

Draft Programme

to be
Submitted
to the
16th Party
Congress

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The following Draft Programme has been prepared by the Programme Commission set up by the Central Committee, and is circulated to branches in order that they may have the opportunity of discussing it in detail and considering suggestions for amendment and improvement.

The Programme Commission desires to say that this Draft is sent out with the realisation that considerable amendment will be necessary before its final adoption.

It asks that branches and individual Party members who have definite amendments to propose, should send them in as soon as possible before the Congress, in order to make it possible for the Programme Commission to come forward at the Congress with fully considered recommendations so as to facilitate the work of the Congress.

PROGRAMME COMMISSION.

August 29th, 1939.

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DRAFT PROGRAMME **of the** **Communist Party of Great Britain**

I. BRITAIN TO-DAY

1. The Wealth of Britain

Britain to-day is a country of highly developed industry with a skilled working population. Great wealth and power of producing wealth is concentrated in a small area of the earth's surface.

The progress of science and invention, and especially the technical development of the most recent period, has brought almost limitless possibilities of creating wealth and lightening labour. With modern machinery a single worker can produce what it would have taken many hundred workers to produce a century and a half ago.

Yet almost all this wealth and the means of producing wealth—the land, the mines, the factories, the docks, ships and railways—belong to a tiny minority of the population and the mass of the people remain from generation to generation burdened by poverty, exacting toil and insecurity.

2. The Domination of Monopoly

A small number of big banks, trusts and combines dominate British industry and commerce. In the key positions of ownership and control of these are a handful of very rich persons, millionaires. These not only hold in their hands the threads of industry and trade, of banking

and finance; their representatives also hold the key positions in the Civil Service, the law and the armed forces. The capitalist Governments are their servants, acting in their interests. The Conservative Party, the principal Party of the ruling class in Britain, is controlled by them.

The wealth and profits of these very rich families are drawn not only from Britain, but from all over the world. By aggression and conquest, by innumerable wars, by intrigue and deception, they have extended their domination and built up their Empire at the expense of the liberties of countless peoples. Through this Empire they rule one-quarter of the world, holding hundreds of millions outside Britain in subjection, in order to draw profits from them.

The interests of this ruling group are contrary to the interests of the British nation. They have no patriotism save for their pockets; they seek only the highest profits: they use Britain as a base from which to exploit the world. Their monopoly interests hamper the development of British industry and agriculture; by their foreign policy they have helped the aggressive plans of fascism, betrayed and sacrificed the independence of other nations, and imperilled the lives of the British people.

3. The People of Britain

The overwhelming majority of the nation are the wage workers. Cut off from any share in the wealth of the nation, they live by hiring themselves out to the owning class for a wage. The product of their labour belongs to the owning class. In the midst of wealth, which they create by their labour, they live in poverty. Despite all the increase in wealth, and progress in science and technique, the bulk of the nation is still inadequately housed, clothed and fed. Ten millions are below the lowest standard which doctors and scientists have laid

down as the minimum standard of living. Low wages of all but a small section, increasing intensity of labour of those employed, anxieties of insecurity and unemployment, narrowing possibilities of employment as the years of youth and early manhood are passed, and extreme poverty in old age are the lot of all the workers.

Not only the wage workers suffer. The former independent producers and owners of small property are also brought into increasing dependence on the monopolist ruling class.

The small capitalists, the owners of small and medium sized businesses and enterprises, are less and less able to maintain their independence against the pressure of the trusts and combines. Their businesses are frozen out or merged into the big combines. In place of being independent owners, they become mere employees or small shareholders, entirely dependent on the policy of the millionaires; and the small shareholders are periodically fleeced or their holdings even expropriated by the operations of high finance. The small shopkeepers are driven to ruin by the multiple combines and chain stores, or continue only as agents for the cheap mass-production goods of the big trusts.

The farmers are oppressed by the burdens of rent, tithes, mortgages and bank charges, and are continually robbed by the distributing combines.

The free professions, the doctors, writers, artists and architects, the teachers and scientists, are victims of the conditions created by the monopolist ruling class; their services are a commodity which they have to sell in an over-stocked market; they cannot use their knowledge and ability as they would wish in the service of the community; increasing numbers are faced with the insecurity and unemployment which is the lot of the wage workers.

Thus all sections of the nation are brought more and more into subjection to the monopolist ruling class. The so-called new middle-class of salaried administrative and technical employees, who increasingly replace the old middle-class of independent proprietors, are already only a better paid grade of employed workers.

4. Neglect of the Nation's Resources and Labour

In Britain to-day there are not only extremes of wealth and poverty; there is also continuous waste of human lives and material resources.

All the resources are present to provide plenty for all. But the monopolist owning class, in pursuit of its selfish interests, neglects and misuses the nation's resources and the nation's labour. Whole areas, once great centres of production, have been allowed to become derelict. Machinery is destroyed, factories and shipyards closed down. Agriculture is declining. Science is frustrated and its work distorted in the interests of profit. The almost unlimited possibilities of wealth which science and invention have brought within reach are left undeveloped. The existing social order is not even able to organise the labour of the people. For the past two decades over one million workers, and most often over two million workers, willing and able to work and produce, have been unemployed.

The proportion of parasitic services and luxury occupations grows at the expense of productive industry. Only a little over half the employed workers are to-day engaged in productive industry, while commerce and finance, and personal service, are recorded in the official returns as the nation's principal occupations, in which the highest numbers of persons are engaged.

Large numbers of people, outside the ranks of the working class, are living in idleness, drawing dividends

without playing any part in production. The State debt is swollen to half the total national wealth, and the interest on it paid to the rich more than absorbs all the income-tax and sur-tax paid by the rich.

Rent, interest and profit weigh ever more heavily on production and on the working people. The vital forces of the nation are drained by recurring economic crises.

5. Dissatisfaction of the People

The bankruptcy of the existing ruling class in Britain in every field of the nation's affairs becomes ever more manifest.

The economic dependence of the mass of the people on the small class that owns the banks, the factories, the mines and all the productive resources of the country makes it impossible for the existing democratic forms to serve the real interests of the people.

The House of Commons is dominated by wealthy upper-class representatives. Parliament loses more and more significance as the real decisions are taken outside it by the Government in conjunction with the big monopolists.

Dissatisfaction with the existing conditions is growing among wide sections of the people. It is most clearly expressed in the advance of the movement and struggle of the workers.

But the dissatisfaction and growing struggle has not yet been able to find the way to defeat the ruling group which is oppressing the British people.

What is to be done ? How shall the people of Britain win their freedom? How shall they win possession of their own country, end poverty and ensure a full and happy life for all?

The answer to these questions can only be based on a scientific analysis of the existing organisation of society.

II. CAPITALISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

1. Capitalist Exploitation

These conditions of our country to-day, and of the life of our people, are the result of capitalism. In a capitalist society, goods are made to be sold on the market. The only motive of production is profit. The most important means of production and exchange—the factories, the mines, the docks, transport services, banks, etc.,—are the private property of a small class of big industrialists, landlords and financiers—the capitalists.

The vast majority of the population, who own no means of production, are compelled, in order to live, to sell their labour power to the capitalists. The product of their labour is taken by the capitalists.

In return for their labour power the workers receive a wage, representing the means of subsistence. All the value they produce above this is taken by the capitalists without return; this surplus forms the income of the capitalist class, different sections of which receive it in the form of rent, interest and profit. The incomes of the upper class are thus drawn from the unpaid labour of the workers. This is the system of capitalist exploitation.

The ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of wage labour is the basis of the domination of the capitalist class over the people, which is protected and strengthened by the capitalist control of the machinery of the State.

2. Expropriation of the British People

Capitalism developed on the basis of the growing production of goods for exchange within feudal society. The development to capitalist production was accompanied by the forcible separation of the mass of the people from the means of living, and their transformation into wage workers. This expropriation of the British people took place through a long process over the past four centuries, a process which included violent measures of compulsion and breaking of the small property rights and common rights of the people.

The robbery and plunder of other peoples all over the world helped to lay the basis for the rise of the capitalist class in Britain.

The Industrial Revolution ruthlessly carried forward the expropriation of the independent producers, and the concentration of economic power in the hands of the capitalist class.

3. The Development of Production by Capitalism

Capitalist production, arising from robbery and continually robbing the workers of surplus value they produce, has nevertheless been a necessary progressive stage in the development of society. It freed production from the restrictions and limitations of the guilds and handicraft. It replaced petty small-scale forms of production by the social organisation of labour. It enormously expanded production and carried forward the advance of technique. It broke down national barriers and brought the whole world into a single economic system.

But the progress and technical advances it has achieved have only brought advantages to the capitalists and big land-owners. For the masses of the people they have

brought hardships and growing insecurity. They have increased the power of the few over the many.

4. Capitalist Concentration

Within the capitalist class itself a competitive fight for the market is always going on—a fight in which the more wealthy capitalist destroys or absorbs his rivals, and increases his wealth and power. Capital is concentrated in fewer hands. The advance of capitalism ruins the small producers and small capitalists and increases the numbers of the wage workers. It leads to the concentration of production in large factories, and with that, also the concentration of the workers in great industrial plants.

Technical development constantly throws masses of workers out of work, and a permanent army of unemployed is created. The unemployed army serves as a reservoir of labour power for the capitalists and as a lever for depressing the conditions of the workers. Fluctuating periodically with the state of trade, the general size of the unemployed army tends to increase continuously with the advance of capitalism.

5. Economic Crisis and Insecurity

Capitalist production is inevitably planless. The anarchy of capitalist production and the growing contradiction between its drive to expansion and the impoverishment of the people, lead to periodical crises of overproduction. Large accumulated stocks of goods find no market; concerns go bankrupt; the larger concerns restrict production; plant lies idle; masses of workers are thrown out of employment. A period of stagnation follows, slowly giving place to recovery and a new short-lived boom, leading to new crises.

These crises, which increase the concentration of capital, become more severe and protracted as capitalism

advances and the power of producing becomes greater. From local and national crises they become world economic crises. The destruction and suffering they cause is greater than the most colossal natural catastrophe.

6. The Class Struggle

With these conditions of life under capitalism, the dissatisfaction of the people grows. The workers struggle in defence of their interests against the exactions of the capitalist class. The working class struggle has grown out of the conditions of capitalism.

In all forms of class society, the oppressed classes have waged a continuous struggle against their oppressors. The record of peasant struggles and revolts in feudal Britain is well known. Capitalism has only widened and deepened the class struggle of the oppressed.

In order to defend themselves against the employers, the workers have to overcome competition in their own ranks. The single worker is helpless against the employer. Unity and solidarity becomes a necessity of the working class.

In the measure that capitalism has grown and strengthened, the workers have increased numerically, and they have advanced in organisation and class consciousness—consciousness of the unity of their interests against the capitalist class. The struggle of the workers against the conditions of their exploitation in the factories has given rise to the trade unions. The struggle of the working class against extortion in the shops has given rise to the co-operative movement. Political organisations, to carry the struggle forward in every field, were set up.

The scale and intensity of the struggle grows constantly greater. Local and district struggles and organisation develop to a national and even international scale. Class confronts class. Legislation, the administrative machine

and the press are mobilised against the workers. The workers find themselves faced with struggle, not only against individual employers, but against the whole ruling capitalist class and the State.

From the experience of the struggle the vision of the workers widens. The struggle of the workers becomes a struggle against the whole system that oppresses them, against the domination of the capitalist class.

The struggle of the industrial workers, which arose from the conditions of large-scale industry, has become the struggle of all the working people against the system which exploits them. Every advance won by the industrial workers through their struggle, whether in raising wages, shortening hours, factory legislation or social legislation, benefits the whole working population and therefore raises the whole standard of the nation.

The industrial working class becomes the leader of all the exploited masses of the people, of the real nation, against the social system which oppresses them, for a new social system.

7. The Social Revolution

There is no way out for the working class within the capitalist system. As long as the means of production remain in the hands of a small class, the vast new wealth produced by the workers belongs to the capitalists, while the workers who toil from generation to generation remain propertyless wage-slaves. The great new material forces brought into being by capitalism can only be used to produce wealth for the whole people and to end poverty when they cease to be private property and become the property of society as a whole. The exploitation of the workers can only be ended by the social revolution, by the abolition of private ownership in the means of production and their transference to society as a whole, in

order to introduce a planned production which will ensure the well-being and all-sided development of all members of society.

Capitalism has created the conditions for the new social order. By the enormous expansion of production, by the network of large-scale industries and modern transport, by the social organisation of labour, and by the establishment of a world economic system, it has created the material conditions which can end poverty and provide abundance for all; and in creating and developing the working class, capitalism has also provided its own gravediggers, the class which is destined to put an end to capitalism and build up the new society.

Capitalism, which has played a progressive part in human society, can do so no longer. The recurring economic crises, the derelict areas, the destruction of machinery, of food, the wholesale restriction of production, the permanent mass unemployment, the devastating wars, all bear witness to the fact that the capitalist system is now a fetter on humanity's advance, and must be ended.

The liberation of the working class from the conditions of capitalism thus means the liberation of all sections of society and the ending of the exploitation of man by man. This aim, which opens the way to the liberation of the whole human race, is the aim of the Communist Party.

8. Marxism

The theory of the working class struggle, of scientific Socialism, is Marxism. Marx and Engels were the first to explain that, contrary to the opinion of the Utopian Socialists, Socialism was not the invention of dreamers (Utopians), but the inevitable outcome of the development of modern capitalist society. They showed that the capitalist system would fall, just as serfdom had fallen,

and that capitalism was creating its own gravedigger in the person of the working class. They showed that only the class struggle of the working class, only the victory of the working class over the capitalists, would rid humanity of capitalism and exploitation.

They taught the working class to be conscious of its own strength, to be conscious of its class interest and to unite for a determined struggle against the capitalists. They discovered the laws of development of human society and proved scientifically that the development of capitalist society, and the class struggle going on within it, must inevitably lead to the fall of capitalism, to the victory of the working class, to the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

But in order to vanquish the old world and create a new, classless society, the working class must have its own working class party, which Marx and Engels called the Communist Party.

III. DEMOCRACY AND THE STATE IN BRITAIN

1. Democratic Rights Won by British Workers

By tenacious struggle and sacrifice the workers in Britain have won right after right from the ruling class; the right to form Trade Unions, to publish their own papers, to hold meetings, to express their political views, to vote for their own representatives in Parliament, and so on. The existing democratic rights are the heritage of generations of struggle. These rights are of vital importance for the working class and for the widest sections of the people in Britain; although still constantly challenged and restricted by the capitalist class, they provide the most favourable conditions for the working-class movement to conduct its agitation and propaganda, build up its organisation and carry forward the struggle in every field.

In practice, however, the capitalist class holds power. The division of classes makes the nominal equality of rights for all citizens unreal; between the possessing class and the dispossessed class there is no real equality. The possession of the means of production has given the capitalist class power over the people. They are able to influence the actions of the Governments. The system of law and order, which is maintained in the last resort by the armed forces of the State, is based on existing property rights. Although the people are nominally sovereign, the capitalist class rules.

The democratic rights and forms exist only for Britain, and for the Dominions mainly peopled by the British; they do not exist for the greater part of the subject

Empire. Six-sevenths of the population of the Empire are ruled autocratically without democratic rights.

2. Feudal Survivals in the Constitution

Alongside the elected House of Commons, the feudal elements in the Constitution, represented by the hereditary monarchy, the hereditary House of Lords, and the whole system of titles, the antiquated character of the judicial system, etc., are maintained by the ruling class to hamper the effective working of democracy. The maintenance of these reflects the reactionary character of the British ruling class and their deliberate policy of preventing the completion of the democratic revolution. Having won power by violent revolution and civil war to overthrow the absolute monarchy, based on the big landowning aristocracy, the rising capitalist class became afraid of the further advance of the people, whose armies had won the revolution. Therefore they betrayed the Republic which they had set up, made an alliance with the old aristocracy and set up the monarchy anew, henceforth under their control, as the cover for their power. This alliance of all the sections of the exploiters against the people, of the landowners, merchants, financiers and the later industrial capitalists, under cover of a puppet monarchy and aristocratic trappings, has remained the basis of the British State.

3. The Capitalist Control of the State

The greatest limitation on democracy in Britain is the real power of the capitalist class, which is not expressed in the Constitution.

Despite the formal powers of the popularly elected House of Commons, the capitalist class holds the real power.

The State acts in practice as their tool. The capitalist Governments are closely linked to them in personnel.

The big bankers have formidable weapons to compel a Government to fulfil their will or go under. The Bank of England is withdrawn from popular control. The judges, consisting of reactionary upper class representatives, are appointed from above by the central Government, cannot be removed from office, and are protected by special laws against popular control or criticism. The commanding positions in the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Police, the Church and the Civil Services are held by representatives or loyal servants of the ruling class, who have nothing in common with the people, who are trained from childhood in the outlook of the ruling class and are further separated from the people by high salaries.

Parliament also, not only in the House of Lords, but in the House of Commons, is dominated by a majority of wealthy upper class representatives. This domination of the popularly elected House of Commons by a numerically small capitalist class is a reflection of the power of wealth and privilege in political life.

The economic power of the capitalist class, and their consequent control of the conditions of the life of the people, their power to give or withhold employment, their virtual monopoly of the press in the hands of a few millionaires, their control of education and of most of the material facilities for the expression and spreading of opinion or information (meeting halls, advertising, paper supplies, printing presses, broadcasting, etc.) severely limit the practical operation of the formal democratic liberties.

4. Machinery of the State

Thus the real power of the capitalist class is able to override the formal democratic rights. This power is organised and centralised in the existing State machinery,

through which the capitalist class exercises its dictatorship over the people.

Since the establishment of capitalist rule in Britain the State machine has been more and more strengthened and centralised, in accordance with the requirements of capitalism and the development of the class struggle. A standing army, the police system and a vast bureaucracy have been developed. More and more spheres of social and economic life have been brought under the control of the State. As capitalism has developed further, this centralisation and power of the State machine has grown, and has reached its highest point in the modern period.

5. The Limits of Capitalist Democracy

In consequence of the above factors, and the actual experience of the limits of capitalist democracy in Britain and the Empire, as well as in other countries, it is therefore an illusion to assume that, because the present Constitution includes universal suffrage and the formal sovereignty of the House of Commons, the present ruling class will surrender its privileges and wealth without violent resistance.

In the present conditions of capitalism, when the economic crises inherent in the capitalist system of production, mass unemployment, the destruction of machinery and of products, have reached a chronic stage, the capitalist class is less and less able to silence discontent and maintain its rule through the ordinary democratic forms, in spite of its control of the press and other machinery for influencing opinion. No longer able to rule in this way, it is striving more and more to restrict democratic rights and to rule autocratically, by open force.

In some countries the capitalist class has abolished the democratic forms and established open terrorist dictator-

ship or fascism. Strong tendencies in this direction exist also in Britain, and the process of preparation for fascism has begun with the anti-democratic legislation of recent Governments.

While both fascism and capitalist democracy are forms of capitalist class rule, the difference from the point of view of the working class is very great. In the fascist State the working class has no rights: strikes are forbidden; all working-class organisation is suppressed; any kind of popular agitation and organisation is prohibited. In capitalist democracy the working class hold in varying degrees rights of organisation, agitation and election of representatives, which are of the utmost importance for their struggle.

Therefore resistance to any attack on democratic rights, and the struggle to maintain these rights, is essential for the working class. Only the overthrow of capitalist rule, however, will lay the basis for full democracy for the people.

IV. THE BRITISH EMPIRE

1. Conquest of Other Countries by British Capitalism

From its first beginnings, the British capitalist class has carried on conquest and plunder of less developed peoples. In the modern period, this has enormously increased. The volume of capital piled up by the labour of the British people grew too great to find profitable outlet in Britain, where had it not been privately owned by the capitalists, it could have served the social needs and progress of the people. A more profitable outlet was found by the capitalists through the conquest of other countries and the subjection of their peoples. In this way the rule of the British capitalist class has been extended over one quarter of the world and now holds in its power one quarter of mankind.

In the British-peopled Dominions, whose inhabitants number less than one-twentieth of the population of the Empire, the conditions of capitalism in Britain have been reproduced, with the main economic power and financial control in the hands of the banks and monopoly capitalists of Britain.

The rest of the Empire, or four hundred and thirty million out of the five hundred million people in the Empire, are subject peoples held by force of conquest and governed despotically by the British ruling class. From these tribute is drawn by British monopoly capital partly by the direct exploitation of wage labour, but mainly by indirect means, taxation to provide interest on loans, and the enormous trading advantage of big capital, backed with unrestrained political power, against peasants and

handicraft producers. Peoples have been driven from their land, forced labour imposed, and special taxation devised to force the people away from their independent production and to compel them to work for their conquerors. The subject peoples are denied the most elementary democratic rights; their countries are despoiled; economic development is retarded. The conditions of the colonial peoples show decline and deterioration; drawn into the net of capitalism, the standards of the hundreds of millions of working people, peasants and industrial workers, in the subject Empire, in India and the colonies, are far below even the standards of the workers in Britain. The average life of the inhabitants of India is twenty-six years, against fifty-seven years in Britain.

2. Empire Strengthens the Capitalist Class

The wealth and power of the British capitalist class have been enormously increased by the exploitation of the colonial peoples. High dividends are extracted by the trusts and combines, the banks and exporters of capital, the companies operating in the colonies, the exporters of goods to the colonies and the importers of colonial produce. The bureaucratic rule of the Empire provides jobs with large salaries and pensions for upper class representatives. Control of the resources of the Empire and the extensive bureaucratic and military machine maintained for its rule strengthen the State power of the capitalist class. It provided a training ground in militarism, in ceaseless warfare and in methods of despotic government, the effects of which react against democracy in Britain.

The capitalist exploiters seek by every means to draw the British people into support of their policy of colonial plunder and enslavement. Through all the avenues of education, the press and every form of propaganda the

enslavement of other peoples is presented as a heroic achievement of the British people; the process of plunder is hypocritically described as a civilising mission; the exploiters seek to arouse jingoism and lust of conquest. They seek falsely to present the material interests of the British people as bound up with the Empire; they seek to present colonial policy as the solution of poverty for the British people, or as the solution of "over-population," etc.

In all these ways the capitalists seek, not only to strengthen their hold over the Empire, but to tie the British people to support of capitalism in Britain itself.

3. What the Empire Means for the British People

For the masses of the British people the Empire brings only additional burdens and the strengthening of their chains.

While the profits of Empire are drawn by the capitalist class, the costs of maintaining the Empire fall on the people and have to be paid by additional taxation. Vast armaments are needed to hold down the subject populations and to maintain the colonial wars and deadly imperialist wars which have to be paid for in the lives of British workers.

The low wages and standards enforced on the colonial workers are used by the capitalists to undermine wages and standards in Britain.

The export of capital to the Empire, by providing an outlet for surplus capital, gives new possibilities for capitalist expansion when these were reaching their limit in Britain, raises the general level of profit on capital and thus strengthens capitalism against the working class. The super-profits obtained from the exploitation of the Empire swell the wealth and incomes of the capitalist class, widen the number of those who do no productive

work and live entirely on the labour of others, and provide the means for corrupting a section of the working class and middle classes in Britain so as to divide and disorganise the working class and democratic movement.

The enslavement of other peoples is contrary to the interests of the British people. Colonial exploitation does not provide the solution of poverty in Britain. On the contrary, through the strengthening of the capitalist class, it strengthens the causes of poverty in Britain. The low standards of living imposed on the colonial peoples, the holding back of their economic development and the tribute drawn from them to pay interest and dividends to British monopoly capital, act as a constant brake on the development of trade.

4. The Colonial Peoples are the Allies of the British Working Class

The colonial peoples are engaged in a constant struggle against their exploitation. The aim of this struggle is their liberation from British rule and the winning of their independence and freedom to develop.

The victory of the colonial peoples in this progressive struggle is the direct interest of the British working class and of the British people.

The interests of the British people and of the colonial peoples are no less united against fascism and its war plans, which are directed equally against the British people and the colonial peoples. The attempts of fascism to penetrate and disrupt the national liberation movements in order to impose fascist domination require to be firmly resisted.

The unity of the British people with the colonial peoples in the common struggle will enormously hasten the victory of both against the common enemy, the British capitalist class, and open the way to future free fraternal relations based on national liberty and equality.

V. IMPERIALISM AND THE DOWNFALL OF CAPITALISM

1. Imperialism

The more or less smooth development of capitalism came to a close with the nineteenth century. From then onwards the path of development has passed through deepening conflicts in every sphere, economic crises, wars, revolutions and colonial uprisings. Capitalism is breaking up.

With the twentieth century capitalism passed into its last stage, the era of imperialism. The concentration of production and centralisation of capital led to the formation of big trusts or monopolies, closely linked with the banks. The export of capital increased the economic dependence of the majority of the countries in the world on the few richest countries. The millionaire monopolists, with their capital both in the banks and in the great trustified industries, became more and more the real rulers of their country, and were able to use the State machine against their rivals in other countries, and for the conquest of further colonial territories. At the beginning of this century almost the whole world was divided between a handful of Great Powers. Agreements between the rival groups of monopolists for the division of markets and spheres of investment were made, but could not last. The monopoly capitalists of one country or another, developing more rapidly than their rivals, would challenge the existing division and insist on a new division. The conflict of rival monopolist groups became the conflict of States; this conflict gave rise to increasing tariffs and other forms of economic warfare; to the piling up of colossal

armaments; to extending colonial wars; and finally to imperialist war for the redivision of the world.

Monopoly has become the dominant character of modern capitalism. The old types of smaller concerns survive alongside, but fight a losing battle against trustified capital.

Monopoly does not do away with economic crises. The economic crises grow deeper and more protracted.

Monopoly does not do away with competition. Alongside the old forms of competition, new and more violent forms arise.

Monopoly does not end the class struggle; it hastens forward the revolution.

2. Imperialism Gathers the Forces for Revolution

Imperialism lays new burdens on the people. The cost of living is raised by tariffs and monopoly prices. The colonial producers are squeezed by the power of the combines which buy their products. New taxation is imposed to pay for the extended State machine, the subsidies to the trusts, the rising armaments, war costs and State debts. Intensified exploitation is accompanied by extending unemployment. Militarism is strengthened; violent rule over the colonial peoples is extended; the people have to give their lives in colonial wars and in imperialist war.

The dissatisfaction and revolt of the working people against the burdens imposed on them grow rapidly from the beginning of the imperialist era. The working-class movement advances in strength and organisation, and in growing consciousness of the socialist aim; millions of workers, previously unorganised, enter into active struggle and build up organisation; mass strikes develop which come into conflict with the repressive machinery of the centralised State power. Alongside the advance of the

working-class struggle develop the national liberation struggles of the colonial peoples. Imperialism gathers the forces for revolution. At the same time imperialism places new obstacles in the path of the economic and political struggle of the workers through the increased power of the centralised State machine and through the systematic corruption of the upper leadership of the working class movement.

3. The War of 1914 and the Victory of the Russian Revolution

The war of 1914 was an imperialist war for the redivision of the world. It brought wholesale destruction of human lives and material resources. Famine, disease, and unemployment came in its train.

The awakening of the people through the horrors of war led to unrest and revolutionary struggles against their oppressors all over the world. In Russia the working-class revolution triumphed in November 1917; the working class in alliance with the peasantry, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party (Communist Party) overthrew the rule of the capitalist class and established the rule of the working class. The victory of the first Workers' State was the beginning of the world socialist revolution. It made an irreparable breach in the capitalist front, and increased the difficulties in the way of the restoration of capitalist power and stability. Although in other countries outside Russia the capitalists were able to temporarily defeat the workers and re-establish their power, one-sixth of the world was saved from capitalist exploitation, and the foundations of capitalism were seriously weakened.

4. The General Crisis of Capitalism

The war of 1914 and the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 marked the beginnings of the

general crisis of capitalism—the beginning of the break-up and downfall of world capitalism and its replacement by world socialism. The general crisis of capitalism is expressed in the division of the world into a capitalist and a socialist section; in increasingly violent imperialist conflicts; in slowing up of the rate of capitalist growth, growing inability of capitalism to use the productive powers to the full and creation of a vast army of permanently unemployed workers; and in extreme intensity of the class struggle and colonial struggle against imperialist exploitation, leading to revolutionary outbreaks and periods of temporary victory of counter-revolution.

The contradiction between the vast and increasing productive resources on the one hand, and on the other the poverty of the masses of the people, has developed particularly clearly in Britain. Derelict areas and half derelict industries are spread through the country. A million workers are permanently unemployed. Economic crises recur at more frequent intervals.

In the attempt to maintain their position, the monopolists in every developed capitalist country have resorted to systematic restriction of production, to intensified exploitation of the workers, to tariffs and quotas for the protection of their markets, and to armaments on an ever-growing scale for a new world war.

All this has given rise to intense social and political conflicts within each country, reaching even to civil war, and to intense imperialist conflicts, leading to new imperialist war for the redivision of the world.

5. The Victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union

In contrast to the economic chaos, unemployment, poverty and oppression of the capitalist world during the years since the war of 1914, stands the victorious building

of the new Socialist society in the Soviet Union. The victory of Socialism in one sixth of the world has given hope and inspiration to oppressed peoples all over the world. The rapid construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union, at the very same time as capitalism was plunged in the worst crisis in history, has opened the eyes of people in all countries to the contrast between socialist advance and capitalist decay. The Socialist State has no economic crises; it has abolished poverty, illiteracy and unemployment; it has won security and abundance and a full cultural life for all; it has made it one of the foremost industrial countries; and has so strongly established defence as to hold off all the attempted attacks of the hostile capitalist world. On the basis of this achievement the new Constitution of Socialist democracy has been established, which for the first time ensures real democracy for all. All this the Socialist revolution has been able to accomplish in a few years in what was an extremely backward country. This has been an object lesson to the working people of all countries, and has spread the conviction of the need for the Socialist revolution.

The division of the world into a capitalist section and a socialist section is the most important fact of the world situation to-day; it is the greatest weakness of capitalism and governs and increases all the other contradictions of capitalism. As socialism grows in strength in the Soviet Union, and capitalist decay develops, the balance of forces grows in favour of socialism. The Soviet Union has become the world centre, not only of the international working class and of all the exploited and oppressed masses all over the world, but of all peoples supporting peace and of all nations seeking to defend their national independence against aggression.

6. Fascism

When the monopolist rulers are unable to govern by the old methods and are faced with the rising unrest and awakening of the people, they employ increasingly reactionary measures, limit democratic rights, and in a number of countries have established fascist dictatorships, representing the temporary setback of the working class advance.

Fascist dictatorship is the terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital. It sets itself the task to destroy all working class and democratic organisation and to enslave the workers completely to monopoly capital for unlimited exploitation. It organises the entire population and economy for aggressive war, and has launched the second imperialist war.

Fascism is able to win power in conditions of extreme crisis, when the discontent of the masses is high and the working-class movement is divided and held back by false policies and leadership, and fails to win to its side the other sections of the people against monopoly capital. In such conditions fascism seeks to win a following among the unstable lower middle class masses and the confused sections of the workers, with a show of nationalist, anti-capitalist and "revolutionary" slogans; it seeks to poison and corrupt the most backward elements of the people with racial, jingo and pogrom propaganda, and in this way to maintain power for monopoly capital.

In Britain the most reactionary sections of the ruling class openly support fascism and collaborate closely with the foreign fascist powers.

Through successive attacks on working class rights, the weakening of the rights of local authorities, and preparations for military control, nominally in the event of war,

they are laying the basis for the establishment of fascism in Britain.

7. The Second Imperialist War and the Rising Struggle of the People

A series of developing wars in different parts of the world has already passed into the initial stages of the second imperialist war for the redivision of the world. In this war the aggressor powers are the fascist powers, Germany, Italy, and Japan, which have carried through and are carrying through a series of brutal wars of conquest and annexation against weaker countries. The success of their aggression has been made possible by the connivance of the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital in Britain and France, whose aim has been to promote a fascist war against the Soviet Union.

The fight of the weaker nations for their freedom, and the rising resistance of the working class and of the widest sections of the people has been expressed in great struggles in a number of countries: the struggle of the Abyssinian people against the fascist invaders; the armed struggle of the Austrian workers against fascism; the resistance of the united working class front and the people's front in France; the democratic war of the Spanish people against the invasion of Italian and German fascism; and the war of the Chinese people against the Japanese invaders.

The experience of the whole imperialist period of capitalism has shown that capitalism can only go forward with ever greater destruction of material resources and human life. There is no other way out for mankind but the social revolution.

VI. WORLD COMMUNISM—THE LIBERATION OF MANKIND

1. Communist Society

With the Social Revolution, the road is opened that leads to Communist society. Communism alone enables man to leave behind the evils of capitalism that threaten to degrade and destroy the human race. World Communism is the ultimate aim of the Communist Party.

World Communism sets mankind free. With the ending of the class division in society and of the exploitation of man by man all forms of oppression disappear. Instead of the destruction of human life and wealth in struggles between class and class and between nation and nation, the forces of mankind are set free for the struggle against the forces of nature and for the increase of the powers of man.

No longer fettered by private property in the means of production, with its consequence in anarchy and waste, in crises and devastating wars, the productive forces of man are liberated for an onward development without limit. Collectively owned, collectively organised, the means of production will be planned and extended to meet all human needs. With the rapid increase of social needs will come a rapid increase in production, to bring abundance for all.

Communism, which liberates the productive forces, liberates also individual men and women. For society cannot itself be free unless every individual in it is free. With the destruction of capitalism, work ceases to be toil for the benefit of the profit-makers. Productive labour becomes the means of emancipation by giving to each

individual the opportunity to develop and exercise all his faculties, physical and mental, in all directions. Instead of growing up to be a cog in the machine, in the monotony created by the old division of labour, young people are trained for the utmost possible all-round technical functions. Instead of stunted faculties, man recovers his all-round aptitudes and therewith the freedom for full individual development. The distinction between mental and manual labour is abolished. Productive labour, from a mere means of life, has become a vital necessity for every human being. Freed from want and anxiety, the energies of the individual are liberated: and work instead of a burden, has become a pleasure.

Communism brings about a race of producers with an all-round training who understand the scientific basis of industrial production as a whole and each of whom has had practical experience in a whole series of industries; and thus creates new productive forces. Not only the distinction between town and country disappear; but the material means are furnished for overcoming every backward feature of the life of man.

In a world without backward or subject peoples, the barriers and divisions between men will disappear and give place to the unity of mankind. The last vestiges of social inequality between the sexes will be forgotten.

In a free Communist world, the State and, with it, all measures of coercion will disappear. For life in a society organised on a Communist basis will have become part of the habits of men and women.

Education and culture from being a class privilege will be the birthright of all. Communism liberates the creative energies of mankind, not only for the maximum productiveness of social labour, but for an unexampled development of science and art. For the productive

forces of world Communism will raise the needs and wants of mankind and will satisfy them with so short a portion of each day devoted to material production that colossal energies will be released for science, art and culture. This new culture of a humanity that is united for the first time in history, will, unlike class society, be based on clear and transparent relations between man and man. Hence it will liberate the minds of men from superstition in all its forms and will give an impetus to the development of all-embracing and all-conquering scientific knowledge.

Scientific knowledge of the laws of nature and of the development of society brings a new stage in man's existence. The conditions of his existence, which have hitherto dominated him, now pass under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real conscious master of nature because he has become master of his own social organisation. "It is humanity's leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom."

2. The First Stage of Communist Society

Complete Communist society with its principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will not be reached all at once. An earlier period comes first, when Communism is not yet free from surviving features of capitalist outlook. This lower stage of Communist society is called Socialism.

But Socialist society, emerging from the womb of capitalism, is still stamped economically, morally, intellectually, with the birthmarks of the old society. So long as the productive forces of Socialism are still insufficiently developed, products are distributed according to the work performed. Special rewards are given to

special ability and initiative. The division of various types of labour, and especially the division of mental and physical labour still exists.

Since the power of capitalism is not finally broken until all these surviving traces of capitalism are overcome, and until there is no danger of capitalist attack from other countries, the State power of the workers is still necessary in a Socialist society.

As soon as all danger of capitalist restoration or attack from without is removed, and as soon as production is sufficiently developed and as the masses of the people have advanced in scientific and cultural development and re-educated themselves in the spirit of Communism, these survivals of capitalism will vanish.

VII. THE IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME

Up to the present time, the conquest of power by the working class and the building up of a Socialist society has only been carried out in one country. The advance of the working class, weakened by the false policy of its own leaders, has been held back by the ruling class, which has established a fascist dictatorship in a number of countries. In other countries, including Britain, the most reactionary sections of the ruling class are restricting the democratic rights of the people, and preparing the way for the establishment of fascism. Fascist aggression has already involved over 500 million people in war and the most terrible massacres of civilian populations. War threatens the whole world.

In this situation, in order to defeat fascism and reaction, and to prevent the appalling horrors of a new world war, the Communist Party directs all its efforts to rouse and unite the working class, and to rally all progressive and peace-loving sections of the British people for a joint struggle against the monopolist rulers and their reactionary policy. Victory in this struggle will make possible the establishment of a Government led by Labour, which will hold back the advance of fascism at home and abroad, safeguard and extend democracy in Britain and the Empire, and carry through economic and social measures for the immediate improvement of the living and working conditions of the people.

The Communist Party realises that the particular form in which unity is realised, and the composition of the new Government, representing the interests of the great majority of the people, will depend on the current political situation, and cannot be laid down in advance.

But it is confident that the unity of the working class, through the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party, and joint action by the united working class with other sections which oppose the reactionary policy of the present rulers of Britain, can make that decisive change in the situation which, by saving peace and defeating fascism, at the same time as it improves conditions for the vast majority of the people, will open the way for the real advance to Socialism.

The Communist Party therefore puts forward the following immediate demands as the basis of a common struggle now, and as essential features in the programme of a Government, based on a mass movement of the vast majority of the people, which is determined to take resolute measures in their interest and against fascism and reaction.

1. Safeguarding and Extension of Democracy

1. Repeal of all legislation restricting the democratic rights of the working class; democratic control of the police; full political rights for all citizens in the armed forces, police and public services.

2. Suppression of all fascist organisations; prohibition of propaganda inciting to racial and national hatred; removal of pro-fascist elements from the higher ranks of the Civil Service, police and armed forces.

3. Extended powers to all local authorities and protection of local authorities against interference from Whitehall.

4. Self-government for Scotland, and as a first step provision for regular meetings of Scottish Parliamentary Representatives and representatives of local authorities and democratic organisations, to discuss and formulate proposals affecting particular aspects of economic and social life in Scotland.

5. Self-government for Wales, and as a first step the appointment of a Secretary of State and Council of Education for Wales and equality of status for the Welsh language.

6. Extension of democratic rights won by the people of Britain to all peoples within the Empire; full self-determination for the people of a united Ireland and India.

7. Democratic reform of the system of justice, including the abolition of restrictions on public criticism of the judiciary; and a complete reform of the penal system.

8. The Press to be relieved of the censorship imposed by the present law of libel, and interference by private interests with the production and distribution of legally-published newspapers to be forbidden; democratic revision of the constitution of the British Broadcasting Corporation, and broadcasting facilities to all democratic political parties without discrimination; abolition of all film and theatre censorship.

2. Peace and Defence

1. Peace Pact of Britain, France and the Socialist Soviet Union, together with all other States prepared to collaborate in the collective maintenance of peace against aggression; strengthening of the League of Nations for the purpose of the collective defence of peace, democracy and the independence of nations; co-operation with the United States in the defence of democracy and peace.

2. Practical assistance to all peoples struggling against aggression, and in particular to the Chinese people in their struggle against Japanese aggression; assistance by economic and financial aid and the supply of arms, and by the prohibition of all supplies of war materials to the aggressors.

3. Nationalisation of the arms industry.

4. The most effective measures of air-raid precautions, including deep air-raid shelters for the civilian population, under civilian control and as a national charge.

5. Facilities for officers' training to be given to entrants from all sections of the population; promotion of officers from the ranks on the basis of merit, not of class.

6. Provision of military training for the people in a democratically organised system of defence.

3. Economic Measures Against Monopoly Capital and to Meet the Crisis

1. Nationalisation of the Bank of England, and close control by the Government of all banks and other financial concerns and insurance companies.

2. Nationalisation of the mines; on this basis, reduction of hours, reorganisation of distribution, and lower prices.

3. Reduction of the maximum rates of interest and dividends established by law for gas, electricity, transport and other services.

4. Public works, including new industries in the depressed areas, electrification of the railways and other electrification schemes, new roads and bridges, piped water supply to all dwellings, and building of houses, schools and hospitals.

4. State Finances

Revision of the State financial system by reducing the present State subsidies to the rich, removing the burdens of taxation from the workers and lower incomes and placing them on the shoulders of those best able to bear them.

1. Revision of the terms of all State subsidies so as to ensure that the assistance provided reaches the producers and does not swell the profits of the monopolists and middlemen.

2. Reduction of rates of interest on all State and municipal loans, with safeguards for small investors.

3. Abolition of all indirect taxation on the necessities of life; rescinding of special taxation on the Co-operatives; raising of the exemption limit for Income Tax.

4. Steep increase of death duties on large fortunes and of rates of surtax on large incomes, and effective measures to prevent evasion or the transfer of resources abroad.

5. Opening up of new sources for taxation, especially site values or ground-rents, in order to use these resources as part of the complete reorganisation of the present rating system.

5. Help to Agriculture

1. Reduced rents and mortgage interest, abolition of tithes; security of tenure and compensation for improvements.

2. Guaranteed prices for the main agricultural products.

6. Social Services

1. Abolition of the Means Test; higher unemployment benefits; abolition of the waiting period and of the gap between payments.

2. Increase old age pensions to £1 a week. Pensions for spinsters at 55, and increased widows' pensions.

3. Unification of all hospitals with public ownership and control; extension of all health services.

4. Provision of adequate houses at cheap rates for the whole population, cost to be met by Government grants.

Clearance of slums and over-crowded houses and re-housing of displaced tenants.

7. Education, Science and Culture

1. Raising of the school-leaving age to 16, with no exemptions, and free secondary education, with maintenance grants from the age of 14. Increased cost to be met by Government grants.

2. Adequate provision of State scholarships and stipends, enabling all young people qualifying by examination to enter universities.

3. Extension of State-aided scientific research; special attention to research on industrial hygiene, prevention of accidents at work and in traffic.

4. Extension of facilities for recreation and physical culture.

5. State encouragement of art, music, etc.

8. Labour Rights and Protection

1. Forty-hour week; fortnight's holiday with pay; enforcement of a minimum wage.

2. Collective agreements to cover every factory and workshop with compulsory recognition by all employers of the trade unions and their shop stewards' organisations as negotiating bodies on behalf of the workers.

3. Extension and enforcement of the Factory and Workshop Acts, with increase in the number of inspectors

4. Revision of the Workmen's Compensation Act to ensure full compensation equivalent to full wages. Compulsory insurance by all employers with State scheme to cover all insured workers.

5. Raising of the level of agricultural workers in respect of wages, hours, conditions, protection and social insurance to the level of the industrial workers. Abolition of the tied cottage system.

6. *Office Workers.* The establishment by legislation of minimum standards of hygiene and working conditions in offices, with appointment of inspectors for enforcement.

7. *Young Workers.* Minimum wage on a scale according to age for all young workers; compulsory part-time education at Day Continuation Schools in commercial and technical subjects for all between the ages of 16 and 18 years, within working time.

8. *Women Workers.* Establishment of the principle of Equal Pay for Equal Work in all Government and municipal services, in public contracts and in awards under Trade Boards. Equal facilities of technical training for women. Full provision for the needs of maternity; six weeks' leave before and six weeks after childbirth, with full pay, and free provision of all medical and nursing assistance.

9. Protection of Small Shopkeepers and Small Enterprises

1. Extension of Rent Restriction Acts to include all shops below rateable value (in 1939) of £105 in London and Scotland and £85 in the rest of the country.

2. Revision of the rating system to diminish the burden on small shopkeepers and small enterprises.

10. Protection of Tenants and Residents

1. Control of rents to be restored to pre-war houses as in the peak period under 1920 Act, and extended to all working-class post-war houses; and strict liability for repairs to be placed on the landlord.

2. Responsibility for the structural soundness of houses on new estates bought through Building Societies and for road charges to be placed on the Building Societies and the Builders.

The Communist Party considers that these are important issues concerning the overwhelming majority of the people, and therefore strives to organise and unite all sections who are prepared to carry on an active struggle for the demands outlined above.

In the course of this struggle the solidarity and confidence of the working class and other progressive sections of the people will be developed, and the possibility created of the defeat of reaction and the establishment of a Government which will carry out the programme, mobilising the people to overcome the resistance and sabotage of the monopoly capitalists. In this way the working class will be strengthened for the further advance to Socialism.

VIII. REFORMISM AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

1. The Origin of Reformism

As Britain was the cradle of capitalism, the Labour movement developed earlier than in any other country. The first revolts of the British workers against capitalist rule, which found expression in Chartism and the early revolutionary trade unions, were crushed by the ruling class. The conditions were not yet ripe; there was not yet readiness of organisation or clearness of aim; the idea of socialism was still only a Utopian aspiration of a few middle-class thinkers opposed to the class struggle.

When the founders of modern scientific socialism (communism), Marx and Engels, built up their theory, utilising the experience of Chartism, and revealed socialism and the conquest of political power as the necessary aim of the working-class struggle, the first revolutionary period of the British working class was over. In other countries, where the labour movement developed later, the political labour movement was able to grow up hand in hand with the other organisations of the working class, the trade unions and co-operatives; under the guidance of Marxism, the common aim of socialism united the movement as a whole.

In Britain the modern labour movement grew up in separation from socialism. Defeated in their revolutionary offensive, the workers turned to build up their economic organisations, the trade unions and co-operatives. Through these organisations, they carried on the struggle against the employers and the Government for economic demands and social and political reforms. They

followed politically in the wake of the Liberal Party, then the dominant party of capitalism, and ceased to challenge the capitalist system as a whole. This character of development of the labour movement arose from the special position of British capitalism in the nineteenth century. From the vast profits of its world monopoly it was able to make concessions to some privileged sections of the working class and to win them over to capitalism.

The beginnings of the decline of the British capitalist world monopoly brought the beginnings of a socialist movement half a century ago. The first socialist organisations among the workers developed. As a result of their propaganda, which was bitterly opposed by the older leadership, the labour movement at length took the first step towards independent class action and socialism. The trade unions united with the socialist organisations to form the Labour Party in the beginning of the twentieth century for the purpose of labour representation in Parliament. The labour movement thus separated itself from the capitalist parties in Parliament, though not yet in policy and propaganda. In 1918, with the mass revolutionary awakening at the end of the war, the Labour Party adopted in its programme the socialist aim of the common ownership of the means of production, but in practice has continued to follow in the wake of capitalist politics.

2. Reformism and the Struggle for Reforms

The fight for reforms has been of the greatest importance to the workers and is an indispensable part of the class struggle. The partial victories and partial struggles strengthen the workers' experience, organisation, determination and confidence in their own power. The gains won mean for the workers increased health, strength, energy and possibilities of education to equip themselves for further advance. Reforms under capitalism are a

product of the class struggle. They are won by the strength of the workers' struggle. But reforms cannot do away with exploitation. They are of value to the working class only in so far as they strengthen the working class for the conquest of power. Separated from the ultimate aim of liberation of the working class, the struggle for reforms becomes a means of adaptation to capitalism. This adaptation of the working-class movement to the capitalist system is reformism.

Reformism is the deadliest enemy of the labour movement, a weapon of the ruling class against the working-class revolution.

3. Liberal Reformism

The fear of revolution has haunted the capitalist class ever since the establishment of modern industry and the birth of the industrial working class.

For over a century the politicians and economists of the capitalist class have put forward a host of plans and panaceas for solving the evils arising from capitalism, and for mitigating class conflict without changing capitalist property relations: credit schemes, currency schemes, plans to eliminate crises, solve unemployment, overcome poverty and abolish war; schemes of co-partnership and profit-sharing. All these plans have proved fruitless because they have assumed a harmony of class interests which does not exist within capitalism.

The fear of revolution has compelled the ruling class to yield to the pressure of the workers and grant concession after concession. On the basis of these reforms extorted by the workers the liberal reformists evolved a theory of reform or evolution as a weapon against revolution. This theory has been used by the capitalist class with considerable success to disarm the workers and defeat their advance to revolution. It has succeeded in splitting the working-class movement.

Having won power themselves by violent revolution, the capitalists preach to the workers against revolution, and have striven to conceal the revolutionary traditions of the British people. They preach that all social change must be gradual, slow and peaceful; that capitalism is gradually leading to extending prosperity and improved conditions, and by successive reforms will overcome its present evils; that the interests of all classes are identical and that class divisions are diminishing. All these theories are contrary to facts. The crises continue and have become increasingly devastating. The gulf between wealth and poverty grows greater.

4. Reformism in the Labour Movement

Reformism represents capitalist influence in the labour movement. It has led to collaboration with the employers and the capitalist governments against the interest of the working class as a whole.

The outlook of liberal reformism led to political passivity of the trade union movement. The economic organisations, the trade unions and the co-operatives, were regarded as all-sufficient. Even after the beginnings of advance of the labour movement towards political independence and socialism, these remains of liberal reformism are still strong within the trade unions and co-operatives. This is shown in neglect of active participation in the Labour Party and a contemptuous attitude to the political labour movement. The Labour Party is regarded by this outlook as only a Parliamentary organ of the trade unions for winning legislative reforms.

To meet the rising demand of the workers for socialism the reformist leaders of the labour movement have adapted the liberal reformist arguments to socialism. "Socialist" reformism considers the State as above the classes, condemns the class struggle and mass action of

the workers. It declares that capitalism is growing gradually, peacefully and painlessly into socialism by successive reforms granted by the State in the interest of all. Trusts are presented as instalments of "socialism." Collective agreements between the trade unions and monopoly capital are presented as the beginning of "economic democracy." The trade unions are presented, not as organisations of the workers for the struggle against capitalism, but as bodies to regulate the relations between capital and labour within the capitalist system. Imperialism is viewed as a higher stage of organised capitalism which will lead to ultra-imperialism or world capitalist unification and thus overcome crises, competition and world conflicts.

From this basic outlook of reformism arise all the policies of collaboration with capitalism pursued by the reformist leadership: the support of colonial policy, of imperialist war, of capitalist stabilisation, of rationalisation, of peace in industry, and the opposition to Marxism and to the unity of the working class.

The bankruptcy of Parliamentary reformism has led in turn to syndicalism on the part of a section of trade unionists, or complete denial of political struggle. Syndicalism puts forward the view that the workers can by their economic struggle alone, without any political party, defeat capitalism and take over industry. By denying the necessity of a political party, syndicalism hinders the unification of the working class.

As a result of reformist leadership in the trade unions, the trade union movement remains sectionally divided. There is overlapping, duplication of unions, competition for members, or minute sub-division of organisation of workers in the same industry or in the same enterprise between different unions. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress was set up in the period of

revolutionary influence after the war, to unify the leadership of the trade union movement; but, dominated by reformism, it has acted as a channel of collaboration with the Government and the employers, and has not given united leadership to the trade union struggle.

Reformism in the co-operative movement seeks to hold it apart from the general working-class struggle, and puts forward the illusory theory that by means of co-operation, through the extension of peaceful trading, without class struggle, the workers will be able to eliminate capitalism. Experience has shown the falsity of this theory: despite the vast growth of co-operation to cover one-third of the nation, the capitalist monopoly of the means of production remains unchanged; and even in the sphere of retail trade nine-tenths remains in capitalist hands. This theory, with its harmful consequences in Utopian illusions, pacifism and hostility to the class struggle, hinders the growth of the co-operative movement.

With the break-up of capitalism, reformist influence in the labour movement begins to weaken. The class struggle grows more intense. The reformist leaders abandon even the fight for reforms, and, to cover their bankruptcy, proclaim the aim of "pure socialism," while following capitalist politics in practice.

5. The Counter-Revolutionary Role of Reformism

In the period of the break-up of capitalism, reformism supports openly imperialist and counter-revolutionary aims of the capitalist class. In 1914 the reformist leaders betrayed their pledges of international working-class solidarity and entered into coalition in the imperialist war governments. In the world revolutionary wave after the war the reformist leaders in Britain directed all their efforts to defeat the working-class revolution and rebuild

capitalism. In Russia the reformist leaders entered into coalition with the monarchists, White Guards and capitalist reaction in order to endeavour to overthrow the socialist revolution by armed force. In Germany the reformist leaders armed the monarchist officers and counter-revolutionary special corps in order brutally to suppress the workers' struggle. This helped to lay the basis for the organisation of fascism. In the post-war capitalist era the reformist leaders entered into successive coalition Governments with capitalism against the working class.

The reformist Labour Governments in Britain became administrators for capitalism against the workers (Dawes Plan, Anomalies Act), and used bloody violence against the colonial peoples especially in India. Every post-war mass struggle in Britain, notably the general strike of 1926, was betrayed by the reformist leaders. In the world economic crisis the principal reformist leaders in Britain passed over openly to the capitalist camp and helped to form the so-called "National" Government under the control of the Conservative Party. In Germany the refusal of working-class unity and support of capitalist reaction by the reformist leaders led to the victory of fascism.

6. Pacifism and Fascist Penetration in the Labour Movement

Reformism has facilitated the entry of pacifism into the labour movement. Pacifism is the doctrine of submission to aggression and force. It is alien to the working-class movement, which is based on struggle against exploitation. The working-class movement strives for the elimination of the causes of violence from the world by the elimination of classes. The way to this lies, not through

pacifism, but through struggle. Pacifism disarms the resistance of the workers and subject peoples and plays into the hands of imperialism. Pacifism fails to distinguish between just or necessary wars (wars of national liberation, revolutionary wars) and imperialist wars (wars of conquest, wars for re-division of the world, counter-revolutionary wars).

To-day fascism utilises and works to promote pacifism among the peoples it attacks in order to disarm them and make their conquest easier. Similarly British imperialism utilises pacifist illusions in order to conceal its policy of assisting fascist aggression and war. Pacifist organisations, some of them to-day openly linked with fascism, appeal mainly to the lower middle class elements, but have to some extent succeeded in influencing sections of the co-operative movement. In the labour movement pacifism mainly shows itself in the tendencies of capitulation to fascism (support of "non-intervention" in Spain, acclamation of Munich, advocacy of schemes for the redistribution of colonial spoils for the benefit of fascism). These tendencies play into the hands of the pro-fascist reactionaries.

The direct agency of fascist penetration in the labour movement is Trotskyism. Trotskyism originated as a tendency in the labour movement which fought Bolshevism or Marxism, and opposed the establishment of socialism in the Soviet Union. Defeated in this, it became an agent of Hitler-fascism for the partition of the Soviet Union and turned into an organisation of sabotage and counter-revolution. To-day it functions in a number of countries, under the cloak of revolutionary phrases, to disorganise the labour movement, oppose working-class unity and the people's front or a common peace front of the peoples against fascist war, and thus assists the advance of fascism.

IX. THE ROAD TO POWER

1. The Fight for Marxism

The victory of socialism in Britain requires the unity and strength of the labour movement, and clearness of aim, policy and programme. Reformism has split the movement. Within the labour movement, in consequence of reformism, a wide variety of theories and tendencies continue to exist. The victory of socialism requires the liberation of the labour movement from reformism and the achievement of unity on the basis of Marxism, the theory of the working-class struggle.

The struggle for Marxism in Britain opened with the first beginnings of the socialist movement towards the latter part of the last century. The first socialist organisations developed in Britain, as in other countries, on the general basis of Marxism; but they distorted Marxism into an abstract theory and held aloof from the wider labour movement. In consequence, the ideas of Marxism only reached a limited range within the labour movement. When the growth of political awakening led to the formation of the Labour Party, the leadership of the labour movement passed from liberal reformism not to Marxism, but to "socialist" reformism, represented by a middle-class group, the Fabians, and transmitted through the Independent Labour Party to the labour movement.

Not until the formation of the Communist Party in 1920 were the workers in Britain able to form a fully independent political party on the basis of Marxism. The reformist leaders of the Labour Party met the formation of the Communist Party by refusing its admission to the Labour Party, the common rallying

ground of the working-class movement, and later took steps to expel the Communists from the Labour Party.

The building of the Communist Party and the fight for its affiliation to the Labour Party is the indispensable task of the labour movement.

2. Marxism and Reformism in the International Labour Movement

The class-conscious workers in all countries have continuously striven for the strength and unity of the working-class movement upon this basis. The First International of the working class, founded three-quarters of a century ago, was conducted under the guiding influence and direct leadership of Marx. The Second International, which was formed half a century ago and united twelve million workers on the eve of 1914, was established on the basis of Marxism, but the influence of reformism increasingly undermined it, and with the betrayal of 1914 it broke in pieces. The working-class movement was split. The revolutionary workers, however, carried on the struggle against imperialism and war, and rebuilt the working-class International on the basis of Marxism, founding the Communist International in 1919. The affiliated socialist parties changed their name to Communist Parties (the original Marxist name of the earliest revolutionary working-class parties). The Marxist workers in Britain united to found the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1920.

After the war the reformist leaders set up the Labour and Socialist International, in order to divide the workers from revolutionary Marxism.

The Communist International has made repeated overtures to the Labour and Socialist International, to which the British Labour Party is affiliated, for an international

united front to make possible common action of the international working class. Under the influence of the reformist leaders of the Labour Party, all these offers have so far been rejected. This rejection is largely responsible for the successes achieved by fascism in a number of countries in recent years and for the extension of fascist war.

3. The Communist Party

Equipped with the theory of Marxism, the Communist Party has no sectional interests, but represents the lasting interests of the whole working class.

The Communist Party builds up its membership from the most class-conscious, most active and most courageous members of the working class, together with the most advanced representatives from other sections of the people who accept the standpoint and unite with the activity of the working class. The organised discipline of the Communist Party, based on democratic centralism, is a voluntary, self-imposed discipline, carried out through the class-consciousness of its members. The Communist Party is bound to the working people with inseparable ties; its closeness of connection with the working people, fidelity to their interests and clearness of aim provide the basis of its leadership.

The Socialist aim governs all its work. In fighting for the everyday needs of the workers, the Communist Party stands in the forefront of every strike, demonstration or other mass action, and strives to mobilise the widest support for the demands of the workers. It participates in parliamentary and municipal elections, and through its representatives in all elected public bodies, in order to utilise every avenue for the exposure of the ruling class and for the awakening of the people and the development of the mass struggle.

The Communist Party strives for the unity and solidarity of all workers. From this aim arise its relations with all other organisations of the Labour movement, the trade unions, co-operatives, trades councils, workshop organisations, sport and educational organisations, etc. Through its members, who are the most active and loyal workers in the various organisations of the Labour movement, it strives to win the workers to Communism and to the policy of the Communist Party, to assist the workers in their daily struggle and organisation, to give correct leadership in every stage of the struggle, and to make them conscious fighters against their oppressors.

4. The Struggle for the Unity of the Labour Movement

The Communist Party directs all its efforts to promote the strengthening and unity of all working-class organisations. It fights for trade union unity, both nationally and internationally. It works for the strengthening and extension of the co-operative movement to embrace the majority of the working class and middle class consumers in the country. It fights for the unity of all working-class organisations in the Labour Party, and for this purpose fights for affiliation to the Labour Party, in order to strengthen the united action of the working class against capitalism and in order to assist and further the political development of the Labour movement. Through the development of unity in action, and through the growth of political awakening and experience in the course of united struggle, the Communist Party strives to create the conditions when it will be possible to establish in Britain a single united political party of the working class, based on the principles of Marxism, and capable of leading the entire Labour movement to victory over capitalism.

5. The Communist Party and the Allies of the Working Class

The Communist Party strives to win the sympathy of all sections of the people for the Labour movement, and to draw them into the common fight, in alliance with the working class, against capitalism and for Socialism.

It appeals to the women and the youth, to the professionals and the intelligentsia, to the small farmers and the small shopkeepers, and assists them to organise and to fight for their interests.

It maintains close co-operation with the working class in the Dominions and with all the colonial peoples of the British Empire, and renders them active support in their fight against imperialist exploitation and domination.

It carries on propaganda against all forms of jingoism, anti-semitism, colour-bars and incitement to national and racial hatred.

6. Solidarity with the U.S.S.R.

The victory of the Soviet Union is a victory of the international working class and of the British working class. Every increase of strength of the first Socialist State increases the strength of the working class in all countries, increases the balance of forces on the side of peace, and weakens imperialism and fascism. The ceaseless manœuvres of imperialism in general, and of British imperialism in particular, to divert their own growing conflicts into the channels of an armed attack on the Soviet Union are an integral part of their general counter-revolutionary offensive against the working class and democracy in all countries.

The defeat of these manœuvres is the vital interest of the British Labour Movement. The Communist Party stands for complete solidarity of the British working

people with a Socialist Soviet Union in peace and in war; in the event of attempted war on the Soviet Union the Communist Party fights with all means for the defeat of the aggressors and for the victory of the Soviet Union.

7. Marxist Theory and the Party

In order to strengthen and knit the Party for the fulfilment of its tasks, the Party works to carry forward in every way the theoretical development and political training of its members in the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It helps its members to overcome traditional outlooks and habits of thought which represent capitalist influences and ideas. These tendencies are expressed in political instability, and may cover reformist outlooks with revolutionary expressions; particularly in periods of sharp changes in the political situation, they result in changes from extreme enthusiasm to capitulation and pessimism.

Opportunism shows itself in tendencies to lose sight of revolutionary aims in the immediate struggle; to follow on the tail of events; to rely on the automatic development of the movement; in the fight on immediate issues, to fail to build up the Party or revolutionary understanding; to waver or capitulate before the enemy in decisive moments of struggle; to fall into legalist illusions.

Sectarianism shows itself in the tendency to substitute abstract propaganda of Communism and revolutionary phrases for living contact with the masses in the immediate struggle; to isolate the vanguard from the masses; to over-estimate the stage of development and ignore the necessary patient and laborious steps between; to adopt an attitude of indifference to petty struggles and to non-Party mass organisation or to non-Party workers.

X. FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

1. The Conquest of Powers

The transition from capitalism to socialism will not come of itself. In order to achieve socialism, the British Labour movement must first conquer political power. This can only be accomplished by united and determined struggle of the masses of the working people, led by the organised industrial working class, and with the active support of the wider sections of the people who suffer under monopoly capitalism. This alliance is equally necessary after the conquest of power, for the maintenance of power and for the successful carrying through of the tasks of socialist construction.

The character of the struggle will depend on the character of the resistance of the capitalist class. The whole history of capitalist rule, and especially the present stormy period of the break-up of capitalism, of wars, revolutions and civil wars, has shown beyond the possibility of dispute that the exploiting classes use every means, constitutional and unconstitutional, in order to maintain at all costs their class privileges. This is especially true of the British ruling class, the leader of world reaction, with its centuries-old record of the most unscrupulous and violent methods in Ireland, India and all parts of the world to maintain its power. It would, therefore, be a fatal illusion for the British Labour movement to place its trust in respect for legality on the part of the ruling class and imagine that political power can be peacefully transferred to the working class by a parliamentary majority. Even in the event of the conquest of a parliamentary majority by the representatives of the

working class, a Government based on such a majority, which endeavoured to make serious inroads into the foundations of capitalist exploitation, would be faced with the most violent resistance of the powerful financial magnates and of the capitalist State apparatus, developing from economic and financial sabotage to armed action. Faced with such resistance, the Government would either have to surrender or to appeal directly to the masses and organise the armed struggle of the people. From such a struggle a new type of State would inevitably develop. In actual practice the capitalist rulers seek to prevent the working class reaching a parliamentary majority; they attack the basis of democracy beforehand, thus transferring the struggle to the plane of force.

The path of violence is never chosen by the working class, but only by the exploiters. The Communist Party opposes all individual violence and terrorist acts on the part of the oppressed, under whatever provocation, and declares that liberation can never be won by such methods, but only by the mass struggle of the workers. This is the only way for humanity to escape from the present conditions of ever-growing violence, anarchy and conflict. Only the victory of the working class and of socialism will create the conditions for the final elimination of war and violence from the world.

This is the aim of the Communist Party.

2. The Dictatorship of the Working Class

In order to end completely all power of resistance by the exploiters, the new State power of the working class requires to be established with decisive strength. It must disarm the exploiters, put an end to their armed organisation and machinery of coercion, and deprive them of

political rights, so that they cannot harm the work of socialist construction or endeavour to win back power.

New forms of State organisation need to be built up on the basis of the mass organisations of the working people, so that real power is in their hands. Thus the new Socialist State will be a vast extension of democracy for the overwhelming masses of the people, but it will be a dictatorship against the handful of exploiters. Such a dictatorship will guarantee the freedom of the people. So long as the struggle against capitalism and against the survivals of capitalism has to be fought, such dictatorship remains necessary. In proportion as socialism is realised, Workers' Democracy becomes the democracy of the entire people.

The forms of the political power of the working class will arise from the conditions of the struggle for power. The workers in the factories, workshops, mines, offices, shops and villages, will carry through the struggle for power, and councils of their democratically elected delegates will become the basis of the new State power. Bodies of this type have developed in all revolutionary struggles of the present period, as the Soviets in Russia, Germany, Hungary, China, etc.

3. Socialist Construction

Once the power of the working class is established in Britain, the construction of socialism can take place with great speed, as all the technical development and equipment of large scale modern industry already exists at a very high stage. There is an abundance of trained skill and experience of organisation amongst the working people, whilst increasing numbers of scientists, engineers and technicians are to-day already beginning to range themselves on the side of the working class.

The establishment of socialist industry in Britain, the liberation of the colonial peoples and the ending of the parasitic tribute drawn by British imperialism from overseas, will create the most favourable conditions for Britain to readjust her economic structure, in such a way as to balance imports and exports, and while developing home industries, help forward economic development in all parts of the world. The victory of socialism in Britain following the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, will inevitably lead to the rapid spread of socialism in other countries and the building of a powerful association of socialist States with close economic relations. In this way the problems of the present British declining economic position in world economy, which are insoluble under capitalist conditions, will be solved.

4. The Leadership of the Revolution

The victory of the working class in the struggle for power, in the maintenance of power and in the building of socialism, requires as its indispensable condition the leadership of a single centralised political Party of the working class, based on the principles of Marxism, and solely devoted to the aim of the victory of the working class and the establishment of socialism; the Communist Party. The building of such a Party is an essential part of the preparation of the British Labour movement for the victory of socialism.

The Communist Party has no other interests than the interests of the whole working class. It does not aim to attain power as a small minority of the working class, but strives to win the majority of the working class for the aims and principles of Communism.

As measures for the establishment of socialism after the working class has taken power in Britain, and to

prepare the way for Communist society, the Communist Party puts forward the following programme:—

5. PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

Democracy

Replacement of the existing political system, which is dominated by wealth and privilege, by a workers' democratic republic, through the establishment of local and district councils of delegates democratically elected from every factory, workshop and mine, from agricultural workers, distributive and office employees, and from every other grouping of the men and women in this country who have to work for their living, and through the establishment of a central popular assembly based on these local councils and controlling the Government.

Abolition of the capitalist State apparatus (police, standing army, judiciary, etc.) and establishment of a new State apparatus based on the people; all officials to be made responsible to the people and subject to recall; in order further to eliminate all tendencies to bureaucracy, the gradual drawing in of the entire working population into the administration of the State and social and economic life.

Full political rights and liberties for all working people, irrespective of sex, religion, nationality or race.

In order to enable the widest masses of the people to make full use of their democratic rights and participate actively in public affairs, expropriation of all public halls, printing presses and other necessary material facilities for

disposal of the mass organisations of the working people, expression and discussion, and placing of these at the extension of cultural opportunities for the widest masses of the people and raising of the material standard of living and extension of the leisure of the people.

The mass organisations of the Labour movement to be closely linked up with the Socialist State, and to participate fully in the tasks of Socialist construction.

Economic Reconstruction

Expropriation of the Capitalist Class. Nationalisation without compensation of all large private capitalist enterprises (large factories, mines, electrical power, railways and transport services, etc.) and of all landed estates in town and country.

Confiscation will not be applied to small-scale enterprises; and in the nationalisation of large enterprises, steps will be taken to prevent hardship to small shareholders.

Planned Socialist Economy. Organisation of the industrial, agricultural and economic life of the country on the basis of a planned socialist economy, in order to utilise to the best advantage the material resources and labour of the people, eliminate waste and overlapping, raise production rapidly, and distribute the products to the people, so as to ensure a continuous rise in their standard of living and in the social services. The more goods are produced, the more money will be distributed in wages, so that there will never be any unsold surplus and crisis. Buildings, machinery and other means of production and transport will be made and used, but will remain public property.

Industry. All the productive resources of the country will be brought into full use, on the basis of the economic plan of production and distribution; new plants will be

set up to meet the growing needs of the population; such schemes as the co-ordination of coal and power services, and the rapid extension of electrification, which have been held back by capitalism, will be operated without delay; the luxury trades, at present devoted to the requirements of the ruling class, will be reorganised for useful production; transport will be centralised and developed.

Control of industry by the Socialist State with close participation of the trade unions in the work of management, and guarantees of the functions of the factory councils and works councils. Combination of centralised planning and control with the maximum responsibility and initiative in each branch of production and enterprise

Agriculture. The land to belong to the people and to be fully used. Transfer of large farms to the State to be run as model farms. Security of tenure for all other farmers; abolition of all tithes and mortgages, reduction of rents, with abolition of rents for the poorer small farmers.

Assistance to farmers by the advance of credits, by scientific and technical assistance; encouragement of amalgamation of farms into bigger farms run on a co-operative basis. Planned development of agriculture, in order to double Britain's home-produced food supplies

Trade. State organisation of wholesale trade, through State and co-operative wholesale organisations. Retail trade to be organised through State, municipal and co-operative channels, small shopkeepers playing a part in the distributive network until they are brought in to the State, municipal and co-operative apparatus.

State monopoly of foreign trade, and imports and exports regulated in accordance with the general economic plan.

Finance. The needs of the State to be provided for in the national plan of production and distribution. Centralisation of the banking system. Annulment of State debts to foreign and home capitalists, while safeguarding small investors against hardship.

Protection of Labour and Social Insurance

Establishment of a complete Labour Code to safeguard the rights of the workers and workshop conditions, under the control of the trade unions and workshop committees, to include:

Reduction of the working day to seven hours, and to six hours in industries particularly harmful to the health of the workers, with a view to further reduction.

Maximum six-hour working day for young persons up to the age of 18 years.

Minimum fortnight's holiday with pay for all workers, with four weeks for young persons and workers in heavy and dangerous trades.

Eight weeks' leave for expectant mothers, and eight weeks' leave after childbirth. A nursing mother to be allowed time during working hours for nursing her baby.

Social insurance in all forms (sickness, old age, accident, unemployment, etc.) to be made all-embracing, with benefits raised to the level of full wages, at State expense (and at the expense of owners of private enterprises so long as these still exist), to be administered through the trades unions.

Housing. Immediate large-scale house building programme to provide adequate and up-to-date accommodation for the entire population.

Pending completion of the housing programme, utilisation of empty and half used houses for the badly housed workers.

Palaces, country mansions and large private and public buildings to be used as sanatoria, workers' clubs and rest homes, etc.

Rents for housing accommodation to be based on the cost of necessary upkeep and repair.

Health. State organisation of a free medical service, with adequate State hospitals and health services. Adequate provision of sports grounds, swimming pools, gymnasia, etc., under the control of the workers.

Education and Culture

Reorganisation of the whole educational system to become the means of training and equipping the new generation for the tasks of socialist construction. The school under socialism will be an important instrument for the abolition of the division of society into classes.

Establishment of a single school system for all children, with immediate raising of the school leaving age to 16 years. Universal free education, both general, and also technical, so as to acquaint the pupil in theory and practice with the main branches of industry.

Extended development of vocational education for persons of the age of 16 and over, combined with general education and technical education over a broad field.

Fullest State assistance for adult education.

Reorganisation and extension of the universities and higher education, with stipends for students to cover all costs of maintenance and education.

State development of scientific and industrial research.

State encouragement and assistance in the development of artistic and cultural expression—the theatre, music, etc. All art treasures to be the property of the State and to be made available to the people.

Religion

Complete toleration of all religious opinions and of all anti-religious opinions.

Disestablishment and disendowment of the State church.

The Communist Party strives to free the workers from the bondage of religious prejudices, and to assist in every way their development to a scientific world outlook based on dialectical materialism.

Women

Complete equality between men and women before the law and in social and economic life.

Recognition of maternity as a social function; protection of mothers and infants; initiation of social care and upbringing of infants by the establishment of crèches, kindergartens, children's homes, etc.

This, together with the provision of facilities (public dining halls, restaurants in blocks of flats, central laundries, etc.), will make possible the real equality of women with men by enabling women to participate in production.

Combating of surviving traditions and habits reflecting the age-long inequality of women.

Freedom for the Colonial Peoples

Complete self-determination, including the right to form independent States, for all peoples in the British Empire.

Practical solidarity with all the freed peoples of the former Empire, including such forms of fraternal relations or voluntary association as they may themselves choose, and co-operation of the British Socialist State in assisting their independent economic, political and cultural growth.

Combating of all remnants of national hatred, jingoism and race prejudices.

Relations with Other Countries

The Socialist State has no aggressive aims. While defending the conquest of socialism against attack from the remaining capitalist countries, it will direct its policy to maintaining friendly relations with all countries.

It will establish the closest brotherly relations with the U.S.S.R., and with all Socialist States which may have been established.

So long as world socialism is not established, and fascist or other imperialist aggression may give rise to the necessity for collective defence by the peoples, the British Socialist State will take full part in all collective measures of the peoples for the defence of Peace or for aid to the victims of aggression.





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