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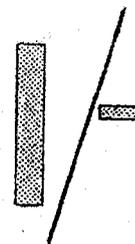
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MAY 1968.

VOL 3 N°5.



PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE LONDON WORKERS COMMITTEE

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PROPOSED
PROGRAMME FOR THE
WORKING PEOPLES PARTY
OF ENGLAND

RISE OF IMPERIALISM

The British ruling class - in which the English monopoly capitalists hold the dominant position - is founded on imperialism. . . The feudal system was shattered by the great peasant revolts led by Wat Tyler, John Ball and Jack Straw and finally destroyed by the civil wars of the 15th century and the policies of the Tudor state. As Marx pointed out, the Tudor monarchy was "itself a product of bourgeois development". It was the instrument of the rising capitalist class of the "new nobility" which forcibly broke up the feudal estates of the feudal nobility and the monasteries and centralised all authority under king and parliament. The peasantry was driven forcibly from the land and cast on the labour market as a proletariat. The common lands were usurped and enclosed for wool production. The wool and other commodities produced on the great estates were sold in the market for a profit; or alternatively rents were extracted from tenants whose incomes were derived from wool production.

The first stage in the development of capitalism, called the "manufacturing period" by Marx, extended from "the middle of the 16th century to the last third of the 18th century". The capitalist manufacturer bought wool in bulk from the big landlord or tenant farmer and put it out to be made into cloth by spinners, weavers etc who worked in their own homes and were paid by the piece. The manufacturer then sold the finished products to merchants who organised its sale at home and abroad. Landlords, manufacturers and merchants were part and parcel of the same exploiting class.

During the 16th century it was the landlords who were the decisive section, making for economic advance as they broke up the old feudal order. But as the 17th century advanced, they and the monarchy became a retarding force - pursuing policies which held back trade and industry preventing capital accumulated by merchants and manufacturers from being reinvested in commerce and manufacture. Cromwell from the disaffected petty-gentry, was the leader of revolutionary forces which overthrew the hegemony of the king and great landlords. The Cromwellian revolution finally established the dominance of the merchant capitalists, but to achieve this end, Cromwell rallied the great masses of the people - small traders, yeomen farmers, artisans and poor workers - to support the popular cause of Republicanism and provide the backbone of his New Model Army, the like of which Europe had never seen before.

But immediately victory was won, Cromwell turned on his radical allies - the egalitarian levellers - and crushed them by force. He returned to be feasted by the merchants of the City of London. Cromwell's armies also occupied Scotland, Wales and Ireland, imposing economic unity and extending the power of the English capitalists in alliance with the quisling merchants of those countries. Later, a tamed monarchy was installed, but parliament remained the decisive institution of state.

An aggressive imperial policy was pursued, which allowed the British ruling class to build a vast empire. From the Tudor period, colonisation of the New World had been taking place, while English merchants had achieved a virtual monopoly of the Slave Trade. This trading in slaves persisted for over 3 centuries and at a conservative estimate, over 50 million Africans were transported. The great wealth derived from the Slave Trade and the Slave Plantations of the New World, coupled with the wild plundering of India, enabled British capitalists to accumulate sufficient capital to launch the industrial revolution.

Industry had been developing since Tudor times - with coal mining, lead, tin, iron and copper mining; increased iron smelting based on coal instead of charcoal; foundries and workshops for arms production and shipyards. Textiles too were a thriving industry. Nevertheless, most production was still at the handicraft stage. But industrialisation rapidly speeded up from the last third of the 18th century, as the fortunes of the slave masters and nabobs allowed full use to be made of scientific and technical inventions. Textiles, power, coal-mining, transport and iron and steel industries were rapidly developed. Mass production and the factory system and the great new towns of slums to house the workers came into being, making Britain the "workshop of the world". It was the heyday of gunboat diplomacy too, when Britain acted as self-appointed gendarme, in much the same arrogant manner as present day U.S. imperialism.

As the British ruling class built its world empire, destroying the civilisations and cultures of the nations and peoples it enslaved, so it assiduously began to develop its chauvinistic and racist philosophy and culture. Racist "explanations" were invoked to "excuse" the oppression and exploitation of colonial people everywhere. Imperialism of necessity spawns racialism in its ideology and culture.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM TODAY

Prior to World War 1, the British Empire stretched from Canada, the Caribbean, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela and Chile in the West, through the "Lion's Share" of Africa, the Arab lands, Persia, the Indian sub-continent, South East Asia to Australasia and China in the East.

British imperialist also owned over 40% of U.S. equity at this time.

But the growth of its rivals in the USA, Japan, Germany, France etc., two world wars and the unparalleled growth of the National

Liberation Movement in the colonies and neo-colonies have all led to the decline of British imperialism.

Nevertheless, British imperialism is still active today, second only to U.S. imperialism in the scope of its looting and exploitation. It is to be found in Azania (South Africa) - where it has investments worth over £1,000 million; in South West Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, the Middle East oil lands; in India, Malaya, Borneo and Brunei, Hong Kong; the Caribbean and other territories. The imperialists exploit cheap labour in these spheres of influence; control markets; and plunder plentiful raw materials - oil, gold, diamonds, tin, copper, uranium, other metals; coal and iron, cocoa, tea, rubber, copra, palm oil and sugar. They also have huge manufacturing, banking, shipping and insurance interests in these territories.

The imperialist concerns such as Shell, B.P., Burma Oil, R.T.Z., I.C.I., Unilever, Charter Consolidated and the companies of the Anglo-American Corporation make the highest returns on their capital - often well over 20% net annually, while domestic businesses usually only make about 13% per - and 8% post - tax return at the present time. According to official sources, British imperialism has over £10,000million invested overseas.

Modern imperialism is the final stage of capitalism. Over the past 70 years or so, monopoly formation has gone ahead in all sectors of the capitalist economy - in response to international competition and to the regular crises of over production in the capitalist system. Through monopoly formation, the big capitalist is striving to gain greater control over his economic environment and greater profits.

The big bankers, landlords and industrialists have fused into a tightly knit group (finance capitalists) which controls all sectors of the economy through various monopolies. This oligarchy subjugates all other strata of the propertied classes and has complete control of the state apparatus - governmental institutions, academic and cultural bodies - mass media and the armed and police forces.

The various national monopolists have divided up the world into their spheres of influence, colonies and neo-colonies where they control abundant raw materials for home-based (and increasingly over seas-based) manufacturing industry, can exploit cheap labour and have control over markets.

In the past few years the tempo of monopoly formation has speeded up with the imperialist state aiding the process in two ways
1) By nationalisation. Basic sectors of the economy which proved unprofitable or inefficient for capitalism as a whole under private ownership, have been taken under capitalist class (state) ownership, with the people paying 'compensation' to the ex-owners and 'public debts' to the city moneylenders for capital loaned to modernise the state industries. Power, coal-mining, iron and steel, postal services etc.

2) By rationalisation. The government through various agencies encourages mergers in various parts of the economy and gives 'development grants' to newly formed monopolies. Again the people subsidise the monopoly capitalists. The Tories helped mergers in textiles, aircraft manufacture and among port employers. The Labour government has given much greater help still to amalgamating monopolies, including electrical engineering (GEC-AEI and Reyrolle-Parsons) cars (Leylands-BMH); computers (ICT-English Electric-Elliott-Plessey); and is starting to sponsor rationalisation among capital plant engineering firms.

Meanwhile big banking, insurance, textile, shipbuilding and other mergers are going ahead, often with government backing. In every sector of the economy there are monopolies.

SICK MAN OF EUROPE

British imperialism is in serious difficulties: it is the 20th century "sick man of Europe". The rise of the National Liberation movements throughout the world and the intensification of inter-imperialist rivalry and competition have brought this about. The British imperialists have been forced to grant at least nominal independence to former colonies; and now using local Uncle Toms as camouflage, the imperialists are hoping to perpetuate their economic exploitation in the neo-colonialist way. But the U.S., French, German and Japanese imperialists are continually cutting in on former British spheres of influence, and the U.S. imperialists in particular have pushed their British rivals out of a lot of territories - or at least replaced them as Number 1 exploiter - as in the Middle East, India, Australasia, Canada, the Caribbean and South America.

For centuries, The British imperialists have had a "balance of payments deficit" in terms of trade. But in the past, "invisible" earnings from overseas investments, insurance, international banking services, shipping etc., have more than corrected for this deficit. The chronic export of capital for overseas investment - the hallmark of finance - capitalist imperialism - has continued - in 1964 reaching at least £1.200 million. Overseas government spending (grants to neo-colonialist regimes to facilitate imperialist penetration) topped £135 million, while the arms bill was well in excess of £2,000 million. The arms bill of course is paid for out of taxes by the people of Britain. It pays for the protection of the private investments overseas of the imperialists. Very little in the way of profits is being remitted back to Britain nowadays, as the tendency is for profits to be ploughed back into further schemes of expansion and exploitation overseas (see Sir Val Duncan's Chairman's Report to RTZ in 1967).

The Labour Government has encouraged the continuing long term export of capital for imperialist purposes. The Wilson government has also done its utmost, correspondingly, to prop up sterling as a reserve currency. This is a profitable business for the banking and trading tycoons of the City, but it necessitates deflationary measures to protect the pound against adverse speculation, engendered by the weakened position of British imperialism and its balance of

payments deficit. A further reason for deflation, and therefore the forcing down of working peoples' living standards in Britain, is the imperialist attempt to push down prices of British exports. By means of increasing exports, the imperialists hope to earn foreign currencies for further overseas investment. Their over-riding concern is with getting the highest returns possible on their investments: and this means investing in South Africa, Hong Kong and other colonies and neo-colonies.

Deflation means virtual stagnation of industrial production within Britain and decreasing standards of living and rising unemployment for working people. The imperialists continue to hit record profits overseas and by concentrating on this maximal profiteering, while neglecting to invest in Britain, the imperialists steadily destroy the British economy. Raw materials in the form of minerals, technical knowledge and manpower are not utilised, and the economy is geared to dependence on overseas raw materials. The most striking case is with the power industry. The coal industry is killed for want of investment and development, while oil is made the basis of the power industry. Yet half the oil industry in Britain is U.S. owned.

U.S. IMPERIALISM

U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the peoples of the world. It controls 60% of the world's known resources. It is the chief exploiter in the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Yet it is also the harshest exploiter of the peoples of Canada, Australasia and Western Europe.

U.S. monopolies have over £4,000 million invested in Britain — in oil, cars, drugs, chemicals, computers, engineering, household goods, food-stuffs, detergents, cosmetics and a host of other enterprises. This is as much as the U.S. has invested in the whole of the rest of Europe. The profits of U.S. firms run at an average 15½-16% per year, compared with the 13% pre- and 18% post-tax returns for British firms.

Vauxhalls (General Motors) remit an average £10 million and Fords £9.5million a year in profit to the U.S.A. The U.S. drug firms make a net average 33% return on capital each year from soaking the National Health Service. Altogether U.S. firms remit £400 million in profits to the U.S.A. each year.

There are also U.S. airforce bases, polaris submarine bases and radar stations all over these islands, turning them into a front line base and warning stations for the U.S. imperialist warmongers. We also suffer the continued invasion of U.S. culture — Bunny Clubs trashy sex-and-violence magazines and books, drugs, imperialist war propaganda, countless American television programmes and films of gangsters, CIA Spies, agents, sex, violence, sadism, racialism and the enervating pap of "showbiz" entertainment. All designed to subvert the people and drug their minds with superficial values and selfishness.

There are two main aspects of British imperialism in relation to U.S. imperialism. There is the QUISSLING aspect - best exemplified by those members of the ruling class who take local directorship of U.S. subsidiaries in this country, and hold minority blocks of shares in these companies, e.g. Lord Cromer, ex-Governor of the Bank of England, who now heads IBM's British division; and the Rootes family

There is also the ANTI-U.S. aspect, as exemplified by those monopolies most in conflict with U.S. competitors at home and abroad - such as ICI, British Leylands and B.P. Sir Paul Chambers, ex-Chairman of I.C.I. and now head of Royal Insurance, has been most outspoken in his warnings of impending complete U.S. takeover and the reduction of Britain to the status of an economic and political satellite.

But most British imperialists show both aspects of the contradiction in their relationship with US imperialism. ICI is daggers drawn with Du Ponts, yet they cooperate with Alcoa in British Aluminium. Shell and Esso have clashed bitterly in Surinam and at the Buraimi Oasis, but still they are drilling together in the North Sea.

Many British monopolies are heavily involved with US banks - RTZ besides working with Kaisers and Newmonts, owe over £130 million to U.S. banks. Anglo-American Corporation (and the associated firms like De Beers and Charter Consolidated) have close links with Morgan Guaranty and Engelhard Inc., Hill-Samuel the merchant bankers who supplied Lord Melchett as boss of the nationalised steel industry as well as members of the government's National Economic Development Corporation, are partly owned by First National City Bank. The Bank of London and South America is part owned by Mellon International of Pittsburgh. Standard Bank, active in Africa and the Middle East, has close links with Chase Manhattan.

In modern imperialist conditions, it is the banker who calls the tune. Thus the Wilson government, indebted to the extent of £4,000 million to the U.S. and allied bankers, is a quisling government. It devalued the £ and brought in deflationary domestic policies when and to the extent that the U.S. bankers demanded. It must get its economic policy vetted by these bankers in just the same manner as the Indian Congress government has been doing for years.

While it is true that the contradictions between British imperialism and its U.S. overlord must intensify as they both get bogged down in more economic, political and military difficulties, nevertheless because of its manifold links with U.S. imperialism, the British imperialists will not be able to conduct a clear anti-US imperialist policy. At best the anti-US imperialist section may gain control of the government only to pursue a wavering Gaullist-type of line, walking the tightrope - frightened of becoming a U.S. satellite on the one hand, yet also frightened in case too strong an anti-US line will mobilise the working masses in Britain "too far" and endanger the whole imperialist set-up. At present British imperialists by and large recognise that they need U.S. protection against the national liberation struggles and to prop up their creaking imperialist

economy; and they therefore try to continue their looting under the protecting wing of the U.S. imperialist eagle.

NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

In 1917 the great October Socialist Revolution . . . a n d w a s followed by the heroic repulsion of the imperialist armies of intervention. The Soviet people began to develop socialism in their country and protect it by smashing the invading armies of German fascism. This was all direct inspiration to the peoples of the colonial and neo-colonial world. As Lenin and Stalin pointed out, the principal contradiction in the imperialist world became that between the imperialists and the oppressed nations of the colonies and neo-colonies. The national liberation movement led by the proletariat and its Party and based on the worker-peasant alliance, became the vehicle of the world proletarian revolution.

Following the 2nd. World War, the Peoples Republic of China and other socialist countries were established and the whole national liberation movement moved onto a higher level of development, of unprecedented strength. At the present time the heroic people of Vietnam are in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist world struggle, setting a brilliant example of how to win national independence and socialism by mobilising the people in People War against the imperialist enemy. Armed liberation struggles are also being waged in Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Philippines, Indonesia, North India, Palestine, Zimbabwe, Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, Congo (K) and most Latin American territories. Everywhere the forces of revolution are growing.

The anti-imperialist struggle is also reaching new peaks within the metropolitan countries. In the U.S.A., the Afro-Americans have put aside peaceful coexistence with racist imperialism and are now developing an all-out struggle for Black Power, that is complete emancipation for the Black people of the U.S.A., which can only come about through the destruction of imperialism and the establishment of socialism. In Quebec, the Quebecois are likewise conducting struggle by all means for national liberation and socialism against U.S. imperialism and its Canadian quislings.

Britain too has not escaped the intensification of the world anti-imperialist movement. The rise of Celtic nationalism, the inroads of U.S. imperialist takeover, and the mass development of the anti-racialism struggle of the coloured immigrant workers have all contributed to making the situation objectively extremely favourable for the development of a powerful revolutionary movement and its crowning with a socialist revolution.

REVISIONISM

A grave threat to the world revolutionary movement comes from the revisionists who have usurped power in the USSR and its allied countries.

The revisionists constitute the most dangerous, because the most subtle and effective, counter-revolutionary accomplices of the imperialist enemy.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union developed brilliantly under very difficult conditions during the 1920's and early 1930's. It demonstrated to the world, not only that a state with the working class in power through its revolutionary party, was exempt from the economic catastrophes of the imperialist/capitalist world but also produced with the first 5-year Plan the first example of socialist economic development, by far outpacing all previous records set by capitalism at its most successful. This altered the outlook on economic questions throughout the world and proved in practice and beyond question, that socialism actually works better than capitalism even in terms of productivity. Moreover the USSR was an inspiring example of socialist democracy, with mass mobilisation of the proletariat and poor peasantry for socialist economic construction.

Thereafter, however, the unsolved political problems of developing the proletarian dictatorship to a more effective degree of proletarian democracy held up further socialist development. There was a need to purge the Party and government at all levels of growing bureaucratic and revisionist tendencies. But the reliance on methods of violence without corresponding political and educational mobilisation of the masses, did not solve the increasing contradictions within the Soviet Union and actually allowed revisionism to continue to grow.

In spite of the heroic and gloriously successful defeat of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union and the tremendous economic post-war reconstruction, revisionism continued to develop strength. Party purges carried out from above, without mass political mobilisation of the people, again failed to check or reverse this trend. With the death of Stalin, the last major obstacle to the revisionist complete usurpation of power was removed. The 20th Congress marked the consolidation of revisionist state control in the USSR. A peaceful return to capitalist exploitation has been gathering pace within the USSR, coupled with an international policy of "all round cooperation with US imperialism" and sabotaging of the national liberation struggles, and where possible of the building of socialism in socialist countries. These revisionist policies caused the great split in the International Communist Movement and the necessary denunciation of revisionism by the Chinese, Albanian and other Communist and Workers Parties.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Chinese Party and people under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung have learned from the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR and are now successfully unfolding the great, democratic Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which has not only exposed revisionist renegades throughout the Party, including some top Party persons, but is also making people consciously learn how to repudiate all forms of selfishness and put serving the people above all else.

By improving their consciousness and systematically raising their political level, the masses and the Party of China, under the

leadership of Mao Tse-tung are

- 1) Ensuring that no revisionist comeback of capitalism and exploitation is possible in Peoples China.
- 2) Developing the theory and practice of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to new heights.
- 3) Building China as the reliable great base area of the world proletarian revolution and giving an unprecedented ideological lead to all revolutionaries throughout the world. The Thought of Mao Tse-tung is the new high peak of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. We must learn to apply it correctly to our own conditions.

In Albania too, there is staunch Marxist-Leninist leadership, where the Party of Labour and the Albanian people under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, have carried out an heroic struggle not only against imperialism for national liberation and socialism, but also against revisionism since it first gained state power in Yugoslavia and in the USSR. The Albanian people refused to be cowed or beguiled by either the threats or the blandishments of the Khrushchov revisionists and have gone on building socialism self-reliantly. They are consolidating their achievements by a process of mass revolutionisation, similar to the Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China.

CLASSES IN BRITAIN

As pointed out above, the ruling class of Britain, the Monopoly Capitalist class, is based on imperialism and in spite of certain contradictions is content to be a servile lackey of U.S. imperialism. This class numbers at most half a million (at a very generous estimate) or less than 1% of the total population. According to bourgeois economists, 4/5 of all private corporate shares are owned by 1% of the population; while some 9% of the population owns all such shares. This class controls the state apparatus and is represented by the major political parties. As is becoming increasingly obvious, Labour and Tory are just left and right hands of the same imperialist system, with virtually identical policies.

The Middle Classes consist of smaller capitalists - mainly businessmen based on domestic exploitation in small scale enterprises. In this class too we must place senior executives in the monopolies, leading professional workers and senior civil servants, who possess significant amounts of invested capital.

The imperialists are coming into contradiction with the middle classes in a number of ways. 1) Heavy taxation to pay for the armed forces needed to protect imperialist investments. 2) Falling domestic profits resulting from the credit squeeze which aims to hold back domestic expansion. 3) The threat of takeover and withering competition from the monopolies - in particular U.S. giants. For all these reasons the middle classes are to some extent potential allies of an anti-imperialist movement led by the working class, but such an alliance will only become attractive to them when the working class begins to show its potential revolutionary power.

At a generous estimate, the middle class number some 5 million, nearly 10% of the population.

The working people constitute at least 90% of the population. These are the masses who must hire themselves out to the capitalists or the capitalists' state as wage-labourers (or salary-labourers). Some of them possess a house (mortgaged usually to the financiers); some a car; others have small pension-rights. But all of them are suffering a sharp drop in their standard of living through imperialist "squeeze and freeze".

The hard core of the working masses is made up of the industrial working class, numbering some 35 million (70% of the population). These are the people who consciously think of themselves as "working class" and by and large belong to &/or support the official "labour movement".

On the other hand, the other big section of the working people is less class-conscious, thinking of itself as "middle class". These are the white-collar workers - technical, professional and clerical. Under the pressure of falling living standards and less secure employment prospects, and with the influence of the success of socialism in other countries, these workers are becoming both more unionised and more militant in the economic struggle. There is no doubt, that given a correct mass line, correctly applied, the bulk of white collar workers can be won for firm alliance with the industrial working class against the main imperialist enemy.

IMMIGRANT WORKERS

The most exploited section of the working class in Britain is formed by the million coloured, immigrant workers. These workers have been forced by imperialist oppression and unemployment in the colonies and neo-colonies to come to Britain, of which many of them were officially citizens before they came here in search of a living. Here they are compelled to take the worst paid jobs with the worst working conditions, suffer discrimination in employment, housing and the provision of social services and amenities. Government spokesmen, politicians, leading trade union officials, landlords and businessmen have all by their words and actions been striving to foster racial divisions between black and white workers, so as to divert attention from the main enemy - the imperialist ruling class -- which is responsible for the hardships and sufferings of the working people as a whole. Fascist hoodlums aided and abetted by the police, with the connivance of the judiciary and magistrates courts, have launched an intensifying campaign of systematic, violent assaults on coloured workers in all the major cities and towns of England.

The Black workers have begun to fight back, inspired by the struggles of the Afro-Americans, the Vietnamese and other revolutionary peoples fighting against imperialism for complete emancipation. They are consciously anti-imperialist because of their origins and national histories and they have personal links (national identity and family relations) with the national liberation struggles.

The Black Power movement in Britain, developing in solidarity with the national liberation struggles throughout the world, will transform the political struggle within Britain itself. Instead of the perennial blind-end, trade-union (economist) type of struggle into which the British working class has been misled in the past by Labour 'Left', CPGB and trotskyists of all kinds, there is developing instead a new anti-imperialist perspective which will transform the whole class struggle into one for POWER.

TRADE UNIONS

The British working class has a long history of struggle against capitalism. They won trade union rights and enfranchisement through bitter struggles and in spite of transportation, imprisonment and death. But today the trade union hierarchy is part of the establishment; and the so-called Labour government is the willing tool of the imperialists.

Since the period immediately preceding the First World War, the workers have built up the shop steward movement to represent their economic interests - for even then the official trade union leadership was at one with the ruling class. It is important to remember that the first outstanding success of the shop steward movement in 1915 was not directly related to wages or working conditions; but successful defence against the raising of rents - which inflicted a resounding political defeat on the imperialist government in the middle of an imperialist war.

The defeat of the General Strike in 1926 was of course chiefly due to lack of revolutionary leadership from a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party. However, another important cause for the defeat was that the immediate leadership of this political, economic struggle was in the hands of the trade union bureaucracy instead of the democratic shop floor leadership of elected shop stewards and similar grass roots working class industrial leaders. Following the Second World War, the working class achieved some improvement of living standards by economic struggle in spite of woefully inadequate leadership. The imperialists had been able to yield to pressure from the organised working class over the past 50 years from time to time, because of the superprofits they have been making overseas. This had two effects 1) creating a privileged group of 'labour aristocrats' - trade union leaders and politicians of working class origin who are able to enjoy a comfortable standard of living from the economic struggle of the working class; 2) because the organised workers were able to exact substantial reforms from the ruling class from time to time, the notion of reformism, of bringing in socialism piecemeal, by reform, gained a firm foothold in the working class.

Now the British ruling class are in serious economic and political difficulties. They are lowering workers living standards, all at once, drastically. This means curbing the trade union movement and clearly exposing the big trade union leaders and the Labour Party as agents of the ruling class. It also means smashing the shop stewards movement wherever it has been well organised.

This has to some extent been achieved (because of the fragmented and economist nature of the existing shop stewards movement) as at Fords, Vauxhalls, BMC, ENV, the Power Industry etc. The U.S. imperialists have played a leading role in this attack. The struggle at Roberts-Arundel continues.

The shop stewards movement, because these trade unionists are the shop-floor elected representatives of the working class, has substantial importance. As the revolutionary working class leadership (the Party) develops and popularises the correct revolutionary mass line, the shop stewards movement can become the effective organiser at the place of work, laying the necessary basis for organising the seizure of power, which, as the whole of history and the British experience in 1926 well demonstrates, can only be done by force.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

The British imperialists are also confronted at the present time by the rising tempo of the nationalist movement in Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The Celtic nations were incorporated into the British state under the hegemony of English imperialism, in spite of popular liberation movements. The Irish people in particular fought tenaciously for freedom. They launched in 1916 under James Connolly's leadership, the first national liberation struggle by an armed force in western Europe this century. Unfortunately, after the murder of Connolly by the English imperialists, the leadership of the national liberation struggle was left to the middle class, with the consequence that in the southern three quarters of Ireland which has achieved political independence there is still, as in all similar conditions throughout the world, a regime of neo-colonialist economic domination shared by the British and U.S. imperialists.

THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

The Working Peoples Party of England is the Party of and for the working class in England. Its aim is to lead that class to power. The seizure of power by one class from another has never in all history taken place without violent struggle. The working class of England and their Party must be fully prepared for such struggle. Since this seizure of power could not be attempted or even if successful could not be maintained without the seizure of power being made effective throughout the British isles, the problem is one that requires the closest possible unity of Marxist-Leninist Parties in Scotland, Wales, Ireland and England, for a joint programme and action in a FEDERAL PARTY for the BRITISH ISLES.

Our Party is a cadre party based on self-reliance, international proletarianism and democratic centralism. Its job is to serve the working people selflessly and be their instrument in achieving state power. Its method of work is from the masses to the masses.

We realise that the main enemy in the world today is imperialism led by U.S. imperialism, whose chief assistants at the present time are the British quisling imperialists. We must mobilise the masses of working people and all possible allies against this main

enemy to achieve national independence and socialism under workers power.

The W.P.P.E. has developed the WORKERS NATIONAL PLAN as its mass line for this aim.

The immediate aim of the Workers National Plan is to substitute planned increase of production for the present restriction through squeeze and wage freeze.

- 1) This is only possible through national liberation from the domination of U.S imperialism. It demands the expropriation of all U.S industry and investments; the expulsion of all U.S armed forces and bases; and quitting all U.S war pacts such as Nato, Cento and Seato. It means resolutely supporting all those struggling against the domination of U.S imperialism and its British quisling imperialists.
- 2) This entails an end to British investment overseas, with the unqualified ceding of all existing overseas investments to the people of the territories concerned. Not only is it totally immoral for the British economy to be based on the exploitation of other territories, it is also unnecessary and damaging to the interests of the working people of Britain.
- 3) The W.P.P.E fully supports the struggles of the Irish, Scottish and Welsh peoples for their national independence and offers them a comradely alliance of equals in our common struggle. The W.P.P.E recognises only one Ireland that must belong to the Irish people. The present division of Ireland is as imperially imposed and as indefensible as that of Vietnam.
- 4) Racism is an aspect of imperialism and is developed by imperialism for its own purpose of dividing those that it exploits. The W.P.P.E fully supports the struggle for Black Power in this country, as in the U.S.A, as the first step in developing the struggle for working class power which will abolish all racist, religious and other arbitrary differentiation. Socialism requires the active unity of all working peoples.
- 5) The peoples of the British Isles can be economically self-reliant and prosperous on a basis of the national independence of the constituent peoples together with planned cooperative socialist production on basis of full equality and true internationalism. We can in this way make full use of all our resources - material, technical and above all social.

Such a Workers National Plan is only achievable with the working people in power. The most immediate task of the working people of Britain is to understand and to show in practice that they understand the need to take power. It is the first duty of the W.P.P.E to develop that understanding in and among working people, and to organise them by all means necessary for achieving power.

Down with U.S Imperialism and all British imperialist Quislings!
Forward to National Independence and Socialism through Workers Power!