tons of tinned meat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III

The Fight for Peace and National Independence

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

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

The growing strength of the world forces for peace does not mean

that the imperialists cease their preparations for war. On the contrary, they speed them up and intensify them, in the endeavour to launch new acts of aggression before the peace movement becomes so strong as to make it impossible.

The recent actions of the imperialists have shown how serious the danger is.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

At the head of the mighty peace camp stands the Soviet Union, which is daily giving new proofs to the world that its one desire is to maintain world peace. No honest person who looks at the record can believe any longer the slander that the Soviet Union wants war.

It was the Soviet Union which fought in the Conference of Foreign Ministers' Deputies a long battle for the solution of the German problem in conformity with the Potsdam Agreement, and for the establishment of a united, independent, democratic and peace-loving Germany, and which continues that fight today, as witnessed in the important new proposals it has made for a peace treaty with Germany.

It was Mr. Malik, on behalf of the Soviet Union, who proposed a cease-fire in Korea last June. The Soviet Union has given its full

support to the demand made by hundreds of millions throughout the world for the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact. Mr. Vyshinsky's fight in the United Nations General Assembly for the banning of the atom bomb and a genuine plan for disarmament opened the eyes of new millions, exposed the hypocrisy and falsity of the American pretence to be in favour of disarmament, and showed the sincerity and consistency of the stand taken by the Soviet Union.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CONTRADICTIONS IN THE WAR CAMP

The contradictions within the camp of the warmongers are becoming increasingly sharp. It is no exaggeration to say that the relations

between the Atlantic Pact Powers have reached the stage of crisis. The rearmament programmes which the Americans insist on and which they demand that every West European country should increase, weaken the economies of the American satellites and increase the unbalance between America and the rest of the capitalist world. The building up of West Germany and Japan causes even reactionary and capitalist circles in Europe and Asia to fear both the economic consequences and the danger to national interests which such a policy represents.

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

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

After the Second World War, instead of learning from their experiences with Hitler of the fatal consequences to Britain of pursuing an anti-Soviet policy, the British imperialists continued with such a policy. The Labour Government, carrying out the policy of British imperialism and following the path marked out by Churchill's Fulton speech in 1946, calculated that it could do a deal with American imperialism, secure American help in holding down the colonies, incorporate Western Europe in the area dominated by British imperialism, and prepare, in association with the United States, for aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF BRITISH POLICY

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

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

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

This whole disastrous policy has already led to the loss of our

political, military and economic independence. If continued it will mean the destruction of our country in a third world war.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE IN BRITAIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From this Congress there must be a rapid and radical change. We cannot afford any longer to regard the fight for peace, and the building of the peace movement, as being of less than first and decisive importance throughout the great industries of Britain, wherein are gathered the millions of workers whose united strength and power

organised and exerted in support of a real peace policy can ensure victory for a secure and prosperous future.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We speak for all those who want a Britain, free, strong and independent, subservient and subordinate to no other country in the world.

IV

Unity with the Colonial Peoples

The fight for peace and the national independence of the British people cannot be separated from the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples of the British Empire for national liberation. Unity of the peoples in the Empire against the unholy alliance of American

imperialism and British imperialism is the essential means to win a common victory for national independence and for peace.

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

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

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

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

THE CRISIS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

The biggest obstacle to the increased exploitation and the carrying through of war plans in the colonial countries is the growing movement for colonial and national liberation.

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

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

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

OUR RESPONSIBILITY IN BRITAIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

V

How to Defeat the Tories

OUR MAIN TASK

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

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

The Tory Party, as all its past history so abundantly proves, will

stop at nothing to preserve its system of rent, interest and profit to enable a handful of exploiters, rentiers and parasites to live in idleness and luxury at the expense of the vast majority of working people.

To defeat the Tory Party at every stage of its efforts to impose its reactionary policy on the people is Priority Number One for the Communist Party.

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

We denounce the shameful declaration of the General Council of the T.U.C. that it would work amicably with this Tory Government.

There can be nothing in common between the working class and its hated traditional Tory enemies.

Disunity is a gift to the Tories. To the degree the working class is split and divided, the Tories are strengthened. They can keep in power only to the extent that we are divided.

That is why we Communists work night and day to help achieve the maximum possible unity between all those in the Labour movement and outside it who have common aims.

OUR IMMEDIATE AIM

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

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

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

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

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

They give opportunities for developing on a local and county scale, and in accordance with the local conditions and the demands of the working people, forms of united action that can inflict a salutary

defeat on the open Tory candidates, and their stooges disguised as "Independents".

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

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

It will be the aim of this mass movement not only to defend successfully the living standards of the working people, but, gaining strength from this, to ensure the crushing defeat of the Tories at the next General Election, and the return of a Labour Government which would be compelled to carry through an entirely new policy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

UNITY IS POSSIBLE

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

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

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

The desire to fight back is also strikingly seen in the actions of women workers and housewives on all issues affecting the cost of living, wages, equal pay, the defence of the children, the remarkable response to the National Women's Assembly, and the defence of peace. Among young people it is to be seen in their struggle for better conditions, in the engineering apprentices' strike for the pound a week advance in wages, against militarisation, and for the unity of the youth of the world against war.

The discontent of the rank and file of the Labour Party, trade unions and co-operative movement is being publicly expressed in the character of the resolutions now appearing on the agendas of annual conferences of these organisations. Those to be found in the conference agendas of the trade unions, the Co-operative Party and Co-operative Women's Guild are already significant evidence of this. We are confident the same tendencies will be expressed in the agendas of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party.

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

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

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

Where local Labour Party branches are the most active, the delegates to them from the trade unions the most militant, there you will find

it is because of the activity carried on in the factories, pits, depots, docks and offices.

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

A NEW APPROACH TO LABOUR PARTY MEMBERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

At present, owing to the splitting decisions taken by the Labour Party under the influence of the right-wing leaders, trade unionists who are members of the Communist Party (although they pay the political levy) are not accepted by Labour Parties as delegates from trade union branches, nor may they be nominated as Labour candidates, local or Parliamentary. This refusal of democratic rights to certain trade

unionists is a violation of working-class principle which has weakened the fight for working-class policy. It is in the interests of all trade unionists to insist on the reversal of this decision, so that they can send forward as delegates to Labour Parties those members who, in their opinion, can best represent the interests and outlook of their branch members.

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

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

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

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

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

TRADE UNIONISTS AND THE STRUGGLE

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

It is necessary to teach these young trade unionists what these "old functions of the trade unions" were. They were to defend at every point the working and living conditions of their members; constantly to use their power to improve these conditions; to go further and further

along the road of trade union unity and amalgamation, and practice the historic watchwords of trade unionism: "United We Stand—Divided We Fall"; "An Injury to One is an Injury to All".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some of the proudest pages in the history of British trade unionism are those where industrial action was resorted to for what were described as "political objectives": for instance, the actions in 1914 in defence of the South African trade union leaders who were deported to Britain; in the great rent strikes organised in Glasgow by the trade unionists in 1915; in the action of the London dockers in 1920 in refusing to load munitions on the *Jolly George*, which not only stopped a war on Russia at that time, but in the words of both Churchill and the late Lloyd George: "completely transformed the entire international situation"; and in defence of the miners in the General Strike of 1926.

These are the traditions which need to be recalled and emulated in the present fight against the whole policy of the Tory Government, and its efforts to find a way out of the economic crisis at the expense of the working class and their families.

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

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

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

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

The truth of the matter is quite simple. The stronger the fight inside and outside the workshops becomes, the stronger can become the fight of all those in the Parliamentary Labour Party who are genuinely

desirous of opposing the reactionary policies of their own leaders as well as of the Tory Government.

MORE RANK AND FILE CONTROL

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

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

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

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

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

SHOP COMMITTEES AND SHOP STEWARDS

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

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

The more united and powerful their workshop organisation becomes,

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

The truth of this is to be seen in the fact that employers always try to get rid of shop stewards first when any question of dismissals arises.

It is also borne out by long experience that where workers fail to defend successfully their shop stewards they seldom succeed in defending their living standards.

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

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

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

ORGANISING THE UNORGANISED

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

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

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

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

To organise these workers means to develop class-consciousness, widen their political experience, bring new masses into the active struggle against capitalism, and thus help to make certain that the Tory Party is decisively defeated at any future General Election.

The stronger the bonds between all the workers by hand and brain become, the stronger does the whole line of fight against capitalism become possible, leading to a common political outlook and understanding that will be of decisive importance, not only in defending living standards and peace, but in the serious tasks which have to

be carried out when the working class in Britain and its allies come to power and commence the building of Socialism.

We should also work to secure the affiliation of all professional trade union organisations to the Trades Union Congress, so that they become an integral part of the organised trade union movement, making their most important contribution in formulating policies whereby the conditions of all workers by hand and brain can be improved, the links between them strengthened, sectional outlooks abolished, and in this way enable the full force of the Labour movement to be used to achieve both its industrial and political aims.

WHAT TO DO

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

- (1) The entire trade union movement should go boldly forward with the slogans: restoration of all cuts in social services and food subsidies; increased wages now in every industry; equal pay for equal work; no toleration of any reductions in living standards.
- (2) The trade unions should combat all unemployment and short time. They should fight for the raw materials in every civilian industry threatened in this way. They should demand a fall-back wage where short time exists, and demand that no foreign worker should be employed while a British worker is unemployed or on short time. They should demand increased unemployment benefit and the abolition of the three days' waiting time.
- (3) Every union should fight for the implementation of the T.U.C. resolution for an increase in social benefits to meet the rising cost of living.
- (4) Every union should support all actions against the Atlantic War Pact, the rearming of Western Germany to serve America's war plans, and be identified in every way possible with the peace movement.

Around these demands the widest united mass movement could be generated, bringing into action every union branch, shop stewards committee and trades council.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY

Never was the need for a united international trade union movement so essential as it is at the present time, and for none more so than the trade unionists of this country.

We are in a period of sharpening class struggle, when every capitalist nation is engaged in a cut-throat export competition; when the cheap-labour commodities of Western Germany and Japan have once again appeared on the world market, constituting in particular a grave threat to the British working-class standards of life. It is also a period when the British workers have a vested interest in strengthening the bonds of trade union solidarity with the colonial workers of the world through a united international trade union movement.

Above all, the dark clouds of a new world war hang over the

peoples of the world, and if there is one force more than any other that can prevent such a war breaking out, it is the organised workers of the world.

Yet it is in this situation that the reactionary trade union leaders of all capitalist countries, instructed and dominated by the Americans, have split the international trade union movement. This is, of course, the logic of their policy in their own countries, but it is one that needs to be immediately fought and defeated.

The trade unionists of Britain can be won for ending the split and reuniting the British trade unionists with their brothers in the World Federation of Trade Unions, on the basis of joint actions in defence of the living standards of the people and for peace. The rank and file of the Trades Union Congress were never consulted by the Deakins and Lawthers before they walked out of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and, in obedience to the dictates of the reactionary American Federation of Labour, set up the so-called International Confederation of Trade Unions.

Millions of dollars are being spent by the American Government more or less directly, and through the American Federation of Labour and Committee of Industrial Organisation groups which are acting as agents of the American Government, to split the trade union movement, not only in Europe, but throughout the world.

The British T.U.C. has also been collecting considerable sums from affiliated unions for similar action, particularly in colonial countries.

We are certain that if the rank-and-file members of the British trade union movement were allowed a democratic vote taken on this issue of reuniting the trade unions of Britain with their brothers of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the answer would be an emphatic "Yes".

OUR DUTY

Every single member of our Party and Young Communist League who is eligible has the duty of being a member of his or her trade union and co-operative organisation and attending the trade union branch meetings and taking the lead in winning all other workers to become active members of their trade unions.

We need to conduct ourselves in the most helpful manner in these meetings, always striving to find unity between ourselves and our fellow members so that there is the maximum support for all progressive demands put forward, that organisation in the factory is strong and united, that our union has 100 per cent membership, and that our branch is affiliated to the local trades council and plays an active part in enabling it to become the unifying centre of all trade union activity in the areas where we live and work.

OUR APPROACH TO CO-OPERATORS

In the Co-operatives, too, unity against the Tories depends, firstly, on winning conviction in regard to the need to fight for a new policy in the Labour movement, and, secondly, on helping the rank-and-file co-operators to go into action for their demands. To defend and

extend the co-operatives against Tory big business means to break with the outlook of right-wing committee men and officials who are prepared to accept capitalist policies.

The attacks on living standards arising from the rearmament policy are directly affecting the co-operative movement, compelling many members to withdraw their savings and cut down their spending. Capitalist remedies, such as wage restrictions and increased profit margins, cannot possibly save the co-operatives, which can flourish only with advancing standards for working people.

Already many co-operative organisations have shown that they are for peace, for friendship with the peoples of all countries, and against the spreading of poisonous American ideas among young people.

The vital interests of the co-operative movement and all that it stands for now demand from its members more activity, side by side with other sections of the Labour movement, to defend peace and to fight for trade between East and West, for wage advances and for better social services.

But there are tens of thousands of working people trading at co-operative shops who are not yet part of the organised movement. It is our responsibility to help in bringing these people, whose first point of contact is the co-operative shop, into the organised movement, into the ranks of those who can be relied on to stand firm against Tory provocation. In particular, the strengthening of the Co-operative Guilds, this great potential force, would bring new life into the movement.

OUR APPROACH TO WOMEN

Is there anything new in the mood of the women, and in our own experience among them? Yes, there is, and the proof of this is to be seen in the great response among large numbers of women to all the activities of the peace movement and the coming to the fore of scores of hitherto unknown comrades as peace champions and leaders of agitational action, whom we do not yet help sufficiently. The tremendous support given to the National Assembly of Women proves how greatly we have underestimated what is going on and being thought about by millions of women all over Britain.

But there is a tremendous gap between what is needed and what is possible, and what we are doing. Particularly if we consider that there are over 2,000 women's sections of the Labour Party with whom our daily contact is almost nil; nearly 100,000 women organised in the Co-operative Guilds, and millions of women not belonging to any organisations.

Our influence in industries where women's labour is predominant is very, very small, and the question of trade union organisation of the unorganised workers is particularly burning in relation to women workers.

We have said many times that the job of winning the women as equal partners in a united and fighting working-class movement is the job of the whole Party. For years we have been talking about helping to develop a mass movement among women. Well, one is developing

before our eyes, and we should be proud to do everything we can to give it assistance.

WINNING THE YOUNG PEOPLE

This generation of young people is living under a Tory Government for the first time.

With Churchill in control, the attack on youth is stepped up.

The claims of the Tories to be a party for youth have been exploded and many thousands of young people, including sections of the Young Tories, see the danger that faces Britain and world peace, and what it means for them.

With the Tories in power, the most vicious attacks are being made on Britain's young workers.

Short time and unemployment in the clothing, cotton, furniture and hosiery industries hits young people first.

The light engineering industries employ tens of thousands of young workers whose jobs are threatened.

In basic industries, the young miners still do not get the adult rate at eighteen, engineering apprentices receive scandalously low wages, and the Master-Apprentice Scheme in the building industry comes to an end this year.

The education cuts affect tens of thousands of young people learning a trade at night school, going to evening recreational classes or working for a scholarship to go to university.

Those on trade training courses will have to pay higher fees or get out. The prohibitive cost of recreational classes and the cuts in grants to the youth service will force thousands more on to the street corner, and opportunity for higher education will remain the preserve only of the rich.

The very first act of the Tory Government was to rush through the new Short-Service Scheme for the Regular Army. This scheme presents three years in the Regular Army at full rates of pay, together with four years in the paid reserve, as a more attractive proposition than two years at conscript's pay followed by three and a half years' compulsory service in the Territorial Army.

Every effort is being made to persuade national service men to stay longer in the armed forces. This year there will be five call-ups instead of four, and the age of conscription has been reduced by three months of eighteen years in order to obtain the biggest ever peace-time call-up of 235,000 young men.

The unity in action developed during the General Election between Labour and Communist youth, the struggle of the apprentices for higher wages and growing opposition to the militarisation of Britain's youth, must now be strengthened in the development of a mighty movement of young workers assisting the defeat of a Tory Government.

What is needed now is the most active assistance of every militant and serious-minded worker in the Labour and trade union movement to bring the young workers into mass activity and into the leadership of the youth movement in the factories and trade unions.

Proof of the profound feeling of Britain's young people for peace is shown in the growing support for the British Youth Peace Festival at Sheffield this Whitsun among the widest sections.

This young generation can and must be won for a policy of peace.

We make it clear that we are resolutely opposed to the militarisation of British youth on American orders. Twelve months in uniform is sufficient for the defence of Britain and we are prepared to unite with all sections of the Labour movement who are opposed to two years' conscription and for bringing our lads home. At the same time we are for the vote at eighteen, on the principle "old enough to fight—old enough to vote".

The advancement of youth's demands for increased wages, training and education at the expense of profits and armaments expenditure is in the interests of the entire Labour movement.

The struggle for the solution of the burning social questions of young people, and ensuring them homes, health and happiness would also assist to win youth for solid support for the working-class movement.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY

It must be clearly recognised by every member of the Communist Party that to secure such unity as we have now outlined demands an end once and for all of the deep-seated sectarianism which still persists in our ranks, which refuses to see the need of winning allies, which is content to stand alone and glory in it, as if it was something to boast about, that is in its element when it believes it is doing a good job by working in what is misguidedly looked upon as "splendid isolation".

Such comrades should understand that the leadership of the working class will never be attained by a process of spontaneity. The leading role of a Communist Party does not come of itself. It has to be won in action. This is why we need to remember that the best way of establishing unity in action consists, not in posing the demands which we think the masses want, but in leading the fight for the demands that the masses themselves are expressing a desire to secure.

There is also the need to end the opportunist danger that believes unity can best be achieved by soft-pedalling our Party policy, that wants to hide the face of the Party, that does not see that without the work and leadership of the Communist Party no effective and lasting unity can be established, that thinks that good personal relationships "without bringing the Party into it" can best do the trick.

The more quickly and effectively the Communist Party eliminates both these wrong political tendencies, the more quickly it can really get down to the job of trying to build up the strongest possible united front.

Why have we dealt at length with the decisive issue of working-class unity? Because it is the very heart of the problem we have to solve if the Labour movement is to go forward to great new victories over its historic class enemies in the next round of class battles.

If such a unity as we have in mind can be established, what a

complete transformation this would mean for the whole Labour movement! A more united and militant Labour Party, Trades Union Congress and co-operative movement. An end to Tory rule and the formation of a Labour Government pledged to base its policy on the measures suggested in this report.

And an end to right-wing betrayals; to "left" careerism and personal opportunism.

It would mean a working class so united and strong that it would inspire all who love peace and hate war, all who want social advance and not social decay and decadence, and the surety of a happy, peaceful and prosperous life, to rally to the Labour movement and take an active part in its work.

This is why we call upon every member of the Communist Party in the first place to set the personal example in trying to achieve our aims. Now is the time to use the influence, talents and energy we all possess in some degree or other to try to establish that unity in action which can guarantee fulfilling the immediate aims, aspirations and desires of all working people, who, above all else in the world, desire a lasting peace and the possibility of those forms of social progress which can help forward the developments towards the establishment of Socialism in Britain.

VI

The Fight for Communist Ideas

The period that faces us is a period of struggle—struggle for peace, struggles on wages and every issue of living standards and social welfare, struggle to defend and restore the national independence of Britain, and to organise the decisive defeat of the Tories.

But can we achieve victory in the field of mass struggle *alone*? No! We have to link at every stage and level the mass struggles with a struggle in the *ideological field* against the ideas and theories of the class enemy.

How do workers learn? What will give to the decisive section of the working people led by the working class the conviction that the perspective of the *British Road to Socialism* is a correct one and the readiness to make every sacrifice in putting it into practice? What will give to the mass movement of struggle a Socialist consciousness?

It is, precisely, the linking at every stage of the ideological and the practical struggle.

THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

Our class enemy, the monopoly capitalists, never under-estimate the power of ideas.

They use to the full the State power that is theirs, the Press that they own, their cinemas and theatres, their radio and television stations, to instil in the minds of the people false theories and ideas that disarm them, hinder their struggles, hold them back in the fight against capitalism.

They teach that wars are inevitable, that war is a product of human

nature; they turn truth on its head and paint the defenders of peace as aggressors, and aggression as the defence of peace; they try to divert the mass of the people away from the struggle for peace by what Comrade Stalin so truly described as "enmeshing them in a net of lies."

They try to smother and damp down the patriotism and pride of the people in their cultural heritage and their past achievements, to teach that national sovereignty is an old out-moded conception and to drag the people into acceptance of the domination of American imperialism over every field of British life.

Above all, they use their direct representatives *inside* the Labour movement, the right-wing Labour leaders, to disarm the Labour movement from *within*.

The ideology of social democracy grew up on the basis of British imperialism. These were the ideas that have won so tight a grip in the British Labour movement: that Socialism would be achieved gradually and peacefully *inside* the capitalist system; that the class struggle should be rejected; that the State was a neutral organism above classes that would serve whichever Party was elected to office; that the workers would always depend on the best capitalist brains, that foreign policy was a "national" issue transcending classes and the task of Labour was to "continue" the foreign policy of Liberals and Tories; and that the maintenance of Empire domination and exploitation (hypocritically veiled under the title "Free Commonwealth of Nations") was essential for the standard of living of the working class.

But today the ideas of social democracy reflect still more closely the decaying ideology of monopoly capitalism. Even the vaguest ideals of Socialism are forgotten, class collaboration is openly vaunted, American imperialism praised as the spokesman of civilisation, wars against colonial peoples supported and justified, lies and hatred are spread about the countries of Socialism and People's Democracy.

The monopolists also send into the Labour and progressive movement their direct agents—Titoites and Trotskyists—who with lying demagogic phrases, under a leftist cover, try to hold back those who are turning away from the right-wing social democrats, and to prevent the development of that unity in action which they fear above all else.

Why do the ideas of social democracy still exercise so great an influence over the working-class movement in Britain? The economic basis that gives rise to them has been deeply undermined. But is it not true, that the old ideas of social democracy still linger on in the minds of the workers, as an evil heritage of the past, when the economic situation that gave rise to them is fast disappearing?

And is it not above all true that these ideas will linger on in the minds of men *until they are driven out*, in bitter struggle, in the battle of ideas, by the idea of Socialism, of Marxism-Leninism?

Have we understood that lesson? No, we have not.

We have tended in recent years to look upon the battle of ideas as the task of the specialised few, writers, professional men and women, of a handful of "theoreticians".

Now all these comrades who work in specialised fields have an important role to play in the battle of ideas, each in his own sphere—philosophy, art, history, science and literature. We have many achievements in these fields, and we call on these comrades to do still more to combat in a living, militant way the ideology of decaying capitalism and to put forward creatively the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

But the lesson that we want you all to take away from this Party Congress is that the ideological struggle is a struggle that must be carried on by the whole Party—in the factories and pits, in the railway depots, in the streets, in the trade unions and co-operatives, as well as in the universities and organisations of cultural and scientific workers.

Socialism will never be achieved by propaganda and education *alone*. It is true that the workers learn through experience, experience that is won in hard, mass struggles. But no amount of struggle alone will be successful in getting rid once and for all of the ideas and theories that hold them back, the ideas of the ruling class, whether in their social democratic or other forms. No amount of struggle *alone* will give the working class and the working people a Socialist consciousness and a class perspective of along what road to advance to Socialism.

How many bitter experiences have we known in the history of our British Labour movement where great class struggles have won temporary victories only to be changed into defeats by a cunning enemy because the movement lacked theory, perspective and Socialist consciousness.

And, therefore, we put it to you, that in order to fight successfully to make a reality of the perspective in *The British Road to Socialism* we must couple to our mass practical struggles the struggles in the ideological field—against the ideas of the warmongers, ideas of fatalism, of inevitability of war; against the false theories that seek to justify the sacrifice to U.S. imperialism of our national sovereignty, against the false theories of social democracy.

MARXIST EDUCATION

But how can we achieve this? How can we secure the decisive defeat of the ideas of social democracy and reaction that still exercise so great an influence amongst the working people and the working class?

This puts before the whole Party the urgent task of lifting the political level of the Party at all levels, and through the work of the Party lifting the level of political understanding of the working class and the working people.

We raised our neglect of Marxist education very sharply at the Extended Meeting of the Executive Committee in October, 1950. We saw then that there were a number of serious weaknesses in this field of our work—there was a tendency to separate our educational work from the general life of the Party, to separate theory and practice; for our most active comrades to disregard the need for study and for education to be put in the hands of those remote from Party activity. Education was at an especially low level in the Party branches; there was a gross neglect of, and under-estimation of, the importance of

personal study as the essential means of achieving an understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory.

We believe that as a result of the discussions and of the decisions taken at that meeting we have secured a certain improvement in our work. The Marxist Study Themes that were initiated then have brought about a more consistent study and political discussion in our Branches. The Reading Programmes, despite some weaknesses, have helped a considerable number of the cadres of our Party to undertake consistent personal study. Our National Schools have more successfully linked the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete problems facing us in Britain, and there have been considerable developments of long-term schools for leading cadres in the Districts.

But can we be satisfied? No. There is no doubt in my mind that the weaknesses in our Branch life and the large number of relatively inactive comrades are linked with the lack of consistent political education and discussion that still prevails in many branches.

There is no doubt that many leading comrades, especially in the field of industry, are resting on studies carried out fifteen or twenty years ago, that many comrades are not studying consistently and not helping those for whom they are responsible to study consistently. There is no doubt that there are still those who boast that they are so active that they never have time to study, forgetting that activity without political clarity is not always of great value to the working class.

There is no doubt that the fluctuations in our Party membership, which still continue on so high a scale, are also linked with an insufficient effort to give the new recruits to the Party an understanding of the Party that they have joined and what it is fighting for.

And so, what tasks in this field can we put before our Party from our 22nd Congress?

We would say, *firstly*, that continuing along the line put forward at the Executive Committee in October, 1950, we must work still harder to develop regular, planned education in our Party branches, and particularly in our Factory Branches; that we must extend planned self-study amongst all sections of the Party, involving all leading comrades in this work; that we must fight for the extension of regular Party Schools at all levels—National, District and local.

We would say, *secondly*, that we must more and more *turn outwards* in our work of Marxist-Leninist education. The understanding of Marxism must *not be confined* to the Party. Tens of thousands of militant Labour workers are posing profound questions, and seeing, though not yet clearly, that they have been misled and betrayed by their right-wing leaders, looking for an answer to the problems that confront them, not just on immediate issues, but on all the vast fundamental issues of our time. How can we help them find that answer?

Our Party education must be turned outwards. In the trade unions, in the Co-operatives, everywhere where Labour workers are present, amongst the women and the youth, there must be more public discussions, public meetings, where the deep issues of the road to Socialism are raised alongside the immediate issues.

There is a *third* task that we would like to mention here in connec-

tion with the educational work of our Party. The Communist Party is the heir to all that is finest and most militant in the history of Labour struggle over the last century and a half. It is the heir to the struggles of the past and defends our cultural heritage. But have we done sufficient to use our Marxism, to apply our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism to the problems of the past, present and future of our own country? Social democracy has tried in its efforts to disarm the workers, to rewrite the history of the British Labour movement, omitting its struggles and sacrifices, and to bring up the youth in ignorance of our deep traditions of class struggle.

We would emphasise once again that the battle of ideas is the task of the whole Party and in particular of all its leading Committees. When Socialism and Socialist understanding are married to the mass Labour movement, when theory is wed with practice, then the British Labour movement will prove invincible.

VII

The Communist Party, Young Communist League, and the "Daily Worker"

The policy outlined in this Report can only be carried to complete success by a far larger Party and factory organisation and a more powerful and influential *Daily Worker* than we possess at this moment.

But let everyone here ask themselves again and again: "Why are the Party membership and *Daily Worker* circulation no bigger now than at the last Congress?"

When we point to the sweeping away of the wage freeze, or Order 1305, or to the "Smash the Tory Committees" in the factories during the General Election; when we point to the great growth of the peace sentiment among the people, then all of us see clearly and appreciate the active part played by our Party in helping to lead and inspire these great developments.

But that is surely being wise after the event, and in any case is only one side of the medal.

For example, there was one point in my report to the Executive Committee meeting last November which received less attention in our Party than the rest of it.

Let me repeat that point again. If our Party of 35,000 inspired and led the great anti-Tory rally, it is even more certain that if we had 50,000 to 60,000 members at the time, there would have been no Tory victory, and we challenge any delegate here to get up and deny it.

We have done a grand job as part of the peace movement to rally the masses of people behind the world demand for a Five-Power Peace Pact.

We have championed the just cause of the Korean people against the American aggressors.

But the fact that we have not yet forced a British Government to negotiate a Five-Power Peace Pact, the fact that terrible wars continue in Korea and Malaya, must weigh heavily on our consciences.

If our Party was stronger, if we had double the number of factory

branches, if the circulation of the *Daily Worker* was a quarter of a million, it could make the difference between war and peace.

Two hundred thousand people have read *The British Road to Socialism*. These represent many of the most advanced, class-conscious workers in the Labour movement. But until we win a substantial section of these into our Party, we shall not advance far along that "Road"

What has been proven in practice over and over again throughout the world? That the attainment of working-class power, the advance to Socialism, is impossible under the old social democratic Parties. That for such an advance the "Party of a new type", the Communist Party, is needed.

Can anybody imagine that if the Communist Party had been in office for six years after the war the Tories would be in office today? Yet that is precisely one of the main political lessons that must be driven home.

Can anyone imagine that if there had been no Communist Party and *Daily Worker* the fight of the left in the Labour movement would have developed to the degree that it has today? Does it not follow that the stronger the Communist Party and *Daily Worker*, the stronger will this left become?

Those who say that "There is no need for a Communist Party—the 'left' in the Labour Party can do the job", forget that it is precisely the organised work of the Communist Party—its activities, meetings, publications and the day-to-day explanation and fighting lead of the *Daily Worker*—which has brought about the new mood in the Labour movement and the beginnings of a fight for a changed policy.

The struggle to establish working-class unity on the basis of the fight for a new policy means that the building of the Communist Party assumes not less, but indeed an over-riding importance.

COMMUNIST PARTY DECISIVE FOR WORKING-CLASS UNITY

But it needs to be clearly understood by our Labour Party comrades, as well as by our own comrades, that the building of such working-class unity, the fight for our immediate policy as well as our long-term programme, demands not less but more from the Communist Party. The stronger the Communist Party, in the factories, in Parliament, in the trade unions, co-operatives and localities, the more effective and united become the immediate struggles on all issues.

When the Labour movement goes through occasional periods of temporary confusion due to the right-wing leadership, such as over the wage freeze in 1948, it takes the Communist Party, which clearly sees the future as well as the immediate interests of the whole working class, to raise aloft the banner of struggle against such pernicious policies. Eventually the rank and file of the movement were won for what at first was only the Communist Party's stand; indeed, as all trade unionists know, the right wing considered it a legitimate argument at trade union conferences to tell workers to vote for the wage freeze because the Communists were against it.

In the same way they try to stop Labour Party members and trade

unionists giving their support to the demand for a Five-Power Peace Pact on the grounds that the Communists are supporting it.

The point of all this is that without the Communist Party, the struggle of the working class is paralysed; the workers would be completely at the mercy of the right-wing leaders. Confusion and chaos would reign in the Labour movement if there were no Communist Party.

But all this itself arises from deeper reasons and principles. It is not that the members of the Communist Party are superior people to the members of the Labour Party. It is that the whole basic theory and practice of the Labour Party is devoted mainly to Parliamentary elections and procedure, with the kind of Parliamentary methods which allow the Tories to violate the real will of the people, to get back into office, and to share in turn government and opposition with the Labour Party.

Arising from this outlook and theory, the whole organisational principle of the Labour Party is to build an electoral machine only. The work of the Labour Party branch is divorced in this way from the daily struggle against capitalism in all its aspects. The factories, for example, are regarded by the Labour Party as provinces of trade unionism at the most, and even there, in only a limited number of industries do the Labour Party encourage trade union action on a workshop floor basis. At best, however, the Labour Party conducts no activity in the factory directed to showing the workers the link between the daily issues and the eventual achievement of Socialism.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, puts the question of political work and organisation in the factory as the most important kind of work for the Party, and strives to make it understood that work in the factory, depot and pit is the highest priority and must come before anything else.

Why is this? Because our theory and principle is that the class struggle begins at the point of production, that in the factory the worker is continuously exploited, that in the factory is grouped together by capitalism itself the most revolutionary and advanced section of the people, the industrial working class.

The concentration of such large bodies of workers lends itself more easily to organisation than, say, the scattered small bodies of workers or agricultural labourers or people just living in a given locality. All these are also important, and we always strive to build there too. But it is the factory that is the real centre of political thought and discussion; from the factory come the trade unionists to build and staff the trade union branches. In the factory the workers learn fastest from each other and gain a clear class outlook and eventual political understanding that helps them to see from a *class* viewpoint.

Our best factory branches not only help provide and stimulate the shop stewards and active trade union branch leaders, not only lead the way in defending the daily interests of the workers. Above all, they try to develop mass political work through the sales of the *Daily Worker* and our literature. They hold regular classes and branch meetings at which the political level of the members is constantly raised. They show the workers how to fight for peace, they collect jointly

with their fellow workers hundreds of signatures for the Five-Power Pact. They organise deputations to their M.P.s on Korea, Malaya, or the steel shortage arising out of the rearmament programme. They try to draw the lessons from all this for all the workers in the factory. They steadily try to build the Party and our fighting *Daily Worker*. They organise factory gate meetings, evening meetings and film shows, classes on political economy, the State, *British Road* and other basic aspects of Marxism-Leninism, or Scientific Socialism as many workers call it.

The Communist Party is the vanguard, and its vanguard role is precisely that it is enabled to see the whole line of march and not merely the immediate issues. Because its whole basis and training is devoted to constantly raising the level of the working class, it regards the factory branch as the highest form of Party organisation.

If instead of this conception of the role of the Party we encouraged belief that an ordinary, militant branch of the Labour Party would be sufficient, we would find ourselves in a position of always lagging behind the changing moods of the workers, of just following in the rear and recording events.

The Communist Party, through the structure of factory branches, sees its job as being one of decisively influencing events, including the moods of the workers; it therefore constantly strives to raise the level of the workers, overcoming difficulties, wrong moods and outlooks. It never passes the buck to the workers or blames the workers for "apathy". This of course is an essential part of the stock in trade of social democracy, it always blames the workers for the outcome of its own shortcomings.

My object in so emphasising the role of our Party, especially the decisive role of our factory branches, is not only to show that the Communist Party is essential for the whole Labour movement. It is also to try and secure greater conviction in our Party, for many of our members still have a "hang-over" from social democracy. Many comrades still do not understand that the factories are all-important. There are even many good active comrades in area branches who just refuse to work in the factory branch. Nor is it good enough to dismiss the factory branch as a day-time affair only, while in the evenings and at week-ends it is the area branch that counts. Of course, leading comrades will be active in all spheres in addition to their factory branch, and that is good and natural. But the point we want to make is that the factory branch is not just a "working time affair" only. On the contrary, it cannot function without proper evening or week-end meetings; it is bound to organise the political education of its members, run open meetings, film shows, rally workers along to the various trade union branch meetings, play a part in the work of the Trades Councils.

In addition, it should itself be campaigning on all the main social issues, both in working and non-working hours. The Glasgow factory comrades led the way in the agitation and action against the Tory plan to sell Council houses. The 5,000 workers who demonstrated on the streets there were brought from the factories by the work of the shop

stewards, Party and growing united front of the workers. The factory branch should organise socials and outings and cultural events as part of its ideological life and work. In addition to signatures in the factory, teams of peace volunteers have been to the forefront in collecting signatures in the areas both near the factory and eventually further afield.

In a word, the factory branch working correctly eventually plays a leading role in the whole economic, political and social life of the area as well as in the factory, trade union and Labour Party locally.

The anti-Tory Committees of one kind and another, i.e., the united front on the factory floor between the Communist and Labour workers, that grew up so rapidly as a feature of the General Election, contains the sort of picture that if developed widely would spearhead every development of the working class in this country. The factories played the leading part in the election campaign. They should play the leading part in every campaign. In this way they become the driving force for unifying and strengthening every form of trade union and factory organisation. They build unity on the workshop floor, and deepen the roots of the Party among their workmates.

When we convince workers in the factories where we have three or more members to come into our Party in whole groups, when we build a thousand factory branches equal to our present best, then we will be laying the decisive basis for winning the struggle for Socialism.

This is what we mean by "A Party of a New Type".

Of course an improvement in the character of our Party branch life and methods of collective leadership would be invaluable in solving this problem.

We think there are four important points bearing on our Party branch life which we should keep in mind.

Firstly, that the branch meeting must be the real centre of political discussion in which all current local and other practical questions are discussed in the light of our main aims, tactics and campaigns at the time. These regular branch meetings must also be the main channels of the basic Marxist education of our membership.

Lively, healthy regular branch meetings are the first essential to building the Party and advancing its policy. We do not think it is sufficiently realised that the character of our branch meetings has a profound effect both in helping to win new members and retaining them when they have joined the Communist Party.

New members join the Party with a great respect for it; they have been deeply impressed at some mass demonstration or in watching the activity and example of their fellow workers in the factories and streets who so tirelessly work for the Communist Party, and they expect a very high standard from us when they attend their first branch meeting.

We are afraid that many of them get a shock. Perhaps 20 per cent of the Party members in attendance, a lot of moaning going on about all the work being put on a few, and "that so and so is not a proper Communist". No serious political discussions on the events of the day, and in general quite an opposite impression is created to that which was expected.

Indeed, I know many good comrades that will quite frankly tell you that they hesitate to make new members who they know have a respect and admiration for the Party, but who would be so sadly disillusioned if they attended some of our branch meetings.

We plead most earnestly, therefore, for a real change to be brought about in the conduct and character of our branch meetings, so that all of them are brought up to the standard of the best, which it is a pleasure to attend, and which strengthen and inspire us to intensify our fight for the policy of the Communist Party, and to be proud to bring new members into our Party.

Secondly, there must never be any decisions on activity which do not include steps to be taken to mobilise a greater proportion of members. I hear lots of branch committees that complain about the lack of response from their members. If we don't mobilise members, let's look to ourselves to see what can be improved in our methods and approach.

The branch committee should aim deliberately at spreading the work. Many comrades will, if consulted, accept a responsibility that involves them in activity and helps spread the work. We want to end hit-and-miss methods of selection of cadres, and this demands integration of all educational work. Let us have the greatest care and attention to the treatment and training of the new members coming into the Party.

Bear in mind the member joining our Party is attracted by our general conception. He or she has yet to be helped to become a Communist. Every activity has to be from conviction and inspiration, and not from "obeying orders".

Thirdly, the leadership from top to bottom and especially at the vital district, area and borough level, must always be at the front. We have to learn to lead, not to drive.

Personal examples of enthusiasm and steadfastness combined are always essential in getting a better mobilisation of members for the jobs in hand. The West Middlesex district completed its re-registration first. Yorkshire, Midlands and Scotland are way ahead on Peace signatures. One reason for their success is the personal leadership and example at district, area and borough level in these districts.

Fourthly, in the course of developing all our campaigns throughout the country as a whole, very many-sided and heavy demands are placed upon our Party organisation. It does not always mean that every one of these demands has to be met or attempted in exactly the same way, and with as great a concentration. We do not want our Party to be merely a recording and amplifying apparatus. The art of leadership is to be able to select for greatest concentration the main essential campaigning point and use that as a link to pull the whole chain forward.

We need also to be constantly breaking new ground. Every district should again look to the factories, towns and villages, or even areas in big cities, where we have no members, and consider the steps needed to establish Party organisation there.

With effective work, especially in the coalfields, we can build many new strong points for the Party.

It is essential that in the present period, when every active Communist Party member speaks about the great change that has taken place in

the attitude of their fellow workers to our Party, that we seriously improve both the quality and quantity of our agitation and propaganda.

Never was there a time when the working people were more ready to listen to what we have to say, and this calls for more regular public meetings than we have ever organised before.

It is not sufficient for our branches and districts to limit themselves to one or two big public meetings a year, and not even organise these unless they can be guaranteed what are described as "our big national speakers". The Party should be showing its face everywhere and doing so consistently. Outside the factory gates, in the local market places, organising selective meetings in houses or small halls. Trying to get our speakers into every local organisation to state our policy.

There needs to be a more effective and systematic distribution of our leaflets and pamphlets, for the effect of the written word cannot be overestimated. We are always struck by the number of new members who apply for membership on a form that has appeared either in the *Daily Worker* or on the back of a leaflet or pamphlet.

Every one of us claiming to be public speakers has the duty of realising that we have to weigh every word very carefully, that we must prepare what we are going to say, and above all, that the major portion of our speeches is devoted to seriously explaining point by point, backed up by every possible fact and argument, the positive policy of the Communist Party.

Serious-minded audiences do not come to be entertained, but to listen and learn. They are not interested in seeing how clever we are in exposing the other political parties and their policies; they want to know what we stand for, how we would tackle the problems of the day, and what constructive alternatives we have to offer to the other political parties.

Our speakers should never be on the defensive about the Soviet Union, People's China or the New People's Democracies. So many great positive and gigantic constructive developments are taking place in all these countries, that they give the complete answer both to what Socialism really means, and how it works.

We also need to do more in explaining the great principles of Socialism, and if they were applied in Britain what a glorious country this would speedily become.

Therefore, comrades, let every one of us understand that the wider and deeper the character of the anti-Tory movement develops, the more necessary it is that we expound our constructive policy, for no mass movement yet was ever successfully built that depended on the anti-character of its propaganda and not upon its constructive policy.

Let the coming spring and summer campaigns mark this vital turning point in the quantity and quality of our propaganda work all over the country.

Our scientists, historians, writers and other professional workers have been active in the fight for peace, and have done much to rouse interest among their colleagues on this issue. In their own special fields, our comrades have produced many important books and articles for our Press; artists, musicians and actors have given much help in

our propaganda. Our comrades in the professions, however, need to be thinking how they can relate their work more closely to the general line and campaigns of the Party, and how they can win more members for the Party from among their colleagues.

Our district committees and branches should also give more thought to the work of our comrades in the professions, as well as to the fuller use of cultural activities in all our propaganda. There are now many films available dealing with life in the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and China, which should be shown all over the country; and more music and singing can help to make our public meetings more attractive.

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

For our Party the winning of the youth is a life-and-death matter. The Tories and right-wing Labour leaders are making tremendous efforts to confuse young people and prevent them coming into the fight for peace and a better life. This places on us a heavy responsibility, which it cannot be left to the Young Communist League alone to fulfil, to lead young people into action and educate them in the principles of Socialism.

We have to end the position where the Young Communist League has only 3,000 members. This will demand the release of more cadres by the Party, building a branch of the Young Communist League wherever there is a Party branch and no League branch, and turning the attention of the Party more towards the problems of youth.

We have to learn to harness all the love of adventure, courage and life that our Young Communist League members, like other youth, possess so abundantly. This means changing our methods of work so that the entire work of the League and all who assist it, is towards the youth, opening the doors of the League to all who agree with its policy, creating League branches which are lively centres of public activity. In all this, the circulation of *Challenge* in many thousands as an educator of youth in Socialism is of decisive importance.

THE "DAILY WORKER"

Here I want to say something about the *Daily Worker*, because if we were really convinced about its role, the growth of our Party would be far more rapid.

During the election, everyone, including many active workers in the Labour Party who took it for the first time, gave it the highest praise for the manner in which the issues of the election were presented, the arguments put, and the workers mobilised for action. It won new members for the Party and the Y.C.L. Yet we have recorded cases where automatically at the end of the election, Party organisations in the factories cancelled every extra order with the result in some cases of non-Party workers coming to them and asking for the *Daily Worker* without being able to get a copy.

Again, during a recent industrial dispute in London, 150 extra copies were sold daily to the workers concerned. Our paper was the only one that gave consistent support to and fully reported their struggle. At the end, the 150 copies stopped.

Now, I am not going to argue that we can maintain every copy we put on during an election or a strike, but I do assert that there is a serious failure to understand the role of the *Daily Worker* on the part of many of us. This is in marked contrast to the really magnificent job consistently done on early morning stances, at week-ends and in a number of factories by devoted Party comrades. They know the value of the paper.

If you have any doubts on this matter, ask the workers at Duplex what the *Daily Worker* did before, during and after their strike. If ever there was an example of the role of our paper as "collective agitator, propaganda and organiser", it was surely seen in the recent Bata eviction scandal. Here were these hundreds of workers and their families, intimidated for years by this feudal bunch of exploiters with one of the worst tied-cottage systems ever to come to light in Britain. Not a newspaper would touch the issue, despite their much-vaunted freedom of the press. Here were these workers, with no one to speak up and demand justice on their behalf. The *Daily Worker* stepped in and championed them, as it has done for every section of workers on every just issue from the time of its inception.

The result of all this was that a thousand workers at East Tilbury saw our paper for the first time. A thousand workers saw a glimpse of how their special problem linked itself with the problems of the working class as a whole. Today there are many regular readers of our paper and new members of our Party in East Tilbury. These comrades of ours, new to our ranks, will one day deal with Bata and Company as the Czech workers dealt with them.

Only our paper can and does give a correct analysis of events and policies which mobilises the movement to more effective struggle and actions for peace and socialism. But how can we hope to win over the broad masses with our present small circulation? If the *Daily Worker* was getting to twice as many people, the movement would become irresistible. It is in these factories where the role of the *Daily Worker* has really been grasped by our comrades that the Branches are developing into real Communist Party Branches able decisively to influence and lead the workers. The *Daily Worker* is the main way in which the Party can fulfil its role in the factories and Labour movement.

A NEW SITUATION FACES US

Seldom has there been a period in which there have been such rapid developments and changes in the political situation.

It is against all the teachings of Marxism not to see that in such a rapidly developing situation a big growth of the Communist Party is not only possible, but is the most important issue.

Our scientific principles teach us that change occurs suddenly and rapidly following periods of seemingly gradual, slow development. Lenin once wrote of how "there come days which are the concentrated essence of years of previous development". In this critical year, 1952, the whole of humanity is at a great cross-roads. The decisive struggle between the forces of war and peace is mounting to a climax. In these days can be reaped not only the harvest of years of past hard work by

our Party, but there can be sown the seeds too of a more golden harvest yet to come. At all costs we must seize the opportunities now with us. We cannot look at the problem of building our Party with the same measuring instruments used since 1945. *That period is over—a new situation faces us.*

We have got to get from this Congress the conception of a general upward movement in the months ahead in our membership and *Daily Worker* readership. To reach outwards to a force of 50,000 Party members, a larger Young Communist League, and 150,000 daily circulation of our paper as the big task of 1952. The achieving of such an aim will signify enormous victories in the fight to save peace, defend the living standards of the people, build the united front to sweep out the Tories.

In the first half of this century, 40 per cent of mankind have already overthrown capitalism, and are on the road to Socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party. In the rest of the world, the Communist Party is a great and powerful force; in France and Italy, it is the largest Party. In this, our first Congress in the second half of the century, let us understand that once we can make the break in Britain, it is the end of world capitalism.

VIII

The British Road to Socialism

The historic mission of the British working class is to put an end to capitalism and establish Socialism in Britain. This is a task that faces the British workers with increasing urgency because capitalism, in its present imperialist stage, is placing ever greater hardships on the people and offers only the perspective of a third world war and ruin for our country.

Our Party has, therefore, issued its programme, *The British Road to Socialism*, which for the first time puts clearly before the working people of Britain the necessary steps towards the winning of power, on the basis of the actual situation and the outlook and traditions of our country.

The detailed discussion on our Programme is a separate item on our agenda. Here I want only to bring out some of the principal ideas in this important document, which is regarded by our brother Parties as an outstanding contribution to creative Marxism.

Starting from the actual situation today, *The British Road to Socialism* puts in the first place the struggle for peace, and points out that:

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

At the heart of the struggle for peace, so far as the British working class is concerned, is the fight to end American domination over British economic, trade, foreign and military policy; that is to say, a sharp break must be made with the policy of sell-out to America, which has been followed both by the right-wing Labour Governments and the present Tory Government.

They have followed this policy because both have been concerned to maintain British imperialist interests and continue the exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, an aim which at the present time can only be carried out with American aid.

Therefore, the independence of our own country is inseparably bound up with putting an end to "the present abnormal relations of colonial war and repression between the British people and the peoples of the Empire, by establishing durable friendship with them on the basis of equal rights".

Durable friendship requires "the withdrawal of all armed forces from the colonial and dependent territories, and handing over of sovereignty to Governments freely chosen by the peoples". This would give the basis for "a new, close, voluntary and fraternal association", with mutually beneficial economic exchange and co-operation, and mutual defence against American imperialist aggression.

This is an extremely important new conception, for the first time clearly stated. It recognises the necessity not only to end all relations between the peoples of the present Empire which are based on political, economic and military enslavement, but also, in doing this, to take into account the economic needs of all the peoples concerned, and especially the American imperialist threat to any isolated country.

Our Programme then declares that only Socialism can finally solve Britain's problems and guarantee its people a good life, lasting peace and steadily rising living standards. But the right-wing Labour leaders do not want to abolish capitalism, and in practice support the ruling class, which still holds in its hands the real power in Britain.

The people cannot advance to Socialism, therefore, unless, led by the working class, they take this power from the capitalist minority and grasp it firmly in their own hands. It is not our view that this, in British conditions, requires Soviet Power and the abolition of Parliament. We consider that the people can transform Parliament into the democratic instrument of their will, and transform capitalist democracy into a real People's Democracy, through which a People's Government can break the economic, the political and the propaganda power of the capitalist class, and create the conditions for Socialism in Britain.

But this transformation can only be carried through by a united working class which has ended collaboration with and capitulation to capitalism, leading to a popular alliance of all sections of the working people—clerical and professional workers, teachers, technicians and scientists, working farmers, shopkeepers and small businessmen.

This movement can only be built up in a struggle for peace, and independence from America, for higher wages and benefits and improved social services, so that the strength and unity of the movement make it impossible for the Tories and right-wing Labour leaders to carry through their policy.

We make it clear that this great, popular alliance, having won a Parliamentary majority and formed a People's Government, will have to use its strength to ensure that the programme decided upon by the

workers by hand and brain will be carried through in the new Parliament, against the resistance of the big capitalists who will fight for the retention of their privileges by all means in their power, including force.

The British Road to Socialism outlines the programme of such a People's Government, with Socialist nationalisation of large-scale concerns as the cornerstone of its economic policy, in contrast to the capitalist nationalisation carried out by the Labour Government.

It stresses the role of the Communist Party, based on the impregnable foundation of Marxist theory, in building up the united working-class and popular movement through which the perspective of *The British Road to Socialism* can be achieved.

Comrades, we speak of this Programme as not an immediate, but a long-term programme. We do not mean by this that it is some distant vision that can perhaps be realised in twenty or fifty years. We mean that its achievement depends on our first building up the unity of the working class and all working people which alone can realise the programme. That building up is not some far-off task, but one for today and tomorrow, and in the first place, in the fight to bring down the Tory Government.

How rapidly we can proceed beyond that, how soon a People's Government will become an immediate slogan, is not a matter of any set term of months or years, but entirely of our own successful work, together with all that is best in the Labour movement, in the actual struggle on every issue that concerns the people.

IX

It Can Be Done

In our Report we have endeavoured to give a clear picture of the situation at home and abroad, the problems and difficulties which beset our working people, and the lines of policies which, if carried through, could not only alleviate the harsh burdens and anxieties now being imposed upon the people, but enable a more powerful and united working-class movement to take its place in fighting to win its demands and thus enormously help forward the mass movement towards Socialism.

We have shown that this is not possible unless there is a far stronger Communist Party and Young Communist League than exist at the present time, and a *Daily Worker* with a circulation far exceeding its present one; and we have stated that to accomplish all these things it is essential that day in and day out the pernicious ideas of the capitalists and right-wing Labour leaders need to be exposed and fought at every stage.

The tasks we have set our Party are indeed great. But they are not impossible tasks. If every one of us is inspired by the same fighting spirit that long ago took the pioneers to the street corners to expound the "gospel of Socialism" (that is how they used to describe it) as they knew it, and if we feel all the stronger because of the mighty advance the workers of the world have made since those early days,

then we will gain new strength to win the working people of Britain for our policy.

Above all, if we are ourselves imbued with the consciousness of what Socialism means, what it could accomplish in our native land, then indeed we ourselves will find new determination and strength.

Socialism means the abolition of poverty, unemployment, the end of slums, the end of oppressing other nations and peoples, the end of war. It means the beginning of new educational and cultural advances, adding to the dignity of all men and women, giving all young people new opportunities that would indeed open out a new world to them; making it possible for women at last to take their rightful place in the new society and make a tremendous contribution in the building up of the new world.

It means giving to every worker the fullest opportunities for advancing their own constructive ideas without the fear of putting anyone out of a job. It means strengthening the productive resources of their own Britain, their own Socialist system of society. It means developing a new form of democracy in which the full genius of the working people will flower in a way that will astonish the world. For we British workers are the heirs of those who first gave the world the machines, ships, textiles, power and countless other inventions which are meant to lighten the toil of man.

We could reclaim and make fertile the waste lands of Britain; bring water and electricity to our farms; harness the tides of the Severn and other estuaries to provide cheap and plentiful power. We could plan and rebuild our cities, getting rid of the dirt and squalor of the past and building splendid new housing estates, schools and hospitals, clubs, sports stadiums and theatres. Instead of art and culture being monopolised by a wealthy few in the West End of London, every city and town would have its share of the finest performances going at working-class prices. Instead of football and cricket in the back streets and on bomb-sites, we would provide playing fields, parks and the best expert training for the youngsters of our cities. The cities where the working class live would become beautiful; the age-old contrast between West End and East End would be ended.

Once Britain is freed from capitalism, then we shall see increases in production that can never be evoked from a working class that is exploited by another class. Then our people will freely and gladly hasten to the assistance of every nation in the world whose own resources are undeveloped, whose people are anxious to be trained and become as skilled as our people are. This will be done all the more readily because it will help to wipe out the dark days of British imperialism, and help to establish new bonds of international solidarity in which we shall be helping each other to use our mutual resources for the health, well-being and happiness of all peoples in a world that is, and always will be, at peace.

To live in peace; to know that it is a lasting peace—this is perhaps the greatest victory of all that Socialism has to offer.

Let the cynics scoff at all this. Let doubters say: "It cannot be done". Today we are in a position to do what the old pioneers could never

do. We can prove our case. They could only make propaganda of a general character for Socialism. They could only give others a gleam of Socialism. Today we can give the facts of accomplishment; prove that the lily does indeed bloom; that men like ourselves are performing greater miracles in the realm of Socialist and Communist construction than it was thought that even gods could ever do.

We often think how we miss things that have taken place in our lifetime. How often we underestimate what is going on in the Socialist sector of the world at the present time!

Let us spend a few minutes showing the actual contrasts between the dying world of capitalism and the triumphantly advancing world of Socialism and Communism.

In the capitalist world the cost of living goes up and up as a result of the arms drive. In Britain prices rose by 13 per cent in the past year; in France by 22 per cent; in Western Germany (food) by 20 per cent; in Austria by 31 per cent. In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, prices were greatly reduced in March 1952, and this was the fifth successive reduction since the war.

In the capitalist countries, because of the poverty of the people, less and less goods are sold in the shops. In Britain, the sales of clothing are 20 per cent lower, of furniture, 15 per cent lower than a year ago. In the United States trade is also falling. There are huge stocks of unsold goods, production of cars has fallen by 45 per cent and of household goods by over 50 per cent.

But in the Soviet Union, retail trade, through State and Co-operative shops, increased in quantity by 30 per cent in 1950, while 1951 showed a further increase of 15 per cent (including a 14 per cent rise for clothing, and 50 per cent for furniture). In 1951, the people got 86 per cent more bicycles, 25 per cent more radios, 18 per cent more cotton textiles, 32 per cent more meat, 35 per cent more milk and dairy products than in 1950.

In the capitalist world, key raw materials are being hoarded by the American overlords for rearmament, while the production of other countries is starved and dislocated. Thus in Britain steel production has fallen by 450,000 tons a year because of shortage of steel-making materials; but in the U.S.S.R., steel production has risen by 4 million tons this year and is now equivalent to that of Britain, France, Belgium and Sweden put together. Whereas Western Europe cannot produce the coal to feed its industries and is driven to import coal from America, in the U.S.S.R. coal output is increasing each year at the rate of 24 million tons, thanks to the good working and living conditions provided for the miners.

In the countries of Western Europe, capital expenditure is being cut to the bone to make room for the armaments programme. Our power stations cannot meet the peak winter load for years to come, because even the steel needed for maintenance and repairs is not forthcoming and the building programme for the new stations has been repeatedly cut. But in the socialist world, enormous new peaceful construction schemes are in progress, bringing power and fertility to thousands upon thousands of square miles of former deserts. The new power stations

of the Stalin plans alone will supply two-fifths as much electricity as the whole annual output in Britain; the extra water supply will make it possible to produce an *extra* three million tons of cotton—one-third as much as the American crop—as well as millions of tons of grain and meat. And these huge schemes are being carried out at top speed, not with pick and shovel as earlier Soviet schemes had to be, but with the largest and most up-to-date excavators and construction machines in the world.

In Western Europe education and the social services are being continuously reduced. In Britain the building of new schools is stopped, and there is talk of cutting a year off the school life; part-time courses, University grants and scholarships are being cut. In the U.S.A. the majority of universities and higher educational bodies are facing financial breakdown because of smaller student entries and rising costs. But in the U.S.S.R. the number of students went up last year by 60,000. With a population about four times that of our own, the Soviet Union already has a full-time student population ten times larger, and is just completing the magnificent new buildings for Moscow University.

While the Tories talk about their 300,000 phantom houses, the reality in Britain is that fewer than 200,000 houses are being built, the well-to-do go to the front of the queue, and housing standards are lowered. Compare this with the way the U.S.S.R. and People's Democracies are tackling the even more formidable housing problem that faced them arising from the devastation of war—the new city of Warsaw that has arisen in five years from the flattened ruins of the old; the new Stalingrad; the development and use of new techniques of building and prefabrication.

The countries that have become satellites of the United States, including Britain, find their trade dwindling under American bans, their industries strangled. There is crisis in the steel and textile industries of Britain and France. But between the Soviet Union and its allies, trade is conducted on a fair and equal basis, and economic and technical aid from the U.S.S.R. has helped Poland and Hungary to raise their industrial output to $2\frac{1}{2}$ times pre-war, Bulgaria to $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, and Czechoslovakia (which was already highly industrialised) to two-thirds above pre-war. While the colonies of the imperialist powers are gutted of their materials and foodstuffs by the imperialists, and suffer increasing inflation and impoverishment, People's China has taken giant strides towards prosperity, controlling the rivers that used to flood and drown thousands, overcoming famine, building industries which already can produce their first native motor cars and textile machinery.

The greatest contrast of all is in the minds and hearts of the people.

In the capitalist west, the growing crisis and war talk leads to a feeling of impotence and helplessness. Science, art and literature reflect despair, disgust with humanity, or a retreat into mysticism and magic, while the "culture" provided for the people by Hollywood and the press is more vulgar and more brutal in its glorification of violence than ever before.

In the Socialist world, on the contrary, the spirit is one of hope and confidence in the future. Art and science flourish. The classics

of British culture, such as Shakespeare, Burns and Dickens, are more widely presented and enjoyed there than here, while a new optimistic art of the Socialist people appears everywhere. Instead of swamping every country with American jazz and films, Socialism is reviving and renewing the national art, music and drama of the East European countries. Socialism means not only more pig-iron, but more theatres and cinemas and concert halls; more football grounds and sports stadiums; more novels and children's books; more recreation where the workers are not merely spectators, but join in to the full.

To the new generation in the socialist countries, no doors are closed. They know they will be encouraged and helped to develop their talents to the full, to help to win new victories over poverty and backwardness; that they will never in their lives be unemployed or "redundant", oppressed themselves or oppressors of others. All over the Soviet Union, for example, the finest of the young generation are training and equipping themselves to be skilled workers on the great Stalin construction projects.

These people can never be cowed or beaten by the American war-mongers. They are the vanguard of the irresistible forces for peace.

Even to talk of peace has become a dangerous activity in the capitalist world, bringing the risk of losing one's job and even facing trial for "treason". Paul Robeson and Dubois in America; Henri Martin in France; Lilli Waechter in Germany, and Monica Felton in Britain have been persecuted and victimised by their Governments because they spoke out for peace on behalf of millions. But in the Socialist world, peoples and Governments are at one in their efforts for peace, expressed in the great Peace movement and in the untiring work and leadership in the fight for peace given by the U.S.S.R. in the United Nations and on a world scale.

So with these significant contrasts in mind, comrades, let us go into the battle like lions after slumber, determined and confident that in our lifetime, too, the reins of power will be in the hands of the British working people, and they too will begin to write their new glorious pages of history, the grandeur of which time will never efface.

And the test for all of us in trying to realise this aim, will be how we will win new members for the Communist Party and Young Communist League, and new readers for the *Daily Worker*.

FOR PEACE AND THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE
OF BRITAIN!

FOR THE UNITY OF ALL BRITISH WORKING PEOPLE!

FOR A MIGHTY COMMUNIST PARTY,
YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, AND *DAILY WORKER*!

FOR SOCIALISM!

These are the watchwords of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

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