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As Benn Diverts Fight

REJECT BOSSES MARKET !

The Common Market is a regroupment of the European employers against the working class. It is a trading block, created by European capitalists in order to compete more effectively with other sections of capital, and to do this by increasing the exploitation of the European working class. It was set up in 1957, in the boom period, and incorporated the European Coal and Steel Community which started in 1952.

Recent developments, such as bringing Britain in and the creation of a tighter common tariff and trade policy, are directly related to the new conditions created by the ending of the boom, the sharpening of the world crisis of capitalism and the requirements of the employers which flow from this - to substantially reduce the living standards of the working class.

By the creation of such a block, the ruling class hope to use their strength internationally against a working class which is imposing defeats on imperialism all over the world. In Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos imperialism has been ended. In Europe the working class are on the offensive and have ended 50 years of fascism in Portugal and 9 years of military dictatorship in Greece.

STRENGTH

This same strength could be seen in France in 1968 when the working class through mass strikes and occupations had power within its grasp. In Czechoslovakia the same year, workers resisted the tanks of the Soviet bureaucracy. In 1969 Italy was paralysed by mass strikes.

The events in France, in particular, were looked upon by every capitalist government with great fear - they were saved only by the betrayals of Stalinism. The governments of France which followed and were influenced by the revolutionary threat posed by these events, are now the dominant political force in the EEC.

It is because the Common Market is such a basic class issue, involving the history and the future of the European working class, that we urge every worker to wage an all-out struggle for a NO vote on June 5th.

These basic political questions involving the EEC must be spelled out now because the campaign against the market is placed in great danger by the refusal of the Labour 'lefts' to fight. Let us look back briefly at their record:

First, on March 26th, the 'lefts'

Then on May 18th, at a crucial stage in the campaign, Benn made the claim that 500,000 of the current unemployed are directly attributable to Common Market membership. This provided the perfect diversion for Wilson to use. The capitalist press and the pro-Market

In reality, of course, all these issues - the budget, public expenditure, Ryder, British Steel redundancies, are all intimately connected with EEC membership.

Benn is not the only one who can separate crucial issues. Jack Jones whilst making speeches against EEC



Jenkins and Whitelaw jointly campaign for the Market

of the Tribune group refused to press for a decision of the National Executive of the Labour Party (where there is a majority against the Market) to commit the party apparatus to the campaign for a NO vote. Even after 2 to 1 support for a NO vote at the Labour Party special conference they still refused to fight this through.

This was the major decision of the campaign. It meant that the party machine was neutralised (which would have had enormous influence in the working class, had it been used) whilst Wilson could speak with the authority of Government. On top of this unlimited finances were being made available to the pro-Market campaign from business sources.

Next, on April 9th, only Heffer out of 38 ministers who had declared themselves against the Market, was prepared to speak against Wilson in the Commons debate. When Heffer was sacked the Tribunes took no action in his defence - leaving it at the level of an individual protest.

campaign have concentrated on it ever since.

We are not saying of course that the Common Market is not creating unemployment - it clearly is. The Common Market is a part of the world crisis of capitalism and therefore cannot be separated from all attacks on the working class, including unemployment.

BENN

Benn gives Wilson ammunition because he ignores this and tries to treat unemployment simply as a European issue. This protects Wilson who is busy creating unemployment through the budget and cuts in public spending, as a weapon against the working class. Benn is also keen to make unemployment a mainly European issue because he accepted Wilson's budget, and therefore attempts to divert away from his own role in creating unemployment in Britain.

membership, attacks workers who are defending their standard of living and calls for wage restraint 'in the national interest'.

Jones goes on to make proposals which could have far reaching implications. He made a call for nationally negotiated flat rate increases, negotiated between the TUC and the CBI. His proposal not surprisingly was promptly supported by Wilson and the CBI itself.

Therefore Jones, who calls for withdrawal from the EEC, advocates in all other respects policies which are entirely in line with the requirements of the employers in Britain. In fact his proposals may well be used by Wilson as ground work for attempting to introduce some kind of statutory wage control after the referendum.

The fight against the EEC therefore cannot, and must not, be separated from the situation which the working class will have to face immediately after the referendum. The employers are not separating

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AUEW Postal Ballot Defeated

The decision of Hugh Scanlon to place his casting vote in favour of ending the postal ballot rule was correct and courageous. The even vote, 25 - 25, came at the end of last week's AUEW Rules Revision Conference following the disqualification of the credentials of two National Committee members, Graham Healey and John Weakley, both from South Wales.

This decision is of great importance to the trade union movement and could halt the slide to the right in the AUEW which has taken place since the introduction of postal ballots 5 years ago. It raises the principle that voting requires the minimum involvement in union affairs of attendance at a branch meeting.

"DICTATORSHIP"

The capitalist press went wild at the decision. Dictatorship had been introduced into the AUEW, they said. Scanlon was attacked from all sides.

The employers of course have an interest in wanting to elevate those workers who are union members but not involved in trade union activity. The active worker is the leader on the shop floor. He is involved in the day to day struggle to build and protect the union. He becomes a shop steward, he collects the weekly subscriptions. He is on a different level from the inactive worker, who is more easily influenced by the capitalist press and TV.

The trade unions were built by the active, not by the inactive and they will be defended in the same way. This is not to say that the inactive cannot rapidly become active or that he will not respond to leadership when it is given - but whilst he remains as he is he can be used and influenced by the capitalist press. This is why the employers want to enlist his support through the postal ballot system.

DEMOCRACY

Democracy becomes meaningless when the right wing separate it from the building and defending of the unions. It means you can have an abstract democracy and end up with no union. When 'democracy' means that a worker does not need to go to his branch meeting to vote but can vote at home under the constant influence of the TV screen it becomes downright reactionary.

When the right wing talk about democracy they ignore the fact that democratic rights were won in struggle and can only be defended in struggle. They will not be defended by the 'leaderships' chosen by the

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

NATO SPLIT

Ford and Kissinger's whistle stop tours of European capitals are an attempt to gain a breathing space on a series of acute problems facing US foreign policy. Top of the list at the Brussels NATO summit meeting is the problem of Portugal.

Portugal is still in NATO despite the fact that Communist Party chiefs are at the very centre of the state administration. Portugal's failure to withdraw from NATO undoubtedly has the approval of the military policy makers in the Kremlin.

Ford, still trying to pick up the pieces after Indo-China, is applying strong unofficial pressure on other NATO states to remove Portugal and admit Spain.

Greece's membership of NATO is now more or less token. And the extreme right wing Demirel government in Turkey is threatening the withdrawal of US military facilities there. Kissinger's commuting between Athens and Ankara a week ago failed to heal this breach, while Congress still has not restored the military aid to Turkey, cut off by the pro-Greek lobby following the Cyprus invasion.

Kissinger was also unable to promise Gromyko, Soviet foreign minister, when they met last week any speedy calling of a "European Security Conference" intended to review and re-establish the division of Europe after World War II.

IRELAND

'TOM' POPULAR FRONT

report from the conference organised by the TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

The right to self-determination for the Irish people is a principle for all socialists. An essential part of the struggle for this principle must be the fight for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

The National Labour Movement Delegate Conference on Ireland, which assembled more than 300 delegates, might therefore have been an important step forward in this fight in the British working class.

Of necessity, however, such a conference must contain many different views on Ireland, and it is of the utmost importance for such a conference (and indeed its sole practical purpose) that these political differences should be fought out. Otherwise it can turn into a self-congratulatory jamboree. Previous protest movements were constituted on a limited and opportunist basis, and consequently failed to make any penetration into the working class. When simple protest consequently proved ineffective questions of policy and perspectives arose and split the bogus unity down the middle.

It was into precisely this trap that the TOM conference fell. Instead of a discussion by delegates of the policies to meet the needs of the Irish people, and of the most effective way of fighting for withdrawal of the troops the conference was dominated by platform speakers, including a catholic priest and the reactionary Labour MP Leo Abse. The latter's contribution contained such remarks as "the internment camps must be abolished as they are the staff colleges of the IRA". Protests at Abse's



British troops patrol in N.Ireland.

speech were met with threats from TOM representative Gerry Lawless, and such hecklers were later denounced as ultra-lefts by an IMG speaker.

The only discussion of the day arose from a motion presented to the conference from Hackney Trades Council, which had the support of the TOM organising committee. This motion welcomed all "progressive" activity inside and outside the labour movement which

sought a solution based on the right of the whole Irish people to national self determination. It also called for an end to Labour's bipartisan approach to Ireland, and demanded that the PLP adopt a programme based on the right of the Irish people to "unimpeded democratic majority rule". A mass rally and a lobby of Labour MPs' surgeries were proposed as well as a broad united campaign on the use of Trafalgar Square for demonstra-

tions on Ireland, and on the right to campaign amongst serving soldiers. Finally it asserted that the Troops Out Movement was the "essential organising core on any effective campaign on the question of the British army in Ireland".

Such a wide ranging motion necessarily contained many sources of dissent, as was shown by the large number of amendments put forward. These were largely dismissed however by the organising committee who, with the support of the IS and IMG, threw out amendments which sought to restrict the activities of TOM to the labour movement and which condemned Labour MPs who fight for "Troops Out" on the basis of "let the Irish kill each other". Clearly unity, with anyone, takes priority over taking a principled position.

As stated in previous issues of *Socialist Press*, the starting point of the WSL in the struggle against British imperialism is the need for the independent mobilisation of the Irish working class. By currying ideas of unity with reactionary Labour MPs, and establishing a popular front with catholic priests, the Troops Out Movement, backed by IS and IMG, is doing no service either to the Irish people, or to the British working class. A successful struggle for the policies of TOM - "self determination for the Irish people" and "immediate withdrawal of British troops" - can only be undertaken by those who take up the fight for leadership in the working class against all who have conspired to fasten on the British and Irish workers the chains of slavery, and these include the very MPs and priests that TOM is so eager to welcome onto its platform.

PORTUGAL

The demonstration a week ago in Lisbon included both the forces between which the military - Communist Party regime in Portugal maintains its delicate balance.

The 'democratic' - and effectively right-wing - policies of the Socialist Party leadership have provided an umbrella which spreads over both class-conscious workers who are opposed to the Stalinist alliance with the officers of the Armed Forces Movement, and many thoroughly reactionary and anti-communist elements, who no longer dare show their faces under banners to the right of social democracy.

These forces - fundamentally opposed - were temporarily brought on a parallel course by the cynical

and reactionary policies of the Portuguese Stalinist leadership. On Thursday night a demonstration of tens of thousands marched from the Rossio Square, in the centre of Lisbon, protesting against the government's decision to close a newspaper (*'Republica'*) whose editorial line ran in support of Soares and the Socialist Party leadership. The government had stepped in after industrial action by Communist Party printworkers - demanding a change of editorship - had shut the paper. The Socialist Party leadership - strengthened by the 38% of the ballot they got in the elections to the Constituent Assembly on April 25th - responded by boycotting the cabinet and calling the demonstration of May 22nd.

The speakers and official slogans

of the demonstration were thoroughly right-wing: they included not only 'freedom of the press' but the demand for secret ballots in the trade unions.

But many of those who marched on the demonstration were in opposition - from a left standpoint - to the hand-in-glove collaboration of the Stalinists with the officers, in a government which has never been elected and which is in no way responsible to the working class. There was also anger at the Communist Party's attempt to procure for itself - by the suppression of Maoist groups as well as the closing of *'Republica'* - a monopoly of political expression over the other tendencies in the workers' movement, and at the way in which the Stalinist apparatus is becoming a

ladder for careerism in the State. As one speaker put it 'The Popular Democratic Movement (a Communist Party front organisation) has become a real employment agency'. This was why the Communist Party attacked the demonstration for rallying "reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces, including left, pseudo-revolutionary groups".

The role of the Communist Party in Portugal has brought splits and confusion among the main Stalinist leaderships in Western Europe. While the French CP daily *'l'Humanite'*, accused the Portuguese Socialist Party - and by implication, its supporters in the French social democracy - of 'playing with fire', *'Unita'*, paper of the Italian CP, described the shutting of *'Republica'* as "an act of political intolerance".

S P BOYCOTTS CABINET

West German

SHOW TRIAL

The trial of the Baader-Meinhof anarchist group, opened in Stuttgart on May 20th, was adjourned on the first day until May 30th because some of the defence lawyers have already been excluded for being too helpful to the accused.

The build up to the trial and the atmosphere in which it has been conducted can only be compared to the witch trials of the middle ages. A great campaign of hysteria has been built up by police and press against the defendants. It was even proposed at one time to open the brain of Ulrike Meinhof for inspection. She and the other defendants, Andreas Baader, Gudrin Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Raspe have been treated by sensory deprivation and other modern forms of scientific torture.

The Spanish inquisition and nazi 'science' will not be dead as long as these methods continue. Two and a half million pounds have been spent to construct a special court house which expresses all the might of the modern West German state. All the most advanced forms of modern technology have been utilised for the electronic surveillance of the accused, surrounding them with granite, and with helicopters flying above their heads.

The possibility of any serious consideration of the evidence against the accused must be dubious to say the least. A defence lawyer suggested on the only day of the trial so far that the chief judge might just as well shut up shop and let an army general take his place. His words will no doubt ring even more true in the months ahead as this show trial proceeds.

USA

CRISIS AND CORRUPTION

The economic crisis in the USA continues to deepen. Statistics issued last week showed the situation to be worse than previously thought.

National output is now falling at an annual rate of 11.3% as compared with 9% last year. Inflation continues to increase - now standing at an annual rate of 8%. Finally, profits showed a record rate of decline falling at an annual rate of 22%.

As in Europe the depth of the crisis is most clearly revealed in leading sectors like the motor industry. US car sales have fallen 21% over the last year for all the big car

firms. Ford has, in the words of its chairman, "written the 1975 model year off", giving little hope of re-employment to the 20,000 Ford workers now on indefinite lay-off.

Meanwhile at Chryslers unsold stocks of vehicles are already twice the normal level for this time of year and the company is considering closing four out of its six US plants for at least six weeks during the summer.

The deepening economic crisis has brought forth a bout of gloomy prognostications concerning the future of the American political system. As leading industrialist Fletcher Byron put it bluntly last week, "Our political system just won't allow corporations to make

the profits they need". Such comments reflect the increasing inadequacy of the existing methods to deal effectively with the rising working class resistance to inflation and unemployment.

This crisis of confidence by the bourgeoisie in 'liberal democracy' has been over the last couple of years enormously increased by the Watergate revelations and the massive defeats in Indo-China. Currently it is being further magnified by a new series of revelations, a by-product of earlier Watergate investigations concerning bribery and corruption in big business. Watergate investigators are now beginning to uncover a new 'Business Watergate'. It transpires that the Gulf Oil

Company paid last year a total of \$5m in bribes to government officials in South Korea and Bolivia. Further revelations are to be imminent.

It is against this background that President Ford arrived in Europe, armed only with the pathetic Mayaguez affair to boost his credibility, to urge his NATO allies to continue to give him their support. Just as he cannot defend the capitalist classes of Western Europe against the massive movements of the working class now represented by the struggles in Portugal, the existence of American capital itself becomes more and more clearly dependant on the reformist leadership of the American working class.

SPAIN FASCISM'S DAYS ARE NUMBERED

These are dangerous times for a leopard to try changing its spots. But that is just what the fascist regime in Spain is being forced to attempt, almost four decades after General Franco launched his military insurrection against the Republican government and the working class.

Under the shock waves spreading from the example of the Portuguese revolution, faced with persistent and widespread political opposition within the country, and afflicted by the international economic crisis as severely as the rest of Western Europe, the machine of fascist state rule now faces a serious and intricate internal crisis.

Centre of the situation is 'la Operacion' ('the Operation') - the euphemism in ruling-class circles for the campaign to 'persuade' or coerce the ageing Franco to relinquish his supreme political power in an orderly way. Though aged 82, the Caudillo has now almost completely recovered from the blood clot which almost killed him last summer. He has already taken back the powers that he then temporarily ceded to his nominee as formal head of state, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbon y Borbon.

INCOMPETENT

The nomination of Juan Carlos, in any case, is no more than a formal solution to the problem. The Prince, despite the extremely blue and reactionary blood that runs in his veins, is widely regarded as a man of severely limited intelligence and political competence, wholly unable to deal with the task of organising a rickety state apparatus to deal once more with the upsurge of the Spanish revolution. But, apart from him, the dictator has so far not created any new centre of power to take over from him when he dies or begins to sicken again.

He has strictly limited the very modest proposals for 'reform' coming from Prime Minister Arias Navarro and the cabinet. And in any case the cabinet itself - despite the fact that as a body it is wholly under the thumb of Franco in all important matters - has been split in the last few months on proposals to revise the labour laws and permit a nominal right to strike.

The original strengths of the fascist state are now the source of many of its internal problems. Franco's counter-revolution came to power during the Spanish Civil War over the corpses of one of the most determined and heroic working class struggles that European history has yet seen. The workers and peasants of Spain were betrayed by the Popular Front policies of Stalin and the social democracy, who refused to organise the war against Franco on a class or internationalist basis.

Nonetheless, to destroy the Spanish revolution Franco was forced to build - with the military aid of Italian and German fascism, and with the sympathetic support of most of the capitalist politicians in Europe - a brutal, efficient, centralised military state apparatus. The instruments of dictatorship - the army and police, the fascist Falange party, and to a large extent the church - had to be placed under a single decisive source of power: Franco's one-man rule.

Now that Franco's days are coming to an end, and the working class is once more on the offensive, the entire apparatus of state power is thrown into crisis. As a former cabinet minister put it - vividly revealing the corruption and careerism which has grown rife in three and a half decades of fascist 'peace' - 'The Caudillo holds the state together. The moment he goes there won't be one bull in the ring, but a thousand charging in every direction to make up for lost time'.



Francisco, the ageing dictator

While the internal struggle over the succession continues, the regime responds to political opposition with a combination of repression and appeasement. As recent reports in the capitalist press have described the Basque country in the north west of Spain has been turned in the last few months into a network of emergency gaoles and concentration camps for political prisoners from all parts of the country.

Since the end of April the provinces of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa have been under a state of emergency. There, the police have effectively unlimited powers - whereas in other areas they are obliged to observe at least some outward forms of legality. Over 2,000 people were arrested in the early part of May. The prisons were so overcrowded that in San Sebastian some of the victims had to sleep on the floors of halls, while in Bilbao the bull-ring was turned into a temporary 'concentration camp.' Along with the arrests came numerous reports of police beatings, tortures and killings - almost none of which, of course, were reported in the press or investigated by the government.

At the same time the police have turned a blind eye to the horrific 'pogrom' against left-wingers, liberals, and those suspected of sympathy with Basque nationalism in the area. Led by the ultra-right 'guerrillas of Christ the King', groups of thugs carried out dozens of bombings, burnings and assaults.

'RULES'

The Minister of 'Information' this month issued new 'rules', in an attempt to bring the press under better control. These include a ban against even mentioning 'any subject which could prejudice national unity', or 'the hypothesis that Franco could be getting ready to give up his place.'

However, it is not only the working class and national struggle in the Basque country that is challenging the regime, but also sections of workers and professional people throughout the country. With most pay increases lagging behind a rate of inflation which last year reached at least 20%, even actors and civil service officials have been among the many groups taking industrial

action during this year. There have also been more powerful class actions in the last weeks - including strikes at the giant SEAT car plant in Barcelona, supported by workers from other plants and followed by a widespread strike of building workers in the area; and strikes against sackings at a large Renault vehicle factory.

The repressions, too, have gone on nationwide. They include not only Basque nationalists and Communist Party supporters, but supporters of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria ETA (sympathetic to the revisionist 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International') and the Revolutionary Spanish Workers' Party (PORE).

NEGOTIATIONS

But the repressions cannot of themselves break the growing strength of the working class. The fact that employers are often forced to negotiate with the 'Workers' Commissions' (officially illegal, and largely dominated by the Communist Party), rather than the state-run 'Syndicates', compelled the government to finally concede a 'right to strike' earlier this month. But it is subject to six days' notice after the end of lengthy official procedure, and it specifically outlaws sympathy strikes and, of course, occupations and demonstration. It is, in essence, an attempt to bring the 'unofficial' movement under state control.

Within the ruling class the search for political solutions forces sections towards alliance with the class-collaborative leaders of the semi-legal workers' organisations. Over a hundred Madrid lawyers occupied the Bar Association in Madrid ten days ago in protest against the arrest of their colleagues, some of whom were accused of having literature of the 'Democratic Junta' (the popular front coalition of the Communist Party with 'left' monarchists.) And at the end of April, the supporters of Juan Carlos' new rival for the throne, Carlos Hugos de Borbon, announced an alliance with the social democratic PSOE. Such blocs are an attempt to secure an 'orderly' transition of power, and to head off the development of revolutionary politics in the working class.

WHAT IS THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE?

The Workers Socialist League was formed on December 22nd, 1974 after over 200 members were expelled from the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The reason for the expulsions was that Alan Thornett, who was at that time a Central Committee member of the WRP, set out to bring about a discussion within that party on the wrong positions being taken by the Healy leadership and the Workers Press.

The issues were first raised on the Central Committee, and that committee agreed to circulate a document written by comrade Thornett, containing a statement of his differences, and to arrange a 'full and free' discussion within the party prior to the first annual conference. That free discussion never took place. Anyone who in any way supported the document was expelled.

This split was a product of particular political conditions. The rapid development of the economic crisis and the forward movement of the working class all over the world, which has since escalated to an even more rapid development, began to produce the conditions to build revolutionary parties.

Yet it was precisely in this period that the WRP began to decline in all its areas of work. It was this decline more than any other factor which raised questions which led to an examination of the political positions of the WRP leadership and to Alan Thornett's documents. As the split emerged, the sectarianism of the WRP, its departure from the Transitional Programme, and the way its maximum programme isolated the WRP from the working class became clear.

To understand the response to comrade Thornett's document in the WRP it is necessary to recognise the period we are now in. The defence of jobs through the fight for the sliding scale of hours without loss of pay; the defence of living standards through the fight for the sliding scale of wages related to rising prices; the challenging of the employer and the preparation of the struggle for power by the fight to open the books and establish workers control in the fight for nationalisation under workers' management; are now called for in this situation in the form of a programme of transitional demands which will form a bridge between the present consciousness and struggles of the working class to the need to take power. Yet the WRP right up to the opening of the discussion by comrade Thornett had never seriously fought for any of these demands. Instead it restricted itself to the sterile maximum demand "nationalise the economy without compensation under workers control".

The impossibility of any kind of opposition within the WRP forced us to found the Workers Socialist League as an independent organisation which will maintain and fight to develop the traditions and principles of Trotskyism. We are continuing to maintain a critique of the WRP leadership, but most important to us now are the new developments in trade union work and new areas opened up by our break from WRP methods. We are now turning to recruit and train the new forces thrown forward into struggle in this period - not only trade unionists, but also professional workers, housewives, students and youth - in the fight to construct the new party.

We have shown already that we continue to fight against all forms of revisionism - whether the state capitalist theories of IS or the Pabloite revisions of the IMG, and against Stalinism and reformism. Already it is clear that our struggles for Trotskyism in Britain take place under conditions which must create similar splits and discussions throughout the world. For this reason the WSL is now engaging in a process of internal discussion prior to a full founding conference, a vital part of which is to hammer out and adopt perspectives for the building of the Trotskyist Fourth International, and the development of revolutionary parties based on the Trotskyist Programme in every country in the struggle to end capitalism.

We were able to assemble the necessary political, editorial and material resources to begin regular publication of *Socialist Press* just five weeks after provisionally constituting the Workers Socialist League. Already the paper is winning important new contacts and establishing a firm base in the workers movement as the organiser of a Trotskyist party of considerable political strength.

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LETTERS

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Stalinism And The State

In its anti-Common Market propaganda, the British Communist Party continuously puts a nationalist position in which a key element is the notion of "sovereignty".

This is defined by ex Party Secretary John Gollan as "our right to make our laws and decisions on the crucial questions concerning the future of Britain at the moment when it faces its greatest post-war crisis". [emphasis added]. This is a view shared by the Labour Party 'lefts' who oppose the EEC also from a nationalist position. But more is contained in such a position than simple reactionary nationalism: there is also the illusion in parliamentary democracy - in socialism being achievable through peaceful parliamentary legislation.

This is an important revision of the fundamentals of Marxism by the Communist Party and is of course enshrined explicitly in its programme *The British Road to Socialism*.

First written, with the approval of Stalin himself, in 1951, as a programme to siphon off future militant or revolutionary movements of the working class into the blind alley of seeking parliamentary reforms, the document is the natural outcome of the desire of the Stalinist bureaucracy to preserve the balance of forces between capitalism and the workers states in the name of so-called "peaceful co-existence". Throwing overboard the historical experience of the working class in a century of struggle, and the theoretical heritage of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the Communist Party programme states boldly: "At a time of mounting class struggle, when the entire working class is brought into action and is supported by other sections of the population, a general election fought on the issue of a socialist solution to Britain's problems could bring decisive results. It could return to Parliament a socialist Labour and Communist majority and establish a Socialist Government which, with the backing of the people, would begin to carry through a fundamental social change."

Instrument

Thus far Harold Wilson would not disagree (though he may hesitate to support any strikes), but the CP is more explicit still: "In this way, using our traditional institutions and rights, we can transform Parliament into an effective instrument of the people's will, through which the major legislative measures of the change to socialism will be carried. Using the rights already won in the labour movement's historic struggle for democracy, we can change capitalist democracy, dominated by wealth and privilege, into socialist democracy, where only the interests of the people count." [p 10 emphasis added]

Gone is the Communist call for the dictatorship of the proletariat - instead we have legislation, a few words muttered in Parliament, supposedly dissolving the entire capitalist class and its repressive forces in a puff of smoke. Even worse, it is envisaged as taking place under the existing armed forces and police machinery, with a few faces changed only. It goes on to call for: "Consolidation of the political power of the working people by ensuring that those in commanding positions in the armed forces and police, the civil service and the diplomatic services are loyal to the Socialist Government and increasingly representative of the people". [p 11 emphasis added]

This treachery, which led to the slaughter in 1973 by the military junta in Chile of the flower of the working class militants and revolutionaries after 3 years of just such a government under Allende, is in

keeping with the earlier assertion that "a transition to socialism without armed conflict is possible today in many countries". [p 10]

It was with such illusions that Communist Party members in Chile disarmed sections of workers only weeks before the fateful Pinochet coup. There too the Party programme, modelled very much on the *British Road*, had completely revised Marx, Engels and Lenin on the state.

Of course none of these revolutionaries put forward the view that the working class could merely take over the existing apparatus of the bourgeois state and make it into a workers state. They would have fought to the last against the Stalinist concept of "building up a socialist state" by merely taking over the House of Commons as in the *British Road*:

"The House of Commons, the representative body elected by the people, will become the sole national authority; the House of Lords and the monarchy will be abolished."

Preparation

Lenin in *State and Revolution* the writing of which in 1917 was vital theoretical preparation for leading the Russian Revolution itself, works back through the writings of Marx and Engels to equip itself theoretically in order to fight precisely such opportunist conceptions of the state, and to clarify what was meant by the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

The starting point is that the state itself is not an accident or a power forced on society from without, but is an organ of class rule, "for the oppression of one class by another." It arises precisely because any "peaceful co-existence" between the opposed class forces of capitalists and workers is impossible, and it seeks to raise itself "above" classes in order to "legalise and perpetuate this oppression."

Lenin then goes on to examine within this the role of the armed forces of the state. Precisely because of class conflict, the "people" as a whole cannot be armed, and special bodies alone are equipped as a disciplined fighting force.

"This public power exists in every state; it consists not merely of armed men but also of material adjuncts, prisons and institutions of coercion of all kinds."

As Lenin emphasises, here is the essence of the power of the bourgeois state: "a standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power." As soon as the working class ventures into confrontation with the capitalists' "rights" of property through occupations or other class action, the truth of this is shown and also the interrelation between bourgeois private ownership, the "neutral" state and the laws passed by its parliament is laid bare. In addition, to finance this repressive apparatus, taxes are levied upon the working class by a welter of officials completely outside any form of democratic control. All this takes place in the pursuit of further exploitation of the working class, which in order to resist has to form its own class organisations, its own bodies of armed men (workers militia), its own form of officials (elected and subject to recall), and in no way lean on the machinery constructed by the capitalist class.

Lenin sets out firmly to establish along with Marx and Engels that the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie will be not peaceful and parliamentary, but violent. He quotes the *Communist Manifesto*:

"...In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society up to the

point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat."

Marx does not mention parliament here, nor use the deceptive notion of "the people" as do the Stalinists. The *Communist Manifesto* explicitly states that the task is to "raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class", in other words establish working class power and not some woolly consensus of workers, 'lefts', liberals and "progressive" generals as in Allende's government in Chile or the Popular Fronts of Spain and France in the 1930s.

More important still as Lenin shows, Marx then went on to talk of "the state, ie, the proletariat organised as the ruling class." In other words, after the defeat of the bourgeoisie the working class itself

"Finally in its struggle against the revolution, the parliamentary republic found itself compelled to strengthen, along with repressive measures, the resources and centralisation of governmental power. All [bourgeois] revolutions perfected this machine instead of smashing it." [Lenin's emphasis] Lenin goes on to draw the conclusion that

"World history is now undoubtedly leading, on an incomparably larger scale than in 1852, to the 'concentration of all the forces' of the proletarian revolution on the 'destruction' of the state machine."

The question that arises immediately from understanding the necessity for the working class to smash the state machine is - what can replace it? Marx and Engels certainly left no room for the Stalinist lie that merely the leading

can grasp the vital importance of this demand.

Yet the power of the bourgeoisie must be smashed root and branch, attacking also the bogus "neutral" apparatus set up to preserve capitalist private property: "The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of Paris, responsible and revocable at any time. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class... The police, which had until then been the instrument of the Government, was at once stripped of its political attributes and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable instrument of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, public service had to be done at workmen's wages. The privileges and the representative allowances of the high dignitaries of state disappeared along with the dignitaries themselves... Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the instruments of the physical force of the old government, the Commune proceeded at once to break the instrument of spiritual suppression, the power of the priests... The juridical functionaries lost their sham independence... they were thence forward to be electively responsible, and revocable..."

Bridge

All these measures actually begun by the Commune in 1871 contained much more than "moderate democracy". They contained the end of the separation and elevation of state power above the workers and the elimination of privilege and official grandeur. These steps Lenin puts it, unite the interests of the workers and the majority of peasants, and "at the same time serve as a bridge leading from capitalism to socialism".

At the same time the Commune was to be "a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time". [my emphasis] Marx is contemptuous of bourgeois parliamentary democracy which he dismisses as "deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to represent and repress the people in parliament". At times it was necessary to use parliamentary democracy in order to expose it, but the workers state would do away with these trappings of democracy, replacing them with representatives genuinely accountable and revocable to the electorate.

While in the Commune most of the representatives were drawn from the working class itself, so in the Russian Soviets of 1905 and 1917 there emerged the organs of working power, electing their officers purely from peasant, proletarian and soldiers ranks, excluding the bourgeoisie since the soviets included only those who worked. In this way the domination of workers over the expropriated capitalist class was prepared in the emergence of soviet democracy, with the arming of workers in the revolutionary struggle, followed by the smashing of the capitalist state.

Workers State

In the initial period following the revolution clearly repression of the bourgeoisie was vital. It was not a question of passing laws against them in parliament but of intimidating the former exploiters and physically imposing the new state power of the working class. Engels in his article "On Authority" takes up those who thought that the ending of the state meant the ending of authority. "Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there



need a form of state in order to establish its rule - and thus establish the basis, through the nationalisation of private industry and the implementation of a planned socialist economy, of the eventual elimination of class antagonisms.

Lenin shows why it is that the power must be taken by the working class as a class:

"Only the proletariat by virtue of the economic role it plays in large-scale production - is capable of being the leader of all the working and exploited people, whom the bourgeoisie exploits, oppresses and crushes, often not less but more than they do the proletarians, but who are incapable of waging an independent struggle for their emancipation..."

Guide To Action

Marxism is of course, contrary to the view of the sectarians, a guide to action for the working class and not in any way a fixed dogma. The most important developments it has made since the writing of the *Communist Manifesto* have been in concretising the way the working class struggle against the state takes place. The years of revolution of 1848-51 in France clarified for Marx the need for the working class to go beyond the limits of preceding revolutions and to smash the state apparatus of the ruling class:

figures are changed for those "loyal to socialism". Basing themselves again clearly on lessons drawn from the living struggle of workers, in this case the Paris Commune of 1871, they wrote:

"...One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz, that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes..."

Lenin, bringing completely up to date this development of Marxism, states clearly that this applies also to Britain:

"Today [1917] in Britain and America, too, the precondition for every real people's revolution is the smashing, the destruction of the ready-made state machinery..."

This, as we have said, drew on the actual experience of the Paris Commune, where steps were taken towards establishing a proletarian socialist republic. The first is extremely important when we review the Chile experience, and when we look at Portugal today:

"...The first decree of the Commune... was the suppression of the standing army, and its replacement by the armed people..."

The Commune in other words aimed first and foremost at depriving the bourgeoisie of its main organs of repression, the backbone of its state. The central fight for the disbanding of the standing army has since been taken up, on a verbal level, as Lenin shows, by "every party calling itself socialist." Only a revolutionary party however

SOCIALIST PRESS, Thursday, 29th May, 1975

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION:

...THE WOMAN QUESTION...

is; it is an act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannons, all of which are highly authoritarian means. And the victorious party must maintain its rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries."

Here indeed is the 'progressive' liberal's nightmare - the actual seizure of power by the working class which must be followed by its dictatorship, and which will in some of its forms appear similar to earlier repressive regimes. This is a necessity if power is to be held by the proletariat, the first propertyless class in history to make a revolution.

But at the same time the proletarian state is qualitatively different from the state in previous forms of society. Because by expropriating the capitalist class, and ending its exploiting role, the working class takes the first vital steps to end its own role under capitalism - its own position as an oppressed and exploited class. Lenin puts it clearly: "The exploiting classes need political rule to maintain exploitation i.e., in the selfish interests of an insignificant minority against the vast majority of the people. The exploited classes need political rule in order to completely abolish all exploitation, i.e., in the interests of the vast majority of the people, and against the insignificant minority consisting of the modern slave-owners and capitalists".

Yet as exploitation and class divisions are abolished under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so the need for repression and a specific state form is diminished. The proletarian dictatorship is not the end but a part of the transformation of society from capitalism to communism. Marx himself drew attention to this aspect of his theoretical contribution:

"And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists, the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove (1) That the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society".

Classes Abolished

The proletarian dictatorship therefore is the stage of society that prepares the classless society. It is a state form which prepares its own dissolution by introducing democratic election and recall which abolish the distinction between officials and workers, and by arming the majority to repress the minority in distinction to the special bodies of armed men, and most important by socialising the planning and development of the means of production. In this way once material inequality has been abolished the need for the state, and with it the state itself gradually withers away.

Yet not a step along this road is possible without the preparation of organs of dual power, the revolutionary confrontation with the armed force of the capitalist state. This has to be followed by the smashing of that state, suppression of the standing army, and the establishment of a workers state. A revolutionary party has to work on this strategic line in direct opposition to Stalinist "peaceful co-existence" and "parliamentary roads to socialism".

A study of these basic lessons is important for workers moving into struggle today. All of the quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin in this article are taken from Lenin's *State and Revolution*, which we urge all readers to study at first hand.

by JOHN LISTER

A debate within the Trotskyist movement in Britain on the 'woman question' is long overdue. It has either totally ignored the need to win working class women to a revolutionary programme, or, when it has taken up work in this field, it has resulted in a failure to advance the independent interests of working class women.

The practice, of these organisations has meant that the independent class interests of working women have been subordinated in the women's movement. This movement aims to end women's oppression by a struggle against 'male prejudices' and by concentrating on winning legal reforms. This approach has diverted the attention of women away from the material foundations of their oppression. The article in *Socialist Press* no. 7 initiates an important discussion, and as a reader of the paper, I should like to participate in the development of perspectives on this question.

The article demonstrates that gaining formal equality - ending legal restrictions on women's rights - does not end women's socially subordinate position since the roots of women's oppression lie in capitalist society. Whilst capitalism cannot increase social production sufficiently to replace the drudgery of housework with public canteens, nurseries, laundries etc., it must confine women to narrow household tasks.

CONDITIONS

This inferior position of women in the family can only be abolished when the material conditions exist to replace the family as an economic unit. The article also argues for support for demands for legal reforms which benefit all women - free abortion, the demands of the Working Women's Charter but argues that these demands must be taken into the trade unions where the reformist leadership will have to be challenged.

To develop these points a clearer understanding of the relation between women's oppression and the class struggle is needed. Two questions were left unanswered by the article: why the women's question is important to the training of a vanguard, a revolutionary leadership in the class; and whether women's consciousness can be raised by approaching her solely on her oppression as a woman.

CRISIS

The social crisis which drives the mass of the class into conflict with their reformist leaders, will also arouse the mass of women and draw them from the confines of the family. The family which is deeply rooted in popular consciousness and defended with all the means at the disposal of the bourgeois state is too strong, in other conditions, to allow women to be drawn into politics. This is why in the imperialist epoch the party must grasp the necessity to "open the road to the woman worker" who in 'normal' periods of capitalist development is excluded from political life.

The working class must respond to the needs of all the oppressed if

it is to advance its own independent class interests. It must fight against privileges in any form, not just those at the expense of its own class, because whilst it tolerates the existence of any privileges - whether those of nation, sex or race - it acquiesces in the privileges of its own ruling class. The political incorporation of the needs of the oppressed into the revolutionary programme and their active participation in the struggle for state power, is necessary if the proletariat is to emancipate itself.

LEADERSHIP

This is why the woman question has to be taken up today - because a politically independent leadership cannot advance the interests of the entire class while it ignores the needs of any one section. Revolutionaries must not only support the struggles of the oppressed, as Lenin explains, they have to know how to lead them in a revolutionary way: "Working class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases without exception of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected. Moreover to respond from a social-democratic and not from any other point of view."

[Collected Works Vol 5 p412]

When revolutionaries fight for the extension of democracy and the abolition of all forms of privilege within a bourgeois state it is to ensure the free development of the class struggle. But democracy has a class content. It is a form of state that ensures the conditions for the domination of one class over another. Revolutionaries, therefore extend the fight for democracy to the question of what form of state can implement the fullest democracy for the exploited and oppressed.

EQUAL RIGHTS

Behind equality of rights in bourgeois society lies the real social inequality between the owners of property and the propertyless. In the market, both capitalist and worker have equal rights to buy and sell their property freely. The capitalist state defends this right. But though both have formal equal rights they have in fact unequal social powers. The capitalist who has behind him all the power of his capital accumulated from the labour of the worker, stands in relation to the worker who has only his labour power to sell. The result of this 'free exchange' is that the worker is forced to sell his labour power to the capitalist and reproduce this social inequality. It is not lack of equal rights which prevents the worker from freeing himself from the domination of capital. The bourgeois state defends 'rights', but also private property - the power of one class over another.

Women's social equality too will not be realised through a struggle restricted to legal reforms. Not legal privilege, but woman's social position in the family, where she is socially dependent and excluded from public life, establishes the domination of man over woman. Capitalist society has drawn women outside the home to work for the capitalists and has been forced to socialise aspects of women's domestic labour. But this restricted socialising of domestic functions will only proceed whilst capital

is expanding and needs fresh sources of labour power. The cuts in public spending - especially in education and the social services - indicate the limits of this process. Capital cannot replace the family as an economic unit and consequently no legal reforms will end women's socially inferior position.

The family is not merely an economic, but also a social unit. The inability of bourgeois society to overcome class conflicts within it means that the state must be developed as a special power over and above civil society, as a result the mass of people are excluded from public life. In this way the masses are forced back on the family as a social unit, and women in particular are tied to the home. The family and the state are therefore closely connected.

Bourgeois democracy can only proclaim formal or legal equality between capital and labour, or between the sexes. It transforms the idea of equality, itself a reflection of the relations of commodity production, into a weapon against the proletariat by suggesting that the needs of all classes can be met via the institutions of the 'democratic' state. To limit the struggle of the oppressed to the proclamation of democratic rights, would restrict the struggle to one of reform within capitalism.

PROGRAMME

To respond in a consistently revolutionary way to the humiliations suffered by working class women would mean that we actively support demands relating to all women. But revolutionaries, recognising the insufficiency of even the fullest democracy in bourgeois society, must place these democratic demands in the context of a struggle for a programme which leads to the destruction of the bourgeois state.

A Marxist understanding of the material basis of women's oppression brings the social - the class questions to the forefront. A struggle for democratic demands, for legal reforms, alone, separate from the programme, dissolves the independent interests of working class women into an all-class alliance. Such an alliance fails to indicate which class can consistently lead this struggle. In today's conditions only the proletarian vanguard, adhering to an independent working class programme, can complete this struggle because only the proletarian state can ensure the fullest democracy to the oppressed.

The response of working women to the crisis may be to seek an individual solution in the family by trying to 'make-do' on a reduced income in the home. They will only resist the coming attacks with a commitment to their class interests, if they are led by revolutionaries on a clear programme. It will be the class interests which will force working class women to confront their specific oppression as women, as an obstacle to their involvement in the class struggle. For revolutionaries, then, there is no 'woman's question' above class conflict or apart from the struggle for a programme.

Revolutionaries, however, cannot afford to view the struggle against women's oppression as a 'side issue' or a diversion from the class struggle. The class struggle by itself does not automatically overcome the chauvinism and indifference to women's needs in sections of the

trade unions. A revolutionary leadership will have to fight for the social representation of women's needs in the trade unions and other working class organisations. We will only win the confidence of working class women by demonstrating that we recognise and will fight for their specific needs as women. Revolutionaries must approach women not solely on the woman question but on class issues if it is to raise their consciousness.

ABDICATES

The majority of the Left, in approaching women exclusively on women's demands, abdicates its own responsibility to win women to a revolutionary programme. This sectional approach advancing one policy for women and another for the working class separates the woman question from the programme. Although the consciousness of working class women, conditioned by her position in the family means that special means must be found to raise woman's consciousness, it is not necessary to evolve new demands for women alone.

Organisations like the Women's Liberation Movement and the Working Women's Charter cannot advance the interests of working class women, not because of their social composition, but because the former places the woman question above the class struggle; and the latter advances a series of reforms which do not correspond to the overall needs of working class women, which can only be met through the struggle for a revolutionary programme. Revolutionaries would support these reforms - nurseries, equal pay, training facilities for women, etc. - but would incorporate these into a revolutionary strategy.

As the economic crisis deepens women will bear the brunt of the capitalist offensive: women will be singled out for the first redundancies and equal pay will be ditched by the trade union bureaucracy. The organisations necessary for the defence of the interests of the whole class - price committees, factory committees to open the books of the capitalists and control production and distribution, must take up the special needs of women. Organisations of workers' control, the embryo of the proletarian dictatorship, are alone capable both of politically representing the social needs of women and of fully drawing women into the class struggle. Only these organisations and this strategy provide a means to emancipate working class women as they can tackle both her legal and social inequality.

Separate organisations of working class women may be necessary. The article in *Socialist Press* 7, in arguing that there can be no separate organisations of women, confuses a politically autonomous movement around women's demands, which Lenin quite rightly opposed, with separate agitation amongst working class women, which may be necessary to win them to the revolutionary programme. Any work undertaken by revolutionaries in organising working class women would be under the direction of the party where comrades would argue for the programme and for these organisations to ally themselves to the party.

by JULIA KELLETT

REVIEW ENGELS ON THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM

“He is not wise who from his reading draws
Nothing but floods of useless erudition.
For all his learning, life's mysterious laws
Are a closed book beyond his comprehension.
He who acquires a thorough textbook grounding
In Botany, won't hear the grass that grows.”

The child is father to the man. Frederick Engels was a revolutionary - in politics and in philosophy - almost all his adult life. But he began as a bourgeois revolutionary, and only later became a proletarian revolutionary.

More, he was the co-founder of the scientific programme of the proletarian revolution. Engels' transformation was no easy process, since what was involved was not merely the changing of his views, but the struggle - reflected in thought - of two mighty social orders, the dictatorships of capital and of the working class.

It is therefore an important gain for us to be able to approach the study of an essential part in the first stages of this process. The second volume of the Marx-Engels *Collected Works* contains the writings of the young Engels between the ages of 17 and 22 (i.e. up to 1842). The first volume covering Marx's earliest writings, has already been reviewed in *Socialist Press*, no.1 (6.2.75). This second, in which nearly every item appears in English for the first time, also helps us to understand some of the difficulties in the paths by which the founders of scientific socialism move towards its essential principles.

The strongest fledgling is often the one who must break through the toughest eggshell. Engels was born in 1820, into a family of conservative and religious German industrialists. He moved in the direction of philosophical materialism and scientific socialism initially through the wholehearted defence of Hegelian philosophy against its religious opponents and interpreters, and through political support for German nationalism, and the democratic bourgeois revolution which was necessary at that time to achieve its aims.

NATIONALISM

Engels says of the great German idealist philosopher Hegel that he “came under his own pronouncement that every philosophy is but the thought content of its own time”. Engels would not have considered himself immune from such a comment, and his earliest statements certainly reflect his origins in the German bourgeoisie. He belonged to a class which at that time faced the task of carrying through the democratic aims of the bourgeois revolution, of freeing Germany from the survivals of feudalism and superstition, and of bringing together its numerous tiny principalities into a modern nation state.

In the mid-nineteenth century the political and economic unification of Germany appeared as the task of the capitalist and middle classes, who were only just beginning to feel the working class at their backs. Engels began to form his ideas at a time when in many parts of Europe, including Germany, the modern working class was still being formed, and had only in Britain yet begun to lay claim to its political independence against the bourgeoisie. Today the situation is far different. The partition in Germany and Europe at the end of the war was the fruit of a conspiracy between capitalism and Stalinism. The existing state boundary and national antagonisms can only be eradicated by the revolutionary working class, establishing its power on a basis that breaks open the historical limits of the nation state. But when Engels began to write, the class into which he was born still faced some national revolutionary tasks. In this sense he

was a child of his time - and of his country.

In the late 1830's and early 1840's Engels formed his world-view in the study and defence of Hegel's philosophical system - the most advanced that was to be produced by bourgeois thinkers. At the same time he took up the political cause of German nationalism. Unlike Hegel, however, he did not consider that this carried any obligation to echo the reactionary forms of German chauvinism. Thus he attacks “the servile twaddle which without any principle all newspapers now serve up against the French”. Like Hegel, he admired the French revolution of 1789 and its achievements, some of which had been ‘exported’ by the armies of Napoleon.

He also began, even before Marx to study in detail the nature and significance of the growth of the industrial proletariat. While Marx was still seeking in a more abstract way for the role of the working class as a ‘universal’ class, resolving the crisis of society as a whole, Engels was already looking at the lives of workers in those parts of Germany where industry had developed. In 1842 he visited Britain where the number of workers and their battles for their rights had reached a more advanced stage than anywhere else in the world. Thus (as Marx acknowledged) it was Engels who took one of the essential first steps in probing beyond the mystical framework of Hegel's system towards the rational, material basis it concealed.

But Engels also took up an

(1840) lightheartedly represents different national cultures and world-views through the lands in which they developed.

The most important single piece in the volume is *Schelling and Revelation*, the longest of Engels' three essays against the attacks on Hegel, which Schelling mounted during his lectures in Berlin in 1841. Schelling had been Hegel's close companion when they were young men in the 1790's, and Hegel regarded Schelling's successive attempts at a ‘philosophy of nature’ as a significant development. But

Christian creator.

Instead of sensuous nature being open for mind to grasp through a body of rational knowledge it is seen as obscured in the mists, referred to by theologians as ‘evidence’ for the existence of their concept of God (their supernatural employer). While he does not yet break with religion, Engels insists that the scientific content of Hegel's objective idealism, his claim that all that is real is rational (i.e. knowable), must be defended against Schelling, for whom Engels shows “The unity of philosophy, the



Chartists marching in 1848

a decade after Hegel's death, Schelling returned to the rostrum in an attempt to extinguish the ‘atheistic’ and anti-religious results of Hegelianism, then being brought out ever more clearly by the radical ‘Young Hegelians’ of which Engels was an enthusiastic member.

The kernel of Schelling's attack was that Hegel attempted to conjure up the existence of the real world out of ‘pure reason’, the ‘negative’ side, and that therefore he could not get to grips with the empirical world as it is grasped by the human senses. Against this Schelling proposed a ‘positive philosophy’ of ‘a priori empiricism’,

wholeness of any world outlook, is torn apart into a most unsatisfactory dualism, the contradiction which makes up the world-historic significance of Christianity [i.e., the apparent separation of thought from being] is raised to the principle of philosophy as well”. Engels moves towards materialism when he defends Hegel against the misrepresentation which “takes reason really for something which could also exist without the world organism, and so places its true realm in the hollow, empty abstraction”. But as a whole the essays on Schelling remain within ‘radical’ philosophical idealism.

There is much else in this volume revealing the intellectual odyssey of the young Engels. We can study his wide range of interests in music and (as he spent a year in the Prussian army) in military matters - and also in the flavour of beer and the flirtations of his acquaintances.

CAPITALISM

But it is when he comes into contact with industrial capitalism and the working class that much of his religion and idealism begins to break down. Thus he found the workers in the textile factories at Wuppertal were deprived ‘of all strength and joy in life’, and as for their employers, that they ‘have a flexible conscience, and causing the death of one child more or one less does not doom a pietist's soul to hell, especially if he goes to church twice every Sunday’.

His visit to England late in 1842 shows how contact with the political and industrial struggles of the time served to break down his adherence to the categories of Hegelian idealism. Despite his Hegelian training, he was amazed to find that the laws of England did not reflect the working out of any ‘world spirit’, but were a much more mundane compromise among the interests of different sections of the ruling class. Furthermore, “these people” know nothing of struggles over principles and are concerned only with conflicts over material interests. It was indeed a world where ‘philosophical categories’ proved insufficient “to show the contradictions in which England is enmeshed”.

Moreover, Engels saw a situation where “the working class is daily becoming more and more imbued with the radical-democratic principles of Chartism and is increasingly coming to recognise them as the expression of its collective consciousness”. He describes the growth

of unemployment and the recent wave of strikes, “unprepared, unorganised and without leadership”, which had swept Lancashire. These were movements which none of his former ‘philosophical categories’ could adequately grasp.

In studying the struggles of the working class he became convinced that “principles can develop only from interests, that is to say, the revolution will be social, not political”. He became convinced of something else too: the dispossessed are coming to realise “the revolution by peaceful means is impossible and that only a forcible abolition of the existing unnatural conditions, a radical overthrow of the nobility and the industrial aristocracy, can improve the position of the proletarians”.

In the spring of 1839, as a young bourgeois intellectual, Engels wrote the lines of verse which introduced this review. From another pen these lines might be read as an encouragement to the English disdain for theoretical questions. But within four years Engels began to realise the essential insight contained in them.

Soon after his return from England in 1842, he came together with Marx, and they began their joint struggle to establish the world-view of historical materialism and the programme and party of the workers revolution.

The publication of this volume enables us to understand more deeply the difficulty and richness of the struggle through which they came to the conscious recognition of this task.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels
Collected Works Volume 2:
Frederick Engels 1838-42
(1975, Lawrence and Wishart, £3)

by JOHN DOCHERTY

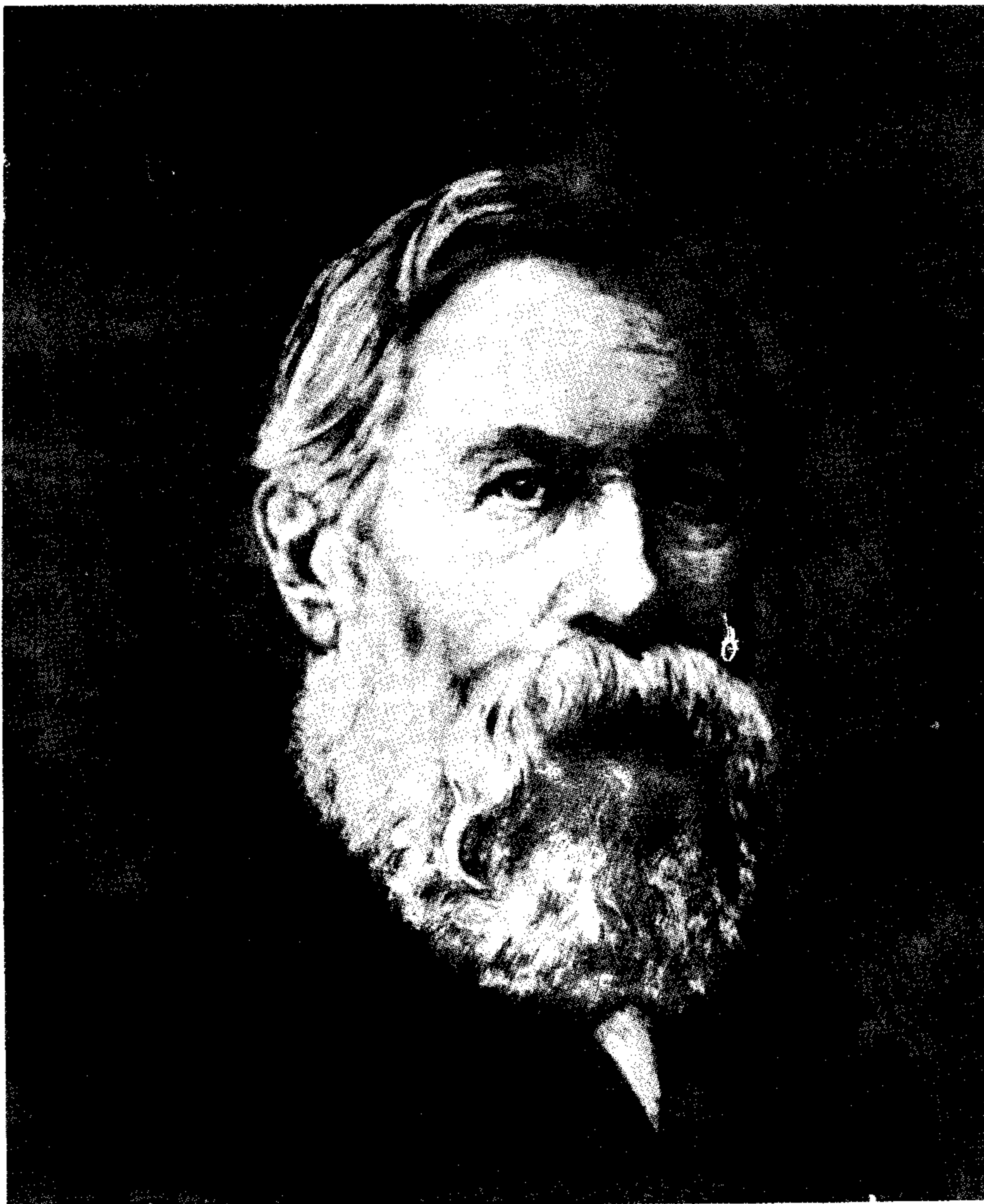
Workers
Diary

CBI'S
FIB

If you haven't got a good argument, just abuse your opponents. Roy Jenkins' pro-Common Market campaign clearly accepts this cynical old adage, for it seems that the abusing of their adversaries is the only card they have left.

Jenkins' allies at the CBI did try to produce a serious case for continued membership of the EEC. In their notes for “spokesmen, lecturers, and writers” they described “The Success Story for Britain”. In the first year of British membership, they claimed investment from EEC countries into Britain exceeded that from Britain into the EEC by about £2,400m - a staggering boost for the British economy!

How embarrassing, then for the CBI to have to agree that the true figures are: EEC investment into Britain, £105m; British investment into the EEC, £519m. In other words, far from a £2,400m boost, there was a net loss of more than £400m - a little error by the CBI of about £3,000m! The CBI's deputy director, John Whitehouse, was forced to write to the Financial Times confessing to this £3,000m ‘inexactitude’. (His sister, Katherine, has better luck writing for the Observer - she's just disembarked from the QE2's six-month world cruise.) Ah well back to blaming the workers and the reds under the bed.



Engels

independent struggle - initially as a distinct task - to work through to the inner meaning of the body of theoretical knowledge that he had inherited. He did this by using it to criticise the literary and religious life of his own land and his own time.

More positively, some of Engels' earliest passages show him reaching out towards a unified view of social life and nature. The short, aphoristic essay on ‘Landscapes’

basing itself on what ‘immediately exists’.

There was, undoubtedly, an element that was ‘positive’ in Schelling's critique of Hegelian idealism. But Engels puts his finger on its reactionary central content. By claiming the existence of ‘pure’ facts, Schelling opens the door to irrationality and mysticism, the separation of thought from being. His ‘positive’ philosophy saw the empirical world as merely the ‘revelation’ of the

WOMENS RIGHTS THOUSANDS DEMONSTRATE

By a Socialist Press correspondent.

Several thousand trade unionists attended a demonstration called by the TUC to "celebrate" International Women's Year and marched from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square last Sunday. A panel of speakers from the TUC addressed the demonstration ending with Murray, who said that the demonstration was for 'human rights'.

No attempt was made by any of the speakers to explain why many of those on the platform calling for 'equal rights for women' are actively pursuing policies which remove rights from the entire working class. Jones for example has a member of the T&G in prison for picketing and does nothing about it. The revisionist groups had not organised for the demonstration. The IS had four banners, the IMG one and the WRP were nowhere to be seen.

The Workers Socialist League had a delegation on the march and distributed a statement that took up women's rights in the context of the struggles of the working class as a whole. We quote some sections from it:

"Faced with a rate of inflation

of 25%, the working class is now fighting, through its unions, for wage increases to protect its living standards. The Labour government has replied with nearly 1 million unemployed and is attacking the jobs and standard of living of the working class.

In this situation workers come into conflict with their treacherous leaders. Benn presents the 'left' cover for Wilson's attacks. The TUC calls for the social contract to be upheld, and the level of wage settlements to be reduced. Jack Jones calls for wage restraint in the "national interest", and the Labour government moves closer to state control of wages.

Demands

It is in this general situation that we consider the particular problems of working women. The trade unions, whilst advancing a few (mainly economic) demands on behalf of women, do so while at the same time defending some of the worst aspects of the oppression of women. Some progress has been made towards equal pay for equal work for instance, but no trade union pressure has been brought to bear on the major issue of job opportunity. Huge sections of industry remain inaccessible to women.

As public services are cut back as a result of the Budget, women workers are the worst affected. Women who have found jobs in these industries are thrown back on to the dole and in to the family situation. We say working women must not retreat back in to the family and attempt to find an individual solution to the problems by 'making do' on a reduced income.

The Working Women's Charter presents its demands as if they can be achieved under capitalism, when in fact the emancipation of women is inseparably linked to the revolutionary task of the working class: the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

It is only socialism which can release women from the oppression of domestic drudgery and isolation through the establishment of communal catering, laundry and child care and the application of technology to eliminate many of the tasks now imposed on women in the home. Yet this understanding must not exclude a struggle now to defend those rights which have been won in struggle. The basic right of abortion on demand, for example, must be advanced with the full weight of the workers' movement and the reactionary Abortion Law Amendment Bill put forward by James

White MP must be opposed. This in itself shows the need for new leadership - White is a Labour MP.

Likewise, when Wilson attacks Chrysler workers, threatening unemployment, he attacks the whole working class. The demand for equal pay for equal work in this situation cannot therefore be separated from the fight to defend the standard of living of the working class as a whole through a sliding scale of wages - point for point pay increases based on a cost of living index worked out by committees of trade unionists and housewives. Such a sliding scale must be fought for to protect the value of all new pay agreements. Women who come forward to the centre of the class struggle in this way can play a major role. Their action would open the way for the inclusion of women on factory committees, and begin a real fight against chauvinism in the unions under conditions of struggle.

Workers' Control

The involvement of working women and housewives in the fight for workers' control at every level is central to the fight for political and economic as well as social equality. This fight is inseparable from the fight for the independence of the trade unions from the state, the struggle against anti-working class laws and for the release of the Shrewsbury Two.

Redundancy and short time working affect not only men and women workers but equally the housewife. When the demand is advanced for the books of the employers to be opened and taht business secrets be ended before redundancies are proposed, then the housewife, who is directly affected must be involved. When the

committees are set up to fight for these demands, the housewife must be represented.

The demand for the basic right to work for women has never been seriously advanced in the trade unions. Today this demand can only be advanced as part of a programme to defend all jobs. Central to this is the demand for a sliding scale of hours - again administered and worked out by trade union committees. The inclusion of women workers in these committees involves them in elements of workers control over production and distribution and connects powerfully with the struggle for women's rights.

We must demand full nationalisation of industries threatening redundancies under the management of elected committees of workers. We must demand that any compensation is paid only on the basis of proven need, and that the Labour government provide state contracts to keep the factories in operation.

It is only in this context, as a part of an overall programme, that it means anything to advance the demand for an end to sex discrimination. Today only a revolutionary leadership can advance and struggle for such a programme."

STRUGGLE FOR CONDITIONS IN NHS

The 9 month struggle to improve working conditions at the Brook Hospital in S.E. London continues as inflation combined with spending cuts begin to impose further cutbacks.

Confrontations have taken place over the 87% temperatures in the laundry room, over the lack of basic equipment such as hospital lifts, causing dangerous situations with heavy items having to be carried up the stairways, and on the question of private practice in the hospital. A two hour strike took place when a consultant refused to see two trade unionists from the hospital. By blacking all but emergency private cases, trade unionists were, he said, "taking away his livelihood".

So while the hospital management shrug their shoulders and tell workers they have "no money" for equipment basic to any hospital, the private practice profiteers are maintained within the hospital, subsidised by low-paid hospital workers.

Stewards are now asking what can be done, beyond protest strike action, to improve working conditions. Clearly action must start from hospital workers themselves organised in their unions. The joint shop stewards committee must demand access to plans for all improvements and vitally needed rebuilding, together with full information on waiting lists, drug costs, and all accounts held by the Area Health Authority. A committee of trade unionists must be elected specifically to enquire into these questions and report back.

ACTION

If figures or plans are withheld then the Joint Shop Stewards must call for maximum local supporting action in order to force its release.

Investigation of these figures will show workers the need for nationalisation of the drug industry and for a sliding scale of health service expenditure to maintain the value of spending by authorities who are claiming problems from inflation.

The committee must set time limits for improvements, and failure to meet these limits must be met by strike action.

These actions must be combined with a black on private patients. At the same time, a sharpening of the political fight is necessary, through the unions and in the Labour Party, to remove those trade union and Labour leaders who at present refuse to defend the NHS.

STEEL MEN FACE SPEED-UP

Leading Labour 'lefts' and steel union leaders agreed last week to severe cuts in the workforce of the British Steel Corporation. Many thousands of jobs are to be axed through 'voluntary' redundancy schemes, 'natural wastage' and 'weeding out persistent absentees'.

The agreement, deceptively boosted in the capitalist press as a "reprieve" from the 20,000 redundancies demanded by BSC chairman Monty Finniston, is a direct result of the collaboration of Wedgewood Benn with BSC, and will have a severe impact on steelworkers. As Finniston himself said on TV, "there are more ways than one of skinning a cat". In the 'deal' is provision for elimination of 'unnecessary' overtime, the "most rigorous control" of recruitment of new labour, the reduction of manning levels on "overmanned" sections,

linked to voluntary redundancy, and "a degree of flexibility" on plant loading. William Sims, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation said on Monday that he hoped union proposals would produce what he called "satisfactory savings" in the face of "a very serious problem". The savings he is talking about are all of course at the expense of steelworkers jobs and living standards which he is supposedly paid to protect.

POSTPONED

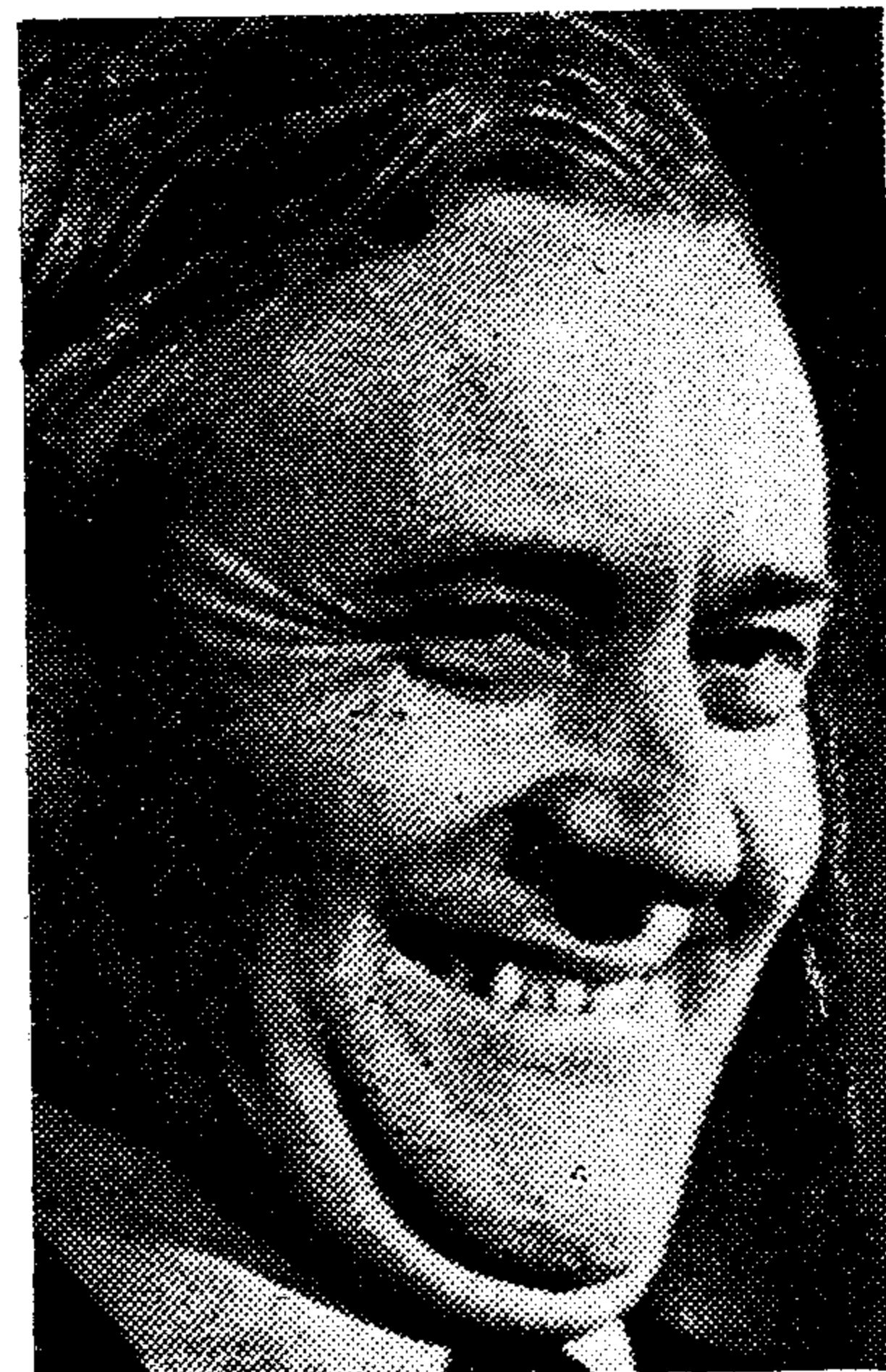
Yet even after these trade union concessions Benn stated clearly at a rally of jeering trade unionists at Central Hall Westminster last Tuesday that far from all the jobs are saved. The closure of some plants "could only be postponed", he said and went on to say that "no-one can guarantee that every man will keep his job." In other words, BSC demands not just speed up, rationalisation and wage cutting

but also plant closures in order to carry out its role for British capitalism.

FRAUD

What emerges is the fraud in Benn's original attack on Finniston for calling for redundancies. Benn knew then the requirements of BSC and knew the strong chances of collaboration in the speed up from the ISTC leaders. The celebrated "row" over the sackings was angled to win popularity for Benn himself, and to disguise the fact that Finniston's policy was completely in harmony with Healey's budget.

Workers must give no credence to the 'left' posturings of Benn and Foot, but demand that those claiming to be left take up urgently the defence of jobs and wages against the capitalist class and the Labour right wing.



Benn on the platform at Central Hall.

YORKSHIRE UCATT: PROGRAMME NEEDED

On May 30th and 31st the UCATT Yorkshire Regional conference will meet in Scarborough. The agenda to some extent reflects the matters concerning the Yorkshire membership, but it is a disgrace that with two building workers in jail for picketing there is not one resolution calling for them to be freed.

The level of discontent with the UCATT leadership may be judged from the resolution which calls for a vote of no confidence in the UCATT Executive Committee. What in fact has the UCATT leadership done in defence of their members interests? The building industry has been one of the hardest hit by the economic crisis. The figures issued last month showed that 45% of the firms at the bankruptcy court were building firms. There are hundreds of thousands of building workers unemployed. Yet

this present leadership has shown over the 1972 strike sell-out, the betrayal of the Shrewsbury 2, the refusal to defend the Eldon Square scaffolders in their struggle, and the recent wage agreement, that it is determined to submit at all times to the demands of the employers.

Although George Smith criticises the Labour government's lending of £500 million to the building societies as just being a subsidy to speculative house builders, and says how inadequate is the £350 million granted in borrowing rights to local authorities, he attempts to delude the membership by saying (p 41 of his address in the latest UCATT journal) "I am hopeful that further steps will be announced in the 1975 Budget" (!). Whereas, as we all know, the opposite happened. An estimated £1,321 million is to be cut from public spending in 1975/76 which will directly hit UCATT members employed by councils. Already in Leeds it has been claimed by the deputy leader of the Labour group, George Mudie that Tory cuts planned in Leeds

threatened 500 council jobs. The increasing talk of "cutting costs" in Wakefield Metropolitan District has prompted the UCATT stewards - on 20th May - to agree that any threat of redundancies has to be fought by a programme of work sharing with no loss of pay.

And yet another resolution puts forward a programme on which to fight redundancies, and wage-cutting. It is also an answer to the leadership's so-called alternatives of accepting one or the other. The resolution calls for (a) work sharing with no loss of pay to combat redundancies. UCATT members are not to blame for the economic crisis. It is part of the worldwide recession gripping the capitalist system. We all know that there is a crying need for houses, hospitals and schools, so there is no shortage of necessary work which could justify sacking any building workers. What stands in the way is the capitalist system of production only for profit. (b) for the sliding scale of wages to combat inflation. The UCATT wage claim must be renewed for

the full amount and must include automatic increases as the rate of inflation increases at rates to be decided by trade union committees. (c) for a programme of government financed public works to ensure full employment and to guarantee essential services, and this to be linked to the nationalisation of the building industry and land so that private firms do not use this to make profits.

The 6,128 wood workers who left UCATT between 1973 and 1974 voted with their feet on the policies of the leadership. Also the long list of Yorkshire branches who did not send resolutions to this conference, must act as a warning that it is vital to the continuation and expansion of the union that a policy to fight for jobs and conditions must be decided at the conference. Notice must be served on the leadership that if they are not prepared to defend their members' interests they will have to make way for those who will.

REJECT CHRYSLER DEAL!

After a correct and solid strike in defence of their standard of living, Chrysler workers now face great danger. Management have turned what appeared to be a defensive position on their part into an attack. The tying of the wage offer to future corporate wage bargaining must be rejected by Chrysler workers.

By making the £8.00 offer (plus additional increases for various groups including the Scottish plant) to every plant in the corporation simultaneously Chrysler want to end wage bargaining at plant level. They want to create the conditions that worked in the favour of Ford management for many years with wages negotiated for the whole combine by the national officials.

Objective

This is precisely what Chrysler and Leyland have been trying to get in ever since they introduced the Measured Day Work system. MDW could never work fully to their advantage until they gained control of wage rates - and this move is the major step towards this.

Tied right in with this are Chrysler's proposals for workers'

participation. Far from these proposals being any kind of concession to the working class Chrysler is offering lump sum payments to get it.

They have said that if there is agreement in principle by July 12th all workers will receive a lump sum of £50.00 and that if the scheme is fully accepted by the end of the year they will get a further £50.00.

Participation

That really is some workers participation! It is pretty clear what it is that Chrysler wants for the £2,700,000 they are bursting to pay (under conditions where they are making a massive loss and have been approaching the government for aid).

They want to suck not only the full time officials and the national officers into closer collaboration with them but key layers of shop



Bob Morris, Chrysler T&G Convenor

stewards and convenors. They want to get them in a position where they can "appreciate the problem" of the company.

Danger

This is a very dangerous situation. Chrysler workers must not consider this to be simply a Chrysler question. Leyland has been trying for 5 years to get corporation level bargaining introduced and have met resistance. If Chrysler get away with it Leyland will move almost immediately.

Chrysler have played their cards

well. They allowed the dispute to go on and made their announcement immediately after the last mass meeting (they could have made it before the meeting if it had suited them). They moved at what they considered the best possible moment to get this deal accepted.

Full Claim

They can and must be beaten. Chrysler workers must reject the deal, continue with the strike, and fight for the full claim without strings. There must be no phoney "participation". The books of Chrysler should be opened for the inspection of trade union committees specially elected for the purpose, and responsible only to their fellow trade unionists.

The demands should include a sliding scale of wages to keep pace with a cost of living index worked out by committees of workers. Chrysler workers should use the figures revealed in opening the company's books to prove the case and back the demand for the full nationalisation of not only Chrysler but of the whole car industry under workers management as the only way to protect jobs and living standards in this period.

CROSFIELDS DEFEAT

The occupation of part of the Crosfields electrical component plant in N. London came to an end last week, with 25 workers redundant and 6 others found alternative work by management.

The deliberate isolation of the struggle by the trade union bureaucracy and the local trades council (as reported earlier in *Socialist*) enabled the employers to spin out the struggle and eventually confront the occupiers with a High Court writ and the threat of police eviction.

Those sacked as a result of the entirely avoidable defeat included half the factory's Joint Shop Stewards Committee, among them the convenor.

Yet whereas Marxists will see this defeat as a part of their struggle to expose and remove the treacherous reformist leaders responsible, *Workers Press*, daily paper of the centrist Workers Revolutionary Party, announced it as a "Tactical Withdrawal", and voiced not a word of criticism of the betrayal in its lengthy report (by John Sapper).

Ironically this cynical piece of distortion, strongly angled towards an opportunist relationship with a section of workers still working the plant, appears in the first issue of what is described as the "new *Workers Press*."

POSTAL BALLOT (cont'd from front page)

capitalist press under postal ballot systems.

As a result of the AUEW decision not a single member will be deprived of a vote. All they have to do is attend their branch meeting and put the ballot paper in the box. But this of course is exactly what the right wing, the employers and the press don't want. They don't want workers involved in their trade unions where they would quickly become involved in the struggle to defend living standards against the employers.

This principled decision of the AUEW must be defended if attempts are made to overturn it. We are pleased to note that the IS after previously supporting postal ballots have now come out against them.

ENDED

The system of postal ballot should be ended throughout the trade union movement. This is an essential part of the fight for the independence of the trade unions from the state. There is already talk of legislation for postal ballots and government paid postage. The postal ballot issue was being developed as future policy by the Tory government of Heath.

This fight can only be taken up in the context of a fight for a leadership in the trade unions which will begin to fight in defence of all the rights and gains of the working class.



Scanlon

EMPLOYERS LOCK OUT ACTT

All but two commercial television companies imposed a lock-out on their technicians from last Monday. As a result of this commercial transmissions were closed down.

The technicians were locked out as they returned to work following a 72 hour official strike called by their union, ACTT.

Representatives of the employers said that they would be locked out until the ACTT withdrew its claim for £231.00 back payment, outstanding since the 1973 wage freeze.

CRISIS

The action of the companies must be seen as indicative of the sharp conditions prevailing today between

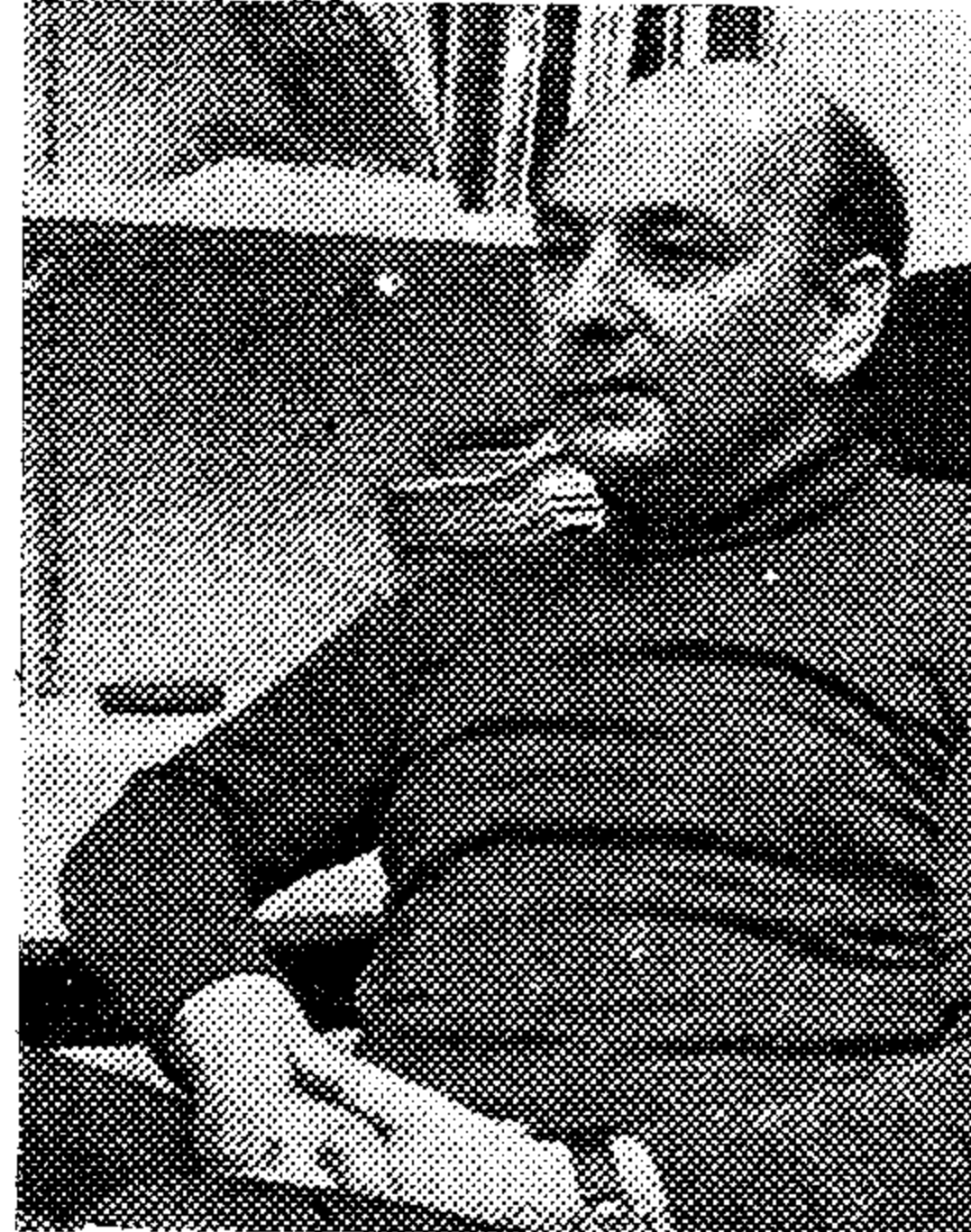
workers and employers as the economic conditions worsen, the class struggle sharpens and unemployment mounts.

The last comparable action was the sacking by the Mirror group of all their printers on Fleet Street until they were prepared to accept the manning levels of the employers.

The media, in this period, are of extreme importance to the ruling class. It is not surprising therefore that it is the newspaper and television employers who carry out this form of attack.

RIGHT WING MOVES

The moves of the right wing in ACTT to call a special general



Sapper

meeting to censure Alan Sapper (General Secretary ACTT) and the action must be fought. If the employers are able to break the claim by the lock-out on the one hand and using the right wing on the other a damaging blow will have been dealt to trade union organisation in the television industry.

£500 monthly development fund

The enormous movements in the working class internationally pose sharply the question of programme and of leadership. It is to resolve these that the WSL and its paper *Socialist Press* have been founded.

The response which our paper and the policies it fights for have been able to win in the workers movement shows that we must expand the paper from an 8-page fortnightly.

We are therefore appealing to our readers for a £500 monthly development fund.

Please send donations to:

WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

Printed and Published by the Workers Socialist League, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

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GLASGOW COUNCIL PROTECTS N.F.

Glasgow's Labour Council, notorious for its recent use of troops to smash a council drivers strike, continued its anti-working class course last Saturday with the use of vicious police action against trade unionists in order to defend a National Front meeting.

The meeting itself was held on council property - the Kingston Halls, Paisley Road.

This episode follows the recent confrontation between demonstrators and NF members in Oxford, during which the NF "Honour Guard" thugs physically attacked the counter-demonstration, and later beat up anti-fascist students. Here, too, a Labour council laid on police protection for the fascists.

In Glasgow, however, only a handful of NF members turned up, and the task of strong-arm "defence" was eagerly taken up by local police. A specially picked detachment of police pitched in to the 500-strong

counter-demonstration, punching, kicking and dragging off anti-fascists into a waiting van.

Among those arrested in this way were several leading local trade unionists - Trades Council Secretary John Reidford, T&GWU District Secretary Hugh Wyper, David Bolton, Scottish NUM vice president - as well as Ian McKay, Glasgow CP Secretary. In all some 65 anti-fascists were arrested and will appear in court this week. Many others were punched or kicked by police.

Workers must draw the lessons from the treacherous actions of these Labour councillors, and begin at once the campaign to hound them from the workers' movement. At the same time, the mobilisation from the unions, including organised defence squads to protect demonstrators against open fascist attack, must be stepped up, to ensure the NF are denied a public platform for their anti-working class views.

MARKET (cont'd from front page)

it. Wilson is not separating it and the trade union leaders are opening the door for them.

At the same time the working class have to pay the price for the Common Market, which has brought about massive increases in the cost of living, linked of course to inflation on a world scale. Prices in Europe have been kept up by devices such as beef and butter mountains, wine lakes and the destruction of thousands of tons of fruit and vegetables, in order to rob the working class.

SOLUTION

The EEC is a major part of the attack against them, but workers would be wrong to think that coming out of the Market would, in itself, be a solution to their problems. Membership of the EEC gives the big employers an advantage. This is why Wilson gets the backing of not only the Tory and Liberal party machines but the entire capitalist press.

A solution to the problems of the working class is to fight for a NO vote as part of the fight for a new leadership in the working class. It involves the revolutionary struggle for the international unity of the working class - for the overthrow of British and European

capitalism and the setting up of the United Socialist States of Europe. This is the only real alternative to the Common Market.

It is when the struggle is seen in this perspective that the depth of the betrayal of Benn and the 'left' can be clearly seen. It is in this context that the full implications of trade union leaders joining joint organisations with Tories to 'fight' the Market can be assessed. It is in this way that we view Clive Jenkins sharing a platform with Enoch Powell and we get a measure of the betrayal involved in the support given to the EEC by the Chinese government and the French and Italian Stalinist parties.

The fight against the Market, until June 5th and after if there is no withdrawal, must be waged on these clear class lines. All talk of "national interest" and "national sovereignty" must be rejected. It is not simply in the interests of the working class in Britain to come out of the Market but would strengthen the working class of all countries.

The Portuguese working class fired the first shots of the latest wave of the European revolution overthrowing 50 years of fascism. A solid class vote to reject the capitalist EEC would create the conditions for further advances of the working class on a European scale.