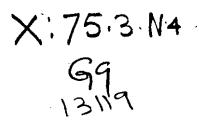
# PLAN FOR DEMOCRATIC BRITAIN

# PLAN FOR DEMOCRATIC BRITAIN

BY

G. D. H. COLE

ODHAMS PRESS LIMITED LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.2



"The Labour Party's goal is the Socialist Commonwealth. It is determined to use the resources of our country so as to create a real prosperity in which *all* shall share. Science has placed in our bands the means of attaining this end, but only if finance and trade; industry and agriculture, conform to a national plan under the guidance of the State."

LABOUR'S IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME.

"The choice before the nation is either a vain attempt to patch up the superstructure of a capitalist society in decay at its very foundations, or a rapid advance to a Socialist reconstruction of the national life. There is no half-way house between a society based on private ownership in the means of production, with the profit of the few as the measure of success, and a society where public ownership of those means enables the resources of the nation to be deliberately planned for attaining the maximum of general well-being."

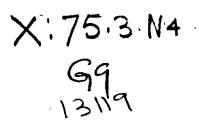
FOR SOCIALISM AND PEACE.

## PREFACE

In a sense, the preface to this book is contained in the final chapter; for I have there explained what it is, and what it is not, about. The reader who wishes for an advance intimation about its scope and limitations had better turn at once to the latter half of that chapter, where he will discover why in the body of the book I have said nothing about international affairs or the empire, and nothing about Sir Stafford Cripps or the "Popular Front." Anyone who wants to know my views about the latter can find them in another book of mine, The People's Front, published some time ago by the Left Book Club. I have not changed in any essential the views which I there expressed. Nor, I hope it is plain, does the fact that this book is being published through the Labour Book Service imply any slackening of my support of the Left Book Club, for which I have a high admiration. There need be no antagonism between the two: there should be ample room for both. I have written this book mainly for Labour Party members who want gathered together for them in one volume a simple exposition of what a Labour Government would set out to do in home affairs. I have written it in the belief that, however the international crisis may overshadow us, it is vital that we should not forget the tasks of good housekeeping that face us, as a people, no less insistently because of the very present danger of war. I have written it because, if we are to call successfully upon the people to defend democracy, we must make them understand clearly and in relation to their own lives what democracy is for.

G. D. H. COLE.

Oxford, March, 1939.



"The Labour Party's goal is the Socialist Commonwealth. It is determined to use the resources of out country so as to create a real prosperity in which *sll* shall share. Science has placed in out hands the means of attaining this end, but only if finance and trade, industry and agriculture, conform to a national plan under the guidance of the State."

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G. D. H. Cole.

Oxford, March, 1939.

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capitalism to engender booms and slumps-Employment depends on "capitalist confidence"-How can a Labour Government prevent capitalist sabotage?-Key position of the Bank of England and the control of credit-Under what conditions will the capitalists be least likely to obstruct?-The qualities a Labour Government will need to display-Importance of a widely-diffused understanding of its policy among its supporters-Publicity is indispensable-Certain observations on the writing of this book-It expresses a collective rather than a personal policy-Why certain issues are not discussed-Foreign policy-The Empire-Armaments-Importance of attending to home affairs as well as the international situation-If we want to save democracy we must make people understand what it is for-Why the Popular Front is not discussed-Why I have been able to write this book in spite of certain recent events-The Labour Party must be based on free discussion and mutual tolerance

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# List of Books and Pamphlets on Labour Policy

THE Labour Party's official policy on home affairs is set out chiefly in the following pamphlets and reports, all obtainable from Transport House:

Labour's Immediate Programme. 1937. 1d.

For Socialism and Peace; the Labour Party's Programme of Action. 1934. Revised 1938. 2d. "Socialism in Action" Reports. Each 2d.

The Land and the National Planning of Agriculture. 1932.

The National Planning of Transport. 1932. The Reorganisation of the Electricity Supply Industry. 1932. Currency, Banking and Finance. Part I, 1932; Part II, 1933; Revised 1936.

Socialism and the Condition of the People. 1934.

Water Supply: a National Problem and its Solution. 1935. 1d.

Labour's Policy for the Schools. 1934. Revised 1938. 1d.

Up with the Houses: Down with the Slums! 1934. Revised 1935. 2d.

Fair Rents and No Profiteering. 1934. Revised 1935. 1d.

The Blind Persons' Charter. 1935. Revised 1937. 1d.

Labour's Financial Policy. 1935. Id.

Why the Banks should be Nationalised. 1936. 1d.

Socialism and Social Credit. 1935. 2d. Labour's Plan for Oil from Coal. 1938. 1/-

A.R.P.: Labour's Policy. 1939. Id.

Labour's Policy for our Countryside. By LORD ADDISON. 1937. Id. Labour's Policy of Food for All. By THOMAS JOHNSTON, M.P. 1937. Id. Labour's Policy for Coal and Power. By GEORGE RIDLEY, M.P. 1937. Id. British Transport at Britain's Service. By HERBERT MORRISON, M.P. The Nation's Wealth at the Nation's Service. By DOUGLAS JAY. 1938. Id. Labour's Aims. By C. R. ATTLEE, M.P. 1937. Id.

Labour's Claim to Government. 1938. Id. The Position of the Middle-class Worker in the Transition to Socialism. By G. L. BENJAMIN, 1935, 2d.

The following also embody official policy:

Labour's Pension Plan. National Council of Labour. 1937. 2d. Coal: The Labour Plan. National Council of Labour. No date. 3d. Cotton: the T.U.C. Plan of Socialisation. Trades Union Congress. No No date. 3d.

Iron and Steel: the T.U.C. Plan of Socialisation. Trades Union Congress. No date. 3d.

Unemployment and the Cost of Living. Trades Union Congress. 1937. 1d. Holidays with Pay: the T.U.C. Policy. Trades Union Congress. 1937. 3d. Holidays for All. Trades Union Congress. 1937. 3d.

Education and Democracy. Trades Union Congress. No date. 2d.

The following reports on policy are to be found in the Reports of the Annual Conferences of the Labour Party, but have not been reissued separately in pamphlet form:

Southport Conference Report, 1934. Labour Party. 1/-. Public Ownership and Compensation. Import Boards.

A State Health Service. Parliamentary Procedure.

Brighton Conference Report, 1935. Labour Party. 1/-. The Beet Sugar Industry. The Tithe Question. Socialisation of Coal and Allied Industries. Unemployment and the Unemployed. Local Government and Depressed Areas. Broadcasting Policy.

Edinburgh Conference Report, 1936. Labour Party. 1/-. The Tithe Question. Ceremonial Functions and Honours.

Local Government Administration.

The programme of the Co-operative Party, which works in alliance with the Labour Party, is set out in ,

Britsin Reborn: Work and Wealth for All. Co-operative Party, 6d. and further in a series of pamphlets dealing with particular questions, as follows:

Britain Reborn Series. Co-operati	ive Party. Each 2d.
Power and Fuel.	Buy British.
Transport.	Work for AlL
The Countryside.	Civic Ideals.

The Labour Party's Commission of Enquiry into the Distressed Areas has issued the following reports, each Id.:

A Programme of Immediate Action. Labour Party. 1937. Central Scotland, Labour Pariy. 1937. Durham and the North-East Coast. Labour Pariy. 1937. West Cumberland. Labour Party. 1937. Lancashire. Labour Party. 1937. South Walcs. Labour Party. 1937.

The following are published on behalf of the Standing Joint Committee of Women's Industrial Organisations:

Socialism and the Standard of Living. Labour Perty. 1938. Id. Nutrition and Food Supplies. Labour Party. 1936. 2d. Children's Charter, Labour Party. 1937. 1d. Protect the Nation's Mothers. Labour Party. 1936. 2d. Women in Industry. Labour Party. 1935. 1d. Women in Offices. Labour Party. 1936. 1d.

The following useful booklets are issued by the New Fabian Research Bureau (now the Fabian Society), but are not official pronouncements of Labour Party policy:

The Essentials of Socialisation. By G. D. H. COLE. 3d.

The Nationalisation of West-Country Minerals. By A. K. HAMILTON-JENKIN. 3d. The Relations of Central and Local Government. By W. A. ROBSON. 3d.

The Control of Investment. By COLIN CLARE. 6d. Taration under Capitalism. Edited by BARBARA WOOTTON. 6d.

Socialist Credit Policy. By B. F. M. DURBIN. 1/-.

Marketing Boards and Import Control. By M. PHILIDS PRICE. 6d.

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The Housing Question. Edited by J. H. MARTIN. 6d.

Transport, Town Development and Territorial Planning of Industry. By F. J. OSBORN. 1/-.

A Socialist Budget. By COLIN CLARK, 6d.

Aircraft Manufacture: A Description and Proposals for Socialisation. By R. MCKINNON WOOD. 6d.

Facts and Figures, a Handbook for Labour Speakers. 6d.

Planned Socialism. By H. DE MAN. Edited by G. D. H. COLE. 1/-. Technical Education: an Immediate Programme. By BARBARA DRAKE and TOBIAS WEAVER. 6d.

Rent Rebates. By GEOFFREY WILSON. 1/-. Foreign Trade. By HAROLD BARGER. 6d. Nutrition: a Policy of National Health. By BARBARA DRAKE. 6d.

Adult Education. Edited by A. CREECH JONES, M.P. 6d. How Much Compensation? By ERNEST DAVIES. 1/-.

The Forty-Hour Week. By MICHAEL STEWART. 6d.

State Education: an Immediate Programme for a Socialist Government. Edited by BARBARA DRAKE. 1/-.

The City To-day. By A. CITIZEN. 1/-. Milk, from Cow to Consumer. By JOAN BULMER and PETER VINTER. 1/-. Living Wages: the Case for a New Minimum Wage Act. By G. D. H. COLE. 6d.

The following books deal especially with the policies which a Labour, Government would be likely to pursue, either generally or in particular fields:

C. R. ATTLEE. The Labour Party in Perspective, 1937.

HUGH DALTON. Practical Socialism for Britain. 1935. DOUGLAS JAY. The Socialist Case. 1937. HERBERT MORRISON. Socialisation and Transport. 1933.

G. D. H. COLE. The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy. 1929.

G. R. MITCHISON. The First Workers' Government. 1934.

LORD ADDISON. A Policy for British Agriculture. 1938.

The following deal especially with problems of Socialist planning:

BARBARA WOOTTON. Plan of No Plan. 1934.

G. D. H. COLE. The Machinery of Socialist Planning. 1938.

G. D. H. COLE. Practical Economics. 1937.

G. D. H. COLE. The Principles of Economic Planning. 1935.

The following pamphlets contain the chief official expositions of the Labour Party's foreign and colonial policy:

Labour's Foreign Policy, By ARTHUR HENDERSON. Labour Party, 1933. 2d. The Colonial Empire. Labour Party. 1933. 2d.

The Demand for Colonial Equality of Economic Opportunity. Labour Party. 1936. 4d.

There are also numerous manifestos on recent questions issued by the National Council of Labour or by the Labour Party.

GRETCAINE LOD., (T.V. IN ALL DEFTS.), WANTORD, HARM.

This book has no index, not because the author has been too lax y to make one, but because he believes that, in view of its nature and arrangement, the very full table of contents at the beginning will serve the reader as a more convenient and satisfactory means of reference.

