

THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

AN EIGHT PAGE
PULL-OUT SUPPLEMENT

VICTORY TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

THE THIRD Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party marked the most important development in the history of Trotskyism in Britain. Delegates unanimously voted for the main resolution submitted by the Central Committee which set forth Party perspectives on the world political and economic crisis, the building of the party and the struggle for workers' power.

There was an intense discussion involving workers, trade unionists, youth, students and housewives on the tasks facing the party as the capitalist crisis rapidly unfolds, driving forward the working class into revolutionary struggles. It was a standing conference, and delegates agreed to resume the vital discussion later this year.

Today News Line continues the publication of the main conference resolution as well as other documents from the conference. As a special service to readers, the publication is made as an eight-page pull-out so that it can be kept for study and reference. Copies of yesterday's News Line containing the first-part supplement can be obtained by contacting News Line in writing or by telephone.

DELEGATES unanimously passed a resolution supporting all national liberation struggles against imperialism. The resolution carried with it greetings of revolutionary solidarity to all those freedom fighters of the Arab world, Africa, Asia, Ireland and Latin America.

1. This third conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party pledges its unconditional support for all national liberation movements against imperialism all over the world. The national liberation struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is inseparable from the struggle of the working class in the major metropolitan capitalist countries to overthrow imperialism and establish socialism.

The construction of the world party of socialist revolution is impossible without the firmest political alliance between the national revolutionary movements and the revolutionary party.

2 In particular, we salute the revolutionary struggles with whom our party has proudly declared alliances: the Palestine Liberation Organisation under the chairmanship of Yassir Arafat, the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah and the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe.

Secular

3 The Workers Revolutionary Party completely supports the struggle of the PLO to overthrow Zionist imperialism and establish a democratic secular state of Palestine where Arab, Jew,

ish and Christian workers can live and work together.

The conference fully endorses the Political Committee statement of March 14, 1978, which saluted Al Fatah, the national liberation movement of the Palestinian people, when commandos carried out their act of war against the Zionist entity in the Deir Yassin operation. (News Line, March 16, 1978)

4 We oppose the political barrenness of the so-called Rejection Front and the divisive and negative role it plays in the struggle of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland.

Behind the use of pseudo-Marxist phraseology, the rejectionist leaders leave out the revolutionary role of the Palestinian mass movement as they move from one form of opportunism to another.

Drums

5 US and Zionist imperialism are beating the drums of war in Lebanon threatening the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Lebanese National Movement with a new bloodbath.

Acting under CIA instructions, the American Embassy in Beirut has instructed US and European nationals to prepare an evacuation. Similar steps were taken in 1975 as the imperialist plotters drove Lebanon into a bloody civil war costing 40,000 lives.

The new war danger stems from the complete military failure of the Israeli invasion of south Lebanon in March this year. Now the Zionist entity is collaborating openly with the Lebanese fascists in a plan to partition Lebanon by smashing the Lebanese National Movement and liquidating the leadership of the PLO.

The WRP opposes completely the attempts to partition the Lebanon and calls



Fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in south Lebanon

on the Moslem and Christian workers and poor peasants to unite in a common struggle to smash the conspiracy of US and French imperialism. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Zionist and UN troops from the Lebanon.

6 A key role in the conspiracy against the Palestinian revolution is being played by the Egyptian regime of Anwar Sadat. His American-sponsored visit to Jerusalem last November marked a new chapter in the treachery of the Arab bourgeoisie against the Palestinian people and the Arab masses.

It has encouraged the terrorist Beigin and his regime to pursue their expansionist aims because of the certain knowledge that their southern flank is sec-

ured by the CIA stooge Sadat.

Sadat's capitulationist policies abroad have been accompanied by violent political oppression against the working class, students and intellectuals at home. We promise to be in the forefront of all campaigns aimed at restoring the rights of the Palestinian people in Egypt, demanding a halt to the Press purges and calling for the release of all political prisoners.

Attention

7 Simultaneously, imperialism and Sadat have turned their attention to destroy the achievements of the Libyan masses and to overthrow Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, general secretary of the General People's Congress of the Social-

ist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah.

In July last year following an abortive Egyptian armed invasion of the Libyan Jamahiriyyah, the Workers Revolutionary Party and the General People's Congress signed a joint alliance pledging each party to a struggle against imperialism, Zionism, fascism and colonialism. (See News Line August 10, 1977.)

This conference fully endorses the anti-imperialist communique and reaffirms its determination to defend all the gains of the Libyan people in expropriating the oil monopolies and liquidating the military bases of British and US imperialism.

8 Our complete support also goes to the Eritrean liberation movement and the just and legitimate

struggle of the Eritrean people for self-determination. We completely oppose the annexation policies of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia and condemn the support this bloodthirsty regime is receiving from the Moscow Stalinist bureaucracy and Cuba.

9 We salute the freedom fighters of the joint forces of ZAPU and ZANU in the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe. We call for their armed victory over the Smith regime and the internal settlement stooges, Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau. The Zimbabwe masses are truly learning the lesson that there is no peaceful road to liberation or socialism which has been so criminally advocated by world Stalinist parties.

We place full responsibility for the civilian massacres on Smith, the sell-out black leaders and the British Cabinet which is the main defender of imperialist interests in southern Africa.

If the British government, either Labour or Tory, attempts to send troops to back up the fascist Smith regime, our Party will spearhead the campaign for General Strike action involving all sections of the labour and trade union movement to thwart this bloodbath of the Zimbabwe masses.

Perspective

10 Our support for national revolutionary movements is inseparable from our perspective of building independent working class parties as sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Such parties, based on the principles and teachings of Trotskyism, are the only guarantee of the final and complete liberation of the oppressed peoples, through the world-wide victory of the socialist revolution.

CONTINUED PAGE 6

PALESTINE — LIBYA — IRAQ — ZIMBABWE

THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

TODAY News Line continues the full publication of the main resolution adopted unanimously at the Third Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

This section of the document — 'The World Political and Economic Crisis, the Building of the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Struggle for Power' — deals with the struggle against imperialism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

The characteristic feature of the imperialist epoch is the uprising of hundreds of millions of colonial peasants and workers against the imperialist yoke.

This unstoppable movement, symbolised in the sublime sacrifice of Steve Biko and thousands more like him in the torture chambers and jails of imperialism, grows directly out of the economic slump.

Divert

For almost three decades imperialism was able to contain and divert the developing movement of national liberation which burst out on the termination of World War II by the policies dictated at Bretton Woods: by massive injections of foreign investment, higher prices for raw materials and the transfer of political power to the native bourgeoisie in a number of colonial countries like India, Ghana and Nigeria. Economic power however remained firmly in the hands of the imperialists.

Now the resumption of the slump which ended in the World War of 1939-1945 threatens the colonial and semi-colonial countries with bankruptcy and starvation and drives the multi-millioned masses of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East to armed revolt.

Inspired by the revolutionary victories in China and Indo-China the colonial peoples strive instinctively to break the chains of imperialist slavery and at the same time to put an end to their economic and cultural backwardness by expropriating the native agencies of imperialism which try to manipulate the national movement in their own interests.

Transformed

Everywhere the movement against national oppression tends to be transformed into a struggle for social liberation. The movement for national liberation becomes fused with the world socialist revolution.

In Africa — where fabulous mineral wealth and cheap labour combined with a primitive tribal economy enabled imperialism to establish unchallenged domination for a century — the days of imperialism are irrevocably numbered.

VICTORY TO WORLD STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

MAIN RESOLUTION



Youth training in Zambia to fight against Smith's white racist regime

Despite the initial victories in the Congo and at Sharpeville, South Africa, in the early 1960s, imperialism could not succeed in crushing the liberation movement.

Encouraged by the retreat of imperialism in Algeria, Libya, Suez and Aden and the crisis of the Salazar regime, the African peoples in the Portuguese colonies took up arms and threw out their Portuguese oppressors.

US imperialism for the first time was forced to stand and watch, frustratedly, whilst Cuban descendants of African slaves together with Angolan fighters destroyed the CIA mercenary armies and the tribalist forces of Savimbi and Holden.

The liberation of Angola and Mozambique, however, were only the prelude to the approaching revolution against the hated apartheid system in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

In these countries, the presence of an urban African working class and a numerous landless peasantry forced to live in 'Bantustans' under conditions of incredible deprivation and police repression collide ever more intensely with the interests of the racist white South African bourgeoisie.

In the townships of Soweto in South Africa and in Harare in Salisbury, the African workers and dispossessed peasants have defied the batons, bullets and teargas of the racist regimes and have expressed unequivocally their readiness to die and make any sacrifice necessary to overthrow the power of the mining monopolies and their Afrikaner and British agents.

OWEN-YOUNG PLOT

The armed struggle of the guerrillas in Namibia and Zimbabwe and the powerful

urban resistance in South Africa has sent foreign investment scurrying out of South Africa and reduced the credit-worthiness of the apartheid regime of Vorster



Black leader Steve Biko ... symbol of unstoppable movement

in the eyes of the international bankers.

Fearful of the approaching holocaust and desperate to protect its mining and other investments, Anglo-US imperialism has intervened and under the

Owen-Young plan, is seeking to utilise the weakness in the national movement to effect a compromise settlement. Such a settlement, if successful, would leave imperialist property intact and state power effectively in the hands of an African puppet regime.

Such a bourgeois regime however would not solve a single problem of the African masses. In any case the intransigence of Smith and Vorster on segregation and the intense repression unleashed by them on the working class and student youth would pre-empt the Anglo-American intervention and precipitate a civil-war situation in South Africa.

The Workers Revolutionary Party stands unconditionally on the side of the African working class and peasantry against the ruling regimes and their agents in the national movement. We support the Patriotic Front of Mugabe and Nkomo in so far as the Front continues

the armed struggle against Smith and rejects a constitutional compromise.

Only the armed overthrow of the capitalist state in South and Central Africa and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government can put an end to apartheid and restore the land to the peasantry and nationalise the mines, estates and factories. But such a struggle is an integral part of the British and European socialist revolution because of the extremely close economic and financial ties between South Africa, Britain and Europe.

THE PALESTINE REVOLUTION AND THE PLO

The highest point of the world revolution against imperialism today is the struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionism, Arab reaction, and US imperialism. The key to the strategy of US imperialism

NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

is revealed in the concerted attacks and the attempts to annihilate the Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

The importance of the Middle East for world imperialism lies in its vast oil resources. The strategy of Anglo-US imperialism in this area is dictated solely by its desire to protect the oil fields from expropriation by a radical regime. No better instrument existed for the imperialists than Zionist immigration. Thus after World War I and the betrayal of the Arab uprising Britain forced Palestine to accept the Balfour declaration encouraging Zionist immigration and land occupation. After World War II the reactionary task was completed under the aegis of US imperialism with the creation of the imperialist state of Israel.

The creation of the state of Israel in 1948 represented in reality the continuation of the second imperialist war; whereas previously British and American imperialism had fought the Axis powers to keep their hands off the oil supplies, now they turned on the growing movement for national independence and for the unity of the Arab nation.

The defence of its interests demanded the creation of a state completely dominated by the imperialists which could be used both as a watchdog of imperialist interests and a permanent armed threat against the Arab liberation movements.

Only a doctrine so utterly reactionary and prostituted to the requirements of big business as Zionism could have fulfilled this purpose.

Zionism grew up in a mortal battle against Bolshevism and drew its strength from the defeats and betrayals of the social-democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies, above all their inability to prevent the rise of Nazism in Germany. But today Zionism by itself is inadequate for the needs of imperialism.

Slump

With the transformation of the economic crisis into slump and the powerful upsurge of the working class and peasantry in the Middle East, imperialism is compelled to use every agency and every possible means to try and divert, repress and destroy the national movement in the Middle East.

The policy of US imperialism since the defeat in Indo-China is to abstain from direct military intervention and to rely on the intrigues and conspiracies of the native ruling classes and Zionists.

SADAT'S CRISIS

There is an unbroken chain of counter-revolutionary conspiracy running from Black September in 1970 under King Hussein, through the attempts of the Syrian dictatorship and the Lebanese fascists backed by the Zionists to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organisation in the Lebanon, to the visit of President Sadat to Jerusalem for talks with Beigun.

Sadat's foreign policy is an extension of his home policy which is based on a desperate effort to reduce Egypt's gigantic national debt and the spiralling inflation by ending the social-reform policies of the late President Nasser, by

de-nationalising industry and commerce, cutting wages and agricultural prices and hoping in this way to attract foreign capital and loans backed by the IMF.

To prepare for another war and modernise her military establishment as well as keep the civilian economy from collapsing under the weight of debt, Sadat's Egypt would need an estimated £5 billion in loans.

The USSR has refused to re-schedule the repayment of the vast outstanding debt incurred by Egypt in the last decade. Neither Europe nor the US are likely to loan the Egyptian bourgeoisie such vast sums after the workers' uprising of January 1977 against the IMF-inspired abolition of food subsidies. Lacking any large deposits of oil and mineral wealth and facing a hostile working class and poor peasantry, the Egyptian bourgeoisie dare not embarrass its imperialist patrons with pseudo-socialist and nationalist demagoguery.

Alliance

Instead it seeks to win the support of foreign imperialism not only by repudiating the alliance with the USSR, but by forming an openly anti-Soviet axis including Israel, Sudan, Morocco and Iran.

The object of such an alliance is to provide imperialism with military protection from the spread of the African and Arab revolution and to threaten the radical nationalist Arab states like Iraq, Syria, Libya and South Yemen and undermine the PLO — or worse still exterminate its leadership in order to cre-



Palestinian commando defending base in south Lebanon against Zionist attacks. The Palestinian struggle is the highest point of the world revolution against imperialism today

the survival of his class even if it means the beggary of his nation. But this is not Sadat's exclusive concern. The Israeli bourgeoisie also recognise that their survival is indissolubly bound up with a political deal with a section of the Arab bourgeoisie, and that war with Egypt at this stage would mean another oil embargo which would spell economic catastrophe for Europe and the USA and

policy is the world-wide slump. As Sadat admitted to the editor of the journal 'Events':

The question of the nature of peace was raised in my discussion with the US President. The official talks lasted three or four hours, and half of it was devoted to the nature of peace. They told me Israel wants normal relations, that is, open borders and trade. I said what trade? Our economic position is better

new turn in imperialist diplomacy.

But while the economic crisis leads the bourgeois rulers to seek accommodation with imperialism, it also brings the masses on to the scene as a force in their own right.

The strength of the working class and peasantry is directly reflected in the growth of the PLO and its emergence as the leader of the struggle for the emancipation of the whole Arab nation.

Since the battle of Karameh in 1968 when the Israeli incursion into Jordan was defeated by the Palestinian commandos, the PLO has overcome all the obstacles in its path, united the Palestinian people, and won recognition as their sole legitimate representative.

The hallmark of the PLO has been the armed struggle in the form of a protracted guerrilla war, the stress on the mobilisation of the masses as opposed to individual terror and the determination to carry the fight on to all fronts.

This struggle is epitomised in their rallying-cry 'Revolution until victory!'

The nature of the present period has led the PLO to ally itself closely with the working masses in Lebanon and externally to forge links with the sections of the International Committee, particularly the Workers Revolutionary Party.

There is nothing accidental about this alliance: it represents the unity today of the struggle for the secular democratic state in Palestine with the struggle of the working class for state power in the metropolitan imperialist countries.

Conversely this alliance has exposed the bankruptcy of revisionism which now emerges brazenly as the enemy of Arab liberation and Palestinian self-determination and the principle apologist of Zionism.

Not surprisingly the British International Marxist Group today supplements the State Department's crude distortions and slanders against the PLO with its own brand of subtle

sophistries and innuendoes whose aim is summarised in Brzezinski's racist taunt: 'Bye-bye PLO'.

At the same time these revisionists have backed the insidious campaign of the British Stalinists in the campuses to legitimise the bastard state of Israel and its genocidal attacks against Lebanese and Palestinians by defining Zionism as a progressive national liberation doctrine.

In the bloody Lebanese civil war of 1976 they gave



Libyan leader Colonel Gaddafi greets enthusiastic crowds

ate a Palestinian ghetto on the West Bank controlled by Jordan and policed by Israel.

The corollary to this counter-revolutionary scheme is a phoney peace with Israel guaranteed by US imperialism and backed up by US credits and armaments — with the lion's share going to Israel.

Sadat's main concern is

social revolution at home.

Saddled by one of the world's most inflation-ridden economies, harassed by a militant working class and menaced by the Palestine Revolution in the West Bank, Gaza and south Lebanon, the Zionist rulers are forced to adopt a conciliatory policy to Egypt and split the ranks of the Arab bourgeoisie. The driving force of Beigun's foreign

than theirs (sic). ('Events' December 30, 1977.)

It is these class interests of the Zionist and Egyptian bourgeoisie which lead Beigun and Sadat — notwithstanding episodic differences — to reach a settlement which will be directed principally against the self-determination of Palestine. The present war with the PLO and Lebanon is the direct result of this



Sadat ... counter-revolutionary scheme

unsolicited help to the fascists and the Syrian reactionaries by proclaiming falsely that the PLO had been 'defeated and isolated'.

LIBYA

THE capitulation to imperialist pressure of the Egyptian bourgeoisie — led by Sadat and followed by the butcher of the Sudan, Numeiry — and the de facto recognition of Israel are not in any way an expression of imperialist strength.

They follow directly from the insoluble economic and social problems which were aggravated by the 1973 war and have grown to monstrous proportions with the advent of the slump.

Both in Israel and Egypt the inflationary effects of a swollen arms budget, debased currencies and the fall in commodity prices, have all contributed to creating a pre-revolutionary situation in these countries.

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FROM PAGE 7

In Egypt the masses rose in January, 1977, and signally defeated the IMF-dictated measures relating to food subsidies. In Israel the October measures of the Beigin government which led to a massive jump in prices and indirect taxation has led to a series of strikes and anti-government demonstrations which neither the diplomacy of Beigin nor the hand-outs of US imperialism can halt.

Confronted by the spectre of a rising revolutionary movement and the break-up of the government-dominated labour movement in the two countries the Sadat and Beigin regimes have consciously put aside traditional differences to form a united front against the common danger of revolution.

Symbolic

The symbolic alliance of these two regimes is the clearest corroborative proof of the incurable weakness of Anglo-US imperialism. It can no longer rely on the Zionist mad-dog, it must also enlist the mongrel bourgeoisie of Egypt and the Sudan. But at the same time these imperialist-prompted overtures can only serve to exacerbate tensions within the national movement and push the most radical elements in the Arab national movement to recognise that the 'historical weapon of national liberation can only be the class struggle'. (Trotsky)

The historic betrayal of the Palestinian people's struggle by Sadat, prefigured by the unprovoked attack on the Libyan Revolution in May 1977, underlines in the most powerful way the correctness of the political bloc formed between the Workers Revolutionary Party and the General Peoples Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

This bloc, formed within the framework of strictly-defined practical tasks and with the retention of complete independence of our own organisation carried out a unique task in defending the Libyan Revolution and in warning the Arab peoples and the European working class about the altered tactics of imperialism and the counter-revolutionary content of Sadat's and King Khaled's foreign policy.

Joint

The joint communique issued by the two organisations on August 8, 1977, correctly pointed out that the indispensable basis for the achievement of imperialist strategy 'is the co-ordination of the policies of imperialism with the reactionary Arab regimes. US imperialism can no longer rely solely on its own Zionist creation, Israel. It is forced to rely on the reactionary Arab leaders of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Morocco.'

The sombre prediction made in the statement has been fulfilled: '... the treacherous policies of the Sadat regime exemplified by the Sinai Pact and the theory of "limited war" ... is the recognition of the Zionist entity of Israel, the denial of self-determination to the Palestinian people, the betrayal of the Arab revolution in Egypt and the achievements of Gamal Abdel Nasser.'

Contrariwise, the policies of Colonel Gaddafi and the Libyan Jamahiriya based on the radical nationalism and anti-imperialism of the late President Nasser inspires fear in the minds of the semi-feudal Arab bourgeoisie who see the ample reforms and rising living standards in Libya as a direct incitement to their own masses to revolt.

To the deprived fellahin and doubly-oppressed workers of Egypt, Sudan and the Arab Emirates the Colonel's call for 'Arab unity' has an exciting and irresistible ring. It connotes social security, land reform, nationalised resources, decent pensions, job security and a roof over his head.

Thus the defence of the Libyan Revolution is the defence of every progressive aspiration of the Arab masses and a blow against imperialism.

The vicious attacks of the revisionists against the Workers Revolutionary Party and their manifest refusal to defend Libya against Sadat's brutal assault reveals the deep, organic hatred and fear



Beigin ... united front with Sadat against revolution

which this motley and cowardly group bears towards the colonial peoples in general and the Arab national struggle in particular.

Revisionism consciously opposes the victories of the colonial peoples because it recognises instinctively that every such victory blends the national struggle with the social struggles of the metropolitan working class and gravely imperils the precarious stability of imperialism.

The alliance with the national liberation movements in Palestine and Libya flows directly from the revolutionary practice and theory of the International Committee and constitutes a tremendous political gain and a basis for the training of a revolutionary cadre and the building of sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International in a number of Arab countries.

Without an irreconcilable struggle against imperialist oppression, supporting always and without reservations the right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination, there can be no successful struggle for power in any imperialist nation. This struggle must be conducted with the methods of proletarian class struggle which are totally opposed not only to sectarian abstentionism but also to any kind of charlatan 'anti-imperialism' that subordinates the struggle for power in any country to the native bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie.

Publication of the main resolution continues on Page 10.

UNITED STATES

Workers League, the American Trotskyist party which is in political solidarity with the Workers Revolutionary Party, but forbidden to be a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International because of the reactionary Voorhis legislation:

'The Bonn summit which took place two weeks ago has revealed the new stage which has been reached in world imperialism where seven major capitalist leaders are powerless to stop the slide into slump, trade war, and uncontrolled inflation.

All of their statements that the economy could be stabilised have been turned upside down by actual developments.

Within days, the price of gold leaped to a three-and-a-half year high, and, yesterday, soared for the first time to over \$200 an ounce, while the dollar is continuing its collapse.

This is the speed of the economic crisis where the working class will be forced not just to oppose the government, but into a direct struggle for power to ensure survival.

Assassinated

It was in the unfolding of this very high point of the crisis 9½ months ago that our comrade Tom Henahan was assassinated by the combined agencies of imperialism on October 16, 1977.

Tom Henahan was 26 years old, a member of the Political Committee of the Workers League, a leader of the Young Socialists and a Party printer.

He was assassinated because the ruling class is terrified of the undefeated strength of the working class being mobilised politically behind revolutionary leadership. It was their way of telling us that we are the only ones who are capable of leading the fight for the social revolution. Therefore they must try to destroy us.

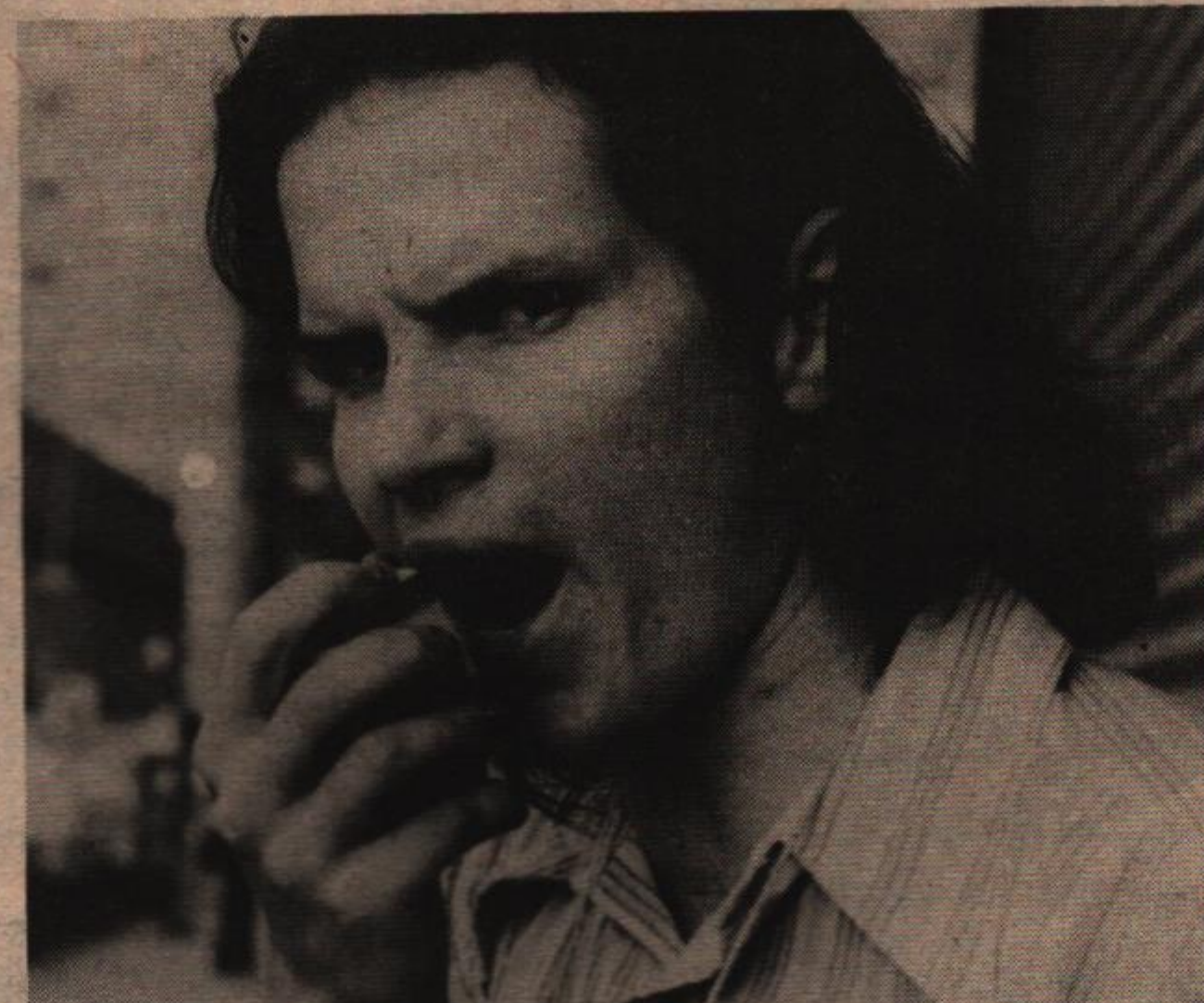
Tom was killed during the dockworkers' strike which was the first major strike under the Carter government. It was just six weeks before the miners' strike — and it was during the miners' strike that Carter was forced to reveal his hand to the entire working class when he invoked the Taft-Hartley injunction against the miners.

Carter was forced into this because of the growing momentum of the world revolution, particularly in the Middle East.

The strike was not just a trade union battle, but a political strike against the government. It was the first political strike in the US for 30 years.

FRATERNAL

Greetings to the Third Conference of the Workers parties of the International Com



Tom Henahan ... his murder will be avenged in continuation of his fight

Three miners were killed but the miners successfully challenged the laws, the courts and the authority of the President.

Workers everywhere were learning the lessons of the bankruptcy of the trade union leaders and the need to bring down the Carter government and to build a Labour Party.

It was during these political developments that Tom Henahan was assassinated. To this day, the police are continuing their cover-up of the killing, refusing to make any arrests or even release any photographs — even though they knew the name of the assassin one hour after it was done.

They have been aided by a virtual capitalist Press black-out, joined by the Communist Party, and most ominously, by the revisionist Socialist Workers Party.

We know this assassination was carried out to try to intimidate and disrupt our party and to intimidate the working class.

But the working class will

not be intimidated, as was shown in the miners' strike when they stood up to the threat of troops.

Neither can our Party be intimidated or frightened, as has been shown in the entire history of the Trotskyist movement and again in our Party's response to Comrade Henahan's assassination.

But this is the period we're living in — a period of assassinations, of attacks on every right and condition of workers and upon our Party, because capitalism is a doomed system.

Murder

The truth of this political murder will be uncovered. It is an essential part of the fight for power in the United States and of the world revolution.

It will be avenged in the continuation of Tom's fight — the building of the revolutionary leadership which Tom lived and fought for and for which he gave his life.

AUSTRALIA

SOCIALIST Labour League, Australian section of the International Committee of the Fourth International:

'We recognise that history has inextricably linked the Australian and British revolutions.

The mere fact that the British bourgeoisie has now installed in its non-elected Privy Council all the reactionary experience of Sir John Kerr — the man who sacked the Labour government in Australia in November 1975 — shows that the ruling class of both countries pool their resources in a common struggle against the working class.

Appointee

And, of course, this man sits on the Privy Council as an appointee condoned and confirmed by Callaghan's Labour government.

It is for calling to bring down this treacherous government that every other so-called left-wing organisation condemns the Workers Revolutionary Party as sectarian.

What they mean by 'sectarian' is that the WRP does not shrink from the central question being discussed at this conference — that of preparing the Party for the struggle for power.

This is also the central question that faces us in Australia and indeed in all the sections of the international movement.

In Australia, as internationally, it is the rapid deepening of the capitalist slump that drives forward the class struggle and raises the construction of a Trotskyist leadership as the

SPAIN

Liga Obrera Comunista (Workers Communist League), Spanish section of the International Committee of the Fourth International and the youth section, the Revolutionary Socialist Youth.

'This conference is being held at a time when the greatest revolutionary developments are taking place in the world working class, driven forward by the capitalist crisis.

The change in the role of the International Monetary Fund — turning it into a reactionary weapon against the international working class — means our sections in the different countries are even more united as the expression of the need to unite the world working class for the world socialist revolution.

The campaign 'Jobs For Youth Now' led by Euro-March 1978 was carried out by the European sections. Our demand is for the United Socialist States of Europe,



Spanish workers' demonstration after the death of fascist dictator Franco

and the recent Euro Long March is building new sections of the ICFI as the party of this world revolution.

This campaign is a part of and a response to the new political situation which brings together the best conditions there have ever been for the building of Trotskyism and the historic task placed before the proletariat today.

The task is the overthrow of capitalism and the establ-

ishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, uniting the proletariat of the oppressed nationalities with that of the advanced capitalist countries against the common enemy — imperialism. This task is today in our hands.

We are certain that this Third Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party is decisive for these objectives.

L GREETINGS

Revolutionary Party were brought by sections and sympathising
Committee of the Fourth International

most urgent question for the working class.

The days of Australian capitalism as the last frontier of the boom are long since finished.

Now unemployment hovers around the half-million mark in a country with a total population of 14 million people.

Wide-scale attacks on the most basic rights and gains of the working class have marked the recent period. A sharp example of this was the attack only a fortnight ago on tradesmen who work for the General Motors subsidiary in Australia. After a strike they were deprived of all holiday leave they had accrued until then for the year.

Overnight, hundreds of thousands of Australian workers found that what they regarded as a basic right won in bitter political and industrial struggle could be wiped away at a boss's whim.



Sir John Kerr ... reactionary experience

But the Australian working class is far from a passive observer in the face of these attacks. In recent weeks the list of workers who have taken part in a strike wave over basic questions of wages and conditions includes seamen, miners, transport workers, building workers and even the chauffeurs of government Ministers.

There is no doubt about the willingness of the working class to fight back against enemy attack.

Basic

But the most basic question for us is the building of a revolutionary leadership against the alliance of the right and Stalinist wings of the trade union bureaucracy who combine to oppose any independent action of the working class.

Our fight is to raise the political dimension of the struggle that the working class is now forced to take up. No single issue facing that class can now be resolved without the fight for the socialist revolution.

This requires the conscious fight for the development of dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of the working class.

In that light, these greetings are not just to salute the past work of the WRP and to support the struggle at this conference — but to pledge our solidarity in taking up that struggle ourselves and in building the world party of socialist revolution to lead the working class and its allies to the world October.



Engineering workers picket the Bosch plant in Stuttgart during their strike

GERMANY

Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter (Workers Socialist League), German section of the International Committee of the Fourth International:

"The West German bourgeoisie tries desperately now to defend its position on the international market against the collapsing dollar.

The post-war economic 'miracle', when a powerful and modern industry was built in West Germany on the basis of American credits, has turned into its opposite.

The biggest sections of industry are heading for collapse. AEG Telefunken, one of the symbols of the boom, lost 90 per cent of its profits within a few months. The shipbuilding, aircraft, and steel industries are carrying out mass redundancies.

Once again the

bourgeoisie has to rely on the social democrats to carry out the dirty work.

The Schmidt government is building up the police, the secret service and special sections of the army, and prepares all the means for police-military dictatorship.

But on the main question — to place the burden of the crisis on to the working class — the government cannot make one step forward.

Undefeated

The German working class is undefeated. It has gathered enormous strength. Eight million are organised in trade unions and this total is increasing every month.

A head-on confrontation between the working class on one side, and the Social Democratic and Liberal government on the other, is building up behind the scenes. And the working

class is not ready to go back one single step.

This was shown in the engineers' trade union congress where on every major question the social-democrat union leadership was defeated.

And it was once again shown in the spring, when 100,000 engineers went on strike for three weeks and called for national strike action which would have involved 4 million workers immediately. Printworkers also called for a national strike.

In this situation, the building of revolutionary leadership based on international perspectives and trained in Marxism is decisive for the victory of the working class.

We say there is a very close connection between the struggle for power in Britain and in West Germany. It will only be won by fighting for the United Socialist States of Europe.

derail the mass movement engaged in the struggle for power.

Through these agencies the ruling class unleashes its counter-revolutionary pressure on the working class.

We have now experienced the venom of the ruling class against the revolutionary party in the political murder of Comrade Tom Henehan in the leadership of the Workers League of USA.

It is in this context that the counter-revolutionary nature of revisionism can be fully grasped. All the revisionists who underestimate the economic crisis of world imperialism and worshipped bourgeois democracy bear the direct responsibility for the most brutal counter-revolutionary attacks of imperialism against the world proletariat.

Build

We are pledged to build the International Committee of the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution and we pledge ourselves once again that we are with you in the Workers Revolutionary Party in the struggle to lead the World Socialist Revolution.

Workers Internationalist League, Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International:

"I greet the Third Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party as a milestone in the building of the world party of the socialist revolution and in the struggle of the British and the international working class for power.

Every victory, every conquest of the Workers Revolutionary Party, of the Young Socialists and the News Line, is an invaluable source of inspiration for the world Trotskyist movement, the international proletarian vanguard, and verifies in practice what Leon Trotsky said 40 years ago:

'Only the Fourth International looks with confidence at the future.'

GREECE

Every new development of the world economic and political crisis underlines the correctness of the perspectives of the Seventh World Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International and the Third Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party — the rapid worsening of the economic chaos after the failure of the Bonn summit; the volcanic convulsions in Lebanon, in Cyprus, in Greece, in Turkey; the emergence of the world revolution from the Middle East and Africa through Europe and Japan, in the US imperialist metropolis itself.

Every new step of the world crisis and the world revolution confirms and extends the scope of the decisions of the Seventh World Congress which put the framework for the training of the cadres of the world party in the Marxist practice of cognition through a new internationalist practice based on three pillars: the Euro Marches, the alliance with the national liberation movements, the historical struggle on Security and the Fourth International.

The tremendous response of the European working class in the last Euro Long March, the authority and prestige the International Committee of the Fourth International is gaining among the national liberation movements, and the recent appeal made by the leaders of the Italian Stalinist party for political rehabilitation of Trotsky, prove that the struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International and the Workers Revolutionary Party for the historical continuity of Marxism has now reached a point where the highest theoretical consciousness of the epoch merges with the direct action of the oppressed masses.

On the occasion of the Third Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party we renew our decision for an unconditional commitment of the Greek section, its leadership, and every individual comrade to the collective struggle of the international working class and all the oppressed masses in this planet.

● Long live the Workers Revolutionary Party!
● Long live the International Committee of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution!

SRI LANKA

THE CENTRAL committee of the Revolutionary Communist League, the Sri Lanka section of the International Committee of the Fourth International:

"No compromise is possible for any section of the workers and peasant masses throughout the world today with the imperialist and capitalist system. Whether it is the working class in the metropolitan capitalist countries such as Britain, or the workers' and peasants' movement in a semi-colonial country like Sri Lanka, they are engaged in the very same struggle for state power.

The most determined and self-sacrificing struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO has revealed in the most certain terms the revolutionary vigour and tenacity with which the international proletariat fights back against world imperialism. This is the high point today of the struggle of the international revolution which achieved its first victory in Russia in 1917.

Capitalism is doomed internationally and all the

attempts to maintain any form of social equilibrium has aggravated the economic collapse of the imperialist system. It has brought the threat of civil war in each country and World War III closer.

This is clearly revealed in the transformed nature of the IMF interventions in all parts of the world. Here in Sri Lanka all the attacks on the living conditions and basic democratic rights of the masses are planned, carried out and supervised under the direct control of the IMF.

Ration

The right-wing United National Party (UNP) government, which came to power in July last year, has withdrawn the free rice ration from the majority of the population, throwing them into starvation. Now the IMF demands the complete annihilation of free health services, free education and subsidised transport facilities.

The debts incurred by the bourgeois governments in Sri Lanka during the period of the boom has now become a noose around the neck.

While the workers through their trade union organisations, and the peasants, even without any

such organisational structure, resist these barbaric measures with all their strength, the UNP government as the tool of the IMF is well on its way in preparation for a brutal dictatorship similar to the one in Chile.

No protest, no single issue agitation could change the counter-revolutionary pre-



Mrs. Bandaranaike ... revisionists joined her coalition

paration of the ruling class. The defence of even the most elementary rights of the masses can only be ensured by establishing the rule of the working class which is the only revolutionary force capable of implementing the socialist programme.

We, as the conscious part of the mass movement,

understand and fight for the development of strategy and tactics for power every single day on the basis of Marxism. This means the building of the revolutionary party as the conscious vanguard of the socialist revolution.

Influence

It means destroying the counter-revolutionary influence of the reformist, Stalinist and centrist bureaucracies in the working-class movements and to establish the alternative revolutionary party to lead the struggle of the workers and peasants for power.

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party which developed in the revisionist cradle of the Pabloite Unified Secretariat and joined the bourgeois coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike in 1964, now runs behind the UNP plan to form a National government as the caretaker government of the dictatorship.

This shows very clearly that the rotten ruling class has no other strength to confront the working class and the oppressed masses but for the support lent to them by these reformist, Stalinist and revisionist traitors who work might and main to

THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

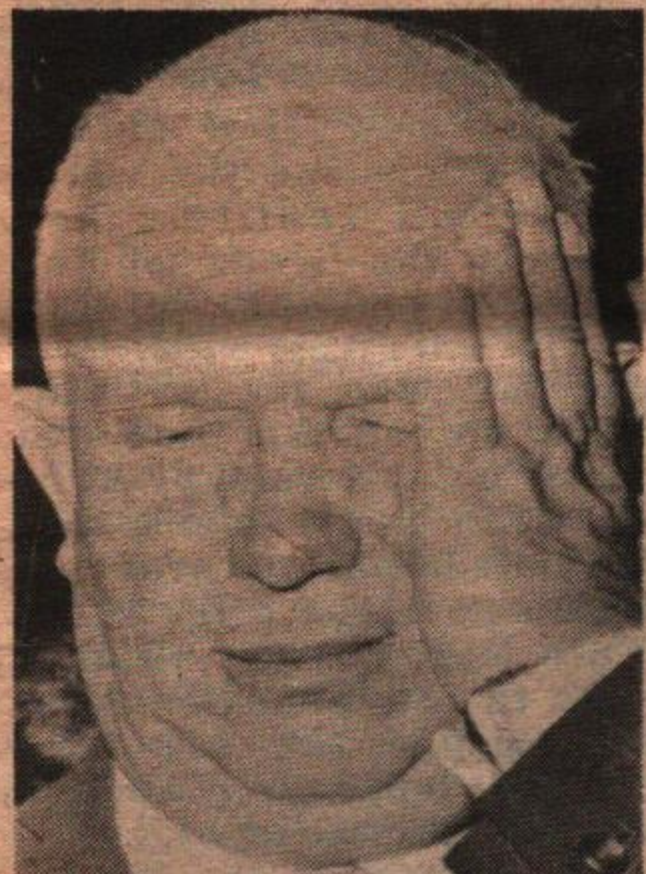
THE MAIN resolution of the Workers Revolutionary Party's Third Conference continued. This section deals with the continuity of the struggle to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the nationalised property relations established in the first workers' state.

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International defends the gains of October and calls for the restoration of workers' rights in the Soviet Union, the Eastern bloc and China by the political revolution to smash the Stalinist bureaucracy.

THE USSR

THE development of the world imperialist slump and the stagnation of capitalist economy stands in stark contrast to the dynamic growth of planned and nationalised economy in the USSR, China and Eastern Europe.

In the 60th year of its existence the USSR — despite a monstrous bureaucratic degeneration and the burden of a world war — still stands as an eloquent and imperishable proof



Khrushchev ... tried to loosen the reins

of the superiority of planned economy and nationalised production over the anarchy and crisis of private property.

But these developments, impressively grandiose though they be, do not signify that socialism has been achieved or that these bureaucratically deformed states are immune from the world slump of capitalism.

Nor, for that matter, do they give Marxists a licence to believe that there is no contradiction between the nationalised base of Soviet society and its bureaucratic summit.

Despite the fantastic growth of Soviet industry the central contradiction between the Soviet property forms and the inadequate development of the productive forces which do not give a socialist content to the property forms still exists.

This contradiction is constantly aggravated by the low level of agricultural productivity, shortages in raw materials and foodstuffs, huge armaments expenditure, massive waste of reserves caused by absence of workers' control and principally by the delay

in the extension of the socialist revolution beyond Russia's frontiers which has cut Russia off from the capital and technical resources of world economy.

The Soviet bureaucracy which arose as a parasitic caste on the basis of this contradiction has now become the cause of the USSR's continued isolation from world economy by perpetrating one defeat after another on the world working class.

In the name of socialism in a single country and 'peaceful co-existence', 'detente' and 'human rights', the bureaucracy repeatedly betrays the international working class and represses every creative initiative of the Soviet working class.

The dynamic development of Soviet economy and with it of the Soviet working class comes increasingly into conflict with the bureaucratic, administrative methods of management of Soviet industry and agriculture as well as the swollen privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Twenty-five years after Stalin's death the bureaucracy remains as mortally opposed as it was then to any political change and totally impervious to criticism from any quarter.

The Brezhnev regime and its new constitution epitomises the conservatism of this bureaucratic group and its deeply ingrained fear of any change as well as its determination to preserve the domination of the party bureaucracy at any cost.

Despite the increasing complexity and sophistication of Soviet economy and a huge increase in cultural levels and technical skills, the party establishment remains totally opposed to the slightest decentralisation of the economy — an indis-



Brezhnev ... fear of change

pensable precondition for the growth of productivity and the rational growth of productive forces.

Since 1957 when Khrushchev tried vainly to loosen the reins of central minis-

LONG LIVE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION



Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the Russian Revolution 1917

DOWN WITH THE STALINIST BUREAUCRACY

terial control and set up the Sovnarkhoz (regional economic councils) there has been no significant change — apart from an increase in investment in rural areas.

The pervasive fear of the working class influences every decision of the bureaucracy. Recent proposals to increase the power of managers to fix wages and sack workers for example were not implemented because the regime concluded that any independence for managers would lead to a corresponding demand for independence for the unions.

Fear of the working class and determination to hang on to the power usurped by the Stalinist counter-revolution remains the main ingredient of the bureaucracy's policies.

Because the bureaucracy is a parasitic caste — and not a new ruling class — based on the nationalised property it is forced to defend this social basis

against imperialism and restorationist forces within.

But the methods used by the bureaucracy are determined by their own caste interests and are based on the bloody expropriation of political power of the working class after 1923.

BUREAUCRACY'S ROLE

IT IS the monopoly of power which enables the bureaucracy to monopolise the distribution of the surplus product in Soviet society and defend and increase its material privileges. This means that within the USSR the bureaucracy cannot and will not allow any return to Soviet democracy and that there can be no self-reform of the bureaucracy.

The brutal interventions in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 as well as the bloody purges of East European Communists and the blockade of Yugoslavia from 1948-1956 prove that the bureaucracy can

only be reformed in its grave.

Only a mass uprising of the working class led by a Marxist party can put an end to the bureaucratic dictatorship and restore proletarian democracy in the USSR.

But it is in its external relations that the Soviet bureaucracy reveals its completely counter-revolutionary role, bargaining the interests of the international working class in order to neutralise the imperialist bourgeoisie and protect its own caste privileges from the attacks of the Soviet working class.

This does not prevent the bureaucracy from intervening, from time to time, in order to aid militarily the national liberation movements as it has done in Angola, Cuba and the Middle East.

But these forms of aid are inseparable from the diplomatic and military interests of the bureaucracy and are designed to pressure the national liberation

movements to reach a compromise with imperialism and preserve 'peaceful co-existence'.

Where the interests of the colonial people collide with this strategy and where the leaderships of the liberation movements like the PLO refuse to compromise, then the Stalinist bureaucracy acts with characteristic cynicism, denying them arms and arming their enemies in order to force them to the negotiation table.

This was the essence of Soviet Stalinist and Chinese Stalinist policy in Vietnam as well as the Lebanese civil war of 1975-1976.

The peaceful co-existence policy of the Soviet and Chinese Stalinist bureaucracies becomes even more pronounced today because the development of the working class and its demands for material benefits and political rights is forcing the bureaucracy to alleviate these pressures by pragmatic means: by enormously increasing the foreign indebtedness of these states through purchase of consumer goods.

The Soviet state is now one of the world's largest debtor countries. This in turn is creating inflation and a lower growth rate in these economies and is particularly aggravating the relations between agriculture and light industry on the one side and heavy industry on the other.

'DISSIDENT' REACTIONARIES

THE failure of the bureaucracy to solve the most important problem — the increasing of productivity in agriculture and light industry — endangers planned economy and generates restorationist tendencies whose interests at present are articulated by the so-called 'dissident' movement.

The leaders of these movements — Sakharov, Bukovsky, Amalrik etc. — make no pretence of hiding their call for the denationalisation of nationalised industry and collective farming because they are assured of tacit support within sections of the bureaucracy.

As the world capitalist slump deepens, these tendencies will grow and proliferate and take the form, possibly, of a legal opposition.

At the same time, however, there will be a growth of revolutionary opposition of the working class which will find a passive reflection in the lower echelons of the bureaucracy, what Trotsky referred to as the 'Reiss tendency'.

Between these groups there are numerous intermediate groupings of a reformist centrist character who gravitate towards bourgeois democracy.

While protesting against the crimes and injustices of the bureaucracy these petty-bourgeois groups' central aim is not to replace the dictatorship of the bureaucracy by the dictatorship of the working class but rather to liquidate the bureaucratic dictatorship, by bourgeois democracy. This would be the first step to the restoration of capitalist property in the USSR.

This is the role of the 'human rights' and 'dissident' movements. The

THE SOVIET UNION

denial of the democratic rights of workers to form their own parties, choose their own candidates and submit their own programmes in Soviet elections as well as the national oppression of minorities and the complete lack of control over production and management by the working class, facilitates the plans of the restorationist elements who are aided today not only by foreign imperialism but by the revisionist toadies in the Pabloite Unified Secretariat.

Worship

The obsessive worship of 'bourgeois democracy' by these enemies of Marxism leads them inevitably to embrace this reactionary tendency who principally hate and fear the working class and not the bureaucracy.

These movements of Soviet intellectuals bear no comparison to the movements of the intellectuals in Eastern Europe in the mid-fifties particularly in countries such as Hungary and Poland.

These groups, such as the Petöfi Circle in Budapest, identified themselves with the working class and fought implacably to defend the property relations established by the Red Army and to get rid of the bureaucracy and its instrument of terror — the AVO secret police as well as the excessive work norms in the factories and mines.

At no time did they demand the denationalisation of industry or the establishment of bourgeois democracy. The progressiveness of their aims was expressed in the workers' councils — the institutions of proletarian dictatorship.

This group of reactionary intellectuals however does not typify the Soviet intelligentsia. The growth of the Soviet productive forces has brought into being a progressive scientific intelligentsia which, since the relaxation of the GPU terror since 1956, has vastly enriched the natural sciences and in its research, experimentation and literature enormously extended and developed



The brutal intervention of the bureaucracy in Hungary 1956

the scope of dialectical materialism.

The achievements of this section of the intelligentsia parallel the development of the Soviet working class and come increasingly into conflict with the methods of the Soviet bureaucracy. Only through the political revolution of the Soviet working class and the flowering of Soviet democracy can full scope be given to the creative genius of the Soviet intelligentsia.

'PLURALISM' FRAUD

THIS concept is irreconcilably opposed to the fraud of 'pluralism' — i.e. a multi-party system of bourgeois democracy — called for by the Euro-

Stalinists and echoed by the 'Human Rights' movement in Eastern Europe and Russia.

Pluralism is the negation of proletarian dictatorship. Under the banner of an abstract 'democracy' the Stalinist pluralists propose to equate the votes and the representation of the working class with non-working class social groups and even anti-working class ones.

In backward peasant countries this would effectively dissolve the dictatorship of the working class in an ocean of petty-bourgeois backwardness.

Even in advanced countries such a proposal is no different from the policy of Kautsky who subordinated the Soviets to the bourgeois Constituent Assembly and the Assembly to the German

General Staff.

'Pluralism' in any language connotes a form of bourgeois state. It must be opposed and condemned.

The Workers Revolutionary Party stands completely opposed to any attempt to revise the socialist character of the property relations of the USSR and bring it into line with bourgeois democracy in the West.

Defend

We defend the Soviet Union despite its distortions from all forces, within and without, who undermine the property relations and the economic conquests of the Russian Revolution.

The main political task facing the working class is

the overthrow of the bureaucracy and the political regeneration of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

But such a task also presupposes the ability of the Trotskyist party to know how and when to defend the Soviet Union — including the bureaucracy — from the economic, political and military offensive of imperialism.

If the working class still tolerates the bureaucracy it is mainly because of the fear of a recurrence of world war and a renewed attempt at restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Therefore the Workers Revolutionary Party does not exclude in advance the possibility of a temporary bloc with the bureaucracy against the restorationists in the Soviet Union in the event of a concerted economic and political assault by imperialism.

Under no conditions however would the Trotskyists find themselves in alliance with the restorationists and 'human rightists' against the Soviet Union.

Although it would find itself temporarily the ally of Stalin, it would nevertheless defend not the Bonapartist clique but the social base of the Soviet Union, i.e. the property wrenched away from the capitalists and transferred into state property.

Should the 'faction of Butenko' (a fascist restorationist group in the bureaucracy) prove to be in alliance with Hitler, then the 'faction of Reiss' (named after Ignace Reiss — GPU officer who broke with Stalin and joined Trotsky) would defend the USSR from military intervention, inside the country as well as on the world arena. Any other course would be betrayal. (Transitional Programme, p.50)

The crisis of Stalinism and the disintegration of the apparatus of international Stalinism into national Euro-Stalinist segments is an unmis-

takeable symptom of an impending crisis in the Soviet Union with the prospect of powerful working-class struggles being unleashed against the bureaucracy.

The development of revolutionary struggles in the continents of Europe, America and Africa are giving and will continue to give a powerful impetus to the political revolution against the bureaucracy.

Such a revolution will put an end to the rule of the bureaucracy and restore to the Soviets their free democratic form as well as their class content.

It will end the reactionary bureaucratic mockery of Marxism expressed in Brezhnev's 'state of the whole people'.

It will revise the Soviet constitution in the interests of workers, Red Army men, youth and collective farmers and the bureaucratically oppressed national minorities and give the workers and farmers the power to formulate the economic plan in their own interests.

It will purge the Soviet foreign policy of secret diplomacy and base it on proletarian internationalism.

Soviet parties — those who accept unconditionally the conquests of the 1917 October Revolution — will be legalised.

The GPU will be brought to account. The Moscow Trials against the Old Bolsheviks will be investigated and all those responsible for these crimes still alive dealt with.

Every member of the Bolshevik Party executed by Stalin's GPU will be



Bukovsky ... a leader of the so-called 'dissident' movement

rehabilitated and the actions of this sinister organisation opened to inspection of workers.

Once again the banner of the world socialist revolution will fly over the Kremlin. 'There is but one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection — the party of the Fourth International.' (Transitional Programme.)

THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE

THE dramatic fall in the average annual growth in Russia's national income from 11 per cent to 4¼ per cent, combined with the world slump of capitalism and the increase in fuel prices has created new and intractable problems for the Comecon countries.

These countries were encouraged by the USSR during the boom to supplement the foreign exchange earnings of the Soviet bloc by orienting their economies towards the West, by exporting raw

CONTINUED PAGE 12



Soviet tanks move into Czechoslovakia 1968

FROM PAGE 11

materials and manufactured goods in exchange for food, capital and consumer goods based on long term contracts.

But the fall in raw material prices combined with currency chaos and inflation in the West after the 1971 measures of Nixon has placed crippling debts on these nations and forced them to rely on US imperialism for more loans and imports of food.

Poland, heading the list with a \$10 billion hard currency debt, has already applied to the US for a \$300m loan to be used exclusively for the purchase of grain — and with it, a short political respite from another food-price explosion and more riots.

In exchange for US aid and in response to right-wing pressure, a substantial section of the state retail trade is to be turned over to private ownership with private managers given tax concessions and freedom to make purchases from state wholesale firms.

Foreign trade in the East European countries is further exacerbated by the parasitic nature of trade agreements between these countries and the USSR which uses its economic strength and virtual monopoly on fuel supply to extract extortionate prices.

STATE CAPITALISM

THE defence of the nationalised property and planned economy of the deformed workers' states in Russia, China, Indo-China, Korea and east and south-east Europe remains the bedrock of our policy and perspective.

We are implacable opponents of the Stalinist bureaucracies in these countries because they distort and betray the great conquests of the working class.

These conquests are absolutely indispensable to the further development of the world revolution. Their existence — despite this bureaucracy — serves to inspire the working class and colonial peoples to struggle for their liberation.

In and of itself the preservation of state ownership of the means of production is of enormous progressive significance, inasmuch as with the aid of planned economy this permits of attaining a swift development of the productive forces ...

The development of the productive forces is the fun-



Trotsky addressing the Red Army

damental factor of human culture. Without increasing man's power over nature it is impossible even to think of destroying the rule of man over man.

Socialism cannot be erected on backwardness and poverty. The technical premise of socialism has taken an enormous step forward in the Soviet Union ... (Trotsky, 'Bulletin of the Russian Opposition', No.66-67, 1938.)

In the event of war the WRP will continue to unconditionally defend these property relations as the Trotskyist movement did in the last imperialist world war, by fighting to turn such a war into a civil war against the British bourgeoisie.

For this reason too we reject the 'third camp', 'neither Washington nor Moscow' theory of the State-capitalists which is a form of chauvinism. As in the Korean War of 1950-1954 this theory leads directly to the support of world imperialism and its war preparations against the deformed workers' states.

What is involved here is not just a political programme but an historical perspective based on the Marxist concept of our epoch — the final stage in the death agony of imperialism.

To reject the defence of

the Soviet property relations because the state does not correspond to an ideal and immaculate norm is to capitulate both to Stalinism and imperialism.

This is the method of the state-capitalist Socialist Workers Party and the Chinese and Yugoslav Stalinists — not to mention every leading bourgeois daily in Britain.

By false historical analogies and syllogistic tricks these state-capitalists not only equate the nationalised property relations of a workers' state with capitalism but also ascribe a progressive historic role to the Stalinist bureaucracies as a 'new class' destined to replace the capitalists for a whole epoch.

This petty-bourgeois theory combined with the equally revisionist fantasy of 'permanent war economy' assimilates two essentially different and opposed social systems, denies the crisis of imperialism and replaces the socialist state with a managerial state as the alternative to the capitalist state. Socialism becomes a mirage and the proletarian dictatorship a vulgar myth.

But invidious comparisons between the Soviet state and bureaucracy on the one hand and fascist states on the other — as the

Socialist Workers Party does — prove nothing except the reactionary eclecticism of these revisionists.

Forms of 'planned economy' and 'state capitalist' intervention in the imperialist nations are a product of the historical decline of capitalism: 'State capitalism strives to tear economy away from the world-wide division of labour, to adapt the productive forces to the Procrustean bed of the national state: to construct production artificially in some branches and to create just as artificially other branches by means of unprofitable expenditures.' ('The Class Nature of the Soviet State', page 14.)

In stark contrast to this decline and disintegration, Soviet planning economy — despite the waste and blunders of the bureaucracy and the burdens of war and rearmament — displays a dynamic growth in all sectors of industry and a progressive raising of living standards with every Five- and Seven-Year Plan.

Only an economy based on the satisfaction of human needs and not on the accumulation of profit and the value of its currency could generate such a continuous dynamism.

This growth — not accidentally — is not decisively

affected by the world slump of capitalism, the chaos of the monetary system or the anarchy of the market.

CASTE — NOT CLASS

SIMILARLY the revisionist attempts to portray the Stalinist bureaucracy as a new ruling class is reactionary and false. To these impressionists the means of production, since they belong to the state, appear to belong to the bureaucracy.

In fact such a relation can become legal and real and lead to the liquidation of the social conquests of the October Revolution only when the working class has been defeated in the USSR and on a world scale:

The proletariat has not yet said its last word. The bureaucracy has not yet created social supports for its dominion in the form of special types of property.

It is compelled to defend state property as the source of its power and its income. In this aspect of its activity it still remains a weapon of proletarian dictatorship.

The bureaucracy, furthermore lacks all the attributes of a ruling class while displaying all the vices of an oligarchy:

The bureaucracy enjoys its

privileges under the form of an abuse of power. It conceals its income; it pretends that as a special social group it does not even exist. Its appropriation of a vast share of the national income has the character of social parasitism.

All this makes the position of the commanding Soviet stratum in the highest degree contradictory, equivocal and undignified notwithstanding the completeness of its power ... (L. Trotsky, 'Revolution Betrayed', pp. 249-250.)

In line with this anti-Marxist theory the history of the Socialist Workers Party/International Socialists from its inception has been one of lackey-like crawling to Stalinist bodies like the misnamed Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

Rejection of the revolutionary nature of the epoch, which is implicit in state capitalism, finds its expression in every field of Socialist Workers Party activity and principally in its attitude to fascism, in the grotesque adventures in Lewisham and Ladywood in 1977.

The intervention of this group in those incidents is based on the bleakest pessimism, namely, that the threat of fascism is as potent and immediate today as it was in the 1930s.

Inevitably they exaggerate the strength of the fascists, play down the role of the coalition which is instigating racism and end up supporting the hated Public Order Act and the police in Ilford.

All the activities and campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party constitute a deliberate diversion from and an evasion of a principled struggle to bring down the coalition and mobilise the working class against the capitalist state.

Instead, through anti-Soviet and anti-fascist hysteria, single-issue campaigns and anti-Marxist syndicalism, the Socialist Workers Party tries to preserve the dominance of bourgeois ideology and left-reformist consciousness in the working class and the ghetto youth.

The considerable publicity given to this revisionist trend in the capitalist media is no accident. It is a conscious attempt to preserve the credibility of its anti-communist politics amongst backward workers and the petty-bourgeoisie.

In the case of the Chinese bureaucracy, the denunciation of the Soviet Union as state capitalist also serves as a cover for their diplomatic ties with the American imperialists.

The Chinese bureaucracy are the most fervent supporters of NATO and the EEC, and stand completely opposed to any Soviet intervention in the Indian Ocean, Africa or Latin America.

Their infamous support for the pro-American forces in Angola, their opposition to the national struggle of the Bengali people and their refusal to break off relations with the Pinochet regime testify to the reactionary consequences of this position.

This policy of the Chinese Stalinists threatens the very foundations of the Chinese Revolution itself.

The Workers Revolutionary Party's Third Conference resolution will continue in tomorrow's News Line.



The National Front under seige at Lewisham