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CONGRESS 1979

In considering the state of the Labour Movement we must consider how we define it. It's in two parts, those workers who belong to trade unions, there are approximately 12 million workers who have declared their position by being organised in trade unions (roughly 50% of the employed population), then those in Labour Party, some 6 million, but this is duplicated in that some are covered by trade union membership affiliation. It could be said that the Labour Movement consists of 18 million out of a population of 56 million, only by working in it do you really become knowledgeable and understand its complexities.

Congress will need to consider what has been happening in the struggles taking place and the form the struggle is taking today and its contradictions.

The crisis of the ruling class gets deeper and more difficult all the time. Whatever they do it won't go away and has been intensified by the workers fight back. Their problem is how to combat the strength of the organised working class and its resistance to the vicious attacks on their living standards.

Hardly a section of the class not in struggle over past months against the Government pay policy and its destruction of Britain.

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Ford workers took up the struggle in Ford Works in mid-September 1978 by declaring war on their employer and Labour Government and won - not without struggle.

The death of Government pay policy presaged in the most gallant Firemen's dispute. Though not a victory for the Firemen, no defeat. It was the last stand of the Government, and a pyrrhic victory. The whole working class owe eternal debt to the Firemen and Fire Brigade Unions.

Shipyard Workers.

Bakers.

B.B.C.

N.U.J.

Tanker Drivers.

Lorry Drivers.

Train Drivers.

1½ million Public Sector manual workers.

One struggle ends, another begins. What is happening in terms of tactics is almost a General Strike situation, but causing the minimum damage to themselves and their organisations.

The working class is not as it was, they know the acceptance of the social contract following the victories over in place of strife and the

cont.../-3-



Industrial Relations Act was a retreat that led to further intervention of the state in the functions of trade unions and to the permanent control of wages.

The class it goes the way it wants to go, they make and have their own theory, alternately attacking and submitting. Perhaps they were slow to challenge, but each experience registered until they were pushed too far in making them bear the burden of the crisis. Every worker knows the problem and the answer, that is the employer wants them to accept less. He had had enough and wants more to survive. They have no choice and will take on their employer.

The resistance of working class through their unions-compelled Government and employers to surrender 5% policy.

It was the Party that forced the 5% battle - at the beginning nothing seemed to happen - then it happened through the union machinery.

The T.U.C. Congress was an expression of when the workers used their union to determine policy and to impose their will on the leadership and to challenge the State. (Leaders betraying corrupt).



Because of the resistance of the working class they talk of curtailing trade union power, that means the working class-trade union are people and their organised strength which has been so effective and unmoved by any such talk of edge of precipices and economic disaster.

The class will fight Capitalism whether we say so or not and the attack will grow in the future.

The working class is not a single disciplined army of revolution, but a collection of units each learning from each other.

Struggle Firemen picketing from

Our immediate aim should be to unite all the forces of the class that are in action.

It's full of possibilities and dangers. They should build strong trade union organisation, but no matter how strong they are in themselves, they are not an island, they are not immune from what goes on nationally, both in terms of the policy of Government, employers and union.

We have to ensure all members participate in life of unions at all levels to ensure that policy of unions is determined by membership and that the policy is carried out as at present - its members pushing the leaders.

cont.../-5-



Do we understand the Labour Movement, it is not only what trade unions are, whatever weaknesses that may exist, but what they can become.

They may have shown they don't accept social democracy but not yet shown they accept revolution. Our job is to explain there is no other way.

In understanding the history of our class we know that not only is it they who can deal the sharpest blows at the ruling class, but with all the shortcomings that exists and it retains all that's best in terms of organisation, power and strength.

We say we should direct all struggle to revolution, the revolution will because of the working class.

What is the Party's relationship to the working class - that is what's important.

How do we regard the working class.

Until the Party is integrated with it we will be unable to advise it, no matter how good we may be.

There must be adjustment of the Party to the Labour Movement, not the Labour Movement to the Party.

cont.../-6-



The Party in . . . of . . . not is!

If we consider there has never been a revolution in an industrialised country.

If we remember that no fully developed Capitalist state has been overthrown, then we must look for reason.

Is it within Labour Movement? If we reject such arguments as Labour aristocracy.

Crumbs from Empire.

We must consider development of working class to this day as evolutionary.

Yes, this is so - without Capitalism no working class, without working class no Capitalism.

With Capitalism and working class Trade Unions.

Trade Unions are born not made.

The Trade Unions are a defence, are a device attempting to minimise the degree of exploitation.

cont.../-7-



When with such machinery workers fight back, alleged Marxist argue Economism - and spontaneity.

It seems that the label Economism and the Economic struggle is so asserted because it is esteemed that economic struggle is not revolutionary, hence also the term spontaneity.

Perhaps 'spontaneity' is better described as the appellation so given as to mean, since it is not what I think, since my thoughts my plans for progress are not adopted, then it is without thought - i.e. spontaneous.

If we believe dialectics, then why spontaneity?

If all we thought all action, why assume that at any point at any stage it is spontaneous.

It is dogma - If you do not do what I think, you are not thinking without thought, acting spontaneously.

There is no such thing as spontaneity in workers actions, all actions product of mind.



Since no Marxist, real or self-styled, is prepared to assert the working class is not by class relationship revolutionary, then what?

Or is it being said that the revolutionary base of a working class is inherent spontaneous reaction to environment - such a heresy would that not be.

Because in general historical terms workers do not pass from defence to Revolution, specious reasons are sought to explain as already written here - Economism, spontaneity - crumbs Labour aristocracy.

Workers frequently pass from defence to attack in defence.

The hurdle we say move from this to overthrow.

That in fighting, in attacking which is so hard demands such sacrifice and thought then take the final step and the eternal struggle, destroy the enemy in one last great battle.

If such an impossible, consider the **forces** - state figures.

cont.../-9-



Labour Movement is:-

			<u>Members</u>
Labour Party 1977	Con Parties	623	659,737
	Trade Unions	59	5,913,159
	Socialists Co-Ops etc.	9	43,375
			<hr/>
	TOTAL		6,616,271

TRADE UNIONS 1977 Report

<u>Members</u>	<u>Unions</u>
11,515,920	115
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1st CONGRESS 1868

34 Delegates      Members      118,367

No Societies given

2nd      40 Societies      250,000

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CONFED. 1978    23 UNIONS

2,475,986

WOMEN 168,313

cont.../-10-



So why not - because they don't follow us - because they do not accept our thinking in substitute for their own?

Why, since we are all part of the whole, the working class, is there different thinking?

And, if we be right, how to change.

Sometimes it is explained as betrayal.

In the case of Unions that they be misdirected.

That the solution, the answer be to create Red Unions - That we pick, select on working class.

Nonsense.

We, the Party, can neither select or neglect.

We must be in and of

Above all the machinery created by the working class.



A belief that we can affix slogan and thought externally does not work.

As though we would reserve to walk away if they reject, do not act, as we demand.

Unless the party and each comrade is immersed in and part of geruinely so, then there be no reason for any other worker or mass to heed.

Leadership comes from acceptance, acknowledgement of correct positions taken.

Respect of experience, seeing it done example.

No substitute, no by-passing. Cannot be exogenous.

We must shed all notions and inhibitions a propos economism and economic struggle.

Be involved in, believe in, belong as much, and be ready to supply because of these things; counsel, so others may come to agree you could be right. As thoughtful as they.



Sphere is resident solely in the organised expression of the working class.

We must know when they be thirsty how to get clean water. Not good enough to drink muddy water if you know where clear water is.

We must show they can get clean, clear water if they dig a well.

They have to dig well themselves.

The rule to be in and of never to lose identity the hardest task of all.

To the British working class the protection of democracy is only ensured through the <sup>Trade Union</sup> ~~State~~, not via Political Parties, nor by law enacted through Parliament. Again and again in history of struggle this has been proved. Laws set aside - Governments opposed, Governments destroyed (within the electoral ritual dance). H.S.W.A X

The question is that this direct political action seen, understood, envisaged and applied by the working class must be transformed to seizure.



This has stemmed ever from the direct class relationship, never from exhortation by Political Parties, here too is the *U.S.S.R. Trade Union*

It is for us ceaselessly to divine the relationship to make plain we are of this too, that same class, the solution alone revolution which they must make with our assistance and participation.