

Third Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party

THE Third Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party was held at the weekend. Delegates from all over the country — workers, youth, students and housewives — discussed for two days the resolution on tasks and perspectives which deals with the insoluble crisis of world capitalism, its impact on the working class in Britain and throughout the world and the building of the Workers Revolutionary Party in the struggle for workers' power.

ALL THE objective conditions exist today for the establishment of workers' power on an international scale.

The task facing the Third Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party is to elaborate the Party's strategy and tactics in the struggle for power.

This involves the training of thousands of new revolutionary cadres. It is an integral part of the struggle to build the world party of socialist revolution, the International Committee of the Fourth International. The Party's strategy is therefore based on the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the ICFI, held from May 21 to 27, 1977.

The tasks of the Party conference arise directly from the nature of the present epoch. The capitalist mode of production is rotten ripe for overthrow. The contradiction between private ownership of the means of production and the productive forces has become unbearably sharp.

The prerequisite for the successful socialist revolution is the destruction of the political influence of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracies in the working class and the creation of a new world leadership.

Devastating

World capitalism is doomed. The post-war Keynesian boom has turned into a devastating worldwide slump, which now threatens to shatter completely the chain of world capitalism.

Broken at its weakest link in 1917 in Tsarist Russia, this chain has never been restored. Every attempt of world imperialism to do so and overthrow the conquests of October 1917 has resulted in new fractures in the capitalist chain and more powerful defeats for imperialism.

Despite barbarous repression by fascism, the crimes of Stalinism and the devastation of the second imperialist war, the world revolution attained new conquests. The extension of nationalised property relations into Eastern Europe after the war was followed by the triumph of the Chinese Revolution.

THE WORKING CLASS

IN THIS decade the historic defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam in 1975, the triumph of the Angolan workers and peasants in 1976 and the complete disruption of world capitalist equilibrium testify to the

MAIN RESOLUTION

The world political and economic crisis, the building of the Party and the struggle for power



Victorious NLF fighters entering Saigon in 1975... their historic defeat of US imperialism testifies to the revolutionary role of the working class

decisive and revolutionary role of the working class as the only force capable of transforming society.

Conversely the bourgeoisie, conscious of its weakness, tries to manoeuvre out of the historical blind alley by calling on the trade union and labour bureaucracies and their centrist and revisionist lackeys to restrain the working class, form Popular Front coalitions and open the door to Bonapartist dictatorship.

In doing so they demonstrate to millions of workers that the defence of basic democratic rights cannot be entrusted to these treacherous agencies and that the crisis of working-class leadership can be resolved only by the building of the International Committee of the Fourth International as the nucleus of the world party of socialist revolution.

The International Committee of the Fourth International embodies the

highest theoretical consciousness of the epoch.

This consciousness itself is a reflection of the unconscious and elemental movement of the working class striving to express its deepest needs of historical development.

Dynamism

In contrast to the conservatism and cowardice of the bureaucracy and its allies the history of the working class with its unconquerable dynamism, capacity for sacrifice and determination to overcome all obstacles, has strengthened our conviction and renewed our confidence in the correctness of the historical prognosis of Trotsky: the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus.

To understand these laws, to master them and to express this historical necessity through the destruction of the Stalinist,

Today we begin to print those perspectives for all our members, readers and supporters, along with other resolutions on Iraq and on Individual Terror, which were passed by the conference.

Tomorrow we continue with a further section of the perspectives document, plus fraternal greetings from international comrades.

A resolution on Election Policy will also be printed.

It is the world development of productive forces and their conflict with private property and the national state that is the driving force of socialism.

The socialist revolution in each country is only a phase in the unfolding of the world socialist revolution. It is from this analysis that we derive the revolutionary role of the working class as the most important component of the productive forces of capitalism.

This means that it is necessary for the struggles of the national sections of the ICFI to be completely integrated with and directed by the perspective of the ICFI in the struggle to build the world party of socialist revolution.

It is the international practice of the ICFI in the Euro-Marches and the campaign on Security and the Fourth International that provides the framework within which the cadres of Trotskyism will be trained and national sections built.

The basis of the Third Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party discussions rests therefore on the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the International Committee and cannot be separated from them in any sense.

Principles

The Seventh Congress of the ICFI represented the greatest step forward of our movement and the principles which Trotsky fought for and established in the Founding Conference of the Fourth International.

DEATH AGONY OF REVISIONISM

IT brought to a conclusive end an entire period in the struggle to expose and defeat the forces of Pabloite revisionism who sought to destroy the Trotskyist movement with slanders and provocations and to enlist the direct intervention and aid of the combined agencies of imperialism.

Revisionists are those who pervert Marxism from a revolutionary theory into a justification for opportunism and capitulation to bourgeois ideology.

They vulgarise Marxism, separate theory from practice, appearance from essence, and the relative from the absolute.

For these people theory really consists of the repetition of sterile abstractions and the practice consists primarily of worshipping the accomplished fact. In so far as they represent any tradition it is, as Trotsky said of Kautsky, 'a tradition of passivity and political cowardice'.

Trotskyism on the other hand is the only revolution-

nary doctrine which shows the working class how to overthrow capitalism and conquer power.

It is the implacable enemy of bureaucratic compulsion, demagoguery and frame-up. It is the continuation of the tradition of Bolshevism.

For 26 years the revisionists have opposed, in practice, the formation of independent revolutionary parties and the struggle for working-class power by seeking to subordinate the Trotskyist movement to the Stalinist bureaucracies and, in the colonial countries, to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois agencies of imperialism like the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in Sri Lanka.

Adaptation

The adaptation of revisionism to Stalinism is an adaptation to the interests of a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy which is the mortal enemy of the world working class and the socialist revolution.

Against this liquidationist tendency which has become the most conscious and insidious instrument of bourgeois and Stalinist pressure against Trotskyism, the ICFI fought successfully to represent the continuity in method, tradition and programme with the struggle of Trotsky to found the Fourth International and protect the cadres from the attacks of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its GPU killers.

Imperialism, acting through the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, failed to destroy the Fourth International. But the Soviet bureaucracy did succeed in destroying the best cadres of Trotskyism in the USSR and outside it.

With slander campaigns, infiltration and murder carried out by its GPU executioners, the Moscow bureaucracy and its revisionist accomplices in the USA not only killed Trotsky and many of his followers but also succeeded temporarily in pushing back the development of a world Trotskyist leadership.

Favourable

Today the world upsurge of an undefeated working class against a weakened imperialism creates favourable objective conditions to reverse this historic betrayal, overthrow Stalinism and powerfully advance the Trotskyist movement.

But an indispensable pre-condition for such an advance is the consciousness of our own history and a correct understanding of the historical continuity of our struggle.

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THIRD CONFERENCE OF WRP

MAIN RESOLUTION



Comrade Gerry Healy is refused the right to reply to slanders at the revisionists' 'Platform of Shame' meeting last year against the International Committee's investigation into Security and the Fourth International

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SECURITY AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THE continuity of our movement with Trotsky and Lenin, the first four Congresses of the Communist International and the Founding Conference of the Fourth International therefore inevitably demanded a complete and objective investigation of all the factors involved in the campaign of the Soviet bureaucracy to destroy our movement.

As the manifesto of the Seventh Congress stated:

Once the International Committee, in 1975, set about establishing the defence of our movement on every historical question since the formative days, so it became impossible to evade the basic questions of historical responsibility, the question of revolutionary independence to fight the Stalinist secret police and the bureaucracy behind it.

Investigation

The investigation into Security and the Fourth International and the vast amount of evidence which it has revealed about the revisionist leaders in the USA and Europe and their complicity with the combined agencies of imperialism against Trotskyism is the most damning indictment of Pabloite revisionism and the most powerful source of education of the new cadres of Trotskyism.

The sinister and shameful silence of the revisionists and their leaders—Mandel, Hansen and Novack—on the irrefutable facts brought out by the International Committee of the Fourth International's investigation on the conduct of Joseph Hansen and his collaboration with the GPU and the FBI, confirm in every way the completely

reactionary character of revisionism and its total prostration before the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy of Stalinism and US imperialism.

Michel Pablo, political mentor of the Socialist Workers Party and arch-revisionist who split the Fourth International in 1953 in his attempts to subordinate the Trotskyist cadres to the apparatus of international Stalinism, was forced by the International Committee's campaign to break his silence and demand an investigation into the assassination of Trotsky.

Slander

Unable to reply, the leaders of the SWP and Mandel in Europe organised a world-wide campaign of slander to discredit the ICFI and to denounce Comrade Healy as an instigator of violence against his political opponents.

No expense was spared. No calumny was left buried. Every enemy of Trotskyism in the labour movement was rallied behind this grotesque crusade.

On January 14, 1977, at Friends House, Euston, London, the combined operation of world revisionism came to an ignominious end, when after two-and-a-half hours of slanderous tirades the organisers of the meeting, Tariq Ali and Mandel, refused Comrade Healy the right to speak.

Sinister

This action of the revisionists destroyed at a stroke the objective of this sinister campaign. It revealed that their whole world-wide campaign was based on a contemptible lie and a grotesque slander.

The collapse of this operation as well as the criminal silence of its leaders on the recent political murder of Comrade Tom Henehan, a

Political Committee member of the American Workers League, gives added weight to the ICFI's indictment and clears from the path of Trotskyism all the obstructions and diversions inherited from the past defeats of the working class.

January 14 established indubitably that only the ICFI represents the continuity of Trotskyism and Trotsky's struggle to oppose and destroy the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracies.

The objective historical significance of January 14 cannot be denied or belittled. All the slanders of the revisionists cannot obscure the tremendous strength of the principles and traditions represented by the ICFI and the definitive passage of the leadership of the world Trotskyist movement to the International Committee.

Exposure

The full significance of this historic exposure of revisionism can only be grasped through the development of the international practice of the ICFI and its sections, and through the preparation of the sections and their leaderships against the forces of Euro-Stalinism and its revisionist agencies in the struggles now taking place.

Any tendency to view this confrontation as some sort of point-scoring propaganda victory must be rejected.

It was the result of an intransigent struggle to reject single-issue protest politics which binds the working class to middle-class radicalism and any adaptation to bureaucracy which restricts the independent strength of the working class.

It signified a major defeat for every form of idealism, conservative routinism and propagandism.

More than that, it signified that the ICFI con-

sciously recognises its historical responsibility to protect the movement and to organise and lead the world working class in the struggle for power.

The objective conditions which made this exposure possible were created by the shattering blow aimed at world imperialism by the working class and the colonial peasantry and the consequent weakening of the labour bureaucracies to

greater than its pre-war predecessor and whose outlook is not conditioned by continuous defeats and the demoralisation of chronic mass unemployment.

Tenaciously resisting and audaciously attacking the austerity measures of the bourgeoisie, the working class challenges and defies the bureaucracy at every turn, thus disrupting the collaborationist plans of the bureaucracy and driv-



Tom Henehan ... revisionists are silent on his assassination

which the revisionists parasitically adhere.

It was the cumulative effect of these blows in the post-war period which enabled the International Committee to acquire the forces and resources to carry out such an exhaustive inquiry into the assassination of Trotsky and the complicity of the revisionists.

EURO-STALINISM

THE reactionary labour bureaucracies are today faced with a working class which is numerically far

ing it further into the arms of the bourgeoisie and its state.

This is the meaning of the emergence of Euro-communism in the west European Communist Parties. It testifies not to the strength and homogeneity of the bureaucracy but to its weakness and vulnerability to the offensive of the working class.

One section of this bureaucracy, led by the west European Stalinists in France and Italy, has carried the reformist theory of 'socialism in a single country' to its logical conclusion by allying itself completely

to its own imperialist bourgeoisie, defending the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state, strengthening every reactionary tendency and unashamedly covering up for the political and moral degeneration of the bourgeoisie. This is the political content of Euro-communism.

'Popular Frontism', i.e. collaboration with the native bourgeoisie in coalition governments with or even without bourgeois parties, remains the central strategy of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Western Europe.

In essence they strive to keep the working class harnessed to bourgeois democracy and, through parliament, to the capitalist state.

Criminal

The 'Popular Front' policy which first appeared at the Seventh Congress of the Stalinist Comintern in 1935, was born out of the previous defeats of the working class which resulted largely if not entirely from the criminal policies of Stalinism: the defeat of the British General Strike in 1926, the catastrophe of the Chinese Revolution in 1926 and 1927, and the definitive and historic defeat of the German and Austrian working class in 1933-1934.

The 'theory' of 'social fascism', which dominated Stalinism from 1928-1934 and undermined the struggle against fascism, was completely bankrupted by the advent of Hitler to power in January 1933.

Whereas 'social fascism' corresponded to the blind empiricist and administrative attempts of the Soviet bureaucracy to rid itself of the menace of a kulak capitalist restoration in the USSR, 'Popular Frontism' expressed the determination of the bureaucracy to consolidate through the purges its own Bonapartist power in the form of Stalin's personal dictatorship.

The 'Popular Front' expressed the conservative and reactionary interests of this parasitic caste which, in order to implement its utopia of 'socialism in one country' required 'peace' and 'non-intervention' abroad.

The aim of the 'Popular Front' was to transform the international working class into an instrument for pressurising and neutralising the world bourgeoisie and establishing the utopia of 'collective security'.

Defeats

'Popular Frontism' was a bureaucratic rationalisation of the defeats inflicted by the bureaucracy in the previous decade.

It wrote off the revolutionary role of the working class, left it tied to the liberal and 'radical' bourgeoisie and led from one disaster to another in Spain and France.

Stalinism's attempts to revive 'Popular Frontism' today takes place, not in the context of serious defeats of the European working class but in the context of a powerful upsurge of an undefeated working class.

This spontaneous upsurge cannot of itself exclude the possibility of Stalinism dissipating the strength of a resurgent working class and betraying it through the mechanism of another 'Popular Front'. But it creates favourable opportunities for the intervention of the ICFI sections.

THIRD CONFERENCE OF WRP

MAIN RESOLUTION

In Italy, Stalinism, despite the resistance of the Christian Democrats, continues desperately to seek political unity with the bourgeois centre parties and sell out the working class.

For over two years it has unconditionally supported the austerity measures of the Andreotti government and either held back the masses or diverted their struggles through one-day strikes and demonstrations.

These reformist policies have deepened the frustration of the huge student populations and unemployed youth, opened the door for 'urban terrorist' activities and the intervention of the state and the CIA which is determined to prevent or overthrow any coalition with the CP.

The policies of the 'historic compromise' — the Italian version of the 'Popular Front' — if they are not defeated spell certain defeat for the Italian working class at the hands of the capitalist state and the monopolies.

The present crisis over the trial of the 'Red Brigades' and the reported connections of the 'urban terrorists' with the Mafia and CIA bear the sinister hallmark of an orchestrated extra-parliamentary conspiracy against the Italian working class. This conspiracy is facilitated by the reformist policy of Berlinguer and Lama who bind the working class to the state and strengthen the executive powers of the state.

In Spain, Carrillo and the Spanish Stalinist leaders support the rotten structure of the semi-fascist monarchist dictatorship of Juan Carlos through the notorious Moncloa agreement and through their manifest opposition to every independent struggle of the working class in the unions and on the nationality question.

Alliance

In France, Stalinism prepares to betray the French working class through electoral alliance with the reformist Socialists and the bourgeois Radicals.

The unprincipled electoral manoeuvres and the rejection of the purely formal attachment to the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1976 did not improve the image of the French leadership in the eyes of the masses but rather discredited it. This is clearly revealed in the electoral returns of Stalinism.

(In 1962 the CP was the leading working class party in 60 per cent of the constituencies, in 1978 it was reduced to 33 per cent. And all this in a period of slump!)

In a desperate attempt to regain its lost following, the Stalinist leadership now makes demagogic attacks on the Socialist Party's policies and threatens to upset any post-election coalition.

As in Portugal, the Communist Party and Socialist Party leaders conflict with each other not on the issue of socialist principles, but on how best to serve the bourgeoisie.

A victory for the Left Alliance in any circumstance would only be an important stage in the movement of the working class towards revolution.

Impelled by the world slump and the devaluation of the dollar and the franc,

the working class would be forced into conflict with the treacherous regime from the start and would be able to gauge the bankruptcy of Stalinism and reformism.

This will indubitably create the most favourable conditions for the building of a strong section of the International Committee in France and the overthrow of the reactionary Fifth Republic.

Without such a revolutionary leadership embodying the rich experience of the international struggle against revisionism no effective and victorious struggle against Stalinism and the French state is possible.

Rump

The British Communist Party, despite the departure of its most pro-Moscow members to form the rump New Communist Party, retains the backing of the Kremlin.

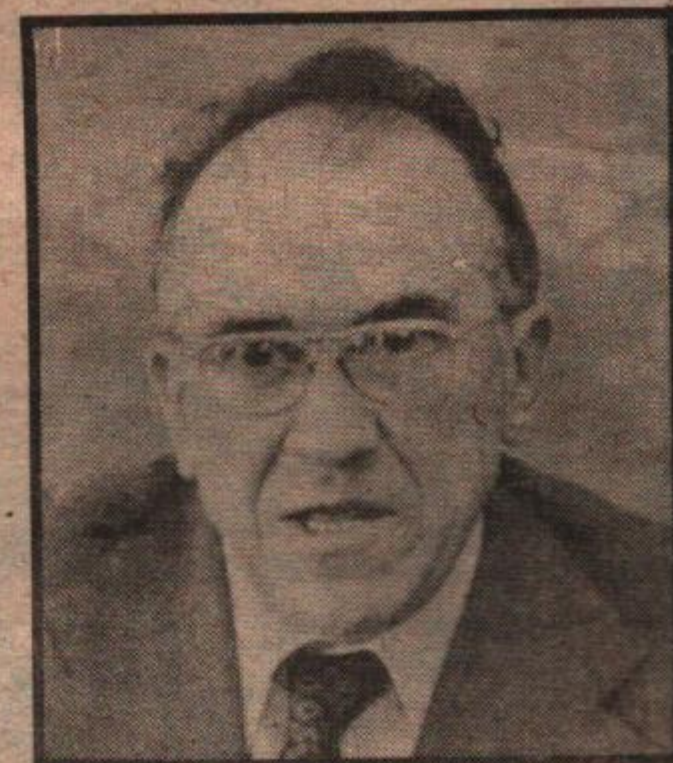
This is because both the Soviet and King Street bureaucracies are terrified by the growth of the Workers Revolutionary Party and its daily paper News Line.

Conference demands the complete political rehabilitation of Leon Trotsky, all the members of the Left Opposition and the Old Bolsheviks who were liquidated in Stalin's frame-up Moscow Trials of the 1930s.

The International Committee of the Fourth International and the Workers Revolutionary Party have led the most consistent campaign in the workers' movement for this historical vindication of the men and women who led the first successful working-class revolution.

The fight for the rehabilitation of the victims of Stalin's counter-revolutionary terror in the Soviet Union is inseparable from the struggle to free the international working-class movement from the cancer of Stalinism. In doing so we establish an indissoluble historical continuity between The First International of Marx and Engels, Lenin's Bolshevik Party and the Fourth International founded by Trotsky 40 years ago.

We warn against the campaign being mounted by the Euro-Stalinists and the Pabloite revisionists to turn the demand for the rehabilitation of the Old Bolshevik Nikolai Bukharin into a single-issue protest



Spanish Stalinist leader Carrillo supports the rotten structure of the monarchist dictatorship for their own reactionary political purposes.

While we are completely in favour of Bukharin's rehabilitation we recognise that the Kremlin bureaucracy may under certain circumstances be ready to clear his name and use his reputation to bolster rightist trends in the Soviet Union.

None of Bukharin's new-found champions, like the

British Stalinist Mick Costello and the veteran Italian Stalinist Gian-Carlo Pajetta are prepared to include Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition in their call.

Nor are they in favour of a complete historical accounting of the way in which Stalin and the GPU orchestrated the monstrous Moscow Trials and organised the assassination of Trotsky, members of his family and leading cadres of the Fourth International.

The only organisation which has carried out this essential historical task is the Fourth International. It is carried forward today by the International Committee of the Fourth International through its investigation into 'Security and the Fourth International' begun in May 1975.

The complete truth will only be established when the political revolution has been carried through to victory by the Soviet working class with the smashing of the bureaucracy and the opening of the secret files of the GPU and the NKVD, the predecessors of the KGB.

ANTI TROTSKYIST ALLIANCE

THE movement of the working class drives the Stalinist and Labour bureaucracies to try and unite on a counter-revolutionary basis. Into this relationship are drawn all the groups and shades of revisionism and all the parasitic agencies which feed out of the trough of bureaucracy.

For these groups no tactic is too loathsome or unprincipled if it appears to bring 'unity' closer. For many years the revisionists tried to integrate themselves politically with the Stalinists by even denying that Stalinism exists today.

Integration

They are now hoping to go over from being an adjunct of Stalinism to integration with it in practice.

The latest manifestation of the political fraud of revisionism is the Anti-Nazi League. It combines the Socialist Workers Party, International Marxist Group and the Communist Party Stalinists with Liberals and even Tories in a hysterical campaign against the alleged danger of a National Front takeover.

This unprincipled combination is a deliberate diversion from the task of warning and mobilising the working class to combat the very real and immediate danger of state repression and military-police conspiracy.

Infamous

The ANL represents an attempt to revive the infamous Popular Front of pre-war years, in which under the false flag of 'anti-fascism' and the preservation of bourgeois democracy, the Stalinists led the working class to defeat in Spain, France and other countries.

While the Anti-Nazi League and its supporters engage in one-sided battles with the police and issue moralising denunciations of the National Front, the preparations for state repression through the use of ex-SAS and army personnel are being given top priority under the Lib-Lab coalition regime.



Banners of the Italian Communist Party mingle with those of the right-wing Christian Democrats at the funeral of Aldo Moro ... the Stalinists in Italy are desperate to unite with bourgeois parties and sell out the working class

As 'Time Out' magazine revealed, a network of ex-military officers and mercenaries organised along the lines of the Freikorps in post-World War I Germany, is already established in Britain.

One thing that unites all the participants in the Anti-Nazi League fraud is their support for the Lib-Lab coalition which is nothing more than a cover for these extra-parliamentary preparations against the working class.

The second thing that unites the Stalinists, revisionists, Liberals and Tories in the ANL is their total lack of confidence in the ability of the working class to defeat the threat of fascism through its own independent strength.

Overthrow

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that fascism is a product of the historic crisis of capitalist society, which can be defeated only by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The essence of the Popular Front fraud lies in counter-posing fascism to 'democracy', i.e., the parliamentary rule of capital. Precisely at the moment when the bourgeoisie is preparing to do away with the last vestiges of capitalist democracy, the Anti-Nazi League rushes to defend this form of capitalist rule and divert workers and youth behind the fraud of single-issue protest politics. The defence of capitalist democracy has nothing in common with the defence of basic democratic rights won in struggle by the working class.

The complete lack of principle underlying this organisation is further revealed by the refusal of the ANL conference to sup-

port the demand for the ending of immigration controls. In effect this decision means supporting the reactionary legislation of both Tory and Labour governments which forms the most fertile breeding ground for racialism and fascism.

We call on trade unionists and youth, black and white, to completely reject the ANL fraud as a complete diversion from the real capitalist enemy and its social-democratic servants as well as the capitalist state forces which are the main danger in imposing a police-military dictatorship.

Carrillo's call for 'healing the split of 1920' was taken up with enthusiasm by Eric Heffer in 'The Times'. But the same upsurge of mass struggle which drives the bureaucracies together also disrupts this relationship at every end and turn.

The British Communist Party, for all its Euro-communist pretensions, was forced to trundle to Moscow at its last congress in order to avoid financial disaster and political collapse.

For all the revisionist talk about how the Communist Party has changed its spots, the essence of Stalinism remains unchanged. The author of the peaceful road to socialism was Stalin himself.

The basis of Euro-Stalinism, like that of the Popular Front, is Stalin's conception of the peaceful road.

The bureaucracy today is dominated by immediate fear of the working class to a far greater extent than in the 1930s.

Despite the apparent contradictions between Moscow and the Euro-Stalinists, all are united in their common desire to extirpate this fear through the defeat of the working class.

It is a measure of the

weakness and isolation of the Moscow bureaucracy that they are obliged to tolerate Euro-Stalinism and similar conceptions to which they would in the past have given short shrift.

All these developments indicate without any doubt that the conditions are ripe for the historic defeat of Stalinism.

In China the clique of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping represent the interests of a conservative, post-revolutionary bureaucracy greedy for material privileges and power.

This bureaucratic leadership plays a Bonapartist role, balancing not only between the working class and peasantry in China but also between the Chinese people and world imperialism.

Nationalist

It is a conservative, nationalist group, inspired by the Stalinist theory of 'socialism in a single country', and has the same basic orientation as the Soviet bureaucracy: the defence of the status quo inside and outside China and implacable opposition to the world revolution. The policy of the Chinese bureaucracy under Mao and Hua in relation to Indonesia, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Chile, NATO, Lebanon and Angola and even its late ally Albania have irrefutably proved this feature of Chinese policy.

The Peking Stalinists — like the Soviet leaders — are forced to defend the new property relations in China not as the basis for the construction of socialism and the complete liberation of the working class and peasantry but as the source of its privileges.

Hence while carrying out the development of planned economy it combines this

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THIRD CONFERENCE OF WRP

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with a savage repression of every form of cultural and political innovation and dissidence.

The suppression with police measures of the 'Gang of Four' and Mao's widow, without even the formality of a trial, emphasises the anti-working class nature of this leadership.

The future of China therefore does not depend on the pragmatic and centrist, reformist policies of the Hua-Teng leadership, but on the building of a Chinese and Japanese section of the International Committee which will give to the working class of both countries a revolutionary, internationalist perspective and a powerful impetus to the development of the socialist revolution beyond the frontiers of China.

Isolation

The isolation of the Chinese economy from the resources — capital and technical — of Japan and the West will not only distort the economic development of China and exacerbate the contradiction between agriculture and industry but, principally, it will lead to a rapid proliferation of a bureaucracy dominating the working class and peasantry.

No 'cultural revolution' can overcome this contradiction. The future of China's teeming peasantry and working class is inevitably bound up with the progress of the world revolution and the construction of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The various Maoist groups throughout the world express the interests of this counter-revolutionary tendency.

Today, however, all these bureaucratic agencies of imperialism come into conflict in the workers' states with the revolutionary working class and peasantry who are inexorably moving forward demanding their rights and the restoration of power usurped by the bureaucracy.

In Western Europe the attempts of the Stalinists to control the working class come repeatedly up against the active resistance of the working class and the youth as was seen recently in Rome and Bologna.

Role

In this situation the role which the International Committee and its affiliated sections, such as the Workers Revolutionary Party, can play in attracting new layers of workers from the Stalinist parties and in completely discrediting and destroying Stalinism, is of crucial importance.

Because of its principled revolutionary line of defending the nationalised property and planned economy of the USSR with revolutionary methods, and its consistent struggle against the treachery of the Moscow Stalinist leadership, the WRP has the responsibility of leading the fight to destroy this counter-revolutionary cancer in the working class.

The attainment of this aim is entirely possible, because the movement of the working class does not strengthen Stalinism but instead piles up fresh contradictions, exacerbates the old conflicts and invests them with explosive force.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

THE social democratic bureaucracy is in no better shape. In one country after another these agents of west European and US monopoly capital, faced with a resurgent working class, have allied themselves with the most reactionary forces to hold back the working class and betray it as they did in the 1920s and 1930s.

In the main capitalist countries social democracy has become the mainstay of the capitalist state and the oppressor of basic democratic rights of the working class.

Nowhere is this more repulsively expressed than in West Germany and Britain where the social democratic leaders conspired with the most reactionary elements in the state apparatuses to smash the urban guerrilla Baader-Meinhof group and drive them to their deaths.

In Portugal social democracy represented by Soares' Socialist Party has proved it has nothing to learn from its peers in Germany and Britain.

It has aligned itself with every reactionary coup and is preparing to attack the conquests of the 1975 Portuguese revolution.

The bloody counter-revolutionary tradition of Ebert and Noske, as well as the lefts like Hasse, the social-democratic leaders who betrayed the 1918 German revolution and conspired in the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in March 1919, lives on in the leadership of German and British social democracy.

The Workers Revolutionary Party rejects the use of individual terror represented by the Baader-Meinhof group as a method of struggle for socialism but under no conditions will we support or condone the organised reactionary terror of the capitalist state against the working class or representatives of the middle class.

In its brutal treatment of the Baader-Meinhof group social democracy in Germany has created a precedent which the bourgeoisie will not fail to use against social democracy as it did in the 1930s.

In Scandinavia too, where

social democracy seemed to be impregnable, there have been dramatic changes. The reformists, plagued by crisis, falling export orders and massive devaluations, had to resign or form reactionary coalitions.

The deepening of the world crisis and the insoluble monetary and trade problems within the Common Market are daily exposing the bankruptcy of the reformists who are no longer able to solicit reforms and concessions from the bourgeoisie.



Bukharin ... none of his new-found champions want an accounting of how the GPU orchestrated the Moscow Trials and organised the assassination of Trotsky

Each successive crisis renders their political position more untenable, and strips them of their political credibility.

But social democracy, like Euro-Stalinism, will not voluntarily quit the arena of history or change its nature because of mass pressure.

The crisis only drives the bureaucracy further to the right in the defence of its privileges and to become more corrupt and more reactionary as it allies itself with the bourgeoisie against the working class.

In these countries there is no way out for the working class except to build Trotskyist leaderships to smash social democracy and take power. Left to itself social democracy will inflict even greater disasters than in the 1930s.

THE WORLD IMPERIALIST SLUMP

THE analysis of the world economic crisis made by the Workers Revolutionary Party is based on the conclusions of the Seventh

Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

These show that every stage of capitalist strategy after 1945 and the measures taken by the world bourgeoisie through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were indices of the weaknesses of world imperialism not its strength. (Manifesto of the Seventh Congress.)

The seven-nation capitalist economic summit in Bonn on July 16 and 17, 1978, was a watershed in the breakdown of post-war capitalist order.

The seven heads of government abandoned any pretence of finding a 'solution' to the world slump and rampant inflation. Instead they confessed their impotence to overcome the growth of unemployment, trade war and the collapse of the monetary system.

Summit

The previous summit meeting in London in August 1977 set grandiose targets for economic growth, but none of them were met. At Bonn even the fiction of promises was jettisoned.

Thus the leaders of the seven largest imperialist countries reveal that they have absolutely no confidence in the future of their own system. This loss of confidence has immediately expressed itself on the money and gold markets.

The US dollar collapse has intensified, particularly on the Tokyo money market where it crashed through the 200-yen barrier and is still falling in spite of massive intervention by the Central Bank of Japan.

At the same time, the price of gold has reached more than \$200 an ounce for the first time in history, a declaration of no confidence in all paper currency.

The result of the Bonn summit completely confirms the warnings of the Workers Revolutionary Party to the working class about the uncontrollable descent of world capitalism into slump and war.

It brings compelling urgency to the perspectives of the party that the way forward is to build the Workers Revolutionary



Trotsky reading Max Schachtman's exposure of Stalin's frame-up trials of Trotsky and all the Old Bolsheviks liquidated in this period

Party in the trade unions and youth to lead the working class in the struggle for state power.

Now the post-war boom has definitely ended and turned into irreversible slump. For almost four decades imperialism was able to hold up a major slump by a conscious strategy based on two inter-related ideas: the fear of world revolution and a consciousness of its own weakness.

This policy was enshrined in the Bretton Woods monetary agreement of 1944 which advocated controlled monetary and credit infla-

tion based on a convertible dollar as a way of containing the working class and propping up the economies of the under-developed world.

At Bretton Woods the International Monetary Fund was set up, based on a pool of gold and currency which was to be used to help countries to overcome balance of payments difficulties.

Each member country's contribution to the reserve pool consisted of 75 per cent local currency and 25 per cent gold.

The dollar was accorded a privileged position replacing the pound sterling as the



Anti-Nazi League ... a hysterical diversion, while the real preparations for state repression of the working class are going ahead

MAIN RESOLUTION

of the European central banks.

Concerned at the dangerous growth of America's short-term liabilities and mindful of the rules of the Bretton Woods monetary agreement, sections of the European capitalists, led by de Gaulle, began to convert their dollar reserves into gold and defied appeals of the US treasury to the contrary.

THE WEAKENING DOLLAR

AS THE boom developed in the 1960s the reserves of the European countries grew at a rapid rate and the demand for dollar conversion became irresistible.

By March 1968 the US gold stock had fallen by \$6 billion, from \$18 billion to \$12 billion, which was the legal minimum gold cover for notes circulating in the US. The US now held only 25 per cent of the world's gold and, more ominous, her short-term liabilities were twice the size of her gold stock.

Revision

Recognising that the dollar was grossly over-valued, the European capitalists demanded the devaluation of the dollar which would have meant an upward revision of the price of gold. This was the beginning of the monetary and trade war between Europe and America.

In November 1967 the first warning shot was fired when the French forced a 14-per-cent devaluation of the pound.

In March 1968 the US tried to solve the gold crisis with the pragmatic expedient of the two-tier gold price system. But the pressure against the dollar continued.

The massive increase in military expenditure for the Indo-China War and an accelerated flow of private capital abroad induced by a falling profit rate at home threatened the already precarious state of the dollar.

The pressure against the dollar could not be stemmed. The price of gold began to rise (and has continued to do so ever since).

Unable to preserve the myth of dollar convertibility for fear of draining away US gold reserves, Nixon on August 15, 1971, abolished the central prop of the world's monetary system, and corroborated much of what Trotsky said in 1934:

During the 19th century, gold as a universal measure of value became the foundation of all monetary systems worthy of the name.

Departures from the gold standard tear world economy apart even more successfully than do tariff walls. Inflation, itself an expression of disordered economic ties between nations, intensifies the disorder and helps to turn it from a functional into an organic one. (Nationalism and Economic Life in 'Fourth International', 1945, reprinted in 'Labour Review', March 1978)

The abolition of the dollar convertibility has struck a ruthless and powerful blow against America's competitors abroad.

It has forced them to honour billions of dollars worth of inconvertible and practically worthless currency as reserves in their banking systems. At the same time it has seriously impeded

trade by depriving the monetary system of the only reliable method of computing the real value of currencies — a gold-linked reserve currency.

These measures have compounded the industrial and trade rivalries and forced one country after another to float their currencies, to impose arbitrary currency values and in some cases begin to establish multiple exchange rates which bedevil world trade, intensify protectionism, and deepen the slump.

The desperate measures of the American government, however, have not confined their effects to world trade alone. They have the most far-reaching implications for the credit system as well.

Gold

The billions of dollars unbacked by gold which circulate outside the US provided the basis for the biggest credit structure ever built under capitalism.

A major portion of the capitalist world's trade and investment has been based on the credit developed out of the US dollar deficit.

But the ultimate basis of the credit system is the principle that the values of all commodities must be able to express themselves in real money, gold, the only reliable and stable measure of value.

DOLLAR GAP IN REVERSE

THE attempt of US imperialism to substitute for gold the inconvertible and inflationary dollar increases lack of confidence and distrust in the credit system and accelerates the movement to get out of paper currencies and paper claims on future value, and to get into gold, commodities, property — anything except paper.

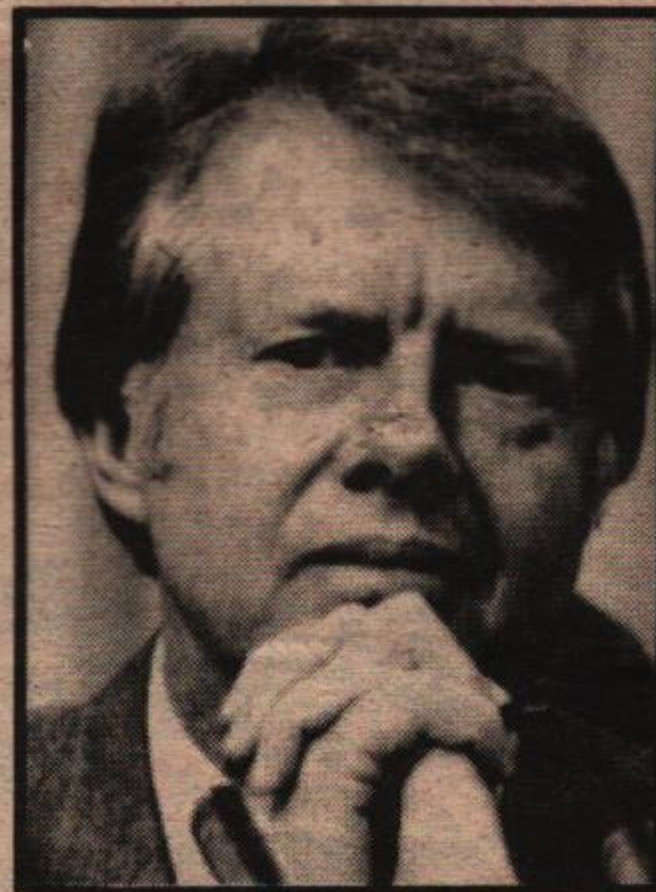
Price

Not surprisingly, the price of gold has quadrupled since it was arbitrarily exiled from the monetary system.

This, in turn, has intensified speculation and unleashed a desperate battle of capitals feverishly seeking real values at a time

when the decline of profit rates makes this increasingly improbable.

This situation has been further exacerbated by the oil embargo and the quadrupling of oil prices which followed the Arab-Israeli war in October 1973.



Carter ...desperate measures with far-reaching effects on the world economy

This led to the creation of massive disparities between the 'surplus' and the 'deficit' countries and an incalculable increase in the indebtedness of non-oil-producing underdeveloped nations.

One of the chief casualties of this embargo was not US imperialism but British, European and Japanese capitalism.

American imperialism in fact benefitted indirectly from the weakening of its rivals. British capitalism for example was forced to introduce the three-day week and the decline of British industry was accelerated.

The abolition of fixed exchange rates meant that the central banking systems were no longer obliged to hold large reserves of gold and foreign currencies to maintain fixed parities.

The upshot of this was the release of huge amounts of currency into the world monetary system which aggravated the inflationary crisis created by the increase in world oil prices and raw materials.

The anarchy of the world market was intensified, and the uncertainty and lack of confidence of industrialists and bankers alike was increased tremendously.

The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank,

the International Development Agency and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs — the four pillars of Bretton Woods — have inevitably been thrown into insoluble crisis.

The monetary stability and fiscal discipline based on the convertibility of the dollar reflecting a growing level of productivity and a high average rate of profit which enabled imperialist nations to maintain a high level of investment and full employment has turned into its opposite.

Unemployment

Everywhere economic growth declines, profit rates fall, productivity slumps and chronic unemployment grows rapidly whilst currencies fluctuate wildly.

As a result of continued depreciation, dollar investment abroad has become more expensive for US capitalism and the volume of capital exports has begun to decline. At the same time the US trade gap has begun to widen at an unprecedented rate because of oil price increases and increased oil and manufactured imports.

Thus not only has the US deficit increased but the nature of the deficit has changed qualitatively. The US has now become a net importer of capital from the Middle East and Europe but this capital is mostly speculative and funk capital and cannot compensate for the decline of US capital exports abroad which sustained post-war expansion.

NO RECOVERY

THIS US deficit now becomes a millstone round the neck of world capitalism because it aggravates the indebtedness of the underdeveloped nations, and precludes any possible development of these economies, let alone a return to solvency.

At the end of 1975 the aggregate debt of 84 underdeveloped countries was estimated at \$173.9 billion. Despite predictions to the contrary, a recent US Senate report now puts the debt of these same countries at \$200 billion.

Ominously \$75 billion of it is owed to private banks and \$50 billion of that is accounted for debts owed to

the principal US banks.

Mexico and Brazil alone owe \$350 billion and neither of these countries has the resources to meet the claims of impatient creditors. Forty per cent of Brazil's foreign export earnings goes to pay for servicing debts.

Another 30 per cent is devoured by oil imports, leaving little or nothing for expansion of native industry and agriculture. By the early 1980s the proportion of export earnings going to debt servicing is expected to increase from 40 per cent to 50 per cent.

How the 'lesser developed' countries will keep their credit ratings and yet maintain a minimum economic growth is already an intractable question.

This situation is being considerably worsened by two additional factors, both interrelated.

The first is the slump in production of the capitalist world — principally in the USA where industry is working at only 83 per cent of capacity — and in Europe where, according to an EEC report, the hoped-for 'recovery' is fast receding and unemployment is growing.

Inflation

As the report admits, European growth prospects for 1977-1978 will be poor (a fall of 1 per cent) and the EEC is in 'danger of getting bogged down in a state of steady equilibrium at a point of underemployment, without solving the problems of inflation, public finances and the allocation of resources'.

This means the end of all talk of a 'unified strategy' of the industrial nations to beat the slump and effect a startling recovery.

Instead of the much-vaunted 'co-ordinated action' of poor and rich nations, the weaker capitalist countries were abandoned while the stronger industrial capitalist states demonstratively cut back money supply and public expenditure in order to halt domestic inflation.

Countries like Germany and Japan as a result amassed a huge surplus on their payments balance

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the 1930s. We demand the rehabili-

main currency of the capitalist world. To assist international trade and capital movements between nations, dollar holders were entitled to exchange their dollar holdings for gold at the guaranteed rate of \$35 to a fine ounce of gold.

The unique role of the dollar was due to the fact that America emerged from the imperialist world war as the strongest industrial and military power, holding 75 per cent of the world's gold in Fort Knox.

America also had a very substantial surplus in her balance of payments based on a very large trade surplus.

This vast reserve and huge trade balance which varied between \$7 billion and \$5 billion in the first two decades after the war enabled US imperialism to shoulder the task of rebuilding Europe, militarily and economically.

Loans

This was done by the export of capital in the form of government grants and loans and massive military expenditure which considerably increased the US balance of payments deficit after 1950.

This deficit, providing vital international liquidity for rebuilding decrepit Europe, raised no problems initially because US gold holdings provided ample cover for the foreign dollar holdings abroad.

But as the flow of US government aid dwindled and was replaced by an unending and uncontrolled torrent of overseas investment and bank loans through the Euro-dollar market, the deficit climbed steeply — and with it the nervousness



Callaghan and West Germany's Schmidt at last year's economic summit ... an end now to all talk of a 'unified strategy' of the industrial nations to beat the slump



London summit meeting of August 1977: grandiose targets for economic growth ... but none was met. At Bonn even the fiction of promises was jettisoned.

FROM PAGE 9

whilst weaker nations' deficits grew appreciably.

This process further intensified the monetary chaos. The complete break-up of the ill-famed European currency snake became inevitable when the Scandinavian countries, as well as Spain and Portugal, devalued or floated their currencies and began pursuing policies of deflation.

This has in turn exacerbated the contradictions of world capitalism and forced the US to assume the burden of an onerous and virtually impossible recovery. After a feeble spurt in the first half of 1977, US recovery has run out of steam.

Deficits on current account and trade have leapt to almost \$30 billion and with it have grown the demands for protectionism. A new cycle of slump has commenced. As the 'Times Financial Review' gloomily commented:

In the medium term, the outlook is for one where unless a way is found of breaking out of the circle of low growth, leading to low investment, which leads to low growth, the Western world could be committed to recession without end. (Thursday, September 26, 1977)

Assumptions

The revisionist and capitalist commentators who sanguinely predicted a new recovery after the 1974-1975 recession have seen their assumptions shattered by the real development of the slump. Far from recovery being attained, the US economy has begun a precipitous decline due principally to the falling rate of profit in US heavy industry.

As a recent issue of the US 'Business Week' pointed out (October 17, 1977):

The distressing fact is that the level of capital-investing in the US is still lower than it was in 1974 with the increase in investing coming more slowly than on any previous post-war recovery.

Further, this is for all industries. In such industries as computers, steel, textiles, tyres, rubber and the airlines, there is hardly any investment growth even now.

What little investment is taking place is being channelled into secondary industry like food and housing rather than the giant basic industries which normally account for the major proportion of capital accumulation in the US.

Fear of a deeper recession and/or inflation plus the conservative fiscal policies of the Carter regime have cut investment to the bone.

Although in dollar terms capital investment has gone up 9 per cent, this will be inadequate to sustain stronger growth. A low rate of return on equity capital diminishes the ability of the corporations to raise money to finance growth and this creates a 'snow-balling and irreversible process' — already visible in such key industries as steel. (Ibid.)

At the same time an ebb in investment capital accelerates the decline in profit rates and advances the prospect of bankruptcy.

Fallen

According to one reliable estimate (Investors Management Sciences Inc.) the average rate of return on invested capital in the US fell from 13.4 per cent in 1966 to 9.2 per cent last year. The US Commerce Department corroborates this: profits as a per cent of gross national product have fallen from 9 per cent in 1966 to 5 per cent today.

The fall in profit rates now means that US imperialism is even less able than before to satisfy the huge claims of a mountain of paper credit being made on a relatively diminishing amount of surplus value (profit) in industry.

Unable to increase the profit rates substantially and reluctant to destroy the mountain of credit (\$3 trillion) for fear of provoking a revolution at home, the US ruling class have decided on a third road: to create a 'siege economy' and to force other capitalist nations to restrict their exports to the US.

Ruthless

In short, to embark on a policy of ruthless protectionism based not only on tariff barriers and import quotas, but also on a devaluing dollar with a nominal value outside the US which will force the Arab oil exporting countries to transfer their dollar holdings to the US.

This policy is connected to the energy conservation programme of President Carter and is integrally linked to the long-term foreign policy of US imperialism to end its reliance on Middle-East oil in the event of a major war.

CONTINUES TOMORROW

DEFEND GAINS OF IRAQI PEOPLE!



Police examine the scene of Friday's bomb attempt against the Iraqi Ambassador

The Callaghan government's hatred and fear of the Arab revolution is vividly underlined by the sinister and sustained campaign of slander against the Republic of Iraq and the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party.

This campaign — conducted through lies and innuendos planted in the Tory Press and harassment of Iraqi diplomats and civilians in London — culminated in the sudden announcement on July 26 that 11 Iraqi citizens were being expelled on orders from Foreign Secretary Owen.

The following day, in a special statement from New

York, Owen blackguarded the Iraqis involved with the unsubstantiated claim of 'terrorist' links.

Just who the real terrorists were became clear outside the Iraqi embassy on July 28, when ambassador Taha al-Dawood narrowly escaped assassination by a hand-grenade.

Attackers

Dawood's attackers were aided not only by the sustained Press propaganda campaign directed from Whitehall, but also and more directly by the Foreign Office refusal to provide police pro-

tection for the Iraqi embassy. Owen's expulsion order signals a new intensification of the imperialist campaign to undermine and subvert the Republic of Iraq.

The prime reason for this campaign is the determined stand taken by Iraq against Zionism, imperialism and capitulation policies in the Middle East as well as the reactionary policies of Moscow Stalinism.

The imperialists want to smash the gains of the Iraqi people and destroy the political line of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party of Iraq.

The working class move-

ment must be roused to fight for the repeal of the expulsion orders, an end to the campaign of harassment and provocation against Iraqi citizens and representatives.

Claims

It has nothing to do with Owen's claims of 'terrorism'. Coming from a man who tolerates the presence of more than 70 CIA agents together with known representatives of the Shah's secret police SAVAK, the Zionist intelligence service Mossad and the Chilean fascist DINA, these claims are completely worthless.

THIRD CONFERENCE OF WRP

RESOLUTION ON INDIVIDUAL TERROR

THE KILLING of the Italian ex-premier Aldo Moro, the German industrialist Martin Schleyer and other representatives of European capital by urban terrorists and the violent repression unleashed by the West European states raises in the sharpest form the attitude of Trotskyists to the policy and method of individual terror.

No ambiguity or confusion on this discredited tactic of political struggle can be permitted in the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

Futility

In the same way as Lenin, Plekhanov and Trotsky trained the Russian Marxists by exposing the futility and bankruptcy of Narodnik terror and prepared the ground for the socialist revolution, so too must British and European Marxists critically appraise and fight implacably against all methods which obscure the revolutionary goal and retard the development of socialist consciousness.

1. Marxism, as the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, recognises unconditionally that the basis of all political changes in civilised society is the class struggle which arises on the foundations of definite material relations of production determined by the particular development of productive forces and the specific division of labour within society.

2. These relations between classes are objectively determined in the course of history in accordance with the general laws of social evolution which cannot be arbitrarily replaced or capriciously changed by the inspired actions of individuals and small groups.

Major social changes, like revolutions and national liberation wars, are determined essentially by the conflict of productive forces and property relations and presuppose the conscious actions of millions.

Creators

The masses are the real creators of history. 'The most indubitable feature of a revolution is the direct interference of the masses in historic events.' (Trotsky)

3. The imperialist epoch, threatening nuclear wars and fascist barbarism, has raised this struggle to its highest point and poses before the working class the urgent task to destroy the fetters of capitalist property relations and the capitalist nation-state with socialised property and planned economy based on a world system of socialist states. Such a struggle can be carried out only by the actions of millions and millions of workers and colonial peoples under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard whose ideas and actions cannot replace the movement of the masses but can and must express the deepest needs of historical development.

4. Marxism fights implac-

INDIVIDUAL TERROR



Troops on the streets after the murder of Italian ex-premier Aldo Moro ... the capitalist state uses acts of individual terror as a pretext to strengthen its repressive apparatus

ably against every expression of idealist subjectivism in revolutionary theory and practice.

As the only scientific sociology based on a theory of the general laws of social development, historical materialism, Marxism has proved that the 'development of formations of society is a process of natural history' (V.I. Lenin, Coll. Works Vol I, pp140-141).

Such a conception is diametrically opposed to the subjectivism of the terrorist who acts in contempt of the masses and defiance of the laws of history.

Marxism is the highest theoretical expression of the self-emancipation of the working class. Terrorism is its negation.

5. Marxism however does not reject the role of individuals and groups in the creation of history. The creative actions and ideas of individual leaders can and do play a powerful and decisive role only to the extent that their subjective passion, sacrifice and effort expresses the objective content of social development.

Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in the remarkable way it combines complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most definite recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, the revolutionary creative genius and the revolutionary initiative of the masses - and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organisations and parties that are able to discover and exercise contact with various classes. (Coll Works, Vol 13, p.36)

Social laws do not act independently of man's activities in production and class struggle.

These laws are formed through the social activity of man in pursuit of his ends which are determined objectively in and through nature.

Real freedom lies in the consciousness of this historical necessity, in the collective struggle of the working class to consciously

understand and control social laws and realise the objective significance of its historical actions.

The historical task of our epoch consists in replacing the uncontrolled play of the market by reasonable planning, in disciplining the forces of production, compelling them to work together in harmony and obediently serve the needs of mankind. (Trotsky, 'In defence of October')

6. The doctrine and method of terrorism is based on a reactionary, subjective, one-sided and static conception of capitalist society and its crisis.

Terrorism rejects the revolutionary role of the working class and ignores the laws of capitalism's decline.

Identifies

Terrorism identifies the working class with its reactionary bureaucratic leadership and instead postulates a new revolutionary force - the petty-bourgeois student, the peasant and the lumpen proletariat.

The development of the imperialist crisis in the late 1960s and the growth of inflation radicalised sections of the urban petty bourgeois and those on fixed incomes like the students who, in the absence of powerful working-class support, took to the streets in isolated actions and armed battles with the police and army.

In Argentina and Uruguay this form of petty-bourgeois radicalisation took the form of Guevarist movements like the ERP (Peoples Revolutionary Army - an urban guerrilla group supported by the Argentine revisionists, followers of Mandel), Montoneros (urban guerrilla group which supported General Peron) and the Tupamaros.

In Brazil there emerged the abortive urban guerrilla movement of Marighela.

In Peru the peasant movements of de la Puente and Blanco also collapsed after a brief struggle with the state.

7. In the advanced countries of Europe the student

movement assumed a mass protest character inspired by utopian-socialist ideals and guided by anarchist-romantic leaders who either despised the working class or treated it only as a useful supplementary force.

After a brief efflorescence this movement collapsed. This was the fate of the German SDS and the French student uprising of May-June 1968.

The student revolt - despite its anti-capitalist rhetoric and its anti-property and communal fetishism - was nothing more than a symptom of the worsening inflationary crisis.

Even in France, where the student revolt took on a more extreme militant character because of the Bonapartist regime and the deflationary measures of de Gaulle, the student movement was inherently unstable, heterogeneous and incapable of transcending its petty-bourgeois aims and interests.

It did not in any way refute the central premise of the Communist Manifesto that the working class is the only truly revolutionary class in relation to the bourgeoisie.

Audacity

If the students in Western Europe demonstrated greater audacity than the working class in the 1960s, it was largely because the West European ruling classes were consciously trying to avoid a confrontation with the working class and were placing the main burdens of European deflation, necessitated by the dollar crisis, on the backs of the students.

In Britain, the student movement, led and organised by an unprincipled alliance of the International Marxist Group, the state-capitalist International Socialist group, Maoists, Stalinists and anarchists, diverted the struggle against the Wilson Labour government into a pacifist protest charade around the Vietnam war.

After October 27, 1968, this movement - the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign - disappeared without a trace.

8. The collapse of the so-called 'student detonator' was also a powerful indictment of the theory and practice of the revisionists in the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, led by Michel Pablo and Ernest Mandel and supported in the USA by the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, Hansen and Novack.

These revisionist leaders, in accordance with their theory that capitalism had entered a new stage of extended development and expansion - neo-capitalism or late capitalism - discovered in the students a new social force that would replace the working class in the socialist revolution.

In the 1950s and early 1960s Pablo and Mandel adapted to the petty-bourgeois nationalist movements in the colonies with the eclectic theory that

the epicentre of the world revolution was in the under-developed world and that the European working class was conserved by the boom.

In the 1960s the same method was used to contrast students to workers and justify an opportunist adaptation to the European and American petty-bourgeoisie in the campuses.

Ernest Mandel - the most eminent charlatan amongst theoreticians and the most able theoretician amongst charlatans - provided the necessary rationalisations for this major revision of Marxism.

The essence of his theory - summarised in a speech to French students in Paris in May 1968 - was the revisionist idea that 'third industrial revolution' had begun and the principal feature of this 'revolution' was the reintegration of intellectual labour into productive labour and the transformation of intellectual labour into the 'chief productive force'. In Mandel's words:

We can say that this intellectual labour power is doubly revolutionary and productive today.

It is so because it is conscious of the enormous wealth it promises, which could lead us rapidly to a classless society, to abundance.

It is so because it is conscious of all the contradictions, injustices and barbarities of contemporary capitalism and because the results of its becoming conscious are profoundly revolutionary. ('Black Dwarf', July 1968 - predecessor to IMG paper, 'Red Mole' and latterly 'Socialist Challenge'.)

9. The corollary to this idealist gibberish was to write off the working class and the struggle for revolutionary leadership in the working class.

According to Mandel 'the traditional organisations of the workers' movement are profoundly bureaucratised and long since co-opted into bourgeois society'.

Unlike the workers who had succumbed to 'bourgeois ideas', the students were overcoming these limitations:

However, in amongst students, a larger minority, precisely because they are in a more privileged social and intellectual situation than the workers, can free themselves by individual thought from the constant manipulation and mental conditioning of the great public opinion-moulding instruments in the service of bourgeois society and capitalism. ('Black Dwarf', July 1968)

Liberating

Not only were the students liberating themselves from bourgeois ideology by 'individual thought', they were driving straight to revolution:

In its revolt against the bourgeois university and against the imperialist war, the student vanguard has begun to become conscious of the necessity of rising up against bourgeois society in its entirety. Now it is drawing logical revolutionary socialist conclusions from its development of an anti-capitalist consciousness: It is preparing itself for the socialist revolution. ('Black Dwarf', July 5, 1968)

Ten years after, the reactionary implications of this fantasy are only too obvious.

The student power movement has disappeared, together with the barricades.

The political scene is dominated by the constant efforts of the Stalinists and reformists to control the French workers while the bourgeoisie prepares for counter-revolution not only in Zaire, Chad, West Sahara and Lebanon, but in the metropolitan centres of France as well.

Far from preparing for civil war, as Mandel alleged, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois students are preparing for the Civil Service and are some of the chief advocates of bourgeois ideology in France.

10. As the revisionists retreated into the sanctuary of the refectory halls after May-June 1968 the verbal rhetoric of mass student protest gave way to a more sinister but no less idealist dogma: urban guerrilla terrorism.

Despair

The despair of the petty bourgeois and their fear of pauperism no less than their contempt at the servility of the labour leaders before the monopolies has driven a minority to adopt the gun.

Armed attacks against representatives and institutions of the bourgeois democratic state now replaced the ritualistic protest, demonstrations and flag-burning of the late 1960s.

The philosophical standard-bearer of this trend was the Frankfurt school of 'critical philosophy' and its principal spokesman - Herbert Marcuse. They developed the theory that capitalism had become 'organised' and the working class had been bemused into conformity by the boom, and that the only way to overcome the alienation of the working class was through the most absurd and violent defiance of orthodox capitalist morality and politics.

Marcuse's ideas were not unconnected with his practical activities, in the war and post-war period, in the military intelligence agencies of American imperialism.

11. The revolutionary struggle of the working class, impelled by the objective development of the economic slump, is irreconcilably opposed to this individual terror of the petty-bourgeois student and intellectual against the state.

The state cannot be overthrown by individual violence however nobly inspired.

Nothing illustrates the political impotence of the petty bourgeoisie more blatantly than the contrast between the occasional violence of the terrorist and the organised and systematic violence of the bourgeois-democratic state.

These methods of terrorism correspond to the outlook of the petty-bourgeois who believes that 'propaganda of the deed' can somehow overcome the influence of bourgeois ideology and the effects of previous catastrophic defeats on the working class transmitted by the labour bureaucracies.

The actions of these individuals and groups like the German Red Army Faction, the June 3 Movement, the Italian Red Brigades and the Japanese Red Army, have demonstrated in the most sanguinary and irrefutable way that indi-

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THIRD CONFERENCE OF WRP

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vidual terror can neither unleash mass actions nor raise the political consciousness of the masses.

The confusion and indifference in some and the hostility to socialism induced in others by the actions of contemporary urban terrorism underline the absolute correctness of Lenin's monumental struggle with the terrorism of the Socialist Revolutionaries in Tsarist Russia:

'Each time a hero engages in single combat, this arouses in us all a spirit of struggle and courage,' we are told.

But we know from the past and see in the present that only new forms of the mass movement or the awakening of new sections of the masses to independent struggle really arouses a spirit of struggle and courage in all.

Single combat, however, inasmuch as it remains single combat ... has the immediate effect of simply creating a short-lived sensation, while indirectly it even leads to apathy and passive waiting for the next bout ...

The Social Democrats (i.e. Marxists - Ed) will always warn against adventurism and ruthlessly expose illusions which inevitably end in complete disappointment. We must bear in mind that a revolutionary party is worthy of its name only when it guides in deed the movement of a revolutionary class. (Lenin, 'Revolutionary Adventurism', pp.12,13. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1969)

12. Marxist opposition to individual blind terror has nothing in common with the outraged pacifism of bourgeois humanism and the moralising hypocrisy of the reformist and bourgeois apologists and defenders of the capitalist state like the revisionist philosopher Colletti who opposes the Red Brigades because of their actions against the Italian state.

Separated

Marxists oppose individual terror which is separated from the revolutionary struggle of the working class to overthrow the state — because the means employed do not correspond to the end and are, in fact, counter-productive.

The terrorist ignores or scorns the working class, its enormous potential for struggle, sacrifice, audacity, improvisation and leadership.

For the colossal power of the working class the terrorist seeks to substitute the chemistry of explosives.

For the organised political and industrial activity of the working class and the youth the urban terrorist substitutes the murder of individual policemen and Ministers in the hope that the decaying structure of the capitalist state will collapse like the biblical walls of Jericho before the salvos of a handful of guerrillas.

Notwithstanding the courage and self-sacrifice of some of these misguided idealists, their conceptions are essentially reactionary and egoistical.

Their utopian plans for 'saving society' are based on the untenable premise that the working class must be excluded from participating and leading the struggle and from discussion and deciding on the efficacy of the terrorists' schemes.

This leads to a stultifying and conspiratorial secrecy which is divisive and is the

opposite of proletarian democracy and socialism.

13. Instead of creating the political conditions for the maximum unity of the oppressed and the highest development of political consciousness, the methods of the terrorist disrupt, divide and disintegrate socialist consciousness and perpetuate bourgeois ideology in a new guise.

Terrorism is the obverse side of reformism; the revenge of the disgruntled petty bourgeois who imagines that the conditions of his own emancipation are the same as those for the emancipation of the working class.

As Trotsky wrote in 1911:

Whether or not the terrorist act, even if 'successful', throws the ruling circles into turmoil, depends upon the concrete political circumstances.

Turmoil

In any case such turmoil can only be of short duration; the capitalist state is not founded upon Ministers and cannot be destroyed with them.

The classes it serves will always find new men, the mechanism remains whole and continues its work.

But the turmoil which the terrorist act introduces into the ranks of the toiling masses themselves is far more profound.

If it is enough to arm oneself with a revolver to reach the goal, what need is there for the strivings of the class struggle?

If people in high positions can be intimidated by noise of an explosion, what need is there then for a party?

... Individual terrorism is in its very essence bureaucracy turned inside out. (Leon Trotsky on the Kirov Assassination', pp.16-17, Pioneer Pocket Library)

14. Where Marxism exhorts the proletariat, arms him with a profound belief in his strength and inspires him with a revolutionary perspective, terrorism demoralises and disorients him with a false method and an illusory goal.

Marxism leads to conscious collective action and the complete spiritual and material liberation of the working class.

Terrorism however leads inexorably to passivity, subjectivism and the deepest scepticism in relation to the purposive and conscious activity of the working class.

Terrorism digs the grave of the socialist revolution as certainly as reformism.

Terrorism alienates the working class because it tries to replace a concrete analysis of the objective contradictions, motive forces and laws of the class struggle by artificial stimulants.

Through adventures, it believes, it can overcome not only the immaturity of the material and objective conditions but the subjective problems as well; the preparation of revolution through the development of the Party and the training of its cadre through a protracted struggle against opportunism, Stalinism, revisionism etc.

15. The individual terrorist renders an immeasurable service to the capitalist state, enabling the real practitioners of capitalist barbarity in the police, army and judiciary to distract workers and youth by depicting the occasional violence of the urban terrorist as the real danger while using terrorism as a pretext to strengthen the repressive state-terrorist apparatus.

This has become an established practice in virtually every Western European country today.

Terrorism perpetuates the terror of the capitalist state.

Moreover, the very nature of the terrorist group and its rejection of democratic centralism and collective leadership in favour of the cult of a charismatic leader makes the terrorist group vulnerable to police infiltration and provocation.

16. Similar methods have been employed by certain nationalist groups like ETA in Spain and the IRA in northern Ireland as well as groups within the PLO who abandoned the armed struggle of Al Fatah in favour of hi-jacking.

Here too the futility and counter-productiveness of urban terror has been strikingly demonstrated.

Far from weakening the repressive forces and forcing them to withdraw, terrorist actions, like the terror bombing of La Mon House restaurant, have deepened the confusion in the working class and enabled the British army to maintain a precarious occupation.

Far from uniting Catholic and Protestant workers, these acts obscure the real class issues and perpetuate sectarian rivalries and hatreds.

The history of Sinn Fein trenchantly proves that those who abandon or reject scientific socialism, the class struggle and workers' power and rely exclusively



Ulrike Meinhof, murdered in her cell by the forces of the West German state

on the power of the gun, cannot carry out the tasks of the democratic revolution.

Only Marxism can liberate the Irish people and secure the unity of Catholic and Protestant workers.

However, while sharply criticising the methods of these groups, the WRP unconditionally defends them against the repressions and slanders of the imperialist military machine and stands, at all times, for the defeat of imperialism.

Their right to use what means they feel necessary in the struggle must be defended.

Massacres

The massacres perpetrated by imperialism in Zimbabwe and northern Ireland are a poignant reminder of the brutal nature of imperialism.

17. As the world slump deepens and threatens bankruptcy and pauperism for sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and as the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracies betray and divert the working class time and again into channels of parliamentary protest, sections of this strata, sensing their impending doom, will either turn to nihilist terror, go over to the fascists or join the ranks of the revolutionary party.

The WRP rejects the

cheap scepticism of the revisionist argument permeating the outlook of the Anti-Nazi League and International Marxist Group which implies that the majority of the middle class is hopelessly lost to socialism and is in danger of going over to fascism.

The grotesque exaggeration of a so-called 'Nazi menace' (by the Socialist Workers Party and Anti-Nazi League) and facile comparisons with the 1930s betrays a complete lack of political stability and a typically middle-class rejection of the nature of the working class today.

Not surprisingly, the petty-bourgeois terrorists of the Red Brigades, in so far as they aspire to theoretical deductions, base their terrorist plans on a similar sceptical and fatalist view, on the Stalinist social-fascist doctrine of 'after fascism our turn'.

Confusion

Such middle-class fatalism and confusion strengthens fascism and alienates sections of the middle class from the programme of socialism and world revolution.

We reject categorically the defeatism of these groups and affirm our confidence in the enormous attractive power of revolutionary socialism and the ability of the working class to win over and neutralise important sections of the middle class. As Trotsky wrote:



In the epoch of the rise, the growth and the bloom of capitalism the petty bourgeoisie, despite acute outbreaks of discontent, generally marched obediently in the capitalist harness. Nor could it do anything else.

But under the conditions of capitalist disintegration and of the impasse in the economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie strives, seeks, attempts to tear itself loose from the fetters of the old masters and rulers of society.

It is quite capable of linking up its fate with that of the proletariat.

For that, only one thing is needed: the petty bourgeoisie must acquire faith in the ability of the proletariat to lead society on to a new road.

The proletariat can inspire this faith only by its strength, by the firmness of its actions, by a skilful offensive against the enemy, by the success of its revolutionary policy. (Trotsky, 'Germany 1931-1932: The Only Road', p.234, New Park Publications)

18. The emergence of the urban terrorist in Western Europe is a damning indictment of the reformist and Stalinist bureaucratic leaderships and their reactionary collaborationist policies of 'historic compromise', 'advanced democracy' and 'peaceful transition to socialism'.

These policies satisfy neither the big bourgeoisie nor the petty bourgeoisie. In the former it evokes con-

tempt; in the latter, hatred and confusion.

Every terrorist attack becomes for these traitors a pretext to abandon the working class, crawl obsequiously before the capitalist state, disarm the working class politically and indulge in an orgy of reconciliation with their class enemies in parliament.

We unconditionally oppose the vicious suppression of all left-wing and terrorist groups by the state whether it be monarchical, republican or fascist.

The capitalist state remains at all times the instrument of coercion which upholds the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie.

Only the overthrow of this reactionary body by the armed uprising of the working class led by the Workers Revolutionary Party and the creation of a workers' state based on workers' councils can end the fraud of bourgeois democracy and, with it, the dead-end of urban terrorism.

Our opposition to individual terror does not in any way imply support for the reactionary anti-working class measures of the German and Italian governments.

These measures, like the Italian Legge Reale, ostensibly designed to suppress terror, are in fact aimed at the basic rights of the working class.

In particular the systematic persecution and mental torture of the

augment the apparatus of capitalist state repression against all left-wing groups and parties and eventually against the reformists themselves.

More ominously they provide the ground for bloody provocations against the working class.

19. The Workers Revolutionary Party recognises that in a society founded on exploitation of one class by another and the monopoly of property by one class, no peaceful transfer of power is possible.

On the contrary, the history of capitalism illustrates that violence and terror are inevitable and inherent to the system. Capitalism — more than any previous system of society — has reduced the value of human life in inverse proportion to the productive — and destructive — power of capital.

The development of such weapons as the hydrogen, neutron and cluster bombs are a sombre warning to all workers that 'to make the individual sacred we must destroy the social order which crucifies him. And this problem can only be solved by blood and iron.' (Trotsky: 'Terrorism and Communism', New Park Publications.)

Trotskyists do not deny the inevitability of violent revolutionary measures of self-defence, of counterposing to the white terror of the fascist bourgeoisie the resistance of the working class.

The aim of revolutionary action, however, is not to stimulate the activity of the masses but to conduct a victorious civil war against the ruling class and its agents.

Strategy

It is a means to an end not an end in itself. The task of the Party is not to eschew violence but to channel and direct the legitimate defensive violence of the oppressed in accordance with a comprehensive strategy for power, for the dictatorship of the working class.

The Workers Revolutionary Party rejects the reformist-pacifist delusions of the Stalinists and centrists who oppose terrorism in order to advocate a parliamentary transition to socialism and the neutralising of the police, army and secret services.

The WRP bases its preparations on the warning made by Trotsky in 1925:

The British bourgeoisie has been brought up on ruthlessness ... The British bourgeoisie, compelled as it is to make its peace with America, to retreat, to tuck and to wait, is filling itself with the greatest bitterness which will reveal itself in terrible forms in a civil war ...

All the cold cruelty that ruling-class Britain displayed towards the Indians, Egyptians and Irish and which has the appearance of racial arrogance, in the event of a civil war will reveal its class nature and prove to be directed against the proletariat.

On the other hand the revolution will inevitably awaken in the British working class the deepest passions which have been so skilfully restrained and suppressed by social conventions, the Church and the Press, and directed along artificial channels with the aid of boxing, football, racing and other forms of sport. (Trotsky's 'Writings on Britain', Vol 2, p.123, New Park Publications)

The Workers Revolutionary Party demands the repeal of all anti-terrorist laws as well as the release of all political prisoners. Support for the so-called 'anti-terrorist operations' and laws inevitably provide a mandate for the capitalist class to strengthen and