

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE

is an organisation of convinced Socialists, fulfilling the conditions of membership of the Labour Movement laid down below, who believe that Socialism can come only through the conscious and determined action of the working-class movement in this and other countries and who believe further that only through such action can the dangers of Fascism and reaction in every country be averted.

Its members, accordingly, are pledged, as units within their Labour Parties, Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies, to do everything in their power to further the promotion and ultimate realisation of a militant Socialist programme and policy.

They are linked together in the Socialist League in order to equip themselves more effectively for the work of Socialist education and propaganda.

The Socialist League runs Socialist Forums, Study Groups, Discussion Circles, etc., for the discussion of practical Socialist problems.

It organises Week-end Conferences and Summer Schools for longer and more detailed discussion.

It publishes books and pamphlets in order to stimulate opinion and action throughout the Movement.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE

Membership of the Socialist League is open to all Socialists who are either individual or politically affiliated members of the Labour Party and who accept the League's constitution, rules and policy.

Members of the League must, if eligible, be members of their Trade Unions ; and, if possible, be members of the Co-operative Movement. All members are expected to become individual members of their Constituency Labour Parties.

Applications for membership and all inquiries should be addressed to the :—

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FORWARD TO SOCIALISM



ISSUED BY THE
**NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE**
JUNE, 1934

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"FORWARD to Socialism" embodies the definite policy of the Socialist League as decided by its National Conference held at Leeds, May 20 and 21, 1934, in relation to current events and national and international problems.

It is issued as a pamphlet by the National Council of the League with the full authority of the Conference.

FORWARD TO SOCIALISM

MADE increasingly desperate in the face of their inability to solve the vast economic and social problems created by private enterprise, the Capitalist forces have gathered in a universal effort to save themselves. Fascism and War threaten the workers. The Labour Movement of Britain is now the last main bulwark within Capitalist countries against the wave of reaction that has swept across the world.

In this country, as in every Capitalist country, millions of workers are unemployed; real wages have been brought down to new low levels; social services have been ruthlessly cut; unemployment pay is near starvation level; the family and the individual have had thrust upon them the responsibility for maintaining the unemployed; the Means Test and the Anomalies Act bring misery to thousands; the Government still further penalises and divides the workless in its Unemployment Bill; deaths and ill-health from malnutrition accumulate; rationalisation drives men and women into compulsory idleness while long hours are the lot of their comrades; large sections of the "middle classes" are being pressed down to poverty level; university trained men and women are unable to find employment; machinery is used not to lighten the labour of both clerical and manual workers but to increase unemployment; land is misused or goes out of cultivation; pits are empty and factories closed.

The mass of the people demand a sufficiency of food, shelter and warmth; they demand security of employment; leisure without financial anxiety; increased opportunities for cultural development; they cry out for peace between the nations; they ask that the great potential wealth of this country shall be harnessed to social advance. Increasingly they receive as their portion poverty, insecurity, unemployment, hunger, intensified exploitation; daily they are conscious of the imminence of Wars so terrible that the civilisation they know may well go down in disaster to barbarism.

Poverty or Plenty?

RIGHT at the roots of this crisis, which brings such suffering and oppression in its train, lies the maintenance of the private ownership of the means of production at the very

time when it has ceased to be a progressive and expanding force in the evolution of society.

We are living to-day in a potential Age of Plenty, when the productive capacity of the world, thanks to man's technical and scientific conquest of nature, is so enormous that there should not be any man, woman or child poor, ill-clad, ill-shod or badly housed. A steadily rising standard of living for the millions of workers can be achieved. But from the very fact that all production is governed by the demand of private property to receive its toll in rent and interest arises the tragic paradox that, while colossal wealth is piled up in the hands of the few, poverty, unemployment, ill-health, ruin and social degradation are the lot of the millions.

Because all the means from which are produced the necessities of life are privately owned and the products are distributed only on condition that from their production a private profit is secured, vast quantities of wheat are used as fuel for locomotives, coffee is thrown into the sea by thousands of tons, live stock is ruthlessly destroyed, land is forced out of cultivation so that prices may be forced up to a profitable level. Meanwhile millions of workers walk the streets unemployed, real wages decrease, slums increase, disease and desolation spread.

Who dare speak of "prosperity returning" in a country where 5s. a week for the sustenance of a child is too great a burden; in a country where miners winning coal deep down in the earth receive less than £2 a week; in a country where skilled engineers for a full week's toil take home a meagre 58s.; in a country where the agricultural worker and his family face life on 30s. a week; in a country where millions of its "citizens" find insecurity and low wages their portion? Poverty is to-day, as it has been in the whole era of industrial Capitalism, the inevitable fate of the mass of human beings. It is Poverty the Socialist fights.

The Fruits of Anarchy

CAPITALISM moves inexorably towards an ever-deepening crisis. At times the movement may seem for a moment to be checked; at times the supporters of the system will hail the coming of "prosperity"—but the disease is incurable within Capitalism. The scramble for markets, which goes by the name of international trade, is in fact a fierce economic conflict leading, as the past abundantly proves, to the clash of armed forces. In every country the Capitalist class is now fighting for its own hand from behind tariff walls and restrictions which

grow ever higher. Every Capitalist power is waging a bitter currency war with every other power, each desperately striving to secure an advantage over the other. Internally, Capitalism calls on the State for protection and aid; State subsidies, State regulation of the profit systems are secured in its desperate attempt to bring regulation into the anarchy it has created and which it cannot destroy.

This appalling situation cannot be remedied unless we are prepared to change the whole economic system. Under Capitalism every individual owner of any of the means of production, farm, factory or mine, must be assured of such a price for his output as will enable him to receive or pay profits, rent and interest. Prices so fixed are too high to enable all those who need the commodities to purchase them. They have to subsist on low wages, the pittance of unemployment benefit, Poor Law relief, that rents profits and interest may be maintained. Capitalism, however much its defenders may claim, cannot distribute the goods it can produce. Millions of people, because of this, lack to-day the elementary necessities of life—food, shelter, warmth; they suffer from unemployment because there is insufficient effective demand for the goods at the price at which they are offered in the market.

A World in Arms

SIDE by side with this economic chaos there proceeds a terrific armaments race—economic rivalry breeds of necessity its final product, devastating war. The Disarmament Conference has been transformed into an Armaments Conference which will create not peace but new groupings of Imperialist Powers. Japanese Imperialists, scorning half-hearted and insincere grumblings at Geneva, have, without regard to the rights of the Chinese people, turned Manchuria into a military base for the conquest of all China and for waging war on the Soviet Union.

British Imperialists have met in Singapore for the reorganisation of their military, naval and air plans, ready for war in the Pacific. The U.S.A. has plunged into the armament race with vast new naval and air constructions. The "National" Government has in Britain declared its readiness to embark on huge extensions of war preparations—in the name of Defence. Fascism is re-arming Germany so that it shall become again a "first-class" military, naval and air power. Italy and France are armed to the teeth. The Soviet Union has been forced

to divert great energy from her social reconstruction in face of the world war-mentality and the imminent danger of attack from Imperialist powers.

What Fascism Means

PARALLEL with the race towards an international conflagration proceeds the growth of Fascism in all Capitalist countries, our own not excluded. Fascism is Reaction writ large. It is Capitalism grown desperate. It is a forcible attempt to stabilise the existing system of class relationships. It throws off the democratic mask of capital's dictatorship for the purpose of smashing every organised opposition to Capitalism within its national frontiers. It takes the form of counter-revolution, waging civil war, if it considers the need exists, against the working class, crushing all progressive forces, leading mankind back to barbarism. Wherever it has triumphed it has shattered all working-class organisations—political parties, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies—destroyed liberty, reduced men and women to abject slavery, and in not one case has it solved one economic or social problem—save the problem of how to crush Freedom.

It is growing rapidly in our midst, not in the number of people wearing Black Shirts, but in the minds and actions of the ruling classes and of the Government itself. Big sections of the reactionary press have become the blatant propaganda sheets of Fascism. The police forces are being rapidly militarised and placed in the hands of "property-class conscious" leaders. The air force is being made into a "class-proof" military arm. A new "Defence Force" is being organised to maintain civil "peace."

The "National" Government is openly pursuing the reorganisation of Agriculture on a "Corporate State" basis, guaranteeing interest and profit to the private owners at the expense of the farm workers and the consumers. In Iron and Steel, in Cotton, in Mining, in Transport the same tendency can be seen. Already there is talk in Government circles of a "bloodless revolution."

The Will to Power

IT may be that we are within measurable distance of the last opportunity for the people of Britain to use their democratic rights, won by generations of struggle, to prevent the triumph of the forces of reaction and Imperialist war. To ensure that the workers shall be enabled to declare their views freely at

the polls and that they shall choose rightly are among the most decisive, fateful issues before the people of this country.

Nor is it a question of merely waiting to vote when the election comes. True Democracy can only be defended and made effective provided the whole working-class movement, and above all its mass organisations, the Labour Party, the Trade Unions, the Co-operative Movement, come together in a great active and battling alliance prepared to exercise their mighty power against the forces of reaction. Only day-to-day activity against every encroachment of Reaction in all its forms can pave the way to securing a democratic triumph for Socialism. And on that triumph depends all that the workers most dearly prize. The Will to Power must be made alive.

Events in Europe have shown that a policy of reformism in the Trade Union and Socialist Movements has not availed to stem the tide of Fascism. It has indeed led to a weakening of the workers' forces and paved the way to disaster. Capitalism to-day finds its ultimate strength in the control of the State machine, the armed forces and the police. That strength is exerted increasingly to maintain power over economic processes, education and propaganda. From this control of education and propaganda arises ignorance of the real economic and political issues confronting the world, particularly among the so-called middle classes.

A Class Philosophy

ON Socialists within the mass movements lies a heavy responsibility. On them falls the duty of constant propaganda and agitation to arouse a determination in rank and file and leaders alike to turn their backs on the hope of "making Capitalism more human." A belief in the necessity for an economic revolution, a determination to focus the clamant needs of the unemployed and the employed on this objective, a readiness to bring the injustices suffered by the masses out into the public gaze, the encouragement of a fighting and class spirit within the Trade Unions, the securing of a Socialist outlook within the Co-operative Movement, so that its organisation for distribution of immediately consumable goods may be linked to the Socialist Plan, and the acceptance by the Political Party of the fact that the method of evolutionary gradualism is of no avail—these are the essentials if the Will to Power is to be made alive. The goal is Socialism. The time is short.

Especially is it necessary for Socialists within the Trade Union Movement to concentrate the attention of their comrades on the need for a recognition that the demands for better wages, shorter hours, security and fair conditions cannot be

permanently secured by the traditional method of wage negotiation, even when backed by the strike, in the present declining stage of Capitalism. Nothing but the united struggle of the workers for the transfer to the community of the means of life now privately owned and controlled will suffice to preserve the workers from the degradation of their standards and their enslavement by a Fascist capitalist dictatorship.

The adoption of this class philosophy by the Trade Union Movement should find expression in organised demands and pressure for overdue reductions of hours, restoration of wage cuts, improvement of conditions, designed to build up a mass resistance in the Trade Unions to Capitalism. To facilitate the creation of this spirit of resistance Socialists within the Trade Unions should work for the development and reorganisation of the Trade Union Movement. The workers should be organised at the point of production; workshop and factory committees should be built up; and Craft replaced by Industrial Unions, or, where circumstances so determine, by General Unions departmentalised on the basis of industry.

This reorganisation is also essential so that the demands for Workers' Control in Industry may be made effective—a demand which a Socialist Government when socialising industries or services must take immediate steps to meet and to satisfy. The socialisation of the means of production cannot in fact be a reality unless accompanied by workers' control of industry.

The Choice

SOCIALISM or Capitalism—that is the issue. The question the workers must answer is not "Do you like the 'National' Government?" but, "Do you want to end that system called Capitalism which has bred and is breeding poverty, unemployment and war, and to replace it with that economic and social order called Socialism, which sets as its purpose the full satisfaction of human needs, true Freedom and Peace?" There is no half-way house.

The simplest needs of the workers—food, shelter, warmth, work, shorter hours of labour, security, freedom, peace—can be secured only by the coming of Socialism. Socialism means the complete transformation of the economic and social foundations of society. It replaces private ownership by social ownership, and production for private profit by production for use to the gain of all. When the community owns the means of production then and then only will the class struggle be ended, the peace of the world realised and war abolished.

To achieve this goal we must, as an essential step, secure in this country a Socialist Government with Power, and behind

it a class-conscious and determined working-class Movement. That is the great task upon which every effort must be concentrated.

We Must Have Socialism !

IF we want to increase our communal wealth by enabling full use to be made of the productive capacity of Mines, Factories and Fields, **WE MUST HAVE SOCIALISM**.

TO enable each person to have a fair and equal opportunity of making his full contribution to the advancement of life, and to obtain his fair share of wealth, **WE MUST HAVE SOCIALISM**.

TO enable all to work reasonable hours under the best possible conditions, rather than some to work long hours and others not at all, **WE MUST HAVE SOCIALISM**.

TO see that the State accepts the responsibility of providing an opportunity for everyone to render useful service and of maintaining in decency and comfort all those who are not fit to work, through age or illness, or for whom no opportunity of work is provided, **WE MUST HAVE SOCIALISM**.

IF we are to ensure to every family the privacy and comfort of a real home of its own and full opportunity to enjoy life freely after work is done, **WE MUST HAVE SOCIALISM**.

SO that society as a whole shall be responsible for the health, well-being and education of its people, **WE MUST HAVE SOCIALISM**.

IN order to stop for ever the exploitation of the workers by the property-owning class and the financiers, by ending the private ownership and control of the land and all other means of production and of all those financial institutions necessary for the maintenance of a highly organised industrial life, **WE MUST HAVE SOCIALISM**.

Make Democracy Real

IN the attainment of this end the workers by hand and by brain must obtain power in the House of Commons by the election of a Socialist majority at the polls, with a clear mandate

to carry through a programme of Socialism. Mere reform of the Capitalist system will only bring more chaos.

There must be chosen a Government of Ministers pledged and determined to introduce Socialist measures without delay.

Then will come the time when the Government will experience strenuous and undemocratic opposition by vested interests of all kinds, which must be firmly set aside. *The will of the people must prevail.*

Nor is it enough to wait until obstruction has begun its deadly work. The House of Lords is a menace to democracy, a bulwark of Privilege, a certain opponent of Socialism. No Government, determined to effect the economic changes so urgently needed, should enter upon its task unless its mandate to sweep this anachronism away can be put into effective operation the moment the Government and the Socialist majority in the House of Commons so determine.

The Socialist Government must also have received authority from the people at the election to take all necessary steps, emergency, administrative and legislative, during the first few months of power to maintain its democratic authority and to carry through the Will of the People. Whether by the utilisation of Emergency Powers or in any other way the Socialist Government must secure undisputed control over the vital weapons of economic power. That is an essential prelude to the socialisation of industry and its planning.

Key Positions

BUT the programme of a Socialist Government must be of a twofold character. It must bring succour to the wrecks of Capitalism and make that assistance sure by securing immediate control of the key positions of Capitalism. These measures must be the first steps of a Five-Year Plan of Socialisation.

The first positions to be won are Finance and the Land. The Socialist Government must promptly socialise the Banks and Financial Institutions and vest in the community the ownership of the Land.

The Banks are the nerve centres of modern economy. Unless the banking organisation with its financial control of industry, becomes the property of the community every other measure of Socialist economic reorganisation can be frustrated. Unless landlordism is abolished and the economic life of the country is freed from the fetters of "rent" and "royalties" the produc-

tive forces of the country will continue to be stifled and all economic planning will be impossible.

These two fundamental measures must be accompanied by the State control of overseas trade. Socialism has nothing to do with either Free Trade or Protection. Both are governed by the interests of private property. A Socialist Government seeks to organise the whole economic life of the country as a unit in the interests of the community. It must therefore put an end to the chaos which Capitalism has created, whether under Free Trade or Protection, by establishing governmental or State control of imports and exports in the interests of the community.

Strike at Poverty

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the acquisition of real control over these vital points of economic power, which secures the basis for far-reaching measures of socialisation of main and basic industries, the Socialist Government must immediately meet the critical conditions of the masses. It must, as part of the essential "ambulance" work :—

Launch wide national schemes of slum clearance;

Build workers' houses and new schools in rural and industrial areas alike;

Control and, if need be, socialise the building industry, so that the Housing plans may be carried through without delay;

Establish on a national basis, nationally paid for, the Trades Union Congress scales of relief for the unemployed, which, at the moment, are £2 a week for a man, his wife and two children;

Abolish the Means Test and the Unemployment Anomalies Act;

Reduce the hours of labour to forty a week;

Repeal the Trade Union and Trade Disputes Act of 1927;

Institute a new Factory Act, measures to ensure the Safety of Miners, and protective legislation for workers in offices, retail shops, restaurants, hospitals and similar institutions;

Raise the school-leaving age to 15, and within two years to 16, and provide maintenance allowances;

Lower the pension age to 60 years and raise the rate to a minimum of £1 a week per recipient, on a non-contributory basis, so that the recipients may be withdrawn from industry.

These things must be done in the first few months of Power, and though their cost and that of Socialist development are too

great to be borne permanently by the State under Capitalism, they must at the outset be financed by taxation, by the issue of national credit, by the complete control of investment, or by any other appropriate means until the increase of the national wealth under Socialism allows of their provision directly from the surpluses of production. Poverty cannot be tolerated. Its victims have waited too long.

A Five Year Plan

THESE measures constitute the first fundamental requirements of the transition from Capitalism to Socialism. But they do by no means represent all that requires to be done, and done quickly.

A Socialist Government that falters once it has started on the path of eliminating Capitalism and inaugurating Socialism is doomed to defeat and disaster through organised reaction. Capitalism has created an emergency situation, and only fundamental measures rapidly taken can prevent civilisation plunging into immeasurable chaos and conflict.

The measures already given :—

Socialisation of Finance ;

Transfer of Land Ownership to the community ;

The control of Overseas Trade ;

Emergency social alleviation

can only be the first steps preparing the way to a larger plan for the rapid socialisation of the means of production and distribution. Within the first five years such a plan must include the Socialisation of

Transport (Road, Rail, Coast-wise, Dock, and Air) ; Munitions and Heavy Chemicals ;

Mines, Gas, Electricity and Power, Oil ; Cotton and Woollen Industries ;

Iron and Steel Industries ; Shipbuilding ;

Health Services.

The distributive trades must also be brought within the

ambit of a Planned Economy until their socialisation is undertaken.

WITH the vesting of the ownership of the Land in the community the way is clear for the planning of Agriculture on the basis of :—

Organised production of the most suitable crops under national control ;

Nationally determined minimum wages and conditions for farm workers, with provision for the organised workers in the industry to take part in its control ;

Full utilisation of the land by adequate drainage and cultivation ;

The provision of adequate electric and water supplies ;

The abolition of the tied cottage and the provision of adequate housing ;

The co-operative organisation of cultivators for mutual assistance ;

Land settlement, with the creation of co-operative small holdings centred around market towns and the utilisation of these towns for the necessary sorting, grading and manufacturing processes, and for social amenities for the holder ;

The collection of produce for centralised marketing under the direction of the responsible Minister.

These are the first steps towards the planned transformation of Agriculture to a socialised industry.

IN the case of industries which in the transition stages are not socialised, it is imperative that the Government should take wide powers to fix wage scales and hours of labour, and to ensure that all accounting be open to Government inspection.

The Trades Unions in these industries should be given every possible aid by the Socialist Movement and the Socialist Government to ensure that workshops and factory committees control the conditions of labour in these non-socialised industries as a step towards their socialisation.

Bold Finance

A BOLD plan of Socialist construction which is so urgently needed can only be carried through on the basis of an equally bold plan of financing the necessary measures and of relieving

the community of the incubus of vast interest charges—in so large a part a legacy from the War, when lives—not wealth—were conscripted. No private desire for gain must stand in the way.

The Socialist Government must, as part of its budgetary programme :—

Reduce the deadweight and interest of the National Debt and other public debts;

Increase Death Duties and limit the Inheritance of Wealth;

Increase Income Tax and Sur-Tax on all large incomes.

Thus a Socialist Government can and should take the first great steps in the direction of an equitable distribution and a right use of the national income; it will relieve the community of a vast incubus of interest payments and establish the means for the revitalising and reorganisation of the economic life of the country on prosperous foundations.

On no account can a Socialist Government when transforming industries or services to public ownership carry forward in the form of capital repayment the colossal claims which have been built up in favour of private capitalists. Compensation to previous owners should therefore take the form of providing income allowances for a period of years, but should include no provision for capital repayment save in the case of working-class funds, trust funds for socially useful purposes, and individual cases of proven hardship.

SOCIALISM is concerned not only with the transformation of economic life, but also with social relationships arising out of Capitalism. Class divisions are nowhere more evident than in our present educational system, and a Socialist Government must at once organise a complete system of Free Education from nursery schools to university, on the principle of equal opportunity for all children, in which the environment is such that all capitalistic bias and caste prejudice will be eliminated.

Freedom and Empire

ASOCIALIST Government must throughout work in accordance with an Economic Plan, proceeding with ordered speed in its task. Such a plan must have regard not only to the internal situation but to the external relationships. Indeed, a co-ordinated and direct attack on key positions in Capitalism, of which the control of external trade is an essential part, will necessitate a new attitude towards other countries, towards the

Dominions and India and towards the Colonial "dependencies" of the British Empire.

To the Dominions and to India full recognition of their "nationhood," with the right of secession, must be accorded, and with them as with other countries the Government must seek to establish economic and political relationships advantageous to the workers.

Above all a Socialist Government, armed with power over the operations of British Capitalism, must bring new methods and a new approach to the problems presented by the existence of the colonies and dependencies. Instead of subordinating and holding back the development of these countries and having recourse to repressive methods of rule, in the interests of Imperialists and private exploitation, it must enter into friendly co-operative relations with them, with the intention and declared objective of helping their inhabitants speedily to reach the goal of freedom.

The economic structure of the Colonies must not be allowed to develop along Capitalist lines, and must be organised on a Socialist model to meet the needs of their peoples.

Peace Through Socialism

THE external policy of a Socialist Government should have as its objectives the promotion of Socialism, the ending of Imperialism, and the preservation of world peace. It will make the utmost use for the last of these purposes of the League of Nations, but it will not regard this institution, valuable as it might become under better leadership, as the organ through which to realise its ideal of international organisation.

War is inherent in the economic structure of Capitalist society: it cannot be banished by a League composed in part of Imperialist and Fascist States, fettered by the rule of unanimity and based on the retention of absolute national sovereignty.

While utilising the League to the full to attain any measure of agreement that may assist in postponing the danger of war, a Socialist Government will recognise the essential unity of the workers throughout the world in their struggles against Capitalism, and will look to those States where the workers are in control as its natural allies.

Instead of a fettered Trade Agreement with the Soviet Union, limited in objective and purpose, enshrining old quarrels of Capitalism and private interests, there should be a new and wider treaty of friendship. Such a treaty should be based upon and designed to secure the fullest economic and political

co-operation of the two countries in a mutual advance towards Socialism and Peace. The Socialist Government should work in unison with the Soviet Union, whether in regard to economic agreements, the League of Nations, Disarmament or Peace.

Lords and People

IN our view the proposals we have outlined as urgent measures necessary to save the people of this country from disaster and to secure their social well-being will make drastic constitutional changes necessary.

So long as the House of Lords exists with its powers of obstruction and delay no measures commensurate with the needs of the present situation are possible. The House of Lords is the bulwark of private property and reaction. The Parliament Act is not a method for expediting change but a means of delay which permits sabotage and playing for time whilst Reaction outside Parliament is given the opportunity to destroy a Socialist Government.

The seriousness of the crisis, the drastic nature of the measures which are necessary to overcome it, demand speed and decisiveness of action. Socialists want to make the House of Commons an effective instrument of democracy. Once the people of this country elect a Socialist Government the will of the people must prevail and obstructions to the coming of Socialism must be removed. The House of Lords must be abolished; all the powers of constitutional government, emergency or otherwise, that have been freely used in the past must, if the need arises, be employed to ensure the fulfilment of the People's will.

Forward to Socialism !

SOIALISTS stand for true Freedom and real Democracy, but are opposed to the time-wasting and obstructive use of Capitalist democratic procedure, which has brought Parliamentary government into disrepute and on which the propaganda for Fascism fastens. Parliament must become a workshop.

The issue is joined between the defenders of private ownership of the means of production, which spreads disaster and chaos throughout society, and the supporters of Socialism, which alone can remove poverty and bring prosperity and well-being to the Common People.

There is no time to lose. We must act and act quickly and decisively. The longer Capitalism continues the more will

poverty, distress, unemployment, misery and slumdom curse this country, the more certainly will the men, women and children of Britain be dragged into the desolation and devastation of war.

Let the slogan be :—

CLOSE UP THE RANKS !

FORWARD TO SOCIALISM !

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