INTERNAL BULLETIN NO.44 FEBRUARY 1983

Youth Perspectives ..... Internationalist Tendency

Comments on the platform of the Internationalist Tendency ..... Armstrong

Industrial Perspectives: addition/amendment ..... Kendall

Amendment to Crisis of FI doc: ..... Glasgow branch

Plan of work: resolution ..... Armstrong

Notice of procedural resolution ..... Armstrong.

YOUTH PERSPECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

The economic crisis has resulted in a massive and unavoidable attack on the working class. Living standards and democratic rights, won and established over a priod of years, have been dramatically eroded. The bosses have succeeded in this with the aid of the labour bureaucracy who have successfully managed to isolate important workers struggles and stop them spreading into a generalised offensive against the Tories.....

Capitalisms attacks are the most savage against the specially oppressed sections of our class, and the present and future interests of the youth have been readily sacrificed by the bureaucracy, by both its 'right'and 'left' wings, to satiate the needs of the bosses.

Long gone are the days when school leavers had a job waiting for them. Mass unemployment, particularily mass youth unemployment is a firmly establishe feature in the next few years. Apprenticeships have been replaced with government schemes that pay little more than social security. They provide cheap labour for the bosses, and the youth they do employ are a material reminder to workers payed on full rate that there exists a potential army of cheap unoganised labour to fill their places.

Since the last discussion on youth perspectives the 'riots' took place. The 'riots' were youth rebellions they united black and white youth in the way the class most powerfully comes to terms with its divisions, in struggle. THey were rebellions not simply against unemployment, as the Michael Foots tried to argue, but a response to the oppression of the system in general and particularily against those gentlemen who symbolise it and mete out on a daily basis its summary justice. The new police powers, boosting the legal leeway of the police to harass, arrest and detain far on a scale much higher than existed with 'sus' will come as no suprise to us. In their efforts to control the class and its most spontaneous section, the youth, the bourgeoisie are busily shedding elements of the bourgeois democratic mantle that masks the reality of class rule in our society, the bourgeois dictatorship. We do not fight to defend bourgeois democracy. We fight to defend and extend those rights we have that aid the class in struggle.

Capitalism is in international crisis. Capitalism means war. The build up of the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states has had a radicalising effect. 80% of youth are opposed to the siting of cruise missles. It is crucial that we strengthen our imput into YCND which will neccessitate a serious turn by our branches, and for our youth comrades an even sharper struggle against the present YCL and Revo youth misleaders.

YOPS WORK

The majority of young workers are on government schemes. A revolutionary organisation must have a specific orientation towards young workers as for us the key struggles are those at the point of production itself. After some initial successes, particularily a Yops unionisation campaign in Leicester, we have allowed this work to slip. Yop schemes are very important to the ruling class. For the first time the government directly control the wage levels of youth. The short length of time of the schemes mqkes it difficult to build up and establish a trade union structure. On the other hand the slave labour rates of pay and little chance of a job at the end mean the workers have little to lose from taking action. The YS Yops Trade Union Rights Campaign is an important initiative be active in.(It is a small departure from Militants propogandism) Activity in the campaign will give us an avenue into the trades unions. Organised Yop workers would rapidly come into conflict with the trade union bureaucracy and its tokenist jamboree 'answers' to youth unemployment like the Jobs Express. Work around Yops should be prioritised and wher YTURC grops don't exist we should consider setting them upourselves , fighting for unionisation, for trade union rates of pay and full rights for yopsters in the trades unions.

UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

The fight to get the unions to open the door to the unemployed is in no way contradictory to building unemployed organisations, building the National Unemployed Workers Movement. Our movement still has to recognise the importance of this work. Its not good enough to sell spare papers on the dole and view that as youth work amongst the unemployed. The unemployed are not that easy to organise, not being concentrated in factories they are easily atomised and retreat to their homes, to the family..... Because of this unemployed youth are often a good recruiting grond for the fascists. I Unemployed organisation overcomes this atomisation. It can bring together young unemployed with older workers made redundant who have experience of the workplace In joint campaigning work, helping to overcome the scepticism and negative attitudes that unemployed youth often have of the trade unions. Organisation can get youth directly involved in the struggles of the class thrugh supporting picket lines ect. When fighting for a Useful Programme of Public Works we understand that only by fighting to defend existing jobs under threat can we hope to create new ones. Our central slogan is to unite the employed and unemployed. Unemploed organisation is vital to giving youth self confidence and political direction, and removing that shadow over the shoulders of workers in struggle of a potential mass scab army of labour

YOUTH CND

YCND is the fastest growing youth movement in Britain. The Thatcher-Reagan war drive against the workers states, and Imperialisms build up to a first strike capacity have not gone unnoticed. However theprojected siting of Cruise by the end of '983 has heralded an unavoidable political crisis within CND. Faced with a Thatcher goverment seemingly impervious to weighty moral pressure they are drifting further down the dead end stuntist road, the politics of'Peace Camps', 'Babies against the bomb', and 'Die Ins', diversions which substitute publicity stunts for the working class in struggle. Reacting more politically to Imperialisms fermenting agression certain sections of CND have even proposed military conscription ('with a larger conventional army who dare invade us?'). In this they only reflect the views of a 'liberal wing' of the bourgeoisie. Not suprisingly CND, the opponents of the'war to end all wars' were paralysed when Thatcher launched a real one over the Malvinas. YCND were relatively active against the war, to the chagrin of elder CND. In the localities YCNDs tend to be in conflict with the CND groups. This is reflected nationally by CNDs refusal to alloow the youth real freedom to organise. We have a great opportunity and a revolutionary duty to link the war drive against the USSR to Imperialisms wars now , Ireland, EL salvador, Malvinas, Palestine etc, and argue that to stand a chance of stopping nuclear war we have to be for the victory of those fighting Imperialism now. Afterall the gentlefolk of CND are greatly perturbed by the threat of a nuking; the youth face the danger of conscription to fight Imperialisms 'conventional' wars. We should be committing YCNDs to a campaign against army recruitment in schools. Commit them to a turn towards the workers movement, the force that can end war. Turn the slogan of jobs not bombs into practical action by supporting workers in struggle. Raise the slogan Britain out of nato; explaining that the war drive comes from Imperialism and the need to defend the USSR. Our work in YCND has shown some promising developments; a YCND NC member and a record of consistent work in the localities such as in Nottingham. With a bold approach in the coming year we can make major gains.

Youth at School

At one time we had three youth comrades on the National Committee of the National Union of School Students. NUSS collapsed simultaneously with its takeover by the SWP. During that period we led a number of struggles, against the cuts, fascist teachers, organising strikes and demonstrations. The vast majority of school students leaving school have no prospects of a job, many of the four million secondary school students will be searching for a political answer to this nightmare. School students are very spontaneous. Strikes can flare up, spread from school to school, sometimes become nationwide as in 1978. All this can happen in hours and be over in days, so any intervention needs great speed in leaflet production, meeting organisation etc. Invariably school students' struggles are linked to upsurges in the class, following the example of their mothers and fathers, or brothers and sisters, or teachers. We should make an effort to leaflet schools where we organise or youth meetings, and be prepared to move swiftly when strikes, sit-ins etc take place.

Black Youth

Our work in this fild has been generally very weak, both in work-load and political understanding. It is indicative that despite their politics the RCP have made some gains because they seem to take the struggles of black people seriously and are seen not to be tied in some way to Social Democracy. ('seen' is the right word, because the substitute themselves for real workers' defence and abstain from the struggle to win reformist workers to the support of the struggles of black people; in practice they let the labour bureaucracy off the hook).

Slogans put in our papar, like the caption 'The LPYS must organise black youth' (!) betray a gross naivety on the part of some of our comrades as well as an insulting attitude towards black youth. The fact is that black youth do organise, without the assistance of the LPYS, and the self-organisation of black youth is a necessary development. The fact is that black youth do struggle , outside the reformist apparatus, and for a good reason. The reason is a consistent history of betrayal of black people; the passing by the reformists of a string of racist bills, stabbing them in the back of black peoples' struggles and a reformist party imbued with racism. This should not be surprising, Lenin pointed out that without imperialism there would be no material base for reformism. The exploitation of the colonial masses by imperialism generates the wealth necessary to enable the capitalists to grant reforms to the working class in imperialist countries like Britain. Therefore the labour bureaucr acy owe their whole existence to British imperialist exploitation. When black youth view the reformist party, and the best of the reformist left has to offer them is the wonderland world of an 'accountable police force' it is not surprising that their struggles take place outside the reformist milieu. This doesn't make thier struggles any less legitimate, any less working class, It tempers the Way we orientate to them. It means we have to support their struggles, not expect it to be the other way round. Remember the youth uprisings united black and white youth in struggle, to the dismay of the bosses, the police, the labour bureaucracy and the black petit-bourgeois 'community leaders' bought off by the lucre of the race relations industry. We are fighting to build support for black peoples' defence of their areas in the reformist party and thr trade unions, seeking to build that support into workers' self defence, fighting to drive out racists from positions in the workers' movement. We should never be afraid to identify ourselves as revolutionaries with our own programme and organisation, black youth have little or no confidence in the abilities of Social Democracy to solve their problems. It is important that our black comreades are involved in community organisations and they are given time off from other work and assistance from the branch to be able to do that. Neither should we make assessments of political developments in black youth using the standards of British w/c organisation. Black youth organisations often have a respect and credibility amongst the black community that the YS never has, an exmaple of that was the Bradford 12 campaign.

Likewise, the growing movement of Rastafarianism cannot simply be dimissed as just another religion. It is a movement of black pride and consciousness, in their culture and history, which imperialism has denied and degraded. As a consequence they are picked out for systematic harassment by the police.

Anti-Racist/Anti Fascist Work

The Anti-Nazi League is effectively dead- largely abandoned by the SWP who believe that the Right to Work campaign can better fulfill it's work. The shift of the fascists away from electoralism towards direct physical attacks, and the intensification of state racism have met with a lacklustre response from the left. On the football terraces, in the schools, youth clubs, on the dole queues, the fascists are meeting little or no resistance. The 'youth against the Nazis' campaign is a joke. Anti-racist/anti fascist work should be a priority for youth comrades. We must organise where youth are, not where we'd like them to be. We have to challenge the false anti-establishment propoganda of the fascists which is attractive to youth. It is significant that the National Front is more well-known amongst youth than the LPYS. Youth comrades, in their areas of work, should call for the establishment of a national anti racist/anti fascist organisation based on the labour movement. We should have a perspective of winning that organisation to a programme of black/workers self defence, no platform for fascists, and opposition to all immigration controls and other racist laws.

Young Women.

The struggle of the Health Workers provided the most striking counterweight to the view that women are not prepared to fight. Throughout most of 1982 Health Workers, the majority women and black , were the focus of opposition to Tory attacks. Young working class women have also been in the forefront against factory closures with struggles like Lee Jeans.

When women workers are in struggle, their oppression is highlighted in a way that cannot be achieved by theoretical discussion. If women are to picket effectively, why should they be expected to wash, feed and clothe the kids, clean the house etc? When women are in struggle they come up against an almost exclusively male, white, unaccountable Trade Union bureaucracy.

Attacks on social services don't just effect women who work in these jobs. Capitalism is shifting the burden of caring for the young, old and sick further on theshoulders of women in the home. Women in work face massive pressure to give up their jobs; Why should they work for'pin money' when so many young men are on the dole?

Cuts in higher education are closing the escape route that many young women have from the family. We must firmly struggle againstthe idea that work around women is a secondary question. It is not 'womens' work'- it involves a struggle to orientate the whole organisation, and a fight for a programme that relates to the struggles of working-class women.

We can back up the fight for transitional and democratic demands with a fight for the workers movement to discriminate firmly in favour of women- so that women can play a full part in the movement and their struggles can be reflected at leadership level. We see positive discrimination as a tactic designed to aid women in struggle. We reject demands for 'job quotas'. It is a policy designed to splinter our class interests further with a hopeless scramble over existing and decreasing jobs-providing neat cover for the fact that the bosses have slaughtered the jobs of thousands of women .

To be a young women revolutoinary means to rebel against the family. We must not 'replicate the family' in our organisation with sexist attitudes- primarily the degrading of the importance of womens struggles. The best weapon we have against sexism is to turn the whole of the movement to this work.

Class Fighter Groups and the LPYS.

Not suprisingly, the witch-hunters have paid vigorous attention to the youth. Already they have slashed YS funds, donating the balance as blood money to their 'left' reformist allies in the National Organisation of Labour Students. Their aim is to close theYS , or at least to neuterit which amounts to the same thing. The witch-hunt is not simply organisational , it is a preparation for betrayal. It is designed to pave the way for the next Labour Governments attacks on workers and youth, by blocking the possibilities of the militancy of the class filtering through into the reformist party. This need to have a clear hand in attacking the working class with the minimum of internal ructions is characteristic of reformist parties without the ability to grant real reforms. Instead of the hopeless illusion of a Labour Government being a workers government- an idea which has recently appeared in the paper (and a recent addition to the ideas of Communism) we should say what is. Call for a vote for Labour and warn the class to be prepared to fight that government if it were elec-

ted, with the proviso that we are prepared to fight alongside any 'left' for the implementation of progressive measures or against government attacks.

Trotsky pointed out that 'opportunists are always in conflict with the youth' The youth are always the first to cry out against betrayal. The reformists will move to silence them first.

This is not without historical parrallel. In the thirties(1935-1936) the French Trotskyists entered the reformist party the SFIO. When the reformists attacked them (the background was the Popular Front and the drive towards Imperialist war) they went first for the youth, expelling the Trotskyists and their supporters who published the youth paper 'Revolution'. The Trotskyists had waged a remorseless battle against the trecherous leaders of the SFIO, had refued to drop either their programme or their callfor the founding of the 4th Int rnational, or their paper in order to ameliorate the witch-hunters (A group of renegades suggested they did so- they left the Trotskyist movement Outside the SFIO the youth waged a five month long, unsuccessful battle for re-instatement. Work among youth was the most spectacularly successful for the Frech comrades.

We have a patchy record in youth work. We have had 3 youth confereces as a fused organisation, the second and third had a smaller attendance than the one before. The last one was so small that about a third of the conference made up the National Committee. Recently we have made contact with some 'independents in YSs in towns where we have no history. We have also set up successfully two Class Fighter groups, in Leicester and in Nottingham. These groups have been very important in educating 'raw' youth and directing them towards the labour movement.

Right now, our existence in the YS, the very existence of the YS itself is in doubt. We have to very rapidly harden up our youth, and the youth around us, politically. Simply turning people out to vote is not good enough. The bureaucracy will always be able to come up with some new organisational manoevre because they are on home ground. We must use Class Fighter to fight not only for the 'Where we stand' programme but also the Transitional Programme. 'To heavy for our contacts' some might say, but the ability to present revolutionary ideas to an audience depends on their presentation, not on their adulteration.If our right to operate effectively within Social Democracy is being challenged, then very soon the youth around us may soon have to make the choice between the reformist party and us. We should use the youth paper the explain the reasons for the witch-hunt, the nature of the Labour Party, reformism, the need for a revolutionary party and the reconstruction of the 4th International. If we present ourselves as just another strain of the reformist left, with no essential differences, then why should the youth around us stick with us and not stick with the 'big boys'? That political struggle is necessary to prevent us from being isolated from a layer of potential recruits that could very easily be bewildered and demoralised if we do not provide a clear assessment of what is going on. We have a lot of work to do- just at the level at getting across the basics. An example of how much we have to do was shown by last years LPYS conference where half the Class Fighter delegation, including WSL members voted for Militants 'working class' boycott of goods from Argentina!

The NLWYM was set up with grand intentions. It aimed to unite militant youth at work, in YOPS, within YCNDs, in LPYS, in fact youth in a variety of political campaigns and youth coming towards politics for the first time. However, the direction has been almost exclusively towards those in the LPYS who don't like the Militant, reflected in the attendance at the last youth conference. It is no suprise that some comrades now want us to be called the NLWYM of the LPYS! In fact the development of any type of youth work outside the LPYS (e.g. the setting up of Class Fighter groups) has been met with hostility (presumably, not being part of the reformist apparatus, it must be sectarian)and is supposed to be abandoning thousands of working class youth to the Militant. Militant claim 10,000 active members of the YS. For a start, much of this figure is fictitious-most of the rest are either Militant members or under their influence.

However, a crucial part of Militant ideology is this: The Labour Party is the mass party of the working class, the LPYS is it's youth section, and bingo! the LPYS reflects (or is) working class youth in general.

This is a fiction - it substitutes the reformist party for the working class. Our task is to relate our programme to the struggles, particularly youth at work and specially oppressed - being part of their struggles, where they are; and 99 per cent of youth aren' in the LPYS.

Unfortunately, some comrades cannot conceive of any yhuht work structured outside the LPYS for fear of sectarian isolation. Here there is a danger of elevating the tactic of entry work into a strategy, or even a principle. Trotsky had harsh words to say about certain French comrades who were fearful of work outside the French reformist party (SFIO) for fear of isolation from the working class.

"Are there comrades among you who wish to remain at all costs cooped up inside the SFIO? Doesn't the example of the youth show that remaining tied to the SFIO constitutes more of an obstacle than a springboard? If someone amongst you says: "Outside the SFIO we will be isolated, we will sink into futility etc ...' We should answer:"Dear friend, your nerves are shot, take a four week vacation and then we'll see" ".

Our priority should never be one of simply getting peo le to join us in the reformist party. We are fighting to turn people outward, and getting people in the reformist party to join us in fighting for our programme within the struggles of the class on the basis of the united front: march separately, strike together demonstrating the superiority of the revolutionary programme in practice. We won't win working class youth to our movement by simply imploring them to join us in the LPYS - we'll do it by fighting with them in struggle. Comrades should build CF groups wherever possible. (this doesn't stop you from being a YS member8) Nor does it stop us from bringing youth into the reformist party on a fighting basis. We should drive for long overdue sponsorship of CF by various youth groups such as YSs, YCNDs etc. Build for a conference of YS branches and members, CF groups, etc against the attacks on the YS, explaining the issues and the way to fight - and getting a committment from these branches and members that they will continue to function as an organisation even if the witch-hunters are successful.

Concluding remarks

Youth work isn't simply the responsibility of the youth comrades, but of every member. As with other aspects of our broad work it should be thoroughly discussed by and idrected from the branches. Youth work is of decisive importance to our organisation - if we don't win the youth then we don't win the future. Fr From the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia through to the revolutionary struggles throughout the world today, youth have been and are in the forefront. Youth have most to gain from the defeat of their oppressors, they are the ones most ready to reject the 'common sense' ideas taught to them by their elders which reflect imperialist ideology - and they accept the Communist programme for that reason. Trotsky argued that the primary orientation of a revolutionary organisation should be towards young workers. He wrote: "If not bureaucratised 'Rovolution' may become a mass paper for young workers, which is the first layer we want to win; the adults will only come later. That is the logic of all revolution".

To aid the development of youth cadre, youth comrades should be represented on the highest bodies of the organisation. We should have the perspective of lowering progressively wherever possible, the age limit of our youth movement - fighting for a younger youth leadership better able to relate to the modds and movements within the youth. Branches should be sensitive to the requirements of serious youth work, wherever necessary giving youth comrades relief from other work.

Youth are patronised as youth in the home, at school at work etc. but age chauvinism has no place in the revolutionary organisation. Finally, the decision of our international movement to move towards organising on democratic-centralist lines is a qualitative step forward in the fight to reconstruct the 4th International. It brings the moment nearer when we will finally vanquish imperialism, rid the world of the threat of barbarism and give Humanity, and above all the youth the chance of a life and a future

INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY Dec/Jan 1982/83

Brief Comments on the Platform of the Internationalist Tendency.Armstrong

Preliminary Points

a.In the main part of this article I reply to the platform point by point. The numbers in this article refer to the numbers of the paragraphs in the Tendency Document(TD) and the two should be read together.

b.It is a very bad practice to sneak in an implied political position without making it explicit.By calling themselves the 'Internationalist Tendency',they imply that the rest of us are not internationalists,wihout having to prove it. Unfortunately,this technique is used extensively in the TD.

c.This document is written from a position of general support for the positions argued by comrades Carolan,Kinnell and Hill,although comrades who have read the NC minutes will know that I have foten disagreed with them on particular questions.However,I take full responsibility for this contribution and it should not necessarily be taken to represent the views of other comrades.

Point by POint Response

1.The whole organisation's orientation is to the working class.The TD suggests that work in the MP is somehow separate from that. We argue that the MP is an integral part of the working class movement in Britain and that an orientation to the working class includes orientation to the MP.Of course,we sould become soinvolved in the routine of the MP organisation what we forget aboutthe class battles taking place outside the confines of MP committees (or trade union branch meetings).But we haven't done that.This weeks paper,faced with the need to cover both the waterworkers' strike and the battle over registration in the Democracy campaign(hardly itself a matter of routine) devoted the front page and a four page pull out to the former and an inside page to the latter!

2.Agreed.Nobody says we want to 'simply' help the left to develop or evolve'.But where the 'left' adopt elements of our programme(such as democracy in working class organisations) then we fight alongside them and hope to win them to the rest of our programme by patient explanation and argument.Where the lefts fall short or betray,we criticse them as we have with Knight,Livingstone,Benn and Derer,

3.As long as the comrades do not think 'bold revolutionary propaganda' is the same thing as leaping up and down and raving and shouting,this is all very well... until the last sentence.Why does it mean that we need a party paper? Proclaiming 'paper of the WSL' does not constitute 'bold revolutionary propaganda' or a 'clear revolutionary programme'. The 'bold revolutionary propaganda' is what we write in the paper ,not what we call it. On every major issue ,the paper has argued for the League's political position.(It is true that we did not publiciise our changed line on the South Atlantic War.But given that it was a dead issue by the time of the special conference,it was more appropriate for it to appear in the magasine supplement and the holders of both positions agreed on that).

It is a strength of the paper that it has carried debates on various issues where we have been able to explain ourviews indiscussion with various lefts. This makes for a more interesting and convincing paper.If comreades don't like this,it suggests that they haven't got much confidence in our ability to win the political arguments.

The demand for a party paper seems to arise from two quite different things: a feeling of a lack of identity and of our own self image as Revolutioary Fighters(capital R,capital F) and secondly disagreement with someof the politics of the League as expressed in the paper.If our politics are revisionist the paper can be as much the 'organ of the Central Executive International Bolshevic Committee ' as we like butthe politics will still be revionist - the name has nothing to do with it.

The problem of lack of identity is more understandable.There is a real sense in which the organisation has been drifting lately and the Conference,by adopting a clear set of perspectives,must put that right.The solution is a political one.Every comrade needs to have a clear idea of what we are trying to do and how to go about achieving it. Beating the big drum about how we are the revolutionray party doesnot do anything actually to make us into a party. (as opposed to a propaganda group).What will win people to us is our politics. Organisational posturing creates more barriers between us and serious militants than it breaks down.

4.This entire section is political gibberish. Nobody proposes to 1)not take our politics to workers,11)voluntarily limit our politics or 111) stop brandingthe politics of the witchhunters as social chauvinism.What we propose is to fight effectively for our politics and against witchhunts.The register is not a principle. To joxin the MP one has to accept the famous Clause 2(b) of the Constitution which bars from membership people who belong to groups with "their own programme,principles and policy for distinctive and separate propaganda...or owing allegiance to any political organisation situated abroad" That is why we cannot join the MP openly as members of the WSL(British affiliate of the TILC).We have always had to deny to the bureaucracy that we were League members.The Register doen not change that;if anything was unprincipled it was joining the MP at all! In fact the Broad Groups could quite easily [illegible] satidfy the formal conditions for registration,which include such mundane things as giving details of officers,number of members,finances,consitution and making a few assurances about such things as finance frxom abroad.

We oppose the register because it is a device to xfurther the witchhunt and as long as there is a chance to make it unworkable,a boycott is clearly the best tactic.But when/if it is finmly established andmost other groups have either registered or been put on the register by the bureaucracy,what are we to do?If at that point we refuse to apply for registration,we make it easier for the right wing and soft left to isolate us.But if we apply,knowing that we will almost certainly be refused,we can mobilise a much more effective campaign on a 'we demand the right to register' basis.By this tactic we would make it much x harder for the soft left,who claim to oppose expulsions, to go along with the witchunt against us.

It is possible that the NEC would impose special conditions on the Broad Groups before allowing them to register.These might include renouncing extra-parliamentary activity or dropping our position on British troops in Ireland.None of us would accept registration on that basis .We would expose it as political victimisation and fight to be allowed to register on the basis of our politics.

Does this mean changing our position of opposition to the register? No! Wewould still argue that it was undemocratic - indeed we would use our case to prove it - and shouldbe scrapped.But the failure of the boycott campain meant that we had been forced by that defeat to apply.

This is not ratting on the rest of theleft.'M' have laready applied and we are talking about a situation in which most other left tendencies are registered. If some sectarians want to set themselves up for the chop,that is their business; although we would of course oppose their explusion.

A'Right to Register' campaign would be an excellent opportunity to get our politics across to a wider audience.It would not just be an internal MP affair.We would carry it into the affiliated unions,raise it on the shop stewards' committees,explain the issue to Tenants' Associations and organisations ofthe unemplyed.Everywehre that we do political work,we would seek to win support for our right to be in the MP.

Should we apply to register now?Cde Carolan has argued that we should take the xvote of the Democracy Campaign as our marker.I am not sure that there is not still some life left in the boycott xx tactic or that aplying to register now mightnot precipitate the unwelcome attentions of the NEC.Perhaps we should not take the attitutde of the new group of left parliamentarians as ourmarker. If they encourage a continuation of the boycott(and we should argue that they do) then we should not aply to register,given the closeness of the [illegible] votex at the Democracy Campaign AGM.But this is a matter for detailed tactical assessment and h has nothing xx in common with the tendency's position.

5 Agreed!

6 This is an example of the polemical technique described at the start of this article. If the comrades want to make a serious contribution they should say:

a) Who thinks orientating to working class women in struggle is necessarily "miserable economism"?
b) Who thinks positive discrimination is a substitute for mobilising working class women (and how that statement makes any kind of sense!)-?
c) Who has an uncritical appraoch to petty-bourgeois feminism?
d) What their attitude to WF is?
e) Whether they think the women's movment has contributed/ can contribute anything to our understanding of human society, and if so what?
f)

Answer these questions and we can have a serious discussion and possibly a serious alternative to the Collins/Fraser/Parkinson document. Otherwise we are left with a slight on other comrades who cannot reply because if they did it would 'prove' that they were guilty of the implied offences!

7 The arguments here are dealt with throroughly by Fraser and Joplin in their document in IB28

8 Nobody is making "pacifist denunciations" of the Irish Republicans. What the paper has argued is that it is no part of a "revolutionary strategy" for Ire Irland to go round blowing up civilians (and the Republicans' military tactics are a product of their strategic conceptions). We do not try to dictate tactics to the Republicans, or make our support for their struggle, conditional on their following our advice. But we should not attempt to justify the unjustifiable or pretend that it does not happen. That is being honest neither with ourselves, nor the working class nor the Republicans whom we hope to convince of a revolutionary Marxist strategy. That said, I think it is true that the that the criticism has got a bit too prominent relative to the support in the paper recently.

9 This is all very well as long as comrades don't think that Lenein's pamphlet on Imperialism (written in 1916) and Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution (first formulated in 1905) are the last words of wisdom for all time on imperialism. I cannot see how a Marxist position on either the Malvinas (where I think the TILC position is wrong) or the Middle East (where it is correct) can be derived directly from these works.

10 As far as I know, everyone in the L recognises the need for political revolution in all the Stalinist states in order to establish healthy workers' states linked together in a federation on the basis of equality. But this does not contradict the slogan of 'self-determination'. In Poland 'self-determination' mobilised the masses in a struggle which was leading towards political revolution when it was suppressed. In Afghanistan, the pre-condition for convincing the masses of the desirability of socialism is support for their struggle against the murderous Russian regime (whatever the short-term consequences). In Kampuchea self-determination was raised by the I.. as a slogan for deciding between the barbarous regime of Pol Pot and the bureaucratic one of Heng Samrin. Self-determination in the states dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy is, of course, not the end of political wisdom but it is the start of it. If comrades beleive that it is more important to shore up the Eastern side of the East-West power balance than to support the confused struggles of the masses, they haven't understood anything about Trotskyism. Our weapon for defence of the Soviet Union is class solidarity not calculations about the strength of the Russian military machine. Indeed if we based ourselves on the Russian army we would always oppose struggles against the bureaucracy, since, in the short term, they will inevitably weaken the ability of the Warsaw Pact forces to resist a NATO attack.

11 The previous organisations were brought together on the basis of mutual respect for the principled work and proletarian orientation of the 2 organisations. That enabled us to establish a common organisation and a common leader-

ship, despite our formal political differences. Any revolutionary organisation national or international, depends on the members having confidence in each other and in the general orientation of the movement. Ademocratic centralist ~~xmxaxmx xmxmxm~~ constitution cannot create that spirit; it is a way of organisaing on the basis of it.

At present, that relationship simply does not exist in the TILC. The RWL believes that the leadership of the L has fallen into the hands of a 'revisionist' tendency and many of us think that the RWL are retreating into sectarianism. Simply to declare democratic centralism now would not work. The TILC would either rmeain <u>in practice</u> a federation or there would be a heated factional battle followed by a split. Until a relationship of mutual confidence can be re-established, democratic centralism is a pipe dream. For this to take place, we need to get down to a serious dicsussion of the orientation and strategy of the various sections and come to some sort of understanding and hopefully agreement.

Unfortunately, the declaration of tendencies both internationally and within the L can only stoke up the factional boiler and make national political discussion that much harder to achieve.

12 Use of the Workers' Government slogan is a tactic. But it isn't just any o old tactic. It is a crucial part of our fight to win workers from reformism. In limited struggles we develop transitional demands which aim to win the battle and in doing so break workers from the bureaucracy and take them on the road to class independence. But in a period of capitalist crisis, these limited struggles pose more general political questions, very sharply. We should not answer them with ultimata. The idea of the Workers' Government slogan is to fight for a government which will break from big business and act in our interests. Part of that struggle will be within the MP but a very major element of it would be the building of a movement on the shopfloor both as a way of trying to force the MP to act and as a way of preparing a political alternative independent of the MP and trade union bureaucracy. In a sense, therefore, our fight for democracy within the working class movement and for class struggle politics is all part of the fight for a Workers' Government.

In passing, it should be siad that "the crowning oint of our programme" is <u>not</u> soviets. It is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Soviets are an organisational form the Dictatorship of the Proletariat could take. But there is nothing <u>necessarily</u> revolutionary about soviets. At the Leeds Convention in 1917 Ramsey MacDonald called for soviets in Britain. At the same time in Russia, the Menshevik/Socialist Revolutionary controlled soviets were busy trying to derail the revolution and in 1918-19 it was the Social Democrat led soviets that suppressed the revolutionary struggles of the German workers!

13 Nobody says that democratic demands are a substitute for transitional demands, or a necessary bridge to them; but they are part of the armoury of revolutionaryy agitation nonetheless. We do not substitute "police accountability" for workers' defence squads. We agree that the police can never be fully accountable under capitalism. But the struggle against the arbutrary powers of the "capitalist defence squads" can help to destabilise them, and demonstrate the role that they play in society. It can be pursued in parallel to the fight for workers' defence squads and can help demonstrate the need for them. There is no contradiction except in the comrades' heads!

THE CRISIS ON THE SHOP FLOOR

The mass movement which had defeated Heath was in its turn defeated by the Labour government and the TU leadership. They tamed the movement to their routine, one based on a deepening economic crisis whose burden rested squarely on the shoulders of the working class.

Their ability to do so rested essentially on the political shortcomings of the movement against Heath.

The situation now is marked by mass unemployment, loss of bargaining power on the shop floor, and destruction of the traditional methods of struggle which had grown up in the post-war period.

Central to this is the decline of manufacturing industry. The all-time high of manufacturing employment in Britain was over nine million, in 1965. In the ten years between 1972 and '82, the workforce declined from 8,096,000 to 5,500,000, an overall fall of 31%. In the four years between 1978 and '82 alone, the decline was 22%.

The underlying trend in advanced capitalist countries for basic manufacturing industries to be a smaller part of the economy has been massively accelerated in Britain over the last period.

This decline has taken away the bargaining power of stewards in manufacturing.- whether they are structured in some form of participatory scheme or not, though of course such schemes have had a major weakening effect on stewards ' organisation in general.

No section of manufacturing stands out against the trend. In the traditionally best organised manufacturing sections, which have a correspondingly high degree of shop floor organisation, we find the following decline:

	Decline '72-'78 (%)	'78-'82	Total '72-'82
Engineering	8	20	28
Shipbuilding	4	2o	24
Metal Manufacture	8	37	45
Vehicles	5	28	33
Metal goods	6	23	29

SHOP-FLOOR ORGANISATION IN MANUFACTURING

The latest available figures for the shop floor organisation in manufacturing are for 1978 (Warwick Survey in Industrial Relations). There were 119,000 manual and 37,000 non-manual stewards, a total of 156,000.

	Metal Manuf.	Metal Goods	Ship-building	Vehicles	Manufacturing Total
Recognised senior steward	76%	82%	69%	83%	74%
Regular stewards meetings	29	38	36	58	36
Combine meetings	16	10	26	35	34

The decline in both stewards' numbers and shop floor organisation since 1978 is obviously a matter of conjecture. However, the most

rapid decline in manufacturing has taken place since 1978. Decimation of this sector by unemployment must have seen a more than corresponding decline in stewards and shop floor organisation. What e plains the parado of so many left wing stewards at present, seems to be that no one else wants the job.

The decline in this section has had important effects. By and large open wages struggles can no longer be conducted on a plant, let alone an individual shop, basis. They have to take place on an industry/company basis, and shop floor and its leadership are directly confronted with the problem of the official union structure.

This sector has traditionally represented the power-house of the industrial struggle. Unemployment has for the present destroyed this role. No force (including us) has adequately come to term with either the overall class implications of this, or the concrete steps necessary for re-developing shop-floor organisation in this sector.

STRIKE FIGURES

Year	No. of strikes	Striker days	Unoff. striker days	Unoff. as % of total	Manuf. striker days	Manuf. as % of total	Total no. of strikers
1966	1937	2395	1224	51			
1967	2116	2783	2391	86			
1968	2378	4719	2506	53			
1969	3116	6925	5291	76			
1970	3906	10908	7614	70			
1971	2228	13589	3506	26			
1972	2497	23923	5694	23			
1973	2873	7145	5132	72			
1974	2922	14845	7735	52	7498	51	1626
1975	2282	5914	4785	80	5002	83	809
1976	2016	3509	3015	86	2308	70	668
1977	2703	10142	7630	75	8057	79	1166
1978	2471	9405	5353	57	7678	82	1041
1979	2080	29474	5962	20	22552	77	4608
1980	1330	11964	1883	16	10896	91	834
1981	1338	4266	308+	9+	2292	54	1513
1982	1454	7916			1864	24	2382
		thousand	thou.	%	thou.	%	thousand

(+ The breakdown into unofficial and official strikes covers only the first nine months of 1981, and no official figures seem to be available since then).

NON-PRODUCTIVE, NON-MANUFACTURING SECTOR

A totally different picture emerges when we look at this sector. Between 1972 and 1980 there was an overall increase in the workforce from 12 million to 13 million (7%). In the following two years it declined by 300,000, a 2% fall from the 1980 peak.

	All service industries	Gas, water, electric	Prof., sci., including teachers	Public admin
June 1972	12054	347	3031	1514
78	12848	330	3597	1553
80	13326	342	3658	1539
82	12925	329	3650	1497

While the largest proportion of the 2% loss has been born by the public sector, mainly in the civil service, it has been achieved mainly through natural wastage and early retirement. Compared with the manufacturing sector, the public and service industries are virtually intact.

There are no surveys on stewards' organisation in this sector. However, the general trend of unionisation from the late '60s onwards was for a massive increase in white collar unionisation in all sectors, and for an increase among manual public sector workers. It is almost certain that there has been a further extension of the shop floor organisation among public sector workers. The worst unionised sector remains the private non-productive sector.

The effectiveness of this organisation is, of course, another matter. However, it provides a structure for us to relate to. This can only be done concretely by attempting to make the committees authoritative bodies by making them relate to the shop floor.

E.g.: do we work towards a public sector alliance? If so, where do we try to make the start in this? Such questions have to be concretely assessed by our relevant fractions.

The decimation of the public sector has meant that the strike pattern in Britain has changed. Initially, public sector industrial action was generated out of the victories over pay in manufacturing industries and frustration at the government holding down pay. 1969, and again 1979, saw a mass wave of discontent over this.

The NHS and waterworkers' strikes show that sections which feel aggrieved are now prepared to take action independently of the general trend of manufacturing or even the public sector. This shows a massive development of trade union consciousness and organisation over the last ten years.

It also confirms another trend. Action over public sector pay must necessarily be on a national basis and official (except in circumstances where there is a national shop-floor framework which can call and organise action). Once again the questions are posed for the stewards and shop floor of a struggle against the official union structure to take action and make it effective.

This point should be one of our major cutting edges - not simply in terms of drawing the lessons of this or that defeat or victory - but for concretely posing the next step in the struggle. These

objective trends point towards a focus on union democracy and the strengthening of shop floor organisation.

CUTS AND JOBS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

One of the central aims of the Tory government has been to break down the public sector, redistributing portions to private concerns. They have, as yet, failed to make major inroads into overall employment in this sector. The main effect of the cuts has been the virtual impoverishment of a substantial section of the class - a fact that has been hidden because the groups affected, the old, single parents, and the unemployed, have no collective voice. It has only found expression through the spontaneous upsurge of the riots (a price the Tories are willing to pay) and elements of culture.

There have been two related problems about fighting the cuts to date. Firstly, we are dealing with sections of the class who have very little economic power when it comes to strike action. Secondly, the struggle against the cuts has in the main been divided from job loss. This is most graphically illustrated among local authority workers, where jobs have been defended by local authorities through rate increases and cuts in public services. The working class community as a whole suffers through a worse service and a greater burden on the rates.

It is essential that the 'bias' in the struggle against the cuts towards the Labour Party is redressed. Through our comrades who work in local authorities, we need to focus on an authoritative body in the trade unions, e.g. London region NUPE, which could start a proper campaign against the cuts. This would necessarily have to take up the arguments against privatisation, the question of viability, and begin, through the militant stewards such a campaign would draw round it, to take this onto the shop floor. An essential part of this would be linking up with the left in the Labour Party and Labour Councils.

In this manner we would be able to start organising the militants around a concrete programme of struggle, and take such a campaign into the workplace.

PRIVATISATION

Privatisation of the health service, local authority functions, and housing, represents one thread of the government's strategy. So far their effects have been relatively limited: however, important inroads have been made - the expansion of private hospitals and health care, the sale of council housing, and the selling of local authority services to private concerns. It is the latter which provides the direct conflict between an existing workforce with established pay and conditions, and the private contractor.

While this move towards the privatisation of services can be expected to continue, it is noticeable how few councils to date have taken up this option. One of the reasons is the fear of losing control of the service (once you have sold your dustcarts, then you are at the mercy of the contractors).

On the trade union side the trend has been to fight at the level of the viability argument, cutting down on costs, sacking workers to maintain the service.

Where a struggle did take place, in Wandsworth, three things were noticeable: the inability to generalise the fight (given you were

fighting against one borough, a very difficult task); lack of organisation at the borough-wide level; and the massive loss of power for the workforce once the service had been sold off. These problems will be faced again and again by local authority workers.

We can have a major input into restructuring and reorienting these struggles - but only through working out concretely the tasks that face the unions in this sector, and organising the e isting militants.

THE NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES

In January 1980, 5% of BP was sold, reducing the government holding to 44.6%. The NEB was told to sell off holdings in profitable companies - the major sales were ICL, Ferranti, and Fairey. The government's share in British Aerospace has been reduced to 48.43%. 49.36% of Cable and Wireless has been sold. The National Freight Corporation has been sold. BR: Hotels sold, the government wants to put the rest up for sale along with Sealink ferries and all BR's remaining property holdings.

The government is also selling the Transport and Docks Board, Amersham, and the oil production interests of BNOC. It has the power to compel British Steel and British Telecom to set up joint private/public subsidiaries and then sell them off. It has postponed the sale of BA, BL, the warship yards of British Shipbuilders, and the gas showrooms.

While the government has been able to go much further with the nationalised sectors than the public service sector, they have certainly not proceeded as far as they had wanted to . The majority of changes have taken place through the straight transfer of shares from the public to private concerns. The one area in which they came into direct contact with the unions was the sale of the gas showrooms, with a job loss of 30,000. A very effective one day strike saw the sale deferred.

The assault on the public sector poses the problem for the unions that the routine they have built up over the years is simply not adequate to the problems that they are confronted with. This necessarily means looking for essentially political answers in terms of what the public sector should be, ie in whose interests should it be run, and also a mechanism to fight and defend jobs which brings into question the TU leadership.

This process necessarily takes place at a different pace in different unions and different areas of struggle. Thus the effect of the steel strike on radicalising a section of the shop floor and shop floor leadership has enabled them to develop a programme of action and to substantially demoralise the ISTC.

This is the sharp end of a very uneven process in the TUs. Our task is to be part of it, organise it, and where possible lead it.

PAY

Over the past two years wages have more or less kept in line with inflation as the latter has declined. (The picture for previous years is: pay ahead of the retail price index in 1975, behind in 1976 and'77, ahead in 1978 and'79, and more or less level in 1980 and '82).

Average pay rises for 1982

		MEN	WOMEN
% YEARLY INCREASE IN GROSS PAY	Non Manual	9.9	8.5
	Manual	9.8	7.5
	All	9.9	8.3

We are moving towards a situation like the '30's, with a division between the employed and unemployed. Those in work were relatively well off compared to a static hard core of unemployed who were, to use the US monetarist jargon, "peripheral to the labor market". Today six million people in Britain live below the official poverty line, 1.5 million more than in May 1979.

This is potentially an extremely dangerous development. Thatcher is quite consciouslyaiming at the skilled worker with tax cuts,home ownership, and pandering to the deep-rooted racism which exists in the class. This has been a developing trnd since the early'70's, and has shown up in the voting figures as a move away by the white male skilled worker from Labour. It is the reason why the election will be decided in the Midlands.

While such a development is part of the breakup of labourism, it can only be pushed through by continuing depression and a major defeat of the class. In general, it has arisen because of the failure of any class wide alternative to t the Tory policies.

Secondly, falling inflation has been one of the central mechanisms for blunting the wages struggles. This does not stand independently from the other developments which have taken place in the class over the last period - lowering expectations, no central fightback etc.

Thus in 1969 and again in 1979, in a period of rising and high inflation when the government had held back public sector pay, a generalised offensive took place again over wages. This has failed to develop so far this time.

While it certainly is not a major trend one of the developments since 1981 has been for voluntary wage freezes to take place, particularly in engineering. There is also an increasing number of wage agreements for more than one year.

Trends within Wages

Wages are made up of a number of different elements, basic, shift, overtime etc. There is a growig tendency for the proportion of the basic to decline, and the variables to increase.

In the ten highest paid male manual industries, these variables average 31.9% of the wage. However for a large section of the class, and women in particular, this mechanism for increasing wage levels is not open. Women, with a few wexceptions, are not allowed to do night work, and they work on jobs with a fixed rate of pay which excludes bonus earnings etc.

Since the Equal Pay Act, women's earnings have remianed around $\frac{3}{4}$ of male earnings. This proportion is 1% lower than the 1975 level. If the basic rates continue low, this can only have the effect of further depressing wages of women (and all who work on fixed rates).

The most dramatic change in earnings will t ake place among youth. Up until this year youth earnings have held up well as a proportion of adult rates. The government now employs directly or indirectly through their various schemes 500,000 youth, a massive share of the labour market. This September, traditional apprentice schemes will end, the barrier between youth on gove nment schemes and those directly employed will have been broken down. The going rate will then

be £25 acrossthe board as youth wages are levelled down to that of the government training schemes for boys and girls between 16 and 18.

This candal has been greeted as a victory by the TUC. The POEU in negotiating their 8½% wage increase excluded the apprentices who will start this year. Chapple has also signed industry-wide agreements on the same basis. Quite clearly for these sections of the unions youth wages are bargaining points for the rest of the work force.

Whether any official resistence will be mounted to this in particular industries or unions is difficult to say, at present. However it is crucial that we find out the details of this development, to organise a campaign about it not only in the unions but also amongst youth. Through this we have a chance of developing a section of our youth work among those who actually have a job.

It is also of crucial importance that we relate more to the government schemes, th though this presents numerous difficulties given thier nature, the fact that they are short term etc. These schemes have built up the unenviable record of being one of the most dangerous sections of industry. Health and safety seems non-existent on them. It is precisely by taking up such issues (and knowing what we are talking about) that we will be able to break from a general propagandist approach to actually posing the next step in the struggle.

Our way to such sections is through our own youth comrades joining such schemes through the tech colleges.

Development on the shop floor and the Government attack on the unions.

As we nave seen shop floor organisation has been substantially weakened, yet formally the TUs have massive legal protections which have undoubtedly maintained shop floor organisation far more than it would have been if such protection had not been there. The downturn in the class struggle has meant that the movement has to a ceetain extent been maintain ed from above (though this dependence on legal structures is less than in most other advanced capitalist countries).

The present government attacks on the unions now pose taskd of defending the closed shop and the political levy. To take up such issues militants are necessarliy going to have to face the question of democracy in the unions and take these arguments to the shop floor. Again our task is to organise these forces.

The Tasks of the League.

We are faced with two inter-related developments in the unions which represent a major part of the present crisis of labourism. The traditional methods of struggle the routine of the movement, is no longer adequate to the defence of the shopfloor. Those struggles which have taken palce do so mostly on an industry wide basis and sharply pose class wide questions and the role of the union leadership. This has led many militants, especially those who have been through struggles, to begin the process of rethinking thri ideas as they attempt to change their organisations into ones that are capable of struggle. This is in a situation where the bargaining power of the shop floor has radically declined.

Neither of these two points have been fully grasped by the left (including the League), so there has been a retreat into propaganda. Of course we have organised around and supported strikes which have occurred. What we have not done is look concretely at the movement which, more than anything else, would help us relate to those sections on the shop floor who want to struggle and are looking for a lead. We missed a major opportunity to start this when the TU democracy conference was not followed up, and with our failure to sustain the Tebbit campaign.

While there are very many objective reasons for this - our size and lack of funds (as well as our internal problems) - we have to look at what is possible for us to achieve.

1) We must recognise that we are not a large enough pole of attraction to re-organise the shop floor as the League or S-. That is, while we relate to the living developments on the shop floor, we will be working with/ against other political forces who are far larger and have a deeper implantation in the class.
2) To effectively break from a propaganda approach we need to clearly understand the distinction between working in the movement and strike action. We cannot generate a strike wave. We can only relate to such a development. Our tasks start with being able to point to the next step in the struggle.
3) Our fractions need to meet and draw up a specific programme for their unions and industry where it is possible spelling out concretely what we can do. These should then be circulated to the organisation so that we know something about each of the major areas of activity we are engaged in.
4) This will also provide the basis of how we are going to develop the various campaigns for democracy in the unions, eg the London Local Authority Shop Stewards Committee - what do we want to see out of it? Also amain area of our work will be in the broad left, how we want to see them develop, to turn them out to the shop floor, to get them to take up the ossues of union democracy.
5) We also need to make a drive to establish workplace MP branches. These can be of major importance in grouping militants and new forces around our politics and taking them into the MP. With the impending election this is a major opportunity to develop such groups.
6) Central to the above is the relaunch of the S..V which necessarliy must have a major orientation to the TUs.
7) The above represents the outline of the tasks that confront us at the present time. They provide the basis by which we will be able to relate to t those militants who wish to build the shop floor movement. It is not just a question of us recruiting to S- or the broad lefts and the League. It is a question of us providing leadership, by being able to show them what the next step is. It is in this manner that we will regroup militants around our banner.

The central method of this approach is "you may not agree with every aspect of our policy, and not be ready to accept our discipline, but you xxx as well as us see the need to carry out the struggles in the unions. On that we can work together..."

Central to such an approach is that we have worked out what we feel is necessary, and are disciplined and organised enough to carry it out. It is only in this manner we will win the allegiance of the workers who will be the key to developing the struggle on the shop floor.

Glasgow branch amendament

The Crisis of the FI and our tasks. Add on to Paragraph 10, sub-section (K) the follo ing:
"The whole movment - ours included - has suffered from and even to a certain degree participated in is a general decline of the theoretical level of discussion and debate - which in turn opens up new trends towrads opportunism, impressionism, sectarianism, general electicism and prostration before Stalinism.

This decline in the theoretical level of dicussion and debate manifested itself in particular in the debate within the organisation in relation to the reactionary conflict between the British and Argentine states over the Falklands. The Trotskyist recognition of the invasion as a mini-colonial adventure by the military junta in Argentina, undeserving of any support at all at any point during the conflict, was overturned by a special conference in late 1982. The original position of the L, voted down by that special conference did not become the official position of the L again until its 1983 conference, through the passing of this addendum to the "Crisis of the FI and our tasks" document. "

Casey.

PLAN OF WORK resolution : Armstrong

"This Conference believes that the work of the L since fusion has suffered from the lack of a clear set of priorities for our work. The British Perzpectives document does not remedy this situation. We, therefore, instruct the incoming NC to produce a "Plan of Work" for the L, based on the decisions of this conference, as a matter of urgency."

ARMSTRONG GIVES NOTICE "that I intend to move if there is any proposal to change our position on the S Atlantic war "next business" immediately."