

THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

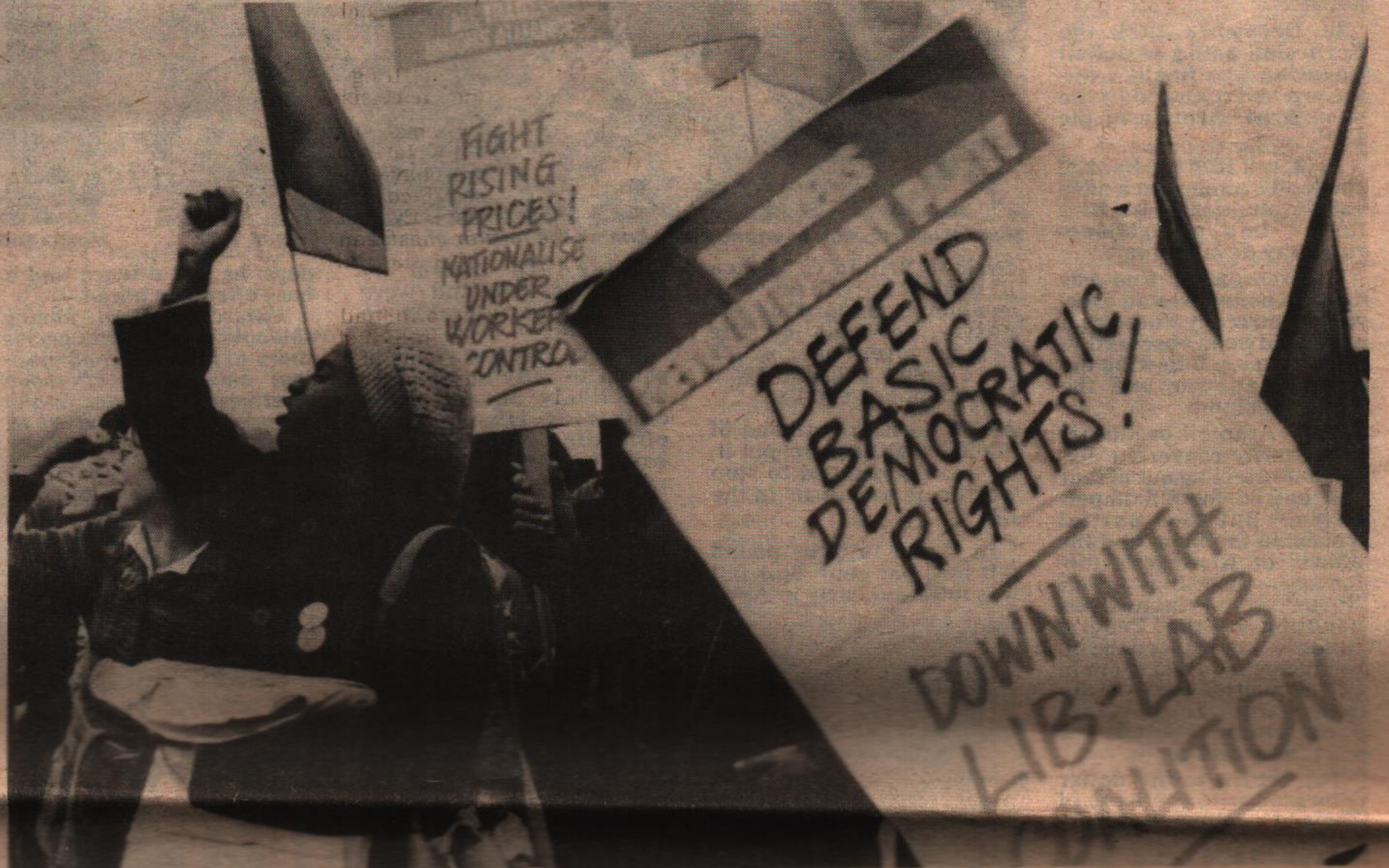
CRISIS IN BRITAIN

AN EIGHT PAGE
PULL-OUT SUPPLEMENT

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 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 News Line containing the first and second supplements can be obtained by contacting News Line in writing or by telephone.



Workers Revolutionary Party May Day demonstration this year

BRITAIN'S CRISIS

BRITAIN is the sick man of Europe. Britain never really recovered economically from the Great Depression and World War II.

Even before World War I Britain's decline was following a steep and inexorable course.

By 1914 Britain, despite control over a massive empire, the advantages of free trade, world industrial hegemony, a stable currency, powerful navy and army and an inexhaustible supply of cheap labour and raw materials, was conceding primacy to the USA and Germany.

World War I ended forever the commercial, industrial and naval hegemony of Britain and placed the British bourgeoisie in permanent dependence on the USA.

In the 1920s Britain's indebtedness to the US increased and the decline continued as steeply as before despite the victory of the Tories in the General Strike.

Chronic unemployment and industrial stagnation followed the abortive attempt of the Tory Churchill to reintroduce the sterling gold standard which prevailed before the war.

The Wall Street crash of 1929 and the Great Depression which followed in 1930-1931 served to dramatically underline the basic

structural weaknesses of British capitalism.

Free trade was buried forever. Protectionism, disguised as imperial preference, reigned supreme, and the sterling bloc was formed to protect what was left after the shambles of the return to the gold standard.

These measures and the cuts in unemployment pay in 1931 did nothing to halt the death ride of British capitalism or the enormous flow of gold to the US in the inter-war years and the unchallenged preponderance of US imperialism.

In World War II British industry and finance was temporarily saved by the provision of Lend Lease dollars supplied from the US.

Dependence

But this 'aid' was primarily designed to weaken British imperialism and increase its dependence on the US. The war provided the US with an unrivalled opportunity to implement its strategy:

The terms of Lend Lease were somewhat ambiguous. But the Americans interpreted them, not merely as excluding the United Kingdom from virtually every South American market, but as the abolition of the sterling area.

The American government was now... anxious to acquire much of the remainder of Britain's vastly depleted gold and foreign currency reserves, in order to make Britain the more amenable to American ideas... ('Britain and the World

Economy', J.M. Livingstone, Pelican Original page 148.)

Military victory brought economic disaster near when Lend Lease was concluded, no longer able to pay its way. As a result the war-time dependence on the US was resumed on the most onerous conditions.

The price paid for this assistance — convertibility of the pound by July 1947 — proved prohibitive.

Britain used virtually all her reserves and the US aid to rescue the pound after convertibility was announced — and concluded after 5 weeks.

A complete collapse of sterling was narrowly averted only by massive injections of dollar loans beginning in 1946 and, when these failed, the introduction of the Marshall Plan, accompanied in Britain by austerity, rationing, wage cutting, and finally in September 1949 by a 30-per-cent devaluation of sterling (from \$4.03 to \$2.80).

But even this devaluation failed to achieve its purpose, when raw material prices rose steeply after the Korean War and Britain's much-reduced industrial capacity failed to take advantage of the devaluation.

Devaluation sealed the fate of the Labour government of 1945, and the Tories came to power in 1951.

Thirteen years of Tory rule followed by six years of Labour government (1964-1970) and the greatest post-war inflationary boom did nothing either to cure the disease or even sup-

press the symptoms of Britain's decline.

Continuous inflation accompanied by recurrent fits of speculation against sterling every two years continuously raised the spectre of the 1947 devaluation and the July convertibility crisis.

Every minor expansion brought about a major explosion of industrial militancy and an added increase in wages.

CONTINUOUS DECLINE

Britain's vulnerability to foreign competition and the added danger of depleted gold and foreign currency reserves forced Labour and Tory governments to protect sterling by high interest rates and deflation.

This meant that there could be no sustained programme of capital investment and that the obsolescence of British industry would become a permanent feature soon assuming cancerous proportions.

The industrial decline — obscured by bank credit and inflation — compounded the problems of sterling and gave rise to sterling crises even when the currency was holding its own. Each successive crisis of sterling became more acute and would have assumed even greater scope were it not for the problems of the dollar from the early 1960s on which cushioned the impact of pound speculation.

The industrial decline of Britain now also meant that instead of traditional imports of food, fuel and

raw materials Britain was importing semi-manufactured and manufactured goods — and exporting a greater proportion of capital abroad where industry was more profitable.

As a result, balance-of-payments deficits doubled and the possibility of rescuing sterling became increasingly improbable.

Finally, 20 years after the 1947 devaluation (and in the wake of the biggest industrial dispute in the country — the docks' strike) another Labour government devalued the pound by 14 per cent in November 1967.

These actions were followed by a series of reactionary deflationary measures by the reformist Labourites in budget after budget, accompanied as usual by wage-cutting and exhortations to the lower-paid to practice austerity.

More and more the crisis of British economy and currency became intertwined with the world crisis of imperialism and the crisis of the dollar.

Devaluation was followed by the 1968 gold crisis and the years of currency-chaos which ended briefly in August 1971 with the ending of convertibility and devaluation of the dollar.

These measures forced the Tory government not only to float the pound in July 1972 but also to attack the trade unions on an extensive scale to protect sterling from sinking too far and keep it within the limits of the European joint currencies float against the dollar.

This policy, or rather the reaction of the working

class to it, brought down the Tory government in 1974.

However much US imperialism wanted the Tories in, the policy of Nixon and the Federal Reserve Board ultimately and paradoxically helped to bring Heath down.

It incidentally also put an end to the European currency snake and the prospect of the monetary unification of the Common Market.

Britain's entry in 1972 into the Common Market, 10 years after its first application to join, was also a direct result of the break-up of the world monetary agreement which heralded the coming trade war between Europe and the USA — not to mention Japan.

Whatever advantages accrued to Britain from entry, they could not compensate for the weaknesses inherited from the loss of empire, the effects of two world wars, countless colonial uprisings and a major depression.

The seventies brought no relief but compounded the weakness of British imperialism when the US ended dollar convertibility and the Arab oil producers ended forever the era of cheap fuel, in December 1973.

The first event forced Britain not only to float the pound in July 1972 but also to sacrifice nearly all its currency reserves in 1975-1976.

The second event forced the Tories to crash the economy in 1973-1974. It has never recovered since.

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THE IMF TRAP

1976 spelt the end of the era of state-subsidised reforms, characterised by the ever-growing public sector borrowing requirement and the increase in money supply.

More importantly, it signified for the first time the complete domination of economic and fiscal policy in Britain by the IMF and through it the Federal Reserve Board of US imperialism.

In December 1976, the Keynesian policy of deficit financing was finally overthrown and replaced by the monetarist theories of the IMF.

In March 1976 the Bank of England's attempt at a modest devaluation of sterling turned into a nightmare run-away devaluation.

The reason for this was that the pound was an overvalued currency whose real value had been obscured in the confusion following the Arab-Israeli war and the 1974-1975 slump.

Many Arab oil producers temporarily converted dollars into sterling out of fear and hatred for US imperialism. But the partial 'peace' in the Sinai and the effects of Kissinger's diplomacy — as well as Arthur Burns' stern monetarist handling of the Federal Reserve — convinced the oil producers to invest again in US securities and equip their large development programmes with US machinery and goods.

The return to the dollar coincided with the Bank of England's attempted controlled devaluation in March 1976 and precipitated the biggest fall in the pound's history.

The floating pound strategy, which was forced on the Tories in 1972 by the ending of dollar convertibility, exposed sterling completely to the vagaries of every monetary breeze blowing across the Atlantic.

When the devaluation storm broke in the spring and summer of 1976 the absolute weakness and bankruptcy of Britain was starkly revealed.

Sterling was helpless and the US bankers moved in ruthlessly to force a weak, impotent and incredulous Labour Cabinet to acquiesce completely to its demands and transform it into a brutal weapon against the working class.

First the US Treasury organised a \$5.3 billion standby credit which ran for six months and not a day more.

But at the same time the Treasury demanded that the loan be used immediately — not used merely as a means to deter speculators — and that any further loans must come from the IMF.

To ensure this, the speculation against the pound was intensified throughout the summer, thus not only forcing the Bank to use up the credit in supporting the pound but also forcing the government, on US instructions, to approach the IMF for a further loan, and put its head in the trap set by the US Treasury and the Federal Reserve.

In the same way as US imperialism exploited the Arab oil embargo and the rise in oil prices to weaken European capitalism, now, for the second time running, they used the currency

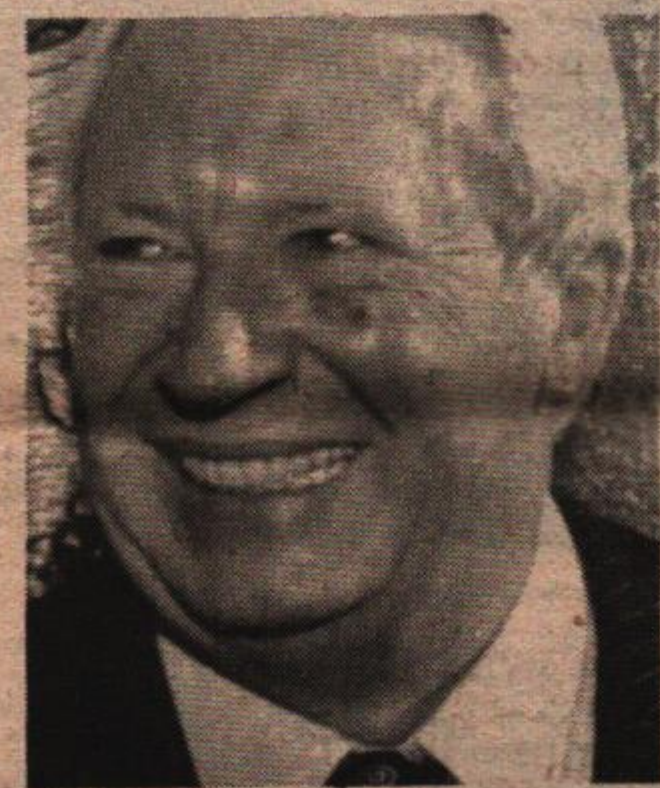


Mass demonstration of workers demanding the release of jailed dockers in 1972

crisis in Britain to weaken British capitalism and completely undermine the paltry reforms of the Labour government which were made possible by a liberal money supply.

As Dr Burns, then head of the Federal Reserve, put it, he was determined to stop 'profligate socialism' in the UK.

In March 1976 the pound fell by 6 per cent. This fall was followed early in April



Heath ... the miners forced him out

by a period of temporary stability.

But in late April and May the currency plummeted: In April it fell by another 4 per cent losing 2 per cent against the dollar in one day alone.

RUN ON THE POUND

The run on the pound was caused by many contributing factors, only some of which require mentioning:

- 1) The relative attraction of the dollar against a pound weakened by
- 2) A monthly balance-of-payments deficit of around £150m.
- 3) An upsurge of militancy after a quiet year of industrial struggles in 1975.
- 4) The decision by the major holders of sterling to take their money out of London.

Between 1974 and 1976 these investors had reduced the proportion of oil revenues received in pounds from around 30 per cent to 5 per cent — and even this remaining fraction was being converted to dollars.

This undermined the confidence of other sterling holders in the pound and the city.

- 5) In the same period the oil producers began to run down the huge sterling balances held in London.

From £3.5 billion in March 1975 they were

reduced to £700m by December 1975 and were reduced considerably in early 1976.

Every attempt of the pound to rally in 1976 was effectively squashed by countries like Nigeria offloading their sterling balances at frequent intervals.

- 6) Forward buying of dollars and selling of pounds by British companies, determined to minimise risks in trade transactions, added to the pressure of the pound.

- 7) Britain's reserves — reduced to \$5 billion in March-April — were already mortgaged by official borrowings abroad and could not be used to defend the pound. On the most favourable reckoning only £1,000m could have been made available.

- 8) No action was possible against the speculators. Bank of England action in the Euro-sterling market — the market in sterling deposits held in banks outside Britain — which in the past had proved successful now failed completely to push up Euro-sterling interest rates to make it difficult for foreign speculators to borrow external sterling cheaply to finance their sterling payments.

The Euro-sterling market had grown and the funds that the Bank could muster had shrunk.

Every attempt by the Labour government to evade the draconian terms of the IMF either by securing an international agreement to protect the sterling balances or to institute a two-tier exchange rate for sterling was foiled by the US treasury and the IMF.

The most traumatic point in those negotiations was reached when the head of IMF, Witteveen, personally intervened to end the shilly-shallying and procrastination of Callaghan in December 1976.

As the 'Sunday Times' reported:

The meeting, according to one report in Washington, was 'highly unpleasant'. Callaghan suggested that Witteveen would be personally responsible if democracy was undermined.

Witteveen replied that Britain simply could not expect special treatment. He explained that there would be no loan without some collateral, and the collateral would be the conditions ...

The Prime Minister curtly asked him to stay a couple of

days: he had a lunch and a busy afternoon ahead.

Witteveen refused, forcing Callaghan to rearrange his diary to fit in a second meeting; and at the afternoon meeting, Callaghan finally accepted that there had to be conditions. ('Sunday Times' May 26 1978).

The surrender of Callaghan to the IMF, however, could not have been possible without the total capitulation of the lefts, led by Wedgwood Benn, to the



Carrington and Whitelaw assembled all the means of state repression available to fight the miners in 1974

right wing and their decision not to create a Cabinet crisis and force a general election.

The left became the most influential proselytisers for the package they had originally opposed.

'We said to the Tribune Group, you are just going to have to close your eyes and walk backwards into the lobby.' And they did just that. ('Sunday Times' May 20, 1978, quoting a Labour Minister).

The acquiescence of the left and right to the terms of the IMF cannot be seen merely as another shameful episode in the shameful history of social democracy.

The vote of the parliamentary Labour Party and the Cabinet on the IMF conditions has had and will continue to have the most profound, direct and immediate repercussions on the basic rights and living standards of the working class, forcing it into direct conflict with the government, the trade union bureaucracy and the state.

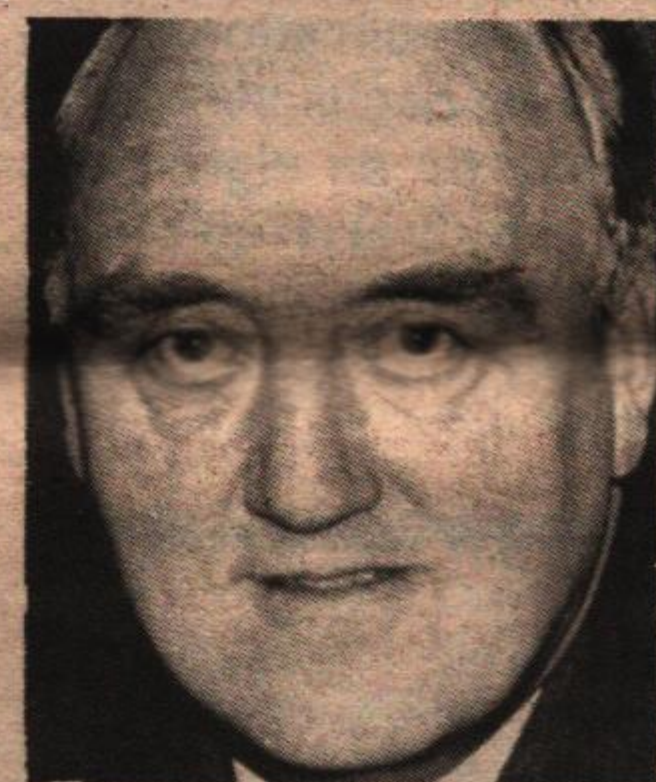
Already these decisions have meant an unprecedented large cutback in public expenditure which seriously affected the health and social services and the development plans of local government combined with the highest recorded bank rate — 15 per cent.

The high interest rate enabled the government to sell vast quantities of government debt — £74 billion

of gilt edged in the last quarter of 1976 — and mop up money supply to the satisfaction of the IMF, but it did not in any way change the level of investment in private industry.

On the contrary private industry went from bad to worse, from stagnation to slump.

Not only did the government cut back public expenditure from £11 billion to £8.5 billion in 1977



but, so great was the concern for the IMF, that the government, by a stringent application of cash limits, undershot even these pared-down estimates. As the Bank of England's quarterly survey stated: 'The PSBR (public sector borrowing requirement) in 1977-1978 is now estimated to have been £5.6 billion, nearly £3 billion below the original estimate despite additional expansionary measures during the year.'

'The 1977-1978 out-turn represented a substantial fiscal tightening' (p.153 — Economic commentary — Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin)

In other words, the actual cut amounted to more than £6 billion in public expenditure!

Rectify

When the Labour Cabinet tried to rectify this cut by a small increase in public expenditure in its 13th Budget this year, the Tories combined with the City to prevent the government selling gilt edged and funding its expenditure, and ultimately forced the government to introduce a 14th Budget which pushed the bank rate to 10 per cent and placed a corset on bank lending, thus ensuring an increase in bankruptcies and unemployment while also trimming public expenditure.

The Labour government,

as the revelations in the 'Sunday Times' showed, cannot free itself from the IMF and the Bank of England control, no matter what it does.

The decisions of the IMF are irrevocable. They demand, unconditionally, the destruction of basic democratic rights which can only be secured by the imposition of police dictatorship.

These decisions and the subsequent events mark a qualitative leap transforming Washington into the greatest instigator of revolution, and the Labour bureaucracy into the open and unashamed instrument of imperialist reaction.

The bringing down of the Labour government and the building of the Workers Revolutionary Party and Young Socialists in the struggle for power are now the most urgent tasks facing the Third Conference of the Party.

Anyone who doubts this conclusion or opposes it in practice must become transformed into a direct instrument of the Labour bureaucracy and the IMF. There is no third road.

REFORMIST MEASURES BANKRUPT

The consequent indebtedness of British industry, inflation and the high price of credit effectively wiped out any prospect of growth.

The measures of the reformists have accentuated the decline of industry and the parasitism of finance capital.

A complete collapse has been narrowly averted only through the massive intervention of the state in such industries as cars, computers and shipbuilding.

Despite years of stringent pay controls and cuts in consumption and increased taxation, the economy remains stagnant. Huge cuts — over £4,000m — in public expenditure, designed to shift resources to private industry, have failed dismally and only fed speculation.

These deflationary policies (backed by the IMF loan) have attracted an unprecedented large volume of 'hot money' which has quintupled Britain's reserves to \$20,000m.

This surfeit of 'wealth' however is entirely fictitious because it is based not on any sudden upsurge of production or growth of

CRISIS IN BRITAIN



Miners' flying picket during their 1972 strike

investment but on precisely the opposite, the weakening of domestic demand, economic stagnation and the decline of welfare services.

This has benefitted the foreign and domestic speculators who have used the social contract, the Basle Agreement on sterling and the chronic unemployment to make a massive 'killing' from sterling's appreciation through capital gains on government gilt-edged stocks and in the share market.

In addition to this there exists the prospect of a massive profit-taking operation emerging from another organised run on the pound in the event of a major political shock or industrial defeat for the government.

The government and Treasury have officially entered into this conspiracy by persuading the Bank of England to open a special Euro-Sterling account to allow City jobbers to speculate on Euro-sterling bond issues.

As usual, this organised gangsterism is covered up by Labour leaders and Treasury officials with cynical exhortation to the working class to sacrifice living standards and preserve the value of the currency which is already being debauched by the bourgeoisie.

Abolish

Not satisfied with the calculated gouging of the currency, the bourgeoisie have now forced the government to abolish many exchange regulations in order to facilitate British long-term investments abroad as well as speculative movements of capital.

This unprecedented move is based on the facile theory that the reserves, consisting largely of short-term, 'hot money' deposits, can be used as government security to facilitate long-term loans and investments by British banks and finance houses.

In doing this however, the Bank of England is repeating the practice of the 1920s and could be laying the basis for another bank crisis greater in magnitude than 1929 and more devastating than the crash of secondary banks in 1973-1974.

Even if this did not arise it would not exhaust the perils of the British pound.

The continuing appreciation of the pound, combined with the deliberate depreciation of the dollar

contains even greater dangers for British capitalist industry than those inherent in the previous policy (1975-1976) of increasing British export competitiveness by uncontrolled depreciation of sterling and the running down of reserves.

The increase in the price of sterling now threatens to price British goods out of export markets, reduce profit margins and threatens British exporters to the US with huge losses because of the devaluation of the dollar, the principal trading currency.

THE DOLLAR TREADMILL

THE privileged position of the dollar, which enables US imperialism to hold Europe to ransom, derives from failure of Britain and the other EEC countries to adopt an alternative currency unit to the dollar — a failure which cannot be remedied under capitalism.

This weakness now means that Europe and the UK have to subsidise the massive US deficit (i.e. keep the dollar from falling by purchasing dollars on a huge scale) or face the prospect of complete ruin in the developing trade war between Europe and the US.

The recent tactical change of the US Federal Reserve in intervening in money markets does not change this position at all but in fact compounds it.

The monetary agony of the Europeans and the disastrous implications of US policy for Britain were summed up thus in the 'Financial Times':

Weak currencies are those which are being created faster than they are used at home; and for 1977 that meant predominantly the dollar...

Now however the Administration is concerned about the international value of the dollar, and has turned interventionist itself; and in financial terms this means that the Fed, instead of stopping the creation of excessive dollars, is asking foreign central banks to supply funds with which to buy them up — both in New York and other centres. It is in effect asking foreign central banks to take on its own role of controlling the creation of dollars. (emphasis added)

This crazy policy in effect perpetuates the flows, and is leading to a situation in which the US banking system is becoming over-extended...

Confidence is destroyed in New York while in other

centres excess liquidity is squeezing margins; and the efforts of the authorities (i.e. Central Bank) to fund the huge rise in their dollar claims is dislocating the bond market. A failure in the bond market could even lead to the inflation everyone fears — especially in the UK. ('Financial Times', 'An Excess of Recycling', February 6, 1978)

If the US is now supporting the dollar in a way that perpetuates its weakness and hampers European economy by forcing Europe to exchange good currency for bad on a colossal scale it is primarily because US capitalism can adopt no other course.



Workers Revolutionary Party demonstration on 'he night that Heath resigned in 1974

Any attempt to cut back on liquidity and to reduce drastically and immediately the size of the current account deficit and the trade gap in the US would have revolutionary repercussions in the US and precipitate a world-wide catastrophe.

The outlook for Britain and Europe therefore is continuing decline and rapidly increasing inflation and unemployment consequent on the flood of dollars swamping European money markets.

The implications for the working class in Britain are obvious: state control of pay must become a permanent policy of the coalition regime and the government must sooner — rather than later — revert to the policy of Baldwin and Churchill in 1925-1926 of demanding and trying to impose wage cuts in order to overcome the lack of export competitiveness created by an overvalued pound and an undervalued dollar.

At the same time bankruptcies have reached record proportions. Neither

the NEB, 'workers' participation', nor state subsidies, can revive dying industry. Production in manufacturing industry in the second quarter of 1977 fell by 6 per cent annual rate to a level well below that of the three-day week. Present investment in British industry is less than in 1970. The combination of inflation and unemployment is transforming the consciousness of the working class and creating a revolutionary temper amongst many sections of workers.

THE STATE AND THE BOURGEOISIE

BUT the decline of British industry does not proceed in an automatic and straight-line way.

The bourgeoisie consciously and continually fights to prevent and interrupt this process by disrupting political relations and creating a state structure which corresponds more closely to its specific class interests and enables it to discipline the working class.

In the period of the post-war inflationary boom the British bourgeoisie continued to nurture every possible illusion in the parliamentary system and the sanctity of constitutional rule.

Executive action was confined to Ministerial action in labour disputes. Only rarely was the judiciary involved in industrial disputes.

fered by the dockers in July 1970 and the defeat of the postmen's strike in early 1971 by the government encouraged the belief in Tory circles that nothing — not even a general strike — could halt the Tory government.

But the historic defeat of the Tories at the hands of the miners, the battles of Saltley Coke Depot and the release of the imprisoned dockers from Pentonville jail in the summer of 1972 proved to the Tories that legislation and an electoral mandate alone could not solve the problem of smashing the unions.

Moreover the emergence of the mass flying picket in the course of the miners', dockers' and builders' strikes revealed that no legislation could control the unleashed combativity of the class.

These experiences led to a deep division within the Tories and revealed for the first time since the Curragh mutiny, which overthrew the Liberal regime of 1913, the assertion of authority by that section most closely tied to the landed aristocracy and through them to the top echelons of the armed forces, the Church and the monarchy.

The emergence of this group — led by Lord Carrington and Whitelaw, Ulster overlord and administrator of 'direct rule' dictatorship, was itself symptomatic of the near civil war situation created by the miners' strike.

In the period of the boom

occupied a powerful political position exercised through the House of Lords and the Monarchy, and based on its ownership of vast areas of land on which much of the industrial capitalists' mines and factories are situated.

These 300 aristocratic families, together with a few thousand of the landed gentry, owned four fifths of the land of the UK at the end of the last century.

Although shorn of much of their property by war, slump, taxation and the legislation of Labour governments the relative political weight of this social group has, paradoxically, increased because of the absolute decline of British industry and, with it, of the industrial bourgeoisie.

The unique nature of this group was first analysed by Marx in his review of Guizot's book on the English revolution:

This class of large landowners allied with the bourgeoisie, which, it may be added, had already arisen under Henry VIII, was not, as were the French feudal landowners of 1789, in conflict with the vital interests of the bourgeoisie but rather in complete harmony with them.

Their estates were indeed not feudal but bourgeois property. On the one hand, they provided the industrial bourgeoisie with the population necessary to operate the manufacturing system, and on the other hand, they were in a position to raise agricultural development to the level corresponding to that of industry and commerce. Hence their common interests with the bourgeoisie: hence their alliance. ('Survey from Exile', Pelican Marx Library, p.255)

With the Reform Bill of 1832, the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the defeat of the Tories who represented large landed property and protectionism, Marx concluded that the landed aristocracy had been 'forced to sign its own death warrant and to admit before the whole world that it is no longer destined to govern England'. (Ibid. p.283)

Prognosis

Subsequent events, as Trotsky pointed out however, did not entirely corroborate Marx's prognosis:

At the beginning of the 1850s Marx thought the Conservative Party would soon quit the scene and that political developments would follow the line of a struggle between Liberalism and socialism. This perspective presupposed a rapid and revolutionary development in Britain and in Europe...

But Marx's prophecy was made on the very eve of a new period of rapid capitalist development (1851-1873)

... The inner contradictions of the ruling class took on the appearance of a struggle between the Liberal and the Conservative parties of Free Trade

Over the course of the next half century the doctrine of Free Trade seemed to be an immutable programme. Accordingly the leading role belonged to the Liberals

... From the beginning of the 1870s the pattern was upset.

Free Trade was discredited; a protectionist movement set in, the bourgeoisie was increasingly seized by imperialist tendencies.

Within a few decades the classical party of the indus-

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Scandals

The selection of Lord Home as Tory leader following on the Profumo scandals was another.

In general however the aristocratic right wing maintained a low profile, allowing the bourgeois-industrial and banking wing of the Tories to court the Labour bureaucracy and accumulate capital, so long as this was possible.

For almost three centuries this group has

The attempt to implement this strategy of course proved more difficult than when it was conceived.

The initial setback suf-

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trial bourgeoisie had cracked. World War I and the Russian Revolution finally and definitively ended this epoch.

In fact, the imperialist war, from which even the sacred regime of Free Trade could not save Britain, inevitably strengthened the Conservatives as the most consistent party of imperialism. (*Trotsky's Writings on Britain*, Vol 2, pp.13-14, New Park Publications)

The defeat of the Liberal bourgeoisie and the return of the Tories after 70 years brought with it the strengthening of the alliance of the financial bourgeoisie and the landed interests represented by the aristocracy and the gentry.

The 1850s were negated.

Now in the period of the death agony of the empire and the revolutionary upsurge of the working class this group of parasitic reactionaries have emerged from their privileged sanctuaries in the shires to openly organise the forces of counter-revolution.

In 1974 Carrington and Whitelaw had assembled all the means of state repression then available to fight the miners.

But their plans were seriously disrupted by the onset of an unprecedented and totally unexpected disaster: the Arab oil embargo and the quadrupling of oil prices following on the October 1973 war.

RE-ENTER THE STATE

FACED with a major war on two fronts the Tories resigned — but the process which began with the setting up of the NIRC did not end.

It was temporarily suspended until more favourable circumstances arose. After a brief lull the activation of the military and police has acquired even greater scope than in 1974.

The use of the SAS at Heathrow, the temporary occupation by the army of the Colleyhurst industrial precinct in Manchester and the mammoth mobilisation of police to intimidate anti-fascists in Levenshulme and Tameside are a direct continuation of this policy.

The scope of the military preparations for dictatorship in Britain was underlined in detail in a report which bears out fully the warnings of the Workers Revolutionary Party in 1972 and 1974.

Modern warfare is as much about maintaining internal security as global super-power confrontations, and the present Labour government has given particular attention to re-defining the role of the military in internal security.

Following the destruction of the Heath government by the miners' strike in 1974, Labour laid down three ways in which the military can intervene in civilian life — and particularly in strikes and civil disturbances.

The first is providing Military Aid to the Civil Community (MACC) — helping in natural disasters such as earthquakes or hurricanes; the second is Military Aid to the Civil Ministries (MACM) — a polite name for strike-breaking, where assistance is provided directly to government departments in keeping important supplies moving or services operating (breaking the recent firemen's strike was MACM); and the third is

Military Aid to the Civil Power (MACP) — in which troops are used in their historical role of keeping the ordinary population under control, as in northern Ireland.

The Labour government is now openly using troops to break strikes, more so than any government in recent times.

Responsibility

And although law and order still remain the responsibility of the police, there are now very precise procedures for calling in the military if needed.

In addition to their other duties, units of the army, navy and RAF in London are all prepared for operations against the civil population. (*Time Out*, June 23-29, 1978, reprinted in *News Line*, June 29 and 30, 1978)

The election with a narrow majority of a treacherous reformist Labour government on the basis of a victorious industrial dispute and in the context of an unprecedented inflationary crisis only deepened the crisis of reformism and did not satisfy any of the demands of the working class.

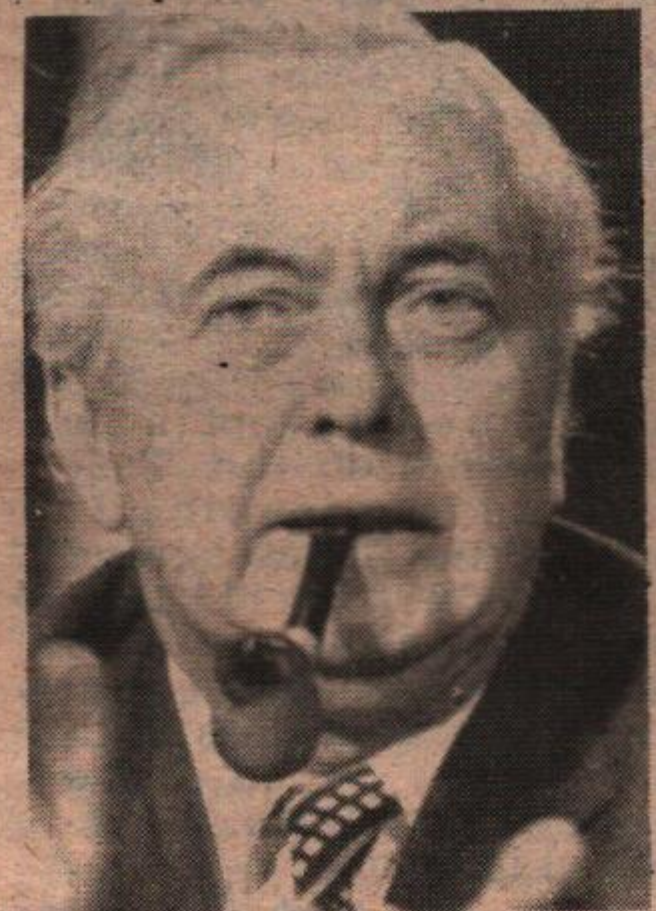
From its inception the Wilson Labour government set out to curb the unions and cut consumption levels with the help of the TUC.

The transformation of the Wilson Labour government into an open tool of the IMF and monopolies was reflected not only in its attacks against the unions and social services but also in a series of scandals involving the closest associates of Wilson himself.

These scandals afford an interesting insight into the degeneration of social democracy's leadership.

The inflationary boom and the abundance of fictitious capital and credit that accompanied it provided a substantial basis not only for speculation but for every manner of swindling, graft and corruption.

Much of this was made possible through the con-



Wilson ... had to resign

tacts between sections of big business and the reformists in local and central government.

The attempts of the reformists to administer capitalism in the boom inevitably sucked them into the whirlpool of corruption and swindling.

Lockheed, Poulson and Peachey — to name some — will stand as monumental evidence of the scale of reformist corruption.

In March 1976 the business associations of Wilson and the continuing crisis of the pound combined to force Wilson's resignation in favour of a new type of leadership which had the complete confidence of the

bourgeoisie. This was Callaghan.

What is clear about the three years of Labour and coalition rule is the increasing reliance on the very state forces which tried to crush the miners and the systematic strengthening of the arbitrary powers at their command.

The raid on the Workers Revolutionary Party education centre in September 1975, the torture of Irish political prisoners, the frame-up of industrial and nationalist militants, the deportation of radical journalists, the close collaboration of the government with the CIA, reveal a deliberate escalation of state activity to intimidate and terrorise left-wing opposition to the regime.

THE NAFF

THE actions of the coalition regime have undoubtedly encouraged the emergence of ultra-right-wing groups like the National Association For Freedom (NAFF) with close contacts in the state apparatus and the Tory Party.

Recognising the impotency of Parliament and the legislative paralysis of the Labour Cabinet, these sections of the ruling class are consciously preparing for and working towards the complete collapse of parliamentary rule when the power will be transferred to the Privy Council, Whitehall bureaucracy, the monarchy and the general staff.

The intervention of the NAFF in the South African mail boycott by the Union of Post Office Workers and at Grunwick's and its resort to the use of the judiciary is deliberately aimed to foster a constitutional crisis, spike Labour's legislation on industrial relations and secure the appointment of a regime responsible to the monarchy and the Privy Council.

The emergence of the NAFF also testifies to the insoluble crisis of the Tory Party, a fact which was clearly noticeable at the recent Tory Party conference, when the Tories were unable to come out with a clear and unified policy even on the closed shop.

But this crisis is integral to the attempts of the big bourgeoisie to resolve the political crisis by extra-parliamentary means.

This must not be seen as an episodic trend. If the bourgeoisie are forced to adopt 'strong' measures it is precisely because of their enormous historical weakness and vulnerability which they cogently express through the coalition.

The Liberal-Labour coalition cannot solve the problem of falling profit rates, but it can and will try to put burdens on the working class.

THE COALITION

THE Labour leaders in the coalition no longer rest on the working class.

For almost three years the government has ruled not by the consent of the working class but by reliance on the most reactionary elements in the Tory, Liberal, Scottish Nationalist and Ulster Unionist parties at home and with the endorsement of the European and US bankers abroad.

The government has not



Troops on manoeuvres at Heathrow in July this year

hesitated at any time to attack pickets and insult workers who defy its wage-cutting policies. More significantly it has openly defended fascist mercenaries fighting against the progressive regime in Angola and covertly permitted anti-working class, para-military bodies to recruit and organise openly in the UK.

As the dossier of mercenary leader John Banks admitted, these emissaries of murder and anti-working class intrigue now operate in close collaboration with the Special Branch and intelligence services of the state.

Compromise

The reformist Labourites — previously the instruments of class compromise — are now open agents of attack on the basic democratic rights of the working class.

The continued existence of the coalition fraud carries with it great dangers for the working class because it obscures the conspiracies of the army, police and right wing.

These events corroborate the prediction of Trotsky in 1935:



Callaghan ... a new type of leadership

There is no way to salvation through capitalism. The coming into power of the Labour Party will have only this meaning for progress, that once more it will show — infinitely more clearly than before — the bankruptcy of the methods and illusions of parliamentarism amidst the crumbling ruins of the capitalist system.

And so the absolute need for a new, a truly revolutionary party will stand forth clear-cut before our eyes. (Preface to English edition 1935 'Terrorism and Communism', New Park Publications)

It only needs to be added that the cowardice and reticence of the parliamentary Labour 'lefts' has underlined this conclusion indelibly.

THE WORKING CLASS AND REVISIONISM

THE working class, as the firemen's dispute proves, is entering the struggle with unequalled determination and combativity born out of desperation.

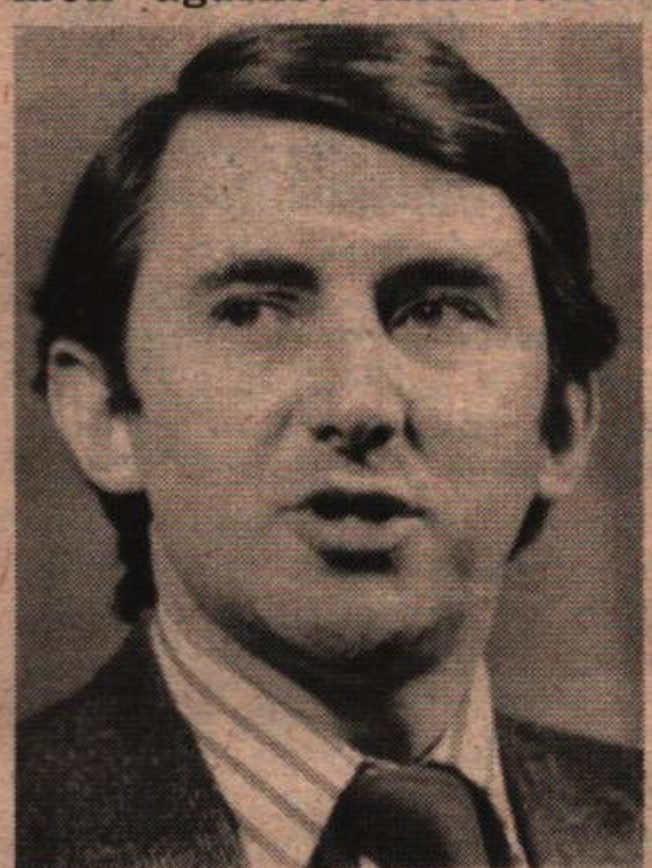
It has suffered some of the biggest cuts in its living standards for a century and experienced the greatest betrayal since the coalition of 1931.

But this is not 1931. Behind the firemen stands the colossal revolutionary experience of the world working class in the post-war era and the historic defeats of imperialism.

Thus what is being staged is not a repetition of previous wage struggles but a revolutionary confrontation between the working class and the Labour-Liberal coalition.

The chief programmatic plank of the Callaghan-Steel band — the 10-per-cent wage norm and the 12-months standstill — is being challenged.

The heroic struggle at Grunwick's, the powerful movement of the miners to secure their wage claim, the adamant stand of the firemen against Ministerial



Steel ... Liberals entered the coalition

threats of troops and Press hysteria, the 22-per-cent settlement at BOC, and the above-norm settlements at Heathrow, Vauxhalls and in road haulage — have knocked holes in the government's strategy.

Never has this coalition been more vulnerable to the offensive of the working class, never have its prospects for survival been more insecure.

If the return to free collective bargaining is pregnant with revolutionary content, then it is just as true that the content of the trade union leaders' politics is completely counter-revolutionary.

The bureaucracy senses the hopelessness of its own

position and fights with an animal cunning to protect its caste interests from the working class and allies itself with the most reactionary forces in society to do this.

Hugh Scanlon's (AUEW president) open defiance of his union policy on the 12-months rule at the 1977 Trades Union Congress, the protracted machinations of the National Union of Mineworkers to reverse the productivity ballot and the arrogance of Frank Chapple and the EETPU leaders against the power workers reveal only a fraction of the potential treachery of the trade union leaders.

Far from acquiescing to the wishes of their members, the right-wing union leaders now prepare to violate every norm of union democracy and sustain the sagging credibility of the coalition.

In practice this has meant the open endorsement of the use of the army to break the firemen's dispute.

But unlike 1926, the TUC cannot operate with the same impunity as it did then.

Every movement of an undefeated working class, as the firemen's strike and lobby of December 21 showed, aggravates the crisis of the bureaucracy and creates new fissures in its ranks.

The split in the General Council does not change the nature of that corporatist body but reveals how close the working class is to an open confrontation with the state and a General Strike.

Historic

This is an historic and irreversible change.

Millions of workers are now forced to recognise that they must defend their basic rights only with their organised strength and not through parliament.

The continuous defiance of its own leadership by the working class since 1972 has thrown parliamentary democracy into an insoluble crisis, proving again the truth of Trotsky's prognosis that trade unionism in the period of rapid capitalist decline inevitably bursts the framework of democracy.

Important sections of the bourgeoisie, led by the NAFF, recognising the impotency of parliament in the present political situation, are openly calling on the state — in the form of the judiciary — to deal with the unions.

They do so because they can no longer rely on the trade union leaders to hold back the working class.

CRISIS IN BRITAIN



Firemen's mass meeting in London during their nine-week strike

The increasing loss of control over the working class by the bureaucracy and the growing power of the executive over parliament constitute the basic premise of the struggle for power and the construction of a mass revolutionary party.

STALINISTS AND THE LEFTS IN THE UNIONS

THE development of the slump ruthlessly not only exposes the upper echelons of the trade union bureaucracy and their corporatist links with the state and big business, but it also casts a revealing light on the bankruptcy of the present shop stewards' and convenors' movement.

So long as the boom prevailed and the controlled inflation enabled industry to stagger from one recessionary crisis (stop-go) to another with the aid of bank loans and government subsidies (Leyland), so long too was the syndicalist shop stewards movement able to maintain its image of wages militancy.

Ignoring or rejecting the developing crisis of world imperialism these syndicalists fervently believed that the Bretton-Woods monetary system and Keynesian economics could indefinitely prolong the period of full employment and enable wages and social security payments to be progressively increased.

But with the onset of slump, and the imposing of state pay control, the complacent assumption of the boom turned into acquiescence and prostration before the monopolies.

In industry after industry the syndicalist and Stalinist shop stewards have been totally disorientated and are prepared — with some protesting and a few exceptions — to accept sackings, short-time, de-manning and speed up in the hope that today's sacrifice, might lead to the promised land of tomorrow's export-led boom.

In Govan shipyards the stewards led by the Stalinist Airlie have pledged to work on ships blacked by Tyneside boilermakers and transferred to the Clyde. In the mines McGahey — vice-president of the NUM and executive member of the Communist Party — and Whelan pass the buck on productivity and betray the militant Yorkshire area demand for strike action on the £135 basic wage.

But the most grotesque display of corporatism was the overwhelming vote on February 1, 1978 of the Brit-

ish Leyland stewards and convenors, led by Stalinist Robinson and right-winger McGarry, to accept huge redundancies and the ruthless carve-up of the Leyland combine proposed by Chairman Michael Edwardes.

Edwardes' statement was a declaration of war on the unions and had the full backing of the Cabinet and the National Enterprise Board.

There is no doubt that both in the short and long term we have excess capacity. The question is not whether we should de-man but by how much.

The problem must be tackled by natural wastage, redundancy programmes, by plant closures or by some combination of these.

This brings to a predictable end the protracted fraud of 'workers' participation' combined with abortive one-day stoppages and lobbies of Parliament and the ignominious collapse of the Stalinist-led

has created an unprecedented crisis within the left leadership of the NUM.

The Stalinists — led by McGahey and Whelan — after initial token resistance, capitulated shamelessly to the right-wing demands for incentive schemes which are intended to torpedo the £135 basic wage demand of the left carried at the annual conference.

The centrist left, led by Scargill and the Yorkshire Area Council and the South Wales executive correctly opposed incentive schemes as divisive but were unable to offer a coherent alternative strategy to Gormley and the NCB-government alliance because they completely separated the introduction of incentive schemes from the onset of slump and the necessity to bring down the coalition.

The lefts, despite their militancy on productivity schemes cannot fight the Stalinists and in fact find themselves sharing the same platform as McGahey



Healey (centre) at a bankers' dinner with IMF chief Witteveen (left)

'wages offensive' in Longbridge and Leyland Preston in August 1977.

All these policies and actions were, not accidentally, predicated on the reformist assumptions that a) the boom would continue after a temporary interruption and b) that sufficient pressure and exhortation from the unions would force the Labour-Liberal coalition to abandon state pay control, restore public spending cuts, break with the IMF and reflate the economy.

Far from these expectations materialising the government's policies showed a real determination to fulfill every demand of the IMF and make the unions pay the full whack for the slump.

As Callaghan taunted the TUC: 'Sack us or back us!'

CENTRISTS EVADE THE SLUMP

SIMILARLY in the mines the development of the slump and the consequent rush to rationalise coal production, reduce costs and increase productivity

and patiently explain to the vanguard the inadequacies, contradictions and impotence of centrism while at the same time not hesitating to propose to the centrists a united struggle against the right wing and the government on common issues.

As in 1972-1974 we must know how to march separately from the centrists and how — when necessary — to strike together.

It is only through the practical experience of big political battles that Marxism will prove the correctness of its policies and the superiority of its method over centrism. No amount of propaganda and criticism can substitute for this.

Every major struggle in industry whether it be on wages, differentials, jobs or conditions involves a frontal confrontation with government policy and the state.

At every stage the independence of the unions, which rests on the right of collective bargaining, is menaced by government-TUC-Whitehall collaboration and can be defended only through a political struggle with Marxist leadership. Conversely every form of syndicalism — even of the most radical variety — remains trapped within the framework of trade unionist economism, lags far behind the objective developments and is impotent in the face of state-employer-government conspiracy.

This is the inevitable fate of trade union militants like Fraser, leader of the Leyland toolroom men, who ignored the political implications of the militant toolroom men's strike for differentials in 1977 only to capitulate to the threats and blandishments of Edwardes in 1978.

Fraser's statement welcoming the Edwardes' 'plan' is an epitome of non-political trade unionism and expresses accurately the outlook of a section of the labour aristocracy who see no future for themselves outside the capitalist system.

In contrast to the kowtowing of these non-political militants, the party's intervention in the firemen's strike proved indubitably that new layers of workers with very little trade union and political experience can make rapid political advances and be transformed into hardened revolutionary fighters under the Party's theoretical and political guidance.

NO CONCILIATION

THIS is true for every sphere of industry where workers come into conflict with the coalition government's policies.

These advances were possible only because the party, in its agitation and propaganda, never departed from its political evaluation of the struggle and never conciliated with or adapted to syndicalist backwardness.

Through the columns of the News Line the party conducted a patient and principled dialogue with the firemen, consistently warning against the right wing's strategy and analysing thoroughly the changing political relationships of the classes in the context of the developing slump, while breaking down syndicalist prejudices and clearing up the confusion

on the capitalist media and the nature of the trade union bureaucracy.

The interviews with firemen and other trade unionists and the fireman's diary provided an accurate and irreplaceable forum by which the party could judge the correctness of its line and learn from the spontaneous practice of the class.

This remains a model of the Marxist method of intervening in and abstracting new knowledge from the class struggle.

Expose

The experiences in the miners furthermore confirm the absolute correctness of the Workers Revolutionary Party's struggle to expose the Blick-Jenkins group as well as the split with and the expulsion of the Thornett clique.

The Blick-Jenkins clique together with Archer and Hamilton represented a trend within the aristocracy of labour who were bitterly hostile to the struggle for an independent Trotskyist movement and saw no future for Trotskyism outside the apparatus of the social democratic bureaucracy.

As the crisis deepened and brought the Labour and trade union bureaucracy into conflict with the working class, this group fought with increasing desperation to cover up the treachery of the bureaucracy and the centrist Tribune group and now emerge as the most strident defenders of the anti-communist restorationists in Eastern Europe and Russia.

Their main aim is to prop up the decaying structure of social democracy with apologies for the Labour coalition and vicious attacks against the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Together with the French OCI they constitute the last reserve of international social democracy.

The Thornett clique, despite its tactical differences with the Blick-Jenkins group on the Labour Party, nevertheless identified themselves with these revisionists in the rush to prostrate themselves politically before the Wilson government's 'minimum programme' and to play down the corporatist role of the union bureaucracy and, not least, cover up the complicity of Hansen with the FBI and GPU in the murder of Trotsky.

Their differences did not prevent both groups from uniting in a joint attack on the Workers Revolutionary Party's policy in relation to the union bureaucracy as 'social-fascist and Third Period'.

What impelled this attack by both groups against Trotskyism is the uncommon fear of the masses in action, the prospect of social revolution shattering the conventional reformist prejudices of social democracy and trade unionism, as well as the sheltered tranquillity of their academic careers.

Against the orgy of misrepresentation and glorification of the trade union bureaucracy which the revisionists, centrists and Stalinists indulged in, the Workers Revolutionary Party correctly maintained that what was at stake was not the episodic man-

ifestation of trade union leadership in industrial struggles but the political-historical role of the bureaucracy which was undeniably reactionary.

Our principled opposition to social democracy and its revisionists does not in any sense connote an indifference to the inner tensions and conflicts within the Labour Party created by the political and economic crisis.

To build the Party in the struggle to bring down the government demands an acute sensitivity to workers influenced by social democracy.

The crisis, while deepening the split in the Labour Party, will not automatically lead to acceptance of revolutionary leadership.

Intermediate groups will appear which will require not only tactical flexibility but great firmness on principles and even the possibility of party-guided intervention within these movements.

In the event of a general election the Workers Revolutionary Party will put forward its own candidates but will not hesitate to propose to Labour's rank and file a common struggle to keep the Tories and Liberals out in those constituencies not contested by us.

To these workers we stress that what is at stake is not parliamentary power but the preparations of the capitalist class for dictatorship, for a regime which more closely corresponds to the requirements dictated by the world-wide slump and the trend towards increasing militarism and war preparations.

DEVOLUTION

NOT least of the divisive measures used by the coalition to protect capitalism is devolution.

The Devolution Bill, involving the formation of separate assemblies for Wales and Scotland, is being used by the ruling class and its agencies in an attempt to divide and weaken the working class.

This has nothing to do with whatever national feeling may exist in either country.

Instead it is an opportunist adaptation by the Labour leaders aimed at pacifying the Scottish and Welsh nationalist parties.

The emergence of these parties reflects the break-up of the two-party system, and particularly the shattering of the domination of the Labour bureaucracy over the working class in these areas.

Both nationalist parties are capitalist parties reflecting the interests of the middle class and a section of big business who see possibilities of gain from the break-up of the union.

Their rise to prominence is in itself a demonstration of the bankruptcy of British capitalism, which lacks the capacity to sustain the United Kingdom created by its forebears in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The formation of the United Kingdom was a historically progressive step essential to the development of British capitalism in the period of its ascendancy.

The adoption of a common

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

FROM PAGE 9

monetary system and common taxation, the abolition of frontiers and tariff barriers and the establishment of a single labour market undoubtedly gave a powerful impetus to the rise of capitalism.

Nothing could better signal the historical blind alley that has now been reached by British capitalism in its decline than that the reintroduction of these outmoded fetters should be seriously discussed.

The advocates of devolution under capitalism are in fact arguing for the crassest reformist conceptions.

At a time when the bankruptcy of bourgeois parliamentary democracy is plain for all to see, they argue that parliamentarianism can gain a new lease of life if only it is transplanted to Cardiff or Edinburgh.

Well to the fore in peddling this argument are the Stalinists of the Communist Party, who welcomed with open arms the report on devolution produced by Lord Kilbrandon and have been pressing the Labour government to put them into operation as fast as possible.

Their only criticism is that there isn't enough devolution. The Communist Party's position is part and parcel of their counter-revolutionary 'peaceful road' policy which seeks to tie the working class to parliament just as the ruling class prepare the extra-parliamentary force to crush the working class.

It is not accidental that one little-noted feature of the Devolution Bill gives powers to the judicial committee of the Privy Council, a completely extra-parliamentary body linked to the monarchy, to override parliament.

Equally reactionary is the position of the Scottish Labour Party, which split from the Labour Party in a bid to corner a section of the 'nationalist' vote. On all fundamental class questions this party backs the Labour right both inside and outside parliament.

Confusion

Its only effect is to spread division and confusion among the workers of Scotland.

Devolution is an admission by the bourgeoisie that the capitalist nation-state is historically outmoded.

The ruling class seeks to take advantage of its own weakness to set worker against worker on national grounds.

Such attempts must be firmly resisted. This cannot be done by opposition to the separation of England, Scotland and Wales on any terms.

Such a position, under certain circumstances, can erect an artificial barrier between the revolutionary party and sections of workers and middle class people inspired by national feelings.

In reality the issue of devolution in Scotland and Wales like the future of the Basque, Catalan, Languedoc, Breton, Corsican, Sardinian and other national and regional movements in Europe, is bound up completely with the struggle to establish the Socialist United States of Europe.

Within the Socialist

United States of Europe, there would be full liberty for every nation and national minority to exercise its full national or national minority rights as part of an equal federation of socialist states.

In fact, capitalism cannot guarantee any rights to Scotland, Wales or any other nation. Certain lefts and revisionists are peddling the illusion that the Devolution Bill will open the way for a 'socialist' Wales or Scotland because of the predominance of working class voters.

But in reality a study of the Devolution Bill reveals that despite the appearance of devolution, the reins of real power — control of the Treasury, the armed forces, and the Civil Service — will remain firmly in the hands of the present ruling class.

TORIES AND COALITION

ONLY a resolute struggle of the working class led by the Workers Revolutionary Party can bring down this sinister conspiracy of coalition and provide a socialist perspective for the British working class.

The entire struggle of the Workers Revolutionary Party to bring down the Labour government from July 1975 as well as the Lib-Lab coalition has effectively exposed the centrist sceptics and revisionists who opposed any struggle against the Labour leaders on the ground that the Tories would return to power and that there was no credible alternative to Labour.

Every struggle of the working class — such as the firemen's strike — forces it to recognise at the same time the impotency of the trade union bureaucracy and its corporatist collaboration with the state.

In fact the subsequent evolution of the Tories as the working class began to fight back against wages and job cuts has proved conclusively that the Tories have neither the desire nor the strength to effect a return to power and are quite prepared to work through this coalition in order to perpetrate a defeat on the working class.

The experience of the working class and our party has proved that no effective struggle against the Tories is possible without an implacable campaign against the coalition menace — and all those who hide their acquiescence to the Callaghan regime behind a facade of protest and reformist calls for an 'end to coalition'.

The mobilisation and political education of the working class in the struggle for power can only proceed along a political line which spells out clearly and unambiguously the counter-revolutionary content of the coalition policies, the political implications of its continued existence and the necessity for the working class to use its independent strength to force the government to resign.

The 69-1 vote of the Merseyside engineering shop stewards at their March quarterly meeting for a motion to bring down the government reveals how the world slump and the policies of the coalition are forcing powerful sections of the class to adopt the strategy of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

THE NORTH OF IRELAND

NORTHERN IRELAND

THE struggle to bring down the coalition is integrally linked to the struggle to defeat British imperialism in the north of Ireland and secure the unity of the south and north of Ireland and the unity of the Catholic and Protestant workers.

The Workers Revolutionary Party supports unconditionally the struggle of the Provisional IRA-Sinn Féin to liberate Ulster from the menace of British military occupation and end partition.

The heroic struggle of the Provos, who have refused to be daunted by the torture, repression, internment and deprivation of basic rights by British imperialism and its Labour and Orange Order lackeys, testifies not only to the unconquerable spirit of Irish nationalism but also to the combativity of the Irish Catholic working class.

If imperialism has been able to occupy and repress Ulster militarily for over nine years, it is primarily because in the period of the boom Whitehall and Stormont were able to play off Catholic against Protestant worker and keep the Protestant worker in full employment and tolerable housing conditions.

This period also coincided with the domination of the Protestant working class by the Paisley-Craig wing of the Unionists who saw the British connection as the only guarantee of their caste privileges in Ulster.

But the development of the slump threatens Catholic and Protestant alike while the continued presence of the British Army has disillusioned many Protestants who thought that the army would restore representative government à la Stormont and abolish internment, detention and torture.

The combination of these factors has persuaded a majority of Protestant workers to treat Paisley and other sectarian groups with scepticism and refuse their calls for general strikes.

At the same time the frustration with and hostility to the Labour government in the form of viceroys Mason and his armed thugs is corroding the basis of reformism in the unions.

CONTRADICTION OF SINN FEIN

THE aggravation of the social questions north and south of the border creates the basis for powerful trade union struggles involving Catholic and Protestant workers as was shown in the firemen's strike.

At the same time the developing political and trade union struggles against the coalition in Britain are forcing many Protestant workers to reconsider their allegiance to the Ulster Unionists and look elsewhere for leadership.

This places new tasks before the nationalist leadership of Sinn Féin, which despite its heroism and self-sacrifice is unable to answer adequately with its nationalist and populist-republicanism.

It is unable to do so



Troops on the streets during the Queen's Jubilee visit to the north of Ireland in 1977

because it rejects the dialectic of permanent revolution in Ireland and cannot grasp the essential fact that the successful national-democratic revolution is only conceivable in the form of the dictatorship of the working class in an alliance with the peasantry.

A pre-condition for this struggle is the unity of Protestant and Catholic workers on the basis of revolutionary-socialist and national demands which would show that the jobs of Protestant and Catholic workers would only be secure in a united, secular, socialist Ireland linked to a British Socialist Commonwealth.

Policy

Such a struggle can be successfully conducted only by a revolutionary party led by Trotskyists and armed with a policy based not on individual terror and reliance on revisionists and liberals abroad, but on the mass mobilisation and arming of the entire Irish working class and solidarity with the working class abroad.

Not a petty-bourgeois republic, but a government based on workers' and poor farmers' councils can unite Ireland and its working class.

Any other policy, such as the utopia of a Four Province Federal Ireland projected by Sinn Féin, Fianna Fáil, and sections of the SDLP, will lead inevitably to a betrayal worse than 1920-1922 and another civil war.

How the class limitations of the petty-bourgeois IRA-Sinn Féin militate against the objective trend of the democratic revolution have been graphically exposed in recent events. The IRA was and is the only group in Ireland which refused to recognise the collapse of the strike called by Paisley and the Ulster Workers' Council and the manifest crisis in the Unionist movement.

But when President Carter made a demagogic

reference to Ulster the Sinn Féin leaders uncritically acclaimed the leader of world imperialism and gave credence to his foreign policy.

REVOLUTION OR BLIND TERROR?

MORE serious than these unprincipled acts, however, was the IRA bombing of La Mon House Restaurant in February 1978.

This act of indiscriminate terror against civilian targets was completely unconnected with the military operations of the IRA against the British army in Ireland.

It served only to underline the political confusion and contradictions within Irish bourgeois nationalism which prevents it from acquiring a truly secular and national image and successfully smashing British imperialism.

As the Political Committee statement pointed out in the February 23 issue of News Line:

These bombings, which do not serve any military or political purpose, express the despair of the disorientated petty-bourgeois elements in the IRA who think that terror bombing will escalate the war and somehow force British imperialism out of the north of Ireland and silence or terrorise the Protestants.

They are gravely mistaken. These actions will strengthen the hold of the Loyalist para-military groups over the Protestants, give credence to the lies of the 'Peace People' in Belfast and give greater scope to the undercover operations of the British army and military intelligence.

These policies are both reactionary and counter-productive.

While defending the IRA militants against British imperialist repression and terror, the Workers Revolutionary Party therefore unequivocally dissociates itself from and condemns the IRA bombings of civilian targets like La Mon House and other sectarian attacks against Protestant workers.

We are opposed to these attacks in Ireland as well as in Britain, regardless of whether they are preceded by warning calls.

The Workers Revolutionary Party calls on the IRA militants to immediately and unconditionally reject these policies and those who advocate them.

These policies can and will only strengthen British imperialism and perpetuate distrust and hatred between Irish and British workers.

The Workers Revolutionary Party defends the right of the Irish people to defend themselves with their own methods, but we reserve the right to criticise their leadership, methods and policy from the standpoint of expediency as well as principle.

The British Army will not be driven out of Ireland by heroic acts of individual terror and localised attacks.

It will be kicked out only by a joint uprising of British and Irish workers in a struggle for power and the expropriation of the British and Irish bourgeoisie.

Struggle

The struggle in the North against British imperialism demands a corresponding struggle against the collaborationist bourgeoisie in the South on the basis of democratic and socialist demands.

This the IRA-Sinn Féin cannot and will not do.

Many Irish militants through their own bitter experience in Long Kesh as well as their contact with News Line are beginning to recognise the necessity for a perspective based on the world revolution and a party firmly based on the Catholic and Protestant working class. The further evolution of Irish and British politics will undoubtedly give a powerful impetus to this development and enable the International Committee of the Fourth International to recruit the best elements within the Republican-nationalist movement and the trade unions and build a strong party in Ireland.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

The struggle to build the WRP is completely opposed to the idealist-propagandist conception which seeks to apply so-called Marxist principles to the developing movement instead of abstracting knowledge from the unity and conflict of theory and practice.

The party is unity of theory and practice — democratic centralism is the 'orm through which the struggle and unity of theory and practice develop.

It is necessary to understand, as Lenin showed in 'Left-Wing Communism', that the new revolutionary content arising from capitalism's fundamental contradictions expresses itself in 'all and sundry forms', new and old. It is essential to reject any tendency to dogmatism and to use our theory as a guide to action, by raising our consciousness to the level of the tasks posed by the spontaneous struggle but without capitulating to spontaneity.

To carry out this task is to grasp firmly the relation of the Party's dialectical 'practice of cognition' and the day-to-day struggle within the working class and youth.

Spontaneity

Spontaneity, as Lenin remarked, is 'embryonic consciousness', which only inadequately and distortedly reflects the real practice of the working class, which is essentially revolutionary.

Spontaneity is relative and conditional but the development of the economic slump which stimulates and forces the working class to abandon old conventions and prejudices and adopt new methods of struggle — such as the mass picket — is the absolute and constant, the driving force of the semi-conscious movement.

The task of the Party is to transform the theory of Marxism into a material social force by making it the guide to revolutionary leadership of millions of workers.

This, in turn, presupposes two indispensable factors or conditions.

Firstly, that Marxist theory develops alongside the spontaneous movement and not spontaneously out of it, that Marxism, even in the most intense struggle, is introduced into the working class from outside the economic struggle, the sphere of relations between workers and their employers.

Secondly it implies an uncompromising struggle against the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology which exerts its pressure through multifarious forms right up to and even after the seizure of power.

This struggle is impossible without the independent revolutionary party acting as the vanguard of the class, merging itself in the actions of the class but sharply demarcating itself from the ideology of this class and striving at all times, to give a conscious socialist expression to the unconscious historical process represented by the struggles of the working class.

Only in and through this unity and conflict of theory

and practice can the working class be really transformed from a 'class in itself' to a 'class for itself'.

Every major action of the working class against the state contains within it the potential for such a change, as the firemen's strike reveals.

The strike is a new practice of the class. In what sense? In the sense that it comes after the defeat of the Tories by the miners and is aimed directly against the austerity measures of the Labour government and its state-organised strike-breaking.

It signifies the rejection of the entire two-party system and a determination to fight the government even to the point of bringing it down.

It comes as a direct challenge to the historical domination of the British labour movement by trade union bureaucracy and reformism.

To develop theory in this context is to negate and supercede it through the practice of the Party. To develop the practice of the Party and enrich it is to bring it directly into relationship with the practice of the class.

Only in this way can the Party actualise the essence of each situation and establish the objectivity of its cognition.

To enable our thought to penetrate this new developing reality the Party must fight continuously against any tendency to start from fixed impressions and indulge in subjective speculation.

We must see ourselves as an integral and inseparable part of the firemen's struggle which is changing daily and constitutes the front line of the attack against the government and the employers.

We are part of this social force, its most conscious force penetrating in our practice, every day, through the appearance discarding inessential forms and revealing the true content by the abstraction of qualitatively new quanta of knowledge.

The indispensable precondition for this is an unceasing vigilance against all those who try to base their politics on 'sensational' events while ignoring the important molecular processes at work on both sides of the class fence in Britain.

Idealist

This is essentially an empiricist idealist method (the reverse side of metaphysical rationalism) which cannot pass beyond the brute facts of appearance to the general laws which determine the slump and the forms and content of the class struggle.

It is in essence a rejection of the Party's theory and practice which is based on an all-sided analysis of the class struggle, neither neglecting the conscious pre-

parations of the bourgeoisie and its state to impose dictatorship nor the spontaneous struggles of the working class in defence of its basic rights.

To start however with the immediate and seemingly sensational news is to obscure the real interconnections and reciprocal relations between the classes and ignore the real meaning of the state's preparations against the working class.

ESSENCE AND APPEARANCE

The strengthening of the working class as it comes into action to play its revolutionary historical role cannot simply be read off the surface of its day-to-day militancy, or even its clashes with the capitalist state.

We must constantly and consciously fight to go beyond these appearances to the interconnections of the whole economic and political crisis underneath.

What strengthens the working class and equips it for its revolutionary task, the conquest of state power, is the contradiction which now dominates and determines the course of all struggles: the contradiction between the existing, historically formed reformist consciousness of the British working class, on the one hand, and the qualitative leap forced upon the class's practice by the objective development of the world crisis.

Our theory, as guide to action (to strategy, tactics and organisation of the Party and its daily paper) must engage with the working through of this contradiction every day.

From this highest level of development, with the particulars expressing, and carrying forward and negating the universal development (crisis and revolution), Marxism is developed in the concrete form of training of revolutionary cadres.

The working class does not enter the revolutionary arena with a prepared programme of action, nor can it guide and comprehend its practice in a dialectical way.

Its practice is disjointed and its method is empiricism, borrowed from the bourgeoisie, which obscures a comprehensive and correct evaluation of the capitalist enemy's preparations.

This political unpreparedness and unscientific idealist method finds its sharpest reflection in the Party and today in the separation of theory and practice which characterises the work of many Party bodies.

The prevalence of this separation stems directly from reformist ideology which derives from the relation between capital and labour within capitalism.

Since capitalism is based on the domination of capital (dead labour) over (living) labour and the alienation

not only of labour power from the labourer but also of the product of his labour from him, the working class is conditioned to accept the mystification of social relations as well as the relations of subject and object in society.

The more highly developed the system of commodity production, the more pervasive is the belief in the omnipotence of capital and the impersonal and automatic character of the capitalist system. Conversely conscious and purposive action to change social and economic life seems inconceivable.

Capital, a social relation, the product of the working class's labour, assumes despotic powers which appear to work blindly and uncomprehendingly.

Capitalism appears eternal and immutable and relations between men in the process of production 'assume in their eyes the fantastic form of a relation between things'.

The real essence of capitalist exploitation is obscured. The unequal and slave-like relation of the propertyless worker which forces him to sell his labour power to the capitalist is inverted and falsified to make him appear as a free and equal being selling his labour-power in exchange for a money wage. Wage-slavery is falsified as a contractual relation between two equal sellers of commodities.

Mystification

Thus the more capitalist production develops the greater is the mystification of social relations and the objectification of capital. The worker is simultaneously robbed not only of his surplus value but also of the consciousness of the real relation of labour to capital.

The working class appears as the object of society when in actuality it is the labour of the working class that has produced capital.

The specific historical characteristic of capitalism is that commodity production (production for sale) embraces all production, and that labour-power itself becomes a commodity, bought and sold.

Generations of capitalist exploitation in the oldest capitalist country result in the acceptance of capitalist relations as natural, through the working of what Marx called the 'dull compulsion' of capitalist domination in industry.

The labour aristocracy and bureaucracy, followed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, rested on this ideological basis in perpetrating their class-collaboration and betrayals in the services of imperialism.

But the contradictory development of capitalism itself results necessarily in a living struggle of the work-

ing class against the exploiters.

This struggle challenges directly the subjection of the worker and his labour power as a commodity, whatever the level of consciousness on the outbreak of each new phase of the class struggle.

In certain historical conditions, especially following a series of defeats, the working class can be driven back by the unemployment and disintegration which always comes with slump.

Shattered

But today, the myth of capitalist supremacy and stability is shattered by the collapse of the post-war boom and the revolution of the masses in the colonial countries for two generations.

The firemen's strike and the Tyneside shipyard dispute, renewing at a higher level the miners' 1974 struggle against the Tory government, showed clearly how the practice of the working class is being transformed in such a way that it challenges the capitalist state and the whole capitalist order.

To achieve this overthrow, to make the working class the subject of history, requires a practice based upon the most basic premise of Marx's philosophy:

The chief fault of all hitherto existing materialism ... is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived of only in the form of the object or of contemplation, but not as human sensuous activity, practice, not subjectively ... (Theses on Feuerbach).

Those who base themselves on spontaneity, who refuse to recognise 'human sensuous activity' as the chief thing, accept this mystification and fetishism as it is transmitted by sections of the class.

To belittle this is to deny the struggle for power which is the principal task of the Party.

Reject

To accept it unconditionally means to reject practice any idea that the Party can only 'prepare for power' and play a secondary role in the historical process.

It means an end to any adaptation to inertia and conservatism and an audacious turn into the unions, jobless youth and every section of the working class to build the Party, Young Socialists, All Trades Unions Alliance and, above all, to expand vigorously the circulation of News Line and Young Socialist.

All the objective conditions have matured for bringing down the coalition and putting an end to the scepticism about the strength of the working class and to illusions in the apparent strength of the bourgeoisie.

MARXISM AND CENTRISM

IT IS precisely these conditions which render the position of the centrists, Stalinists, and revisionists difficult.

As the Labour Party conference and Wedgwood Benn's subsequent appeal to the miners showed, the margin for centrist manoeuvre is extremely restricted.

Their impotence before the Callaghan betrayal becomes daily more evident. Their refusal to bring down this government brings them increasingly into conflict with the mass movement.

Within the unions, Stalinism and centrism suffered their greatest single blow when Scanlon supported the right wing on the 12-months rule and exposed the bankruptcy of the 'Broad Left' alliance in the AUEW.

Now the 'Tribune' centrists following the lead of Gormley, Ezra and Benn call for productivity dealing in the mines — a policy that has split the coalfields and is designed to throw the NUM back 50 years.

The crisis of the centrists and Stalinists in the unions is inseparable from the crisis of the revisionists whose capitulation to the coalition is barely concealed by a syndicalist mask.

The history and policy of all these groups who try to substitute the fraud of 'rank-and-file' for Marxist leadership in the unions has revealed them to be, without exception, a noisy safety valve for the bureaucracy and the government.

The state capitalist-organised 'right to work' marches, the grotesque adventure outside Grunwick's on July 11th, and the demonstrations of political impotency at Lewisham and Ladywood against the police and National Front raise again and again the absolute blind alley which single-issue protest politics and avoidance of socialist politics entails.

The political basis of these movements is the same. They are all predicated on one assumption: keep the government in power!

There is nothing in common between the Right to Work, Shrewsbury and Euro-Marches organised by the Young Socialists and the Workers Revolutionary Party in 1972, 1975 and 1977 respectively and the marches of the Socialist Workers Party.

Our actions were centred on the most important political issue concerning the working class — the nature and role of capitalist government — whether it be Tory or Labour — and the most effective means to defend basic democratic rights against the attacks of the state.

These marches and campaigns presupposed a strong centralised organisation of revolutionaries trained in Marxism, carrying out systematic and patient communist agitation and propaganda among all layers of workers, students and jobless youth, in order to win over the most class-conscious and self-sacrificing elements to the

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THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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Party and the struggle for the dictatorship of the working class.

At the centre of this campaign is the fight for the daily paper, the collective agitator, propagandist and organiser of the Party.

The Party in all its campaigns starts from the main contradiction between the corporate strength and revolutionary historical role of the working class on the one hand and its present inadequate reformist consciousness on the other.

Through its campaigns the WRP fights to supercede reformist trade unionist politics and raise the trade unionists to the level of revolutionary socialist politics.

The Socialist Workers Party revisionist syndicalists on the contrary reject Marxist theory, ignore this contradiction and end up reducing socialism to the level of trade unionist politics.

Thus they restrict the revolutionary potential of the working class and betray it to the capitalist army.

The struggle for power means that revolutionary political leadership is the central question in the working class.

The ruling class depends on the hope that the Labourites and Stalinists have left the working class lost and leaderless and that mass unemployment will divide and weaken them.

But the discrediting of these parties and the tendency of the working class to surge beyond the control of the bureaucracy are necessary historical developments.

The splits in the Stalinist party and the embarrassed somersault of Brezhnev in relation to the McLennan clique in Britain show that the bureaucracy is unable to control or correct the break-up of the British Stalinist party because of the movement of the working class.

These conditions are creating the situation where the Workers Revolutionary Party, firmly established in the working-class areas, through the News Line and the Young Socialist, can be built rapidly.

The most important element in the struggle for power is the construction of a mass revolutionary youth movement and the selection and training of new cadres of youth from the ranks of the unemployed school-leavers and industry.

EURO-MARCHES AND THE YS

THE inevitable conflict between national capitalist states for markets and spheres of investment generates within the petty-bourgeoisie and sections of the working class a mood of chauvinism and economic nationalism.

The trade union and labour bureaucracy who, during the boom and full employment were in favour of the European bourgeoisie's attempt to establish a form of international co-operation through the Common Market and, before the Common Market, were just as prepared to collaborate with US imperialism through the Marshall Plan now become the most strident advocates of quotas, tariff barriers and every form of protectionism.

Forced

They do this precisely at a time when the working class internationally is being forced by the slump to look beyond their national frontiers and assert the international nature of their struggles and the indivisibility of their historic interests.

Internationalism for the Workers Revolutionary Party expresses the essential content of the world development of the working class and its struggle for power which brings it inevitably into collision with the national state and the attempts of the capitalist class, in the death agony of capitalism, to destroy the world-wide divisions of labour and to reduce to a reactionary absurdity 'the theory and practice of the economic impasse', economic autarchy.

Struggle

For the Workers Revolutionary Party, therefore, the struggle for power in Britain cannot for a moment be separated from the revolutionary struggles, firstly of the European working class which are continuously being held back and diverted by the national-reformist policy of the Stalinist and Social Democratic bureaucracies.

The most powerful weapon in the arsenal of Marxism today is the United Socialist States of Europe. This slogan acquires a crucial strategic significance today because of the man-

ifest inability of the European bourgeoisie to carry through the unity of Europe under the banner of the Common Market.

The Common Market, in the eyes of millions of European workers, has become synonymous with unemployment, destruction of crops, unending inflation, fascist intrigues, police repression, militarism, the accumulation of vast surpluses of food paid for by taxation of workers and farmers and the closure of factories.

Union

The inability of the European bourgeoisie to achieve monetary union and establish a common unit of currency to replace the dollar has effectively prevented the co-ordination of financial policy of West European governments towards industry and agriculture.

The existence of nine different currencies each fluctuating wildly has enormously compounded the problems of the Brussels bureaucracy in trying to subsidise backward European agriculture and bankrupt industry.

Despite pretensions to promote liberalisation of trade, the Common Market has become the greatest source of protectionism in the world.

Arab, African and Asian industry is being seriously affected by the protective measures of the EEC against industrial exports from these countries.

The Common Market is the greatest single obstacle to the development of the socialist revolution and the fraternal collaboration of European and colonial workers.

The working class in Europe cannot achieve emancipation without tearing down the national frontiers and customs posts, without disbanding the standing armies and the armies of police, customs and immigration officials et al and without establishing a single, stable currency based on a single nationalised banking system.

The future of every working class in Europe will be decided in this struggle.

Only that party which inscribes the United Socialist States of Europe on its banner and fights any trace of chauvinism in the working class can lead the struggle for power in Britain.

This is the essence of the struggle to establish the political independence of

the working class from bourgeois ideology.

Not protectionism, not import controls and the reactionary exorcism of Anglo-Saxon nationalism but the socialist commonwealth of Europe and the world—that must be the rallying cry of the European workers.

It is from this standpoint that the Party supports the organisation of the 1978 Euro-Marches by the International Youth Committee of the Fourth International.

The Euro-Marches constitute the logical extension of the policies decided at the International Conference of Youth organised in Seymour Hall in November 1975 by the International Youth Committee of the Fourth International.

The principal and unanimous aim of the Conference was to help build the world party of socialist revolution.

To concretise this task and to build strong youth sections of the International Committee, the call was made for the Euro-March.

Despite the hostility of the German right-wing social democracy over 200 youth from ten countries marched 500 miles under the banner of proletarian internationalism and struck a blow for Trotskyism.

The inspiring success of the first Euro-March in March-April 1977 and the Alexandra Palace Rally has shown the enormous revolutionary potential lodged in the struggle of European youth against unemployment, hunger, police repression and militarism.

Marches

The marches in Europe in January 1978 will coincide with the greatest explosion of working-class struggles against the attempts of decrepit European capitalism to preserve the Common Market and drive the working class back to the thirties. The Workers Revolutionary Party and Young Socialists must turn resolutely into the struggle for sponsors and for the greatest publicity for the Long Euro-March and its objectives in the working class.

The Young Socialists must be expanded rapidly in the provinces and London and the 'Young Socialist' finances put on a firm and unshakeable basis.

These measures are essential if we are to make the April 1978 Long Euro-

March into a powerful blow against the European bourgeoisie and the Euro-Stalinist bureaucracies, and a major development for the International Committee.

THE NEWS LINE AND ATUA

THE new stage of working-class radicalisation demands from every section of the Party a redoubled effort and the sacrifice necessary to make the daily paper the authentic undisputed revolutionary voice of the working class. The News Line is the organiser of the Party.

Special teams and campaigns must establish its circulation in the great working-class areas throughout the country, and in the factories and the unions.

The training of organisers, cadres, in the working-class areas means first and foremost the fight for News Line circulation.

The fight for this expansion, and to secure the finances of the paper, is the driving force to overcome conservatism in the Party. This fight requires of every leading and rank-and-file member that they place themselves in the front line of this fight.

Building

Inseparable from this struggle is the building of the Party in the trade unions, the construction of the All Trades Unions Alliance and the relentless exposure of the corporatist manoeuvres of the trade union bureaucracy and Stalinism.

Despite the defeat of the social contract, the trade union bureaucrats, like Scanlon of the AUEW, are fighting a desperate rear-guard action to contain and defeat the developing movement of the working class on wages and conditions.

Increasingly sections of workers are realising through their own efforts that the struggle to defend their living standards is tied to the struggle against the government and for revolutionary socialist policies.

Because of these changes, the Party's struggle for transitional demands in the unions acquires a wider and deeper basis which gives our intervention a compelling urgency.

More and more workers are able to judge the enormous gulf which sepa-

rates the Workers Revolutionary Party from every variety of revisionism in the union on the most vital question of all: the Liberal-Labour coalition and the struggle to bring it down.

Everywhere as they move into action on wages, basic rights and unemployment, the workers in factory occupations, in wages struggles, on picket lines and in defence of trade union principles, will need a leadership which starts and works always from the conviction that the fight must go through to the end, to the conquest of workers' power.

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party, built from two generations of struggle against Stalinism and reformism, can provide the independent revolutionary leadership for the defeat of capitalism.

Now is the hour for every class-conscious worker to join the Workers Revolutionary Party as his own.

The thousands of young workers—miners, postmen and others—who marched to the defence of the Grunwick strikers, have no other political way forward except the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The millions who must know how to defeat the government and the capitalist state are more and more looking for a political road independent of the reformist leadership.

For the whole working class the building of the leadership for the winning of workers' power is now the fundamental question.

The revolution in Britain now develops in intimate connection with the rapid strides of the world revolution.

With the revolution in Britain and Western Europe, the political revolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union will receive a decisive impetus.

The struggle of the Arab masses, following the victories in South East Asia and Central and South Africa, strikes mighty blows against imperialism.

Simultaneously, the revolutionary struggles of the British working class will contribute to raising the level of the mass revolutionary struggle in the colonial countries and all over the world.

This concludes publication of the main resolution of the third conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

- Bring down the Lib-Lab coalition! Fight for workers' power! Expose the fraud of 'parliamentary democracy' and 'peaceful roads to socialism'! Down with Stalinism, whose agency is the British Communist Party!
- Nationalise all land, banks and industry under workers' control and without compensation! Take the profit out of food — nationalise the food processing industry under workers' control!
- Victory to the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe! Smash imperialism and its agents! Down with the UN — tool of imperialism! Down with secret diplomacy!
- Smash the government-TUC pay controls! Restore the right of free collective bargaining!
- Fight closures with occupations! Smash the Edwardes plan and Varley's plan to massacre the steel industry!
- Oppose all productivity deals and incentive schemes!
- Reject all workers' participation! Dissolve the NEB! Reject import controls!
- Demand the opening of company books as part of the struggle for workers' control and nationalisation!

- Scrap the bureaucratised Boards of Management in the nationalised industries and introduce real workers' management and control in all sectors! Retirement at 55 on full pay! Stop all interest charges on the profits of the nationalised industries!
- For a sliding scale of wages and hours! No lay-offs! Fight lay-offs with mass pickets! Restore all differentials!
- Repeal all anti-working class laws! Repeal the Public Order Act! Lift bans on marches in London!
- Fight fascism with workers' defence guards! No reliance on capitalist laws!
- Free all political prisoners!
- Abolish the House of Lords and the Monarchy! Repeal the Immigration Act and anti-picket laws!
- Dissolve the standing army and police! Withdraw troops from Ulster!
- Full restoration of social spending cuts and an end to Health Service charges!
- Pensions for the retired at average wage level!
- Homes for all! Requisition of all building land and office blocks! Nationalise the building industry and building societies!

- State monopoly of foreign trade! Abolish the commodity markets!
- British and immigrant workers — unite on the programme of revolutionary socialism to smash the coalition and establish workers' power and a planned economy!
- Fight the multi-nationals by establishing the Socialist United States of Europe! Support the Young Socialists' Euro-March this April in Italy! Smash NATO and the Common Market!
- Stop the persecution of intellectuals and workers in the Soviet Union! Release all communist political prisoners!
- For the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and China! Review the Moscow Trials!
- Defend the deformed workers' states of the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe against imperialism!
- Build the Workers Revolutionary Party, Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance!
- Build the world party of socialist revolution — the International Committee of the Fourth International!