

FURTHER AND HIGHER EDUCATION COMMITTEE

REPORT TO CONGRESS

The Committee: It was formed in 1979 to include teachers in universities and colleges, involving two unions, AUP (Association of University Teachers) and NATFHE (National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education). Two comrades in the AUP are not teachers but concerned with administration and research respectively.

The Committee has managed to avoid the tendency that might plague committees of this kind, namely parochialism and obsession with union minutiae. It sees the primary task as that of applying the Party line for this section of the class and not that of formulating resolutions for this or that conference or meeting. Where this is necessary, it is done outside Committee time. While the Committee insists that all follow its line, in its application members constantly endeavour to go beyond, such is the dialectic of development and movement.

The Committee feels that more contact with comrades in related unions is necessary both to avoid differences in the line developing (eg. Overseas Students/Tertiary Colleges) and to develop in the application of the line (eg. where there are comrades who are technicians in the universities but who are members of the White Collar Committee).

Members of the Committee are involved at all levels of the two unions, local, regional and national, including the NEC of one union. Nationally our impact is developing with the Party playing a leading role in determining the policy of both unions. The question remains, have we affected the membership in the branches?

The Class Government's attack on workers' livelihood and jobs has developed into an attack on workers' potential livelihood and jobs - an attack on the next generation of workers. Some universities face closure, others severe contraction; colleges face massive cuts in funds leading to mass redundancies and where local authorities have supported their colleges against the Government, Heseltine changes the law to prevent them.

Faced with this barbarism, both unions face their biggest test in the coming six months before Congress. Whilst this section of the class is well organized in terms of union membership, hitherto their response has been weak; seduced by premature early retirement pay and natural wastage, they have little experience of struggle either at local or national level. This failure to fight for jobs combined with a past unwillingness to fight on the wages front indicates that this section of the class may not be up to the forthcoming battle for education, and are certainly not as yet the vanguard they ought to be. Nevertheless, there have been some pockets of resistance, opposition is growing and comrades have done good work in those branches where they work to prepare the class for the fight to destroy this government.

The Party and the Class If the task is to change the ideology of the class, then it remains so even when the class has changed its ideology. There is no let up, no respite. Our section of the class has developed - the AUP and NATFHE are fighting organs of teachers in that field of education. What we need now is the troops.

In recruitment and selling The Worker, we remain amateurs. While we never forget order papers for a union meeting, we forget to have copies of The Worker to sell. When comrades are organised, the paper is well-received - at NATFHE Conference last year for example, nearly half the delegates had a Worker at some point. As for recruitment, we have yet to give it the priority it deserves. The Committee must pay particular attention to these points.

REPORT OF THE HEALTH COMMITTEE TO CONGRESS 1982

The Health Committee was set up in 1976 as a sub-committee of the White Collar Committee. All comrades employed in the NHS are members of the Committee. Our first task was to write a new Health Pamphlet. Since then we have met nationally three times a year with local meetings now held also by comrades in the North East and in the London Region.

The Committee's membership includes doctors, surgeons, nurses, pharmacists, laboratory technicians, medical students, administrators and a dental surgery assistant. Comrades work in the following unions: BMA, RCN, ASTMS, NUS, NALGO, NUPE and COHSE. We work in general acute hospitals, in psychiatric hospitals, in community services, at District, Area and Regional level in the NHS. Even with this wide spread of membership we do not yet cover all trades and professions in the NHS.

Comrades attend Health Committee meetings as regularly as possible, but with so many committed to weekends 'on duty' or 'on call' attendance can vary from 7 up to 18 for a meeting. Most comrades send full reports when they cannot attend. Nevertheless when attendance is low we often lose the benefits from the contributions which all comrades can make.

Since 1979 Thatcher and Jenkin (and now Fowler) have been committed to a clear strategy of destroying the National Health Service. Low pay settlements, funding far below inflation, encouragement of private medicine, and the reorganisation in 1982 with compulsory redundancies are all part of this strategy. The proposals to switch to insurance funding for a second class NHS is the culmination of a concerted campaign to kill off the health service.

Pay remains the key issue for all health service workers. It relates to our dignity as workers, to the quality of patient care and is crucial to breaking the cash limits imposed on health authorities. Since 1978/79 there has been no strong opposition to the 14% and then the 6% pay offers. We make ourselves that much more vulnerable to other attacks when we do not fight on pay.

There is no doubt that health comrades have considerable influence at their places of work. Most comrades have leading positions in their union branches, and in one or two instances at higher levels. Party motions on doctors' unemployment, on increasing the number of consultant posts and calling for opposition to the plans to cut medical education were passed by the junior doctors section of the BMA. Comrades are active in joint trade union committees, and our influence in one area can spread beyond our immediate union. Worker articles used as leaflets, letters to union and professional journals, letters to union headquarters, demonstrations, all these have been used by comrades in propaganda work. Most comrades report fairly steady Worker sales though all wish they were higher. The Health Pamphlet is a most important propaganda weapon but neither health comrades nor the rest of the party have used it as well as we should. At least three direct recruits have come via health comrades.

In the last two years the Committee has functioned with an agenda consisting of the standard items of recruitment and Worker sales and articles, followed by reports from each section, nurses, technicians etc. More recently we have opted for one main topic for the discussion. This has proved fruitful since although in one sense the 'line on health' is clear new situations such as the Thatcher strategy, reorganisation or the question of emergency cover during industrial action need to be discussed. One area where we are likely to develop is the coordination of action by comrades within the same union. As the Committee expands and the number of comrades in each union rises above one or two, the fairly informal arrangements made now will probably develop - perhaps several 'sub' committees meeting after a full Health Committee meeting.

The Committee devoted the last meeting to preparation for the Health School in February. We see it as an important exercise for ourselves to take a critical look at where we the Party stand in terms of influencing the struggle for the NHS; also as a valuable opportunity to discuss with the Party the key issues which face health workers, to educate and teach the Party something of the complexity of the NHS, and - hopefully - to find that some of our problems are not so unique and to learn from others' experience. For health comrades this should be a most useful preparation for Congress.

REPORT FROM NATIONAL TEACHERS COMMITTEE TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE

October 1981

The committee is a body of national officers and organisers of regions. Teacher comrades meet on a regional basis and organisers send reports to the committee, which is managed between committee meetings by a steering body composed of the London members.

It meets three times a year and considers the secretary's report including the regional reports. To ensure implementation of the line arrived at by the committee a national bulletin is sent to all comrades (about twice a year)*. Occasionally a meeting takes place, as this year, with other comrades in the education sector. The frequency and necessity of meetings to which comrades must travel long distances will be considered by the committee. The regional structure is evidence of a political maturity, of self-reliance, but more will be needed, especially under illegality, in order to operate successfully without the luxury of conferring with others.

The committee oversees the work of comrades within the National Union of Teachers. It encourages them to seize positions of influence in order to direct struggle towards revolution, the key link in that struggle being the removal of Thatcher and the defeat of fascism. We urge teachers to see disarmament, Ireland and wider issues of the economy and industry as the legitimate concern of their union. The outside world must be interested in education but those in education must be interested in the outside world.

The central issue in the defeat of Thatcher is the determination i) to save jobs she is intent on destroying instead of selling them and so condemning thousands to the genocide of unemployment, and ii) to fight for pay and living standards.

In the fight for jobs and pay we see a single successful struggle as more important than a hundred militant resolutions, yet we do not neglect the latter. The campaign to save the Inner London Education Authority from Government break-up, the saving of jobs at Alperton and Sladebrook schools have been such struggles. Capitalising on the positive is paramount in a mood of near capitulation to the destruction. But there is a groundswell of opposition too - we must perceive it and be a part of it.

The Party emerges from every struggle and meeting as the sole defender of the Union and its fragile democracy. The executive and some officials are playing an increasingly corporatist role, acting as policemen curtailing struggle against the Thatcher onslaught, with the ultra-left providing the excuses.

We are leading the break out of this paralysis. We have rejected the pure line of standing aloof and not dirtying our hands ourselves by working with others. The emphasis however is changing, to one of building a force around us, Friends of Party Teachers. This is not a broad front in which the Party's identity is submerged but a gathering close to us of all who can assist in the task of directing the Union's struggles towards our goal.

* and usually a conference of all comrades is convened at the Centre once a year

REPORT ON MEDIA COMMITTEE (subcommittee of White Collar Committee)
for Congress 1982

October 1981

Present membership: active 3 (Met I) Magazine and Books NUJ
not attending meetings 1 (Met II) Press & PR, NUJ
non-active because of family commitments.
(Freelance, NUJ)

Regularity of meetings: once a month

Work since last congress

- 1) Taking care to spread active 3 members over all areas of union which can be reached, and avoid duplication:
Currently working at: chapel (work-place level)
branch (magazine and book branches)
Magazine and Book Industrial council
(conduct of disputes)
Union conference (ADM)
Note [1 ex-party member remains loyal and close to Party and is now on National Executive]
- 2) The Worker is sold at all these levels
- 3) BUT NOTE: ^{personal} influence confined to Magazine and Book territory and union conference. Press and PR Branch member is not active in committee and we have no information on work there.
- 4) Range of contacts very wide and grown considerably since last Congress.
- 5) Influence on Union policy very considerable as result of regularity of committee meetings and organisation for motions. Number of significant motions taken to union conference and now established as union policy:
 - a) Wages policy: Party set free-collective bargaining commitment in 1977 and has ensured its reaffirmation every year since. Coupled with this have been motions on sovereignty of the union - also passed.
 - b) The fight for jobs: established as our major task for 1980 - raised debate in Branches and Industrial council, culminating in BPC struggle (see Worker reports) and major conference policy and practical guidelines. Highly significant results.
 - c) War and peace - policy adopted by the union
 - d) Removal of Thatcher Government etc - policy adopted by the union
- 6) Very firmly grounded in Magazine and Book sectors - wide contacts and lots of industrial experience between us, conduct of disputes etc (BPC, IPC, Thomson Books)

7) Effective use of Union journals for debate

Failures since last Congress

- 1) Failed to recruit
- 2) Lost 4 members - although one remains close and supportive to Party.
- 3) Lack of impact at Branch ^{meetings} level in Magazines, mainly due to attendance problems through clash with Party commitments.
- 4) Not always achieved tasks by set targets - nor dealt with all priorities - eg. Ireland not yet successfully tackled.

Objectives in coming period

1) Continuing development and implementation on wider scale

Work since last congress

- 1) Taking care to spread active, 3 members over all areas of union which can be reached, and avoid duplication:
Currently working at: chapel (work-place level)
branch (magazine and book branches)
Magazine and Book Industrial council
(conduct of disputes)
Union conference (ADM)
Note [1 ex-party member remains loyal and close to Party and is now on National Executive]
- 2) The Worker is sold at all these levels
- 3) BUT NOTE: ^{personal} influence confined to Magazine and Book territory and union conference. Press and PR Branch member is not active in committee and we have no information on work there.
- 4) Range of contacts very wide and grown considerably since last Congress.
- 5) Influence on Union policy very considerable as result of regularity of committee meetings and organisation for motions. Number of significant motions taken to union conference and now established as union policy :
 - a) Wages policy: Party set free-collective bargaining commitment in 1977 and has ensured its reaffirmation every year since. Coupled with this have been motions on sovereignty of the union - also passed.
 - b) The fight for jobs: established as our major task for 1980 - raised debate in Branches and Industrial council, culminating in BPC struggle (see Worker reports) and major conference policy and practical guidelines. Highly significant results.
 - c) War and peace - policy adopted by the union
 - d) Removal of Thatcher Government etc - policy adopted by the union
- 6) Very firmly grounded in Magazine and Book sectors - wide contacts and lots of industrial experience between us, conduct of disputes etc (BPC, IPC, Thomson Books)
- 7) Effective use of Union journals for debate

Failures since last Congress

- 1) Failed to recruit
- 2) Lost 4 members - although one remains close and supportive to Party.
- 3) Lack of impact at Branch ^{meetings} level in Magazines, mainly due to attendance problems through clash with Party commitments.
- 4) Not always achieved tasks by set targets - nor dealt with all priorities - eg. Ireland not yet successfully tackled.

Objectives in coming period

- 1) Continuing development and implementation on wider scale of redundancy and job policies.
 - 2) Development of wages policies in similar way.
 - 3) Recruitment among established contacts
- We feel there is no excuse if we fail ^{to} build significantly in next

REPORT FOR CONGRESS

WORKERS IN PUBLIC SERVICES SUB-COMMITTEE - 19:11:81

The work of the Public Services Sub-Committee has broadened considerably in the three years since Congress. Discussion has become more political with less emphasis on trade unionism. This is reflected in the change of name from Local Government to Public Services Sub-Committee. Previously too much concern was given to the prominence of one union-NALGO. Now the whole field of Public Service is treated politically having lost much of its one sided orientation. Slowly the Thatcher Out! line has become central to the work of the Committee and all efforts are now directed to her removal.

It is important that the Committee should have changed in this way. At the moment Heseltine is hell bent on destroying the Public Services. The response of the working class has been to draw together in a broad front to oppose his destruction. In Local Government this has meant attempts to create unity between NALGO and NUPE and it is important that our sub-committee reflect this change.

Organisationally this inclusion of Comrades from NUPE presents certain difficulties and raises questions of our future relationship to the full White Collar Committee.

Membership has continued to grow with the tendency of a London bias being overcome, although recruitment from within the sub-committee could and should be improved. Involvement within the various unions represented, NALGO and NUPE, is of a high level with members of the committee distinguishing themselves at local and district level. However, all too often this involvement is on a purely personal level with the gains not being properly realised. One of the major failings of the sub-committee is that it has not established the party as a major force within the Public Service unions.

This is not to decry the good work of comrades within the unions. Participation at various union conferences has always been good. The production of special leaflets, Worker sales and the setting up of bookstalls make these organisationally successful and has enhanced the party's reputation. But the party has not been given its rightful place in the forefront of working class activity. Ideologically our leadership as a party is still questioned.

Centralisation within the committee is weak. It has not been possible to maintain the practise of core motions. Ideas for motions are sketched in outline and then comrades are expected to adapt them to their local conditions. This is perhaps beneficial anyway given the uneven development of the class in public services; still withal a degree of uniformity has emerged. Evidence of the work of the sub-committee in the exchange of ideas and methods of work.

Progress has been made since last Congress. Comrades are more confident in their work, more able than ever before to establish a base within the trade union movement from which to advance.

CIVIL SERVICE SUB-COMMITTEE REPORT

The sub-committee comprises comrades working in the Civil Service and Post Office non-industrial grades. It has continued to meet quarterly since the last Congress. The level of attendance has been very high and non-attenders send apologies. The meetings have an agreed agenda and minutes are kept. The organization is in the hands of a convenor and a secretary who report to the Secretariat through the full White Collar Committee.

The task originally set the sub-committee in 1976 was the implementation of the Party line in our area and its development in practice. Of particular importance have been the two class line and the drawing closer of organized workers in the sector to the mainstream of the labour movement.

During the last three years the line has been pursued through work within our unions. We have developed both as a group and as individuals. Involvement in the unions is at every level from office to national. We write regularly for the 'Worker' and use this in our development of contacts. There has been some recruitment directly because of the work of the sub-committee. We have also used two public meetings on State employees at the party centre to further our work.

There have been pay fights in 1979 and 1981 in both Civil Service and Post Office, in which all our comrades have been intimately involved. Despite newness to struggle and naivety there have been great steps forward in ideas. The line that Civil Servants should fight as workers is accepted in action and consequently there is a growing consciousness of identity with the rest of the class. Also accepted is that action should inflict maximum damage to the enemy and the least to ourselves. 'Thatcher Out' has meant us promoting and implementing these ideas.

A question to be dealt with in the future is how to carry the fight through to resisting cuts and job losses. We must also understand why it was that the Civil Servants fought when the rest of the class was quiescent.

Within the party the sub-committee has carried out its role in relation to the White Collar Committee. We have reported regularly and attended the full meetings. We have tried to contribute positively to those meetings by discussing more than the parish pump in our own meetings, by keeping regular contact with far-flung members and by getting agreement ourselves on the tactical implementation of the line in our sector.

1st October 1981

Divisional and Technical Sub-committee to White Collar

The sub-committee covers ASTMS, AEX, TASS, ACIS, RUPLAT and NHS. Membership in ASTMS is by far the largest and dominates this report. Over the last three years it has strengthened :

- (1) more comrades are active at the divisional level having been elected to six of the sixteen divisional councils of ASTMS;
- (2) comrades have been elected to office within the divisional councils and now serve on three of the executives of the divisions;
- (3) more comrades have been elected as negotiators/stewards and onto national industrial advisory committees *having* direct negotiating experience.

Problems, however, remain in that we are unco-ordinated in our actions, working more as individuals rather than comrades - each working at the task that confronts them but not fully utilizing the Party and the Worker as a tool in that task. The problem is not difficult to resolve. With two or more comrades on a divisional council and with a number of comrades from across the country but in the same section of ASTMS, eg. university technicians, NHS, etc., the problems will be overcome as in other sections of the Party.

National policy of ASTMS is clear and correct on free collective bargaining, the EEC and disarmament yet the membership shows little inclination to struggle for these policies. In part, this has been fed by the "let us do it for you" approach of many officials in their willingness to negotiate redundancies. This last year saw the first decline in membership of the union as a result. The vicious cycles of redundancy - reorganisation - redundancy and natural wastage - reorganisation - redundancy, etc must be stopped.

REVOLUTION AND THE SOVIET UNION

Refer to Nakhlov - again.

Attached to Stk L
during the previous
Why?

Perhaps this Congress must review the line in relation to the USSR.

In the world decline of Capitalism, the focal point of strength of the opposing force, the working class, is repositied in the one truly social change of Capitalist rule: the triumph of a proletariat in the USSR. *China - Albania ?? - it personally present*

The Bolshevik Revolution still is the most truly historic change in class forces. It represents the power to do by a working class. It is the example and hope for all - other workers' aspiration. It did because of that great historic change accelerate the course of history in the world. Because of it, the Bolshevik Revolution, others were strengthened, invigorated and inspired. As in China, Vietnam, Cuba, Albania, and so on.

In its contradictions and dilemmas the Capitalist ruling class throughout the world ever see the 'spectre' not as a ghost but substance: the USSR. Which prevents the subjugation of its own working class, This especially so in the developed capitalist world, the western world. Therefore the crusade against the USSR, and above all today the adventurist call for War. *Chavez - de Contador - 6th USSR + China*

(Spent time on "gaps" from your Congress documents)

Now that the dust of the International 'Polemic' has receded it is time to take stock.

Concerning the 'Polemic', as right in Marxist terms was the break, it undoubtedly became not distorted but perverted for and because of chauvinist ends. As in China and yet in Albania small as it is.

That the revisionists within the USSR secured control in the hierarchy is not to be questioned, though the reasons for such a political crime do not rest wholly or yet mainly on the Russian proletariat. The failure of the world working class in its separate countries to secure revolution created enormous problems and internal contradictions within the USSR from 1917, never diminishing in effect, culminating in the engulfing of the peoples of the USSR in the second World War in which they defeated the Nazis, at great sacrifice.

That these contradictions created a Krushchev and all his ilk, does not nor cannot efface the Russian proletariat. Whilst they must accept that revisionism secured power since they permitted it to be so it does not make them - the Russian people - Revisionist. No more than to say because capitalism rules in Britain the British working class is Capitalist. Nevertheless to the extent that permission be given, that passivity provides the danger is ever present. That in such contradictions a Krushchev could call for a cessation of revolutionary struggle only triggered the 'Polemic'. *Holdings, diet, go and democratic centralism*

Today the greatest peril is the desire in order to prolong the longevity of capitalism for capitalism to seek to procure the complete subjugation and corruption of its working class to begin anew. That is a war which would become a World War, a Third, against the USSR. *7th Nov 1914? We cover 1988 and*

We have always said that the main crime to be laid at the door of the Soviet Union was their revival under Khrushchev and continued encouragement of Revisionism. The Soviet Union did not originate Revisionism. Its origins lay in the Second International where it was exposed and opposed invariably by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Nor did the Soviet Union supply the first so-called "modern" revisionism (really no different from the earlier type) - the "British Road to Socialism" preceded the arrival of Krushchev.

Revisionism in 1982 does not derive from the USSR at all. In its Chinese form it identifies

the USSR as its principal enemy and, to establish its credentials as a member of the Western Alliance, attacks Vietnam, a Socialist country which has never wavered and which, by defeating the USA, made a contribution to the survival of civilization of equal moment to the defeat of Nazi Germany by the USSR. *Concomitant of capitalist alien from defeat, US - Vietnam. Do we unconditionally accept Vietnam.*

In its Eurocommunist form it puts forward policies that make British Labour governments look progressive and takes every opportunity to denounce the Soviet Union and to say to the West European Bourgeoisie: We are different. Well, they are. Here is Berlinguer, leader of the largest Revisionist party in Europe, on the Polish crisis: "the driving force for renewal of society emanating from the Russian Revolution is now exhausted ... the working class movements of Western Europe should search for a new road to socialism based on pluralism, democracy and East-West detente". What better way of saying to NATO, "If you want to start World War III we won't stop you"?

The enemy of the working class throughout the world is first and always its own ruling class capitalist in the land wherein they labour and exist, and secondly the dominant capitalist force i.e. the USA. It is not a question of two superpowers. It is not a matter of hegemony of the USSR with imperialist aims.

All actions since 1917 of the USSR have been for survival within as yet a predominantly capitalist hostile world. It has ever been their international proletarian duty; a duty not shirked whatever the sacrifice. The question is, is the working class elsewhere going to win, going to change the social order, or is it to die with its capitalism?

We need not heed any, no matter how allegedly high in theoretical standing in this 'Marxist' world, who call for coexistence, who call for a 3rd world, who call for a Eurocommunism. We know the only example of change has come as always predicted through revolution, as in Russia the Bolshevik Revolution. If the proletariat the working class within the capitalist world is not to be engulfed in the demise of capitalism, then it must follow the road of revolution also as in Russia 1917.

It is an essential that in our present difficulties we do not follow the capitalist road, that we do not lump USA capitalism and imperialism and the USSR.

We the workers are not dominated by two great 'superpowers'. First in Britain as in all other lands we the workers are dominated by the ruling class, capitalism. That ruling class British capitalism is hand in glove with US capitalism, almost at times its handmaiden.

In Britain we the workers are the superpower, as in the world there is but one superpower the working class. To the extent that we are not deceived, USSR is not our enemy, this ruling class in Britain is not the defender of freedom and liberty but its overlord and vanquisher. We cannot subscribe to the belief that capitalism is our strength and salvation. We are our own strength, internationally we are strengthened because of the USSR.

Long live the USSR, Long live the Revolution, must be our watchword.

Not Thatcher, Reagan, The Pope - But Us the Workers.

In the absolute decline of world capitalism the weakest go to the wall. Britain, once pre-eminent in world capitalism, started on a long decline from the beginning of the twentieth century; the decline accelerated in the imperialist first world war when Britain suffered dismemberment of its capitalist power, that is dominance of world trade; in the second world war through sacrifices in defence of liberty. It is now, as a capitalist state, compelled to take the lesser role of comprador to international capital and the dominant capitalist state, at present the USA.

In capitalist Britain with its capitalist government, its capitalist establishment in all its parts, especially its Parliament, including its political opposition party which is also part of the establishment, must contribute to this role, that is comprador to the capitalist world power in all its manifestations, political and economic. Hence we must not be dismayed, must not find puzzling, the Thatcher crusade against the Bolsheviks, the Thatcher servility to Reagan, the deference of Foot and the Parliamentary Labour Party to the establishment and the ruling party, the emergence of the "Social Democrats", the death of the Liberal Party no longer an oppositional party.

Capitalism can never trade equally, it can only succeed in a position of dominance over another, since the profit motive is all. Without dominance there is no further expansion, no further investment.

It is not a question of technology, a fancy word for changes in manufacture. It is not a fact that workers in one country cannot produce as cheaply as in another. It is not a fact that British workers cannot build ships as cheaply as Japanese or cannot produce steel as cheaply as anyone else or make motor cars as cheaply as General Motors. It is a question of chronology of domination. Who comes latest in expansion is therefore greatest in investment and in re-equipment. In the case of change, recrudescence, it is a question of time.

The anachronism of capitalism in Britain provides and proves that the only way out is socialism. Britain can no longer exist as a capitalist state.

In the role of comprador the Thatcher position was to destroy the working class, not just its organisations but the people themselves. The Thatcher election was a declaration of war on the working class. The Tory Party was returned by a large majority with a substantial working class vote. This followed incompetent and weak, both Labour and Tory, governments, and Thatcher with her promise of destruction of the unions and her image of single-minded strength, bogus though it was, a whim of an advertising agent, succeeded in winning the election. She was going to bring back economic stability and restore "law and order". Large numbers of simple-minded people believed this propaganda. As well as capitalists the lumpen element in the population, the "management" and "young executive" types and some fairly comfortable manual workers as well sadly as many women were her firm allies, at first. Thatcher's deliberate creation of 4 million unemployed is the result.

The Trade Unions epitomise the working class, therefore the Unions have to be destroyed. The crusade against Trade Unions was adopted by the majority, including some Trade Unionists, as was Hitler's crusade against Communists, Trade Unionists, gypsies, some religious people (though not the present Pope) and the Jews. The policy was the more easily accelerated by the malpractice of previous Labour governments who also made war on the wage earners but not on the capitalists. The problem is of course the deep and wide support from the far left to the far right of the belief that Trade Unionism is the villain of the piece. Even some members of unions adopt the position that unions (not mine, the other fellow's) are greedy and irresponsible, so wrecking the nation's economy. This was shown by the cowardly lack of support for the firemen and the seamen. The line was that it was wrong for them to demand more money but all right for us?

The one clear policy that Thatcher had was that she would crush the Trade Unions, the "disease of Britain" but meaning "Crush the working class." All this began with the consent of a large section of wage-earners. Today no sane person agrees with anything Thatcher says and she is the most hated politician in the history of Parliament. Her claws would be cut if the foolish idea (extant since the Tolpuddle Martyrs) that trade unionism is not quite respectable could be destroyed; this is mouthed by so-called Marxist-Leninists both at home and abroad. It is the same bed-rock philosophy of the Roman Catholic church - workers are ignorant foolish

Attack on de Albano
Play every side explain

(2)

people and have to be told what to do and think. The new "marxist" line from abroad is to repeat revolutionary slogans to workers, discourage them from any effort to fight their oppressors and so they will be brainwashed into revolution - Paul on the way to Tarsus! This is as destructive and anti-working class as anything the capitalists have put up. The carefully fostered belief that trade unionists are heretics, traitors, lacking politics, peddled from the right as lack of patriotism and from the left as anti-revolutionary. The line has the strength of corruption. *Be it that the T. Union should*

The same evil as the cold war against Trade Unionism, following the same course and supported also by left and right is the cold war, the crusade against the USSR. Give up trade unionism, kill a Russian for Reagan and we shall have the affluence and splendour of a free world, viz the USA! *But will in the ten years*

Part of the same lie is that the economic ills of capitalism are the fault of workers and that the failure of world capitalism is because of the existence of the USSR. Many workers throughout the world believe these lies and so do many so-called Marxist leaders. This to date, is the failure of communists everywhere. ?

Our Party also has a deficiency. Those of us who say, "We must tell the workers that Socialism will be good" are admitting that they have doubts. Once again the "stupid workers" must be told what is good for them. We must be certain that there is no freedom under capitalism, not even the freedom to exist and be exploited.

The total destruction of Britain by capitalism increased by geometrical progression in the short period of this government, has been regularly documented in "The Worker", at first the only newspaper to do so; now the press, suffering from schiz ophrenia, prints on the first page, "We are on the up and up" and then prints each further disastrous blunder on the other pages.

Is then the position of the British working class, faced with starvation and, or, a war against the USSR with Britain as Flanders Fields and nuclear bombs as tanks, hopeless? No. You do not have to study Marxism to know that it is impossible to destroy a population if they do not wish to be destroyed. *Victim* Even nature cannot do it. The Black Death that reduced the European population by two thirds resulted in Britain, in surviving peasants demanding freedom from their feudal lords and wages. In spite of indecision, vacillation lack of political acumen and the superstition that it is possible for workers to live with capitalism, constantly is the flag of war against capitalism being raised. Any struggle against this government is a struggle for progress and every section of the class, teacher, medical worker, publishers, miners, the list goes on endlessly, have attacked this government on wages, redundancy living conditions, the destruction of all civilisation in Britain. They have put to shame the alleged Parliamentary opposition. Everywhere in Britain are pockets of resistance and in the most unexpected places. Who would have believed it possible that a group of girls in a publishing house could hold at bay a big tycoon or that Inland Revenue workers could stop the government receiving rates? Workers took Britain out of NATO for one day. Why not for ever? Like a cheap thriller the press announced that masked men, SAS types, dived out of helicopters to collect electric motors for nuclear submarines from a striking factory in Manchester. Certainly the Thatcher government has lost all dignity in the world.

The manufactured inflation and the cuts were to starve workers, close schools, hospitals and universities, but have caused fierce opposition from people who never before were in struggle. Whole councils, even Tory ones are in opposition. There is a formidable army of citizens not prepared to watch Britain being destroyed and differences between different sections of worker in a trade or profession are being dropped to unite in a battle against the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. In all this great reservoir of class struggle the direction concerning the occupation of Ireland is a political test; for without the will and strength to drag the troops out of Ireland the British working class cannot be free. The judicial murder of ten young Irishmen, including an elected MP shocked many, but not enough.

Thatcher Comrade de just like other towns Ireland

Young people, no longer necessary for labour when there are/no factories and no longer necessary for the next war which is to be a push-button missile one, are to be starved of work, education and training. They have shown however that they are not going to be amenable to tyranny. Various attempts to discipline them behind barbed wire have been dropped and even the army opposes conscription. This is not because the generals and politicians have become civilised but because they are afraid.

Outside Britain there are splendid allies. The enormous anti-war demonstrations in most European countries are pushing some of their rulers into opposition to the Thatcher-Reagan line which is a road to certain defeat. The strength and unity of the USSR is the main obstacle to a third world war.

A few of the struggles of the working class have been listed, not least of the brave young Irishmen. There is no cause for despair. The fighting strength and class understanding of the working class have not slackened. But none of this is enough, since it is not directly politically class conscious. It is at its highest class hatred. What is essential is the understanding that capitalism is not only obsolete therefore dying, but the danger to us the working class is that we die with it.

This of course is the thought of capitalism, that if they must die all must die with them. Class force is inevitable and inexorable so that class force must produce change and a new social structure be created. This will be socialism. It will not come of itself from evolution but only from revolution. This is the only reason for the existence of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist).

For Revolution

For Socialism

1982 CONGRESS REPORT ON WORKER DISTRIBUTION.

It is paradoxical that although there has been no overall increase in circulation the record of several branches is one of steady growth. Many have raised their quotas or maintained an ambitious level despite great odds. The great fluctuations so noticeable in earlier years have been reduced though unfortunately not totally eliminated. Undoubtedly there are some who play safe by not increasing a very low level of sales and show timidity in not wanting to expand into possibly difficult and even hostile terrain, but they are put to shame by the many who reveal not only consistency but remarkable ingenuity even when they are single-member branches.

Analysing the area of sales it is gratifying to find greater diversification in the kind of places chosen for selling. But the single most promising arena of sale for our comrades is undoubtedly the trade union branch and trade union meeting. While the range of trade unions inevitably reflects the type of membership within the branch it is good to find some enlarging their contacts through trade union mailing. This has been a very positive way of overcoming the disappointment of declining factory-gate sales. Sales at the place of work have also gone up and these should be considered in the discussion on recruitment but naturally the big public events are occasions for the largest and quickest sales. The greater frequency of demonstration, as anger against the Thatcher Government has mounted has helped everybody, even those in remote places for the unemployed and about to be unemployed are now mobilising in the most far-flung hamlets. While the mechanics of getting papers on time may not have been impeccable on all occasions, there has been a definite increase in efficiency all round in getting papers at the right place on time.

The imbalance of earlier years when foreign sales of the Worker outweighed domestic distribution has fortunately disappeared. We have relatively fewer overseas subscribers though it is surprising to find important parties continuing to pay for an annual subscription despite political hostility.

One area where there has been little improvement is in the retention of Worker readers once the personnel who made the initial sale move elsewhere. As problems of employment will make mobility of cadres inevitable we should try to convert the reasonably regular contact into a long-term subscriber so that the effect of our political line can work over a longist period, a very necessary experience for the potential recruit.

Financially, distribution reveals both a positive and negative aspect. The positive feature is that most, unfortunately not all branches are trying to be regular in payment. Some are also very generous and give donations beyond their numbers and resources. The negative side is the ever-increasing cost of postage and rail charges. Whereas the weekly bill for 1980 was in the region of 35.00 per week it has now gone up to 48.00 and after January increases will go beyond 50.00. All branches must therefore give serious consideration to ways and means of collecting their papers whenever possible. There might even have to be a more drastic review of the production schedule of the paper to facilitate branches collecting their quotas.

Since the last Congress in April, 1979, one thing can be said with pride: we have never missed a single issue. Congress took place a few weeks before the election of the Thatcher Government in May, 1979. In March, 1980, we grasped the significance of Thatcher's brand of Toryism and produced the headline, 'Thatcher Out'. Since that date the style, the content and the 'punch' of the paper have been qualitatively different from previous issues. Why did we take so long?

What has been good about our coverage? In many ways the quality of the paper has reflected the level of the class, and, particularly, the level of the Party's involvement with the class struggle. To take one comparison- the steel strike in 1980 and the civil servants' strike in 1981. Civil servants in the Party played active, often leading roles in that struggle. Week after week they produced for us informative, accurate articles summarising the position and giving first hand reports on gains made and the options for further action. The Party was not directly involved in the steel strike. Articles were sporadic, photographs had to be bought and coverage was on the basis of applying somewhat mechanically the Party line to a situation known mainly from reports in the national newspapers.

We have shown our weakness in another area. The BPC victory, in a struggle led by a Party comrade, was reported in a lively way week after week when the national press was avoiding the issue because it was too close to the bone. Another struggle at the same time, in Manchester, where a Party comrade was involved and the closest touch was kept with those in action was not covered with anything like the same thoroughness. We all have the responsibility to see ourselves as journalists. We must not only be engaged in struggle where we work; we must inform the class through the paper of these fights, of the victories and of the lessons learnt.

A major change has taken place and we must realise its significance. THE WORKER is no longer a 'fringe' newspaper reporting on the same matters as the national press but with a different political slant. We are a newspaper in our own right. Many times the only place where an item has been reported at all has been in THE WORKER. It is clearer than ever that with few exceptions there is total censorship in the media on the class battles that take place in Britain. Where else but in THE WORKER did we read of the extent and success of the May 14th demonstrations in 1980 or of the Vickers occupation, involving the imaginative use of Centurion tanks, in Newcastle in 1981?

For the first year of the Thatcher Government we struggled to understent the significance for our class of this new dictator. We reported the effects of her first budget and the plans for cuts throughout the public sector, the proposals for anti-trade union legislation, the attacks on education and health and the privatisation of state enterprise. In August 1979, we produced the prophetic headline, 'Under Threat- 200 Years of Working Class Civilisation.' As the rest of the media remained silent, we gave full prominence to the engineers magnificent campaign for pay, a shorter working week and increased holidays, rightly proclaiming

it to be 'one of the most important trade union victories since the war for industrial workers throughout the world.' At the time of his appointment we had seen Edwardes for what he was, and in October, 1979, we made our headline: 'Save Leyland: Sack Edwardes.'

By December we were clear that 'today it is not business as usual' and we proclaimed this under the headline 'Dictatorship: Theirs or Ours.' Our coverage widened as every part of our civilisation came under attack: medical education, the BBC orchestras, the sewage and water system, universities, and the fishing industry. We accepted as allies - albeit temporary - any who would speak out against Thatcher, including the prison officers in dispute and Beckett of the CBI. In May 1980, we took as our slogan, 'For Britain, For Peace.' We reported on the increasing war expenditure and the growing opposition to Pershing and Cruise missiles. When Reagan was elected, we pointed out the implications for world peace of having Thatcher and Reagan in power.

We have been able to provide an unparalleled account through THE WORKER of the destruction of industry. In July 1980, our headline ran, 'They Are Closing Down the Workshop of the World!'; and this was followed in September and October by a series of Industrial Specials dealing with different key sections of manufacturing. The November headline, 'Production Not Usury', condemned the switch from industrial to finance capitalism by the Government. We have written of British achievements, of the class's ingenuity in industry and technology- all under threat from Thatcher.

We have emphasised her attempt to introduce the fascist state and have had numerous articles on the changing role of the police and on the attacks launched against our civil liberties. THE WORKER was almost alone in challenging the 'labour camps' introduced after the summer upsurge of youth in 1981. We have rightly seen Heseline's attack on local authorities as part of a fascist attempt to destroy autonomy. We have continued to try to avoid stereotype writing in our articles and political comment, knowing that lifeless formulae often conceal a lack of real understanding and clear purpose. We have tried to introduce an element of wit, satire, and ridicule in our attacks on Thatcher and capitalism in such features as 'The Week.'

Our coverage of foreign news, not as broad nor as frequent as we should like, has however included accounts of class struggle in countries like Jamaica, Australia, India or Brazil which are only mentioned in the media when some kind of 'inexplicable' violence has occurred. We were alone in our reports of Chiang Ching's defiance of the counter-revolutionary regime at her trial and we have continued to report the true facts about the help given to Kampuchea by Vietnam, a country the imperialists have never forgiven for its defeat of US aggression. Only THE WORKER has written of the Polish Solidarity Campaign in terms of the vicious reactionary movement that it is. We have continued to demand the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and we saluted the courage and patriotism of the Hunger Strikers who won world-wide support for the cause of re-uniting Ireland and called forth a wave of criticism for the brutal acts of British Imperialism.

cont/

The cruelty and stupidity of the I.R.A. bombers operating indiscriminately in this country, who play into Tacher's hands, will not deter us in the slightest from mobilising working class opposition to British rule of a part of Ireland.

The main weakness in terms of coverage are the areas of the country, the East Midlands, the West Midlands, Central Southern England and most of Wales and Scotland, which get far too little mention. And there are whole sections of industry like petrochemicals, construction or electrical engineering which remain virtually uncovered. The reason for this is obvious; but extending good sound WORKER coverage into these areas and sections is part of the Party's effort to remedy the situation.

No one doubts the need for a bigger more frequent paper. Leaving aside questions of availability of time and skills in London, where it is produced, the truth is that we lack the material to increase the size. Even if we were to use every article received, including those our-of-date, irrelevant and those departing from the line, we would not gain another two pages a week.

With regard to the mechanics of producing the paper we have made many improvements, though more are still needed. The majority of photographs are now credited to THE WORKER, an important change to which the whole Party has contributed. The Editorial Committee now works in three instead of two teams and the various phases of production have been streamlined in order to facilitate more efficient working by fewer people on any particular production Saturday. The professional skills of one member of the Editorial Committee have completely transformed the graphics and presentation of the paper and the knowledge of design of another member has greatly improved the paper's appearance. The new type of graphics has not only made the paper look better but has made for a more arresting presentation, with tables, charts, and maps, of factual material - not to mention the fine cartoons from the same pen. With such examples those who are not so design-orientated are slowly improving.

What do we look for in the future? We still need more articles, more news, and the best articles come from where the Party is making the news. We have started a scheme for commissioning articles in advance and we are trying to build up a stock pile of non-topical articles but we still tend to much too a large an extent to live from hand to mouth. Our understanding of the situation, as shown in our May Day slogan in 1981 'Stand and Fight', has outstripped what many sections of our class are prepared to put into action. We often have to deal with situations where we are not actively engaged ourselves, as in the TIMES dispute for example, or where we cannot get help and guidance from some appropriate sectional grouping, as with the Nationality Bill, or which may be a relatively new area of struggle, as that between the central Government and local authorities, and then we simply have to apply the line to the best of our ability and let criticism in the branches and in the Central Committee correct us if we have got it wrong. If, as was said at the beginning of this report, the quality of the paper reflects the level of the class and, particularly, the level of the Party's involvement with the class struggle, then the way all members of the Party can help us produce a better paper is obvious - and is also the subject of this Sixth Party Congress.

Congress just demands a Party.

THE PARTY

In 14 years from the birth of the Party we have emerged with a tight, compact unit of dedicated comrades. It has been a slow and sometimes painful task. The level of understanding and application is today not only higher than previously, but much more even and equal one to another.

In achieving what we have the role of Party education must not be underestimated, nor in the future must there be any falling away in this. Branch meetings should be largely devoted to education in its broadest sense - studying classics (not a luxury but a necessity), reading our pamphlets and internal documents (so that new members, as well as veteran accept and understand the Party line as we have developed it over the years), and applying ourselves continually to the contemporary and its coverage by our weekly "Worker", so that by knowing what is we may also see what is to be done and as a Party lead, not follow.

*Why the
"not"
1. within
- USSR?*

Our Schools, Conferences and Regional Aggregates provide important supplements to branch education; these larger gatherings permit wider and fuller exchanges on matters of moment to the Party and the working class.

High as is the level of understanding and application, the needs of the day demand much more, not only of theoretical understanding, but of dedication and of zeal. Although there is great improvement, there is still, however, unequal distribution of labour. In some areas of our work still the greater labour and effort is being made by too few.

It was Lenin who, in stating the requirements among many that become the duty of a communist, stated the duty to make a financial contribution. In this connection our comrades are generally all very self-sacrificing and generous. So that we can say we are self-sufficient so far.

It is in the work field that more evenness is required, and, such are the political needs and demands upon us as communists, this is an urgent question. For the work load will increase.

*D. Doust
on
unpleasant*

No explanation is acceptable when one communist is compared to another. It cannot be said that one hard-working comrade is freer to be so, has less other commitment. Such is the nature of work and its field, there is opportunity and need in all spheres for all. No matter the varying circumstances of one to another it is in finality conviction alone that drives and provides zeal in this herculean task we have set ourselves.

It is in this connection to a considerable degree that the changes in personnel of the Party have come about over these years. There have been cases of those expelled who whilst advancing differences concerning line have consciously and sometimes subconsciously faltered at the enormity of our task and the great burden of labour that imposes.

* * * * *

There is today a greater unity around our line, around the Party, than before. But still with all the magnificent loyalty there is need and room for much more.

Therefore concerning recruitment, great application is required. As welcome as it is to have those wishing to join declare and mean absolute agreement with our policy, with the aims and purpose of the Party, it is not enough for candidature. It is much more exacting, more onerous - What work will you do? must be the test.

Henceforth we should not recruit solely from the showing of an applicant to line. We should not accept instantly those whom we deem to have shown great understanding at a study course, but must test out conviction with tasks to be done and invite their assistance in appropriate fields of work before acceptance of candidature.

The Party at this Congress should discuss the problem of so few recruits directly manual workers, relative that is to others. In this matter we - have not found solution. We are not nearly adequate or in balance here.

Recruitment must be a planned activity by our members; increasingly it must be a matter of selection by us of those whom we require to join our ranks. It cannot remain haphazard; we do not leave an ever-open door. We will only recruit to the extent that we are able to convey our own conviction, commitment and pride in the Party to the one we are attempting to win. Recruitment is the real test of the impact of our line and work. Our members may be excellent trade unionists in workplace and branch, but if they fail to kindle the spark of Communism in their workmates and contacts they fail as Party members.

The question to a worker is now stark as never before: the Party represents

a future for Britain, its people and their children against world war and absolute decline, represents revolution against genocide, Life against Death. There are two fountains of life and -hope in Britain: the Working Class and the Party, and each needs the other. All other political organisations; are so much dust and dross. Time devoted to them is time diverted from the real tasks. Our dialogue is with the Working Class and with no-one else. We must delay no longer: Build the Party.

* * * * *

Concerning the Paper, accepting that the quality and production is of the highest, we must discuss how to increase and widen circulation and distribution to get fully its influence throughout the country.

* * * * *

Regarding personnel, the branch is and must be the discipline factor in securing adherence to line, work and conduct. This being the case, regular attendance at the Branch is an essential of Party membership. There is a need for us to consider extending the leadership role and initiative function of the Regional Committees, which will inevitably carry with it disciplinary authority to ensure that the work is done, but this must be achieved by consent alone, not as a part of the constitution of the Party concerning control and discipline of comrades. The Branch must be the constitutional root in all respects.

* * * * *

Our comrades here must give attention to the age question of our cadres. Some of us must in due course step aside to be replaced by younger. This too is a pressing problem from the termination of this Congress to the next, and must be considered now and in interim.

These past years have produced considerable change in understanding by our comrades which stems not alone from correctness of our policy but the unselfish sacrifice and nobility of our comrades. This has had great effect in spheres of the industrial sector and has had import to workers throughout the country. We have changed direction of workers' struggles towards revolutionary understanding in many places, both in strategy and tactics of struggle and in national outlook and direction. But so pressing are the needs, the urgency so great, we must reflect here also how to break this castle of retreat sought by so many and so frequently in social democracy.

These things and many more must be reviewed so as to change the outlook, numbers and influence of the Party.