

**PLAN FOR
DEMOCRATIC BRITAIN**

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DEMOCRATIC
BRITAIN**

**BY
G. D. H. COLE**

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"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 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."

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 house-keeping 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.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

WHAT LABOUR WANTS

The riches of Britain—Things as they are—Are they improving?—Why goods are cheap or dear—Keeping prices artificially high—The price of food—Rings, combines and “proprietary articles”—The costs of advertising and distribution—How unemployment is manufactured—How much could we produce?—Planning for plenty—Three principles of action . . . 19

CHAPTER II

THE NEED FOR A PLAN

What is industry for?—The profit system—Profit and service—The growth of monopoly—Why competition has declined—The Socialist alternative—The Socialist objective defined—The difference between “social reform” and Socialist policy—Why we need an economic plan—A Planning Authority—The obstacles in the way—The qualities required in a Socialist Government—The case for full publicity 27

CHAPTER III

TOWARDS SOCIALISM—THE NEXT STEP

What is Socialism?—Alternative forms of social ownership—The Co-operative movement—Socialism and property—The real nature of capitalist ownership—The case against “private enterprise”—The requirements of modern technique—The position of the small-scale producer—Socialism *versus* the monopolists—The Labour Party’s full programme—What is to be done first?—*Labour’s Immediate Programme* 35

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL SERVICES :

I. CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

The Labour policy outlined—What has been done already—The inadequacy of the social services as they are—The need for improvement—Maternity and child

welfare—Medical attention, milk and food supply— Maternal mortality—Child Welfare Centres and Nursery Schools—Milk in schools—Poverty and ill-health— The need for more Special schools—Open-air schools— Playing fields—The class system in English education —The employment of school children—School medical services—The waste of ability—Occupational guidance —Hours of labour for juveniles—The case for a Youth Charter—The falling birth-rate and the changing age- structure of the people	41
--	----

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL SERVICES:

II. THE PEOPLE AT WORK

Towards a living wage—The Trade Boards Acts and other minimum wage laws—The Fair Wages Clause— The scope of collective bargaining—Trade Unionism and wages—Where wages are worst—Wages in the distributive trades—The case for further legislation— The relation between wages and unemployment pay- ments—Extending the Trade Board system—The need for a Minimum Wage Commission—The problem of the large family—Should Family Allowances be introduced? —Alternative schemes considered—Divided views about Family Allowances—The Government and Trade Union action—Hours of labour—The forty-hour week —How much can be done at once?—Holidays with pay— Extending the Factory Acts—The need for a charter of Trade Union rights	49
--	----

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL SERVICES:

III. THE UNEMPLOYED—SICKNESS AND OLD AGE

The unemployed—Benefits and assistance—The Means Test and its abolition—A unified system of maintenance —“Long” and “short” unemployment—How much do the unemployed need?—How much do they get?— Health Insurance—Inadequate benefits—Need for in- creased State contribution—Medical services—Need for a national scheme—Unification of insurance—Workmen’s Compensation—Industrial Assurance—Illegal policies—

CONTENTS

9

Lapsed policies—Proposed transfer to the State—Pensions—"Too old at forty"—The existing pensions schemes and their defects—THE LABOUR SCHEME—Retiring pensions for elderly workers—Additional insurances—The position of non-manual workers

62

CHAPTER VII

HOUSING AND SLUM-CLEARANCE

House-building since 1918—The housing shortage—The number of families—Guaranteed employment for builders—The Wheatley Scheme of 1924—The defects of post-war housing schemes—Houses for sale and letting—The Building Societies—The continuance of overcrowding—Overcrowding in different areas—Unfit houses and demolition—Slum clearance—Local authorities and by private enterprise—The rent problem in new houses—Re-housing and public health—The need for houses to let at low rents—Housing and interest rates—THE LABOUR HOUSING PLAN—A National Housing Commission—Its relations with the local authorities—A National Building Department—The problem of building materials—The co-ordination of local by-laws—The acquisition of land—Local government areas—The need for town and region planning—The building of new towns—The case for urban decentralisation—A National Planning Authority required—Rents and rent control—The present position under the Rent Acts—THE LABOUR PROPOSALS OF 1938—Why control must continue—and be extended—and be made permanent—Fair Rent Courts and a National Rent Commission—The control of Building Society practices—The reorganisation of housing subsidies—Rent rebate schemes—Rural housing—The tied cottage—A municipal information service

72

CHAPTER VIII

SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

The dual system in education—The educational ladder—Class-selection in higher education—The narrow field of secondary schooling—The "public" schools—The complicated class-structure of English education—Training the "black-coats"—Free places and maintenance allowances in higher education—THE LABOUR

PROPOSALS—The abolition of fees—Improved provision for maintenance—Free education for all—The raising of the leaving age in relation to post-primary reorganisation—An increase to 15—and to 16 later—The quality of education—The effects of malnutrition and ill-health—The need for smaller classes and better buildings and equipment—Building grants—Prohibition of employment of school children—More freedom for teachers—Open-air treatment—The school as a social centre—The Hadow Report—Secondary standards for all post-primary schools—“Bias” and specialisation—Better provision for defectives—The function of the Universities—The relation of secondary education to University reform—The need for more Universities—The development of the Technical Colleges—University education and class-privilege—The expansion of adult education—The place of technical education in the national scheme

89

CHAPTER IX

AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SUPPLY

The crime of malnutrition—The standards of living among rural workers—Farm wages and farm prices—The agricultural “dilemma”—The evidence of bad feeding—The estimated need for increased supplies—Home production and imports—The effects of agricultural protection—A return to Free Trade impracticable—The need to improve distribution and to reduce its cost—The influence of monopoly on the gap between farm and retail prices—Inefficient marketing—Producers’ control and the consumers—THE LABOUR PLAN—A comprehensive plan required—A National Agricultural Commission—County Agricultural Committees—The future of the Marketing Boards—National Commodity Boards representing consumers as well as producers—The example of the pigs and bacon schemes—Development Boards for pigs and milk—Experiments in large-scale farming—The Land Utilisation Bill—The breakdown of the English land system—Agriculture is under-capitalised—All agricultural land should be public property—The position of the farmer under public ownership—Land acquisition—Quality production—What to produce and what to import—The

CONTENTS

II

wheat question—Meat production and meat imports—
Bacon—Milk—Butter and cheese—The demand for
liquid milk and the means of increasing it—Fruit and
vegetables—Eggs and poultry—Organised marketing
of quality foodstuffs—Cereals: production *versus* storage
—The improvement of livestock and slaughtering—
Increased output in relation to prices—The farmers'
need for security of prices—Price-fixing and regulation
of imports—The case for Import Boards 100

CHAPTER X

THE LAND WORKERS.

The decline in the numbers employed in agriculture—
The dearth of young workers—The costs of living in
town and country—The rural standard of living—The
reasons for migration to the towns—Can it be checked?
—A strengthened Wages Board—Higher wages and
better conditions—How can agriculture bear the cost?
—Guaranteed prices and subsidies—The effects of
unemployment insurance—The U.A.B. in the villages—
Health conditions—Bad housing—Improved village
schools—Better transport for school children—The
planning of village amenities—The smallholder and
his difficulties—Standards of living among small-
holders—Is there a case for land settlement?—Allot-
ments and part-time holdings—A "square deal" with
the farmers—Agriculture and mechanisation 117

CHAPTER XI

COAL

The decline in coal-mining—Speeding up—The increased
strain of work—The fall in miners' wages—The increase
in working hours—The demand for public ownership—
—Public ownership of royalties—THE LABOUR PLAN—
A British Coal Corporation—A Coal Marketing Board—
Regional Boards—Relations with other industries—The
co-ordination of fuel and power—Regional administra-
tion—By-products and combined undertakings—Pit
Councils and workers' control—The changing technique
of the coal industry—The organisation of research—
The regulation of prices and output—The Coal Market-
ing Board and price regulation—The position of the

consumers—The transport of coal—Coal distribution—The place of the Co-operative movement—The future demand for coal—The problem of oil from coal—The Labour Committee's proposals—The problem of cost—Oil-from-coal plants for the depressed areas—Home production *versus* storage of oil

125

CHAPTER XII

POWER

The power question as a whole—Electricity—The Electricity Commissioners—Their limited powers under the 1918 Act—The Weir Committee and the Act of 1926—The Central Electricity Board and the Grid—Selected stations under the Grid scheme—Standardisation of frequencies and equipment—Struggle between municipal and private enterprise—The anomalies of the Grid scheme—The failure to electrify the rural areas—The need for complete public ownership—THE LABOUR PLAN—A National Electricity Board—A National Consultative Committee—Compensation to municipal undertakings—The need for regional organisation—Electricity in the villages and its relation to railway electrification—Prices and the extension of demand—The relations between gas and electricity—Possibilities of a gas grid—Water-supply—Existing shortages in town and country—The failure to develop regional schemes—THE LABOUR PLAN—A National Water Commission—Regional Water Boards—Supply to rural areas—How demand grows as housing standards change—Dangers of a scramble for water

135

CHAPTER XIII

TRANSPORT

Transport as the key to modern economic development—The coming of the petrol engine—The social influence of road transport—The difficulties of the railways—The effects of transport on the distribution of industry—Railway control in road transport—THE LABOUR PLAN—The need for general transport co-ordination—and for the extension of public ownership—A National Transport Board—The railways to become public property—Power to socialise other transport undertakings—

CONTENTS

13

Long distance road transport—Commercial air transport—Canals—Coastwise shipping—Ports—Local passenger transport—The need for separate administrations—The L.P.T.B., P.L.A., and other agencies—A general system of licensing—A National Port Authority—Amalgamation of local bus and tramway services—Public ownership of coastwise shipping—Canals—Road development—A Passenger Transport Board—Problems of goods transport by road—Large and small contractors—A Goods Transport Board—The co-ordination of transport services—The relations of transport to town planning and the location of industry—The future of the mercantile marine—The socialisation of shipping 147

CHAPTER XIV

THE METAL TRADES—ARMAMENTS

The influence of war on the economic system—The metal trades from 1914 to 1918 and after—The shipbuilding industry—Changes in engineering technique—Mass production and light industry—Labour policy in the armaments industry—"Taking the profit out of war"—The Armaments industries in peace and war—The present re-armament programme—The iron and steel industry—Its post-war history—The tariff on iron and steel—The raw steel producers and the finishing trades—The Continental Steel Cartel—The Import Duties Advisory Committee and the reorganisation of the industry—THE LABOUR PLAN—Public ownership—A British Iron and Steel Corporation—Alternative forms of reorganisation—The need for regional units of steel production—The problem of the finishing trades—The engineering industry: a problem of definition—Is it ripe for socialisation?—or only for control?—Shipbuilding—The aircraft industry—Need for complete socialisation—A National Aircraft Manufacturing Board—The armament factories—Socialisation of individual firms—Socialisation *versus* monopoly 159

CHAPTER XV

TEXTILES

The cotton industry—Its post-war difficulties—The loss of foreign trade—Japanese competition—The present

structure of the industry—The key position of the merchants—Why this structure is obsolete—Japanese methods contrasted with British—The need for standardised production—Inevitable dependence of the industry on exports—The Cotton Enabling Bill of 1939—Redundancy schemes and price-fixing schemes—The Cotton Industry Board—Criticism of the 1939 scheme—**THE LABOUR PLAN**—Cotton imports—The question of Import Boards—A British Cotton Corporation—Sectional Boards—Research—Works Councils—Socialisation in other manufacturing industries . . . 171

CHAPTER XVI

PLANNING

The effects of socialisation—The need for co-ordination between socialised industries—A comprehensive plan cannot be instituted all at once—The need for democratic control—Boards and Corporations must be the instruments of a unified policy—A National Planning Authority—A Ministry of Economic Planning—Its duties—Financial organisation—The supply of capital and credit—A National Investment Board—Its powers and duties—Licensing of capital issues—Loans and investments by the Board—Public representation on Boards of Directors—Control of overseas investment—Relation of the National Investment Board to the Ministry of Planning—Planning and the location of industry—Growth of population in Greater London and the South—Causes of the changing location of industry—Economic causes—Social causes—The changing market—Changing conditions of power-supply and transport—Possibilities of controlling industrial location—Effects on investment—Trading Estates—The mistake of segregating the depressed areas . . . 178

CHAPTER XVII

THE DISTRESSED AREAS

The Labour Party's Special Commission on the Depressed Areas—The Government's failure—The need for wider powers and for including additional districts—**THE LABOUR PROPOSALS**—their relation to Socialist planning—Special help to the depressed areas—The equalisation

of public assistance burdens—Special grants for health services—and for housing—Roads and streets—Educational services and juvenile migration—School building and equipment—The school leaving age in the depressed areas—The retirement of older workers—The Commissioners' powers under the 1937 Act—The need for a more ambitious effort—Trading Estates and the provision of capital—The need for improved transport—The difference between economic and social costs—Assistance to private enterprise 192

CHAPTER XVIII

FINANCE AND BANKING

The age of finance capitalism—The dependence of industry and trade on bank credit—Money is not a real thing—Why capitalism exalts the money power—The existing structure of banking and finance—The Bank of England and its functions—Its relations to the Government—Bank rate and its influence—The relation of the Bank of England to the joint stock banks and the money market—Open market operations—How the Bank controls the supply of money—The gold standard—The limits to the creation of money by the banking system—The joint stock banks—The distribution of credit facilities—How the banks control industry—How the bankers could try to wreck a Socialist plan—The question of business confidence—The relative powers of the Bank of England and the joint stock banks—How a Government could deal with a bankers' "strike"—THE LABOUR PLAN—Public ownership of the Bank of England—The problem of the joint stock banks—How soon should they be socialised?—Labour's immediate programme—The importance of the control of credit in the control of privately owned industry—Public opinion on the socialisation of the banks—A new Government deposit bank—The place of the Co-operative Bank—Should the banks be amalgamated?—Controlling the banks—A licensing system—"The City"—Methods of control over merchant banking—The relations between the banking system and the Ministry of Planning—Labour's policy in relation to credit supply and investment—The need for cheap credit in order to secure the full employment of resources—Will an increase in the supply of money raise

prices?—The need for price-control to prevent profiteering—The problem of foreign trade—The objections to protectionism—The need for new methods of collective trading 201

CHAPTER XIX

PUBLIC FINANCE AND TAXATION

Taxable capacity—Labour's plans to increase the national income—The possibilities of increased production—Expenditure involved in the Labour programme—Expenditure on the social services—on re-armament—on productive enterprise—What should be borrowed and what should be raised by taxation?—Sinking funds—Budget deficits—Should the State borrow or create money?—The Banks create money, why not the State?—The limits to increased taxation—The case for direct rather than indirect taxation—Income tax and surtax—Taxes on land values—The taxation of inheritance—The State as heir—Public administration of transferred property—Functions of the National Investment Board—The relation between taxation policy and constructive economic planning 218

CHAPTER XX

COMPENSATION

Why compensation should be paid—that is, if socialisation is to be gradual—Over-compensation under past schemes—The L.P.T.B.—What should be the basis of compensation?—"Net maintainable revenue"—No compensation for the loss of monopoly ownership—or of excessive profits—or of artificially-inflated values—Alternative proposals for compensation—The delays of valuation—The objections to taking stock market prices as a standard—The superior security of public investment—Compensation not usually to be paid in cash—but in public bonds or public corporation stock—Obsolete undertakings need not be acquired—Should each socialised industry "earn its keep"?—Transfer of property to be immediate—Sums paid in compensation must be recovered out of taxation 225

CONTENTS

17

CHAPTER XXI

THE POLITICAL MACHINE

Planning must be not only efficient but also democratic—
Maladjustment of the political structure to the needs of
the twentieth century—The congestion of the legislative
machine—The increasing complexity of legislation—
The overburdening of the Cabinet—The unsuitability of
civil service methods to economic administration—The
increasing misfits of local government—How the
increased size of the electorate has altered the relations
between voters and representatives—The new methods
of propaganda—The attempt to advance towards
Socialism will impose new strains on the political
machine—The delegation of powers—The making of
regulations and Statutory Rules and Orders—How much
detail should Acts of Parliament include?—Can demo-
cratic methods be devised for controlling Regulations?
—Changes in parliamentary procedure—The need for
Cabinet reconstruction—New Ministries—Possibilities
of grouping departments—“Inner Cabinet” necessary
—The reorganisation of the civil service—The relation
between national and local government services—The
status of administrative workers in socialised industries
—Local government—The need for reconstruction of
areas—Can the State be adapted to serve Socialist ends?
—The House of Lords—Its abolition—Electoral reform
—Plural voting—The extension of political rights—The
need for a reconstructed democracy—The place of youth 233

CHAPTER XXII

CONCLUSION

This book has expounded a moderate policy—Alternative
ways of establishing Socialism—The conditions of a
constitutional advance towards Socialism—Why I have
not discussed a policy of revolution—The effects of
actual war on Socialist policy—The existing situation
considered—The limited digesting power of the
electorate—The need to replace institutions as fast as
they are destroyed—Can Socialism be built gradually?
—This book concerned entirely with immediate measures
—I have not “forgotten Socialism”—Difficulties con-
fronting a Socialist administration—The power of

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 242

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. 1d.
 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. 1d.
 Labour's Policy for our Countryside. By LORD ADDISON. 1937. 1d.
 Labour's Policy of Food for All. By THOMAS JOHNSTON, M.P. 1937. 1d.
 Labour's Policy for Coal and Power. By GEORGE RIDLEY, M.P. 1937. 1d.
 British Transport at Britain's Service. By HERBERT MORRISON, M.P.
 The Nation's Wealth at the Nation's Service. By DOUGLAS JAY. 1938. 1d.
 Labour's Aims. By C. R. ATTLEE, M.P. 1937. 1d.
 Labour's Claim to Government. 1938. 1d.
 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 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 .

Britain 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-operative 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 1d.:

- A Programme of Immediate Action. *Labour Party*. 1937.
Central Scotland. *Labour Party*. 1937.
Durham and the North-East Coast. *Labour Party*. 1937.
West Cumberland. *Labour Party*. 1937.
Lancashire. *Labour Party*. 1937.
South Wales. *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 Party*. 1938. 1d.
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.
Taxation under Capitalism. Edited by BARBARA WOOTTON. 6d.
Socialist Credit Policy. By E. F. M. DURBIN. 1/-.
Marketing Boards and Import Control. By M. PHILIPS PRICE. 6d.

- 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. CRITZEN. 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 or 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.

This book has no index, not because the author has been too lazy 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.

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