THE BRITAIN WE WANT

This pamphlet outlines the plans which the next Labour Government will turn into reality.
The plans are carefully thought out. They are practical as well as inspiring. They are
democratic Socialism in action.

We want our country to play a great part in the world. To us, however, greatness lies not
in gunboat diplomacy or nuclear brinkmanship, but in helping to lead the world towards
peace.

At home we want a Britain where—with the guidance and help of the Government,
jobs for all and the full use of modern technology—production expands year by year and
the growing wealth is fairly shared throughout the nation.

We want a Britain where the children enjoy a modern education which gives them equal
opportunities, where every family has a decent home, where people grow old without
fear of poverty.

We want a Britain where men and women live their lives to the full in freedom and
dignity, accepting their responsibilities to one another, no longer divided by
outdated social distinctions.

This is the Britain we want. I ask you to help us to build it. Hugh Gaitskell
First, the family. Through better homes and schools, by restoring full employment, by providing greater opportunities for the young and more care for the sick and the aged, Labour will expand and strengthen the Welfare State.

YOUR HOME

A Home to live in is a basic human need and a basic human right. Whether the house you live in is fit to be called a home should not be decided simply by the length of your purse—or the whim of the landlord.

We believe that the Government should make sure that everyone has the chance of owning or renting a decent home, with reasonable security of tenure.

So Labour’s housing policy has two main objects :

To help the growing number of people who want to own their own homes.

To provide good homes at fair rents for those who live in rented houses or flats.

The first step must be to repair as far as possible the damage done by the Tories. The Tory Rent Act decontrolled 800,000 rented houses and permitted landlords to raise the rents of the rest. We will repeal it.

In the Act which we put in its place, we shall restore security of tenure to decontrolled houses; stop all further decontrol; and ensure fair rents for both
furnished and unfurnished lettings by setting up Rent Tribunals.  
Then we shall go forward with our own constructive policy to encourage new housing and improve old houses. Here are the six main steps:

1 **ENCOURAGE** home ownership.  
   We shall assist all house purchasers by keeping down rates of interest on repayments.  
   We shall also encourage local councils to offer up to 100% mortgages.

2 **SPEED** up slum clearance.

3 **IMPROVE** and modernise existing accommodation.  
   The need is urgent. The latest available figures showed:
   **Seven million** householders had no bath of their own.  
   Over **three million** either shared or had no water closet at all.

Nearly **two million** shared or had no kitchen sink.  
**More than one million** shared or had no cooking stove.

Despite new building since this census was made, millions of people are still living in shocking conditions. Most of these are tenants of private landlords. Although rents are being put up under the Rent Act, many landlords will not improve the houses, even where the structure is sound and a home could be modernised at a reasonable cost.

Labour will bring help to these tenants.
We shall tackle the problem of improving their homes by empowering local councils to buy rent-restricted property and modernise it as fast as possible.

**LOANS FOR TENANTS**
We shall also grant loans on favour-
able terms so as to encourage tenants to buy the houses they now live in, and to improve them.

4 Give security of tenure to council house tenants.

5 Help councils to speed up their new housing programmes — now slowed down through Tory restriction — by enabling them to borrow money at lower interest rates.

This will also enable them to get on faster with slum clearance.

6 Introduce leasehold reform, urgently needed in some parts of the country. Labour will pass an Act to allow tenants with leases of 21 years or more to buy the freehold during the currency of their leases.

1945-50 majority Labour Government.

Under the Tories, fear of the sack has returned.

Tory Ministers have now had to admit publicly that they deliberately caused the sharp increase in unemployment. In the Tory view, unemployment is the remedy for soaring prices.

Labour totally rejects the repugnant idea that the nation’s economic troubles can only be cured by throwing people out of work.

The first objective of the Labour Government will be to restore full employment and to preserve full employment. This is the prime purpose of our plan for controlled expansion.

Where local pockets of unemployment persist, we shall steer jobs to the workers, as we did in the development areas in 1945-51.

But the worker has the right to more than a job. He has the right to a decent
job in decent working conditions.

We believe that time has come to establish a Code of Industrial Conduct. Its objects will be to raise the status of the worker with a weekly wage packet; to give him and her a sense of pride and partnership in the job; to extend privileges—such as pay during sickness already enjoyed by most salaried employees.

We shall work out the Code with the trade unions and employers. It will set out model procedures for recruiting workers, for providing employment for older workers, and for fair compensation in redundancy.

Improved conditions for office and shop workers will be included, as well as the extension of equal pay for women—a principle pioneered in the nationalised industries and Government services and a part of Labour Party policy for very many years.

OUR CHILDREN

In this age of the Sputnik, first-rate education, open to every child, is not only desirable, it is essential to our national survival.

Labour has worked out a plan for opening wide the doors of opportunity from nursery school to university. Our aim is to level up, not to level down.

Here are the four major steps in the next Labour Government's plan for education:

FIRST

The worst handicap a child can face at school is the over-size class. Over-crowding in the schools is a nightmare to teachers and to parents.

That is why our first task must be to cut classes in primary as well as secondary schools to a maximum of thirty pupils.
This will call for a great deal of new school building. And particularly we shall wipe out the scandal of the slum schools, many of them blacklisted since the 1920s.

Most important of all, our plans will require many more teachers. We shall launch a big drive to recruit and train them as swiftly as possible.

SECOND
We shall get rid of the evils of the 11-plus exam. To segregate children at this early age into separate schools with sharply different levels of education and opportunity is both educationally un-sound and socially unjust.

A far-reaching reorganisation of secondary education will therefore become essential. The Comprehensive schools that already exist in London, Coventry and elsewhere are outstanding examples of how this can be tackled.

We do not say, however, that all secondary schools should conform to one single rigid pattern. There are other ways of overcoming the evils of segregation at 11, and these will be encouraged.

We nail the lie that our aim is to abolish Grammar school education.

On the contrary, we shall open it up to every child who can benefit by it and extend the tradition and standards of the Grammar school throughout secondary education.

THIRD
We shall press ahead with a rapid expansion of technical education, in which Britain is now far behind her major trade competitors.

FOURTH
We shall increase the number of places in the universities.
We shall also set up a Royal Commission to examine how far the universities are out of touch with the needs of the modern age, and what changes are necessary.

The main fault with our present State education is that there is not enough of it. In order to give every child a fair chance to choose a career and to train for it, we must be prepared to spend more.

To ensure that local authorities can do this, the Labour Government will return to the percentage grant system for education as swiftly as possible.

**HEALTH**

The National Health Service—created by the Labour Government against bitter Tory opposition—has been a boon to the nation.

Since the Tories came into power they have persistently denied the Service the resources it needs. They lose no chance of attacking it for "extravagance," despite the fact that the Guillebaud Committee, appointed by a Tory Minister of Health, flatly rejected this charge.

Labour believes that the time has come to expand and improve the Service. This is how we shall do it:

1. **We will speed up the building of new hospitals.**
   
   It is a scandal that in the past seven years, when many luxury buildings have been constructed, only one new hospital has been completed.

2. **We will improve hospital accommodation and cut down the waiting lists by recruiting more nurses.**

3. **We must have a new approach to mental illness.**

   Today nearly half of all hospital beds are occupied by people suffering...
from mental disorder; many of them would be happier if they could be treated at home. We shall, therefore, create new opportunities for home care by encouraging the expansion of local authority health services. But hospital and nursing facilities for the mentally sick must also be improved.

4 We will improve conditions for outpatients.

Much has already been achieved under the Health Service in humanising medicine. We are determined to make still further progress.

5 We will set up a free chiropody service for the aged.

6 We will abolish Health Service charges on prescriptions, dental treatment and glasses.

7 We will encourage treatment at home wherever possible.

The number forced to have institutional treatment must be reduced by expanding such local authority services as Home Helps, Home Visitors, Meals on Wheels, Health Visitors and Midwifery.

VALUE FOR MONEY

Every housewife knows that, after seven years of Tory Government, there is still "a hole in her purse." Too often, the goods she buys do not give her fair value for her money.

Part of Labour's remedy is our two-pronged plan for controlled expansion and for keeping the cost of living steady. This is described in later sections.

But the housewife also needs direct safeguards against rigged prices, against profiteering, and against unfair trading practices.

Labour will therefore:

PROTECT buyers against hire-purchase ramps.
Hire purchase plays an important part in the lives of many families. They need safeguards against extortion.

INSIST that reasonable standards are laid down for a wide range of goods, and that goods are properly labelled.

The housewife will then be able to see at once by the label whether the goods on the counter are up to the quality laid down by the British Standards Institution.

Labour will also encourage independent organisations, like the Consumer Advisory Service and the Consumers’ Association, which give valuable expert advice.

PROHIBIT the manufacture of substandard goods which might endanger health or safety.

END fiddling with weights and measures by making it compulsory to describe clearly and accurately the net weight or quantity of packaged goods.

WATCH prices and profits generally.

This does not mean a return to the wide system of price-control necessary in the hard years of world shortage during and after the war.

Now, thirteen years later, the situation is different. Today, there is a surplus of foodstuffs and other commodities on the world markets.

Yet, while many of our imports cost very much less, prices in British shops remain obstinately high under the Tory Government.

In many instances, prices are being kept up by the big-firm monopolies and by tightly organised price rings. Labour will enforce a tough anti-monopoly policy, and so ensure that lower costs lead in the future not to higher business profits but to lower prices for the consumer.

Labour intends to see to it that the housewife gets value for her money.
YOUTH AND LABOUR

Young people today welcome the need for swift social change and progress. So does Labour.

Youth resents the complacency that defends out-dated institutions and class distinctions. So does Labour.

Youth rejects privilege and snobbery and demands equal opportunity. So does Labour.

A better Start

When Labour returns to power, we shall use the full strength of the government to make sure that teenagers get a better, happier and fuller start in adult life.

First, we must ensure that no boy or girl who can benefit from higher education loses the chance because of a shortage of money.

Each year, thousands of boys and girls of real ability are forced to leave school. Not only are their own careers frustrated but the nation suffers a serious waste of talent that it cannot afford.

That is why we shall provide far more generous maintenance grants to encourage them to stay on in the sixth forms and go on to the universities.

After School

For those who leave school at 15 or 16 and start work at once, there must be wider opportunities for part-time education. Our purpose will be to help them train for worthwhile careers, avoid the frustrating dead-end jobs and widen their horizons as citizens in the new Britain.

Labour will therefore encourage industry to release young workers for daytime study and “sandwich” courses. We shall press ahead with the urgently
needed modernisation and reorganisation of our technical and other colleges.

**Finding Jobs**

Management training schemes in both public and private firms will be similarly encouraged.

The Youth Employment Service, which helps young people to find suitable jobs, will be developed. This will become particularly urgent when the call-up ends. Already, as a result of Tory economic policy, boys and girls who have just left school are finding it difficult to get jobs.

**Recreation**

In sport and recreation young people can do a lot for themselves: but they do need the essential facilities. No boy in the nuclear age is going to be content with a punchball in a white-washed cellar. The Youth Service must be rescued from the doldrums into which it has sunk through years of neglect and false economy. Youth clubs, hostels, camp-sites, playing-fields, swimming baths must no longer be regarded as luxuries. Young people need them and have a right to them. They must be provided.

**The Arts**

Finally, the future of the Arts. This, of course, concerns everyone; but it is especially a matter for young people who in this age of radio and television can acquire at home a taste for arts, ballet, music, and the theatre. For all these, the Tory Governments have made niggardly provision. A single painting recently sold by auction cost far more than the Government's total annual grant for new purchases to all picture galleries and museums in Britain.

Labour will make more money available.
GROWING OLD—WITHOUT FEAR

We are resolved to abolish poverty—and the fear of poverty—in old age.

Our National Superannuation policy offers a new deal both to present pensioners and to many millions still at work.

Here is the outline:

Present Pensioners
Our plan will give existing pensioners an immediate increase to £3 for a single pensioner or his widow, £4 10s. for a married couple.

And it will guarantee the pension against inflation.

If the cost of living has risen, the pension will be automatically increased.

The Two-Pension Policy
For those still at work, Labour has a scheme which will mean that in future everyone—women as well as men—will draw two pensions:

(1) a flat-rate National Insurance pension.

(2) a Superannuation pension.

The new National Superannuation will cover everyone who is not already inside a good private occupational scheme. Members of such schemes will be able to contract out of National Superannuation provided the private pension they receive is as good and provided that its benefits are made transferable.

The average earner who has paid his full contributions can, under Labour’s scheme, expect about half pay on retirement.

Compare this with the Tory scheme:
It offers no increase at all to existing pensioners.

It makes no provision against rises in the cost of living.

It excludes from superannuation all who earn less than £9 a week, among them 70 per cent of women workers. It denies to the member of an approved occupational scheme the freedom of choice to join in or to opt out of National Superannuation. The Tory plan sets out, not to relieve the distress of the aged, but to relieve the better-off taxpayer of his share in contributing towards old age pensions. Labour’s plan sets out to abolish poverty in old age. Which do you think is the better?

Can we afford Labour’s bold programme for social progress?

The answer is YES.

The key to Labour’s policies is our plan to replace Tory stagnation by a controlled expansion of the nation’s resources and industrial production.

And the rewards of expansion must be shared by all.

**EXPANSION**

The key to the success of the next Labour Government is our plan for turning Tory stagnation into Socialist expansion.

All our projects for better schools and hospitals, for a new deal for the young and the old, for rising living standards, must depend in the end on our success in achieving year by year a rapid expansion of production.

Tory policy has failed to achieve this. Indeed, in their efforts to cure inflation, the Tories first deliberately throttled down expansion. Then, in recent months, they caused the shadow of unemployment to fall menacingly across the land.
Here were the fruits of Tory policy in the autumn of 1958:
Half a million men and women out of work.
£70 million worth of unsold coal piled up at pitheads, in quarries and in dumps all over the country.
Steel—the thermometer of a nation’s health—running one-fifth below capacity.

No wonder Britain is falling behind her competitors—Germany, Japan, Russia—in the world race for higher production.

The Tories say the nation cannot afford Labour’s programme for better homes, better pensions and better schools without crushing increases in the burden of taxes. This is the argument they have used time after time to obstruct each new step towards social justice.

Let the Tories remember two facts:

If in the past three years industrial production had gone up as fast as it did under the Labour Government, our national income today would be £1,700 million higher.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer this year would be collecting £450 million more revenue without adding a farthing to existing tax rates.

Against this tale of waste, Labour sets its programme for expansion:

**FIRST**
We shall end Tory restrictions on production. We shall get the machines and the factories working at full capacity. We shall put the unemployed back to work.

**SECOND**
We shall launch a plan for capital investment which will put more horsepower at the elbow of workers in industry and in agriculture.

To survive in the world’s markets we
must increase productivity per man. Increased productivity comes from increased horse-power—as well as from higher managerial efficiency, improved planning, more and better scientific research.

That is why Labour is determined to give top priority to the re-equipment and expansion of British industry.

Through the budget and key controls, Labour will ensure that this vital expansion programme is not held up by lack of money and equipment, or by a timidity on the part of managers and investors.

THIRD

Labour is pledged to maintain the value of the pound and to keep Britain the financial centre of the Commonwealth and the sterling area.

Tory boom-slump-boom must give way to a steady Socialist expansion.

THE COST OF LIVING

“A Government will be judged according to the effect of its programme upon rising costs and prices.”—Tory election manifesto, 1951.

By that judgment, the Tory Government stands condemned. In a period of falling world costs, it has failed to keep down rising prices.

There are only two ways of preventing the cost of living from rising. One possibility is to impose a credit squeeze and restrictions, and if this does not work, to create unemployment. That is the Tory way, and we are now living with its harsh consequences.

The alternative is to encourage expansion while using controls—like the control of industrial building and foreign exchange control—to keep check on it.
Wages and the Trade Unions

One of the main causes of inflation under the Tories is that the Government and the unions are so frequently at logger-heads. For this the Tories have only themselves to blame.

It was futile, for instance, for the Tories to ask the unions to keep down wage claims while distributed profits and businessmen’s expense accounts were allowed to soar.

Labour will start with this advantage: the unions know they will not have to struggle against a Labour Government to get a fair deal for their members. They know that Labour will not deliberately force prices up, as the Tories have done with the Rent Act. They know that if there has to be restraint under a Labour Government, it will be restraint all round.

Industrial relations improve with Labour.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

The nationalised industries are one of the country’s main defences against unemployment. They are also essential instruments in Labour’s policy for expansion.

Public enterprise has played a great role in our post-war recovery. Britain has achieved a lead in the peaceful uses of atomic power under the Atomic Energy Authority; power from electricity has been massively expanded, for the countryside as well as the town, under the Central Electricity Authority; our long-neglected coal mines have been mechanised under the Coal Board; B.O.A.C. and B.E.A. have achieved success with their Comets and Viscounts —both mainly the result of public money.

In other words, public enterprise works.
The Labour Government will have to make good the damage done by the Tories to public enterprise. In particular, Labour is pledged to re-nationalise Steel and Road Haulage.

Under the Tories, although the State still owns nearly half the steel industry, the shares which confer control have been sold back to private owners. It is these private owners who collect the dividends—and the capital gains.

It is essential in the national interest to restore steel to full public ownership. Only the State can be relied upon to supply the large capital funds and to carry through the great expansion programme that will be required when Labour’s production drive gets going.

Labour will also restore public ownership in road haulage, and enable the Transport Commission to develop a fully integrated transport service with both road and rail working together.

If—after full and careful enquiry—other industries are found to be failing the nation, we shall not hesitate to use whatever remedies, including further public ownership, are shown to be most effective.

PUBLIC CONTROL. Today, fewer than 600 giant privately owned firms dominate the production, investment, finance and trade of the private sector of Britain’s economy.

The men who make the crucial decisions in these firms are the directors. Their shareholders have long since ceased to exercise effective control over them. The Boards of Directors are, in fact, responsible to no one but themselves.

Labour believes the time has come when public control must be extended, so as to ensure that the decisions of these Boards, which vitally affect our economy, meet the nation’s interests.
Labour’s programme for agriculture will RESTORE the security which the small farmer gained under the Labour Government, but has been losing under the Tories.

IMPROVE all round the conditions of the farm worker.

We shall give security to the small farmer by increasing the number of commodities with guaranteed prices, and by providing him with credit at low interest rates for working capital.

We shall help the farm worker in his desire to see the standard of wages, social services and welfare in the countryside raised to the level of the towns.

Three specific steps already decided on by Labour are:

To abolish rural slum schools. To end the evils of the tied cottage system. To enable Wages Boards to introduce payment-during-sickness schemes.

Taxes

Tory propagandists allege that a Labour Government would have to put up taxes in order to pay for better social services and aid to under-developed territories.

They are wrong.

Taxes have remained high under Tory rule mainly because the Tories have failed to plan and develop the economy. We have already shown, in the section on Expansion, that Tory restrictions have cost the country £1,700 million of industrial production this year. Thus they have deprived the Exchequer of £450 million extra revenue.

With the backing of the British people Labour’s programme for controlled
expansion will make it possible to complete our full welfare programme without raising the general level of taxation.

Here is another vital difference between Tory taxation policy and ours: Theirs is unjust. Ours will be fair.

Tory policy hits the wage and salary earner, who pay through P.A.Y.E., hardest of all. It gives the “expense account” man an easy run, and lets the spiv and the speculator off scot free.

Labour’s policy will make the wealthiest pay their fair share by shifting the burden back from earned to unearned income, and from personal taxation to taxes on profits.

We shall hit the spivs and the Stock Exchange gamblers by introducing a tax on capital gains, and we shall make a ruthless attack on the tax dodgers.

We repeat: Tory taxation policy is unjust. Labour’s will be fair to all.

PEACE

Aneurin Bevan, in his speech at the last Labour Party Conference, said: “Peace is not only the absence of war; it must be a positive attitude towards life, and not merely a withdrawal from conflict.”

That sums up Labour’s policy. It is to pursue peace with patience, with persistence and with determination. Our gravest indictment of the Tory Government is that it has failed to make any positive approach to peace. Indeed, the Tories’ reckless resort to force over Suez brought the world near to war.

The Deadly Circle

The keystone of Labour’s foreign policy remains the United Nations. Its principles must prevail if true peace is to come to the world. But international relations have been allowed to
deteriorate so far that today there is no easy road to peace.

Because there has been no political settlement between the West and the Communist Powers the Cold War continues. Because of the Cold War, both sides rely on amassing nuclear deterrents which, if ever they are used, will utterly destroy civilisation.

Because of these nuclear deterrents, mutual fear and suspicion grow and political settlements become even more difficult to achieve.

A yet greater peril threatens in the near future: the spread of nuclear weapons year by year to more and more countries. The French have announced their intention to carry out their first test regardless of any agreement by Russia, America and Britain to stop tests. China has declared that she will have her own nuclear weapons by 1961. Each addition to the number of nations producing their own nuclear weapons, besides further poisoning the atmosphere, will add immeasurably to the difficulties of achieving disarmament.

The Break-Through

It is essential that one Great Power should break through this deadly circle. We believe that Britain, rid of the Tory Government, can do so. And Labour has worked out its plan for this peace initiative. Our plan covers both political settlements and disarmament.

The three gravest danger areas in the world today are Central Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East.

In Europe, Labour will press its plan for disengagement. The most acute tension exists along the boundary which divides the NATO Powers from the Communist countries of Eastern Europe.

Labour will propose the establishment
of a neutral zone consisting of East and West Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Inside this zone, armaments would be reduced, nuclear weapons banned, foreign forces—Russian and NATO—withdrawn. The freedom and security of the area would be guaranteed by all the Powers concerned. Disengagement would not only lessen tension but also help the free and peaceful unification of Germany.

In the Middle East, Labour proposes Great Power negotiations to neutralise the area and take it out of Cold War politics.

This is Labour's four-point policy:
1 Support the United Nations in guaranteeing the frontiers of all Middle East states, including Israel.
2 Establish diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic.
3 Set up an Economic Council for the Middle East to fight poverty and ensure fairer distribution of oil profits.
4 Support a fresh attempt at an Arab-Israeli settlement. This must include Arab recognition of Israel and a solution of the Arab refugee problem.

Oil Supplies
Our oil supplies should be secured through commercial agreements in the oil-producing countries. Labour will no longer rely on force or the threat of force, or on political pressures. In particular, we shall abandon attempts to prop up outdated and corrupt Middle East governments against popular movements inside their own countries.

In the Far East, the Labour Government will vote and urge other countries to vote for the admission of the Communist Government of China to the United Nations. This is the essential first step towards any settlement in the Far East. It is absurd that the Tory
Government, which recognises the Chinese People's Republic, should continue to connive at the denial of representation in the United Nations to a country of nearly 600 million people.

Labour believes that the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, which have twice in three years brought America and China to the brink of war, should be evacuated by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces and handed back to the Government of China.

We shall also urge that Formosa be placed under UN administration until the people of the island can themselves decide their own future without intimidation.

Labour reaffirms its plan for World Mutual Aid. Two worlds, one white and well-fed and the other coloured and hungry, cannot live side by side in friendship.

We shall support the development of the UN Technical Assistance programme and other measures to provide bigger investment in the poorer countries of Asia and Africa.

Ending The Arms Race

The greatest single contribution to the easing of world tension would be an end to the arms race.

Our aim is not only to rid the world of H-bombs and other weapons of mass destruction, but to cut all armed forces and armaments to the point where aggression would be impossible. Not until that has been achieved can we concentrate on our true Socialist task—banishing poverty from the face of the earth and sharing the peaceful blessings of scientific progress. Some progress has been made towards agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests. As we demanded, the Western Powers have dropped their insistence that agreement
on tests should be dependent on wider measures of disarmament and they are now no longer placing any limit on the period of the agreement. Most important of all, the test suspension which we have demanded for so long has at last been accepted. No tests have been carried out by any country since last November. We strongly urge that this truce should continue. To provoke a renewal of the uncontrolled race to perfect these horrifying instruments of destruction would be a grave crime against humanity.

But a test agreement is not enough. Our aim must be not only to rid the world of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, but also to reduce all armed forces and armaments to levels which would make war impossible.

Labour will, therefore, press for a fresh disarmament conference to draw up a treaty which will

- reduce arms, manpower and military expenditure;
- destroy all stocks of nuclear weapons and means of delivering them, including missile bases and bombers;
- abolish all chemical and biological weapons;
- provide safeguards against surprise attacks.

To be effective, the Disarmament Treaty will require, above all, international inspection and controls. These we believe should be enforced through the United Nations.

A British Initiative

The ultimate peace of the world can only be secured by an agreement of this kind which must remain our paramount objective. An attempt to achieve it will be the first priority of the next Labour Government. But we must recognise the
difficulties that stand in the way and the protracted negotiations that will be necessary. Meanwhile, how can we stop the spread of nuclear weapons which might defeat the whole object of the negotiations while they are going on? We believe that the time has already come for the British Government to take the initiative. We should offer to cease production of nuclear weapons and get rid of our stockpile if all countries, other than the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., will agree not to test, manufacture or possess nuclear weapons and will accept an effective inspection system. Britain as the third nuclear power has a unique opportunity to submit such a proposal, and it is only thus that we can grapple with the peril presented by the imminent spread of nuclear weapons.

Tory silence on this problem can only be likened to the silence of unquestioning cattle.

DEFENCE

Labour fully accepts the duty to maintain the military defences of Britain.

So long as the world is split into two hostile camps, we must contribute our share to the defence of the West through NATO as well as fulfil our obligations to the Commonwealth and to the United Nations.

This is one reason why the Labour Party has, by huge majorities at two successive conferences, rejected the idea that it should at this stage commit the next Labour Government to renouncing the H-bomb irrespective of what other countries may do.

Tory Blunders

We share the passionate desire of millions of people to see this awful weapon outlawed. The only argument is
about the best method of achieving that result. As we have stressed in the previous pages, the Labour Government will take the lead not only in pressing for all-round disarmament, but also in proposing practical measures for arresting the race by other countries to develop their own nuclear weapons.

Meanwhile Labour will have to correct the blunders in planning and expenditure committed by no fewer than seven Tory Defence Ministers in seven years.

The Tory muddle over Defence was glaringly shown up by the Suez adventure. This was a military flop as well as a political catastrophe.

Labour has argued for years that, in this nuclear age, the big conscript armies resulting from National Service are wasteful and ineffective. We welcome therefore the belated Tory acceptance of our view that the call-up should end and highly-trained regular forces be used.

**Balanced Forces**

These forces will have to be balanced, mobile and provided with first-class equipment.

The Tories have so far failed to meet these needs, or to carry out the essential reorganisation of Defence planning. The chief mark of the Tories’ new defence policy is their dangerously one-sided reliance on nuclear weapons. This is vigorously opposed by Labour. When we return to office, we shall at once work for a proper balance within the NATO alliance between nuclear and conventional forces. Only in this way can we make Britain’s defences really efficient.

But when all is said and done, the only true defence is world disarmament. This will remain our main objective.

Labour will work unceasingly for peace through disarmament.

We believe that it is better to talk than resort to war.
Commonwealth
The transformation of the old British Empire into a new Commonwealth was the supreme achievement of the Labour Government. We created the first interracial community of free and equal peoples in history.

Since then some Tories have come round to our views on the Commonwealth. But the Tory Government, as their record shows, still cling—dangerously, to out-dated ideas. They have too often put the businessman's profits before the need to provide decent living standards within the Commonwealth.

In Central Africa, particularly, they have allowed racial tensions to approach the flash point. It was the Tory Government, too, which imperilled the existence of the Commonwealth by their Suez war.

For these reasons the return to power of a Labour Government, pledged to attack racial discrimination and to work towards the Socialist principle of fair shares for the hungry people of the world, will be welcomed by millions in the Commonwealth.

Labour will earmark one per cent of national income to raising the living standards of the under-developed peoples—by improving farming, by training technicians, doctors and teachers, by building up health and education services.

We shall also take the initiative in strengthening ties between the independent members of the Commonwealth. On the basis of complete equality, Labour will seek to co-ordinate more effectively the political action and economic policies
of these free nations. A strong and united Commonwealth is in our view a major force for world peace.

Colonies

The next Labour Government will:

- Speed up wherever possible the growth of colonies into independent nations, including the smaller territories, for which we propose a new status of Dominion.
- Protect the African majorities in Central and East Africa by insisting that they be given democratic rights before power is transferred.
- Encourage the growth of co-operatives and trade unions. Give the Colonial Development Corporation the right to operate in all Commonwealth countries, and expand its resources instead of relying mainly on private investment. Set up counterparts of the Colombo Plan in Africa and the Caribbean.
- Help to stabilise commodity prices, which determine the livelihood of many under-developed peoples, by negotiating long-term bulk purchase agreements.
- Increase Britain's contributions to the UN aid programme.

Of all our tasks, to secure Peace is the greatest and most urgent. Once war has been banished, there will be no frontiers to mankind's progress. Under Labour, Britain will make a new bid to break the nuclear deadlock and lead the world to peace.
AND NOW THE FUTURE ... THE WORLD'S ... BRITAIN'S ... AND YOURS
WE HAVE

set out in this pamphlet our plans for the next five years of Labour Government.

A programme for one Parliament is not a blueprint for Utopia. What we have summarised here can be done in that limited time.

We can make such great social advances as bringing real security into old age through our National Superannuation scheme. We can cut down the size of school classes. We can turn shabby old houses into modern homes.

Above all, we believe we can break the deadlock of fear between the nations by the fresh initiative we have outlined and we can strengthen the Commonwealth by extending this free association of independent states.

So this is a practical assessment of the jobs to be done, and a realistic account of the way in which we propose to do it.

But there is more to it than that. A political programme is not just a statement of intentions. It also expresses an attitude to life.

We in the Labour Party are Socialists. This means that our whole approach to politics is different from that of the Tories. What is this difference?

Unlike Socialists, the Tories still believe that, in the age of automation and atomic power, the economic future of fifty million people packed on a small island can—and should—be shaped decisively by a free-for-all scramble with private profits as the prize.

They believe that the major economic and political decisions should be taken by the rich and the powerful—government by “top people.”

They defend inequality and privilege as natural and unalterable.
Mutual Service in Freedom

They believe that they have some inherent imperial right to impose their will by force. We are still paying for their reckless and futile Suez campaign. In Cyprus, the Tory Government must bear a heavy responsibility for the tragedy of the past three years. It has lamentably failed to provide a settlement acceptable to the majority of the population. Socialists believe that this Tory outlook is dangerously old-fashioned and also profoundly immoral. The first Socialist ideal is mutual service—the story of the Good Samaritan in terms of everyday political life.

The second great Socialist ideal is the enlargement of personal freedom. But it must be freedom for others as well as for oneself. There can be no true freedom without social justice.

These Socialist ideals have shaped our present programme. We express our ideals, first of all, in the material care of those who most need it.

In this Britain of 1959 there are still many causes to stir our anger and move our compassion. There are still millions of people who have yet to be rescued from the humiliation and fears of poverty. There are still millions of children for whom we have yet to provide a full education in good schools. There are still millions of families living in slum houses or cramped, out-of-date homes.

The Means And The End

None of these evils can be swept away unless we as a nation are prepared not only to will the end but also to produce the means of building a better society. That is what we mean by practical idealism.

Such a society is now within our reach if we can outlaw war and if we can organise our economy for more and
more abundant production. Through Socialism in action, we can achieve a 
steadily rising standard of living, both in 
Britain and in the lands overseas for 
which we are responsible.

In the greater Britain of the future—
greater in the ways that matter most—
the background to life will be very differ-
ent from what we have been used to in 
the past. With nuclear power, synthetic 
materials, jet engines and automation, a 
ew industrial order is coming into 
being.

If we are to fulfil all our hopes of 
social progress Britain must be in the 
forefront of these tremendous develop-
ments.

The Full Life

We know that true happiness does not 
come from material prosperity. (But 
poverty causes an immense amount of 
human unhappiness.) Happiness comes 
from a full, free, satisfying life—a decent 
home, a secure job that you like doing, 
leisure richly filled with the good things 
of civilisation.

All this will not come about by chance. 
It must be planned, and it must be fought 
for by all those who understand the 
modern world better than the Tories do, 
all those who have seen the vision of a 
just society and are inspired by the pur-
pose of helping to create it.

It is they who have sustained the 
Labour Party in the battle against war 
and want and ignorance.

Labour is the Party of the useful 
people—the people who work for their 
living, whether with their hands or their 
brains. It is not a party representing 
only a small section of the community. 
It is a Party of the people—All the 
people.

We believe that the British people will 
soon decide to take, with Labour, an-
other great step into the exciting future.