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THE
NATIONAL DELEGATE CONVENTION
OF THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

17th - 21st June 1978

Special Report

SPECIAL BRANCH

day of 19

SUBJECT

The following account has been received from a reliable source:-

INTRODUCTION

The National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party, the supreme body responsible for the formulation of party policy, was this year held in the Woburn Suite of the Ivanhoe Hotel, Bloomsbury Street, London WC1 (Tel: 01-636-5601), commencing at 9.30am on Saturday 17 June 1978 and continuing on a daily basis until the business was concluded at 1pm on Wednesday 21 June 1978.

This document will deal comprehensively with that conference and include arrangements made for the organisation, administration, finance and security of the event, a report on the conference discussions and resultant resolutions on which the future policies and activities of the Socialist Workers Party will be based during the coming period and, finally, a detailed analysis of membership, finance and other inter-related statistics.

In order to deal effectively with such a diversity of topics, the subject matter concerned will be divided into three parts as follows:-

PART 1 - Structure of Conference
Objectives of Conference.
Organisation.
Administration.
Finance.
Security.

PART 2 - Report on Conference
Conference timetables.
Conference discussions.
Resolutions.

PART 3 - Appendices
Statistics.
Personal details of delegates and full-time party workers.
Security references.

Where, during the course of the narrative, it is deemed necessary to refer to another part of the report, only the number of the paragraph concerned will be given and for this reason all paragraphs in Part 1 and Part 2 will be numbered consecutively. A reference to statistics or other such information which has been dealt with by way of appendices in Part 3, will include details of both the appendix and relevant page numbers.

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PART 1

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Structure of Conference

The Objectives of Conference

1. The National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party (which of necessity includes pre-conference discussion by way of internal party publications and meetings of the rank and file membership at district, branch and fraction level) is the democratic machinery by which the organization formulates its political policies, establishes a future programme of revolutionary activities and elects the leading committees to serve the Party for the coming year.

2. In order to assess accurately the area in which change or development is necessary, leading cadres within the Party have decreed that the focal point of attention should be on the 'objective' situation prevailing at the time, i.e. the state and development of the economy, government policy, international events, the strength (and political outlook) of the working class movement and, above all, the consciousness of the various layers within that movement. These are spheres in which it is accepted that the Party has no control at the present time, although it is possible to engineer some influence, and for this reason a close examination is imperative in order that the Party can directly relate its policies and thus provide a substantial base on which to strengthen its revolutionary effectiveness and organization, at the same time building the membership of the Socialist Workers Party and increasing the revolutionary potential within the working class movement as a whole. The discussion around the 'public issues' normally commences several months before the actual conference begins, the standard party publications being utilised in which the membership, whether Central Committee members or individuals from outlying branches, can advance perspectives and express opinions on the success or failure of current party policies or activities. (In the main, the publication specifically used for this form of discussion is the 'Internal Bulletin' and this will be dealt with at a later stage in the report.)

3. It is also considered essential that the elected delegates are able to assess accurately their decisions on these matters in relation to the 'subjective' element which concerns the membership, recruitment and financial statistics, together with the successes or failures of the Party during the preceding year. These details, however, by virtue of their delicate and secretive nature are considered highly unsuitable for publication in party journals, even of an 'internal' classification, in view of the fact that (as quoted by Ramon BARRAS, a leading Central Committee member) 'it has to be taken for granted that all internal party literature goes to the political police - the Special Branch'. Thus, the conference

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also serves as a means of disseminating amongst the membership, through elected delegates, the intimate details of party statistics which are considered to be too sensitive for direct publication. In addition to this, it has been found in the past that such action in relation to conference perspectives concerning 'internal' issues has resulted in other left-wing groups using the information to embarrass the organisation publicly, thus damaging and weakening the credibility of the Socialist Workers Party.

4. These objectives are the basis around which an annual party conference is held and, having thus dealt with the reasons for the formulation of the event in general, the report from this point onwards will deal specifically with the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Organisation of Conference

5. The organisation of the 1978 National Delegate Conference presented the Party machinery with a complex problem, severely hampered by the necessity for absolute secrecy in relation to the date and venue of the event, and for this reason the task was undertaken by members of the Central Committee who, in turn, delegated the more mundane administration matters to the National Secretary (Simon FURNER) and his full-time staff at the Centre (Party Headquarters).

6. Several months before the date nominated for the commencement of Conference, the Central Committee made extensive enquiries to establish a suitable location for the event, taking into account that it would be necessary to seat at least two hundred people. In addition to this it was essential that there was immediate access to public transport for delegates attending from the provinces, provision had to be made for light refreshment to be served inside the conference hall, suitable electrical facilities were necessary for the installation of a public address system and, if needed, recording equipment and above all, it was a prerequisite that the venue could be secured completely against intervention from outside agencies.

7. After much prodigious searching, it was decided that the Woburn Suite at the Ivanhoe Hotel, Bloomsbury Street, London WC1 lent itself ideally to the requirements which were considered essential for the conference venue and it was agreed with the hotel management that the Party could have exclusive use of the suite and another small room on the ground floor of the hotel from 6pm on Friday 16 June 1978 until 6pm on Wednesday 21 June 1978. One point of particular interest was the fact that the suite was being used prior to the conference for a book fair which was scheduled to end at 5pm on Friday 16 June 1978 and it was the view of the Central Committee members that the attendance of the Party representatives responsible for the initial preparation of the conference hall should coincide with

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the evacuation by the previous incumbents. By this action, the planting of any bugging devices or other such contraptions by the Special Branch or other government agencies would be completely precluded. An incidental benefit was the existence in the hotel of a large bar, selling drinks at prices considerably lower than the surrounding west end public houses and this later gave rise to considerable praise from the delegates on the forethought shown for their welfare by the organising body.

8. Having successfully established the conference venue, the next task was to stimulate extensive discussion amongst the grassroots membership of the organisation and elicit from that source perspectives and resolutions to form the basis of debate at Conference. The manner in which this was done centered on the 'Internal Bulletin', a monthly publication sold only to party members for reasons of security, in which are laid out critiques on current policy and suggestions for future perspectives, albeit that the majority of contributions flow from the pens of the Central Committee members and other such leading cadres within the Party.

9. Thus a programme based on the 'Internal Bulletin' was developed to focus the attention of the membership on suggested perspectives and related topics and initiate useful discussion and argument, with an opportunity for the results of such deliberations to be published for the benefit of other branches and districts. This process was repeated three times in order that the entire membership and, in particular, the delegates who would later attend Conference had ample time to read and understand the viewpoint of the whole Party on specific issues, there being opportunity for reply to previous articles in the second and third bulletins. The programme was as follows:-

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|-------------------------|--|
| Wednesday 12 April 1978 | Publication of first pre-conference bulletin. |
| Wednesday 26 April 1978 | Closing date for contributions for second pre-conference bulletin. |
| Wednesday 10 May 1978 | Publication of second pre-conference bulletin. |
| Saturday 20 May 1978 | Closing date for contributions for third pre-conference bulletin. |
| Wednesday 31 May 1978 | Publication of third pre-conference bulletin (including resolutions received to date). |
| Wednesday 31 May 1978 | Publication of Conference Agenda. |

Saturday 10 June 1978

Final date for the submission
of resolutions for considera-
tion at Conference.

Saturday 17 June 1978

Conference opens.

From the schedule it can be seen that, at most, there was only a maximum of ten days between the publication of one bulletin and the closing date for submission of material for the subsequent issue. For this reason, the activities of branches and districts throughout the country were extensively co-ordinated by the full-time party organisers (about thirty in number) who were continually in contact with the Centre regarding the most significant issues in order that emergency branch and district aggregate meetings could be convened at short notice to discuss contentious topics and consider whether an article or resolution should be submitted for the next bulletin. This procedure, however, proved totally impractical due to the lack of time to promote the necessary meetings and widespread criticism was later voiced that the correct democratic party machinery had been circumvented, i.e. discussion at branch level followed by a proposal to the district aggregate meeting - discussion at the district aggregate meeting with an opportunity to refer back to the branch concerned for amendment - finally, the decision whether to submit an article or resolution, if any, for publication. Despite this slight setback, the necessary discussions took place and produced many resolutions which, together with the conference agenda, were published on 31 May 1978 as the '1978 National Conference Bulletin' and immediately forwarded to the elected delegates for their perusal prior to the commencement of Conference itself.

10. Delegates credentials for geographical districts and branches were allocated on the basis of one representative for each thirty 'paid-up' members or majority thereof, with a separate allocation for 'fractions' which was decided on an individual basis by the Central Committee upon application by those concerned (for a definition of a 'fraction', see section 4.2 of the 'Party Constitution' - paragraph 39). The delegates were elected at branch meetings or, in larger areas, at district aggregate meetings and were chosen either for their considerable industrial involvement as trade union officials or their relatively senior positions in the local party structure. In this way one hundred and forty five geographically based delegates were selected which, when added to sixty full-time party workers (Central Committee members, full-time party organisers and 'Socialist Worker' editorial staff), provided a total of two hundred and five delegates with full voting rights at the Conference. The manner in which they were distinguishable for voting purposes will be dealt with in the section on 'Administration'.

11. The final major consideration regarding the organisation of the conference was the production of statistics concerning party membership, finances, the involvement of the members in the trade union movement and the production and costing figures

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for party publications. This was considered essential to ensure that delegates to Conference made the correct decision in the light of all information available and later informed the membership of their branches, districts and fractions of the present state of the organisation. The details concerned, however, were considered highly secret and such too delicate for publication in any journal and so it was necessary for a total of forty seven separate sheets to be produced and duplicated with sufficient copies for every delegate under the title of 'Additional Conference Information'. These sheets were produced at the Centre under strict secrecy by the National Secretary and his staff and were only distributed to delegates for individual sessions of the Conference when the subject matter contained in them was relevant to the topic under discussion.

12. Several minor issues also had to be considered, not least of which was the installation of a suitable public address system which, in the event, was found to be over effective by one delegate who, having escaped from the oppressive heat of the conference hall, found himself standing on the pavement outside the hotel amongst bemused members of the public, listening without difficulty to a revered member of the Central Committee delivering a recipe for 'instant revolution'. Needless to say the 'fault' was quickly rectified and the system returned to its useful function of allowing the quieter delegates to make their points from the floor with the aid of the six 'radio microphones' which had been provided for that purpose.

13. Naturally, the enforcement of rigid security measures preventing the removal of 'Additional Conference Information' sheets and other such documents from the conference area, coupled with a tight business schedule which left no time for breaks other than the lunch period, it was necessary to provide light refreshment for the delegates in the conference hall itself. Two large urns and the necessary ingredients for tea, coffee and fruit juices were supplied and the Conference Arrangements Committee delegated two stewards on a daily basis to run the tea-bar which managed to make a clear profit over the five day period of £65.

14. Moving from sustenance to entertainment on the evening of the opening day of the conference, two functions were provided to enable delegates to relax and get to know each other - a disco at the Polytechnic of Central London, New Cavendish Street, London WC1 and a party at [REDACTED] (the home of [REDACTED] Socialist Workers Party Gay Group) - both of which were considered successful, whatever the particular inclination of those taking part.

The Administration of Conference

15. The administrative details of the conference were the direct responsibility of Simon TURNER, the National Secretary, although the majority of the work was undertaken by [REDACTED]

Privacy

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Privacy and Privacy both full-time party workers at the National Office in the Bank and File Centre, Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park, London E4. Indeed, these two persons were ultimately responsible for the successful coordination of the conference arrangements due to the prolonged absenteeism of their leader who found it necessary to involve himself continually with 'other matters of immediate priority'.

16. In order to establish how many persons would be attending the conference, a circular was distributed in the 'weekly mailing' to district and branch organisers requesting details of delegates together with a registration fee of £30 for each set of credentials required. Once the names and addresses of the delegates were received, acknowledgements were sent direct to the persons concerned informing them that the credentials and related information would be forwarded immediately prior to the commencement of Conference, thus precluding the disclosure of the actual venue until the last possible moment.

17. As the applications for credentials were received, delegates were 'logged' in a master register which showed details of their branch or district, their union membership, whether or not accommodation was required for the duration of the conference and, most important of all, the payment of registration fees. At this stage, each person was allocated a conference number which was entered against the details in the register and printed both on the credentials and on the front of a personal folder which would be used during the conference for the distribution of the 'Additional Conference Information' sheets. For the purpose of this exercise, which was basically a security measure, the elected delegates, full-time party workers, 'Socialist Worker' editorial staff, foreign visitors, accredited observers and stewards were all considered as delegates.

18. The credentials themselves were divided into three separate categories depending upon the status at Conference of the holder. Pink credentials denoted that the holder was an elected delegate, a full-time party worker or a member of the 'Socialist Worker' editorial staff, all of whom were entitled to full voting rights on all matters. Green credentials were issued to all persons granted observer status, whilst blue credentials were reserved for foreign and domestic visitors. This procedure was considered necessary to safeguard the voting system on resolutions during Conference, when the only hands which would be counted by the tellers were those holding a pink credential.

19. Delegates were advised that in view of the high expenditure involved in running the Conference, the registration fees were to be paid in full before the opening date and failure to do so

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would result in the credentials of the delegate concerned being withdrawn immediately. This, however, appeared to be merely a method of ensuring early payment as many delegates had not paid their fees even after the conference had ended and efforts had to be made by the organisers to recover the monies due.

20. Accommodation for delegates from the provinces was arranged by the organisers, although in most cases this amounted to little more than basic sleeping facilities with meals provided on a cost-sharing basis at the homes of party members in the London area. However, the arrangement seemed to work reasonably well and saved delegates the cost of bed and breakfast or a hotel room.

21. The last major administrative task was the production of the statistics concerning party membership, finance and related subjects which would be distributed to the delegates as necessary in the form of 'Additional Conference Information' sheets. This took a considerable time as only a limited interest in such matters had been shown in the past, necessitating a complete manual count of the records at National Office before any reliable statistical information could be formulated. Eventually, however, the marathon task was completed and the sheets were retyped and duplicated containing, in addition to the information previously mentioned, a number of resolutions which had been received prior to the final publication deadline but too late for inclusion in the 'Conference Bulletin'. The arrangements made for the security of this information will be dealt with at a later stage.

The Financial Aspect of Conference

22. The total cost of the conference was estimated by leading members of the Party at approximately £5,000 although it is necessary to understand that this figure includes the cost of producing all the necessary literature - bulletins, credentials and information sheets to the value of £2,000 - which was printed at Feb Edge Litho Limited, The Oval, E2 (the print works owned by the Socialist Workers Party) and not charged directly to the Party funds. The hire of the Wolman Suite at the Ivanhoe Hotel was predictably the most expensive individual item, costing in the region of £300 a day, whilst the public address system and 'radio microphones' were hired from a professional supplier at a cost of £600.

23. In order to encourage the attendance of delegates who were in full-time employment, particularly those holding key trade union positions, the Party offered to pay the fares of all delegates, providing that the journeys were made by the cheapest possible means available. Also, in cases of hardship

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an ex-gratia payment of £8 a day would be made to cover the loss of wages during the sessions on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. The total expenditure on these items amounted to £1,000.

24. It can be seen from these figures that the actual amount of money paid by the Party to outside agencies and in the form of expenses totalled £3,100 this figure being slightly lower than expected due to the fact that those responsible did not calculate that student and unemployed members would be paying reduced registration fees.

25. Thus it can be seen that a surplus of £900 remained after all outgoing expenses had been paid and this money was nearly all channelled towards the payment of printing costs incurred by Feb Edge Litho Limited, the residue being used to cover postage and other small items.

The Security Arrangements for Conference

26. The arrangements for security were divided into two categories dealing initially with the venue itself and necessary restrictions on the entry of any unauthorised person, and secondly measures essential to prevent the leakage of information contained in documents produced solely for use within the confines of the conference hall, e.g. 'Additional Conference Information' sheets and the 'Conference Bulletin'.

27. A week before the opening date of Conference fourteen party members from the East London, North London and Lea Valley districts, who had been recommended for reliability and security consciousness by their respective full-time district organisers, were asked by the administrative staff to attend as stewards responsible for security. They were directed to meet outside the offices of the Trades Union Congress, Great Russell Street, WC1 at 6.30pm on Friday 16 June 1978, when they would be met and taken to the conference venue, where their responsibilities would be explained.

28. During Conference itself, the stewards worked under the direction of the Conference Arrangements Committee, consisting of Nancy HALLAM, Simon TURNER, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and were responsible for ensuring that only those persons possessing the correct credentials entered the conference area, providing the 'radio microphones' to delegates who wished to make contributions from the floor, collecting the personal document folders from delegates as they left the hall, running the tea-bar and finally ensuring that the room used by the Conference Arrangements Committee was always locked when not in use.

Privacy

Privacy

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29. On the evening before Conference, the Weborn Suite was prepared and all the doors were sealed with the exception of the exit into the hotel lobby. One of the stewards was then delegated to remain in the hall overnight to prevent any intrusion by outside agencies before the conference began. In the room used by the Conference Arrangements Committee the document folders for use by individual delegates were then prepared for the opening session the following morning and at the end of the evening [REDACTED] announced his intention to remain in the room for the night to safeguard the documents concerned and assure his early presence the following morning.

30. At this stage it is necessary to explain the system used for ensuring that the delegates had in their possession the relevant 'Additional Conference Information' sheets for the subject under discussion and the way in which the control of this material assisted the overall security of the conference. A folder was prepared for each delegate and on the front was printed the name and conference number of the person concerned. Prior to the commencement of every session, the stewards and the administrative staff on duty at the time placed in these folders the sheets containing the organisational statistics and other restricted details which were considered to be relevant to the forthcoming debates, at the same time removing the sheets used during the previous session. In this way the delegates were permitted access to the information during the period necessary for deliberation at conference, but were unable to take any details away with them other than a broad outline for the benefit of the members they were representing.

31. When the delegates entered the conference hall at the beginning of each session, their credentials were checked, an entry was made in the attendance register and they were issued with their personal document folder. On completion of the session, the delegates were only allowed to leave the conference area on production of their personal document folder which was then retained by the stewards on duty at the exit. The folders were then checked individually to ensure that none had been taken from the conference hall and that all the relevant documents were still in them and, if any of the folders or documents were missing the owner was immediately sought and made to account for the discrepancy.

32. After the final session of the conference, all the 'Additional Conference Information' sheets were torn up by the stewards and administrative staff, placed in sacks and burnt later that evening, and so effective was this last frenzy of activity that the Party itself does not possess copies of the documents which it produced.

33. Thus, having assiduously prepared everything, the venue was ready for the opening of the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party on the following day, 17 June 1978.

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CONFERENCE REPORT

The 1978 National Delegate Conference
of the
Communist Workers Party

34. Saturday 17 June 1978

AGENDA

9.30 - 12.30	-	Registration
10.30 - 11.00	-	Agenda Adoption of Standing Orders Adoption of Party Constitution
11.00 - 12.30	-	Report by National Secretary - the State of the Organisation
12.30 - 2.00	-	Lunch
2.00 - 3.30	-	Perspectives - Labour Govern- ment, Trade Union Leaders, possibility of General Election in the near future.
3.30 - 5.00	-	The Communist Party, United Front, Left Unity
5.00 - 6.00	-	National Advisory Committee, Party Council and Internal Bulletin

EXPLANATORY NOTE

35. The machinery by which the resolutions were prepared prior to voting by the delegates necessitated the election of a 'drafting commission' at the closure of each debate (see Articles 5, 6 and 7 of Conference Standing Orders - paragraph 39). It was the responsibility of this body to select the most significant points raised during the discussion and from these produce a concise resolution on which a vote could later be taken by the elected delegates. However, the deliberations of these 'drafting commissions' inevitably took place after the conclusion of the daily conference business in order that the resolutions could be drafted, stencils cut and sufficient copies produced for the perusal of delegates the following morning, prior to the actual vote being taken. Thus to avoid complication these resolutions have not been reported in strict chronological sequence.

36. The doors of the conference hall were opened promptly at 9.30 am and the registration procedure commenced. Delegates produced their numbered credentials which were thoroughly checked against the master register, a note being made on the attendance sheet for that particular session (the conference was divided into morning and afternoon sessions each day, a strict count being kept on individual delegates attending every session) and, providing the delegate fee had been paid, the person concerned was issued with the correctly numbered personal folder containing the relevant statistical documents for that session. The stewards then showed the delegates to their seats, ensuring that those with full voting rights (pink credentials) sat at the front of the hall, whilst observers (green credentials) and visitors (blue credentials) were placed at the rear - a manoeuvre intended to assist the tellers counting votes. The registration period, however, continued well past the allotted time, due in the main, to the late arrival of many delegates from the provinces and secondly to a reluctance on the part of Duncan HALLAS, the chairperson for the first session, to formally open the proceedings until such time as he found his notes which had become mislaid since his arrival at the hotel.

37. At 11 am Duncan HALLAS called the delegates to order and formally opened the conference, welcoming those present on behalf of the Central Committee and conference organisers. He apologised for the late start of the morning session and asked that in future all delegates attend the conference hall in good time to enable the business to start promptly in accordance with the agenda.

38. The first item of business was the proposed agenda for the five-day period and HALLAS read this out for the benefit of all delegates and then reminded everyone present that all proposals to alter the agenda or order of business must, in the first instance, be directed to the Conference Arrangements Committee. He then named and identified the members of the committee (see paragraph 26) and explained the location of the room which had been reserved specifically for their use during the conference period.

39. This short introduction led directly to the second item on the agenda - the proposal of the 'Standing Orders', under which the conference would take place, by the Chairperson, Duncan HALLAS:-

Conference Standing Orders

- 1) The Chairman or Chairwoman of the session shall be appointed by the Central Committee.
- 2) At the beginning of the opening sessions the chairman shall call for the election of six tellers who shall be elected delegates.
- 3) The agenda and order of business will be presented to Conference in its initial session.

- [REDACTED]
- 4) All proposals to alter the agenda or order of business must be taken up, in the first instance, with the Conference Arrangements Committee. Direct approaches to the chair or motions from the floor will not be in order. Proposals may be made only by elected delegates or the Central Committee. The Conference Arrangements Committee will report on such proposals together with its recommendations at the earliest convenient opportunity. Conference will decide, by vote, whether to accept, reject, or refer back the recommendation.
 - 5) At the times specified in the agenda, drafting commissions will be elected to draw out the sense of each discussion in the form of a motion. In event of differing points of view emerging, two or more commissions may be elected. A minimum support of five delegates shall be required to establish a commission.
 - 6) Commission drafts will be put to the vote in subsequent session. In the event of supporters of a particular commission being dissatisfied with the draft, the reference back may be moved. Amendments may be presented to the Conference Arrangements Committee which shall rule whether they be put as amendments or as a separate commission motion.
 - 7) In the event of directly conflicting motions, the Conference Arrangements Committee shall rule on the order in which they be taken, and which fall in the event of others being passed.
 - 8) All those present at Conference may speak. Speakers from the floor shall be allowed five minutes.
 - 9) Speakers may speak more than once during a session at the chairman's discretion. There shall be no automatic right of reply.
 - 10) A delegate from every district or branch which has submitted motions shall have a right to be called in the relevant session provided they notify the chair (by slip) of their wish to do so.
 - 11) Where differences of views on an issue are apparent, the chair shall take account of the balance of debate when calling speakers.
 - 12) Only elected delegates may vote.
 - 13) Election to leading bodies (including Central Committee, Central Commission and Conference Arrangements Committee) will be decided by Conference. Delegates must vote for a full committee in each case (whatever number is decided by Conference).
 - 14) No point of order will be accepted from the floor unless it refers to a specific, stated standing order (or orders). All other complaints
- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

must in the first instance go to the Conference Arrangements Committee.

After allowing the delegates sufficient time to peruse their personal copy of the orders in the document folder, HALLAS moved that the 'Conference Standing Orders' be accepted as written, the vote being carried 'unm. con.'.

40. The final topic of the initial session was the adoption of the proposed Party Constitution and in view of the significance of this particular document, HALLAS read out the proposal in its entirety, as follows:-

The Constitution of the Socialist Workers Party

1. Introduction

- a) The Socialist Workers Party is an organisation of revolutionary socialists dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism internationally and the construction of a world socialist system.
- b) The Socialist Workers Party stands in and develops the revolutionary communist tradition of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky as opposed to the Social Democratic and Stalinist traditions. Standing as it does, in this tradition, the Socialist Workers Party believes that the working class is the only force capable of building socialism in the world. Therefore, it strives to construct a revolutionary party composed in its overwhelming majority of workers.
- c) The Socialist Workers Party is Democratic Centralist because the revolutionary party must be a disciplined, activist, combat organisation. It is democratic in reaching its decisions and centralist in carrying them out. The lower bodies of the group are subordinated to higher bodies and all are subordinate to the delegate's conference.
- d) The party is the instrument of the revolutionary struggle and bends its every effort to support and sustain that struggle.

2. Membership

- a) A member is one who accepts the programme, principles and constitution of the Socialist Workers Party, pays the subscriptions and works with it and under the direction of the appropriate bodies of the organisation.
 - b) All members shall be members of an appropriate trade union. Every member must take and sell 'Socialist Worker'.
- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

e) Any member over three months in arrears with subscriptions is excluded from membership.

3. Districts, Branches and Cells

a) The basic unit of the organisation is the district.

b) Within the district structure the members are grouped in workplace or geographical branches or in workplace branches or in workplace or functional cells.

c) The district committee, which is elected by an aggregate meeting of members in the district (or otherwise if the Central Committee agrees), directs the work of the branches and cells in the district within the framework of national policy. Its decisions are binding on the branches, cells and members, unless altered by a higher body.

d) District aggregates open to all members in the district are held at regular intervals.

e) Where it is not practical to establish a district, members are grouped in independent branches which may be sub-divided into workplace and functional cells.

f) The establishment of a new district or the alteration of district boundaries requires the agreement of the Central Committee.

4. National Fractions

a) Members in a particular industry or union are constituted, where possible, into national fractions. The establishment of a fraction requires the agreement of the Central Committee.

b) Fraction aggregates are held from time to time, either on a delegate basis or otherwise.

c) Fraction executives direct the work of the fractions within the framework of national policy.

5. Party Council

a) The Party Council is constituted of representatives of districts and national fractions. It normally meets once a year. Additional meetings may be called in case of need by the Central Committee.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b) The Council reviews the political and organisational work of the Socialist Workers Party (or such aspects of it as it deems necessary) between conferences, pools the experiences of the districts and fractions in implementing the line of the organisation and advises the Central Committee.

c) Council members will normally be elected by district aggregates and national fractions and may be changed by these bodies. The numerical basis of representation shall be determined by the Central Committee, providing that every recognised district and national fraction has at least one representative.

6. National Advisory Committee

a) The National Advisory Committee consists of forty members elected by Conference. It normally meets at two-monthly intervals.

b) The National Advisory Committee reviews the current political and organisational work of the Socialist Workers Party and advises the Central Committee.

7. Central Control Commission

a) The Central Control Commission consists of seven members, five elected by conference and two nominated by the Central Committee.

b) Its functions are to maintain and strengthen the unity and discipline of the organisation and to investigate complaints relating to disciplinary matters by members or units of the organisation.

c) Disciplinary measures (censure, suspension, expulsion) for breaches of discipline are taken in case of need by district committees, fraction executives or by the Central Committee. The Central Control Commission reviews such measures on request and may alter or reverse them. It may also take such disciplinary measures as it deems necessary on its own initiative.

d) The Central Control Commission is empowered to co-opt members to serve for particular investigations.

e) The Central Control Commission meets from time to time to review its own work.

f) The Central Control Commission reports to Conference, where its actions are subject to endorsement or otherwise.

[REDACTED]

8. Central Committee

- a) The Central Committee consists of members elected by Conference.
- b) Between conferences it is the leadership committee of the organization and is responsible for the national direction of all political and organisational work.
- c) It appoints all full-timers.

9. Conferences

- a) Conference is the supreme policy making body and is held annually.
- b) Delegates to Conference are elected by district aggregates on a numerical basis decided by the Central Committee. Only such delegates vote at conference but other members may be invited by the Central Committee to attend. Central Committee and Conference Arrangements Committee members and full-time workers attend with full speaking rights.
- c) The Central Committee, national fractions, districts and branches not in districts, submit motions to conference. The number submitted by each district or branch may be restricted by the Conference Arrangements Committee.
- d) Three months before Conference the Central Committee opens a pre-conference discussion in the organization. Priority is given in the internal publications to material directed to these discussions during this period.
- e) The Conference Arrangements Committee consists of five members three elected by the previous conference and two nominated by the Central Committee.
- f) The Conference Arrangements Committee makes regulations and standing orders for the preparation and conduct of conference.
- g) A special conference may be called by the Central Committee or on the requisition of twelve districts.

10. Factions

- a) A Faction may be formed around a political platform signed by forty members that shows the points of agreement and disagreement with the party line.

[REDACTED]

b) A Faction will be given reasonable facilities to distribute its documents and argue its point of view. These must be circulated through the National Office.

c) Debate continues until the party at a special or annual conference shall reach a decision on the disputed question. Permanent or secret factions are not allowed.

Once again HALLAS permitted the delegates a short respite to collect their thoughts and comment on the subject matter before proposing that the 'Constitution of the Socialist Workers Party', as written, be adopted by Conference. The delegates showed their approval of the Constitution by raising their hands and, after a perfunctory glance around the room, HALLAS once again announced that the motion was carried 'nem. con.'.

41. At this stage, just before the closure of the initial session, HALLAS was reminded from the floor that under the 'Standing Orders for Conference', it was obligatory for six tellers to be appointed to enable delegates' votes to be counted correctly at later stages of Conference when the success or failure of resolutions was in dispute. He agreed that he had overlooked the matter and requested volunteers for the task, the following persons eventually being allocated the responsibility:-

Privacy

Roger COX

Privacy

Privacy

Having thus successfully appeased his critic, HALLAS moved on to the next session on the agenda and introduced Simon TURNER, the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to give a report on the current state of the organisation.

42. National Secretary's Report

Simon TURNER opened his report on the current state of the organisation by explaining that throughout the past year there had been a considerable 'downturn' in political struggle resulting directly from the strict implementation of the 'Social Contract' which had caused many rank and file members to 'give up the fight' when their concerted efforts in fighting pay restraint seemed to be meeting with little or no success. This major factor had a direct bearing on the national membership figures and whilst substantial increases had been made in recruiting new members into the organisation, these successes had been offset considerably by the loss of almost the same number of persons over a similar period of time. He then referred to the statistical information relating to membership figures contained in the delegates' personal folders (See Appendices 1,2,3,4 and 5 - pages 7 - 11) and spent a considerable time explaining the reasons why individual major districts had fallen behind in their recruitment figures and the problems of smaller geographical

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

branches in maintaining a viable membership. Linking this directly to the necessity of building the organisation by 'workplace orientation', he had to admit that when the figures on union membership for the past year were analysed, only a marginal increase was shown with regard to the involvement of Socialist Workers Party members in manual unions, whilst there had been a marked increase in respect of white collar unions. Indeed from the figures given, it appeared that the only substantial increases had been in the sectors dealing with school students, the unemployed and persons without any specific trade union affiliation.

43. Having thus explained the statistics and answered several questions from delegates on points which required clarification, FURBER finalised his speech by urging delegates to ensure that immediate action was taken in individual districts to increase the membership and, having done so, the new members were not lost through lack of interest on the part of leading cadres who should ensure that the interest of such persons was maintained by constant contact and involvement in local activities. Only in this way could a significant increase in party activities be engineered as it was difficult to consider intervening in disputes when there was little physical or vocal support due to a lack of membership or allied periphery.

44. Doreen HILLIS then opened the subject for discussion by asking for contributions from the floor, this resulting in the delegates focusing the debate around the three major issues concerning political training schools, increased 'workplace orientation' and the necessity for educating and integrating new members. The majority of persons present were unable to reach any logical conclusion with regard to 'long-term' members becoming disillusioned and leaving the party (although the odd person who seemed to have suggestions on this topic was unable to expound on his theory due to the lack of time available for speakers from the floor) and Conference declined to deal with this particular problem, which was considered insoluble.

45. The discussion period having been completed, in accordance with the Conference Standing Orders a drafting commission was elected, consisting of [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy and after discussing the matter later the same evening the following resolution was produced on 'The State of the Organisation' which was placed before Conference the following day and carried 'unanimously':

State of the Organisation (Resolution)

The modest membership gain the Socialist Workers Party has made over the past year despite the downturn in the class struggle hides the fact of a largish turnover, with gains barely outstripping fairly substantial losses.

[REDACTED]

To prevent the losses:-

1) Political training must become a top priority, so that members both know what they are undertaking and why and also so that they approach the activities with the same eagerness and responsibility as when they first joined. To this end district or regional cadre schools should be held regularly.

2) The Party must emphasize its workplace orientation and not use some of their best comrades as district dogbodies, thus divorcing them from fraction work and leading to their possible loss through disorientation and frustration. Instead districts should be organized where possible on the basis of workplace branches in whatever industry or union this can be done, side by side with geographical branches, both types complementing each other. The district thus gains the more valuable services of members whose main experience is the workplace. Where the division of districts splits fraction membership an inter-district industrial committee may overcome the resulting isolation.

3) It is essential to nurture new members not only before they join, but also after, so that the gain is stabilised and integrated. Political education is crucial in this. The evidence is that larger districts lose far more than small ones, the obvious conclusion being that the small units take much more care over their new members.

The membership secretary's role must be greatly emphasized not only on a district basis, but also in each branch.

46. At 1 pm, some 30 minutes later than scheduled due to the late start at the opening of the conference, HALLAS closed the morning session and reminded delegates that the afternoon proceedings would commence promptly at 2 pm, even if some delegates were not present by that time.

47. Lindsey GERRMAN, the chairperson for the afternoon session, re-convened the conference at 2 pm and as soon as the delegates had settled, introduced Damon HALLAS to speak on the subject of party perspectives.

48. Perspectives

HALLAS opened his talk by giving a brief account of the international economic situation during the past four years and explained that as a result of this general world crisis, the trade recession in Britain had become a real problem to the Labour Government who, undoubtedly, were relying on a combination of two and a half years of falling living standards and North Sea oil to enable them to begin solving the long term economic problems. The stringent wage restrictions imposed

[REDACTED]

to speed the return to a stable economy had resulted in hostility amongst the working class, which had been reflected in the growing trend towards consolidated industrial action in many parts of the country. Despite this militancy, however, the Government still had managed successfully to complete the first three stages of the 'Social Contract' and were now contemplating a 'fourth stage' which, no doubt, would impose further sanctions on the abilities of rank and file workers to achieve a decent living wage. It was therefore important to examine why the trade union movement had allowed this state of affairs to arise and, in particular, the three specific weaknesses which had grown during this period.

49. The most serious of these problems was the manner in which the traditional 'left' and 'Broad Left' union leadership had in recent times turned sharply against any form of action which might hinder the Government and make the situation of the British capitalists more precarious, using the existence of a Labour Government as a valid reason for opposing nearly all industrial action. Indeed, when such action had been forced upon the union leaders by sheer militancy of the rank and file workers, the union officials attempted to rationalise the strikes into token stoppages, thus preventing the mass mobilisation of the work force. Thus the swing to the right by the union leadership had resulted in a crisis amongst the 'Broad Left' and the 'alternative leaderships' which used to exist, effectively hampering the efforts of the more militant trade union officials in their fight against the severe restrictions imposed by the implementation of the 'Social Contract'.

50. Developing from this argument, he moved on to deal with the manner in which workers who had taken the initiative to challenge the pay norms had been subjected to a barrage of criticism from the media, which had resulted in a considerable weakening of their 'ideological confidence'. Indeed, the 'ideological alternatives' which had traditionally existed within the trade union movement had all been based on the surmise that a Labour Government (in particular a 'left' Labour Government) was the way forward and it was this which had formed the basis of argument when the Tories were in power. However, with a Labour Government now running the country, these ideas no longer provided an 'ideological alternative' and the union officials found it increasingly difficult to counter the view that only increased productivity and profitability could save jobs and prevent inflation. Thus it could be seen that by an ideological shift to the 'right' through class collaboration and the acceptance of participation agreements, the trade union movement in general was accepting the arguments relating to cuts in wages and social services that it had opposed when the Conservative Government was in power. The direct result of this was that shop stewards and convenors now lacked the ideological self-confidence to reject the arguments and criticism of the media and senior management against militant action, having been brow-beaten into accepting the generalised arguments of productivity deals and the necessity for increased profitability.

[REDACTED]

51. The crisis regarding the trade union leadership and loss of specific ideological objectives during the past four years were only two of the weaknesses responsible for the considerable 'downturn' in the political struggle centred on the workplace.

52. The main problem had been growing during the past ten years as the Government and employers had gradually introduced a policy of integrating senior shop stewards and conveners into the lower echelons of the management structure in many large companies and nationalized industries, thus effectively creating an artificial barrier between the union officials and the rank and file workers they represented. This, together with the two weaknesses previously mentioned, had resulted in a breakdown of the trade union movement as an effective militant body capable of manoeuvring the rank and file work force into mass action against the machinations of the Government in relation to the 'Social Contract' and cuts in social services and general living standards.

53. Moving away from the root troubles of the trade union movement, HALLAS then concentrated on the activities of the Socialist Workers Party itself and, in particular, the necessity in the immediate future to translate the growth of the membership over the past two years into an equivalent presence in the workplaces, this being the real key to tackling the triple crises of leadership, consciousness and organization at present existing in the working class movement. That it was imperative to build the Party in the workplaces, relating to the rank and file workers rather than the various layers of officialdom in the trade union movement, produce bulletins and build their circulation and above all create new political awareness amongst members of the working class movement.

54. The Party had already begun to concentrate its efforts on this area by developing the National Rank and File Organisation which would later become capable of co-ordinating the organisation of combined committees, temporary strike support committees and rank and file groups each having its own newspaper or bulletin. In this way a radicalised periphery would be created which would include affiliates from outside the organisation, persons seeking a socialist alternative to the present form of government and also contracts which have been made as a direct result of initiatives taken by the organisation in fighting racism and sexual repression.

55. HALLAS completed his speech by reminding the delegates that a general election was probable in the near future and in view of this it was most important that the Party was able to relate directly the activities and struggle in the workplace to the practical aspects of building a revolutionary socialist alternative which would appeal to the working class movement as a whole. This could only be achieved by building a massive

radicalised periphery, the support of which could be mobilised at the time of such an election.

56. Lindsey CURRIE then thanked HALLAS for his contribution and invited the delegates to discuss the points raised on this important issue. Following several speeches from the floor which only served to consolidate the viewpoints already expressed, a drafting commission was elected consisting of Chris HARRIS and [redacted] which produced the following resolution, later carried by a unanimous vote:-

Resolutions (Resolution)

- 1) The most important feature of the past year has been the success of the Government's income policy and the employers offensive on wages and conditions. This has only been made possible by the growing Government intervention to blackmail workers into acceptance by threats of closure or withdrawal of financial support.
- 2) This would not have been possible without the integration of the trade union leadership including left-wing officials and a layer of conciliators and stewards into the Government's strategy. The Communist Party, because of its links with the trade union bureaucracy and its political orientation on the Labour Government has also been pulled sharply to the right. The alternative to compliance with government policy entails not only the active organisation of the rank and file, but also being prepared to take on the government and this is not able to be done by the trade union bureaucracy or the Communist Party. This has produced a crisis of confidence among militant workers, eg lack of industrial action for firemen. The employers and the government are taking advantage of this to move onto the offensive in a way which was inconceivable a year ago.
- 3) The objective situation requires a rank and file movement as never before, but argument is harder where the level of struggle is low. Also the success of the government's wages offensive is rebuilding their electoral support when workers can see no credible militant or political alternative. The imminence of the General Election poses the problem even more sharply for us. The role of the government and of a socialist alternative becomes central in arguing for the rank and file movement and in intervening in disputes.

4) At the same time as the industrial struggle has gone into sharp decline the Socialist Workers Party has taken important initiatives in the fight against racism and sexual oppression which has led to substantial recruitment and pulled a substantial radical periphery around it.

Unless the Socialist Workers Party can turn the majority of these new recruits towards an orientation on the workplace these gains will be ephemeral and ignoring in practice the workplace orientation during the anti National Front activity merely delayed the inevitability of facing up to the question. (sic)

5) Main priority must be to integrate these increasingly diverse areas of Socialist Workers Party activity into an overall perspective. We have to recognise that we face several more months with the class on the defensive, but at a certain point the beginning of a fightback is inevitable. Then the key question will be whether we have the workplace base to intervene in struggles and generalise that.

The debate on perspectives was completed in accordance with the timetable at 5.30 pm and Lindsey GIBMAN then permitted the delegates a short recess to obtain refreshments before introducing Chris BARNAN to open the discussion for the next session.

77. Communist Party, United Front and Left Unity

BARNAN informed the delegates that two recent events had highlighted a severe crisis currently affecting the Communist Party. The Anti-Nazi League Carnival had confirmed that, although possessing a membership some three times larger than the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party had failed to play a leading role in the growing anti-racist movement. Indeed, too much political caution linked with a state of decay within the structure of the party itself had meant failure to take advantage of the potential available in this field of important political activity. The industrial strategy of the Communist Party had also suffered a setback which, at best could be called catastrophic when it was considered that for many years the party had been the bastion of left-wing militancy within the trade union movement. The electoral rout of the 'Broad Left' in the amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the Communist Party's traditionally strongest union, had been a setback for the entire left but could only be considered a complete disaster for the Communist Party leaving its entire strategy for 'left advance in the w.'s' in shreds.

The reliance of the party on Scanlon, the rejection of the need to build a grass-roots rank and file organization while the 'Broad Left' held the balance of power on the United Electrical Workers (UEW), the insistence of concentrating on purely electoral strategies in a dying 'Broad Left' electoral machine, and the policy of influencing the course of union politics by complete subservience to the senior trade union officials are all needs of a political policy which had been sown in the past and the results of which were being reaped by the Communist Party as a complete failure in industrial activity.

58. Having dealt with the failure of the Communist Party to make any gains from the near radical periphery concerned with the anti racist movement and the collapse of its industrial strategy, he then spent a considerable time examining the fall in membership of the party over the past four years and the dichotomy of opinion within its ranks between traditional 'Broad Left' viewpoints and an emerging intellectual 'right wing' influenced considerably by principles of Stalinism and/or Eurocommunism. For these new 'social democrats' within the Communist Party the basic premise was that ideas and ideology (organized set of ideas) could be changed as a result of a struggle at the level of ideas alone, completely overlooking the working class struggle as being irrelevant. Despite considerable stress amongst sections of the Communist Party which had been brought up to reject idealism and concentrate on the generalized class struggle, the fact that this new periphery was willing to join the party was seen as a good enough reason for their acceptance. However, the intellectual pseudo-Marxists had merely been searching for a base from which to put out their tent to the workers movement and the Communist Party which was desperate for new members at that time was convinced that it could effectively control its membership, even though a division of political thought existed.

59. The outcome was a split which developed within the Communist Party between the 'New Right' who wished to concentrate on 'economism', emphasizing the importance of the struggle against wage controls as an integral part of the struggle for socialism and the redevelopment of the 'Morning Star' into a publication capable of building a Broad Democratic Alliance by concentrating on the day to day assessment and analysis of problems connected with the workers', women's, blacks', gays' and students' movements. This challenge by the 'New Right' within the organization had led to a violent debate internally centred on the rebuilding of the party structure, a complete overhaul of the bureaucratic manner in which the organization is run and the necessary 'democratization' of the editorial board of the 'Morning Star'.

60. Having dealt with the various internal problems of the Communist Party, HARMAN explained that it was crucial for the Socialist Workers Party to be totally cognizant of the effect that the resultant strife was having on the industrially based

[REDACTED]

Communist Party militants. It was evident that there was a growing number of those members who were prepared, following the breakdown of the 'left alternative strategy' of their party, to work alongside members of the Socialist Workers Party and in some cases even transfer their membership.

61. An open letter from the Socialist Workers Party to the Communist Party a year previously had forced the leadership of the latter to make a public reply and acknowledge the existence of the Socialist Workers Party for the first time and more recently, after initially refusing to participate in the Anti-Nazi League, the Communist Party had found it necessary to revoke this policy and increase their involvement in anti racist politics. Thus, the leadership, although intensely sectarian, had been forced to acknowledge the growing presence of the Socialist Workers Party and peripheral groups, this being a real pointer to the possibility of relating to members of the Communist Party in the workplaces, the unions and on estates. This was not an opportunity to be missed as the Communist Party was very much on the defensive, both with regard to anti-racist activity and industrial work. Districts, branches and fractions of the Socialist Workers Party should therefore consider how to propose specific unity in action to individual members of the Communist Party or local branches of the organisation itself. This should not be seen as a trick, but as a genuine way forward to build a strong resistance to racism and combat the drift to the 'right' within the trade union movement. It was the responsibility of the Socialist Workers Party to bridge the gap between the decline of the Communist Party and the emergence of the developing revolutionary left by working with them when necessary, whilst at the same time defeating their ideas on import controls, immigration controls, the labour 'left' and the union leadership by strong political argument as well as practical application.

62. Lindsey GEMAN thanked HUGHES for his contribution which was specifically related towards the relationship between the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party and then introduced Tony CLIFF, the intellectual 'guru' of the Central Committee, to develop the essential reasons behind the necessity for unity amongst left-wing revolutionary groups.

63. CLIFF commenced by emphasising that it was necessary at the present time for members of revolutionary left-wing groups to unite in action against the right-wing in the labour movement (as well as the Tories and the Nazis). The 'left' to which it was essential to relate, however, was not approachable in organisational terms as it was composed of members from within other factions who, in many cases, did not necessarily wish to become part of the structure of the Socialist Workers Party. Thus, it was essential to develop small groups which were easily influenced and win for the Party the reputation of being the most consistent and

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

energetic group in the fight for unity in action against the 'right'. This conception of fighting for unity in action had to be a central part of all industrial and trade union work undertaken by the membership of the Socialist Workers Party and in order for the scheme to be totally effective it was essential that the membership fully understood the significance of the problem.

64. It had to be recognized that in certain areas of work there had been a growth of the political left which was independent of both the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, eg students with the USA, hospital workers with CLASS, various local Socialist Unity electoral committees and socialist feminists. The main point about all these groups was that the International Marxist Group had claimed them as external groupings within the wider integral part of their organisation, whereas in actual fact the International Marxist Group membership within the group themselves was in the minority, the remainder consisting of former International Socialists, various 'centrists' and, most important of all, many persons who were new to politics and considered 'unity' as the overall principle rather than membership of any specific sectarian group.

65. If these formations involved only the International Marxist Group and old 'centrists' it might have been possible to ignore them, but when the problem was examined in detail it became apparent that the membership also consisted of a large number of persons who, but for the barrier created by the political differences amongst the revolutionary left-wing groups, would become an important part of the periphery of the Socialist Workers Party. Thus it was essential not to create a greater barrier by writing off these formations as sectarian fronts as this was the very tactic which would alienate the non-aligned members and drive them further towards the clutches of the other sects involved.

66. Whilst the development of the Anti-Nazi League was an excellent method of cementing a relationship with these new, non-aligned elements, that by itself would not solve the problem as there were persons within that group who were attracted by 'softer' political alternatives. It would thus be necessary to develop a very flexible political approach to the problem by openly stating that any development to the left of the Labour Government was welcomed, eg the success of the Socialist Student Alliance in the election of three of their members to the executive of the National Union of Students, this necessarily being qualified at a later stage by a statement that it was impossible to sustain any advance to the left without building a revolutionary party. It had to be accepted that persons within the 'unity' formations might not be able to accept this initially, but it would be incumbent on the membership of the Socialist Workers Party to work with them in particular political struggles whilst continuing to advance this central point and, in time,

[REDACTED]

win them over to a basic understanding of the reasons for revolutionary politics. As part of this approach, care had to be found of involving the non-sectarian elements in joint activities and on every occasion it had to be made abundantly clear that the Socialist Workers Party was willing to undertake joint work in relation to external problems affecting both groups but would maintain its direction regarding the necessity for a party basis.

57. Finally, CLIFF suggested that this overall tactical approach could not be mounted successfully unless the International Marxist Group and its allied factions were placed in the defensive situation with regard to their politics. The Socialist Workers Party would therefore have to act in such a manner to prove that it was capable of building a working-class revolutionary party which was open to any person prepared to abandon sectarian attitudes for that end, although it would be necessary to impose certain restrictions on membership to prevent elements from the International Marxist Group resorting to 'entryist' tactics which would undoubtedly lead to a destructive faction fight.

58. The speaker presented by HARMAN and CLIFF proved to be an excellent basis for debate amongst delegates on the correct future orientation of the Party in relation to the Communist Party and other smaller groups around which the tactics of 'left unity' and 'united front' would be based. However, the discussion was eventually ended by Lindsey GERMAN, the chairperson, when time ran out and prior to the conclusion of the session a drafting commission was elected consisting of [redacted] They proposed the following resolution which was carried by a unanimous vote the following morning:-

Communist Party (Resolution)

The downturn in the level of class struggle over the past period has been contributed to by the leadership of the Communist Party. This indicates their continued influence in the working class and also reflects the rightward drift of the Communist Party. In order to win the leadership by influencing the most militant sections of the class, it is clear that the Socialist Workers Party must cease to be the super-critics and offer a political and industrial alternative to Communist Party militants, even more important, to influence others on their fringes.

The events of the last year have shown the bankruptcy of the Communist Party's trade union strategy. Their alternative economic policy has been adopted by the Trades Union Congress with all effect. Their policy of getting left union leaders in positions of influence has been totally exposed by the Scanlon-Duffy affair.

The Communist Party's political strategy of hoping for a leftward turn in the Labour Party has attracted to them a lot of right-wing, social democratic intellectuals. The Communist Party is now rent with arguments, including a powerful case for the Communist Party not to stand any candidates in the elections. So much for their parliamentary road to socialism.

The resulting fall in Communist Party membership and 'Morning Star' sales is nothing we should gloat about. In no way can we write off the significant support that Communist Party ideas still have within the movement, especially in major industrial areas. The Communist Party is still very much alive in parts of the Anti-Nazi League. In some unions where the Communist Party is now in opposition again, after the defeat by the right, they are even talking about the need to mobilise the rank and file.

In the past the Socialist Workers Party has tended just to use slogans about the need for united action with the Communist Party. Today there are both political and industrial opportunities for every Socialist Workers Party branch and district where the Communist Party exists. We have part of our periphery within the Communist Party. To win them and rank and file members of the Communist Party, we need to show in practice that our organisation is a credible and better alternative for the defence of the working class and the advance of its interests.

This means:-

- 1) Approaching the Communist Party members and branches to build the Anti-Nazi League especially at the local level and with the emphasis on the workplace. We can prove that our rank and file approach to building the Anti-Nazi League and fighting racism is better than relying on tired old trade union bureaucrats.
- 2) Where Communist Party candidates are opposing the Labour Party in elections and there is no revolutionary alternative then Socialist Workers Party members should vote for them.
- 3) Socialist Workers Party branches and districts must genuinely sound out possibilities of joint work especially on international solidarity campaigns and women's issues.
- 4) We must encourage open and friendly political discussions with Communist Party members where possible involving them in activity in the workplace, eg preparing mass meetings together.

5) The Young Communist League has been active in several areas on the issue of youth unemployment and the NUSS, we must not shy away from working with the Communist Party in this area.

6) Around the theme of 'stop the drift to the right in the Trades Union movement', members in workplaces and fractions must open up discussions with the Communist Party aimed at rank and file unity in action to stop the right wing.

These approaches must be made in the most friendly and fraternal way possible, after all Communist Party members are often now in faster retreat in the face of the right-wing than we find ourselves. But this must not be done at the expense of Socialist Workers Party politics - our belief of rank and file organisation and our rejection of the parliamentary road to socialism.

Conference suggests that branches and districts should organise discussions and training about the Communist Party and its politics to ensure that our members are sufficiently prepared to win the arguments for revolution against reformism. We should not imagine that the response to these initiatives will be met with open arms, we must make the Communist Party an offer they can't refuse.

69. Lindsey GERRARD then introduced the final session of the day - the National Advisory Committee, Party Council and Internal Bulletin. Duncan HALLIDAY once again mounted the rostrum to provide delegates with the background to these important items of internal party democracy.

70. National Advisory Committee, Party Council and Internal Bulletin

He explained to the delegates that prior to the 1977 Conference, the central leadership of the Socialist Workers Party consisted of a small, full-time Central Committee which was elected on an annual basis at Conference, together with a large Party Council which met once a quarter and consisted of delegates elected by districts on the basis of one for every fifty members plus representatives from fractions (in practice the Central Committee interpreted the 1 in 50 rule as meaning that all small branches were entitled to one delegate even though their membership was considerably smaller). The benefit of this system was that it involved every section of the organisation and changes in policy between conference (such as the decision to found the Socialist Workers Party from the International Socialist IS and contest local elections) were placed before this representative delegate body for initial approval. Though strictly a consultative body, the Central Committee had nevertheless come to accept that it was necessary in the first instance to gain the approval of the Party Council before attempting to implement any new measures.

[REDACTED]

71. However, the Party Council had hardly ever been a source of initiative and due to the size of its membership had never developed any leading national cadres. Thus it was more comparable to a barometer on the mood of the Party, rather than an effective policy making body or a source of feedback from the struggles of its more advanced sections. The conclusion reached by the Central Committee was that it was essential for the Party Council to be retained, but that a smaller National Advisory Committee should be formulated, involving leading district cadres and industrial militants, which would be capable of building an effective national cadre and leading the revolutionary party whilst at the same time providing for change and renewal of the Central Committee membership.

72. This introduction was given specifically as factual background on the existence of the Party Council and National Advisory Committee which, together with the Central Committee, had been the subject of severe criticisms in resolutions submitted to Conference by various branches and districts throughout the country.

73. These resolutions formed the basis of the debate which followed and it is not intended to deal in detail with the individual contributions of the delegates concerned, but to present a resume of the points raised. The general feeling within the rank and file membership of the Party was that they were generally uninformed on many of the more important issues regarding party policy, particularly in respect of decisions taken by the Central Committee and the reasons behind those decisions. This had resulted in a situation where the basic democratic structure of the Party was likely to break down in the face of bureaucratic methods adopted by the leadership, and it was therefore of maximum importance that the Central Committee should be made to debate new policies with the rank and file membership before adopting them as Party policy. This could be possible through the offices of the National Advisory Committee, which would have to meet at least six times a year, and an increase in the publication of the 'Internal Bulletin' which could be utilized to a much greater extent for the debate of new policies, the reporting of National Advisory Committee meetings and other such items of importance to the rank and file membership.

74. In the event, once all the delegates had raised their individual criticisms and had the benefit of replies assuring an improvement in the future on the part of the Central Committee, there was little else to discuss and so a drafting commission was formulated, consisting of Duncan HALLIAS and Simon THURSON, which produced the following short resolution to be carried by a unanimous decision the following day:-

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Leading Committee and Internal Bulletin

(Resolution)

Resolved that the following leading committees be retained and with the following stipulations:-

- 1) That the National Advisory Committee shall meet at approximately two-monthly intervals (except where Party Council or Conference intervenes), agendas to be properly prepared.
- 2) A bi-monthly Internal Bulletin to be produced. amongst other material to contain a post National Advisory Committee summary.
- 3) That the Party Council shall meet once a year, at least, between Conferences.

Amendments were proposed for the Internal Bulletin to be produced on a monthly basis, reports of Central Committee debates to be included in the Internal Bulletin and for the formation of an editorial board for the bulletin. All were defeated.

75. The business for the first day was thus concluded and Lindsey GIBSON thanked the delegates for their attention and reminded them of the venues for the two social events which had been organised for their benefit (see paragraph 14), before closing the conference at 6 pm.

76.

Sunday 16 June 1978AGENDA

9.30 - 10.00	-	Drafting Commission Reports
10.00 - 12.00	-	Socialist Worker
12.00 - 1.00	-	Socialist Review
1.00 - 2.00	-	Lunch
2.00 - 3.30	-	Control Commission Report
3.30 - 4.30	-	Anti-Nazi League
4.30 - 6.00	-	Youth and School Students
6.00 - 7.00	-	Black Work and Fighting Racism

77. The morning session was opened promptly at 9.30am by Simon TURNER, the National Secretary, who addressed a depleted gathering of delegates and explained that many of the party members from the London area would not be present until the afternoon, due to an important Anti-Nazi League demonstration in support of the Asian community which was being staged at Brick Lane St. In view of this, it had been necessary to completely reorganise the agenda for the afternoon session to enable the Anti-Nazi League Organiser, Paul HOLBOROW, to attend the demonstration in the morning and arrive at the conference in time to give a report and lead off the discussions on the Anti-Nazi League.

78. With the assistance of Duncan BALLAS, TURNER then dealt with the voting on drafting commission resolutions which had been prepared as a result of discussions held the previous day. All the motions were carried, either "nem. con." or by substantial majorities, and having completed this section of the agenda, the first item to be dealt with was 'Socialist Worker', the party newspaper, and TURNER informed the delegates that the report on this topic would be given by the editor, Jim NICHOL.

Socialist Worker

79. NICHOL initially informed the delegates that they would find a considerable amount of statistical information concerning the production and sales figures for 'Socialist Worker' in their personal conference document folders (an analysis of these figures is given in appendices 7 and 8 - pages 14-15).

[REDACTED]

80. He explained that during the past year efforts had been made by the editorial staff to produce a lively and informative paper whilst at the same time maintaining the correct political orientation to the mass working class movement, in order that the publication could be used to organise the readers as well as expounding on political theory. The existence of a successful revolutionary newspaper was imperative to combat the propaganda of the ruling class circulated on a daily basis by the capitalist press and other forms of media. The paper would have to successfully generalise from every experience, whether connected with nuclear fuel or a strike, and turn the discussion into political argument for socialist planning or the case for a rank and file movement. By this means, the paper could be used as a method of organising and enlightening the mass periphery surrounding the Socialist Workers Party who, although at present were willing to fight alongside the membership on specific issues, needed the persuasion of correct political discussion in order to convince them of the need to join the party. In the same way that the 'Socialist Worker' had been used as the springboard to launch the Right to Work Campaign, it had to be used in the future to develop the anti-Nazi League and draw towards the party those who accepted the specific arguments on racism and the necessity to combat the fascist menace.

81. Having reasoned for a successful revolutionary paper, NICHOL then dealt with the responsibilities of party members for distributing 'Socialist Worker'. He spent a considerable time itemising the duties of district 'Socialist Worker' organisers, and then concluded by suggesting that it was the responsibility of every party member to initiate and increase sales on local streets and housing estates, and in factories, workplaces and union branches.

82. Simon TURNER then opened the subject for debate and it became quite apparent at an early stage that the topic was likely to become one of the most contentious issues at Conference, the delegates being divided on two main issues - (1) the basic content of the publication and its relation to the activities of the Socialist Workers Party and (2) the layout and presentation of the paper itself. (It should be explained at this time that the editorial staff and structural organisation of the paper had been completely revamped some five months previously on the initiative of the National Advisory Committee and the Central Committee and the majority of the criticisms and suggestions were related to the manner in which 'Socialist Worker' had developed from that time. Thus the discussion inevitably centred on a vote of confidence in the editorial staff of the paper and it is intended to incorporate all the issues into a general appraisal of the problem and then give the three resolutions formulated by the various factional drafting committees).

[REDACTED]



83. Criticisms were based on the changes in content and format of the paper which had been implemented in order to produce a 'less boring and predictable' publication having greater appeal to the wider periphery who were not directly connected with the Socialist Workers Party. Thus, the problem which had arisen concerned the manner in which two contradictory demands were resolved - devising a 'simpler' paper with more articles of 'human interest value', to which persons of limited political theoretical knowledge could relate, whilst at the same time presenting a thorough Marxist-orientated political analysis of the same problem on which could be based the organisation of the party membership in their fight for the rights of the working class movement. The net result of appeasing both viewpoints was a 'watering-down' of the political theoretical content and a corresponding increase in emphasis on broader issues such as the fight against racism and fascism.

84. The solution to the problem, based on points raised by the delegates, was to correct the balance of the paper in the future by expanding the coverage of industrial matters and analysing the individual struggles of the workers involved, increasing the number of articles which dealt with the policies of the Socialist Workers Party in relation to workplace orientation and building the Rank and File Movement and, finally, maintaining the present level of reporting on broader issues such as the fight against racism and fascism whilst improving the political analysis on such topics.

85. Eventually, Simon TURNER was forced to call the delegates to order and close the debate in order that a drafting commission could be elected to formulate a resolution on the matter under discussion. Due to the considerable divergence of opinion amongst the delegates it was not surprising, therefore, that three separate commissions were elected, all of which presented their resolutions the following day. The content of the resolutions and members of the drafting commissions concerned were as follows:-

Socialist Worker

(Resolution 1)

LAGGING NOT SLAGGING

1. By and large we welcome the attempts over recent months to experiment and develop new ways of presenting our ideas in Socialist Worker.

2. However, we feel that in a number of key areas there have been serious gaps which must be filled.

a. Although major industrial confrontations are not on at present, the class struggle has not disappeared. We don't have Grunwicks or the firemen, but the low level of struggle has brought with it a confusion of ideas about where we go from here. Socialist Worker must tackle these arguments - not avoid them. These are political straws which many workers clutch at.



of toolroom workers (are they right?), the Lucas answer (is it on?), Left Alternative Strategy (what do we say?), why did Speke go down the drain?, Can redundancy be fought in non-profitable firms?, the employers' offensive: prod deals, wholesale victimisation.

b. Last year the argument for a Rank and File movement was much easier: sod the officials, unite and fight. When the arguments become more complex (stop the retreat), the need for a Rank and File movement does not disappear - but must be tackled in a different way. We have to find these ways. Some of the Rank and File papers are already doing this.

c. In order to overcome these problems we propose that some of the enthusiasm which has been directed to other areas in the paper be channelled as well into developing the industrial pages. In particular we suggest the following ideas as experiments:

1. Rebuilding workplace organisation - how it was done in the past, how to do it now, combine and stewards committees, fighting for union situations.
2. Workplace bulletins and Rank and File papers.
3. Health and Safety, the Law and advice on profits, wages, rates etc.
4. Rank and File contact - for workers to contact others in the same combine or industry.

In other words, to say that the paper is wonderful is nonsense. But it's not rubbish either. We, the members and journalists, have to combine the enthusiasm, experiment and new ideas that our new readers in SKAN, ANL, Women's Voice etc have brought with them, with the struggle at the point of production.

Given that 25 per cent of the papers are sold inside the workplace and that these readers are regular and look to Socialist Worker for a political lead, it is vital that the paper avoids the political confusion and omissions of recent months. The role of the party and its organiser, the paper, is to impart the best of every facet of the struggle.

This resolution was prepared by

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56.

Socialist Worker (Resolution 2)

In the present period of downturn in class struggle Socialist Worker has to relate to several peripheries. The

[REDACTED]

Socialist Worker is still our organiser - both of our political ideas and activities. It cannot 'build a periphery' without the Socialist Workers Party or on the basis of diluting our politics. It must orientate on the politicized periphery that already exists via the Anti-Nazi League, Greenwich, the trade union sell-outs of last year etc. and in our workplaces.

Prior to the new Socialist Worker, it was true that the paper had to some extent become too predictable. But the product which emerged from the shake-up is now unsatisfactory.

Conference argues that there are three peripheries: in the workplace, street/youth periphery and the bland between these which emerges most clearly in the Anti-Nazi League, where we are working with Communist Party members, Labour lefts and so on. To relate to these and draw them towards us, it is not enough to express and expose the resentments they are feeling. We must answer the political questions they are asking. The paper has not been consistently doing this.

Take this week's Socialist Worker. An article about a major success in a Fire Brigades Union election was headlined 'Firemen put the heat on Mr Parry' and not 'Fire Brigades Union election boosts Rank and File'. The personal came to the fore at the expense of the political. And the article on Scapion (aside from the waste of a whole page) lacked a cutting edge by failing to argue a serious strategy for the way forward.

We must fully answer the questions posed to us by a minority of readers in each and every trade union and workplace.

Last year, we could use the paper agitationaly. Workers were on the move so we could put demands like 'E! Now'. Now we have to take up a whole range of issues: to explain why things are as they are. Why is inflation apparently falling? Why is Labour apparently more popular? Why is the right-wing in the unions growing? Why is there a youth rebellion? Why isn't equal pay being given? Why don't the police defend blacks against the racists? Why have several punks joined the Socialist Workers Party?

There are good ideas in the present paper - like the TV and Sports Columns, the new letters page, the Sacrifice Corner, and the International page, like the more open approach to non Socialist Workers Party writers.

But all these must hang around one key theme that connects with the immediate tasks of the Socialist Workers Party: the workplace orientation. However difficult it may be to build the Socialist Workers Party in the workplace right now we must continue to argue in Socialist Worker what we believe should be done.

We must keep an interventionist edge arguing strategy and tactics in the trade union struggle. We can still recruit new members and increase our political influence in the workplaces provided Socialist Worker does relate to the concerns of this periphery.

The Socialist Worker must give our members the confidence to argue the more complicated issues raised by the period we are

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[REDACTED]

in, and so draw in that periphery they have around them.

Socialist Worker has lost that central orientation. It must again become the best paper for all industrial militants to read. And it must remain the most exciting political paper for all rebels and socialists to read. We don't want 'more' of what we've had in terms of pure populist journalism. The question is how we can imaginatively draw militants and rebels towards the Socialist Workers Party. Finally Conference believes:-

1. Every week there should be a minimum of four regular industrial pages, instead of the present three;
2. There should be a regular Socialist Workers Party activities page in the paper (featuring bulletins, factory gate sales, fences etc);
3. The logo 'Paper of the SWP' should be restored to page one.

This resolution was prepared by [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] Privacy and Roger Cox and [REDACTED] Privacy and, when presented to Conference, was accepted with the following amendment which was carried 'yes, non.':-

Conference notes that an open debate in Socialist Worker on racialism would not include racist insults, repeats that racist insults have been considered permissible in the past and trusts that this will not recur.

37. Socialist Worker (Resolution 3)

The readers of Socialist Worker are made up of a wide variety of people - from the youth and anti-fascists who have taken to the streets to trade union militants who may have been in the socialist movement for years.

In a period of industrial downturn Socialist Worker has naturally focused on the struggle against racism and fascism (carnival etc) but has failed - on a number of important occasions - to give proper industrial coverage.

The balance of the paper has been upset and needs to be corrected. We welcome the re-launching of Socialist Worker and improvements made in presentation and hope that such developments continue.

However, we reject the over-use of artistic newspaper design at the expense of much needed articles in the paper.

Conference therefore instructs the Socialist Worker editorial board and the Central Committee to restore the balance of the paper by paying attention to the following areas:-

1. Socialist Worker has to continually explain
- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

and analyse how the employers are using trade union officials to attack workers' wages, conditions and rights. For example, the job slaughter at Speke and in Leyland in general, in the British Steel Corporation and a whole number of major industries. Because of this political situation, there is a large layer of discontented workers who desperately want an alternative (revolutionary) spelled out clearly and in detail. This alternative not only spells out the particular needs of an industry but the overall political alternative of workers running things better than their Labour politicians, and bosses.

2. That Socialist Worker should reflect the ideas of the best elements of our class who have been sold out by their traditional 'left leaders' and want to really fight the employers' offensive. Part of this job means that Socialist Worker should try every week to comment on the major political developments so that both our own members and readers can answer the 'what does the Socialist Workers Party say about this, that and the other?'

3. That Socialist Worker as a major orientation in the present political situation hammers home the message 'Stop the Retreat - Build the Rank and File'. As part of this strategy, it is essential that the Socialist Workers Party fractions provide news and features for Socialist Worker that show the limited initiative that comrades have started. It is also important to integrate industrial department staff into industrial coverage of the paper.

4. The 'opening out' of Socialist Worker to its readers is welcomed but has not gone far enough. An urgent priority should be to get more black workers, women and strikers themselves to write for the paper.

This resolution was devised by [REDACTED] and Jim NICHOL (the editor of 'Socialist Worker').

25. The fact that three separate resolutions had been prepared on this subject gave rise to problems when the delegates voted. Duncan HALLIS resolved the matter by holding a separate vote on each resolution, this resulting in Resolution 1 and Resolution 2 being carried by large majorities, whilst Resolution 3 was defeated. He then suggested that the drafting commissions responsible for the two successful motions should amalgamate and compound one final resolution to include all the salient points already presented. However, this was not acceptable to the delegates, due to the time factor and the necessity of those involved to sit on other drafting commissions, and it was finally agreed that the two resolutions should both be allowed to stand. (It is of interest that the resolution prepared by Jim NICHOL, the editor of 'Socialist Worker', was defeated - a portent of events to occur some three months later, when the entire editorial board of the paper was changed and NICHOL himself was sacked as editor).

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

89. The debate on 'Socialist Worker' was completed later than the scheduled time and so TURNER immediately introduced Alex CALLINICOS, a member of the Central Committee, to deal with the subject of 'Socialist Review'.

90. Socialist Review

CALLINICOS informed the delegates that 'Socialist Review' had been conceived as a popular socialist magazine which would convey ideas and information to the membership and periphery of the Socialist Workers Party in a more lively and comprehensive format than its predecessor, 'International Socialism' (the IS Journal). In order to achieve this aim, great efforts had been made to present the magazine with an 'open' image by including articles from members of other 'left-wing' groups whose politics did not necessarily concure with those of the Socialist Workers Party. This was not to be seen as a dilution of the ideals and politics of the Party, but rather as an attempt to present important items of political debate in a more effective manner.

91. The greatest change from the old 'International Socialism' was an increase in the amount of space devoted to cultural issues. Whilst this new policy was considered to be absolutely correct (the Party having suffered in the past from a rather narrow and introspective form of politics), there was a multitude of dangers inherent in allowing non-members of the Party to contribute on these issues and the ease with which other sections of the 'far left' (eg ex-members of the Party or the International Marxist Group) could use the magazine as a platform for their reformist politics. A much more difficult task was the development of the prime purpose of the Journal is to cause debates between the Party members and 'reformist left' on the major issues affecting the British Labour movement. He then pointed out that it was far too easy to allow the magazine to live off the success gained by relating to a 'petit-bourgeois milieu' and, in the long term, failing to take advantage of the opportunity to engage the 'reformist left' in necessary political debate.

92. The major problem regarding the publication was rooted deep within the Party itself and whilst the majority of the membership considered 'Socialist Review' to be an excellent step forward from the staid 'International Socialism', there had been little or no increase in the number of articles and letters submitted for publication by the rank and file members themselves and this needed to be corrected.

93. Having dealt with the general issues surrounding the publication, CALLINICOS then discussed at length the production and sales figures for 'Socialist Review' (see Appendix 10 - page 19). It was apparent from the statistics produced that there was a considerable wastage between the total 'print-run' for each of the issues published and the

[REDACTED]

total number of copies which were actually sold. Without labouring the fact that the income from sales had failed to cover the production costs (at least for the first three issues) and additional expenses incurred by 'Socialist Review' as a subsidiary of Socialist Worker Distributors (the print shop), he finally urged all delegates to ensure that individual districts increased their orders for the magazine and, more important, established regular profitable monthly sales which would then enable 'Socialist Review' to remain a viable proposition.

9b. There then followed a short period of discussion before Simon TURNER closed the debate and a drafting commission, consisting of Alex GALLINGHAM, Pete GOODMAN and Gareth JENNINS was elected. These three persons produced the following resolution which was carried "nem. con" the next morning:-

Socialist Review

(Resolution)

1. The decision to replace the monthly IS Journal with Socialist Review arose from the need to provide both our members and our periphery, especially those drawn into politics over the last couple of years, with the sort of in-depth analysis and argument that Socialist Worker as a weekly agitational paper cannot by its nature provide.

This implies a magazine that presents a politics in a lively and accessible form, that deals with a wide range of issues - culture, as well as 'politics' narrowly defined, and that is open to non-SWP members to contribute. This in no sense represents a dilution of our politics - rather an attempt to present them more effectively through debate in the Review with socialists of widely divergent viewpoints.

2. So far, Socialist Review has achieved a modest success in achieving its aim and Conference therefore welcomes its appearance. The very rapid growth in sales through bookshops (100 for the last monthly 'IS Journal' - 1,300 for Socialist Review No 3) and the sale of 500 copies at Carnival show that it is a magazine with much broader appeal than the old 'IS Journal'.

3. However, problems remain:

First, the discussion and analysis needs to be more firmly directed towards the issues of relevance to militants in their workplaces and in particular towards debating the politics of left-reformism, (more clearly defining where we differ with non-SWP contributors).

Second, the sales of Socialist Review through the Socialist Workers Party, as reflected by money paid to the centre, are very low. This suggests that branches have not woken up to the Review's potential.

[REDACTED]

4. Branches/Districts should take the following steps to ensure that Socialist Review sales are increased:-

1. Appoint a competent comrade as Socialist Review organiser.
2. Collect/send off money regularly (money from the previous issue should be paid within a week of the following issue appearing).
3. Offer Socialist Review to all regular Socialist Worker readers.
4. Sell Socialist Review at all Socialist Workers Party meetings and demonstrations.
5. Aim to sell two copies per member. In addition branches/districts should use Socialist Review as a basis for educational activities and to arrange debates, where appropriate, with other tendencies on the left, or the Communist Party, 'the Labour Left', around the issues raised by Socialist Review.

95. Promptly at 1pm, TURNER closed the morning session and informed the delegates that transport was available for a limited number of provincial delegates to attend Brick Lane E1 where they could experience the 'blatant fascist activity of the National Front and supporters' at first hand. However, he then reminded them that this should not be allowed to interfere with the Conference business which would resume at 7pm sharp.

96. The comments made by TURNER prior to the lunch break proved of little avail as it was 2.30pm before he considered that sufficient delegates were in attendance for the afternoon session to commence (the remainder managing to return before 3.30pm - in time for the debate on the Anti-Nazi League) and it was only then that he introduced Ted PARKER, the Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party Control Commission, to give a report on internal security matters for the period 1977-78.

97. Control Commission Report

Before delivering his report, PARKER reminded the delegates that there was a need for absolute secrecy regarding the composition and activities of the Control Commission which was responsible for internal security and discipline within the Socialist Workers Party.

98. He then stated that the level of serious internal strife requiring intervention by the Control Commission had dropped to an all-time low when compared with previous years: there were only five issues during the period

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

between the 1977 and 1978 Conferences which had been notified to the Commission for investigation or ratification. In view of the absence of issues notified from any source, no full meetings of the Control Commission were held between Conferences, although two Control Commission hearings were held at short notice involving co-opted members for specific cases.

99. The five matters referred to the Control Commission during the period June 1977 to June 1978 were as follows:-

1. November 1977 - The registration of comrade 'MF' (Medway Branch) had been vetoed by the Branch Committee pending an agreement from him that he would stop being a disruptive influence on branch meetings and other activities. He was informed of his right of appeal to the Control Commission, but since that time nothing more had been heard.

2. November 1977 - Information was received that a member 'ON', who was a lecturer at the University of Kent, had been employed by the Iranian Embassy to gather as much information as possible on Iranian students in the country. Following an investigation by two members of the Control Commission (Duncan HALLIS and Ted PARKER) and two co-opted members (Simon FURBER and [REDACTED]) it was established that his involvement was naive rather than malicious, but there was no alternative in the circumstances to expel the comrade from the Party - a decision which he readily accepted.

3. December 1977 - Comrade 'AN' (Clydebank Branch) was expelled from the Party by the Glasgow West District Committee for assaulting another member of the Socialist Workers Party with a beer glass. In view of the nature of the incident, there was no need for the decision to be endorsed by the Control Commission, although the right of appeal was notified to the comrade through the relevant district committee.

4. April 1978 - A former member of the Socialist Workers Party who had previously been expelled (reasons not disclosed) had approached Crawley Branch seeking re-admission to the Party. He was referred to the National Secretary and wrote to party headquarters asking whether the expulsion was to be revoked at any time in the future. Following a re-examination of his case by members of the Control Commission he was informed that this would not be possible under any circumstances.

5. May 1978 - The South West London District Committee requested that the Control Commission investigate two matters which were closely inter-related due to the personalities involved:-

a. The first issue was the behaviour of three recently recruited members, 'TE', 'EB' and 'ES'. Following exploratory talks with two of the three persons concerned by leading party officials, a Control Commission hearing was convened on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

22 May 1978, the Commission consisting of Duncan HALLAS, Simon TURNER and Neil FAHNER, together with co-opted members

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'TR', 'SR' and 'BS' were charged with joining the Socialist Workers Party in order to recruit people to their own political tendency which rejected the tradition, strategy and tactics of the Socialist Workers Party, as they were 'entrists' seeking to recruit for another organisation.

The Control Commission, after lengthy deliberations, found the charge proved by a unanimous decision and resolved that the three comrades concerned be expelled.

b. The same Control Commission then went on to consider a second case, connected to the first by reason of the personalities involved.

On 15 May 1978, comrades, 'TV', 'SR' and 'BS' had organised a social gathering at their home. A group of people, including some members of the Socialist Workers Party, who were drinking in the Brixton area heard that 'there was a party on' and arrived at the house after closing time with beer and other drinks. They were refused entry and as a result arguments developed at the front door involving some twenty persons outside. Approximately an hour and a half later, after the crowd had gone, a brick was thrown through the window of the living room and then one of the occupants locked out, the garden path appeared to have been torn up. Following this incident, an 'Appeal to all Branches of the Socialist Workers Party' was rushed out by 'TR', 'SR' and 'BS' implying that the fracas had been organised in order to suppress political opposition.

The Control Commission traced the persons named by 'TR', 'SR' and 'BS' and interviewed them, then called four of those who were members of the Socialist Workers Party to the hearing on 27 May 1978 (one was, in fact, not a member but a part-time journalist on the staff of 'Socialist Worker').

The Commission was unable to find any evidence concerning the identity of the individual who threw the brick, although the four members of the Party admitted that they were involved in the earlier shouting incident outside the front door of the house. As a result, two of these ('AS' and 'MB') were suspended from membership for three months and one ('PC') for one month. In relation to the non-member ('NP'), a recommendation was made to the Central Committee that he be relieved from his post on the staff of 'Socialist Worker'.

Finally, the comrades were informed that any repetition of this type of incident might well constitute a reason for expulsion in the future and that, should the Central Committee identify the person who had thrown the brick or anyone who had withheld information on that point, then the individual concerned would be expelled from the Socialist Workers Party at once.

[REDACTED]

100. Having completed his report, which was deliberately condensed at the request of Simon TURNER in order to return to the time schedule of the agenda, PARKER reminded the delegates that the election of the Control Commission for the coming year would take place during the morning session on Tuesday, 20 June 1978 and requested that they give this matter considerable thought due to the responsible position within the Party held by that body.

101. Simon TURNER thanked PARKER for his contribution and then introduced Paul HOLBOROV to open the main debate of the day on the Anti-Nazi League.

102. The Anti-Nazi League

HOLBOROV, the National Organiser of the Anti-Nazi League, commenced by stressing that 1978 was becoming one of the most important periods for many years regarding the activities of fascists in this country. It was the intention of the extreme right-wing to field many candidates in the forthcoming local elections and already they had committed themselves publicly to standing over three hundred and fifty candidates in the next General Election campaign. If this aim were achieved, the resultant press and television publicity, together with the free delivery of millions of election communications, meant that the 'Nazis' would be able to circulate their propaganda material on a scale which had not been possible before. In addition to their electoral strategy, the fascist groups were also directing their attention to the youth of Britain and were already reporting considerable success in winning over young people to their form of racist politics and activities.

103. He then drew the delegates' attention to the manner in which the 'fascists' were influencing the debate on racial issues in British politics, their policy of repatriation being used increasingly as a point of reference by the Conservative Party and right-wing members of the Labour Party. In support of this theory he quoted the 'blatantly racist' report of the Select Committee on Emigration, the remarks of Judge Welford and the constant reminders of the BBC ('the instrument of the capitalist ruling class') to give racials such as the National Front and the Ku Klux Klan air time. It was, he continued, attitudes and actions such as these which were bringing an air of respectability and legitimacy to the atrocious racist ideals of the National Front and kindred organisations, thus presenting a major threat to the working class and, in particular, the black community in this country. Therefore, it was absolutely necessary for immediate action to be taken to combat the 'threat' of the 'fascists'.

104. It was HOLBOROV's considered opinion, and indeed that of many leading cadres within the Socialist Workers Party, that the means of defeating such a threat was already developing in the form of the anti-racist movement which had grown in strength and confidence during the nine months preceding Conference. Resulting from the confrontations at Lewisham and Brick Lane

[REDACTED]

there was a conviction amongst the anti-fascist milieu drawn not only from the traditional revolutionary and student left, but also the wider echelons of the labour and trade union movements, that the progress of the 'fascist menace' could be halted and possibly wiped out.

105. The basic problem facing the Socialist Workers Party was how to relate to the periphery of potential members within the anti-racist movement, all of whom were willing to become involved in some form of activity against the 'Nazi', although many did not agree with the Party policy of direct confrontation against the 'fascists', let alone other Party policies on immigration controls and the Social Contract. The solution had been found in the establishment of the Anti-Nazi League which, during the first few months of its existence, had received a massive response from many thousands of individuals who would in other circumstances be completely alien to the traditional socialist and anti-fascist milieu. Indeed, HOLBORN admitted that the success of the Anti-Nazi League had been far greater than the Socialist Workers Party or any other individual anti-racist organisation could ever have achieved on its own. This great achievement had been created from a programme which, by Socialist Workers Party standards, could at best be described as 'soggy' and non-definitive', with no mention of driving the National Front from the streets physically, opposition to immigration controls or the need for a socialist alternative.

106. HOLBORN confided in the delegates that the very format of the Anti-Nazi League programme, together with the presence amongst its sponsors of many celebrities and Labour MPs, had caused a great deal of concern amongst Party members who considered that by engaging in such an operation, the Party was committing political suicide by compromising its distinctive socialist objectives.

107. He then dispelled this fear by explaining to those present that the Socialist Workers Party could only reap huge benefits from a deep involvement with the Anti-Nazi League and reasoned that once people became actively committed to the fight against the 'fascists' then the whole political ideology of such people would change rapidly.

108. Having given a broad outline of the way in which the Socialist Workers Party could use the Anti-Nazi League as a 'nursery' for recruiting future members, HOLBORN then moved on to deal with the specific areas on which it was necessary to concentrate.

109. He suggested that it was a narrow-minded attitude to confine anti-fascist activity purely to street fighting. The prime target for building the membership of the Anti-Nazi League was the workless and whilst the trade

[REDACTED]

union bureaucracy was only willing to fight the 'Nazis' on a level of statements and resolutions, it was the responsibility of party members within the League to be seen as the individuals who were actively engaged in fighting the fascists in the factories and on the shop floors. This should be done by rooting out the fascists who were members of unions or held any position of responsibility and enforcing a 'closed shop' policy which forbade anyone with extreme right-wing tendencies from holding union membership. A talent of equal importance was the potential membership material which existed amongst the youth of Britain, whether school students, unemployed or young workers and for this reason it was imperative that this source was also exploited to the full. Thus, if a successful recruiting drive for the Anti-Nazi League could be mounted amongst these two very important sections of the periphery, a fertile base could be produced for ensuring an increased membership of the Socialist Workers Party itself.

110. In order to leave adequate time for a thorough debate on the subject, HOLECHOW summed up by reminding the delegates that it was essential to build the Anti-Nazi League as a successful mass anti-racist movement and at the same time to regard the periphery within the League as potential membership material.

111. There then followed several contributions from the floor of the Conference suggesting ways in which the Anti-Nazi League could be developed as an effective fighting force against the fascists and, secondly, as a major source of new members for the Socialist Workers Party. Eventually Simon TURNER was obliged to bring the session to a close and a drafting commission was then elected consisting of Paul HOLECHOW, [redacted] Privacy, [redacted] Privacy, [redacted] Privacy and [redacted] Privacy. These four were responsible for formulating the following resolution which was carried by a unanimous decision the next day:-

The Anti-Nazi League (Resolution)

The Anti-Nazi League represents an important development for anti-racists everywhere. Not only has it inflicted a set-back for the National Front, but it has created the conditions whereby the wider aspects of racialism can be taken up (Immigration Controls, Thatcher's remarks, repatriation etc).

But there is a real danger of being taken in by the appearance of the League rather than its actual substance. In too many areas of the country the Socialist Workers Party has not consistently committed itself to building the League.

Conference therefore resolves that the building of the League in the following ways is an urgent priority:

1. In the workplace and the trade union movement

Seeking and taking advantage of official Trade Union support is important. But real results will only be obtained insofar as this official support provides

the opportunity to organize on the shop floor and in the offices.

2. Among Youth, School Kids

A large proportion of the Carnival was composed of working class youth attracted to exciting ways of combatting racialism. Where SWAN groups have already been formed, they have proved to be an outstanding success. The leafletting of schools, the organization of TAN gigs, leafletting of football matches, etc. are all activities which should receive attention, and resources. Our approach and presentation have to be post-electric. (sic)

3. Geographical Branches

Geographical branches of the Anti-Nazi League should be formed on a community, street etc, basis. To keep the Anti-Nazi League just at a town/city level would result in missing many opportunities to involve new activities at a grass-roots level.

4. Women

Building Women Against the Nazis, particularly on the housing estates, can throw the doors of the Anti-Nazi League open to an important layer of potential activists who would otherwise be ignored.

5. The United Front

We must seriously investigate how the United Front can be operated at a local level, with the emphasis on unity in action. This applies not only to the Communist Party and the Labour Party, but also to immigrant communities.

Relationships with the Socialist Workers Party

Within the emphasis of building the Anti-Nazi League, the Socialist Workers Party must be clearly identifiable through sales of 'Socialist Worker', articles in 'Socialist Worker', the production and use of pamphlets and contributions at Anti-Nazi League meetings.

Socialist Workers Party districts and branches must be geared to meet the needs and interest of the new contacts. Local activity and meetings must be designed partly to draw these contacts to us.

Conference recognizes that Anti-Nazi League activity within the workplace in particular can create an entirely new periphery which can be drawn into both Rank and File activity and into the Socialist Workers Party.

The real possibilities that exist for the Socialist Workers Party within the Anti-Nazi League will only bear fruit if there is meticulous attention paid to detail.

Prior to the vote on this resolution the next day, the following amendment was presented to the drafting commission for inclusion in the resolution and, when placed before Conference, was carried 'yes, non, 1'-

The resolution on the Anti-Nazi League will include the Gays Against the Nazis section.

112. Immediately following the closure of the debate on the Anti-Nazi League Simon FURBER welcomed [redacted] to the platform to lead the session on Youth and School Students.

113. Youth and School Students

[redacted] the Party Youth Organizer, opened his speech by informing the delegates that the preceding twelve months had witnessed a considerable escalation in student and youth involvement around activities organised by the Socialist Workers Party. Of equal importance was the present attitude of rebellion amongst the youth in schools and the working class movement which, although orientated around various forms of protest, was nevertheless dominated by anti-racist and anti-capitalist attitudes. This rebellion against any form of authority had been increased by a high level of youth unemployment amongst school leavers, the continual harassment of black youth by the police and a growing awareness of the necessity to combat racism and fascism, all of which had helped to politicise and radicalise the youth of today. Indeed, the lesson to be learned from these symptoms was that young people were becoming increasingly disenchanted with the oppression by the state machinery in its many forms and were in a correct frame of mind to instigate militant action at all levels against those persons and organisations whom they considered to be 'enemies'. Thus, the task of the Socialist Workers Party was to try and relate to this potential 'militant energy' and harness it into effective political activity.

114. He continued by explaining that School Kids Against the Nazis, Speak Against Racism, the Right to Work Campaign and Flame had all been excellent ways in which the initial barrier between youth and political activity had been broken down.

115. The importance of School Kids Against the Nazis (SKAN) could be gauged from the fact that eight thousand copies of the first issue of 'SKAN' were distributed by the Anti-Nazi League, resulting in an average of 15 letters being received every week by the parent organisation from school students and the formation of local SKAN groups in many areas all over the country. He suggested that the reason for the success achieved by SKAN was based on two factors - primarily, many school students hated the National Front and kindred fascist organisations and, secondly, SKAN itself was based in the schools. These two facets presented a considerable advantage over any organised activity created by the adult section of the Party because it meant that a few students who were politically aware and enthusiastic about anti-fascist activity could relate immediately to a captive audience within the school (not forgetting the

[REDACTED]

considerable assistance that could be given by members of TAA - Teachers Against the Nazis - in organising platforms for the young militants), the average population of which was a thousand pupils. Thus in terms of influencing youth both in and amongst the periphery of the Party, SWAN was much more important than the Right to Work Campaign or Rock Against Racism in view of the fact that it had a much larger audience than the Right to Work Campaign and was much better organised 'on the ground' than Rock Against Racism. However, the necessity to inter-link all three activities constantly was imperative when delegates considered that 'the school students of today are the unemployed school leavers of tomorrow and unemployment is one of the principal breeding grounds for the growth of fascism'.

116. With regard to the Socialist Worker Youth Movement (SWYM) [REDACTED] advised the delegates that there were several active groups in the London and Liverpool concentrations, all of which were reporting a reasonable measure of success. The main disadvantage was, however, that these groups were, without exception, composed of young people who were already 'full' members of the Socialist Workers Party. This situation had arisen as a result of SWYM being regarded as a 'junior' Socialist Workers Party, many young radicals despising the idea of joining anything which was prefixed with a 'junior' tag, thus leaving only the deeply committed persons within the groups. Although many of the best school student members were active in SWYM, they had been driven there by the patronising attitude displayed towards them by the adult party membership, this problem recently giving rise to a new form of internal sectarianism within the party - 'ageism' - which was viewed by the youth membership with the same seriousness as racism and sexism. [REDACTED] then suggested that there was not sufficient time to delve deeply into the reasons for this type of oppression and stated that, in his opinion, there seemed little logic, from either a political or organisational point of view, in having a separate youth wing, one way of solving the problem being to absorb the youth activists into the main body of the Party and fully utilize their energy, at the same time training them to take on organisational and political responsibility. In this way the youth wing would become part of the main Party structure, where guidance could be given more effectively than in the autonomous youth movement (SWYM) which had not proved successful in the past.

117. The final section of his address consisted of the youth scheme, formulated as a result of consultation with the Central Committee, which he presented in three parts - building the Party in the schools, organising students in the Party and influencing youth generally.

118. With regard to building the Party in the schools, the prime objective was to set up SWAN groups in as many schools as possible, the major part of this work being undertaken by school students and teachers who were Party members and had direct contact with the student population. It was also imperative that a campaign was mounted for

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

student rights - against corporal punishment, school uniforms and petty restrictions, whilst fighting for the right to organise a union and become actively involved in politics in schools. One possible method of doing this would be to organise the NUS into a campaigning, school-based union that would fight for the rights of students, thus changing completely its current Young Communist League aligned 'non-political' stance. The 'out of school' activities for students could include campaigns for self-controlled youth centres, better facilities for soccer fans, no harassment by police and finally, of great importance, the organisation of 'Rock Against Racism' gigs. The employed and unemployed school-leavers could be isolated by this form of activity and, therefore, it would also be necessary to relate to them in different ways through the Bank and File Movement and the Right to Work Campaign respectively.

169. The last of the suggestions for the youth programme concerned the establishment of a means by which young people from all walks of life could be induced to take part in political activity and [REDACTED] suggested that this could be effected through the Rock Against Racism publication 'Temporary Boarding' which was already read by a large cross section of young people in the student and youth communities.

170. There then followed a short discussion on the points raised by [REDACTED] which rapidly degenerated into an argument between members of the Central Committee and members of the National Executive of the Socialist Worker Youth Movement on the effectiveness of SWYM and whether it should be abandoned in favour of a greater orientation around SWAB. Eventually, Simon TURNER found it necessary to break up the discussion, which had become a personal 'slanging match' between the two factions involved, and move on to the election of a drafting commission. Two drafting commissions were then elected and they produced the following resolutions:

Youth

(Resolution)

Conference notes that the spirit of rebellion is alive amongst working class youth at present, both inside and outside of school. Young Socialist Workers Party members must develop that spirit by building SWAB, SWR, ANL, NUS, etc, etc. But amongst this youth there also exists the interest in, and excitement about revolutionary ideas that go beyond just fighting the Nazis. They are interested in revolution and they are interested in socialism. The success of the 1976, 1977 and 1978 Right to Work marches in attracting significant numbers of working class youth into political activity, the enormous number of youth at the ANL Carnival, the success of SWAB inside and outside schools all point to the existence of a significant minority of working class youth and school students who identify with and are attracted to the SWP.

Conference also notes that we have tried and failed to build the Socialist Worker Youth Movement (SWYM). With virtually no branches and no real paper,

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SWP does not exist as a political organisation. The Socialist Workers Party, as presently constituted, will not successfully hold the school students and youth recruited into the Socialist Workers Party. The opportunity of building a Socialist Workers Party Youth Organisation exists at present and we are in danger of letting this slip away.

The Socialist Workers Party Youth Organisation would aim to concentrate its efforts on building in the schools, amongst the employed and unemployed youth to recruit to the Youth Organisation or directly into the Socialist Workers Party. The Youth Organisation would have its own structure and organization, but would be the youth wing of the Socialist Workers Party, not an autonomous organization.

Conference therefore resolves to;

1. Hold an SWP Youth Conference in July/August 1978 to launch a new national SWP Youth Organisation, with a new national Youth Committee, and producing youth membership cards and developing a new, separate subscription system;
 2. To develop and build SWAN now as an essential prerequisite for the building of the Youth Organisation. With the Anti-Race League build up to the General Election and the two Anti-Race League Carnivals a major potential for building SWAN exists. In many areas, the building of SWAN will be the key to the creation of the Socialist Workers Party Youth Organisation;
 3. Appoint at least three youth organisers, possibly by paying expenses to unemployed;
 4. Aim to launch a new national monthly Socialist Workers Party youth magazine with the intention of moving to a weekly paper at the earliest opportunity. The failure of 'Fight' and the success of 'Temporary Boarding' need to be utilized to produce an exciting, visual format in the new youth magazine. Local youth bulletins and fascines are to be encouraged.
 5. Where feasible the building of Socialist Workers Party youth branches as in Finchley, Fossebrook, Kirkby, Preston, Leeds and Newcastle etc.
 6. Campaign within the Socialist Workers Party for the establishment of the Youth Organisation in the Districts and Branches. To organize regional party councils and regional youth aggregates to push this through.
- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

121. This first resolution was prepared by [REDACTED] Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

was presented to Conference the following day was the subject of discussion on three points. These were resolved by an amendment presented by [REDACTED] Privacy as follows:-

Delete in point '4' the word 'monthly' and from 'with the intention opportunity'

Delete in point '5' 'to organise..... this through'.

It was this final resolution which was carried by a substantial majority the following morning, whilst the other resolution prepared by [REDACTED] Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

and any amendments was defeated. That resolution read as follows:-

Youth

(Resolution - Defeated)

Conference recognises the difficulties experienced with building a youth movement during the last year, the fact that a full-timer and national paper failed to create an effective national organisation.

At one stage the paper collapsed and the full-timer, realising the situation not being suitable for building a mass youth organisation, resigned leaving voluntary helpers to keep the organisation going.

SKAN has dramatically increased our opportunities and contact with Youth, however there is still far more work to be done even with SKAN.

To attempt to build a youth organisation immediately could create enormous difficulties, including diversion from building SKAN. This would be disastrous just at the time when SKAN is really beginning to get off the ground.

Many school students have joined the Socialist Workers Party because of their involvement with SKAN. The possibilities of recruiting more youth to the Socialist Workers Party is a reality.

The recruitment and intervention must not be accidental and the modest guide lines for the Socialist Workers Party Youth Organisation must be laid now.

However, this work must not be done from the top without involving the youth.

We believe that the foundations can be best laid by having an SWP Youth Committee that meets at least every two months, creating a loose network and exchange of experience.

If this Youth Committee then decides that the launching of a youth organisation is really on, they should organise a national Socialist Workers Party youth conference. This conference should then discuss

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

when and what form the youth organisation should take.

121. The debate on Youth and School Students having been completed, Simon THORNER left the platform and Lindsey GEMMAN took his place as chairperson. She immediately introduced [REDACTED] to open the discussion on the final topic of the day - Black Work and Fighting Racialisim.

122. Black Work and Fighting Racialisim

Before commencing his talk, [REDACTED] explained to the delegates that he would deal with Flame, the organisation orientated specifically towards the Afro-Carib communities in this country, and later during the session [REDACTED] would deliver a short speech on the attitudes and needs of the Asian communities.

123. Having established this clear division of responsibility (and attitude), [REDACTED] then launched into a carefully prepared speech on the present state of the Flame organisation and perspectives for black work during the coming months. First of all he suggested that delegates should refer to their personal conference folders and direct the figures regarding Flame membership and sales of the publication 'Flame' during the past six months (see Appendix 11 - pages 20-21), then they would realise the tremendous amount of concentrated activity that was necessary to politicise the members of the black community.

124. The main reason for the difficulty in recruiting amongst the coloured population was the development amongst blacks of a 'siege mentality' ie the view that all whites were oppressors and could not be trusted - an understandable reaction to the wave of race hysteria during the past five years and a contributory factor to the rise of the Rastafarian cult. From this it could be seen that there was a need for a fighting, uncompromising, political programme amongst the members of the Afro-Carib community - only Flame, as a black orientated socialist organisation, was capable of leading this programme.

125. [REDACTED] then dealt with the development of Flame since his election as Flame Organiser and stated that the organisation had grown from a tiny black cadre of five members some eighteen months previously to a regular cadre of twenty committed black radicals with a peripheral membership of seventy card-carrying members, whilst the paid sale of the publication 'Flame' had been lifted to two hundred copies on a regular basis.

126. [REDACTED] then stated that the only mechanism for ensuring the continued success of black revolutionary politics was an autonomous Flame organisation which alone

[REDACTED]

was capable of relating directly to the needs of black militancy and giving its members a sense of true membership, instead of the discomfort of being a minority group in a white dominated party. On this point, it was imperative for delegates to realise that the main motive force behind black politics at the present time was the desire to fight racial oppression, this only being possible if members of the same ethnic origins united in the fight against their oppressors.

107. The key problem, therefore, was to build a structure capable of holding together Flame and instill into the membership a spirit and sense of true responsibility that they alone were the machinery for running the organisation, in particular with regard to finance, in the same way that the white party system were responsible to the Socialist Workers Party.

Privacy [REDACTED] then outlined a six month perspective which would achieve this aim:-

a. Flame must immediately launch a fighting fund and £50 per month sales drive with the aim of repaying the print shop debts. Membership cards would be available at a cost of 50 pence per member every month (75p for unemployed) and Privacy [REDACTED] would assume the post of National Flame Treasurer with a responsibility for raising the paid sale of 'Flame' and guiding the fund-raising drive.

b. 'Flame' must be published on a regular monthly basis as an absolute precondition of building the Flame organisation. The twelfth day of every month was the deadline for copy material and contributions.

c. A target date of January 1979 had been fixed for the launching of a twelve page issue of 'Flame' which would have been developed by that time to include a stronger news section, an industrial section and a theoretical section. In this way it would be possible to challenge the present domination of 'Grass Roots' which had a print order of five thousand.

d. Organisational drive must be concentrated on eight main issues, as follows:-

1. Flame groups must meet fortnightly on a fixed day.

2. Flame groups must hold one public meeting every month and spend the time between such meetings visiting contacts.

3. Flame groups must sell the paper outside predominantly black workplaces and publish at least one related bulletin every month.

4. Flame will organise a series of meetings in colleges with the National Organisation of International Student Societies.

5. A series of duplicated educational notes will be produced to act as a focus for Flame branch meetings.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

6. Flame groups must, during the following six months, focus activity around the development of a new 'SBS' campaign, in particular by selling badges, holding public meetings and organising street petitions.

7. Flame must intervene in the Anti-Nazi League and, especially, SNAN groups which have attracted a number of black school students.

8. A series of meetings will be held in the near future to organise Flame treasurers, Flame sales organisers and industrially-based Flame members.

In connection with these perspectives, [REDACTED] then itemised the points which had been included on the reverse of the Flame membership cards as a guide to the ideals and policies of the organisation. These were as follows:-

Flame stands:-

Against capitalism and imperialism.
Against all forms of racialism.
Against discrimination at work.
Against discrimination at school and college.
Against discrimination in housing.
For the active self defence against police brutality and the National Front.
For socialism and workers power.
Flame is the external organisation of the Socialist Workers Party.

He then itemised the fighting programme on the basis of which members joined the Flame Organisation:-

Against immigration controls.
For active self defence against the Nazis.
For Black Self Defence.
For a fight against racialist education.
For a fight against discrimination in jobs and housing.
Flame members recognise that their struggle is linked to the struggle of the working class.

1271 Having thus dealt comprehensively with the internal structure and programme of Flame, [REDACTED] then moved on to deal finally with the group's relationship to its parent body, the Socialist Workers Party. He stressed that Flame was, at the time, a small body of isolated revolutionaries who were spread over a considerable area throughout the country. This resulted in a lack of confidence when it became necessary for them to move alone into the black communities and build Flame groups around them. In addition to this, many black comrades were already members of the Socialist Workers Party and, as such, were 'mollycoddled' and had no wish to be thrown into a situation where they would not hold a position of

[REDACTED]

individuality, as was the case at an all-white party branch meeting. Thus, the Socialist Workers Party had a crucial role to play in encouraging its black caucus to move into the 'cold, outside world' and begin the very difficult task of building Flame.

129. In addition to this, the white party members would have to continue to sell 'Flame' (in fact they had been responsible in the past for approximately 60% of the paid sale) and attempt to integrate 'black work' into the normal branch activities. By undertaking these tasks, the Socialist Workers Party would be seen to be leading the fight against racialism and, accordingly, the building of Flame would become progressively easier with the resultant possibility of increased recruitment into the Socialist Workers Party. In order to assist in this matter, a delegate based conference would be organized in the autumn for representatives from all areas with a high concentration of black workers, to ensure that a correct monitoring of anti-racist and black work was being maintained.

129. [Privacy] then introduced [Privacy] to speak on Asian work.

130. [Privacy] informed the delegates that before deciding what form of relationship could be forged with the Asian community in Britain, it was first necessary to get behind the customs and resultant diversities that existed amongst the Asian people, and then make briefs on this subject.

131. Having explained the background to the Asian presence in Britain, [Privacy] then related the attitudes of Asian workers to the industrial and anti-racist struggles which had been experienced during the past few years, eg Granville and Southall, Bolton and Brick Lane with regard to racist violence. In most of these struggles, whether industrial or anti-racist, it had always been the younger generations of the Asian communities which had led the struggles and from which it had been possible to recruit persons into the Socialist Workers Party.

132. However, most of the young Asian recruits had tended to leave the Party after only a short time and it was the reason for this departure which required examination. If the situation was analyzed it could be seen that every time an Asian-orientated struggle took place, various left-wing revolutionary and socialist groups, community relations officials, labor and socialist party 'do-gooders' descended upon the local Asian community. Whilst each individual left-wing group was also 'pushing' its own particular brand of philosophy, the 'do-gooders' were actively engaged in trying to disengage the Asian community from 'revolutionary' ideals and centering them with offers of large amounts of money, youth centres and other similar 'capitalist perks'. Inevitably, the attraction of tangible assistance such as this was a far better prospect

[REDACTED]

to Asian youth who had been raised on typical petit-bourgeois attitudes, than 'having revolutionary theories'.

113. Another important barrier which it was necessary for delegates to understand was the fact that the ideology of the Socialist Workers Party was contrary to a great many of the Asian traditions, of the caste system, the women's place in society and arranged marriages. It was far simpler for the Asian population to join one of the well-established A.S. based groups already in existence, such as the Ind. Workers Association, the Pakistani Workers Association, the Bangladeshi Workers Association or one of the many Asian youth organisations, workers' clubs or welfare societies.

114. The one area in which it was possible to establish a foothold in the future was amongst unemployed Asian youth. In the coming months many young Asians would become militants because of the oppression from conditions which had already affected their Afro-Carib counterparts and these Asian workers and students at schools, colleges and universities would look for a socialist alternative to the present capitalist system. This could be given by the Socialist Workers Party and, although the party was not in a position at the present time to create a separate Asian youth section, it was imperative that Asian party members gathered around them on Asian youth periphery or, alternatively, took part in youth organisations and related to Asian youth, both socially and politically.

115. In the past, Asians had gravitated towards the Socialist Workers Party because of its stance against the National Front and kindred racist organisations. It was therefore necessary to extend this form of activity and set up Anti-Nazi League groups in all Asian districts, call 'Socialist Worker' on a regular basis in Asian localities and support Asian struggles by offering every assistance possible. Only in this way would the Asian committee gain the confidence needed to enter into a political alliance with a white dominated revolutionary party.

116. Lindsey GEMPA then thanked [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] for their valuable contributions on a very wide subject and allowed one or two short contributions from the floor before closing the debate and directing the drafting commission for the two main topics under discussion - Films and Asian Work.

117. The drafting commission elected for the subject of Films next consisted of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] who produced the following resolutions:-

Privacy

Privacy

[REDACTED]

Flame

(Resolution)

1. Conference recognizes the economic climate we are in as setbacks for the working class;
2. On the other hand there is clearly a rising consciousness and activity in the black community. Blacks are clearly beginning to fight back against all forms of racism under pressure of wave after wave of race hysteria and unemployment, falling wages;
3. Conference believes that/Flame organization must be built to organize and draw towards revolutionary politics elements of this black radicalized milieu. The Socialist Workers Party must be totally committed to the building of the Flame organization;
4. It is essential for gaining the confidence of these black militants that Flame is an independent organization. This means that all decisions of Flame committee, branches etc. cannot be simply overruled by Socialist Workers Party committee (including the Central Committee) but must be carried out by black members of the Socialist Workers Party within Flame. (All black members of the Socialist Workers Party are responsible to the Party);
5. Flame is essential in the Socialist Workers Party intervention inside the black community. Recent experience shows Flame can motivate and develop black members of the Socialist Workers Party and is a fundamental mechanism for the organization of a black periphery around the Socialist Workers Party;
6. All Socialist Workers Party Districts/Branches where there are black people must immediately see to organizing Flame cells, getting Flame branches off the ground;
7. The fight against racism in all its forms must not be reduced to simply building the Anti-Nazi League!
8. Build Flame! Seize the time!

The following amendment to the above resolution was proposed by [REDACTED] prior to the vote the next morning and was defeated because nobody was willing to second the motion:-

Flame

(Amendment - Defeated)

If Flame is to be independent it must start off with a set of basic revolutionary socialist principles which must be drawn up by the Central Committee in liaison with [REDACTED]. These principles must be written into the constitution of Flame.

136. The drafting commission elected for the subject of Action Work consisted of [REDACTED] and they produced the following resolution:-

[REDACTED]

Asian Work

(Resolutions)

1. The organisation has to understand that Asian work is very different from West Indian (Plama) work. A clear distinction has to be made and separate sessions should be allowed at the next conference;

2. Asian work should be taken seriously and every branch in an area with an Asian population should appoint an Asian work organiser.

'Socialist Worker' should be sold in the Asian community and leaflets, Bank and File bulletin, etc, should be produced in Asian languages;

3. An Asian monthly paper in English language aimed at the Asian youth should be produced very soon and financed by the Party;

4. We should involve Asians in Anti-Race League and Right to Work Campaigns;

5. There should be an Asian National Committee of the most active comrades which should meet every three months;

There should be local committees in London and Greater Manchester which should meet once a month.

These committees should advise and assist the Asian Organiser and the Central Committee.

139. The vote on the resolutions concerning Plama and Asian work the following morning resulted in both being carried 'nem. con'.

140. The business for the second day of the conference was thus completed, although some three quarters of an hour later than scheduled, and Lindsay GERMAN closed the business at 7.45pm.

141.

Monday 19 June 1978

AGENDA

9.30	-	10.00	Drafting Commission Reports
10.00	-	11.15	Workplace Activity
11.15	-	1.15	Bank and File work and Fractions
1.15	-	2.15	Lunch
2.15	-	3.15	Right to Work Campaign and Unemployed Work
3.15	-	4.15	Student Work
4.15	-	6.00	Women

* * * * *

11. The third day of the Conference was opened promptly at 9.30am by Duncan HALLAS who immediately dealt with the voting procedure on the drafting commission resolutions which had been prepared the previous evening and circulated to delegates prior to the commencement of the morning session. The number of delegates in attendance was considerably lower than the previous two days for a variety of reasons - many of those with 'observer' status were obliged to work, several provincial delegates chose this particular time to do their shopping as the debates were only of limited interest to non-industrially based members and several of the full-time party workers (print shop and editorial staff of 'Socialist Worker') had to return to their duties. In the event, when HALLAS considered that he had the minimum number of delegates in attendance, he introduced Phil WELFORD, the full-time organiser for East London, to address the delegates on Workplace Activity.

13. Workplace Activity

WELFORD opened his address by informing the delegates that during the last few years the Socialist Workers Party had been able to offer one political option that no other group could provide. The insistence that it was the rank and file in the workplaces who were the people that counted and were willing to fight as potential revolutionaries, meant that the Party had intervened in many disputes and supported workers with whatever resources it had at its disposal. Thus, it was not the members of the Socialist Workers Party alone who were most active on the picket line and collecting strike funds, but the workers themselves who were able to use experience gathered by party members on previous occasions to win strikes, effectively 'black' workplaces, run flying pickets and connect militants in various sections of industry to ensure solidarity of action.



[REDACTED]

144. He hoped that the delegates realized that it was this type of industrial intervention which had created a reputation amongst the rank and file workers throughout the country that the Socialist Workers Party was the only left-wing group willing to back political theory with action in the workplace. There was no doubt that a great deal of the success had resulted from localised activity, but the major contribution had been made by a group of party members who had purposely set out to collate experiences and 'advertise' them in 'Socialist Worker', the rank and file papers, at branch and district meetings and on a daily basis by telephone and letter - these members had been the basis of the Industrial Department which, together with 'Socialist Worker', formed the most important section of the organisation.

145. However, the recent change in party perspectives to concentrate on anti-racist work had resulted in a steady decline in the effectiveness of the Industrial Department. Whilst it was appreciated that the level of industrial struggle had experienced a considerable 'downturn' during the past year, there was no valid reason for the Socialist Workers Party, in particular the Industrial Department, to abdicate from its customary role of assisting members of the working class movement who were engaged in militant industrial struggles. MARPLETT then quoted numerous situations where, in his opinion, support had not been given to rank and file workers either by party members or the Industrial Department of the Party and reasons for the failure in each case.

146. Therefore, it was necessary for the Industrial Department to be strengthened immediately and commence a programme of education amongst the party members by way of discussion documents (a new Industrial Bulletin), industrial day schools and increased coverage of industrial issues in 'Socialist Worker'.

147. This relatively short speech (by Conference standards) was intended as a basis for discussion on workplace activity and for the remainder of the time available the points raised by MARPLETT were debated by the relatively small caucus of industrially based delegates who were present. Two drafting commissions were then elected at the close of the session and the resultant resolutions adequately cover the points at issue.

148. The first resolution prepared by a drafting commission consisting of [REDACTED] read as follows:-

Building in the Workplace (Resolution)

Industrial work is not just an important aspect of our work. It is central. Our power rests on the strength we have at the point of production. No matter how difficult industrial work is, it can never be sacrificed by a party that is claiming to be revolutionary.

[REDACTED]

In the last ten years there have been a number of developments which must be taken into account; the growth of productivity deals, the number of full-time conveners, the collaboration of the trade union leaders with the Government, workers' participation, the acceptance of unemployment as a norm and the 'national interest' argument have all served to shift 'decisions' away from the shop-floor and weakened the power of rank and file workers, shop stewards and factory organisation.

Inevitably these developments have effected our growth and partly explain our failure to sustain the factory and industrial branches which were developed over a long period in the early 70's.

There were also subjective reasons for the decline: a large number of mistakes were made, many branches were premature and there was insufficient backup. We must learn from these mistakes. But we must systematically re-emphasise and encourage the development of the workplace base.

The largest percentage of 'Socialist Worker' sales are to the periphery in the workplace (3 times our present membership). Their recruitment would lead to a significant increase in our influence. This means that every unit of the organisation - 'Socialist Worker', Central Organisation, fractions, districts, branches and bulletins - are addressed to them.

'Socialist Worker' - The decisions already taken by Conference to sharpen the bite on general political issues and develop the industrial coverage are an important step towards this.

Bulletins - Although these have increased in quantity we must qualitatively strengthen the content of the bulletins and monitor where and why they are being done. (Many of these points are covered in the new pamphlet 'A guide to workplace bulletins'). Where possible, bulletins should have one side on problems in the workplace and the other on wider political issues, e.g. Lewisham, Select Committee, Moro, Argentina etc.

Drawing in the Periphery - We do not expect the immediate growth of factory branches. However, methods of drawing in the periphery through discussion groups, writing for bulletins, organising public meetings, supporting the Anti-Nazi League etc., should be considered to that end.

Assistance from the Organisation - To implement these decisions will require a prolonged, insistent political drive to encourage this work which the entire organisation must support.

[REDACTED]

Districts - Every district should discuss its own strength in local workplaces. In some cases industrial committees may assist. But everywhere branches and districts should discuss the priorities, set targets and work out how they can be achieved. There are tremendous pressures on comrades in workplaces to dilute their activity and politics. Unless they are assisted by other comrades - by helping with 'Socialist Worker' sales and bulletin distribution and production, isolation will increase.

Regional and National - In consultation with the districts, the National Organisation should set up and continue regional schools covering:-

- a) building in the workplace; how to be a shop steward, working in the unions, etc.
- b) building the party; 'Socialist Worker' sales, bulletins, discussion groups, etc.

Leading comrades with industrial experience in the organisation should also be encouraged to impart their experience in districts other than their own.

While recognising the need for technical assistance, however, our main aim must be a systematic campaign of argument and discussion - which will take time - to convince, not bludgeon, the organisation into building the workplace bar.

149. The second resolution on Workplace Activity, approved by a drafting commission consisting of [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] Eddie PERKIN and Phil HANFLESH, was as follows:-

Building in the Workplace (Resolution)

In this difficult period, it is especially important to develop the confidence and ability of our comrades and contacts to work successfully in the workplace and generally at a rank and file level.

Giving our members confidence to take initiatives, however modest these may be, means spreading the experience of the party in industry. This is not merely a technical question - sharing the best experiences of our class is at the centre of our politics.

The main responsibility for doing this falls on our fractions, on 'Socialist Worker' and on the Industrial Department. The great responsibility for monitoring workplace and fraction progress falls on the Industrial Department. It is not a question merely of offices and duplicators - the Anti-Nazi League has solved these

[REDACTED]

problems without difficulty. The Industrial Department must do the same if it is to play its important political role.

Conference welcomes the recent national workplace school and the coming pamphlet on workplace activity. We must continue this style of operation over the coming months.

Conference therefore agrees:-

- 1) To establish an Industrial Department of Central Committee and other members, if necessary on a part-time basis, to help organise our work in workplaces and fractions, our interventions in local and national disputes, and in specific campaigns.
- 2) That the Industrial Department should circulate through a Socialist Workers Party bulletin or through an Industrial Bulletin, the best of our members' experiences, our bulletins and rank and file publications and detailed accounts of our successes and failures.
- 3) That the Industrial Department should organise both national and regional schools on workplace and fraction activities.
- 4) The Industrial Department to take our experiences into the districts with a campaigning spirit - visiting workplace and branch units and industrial branches.
- 5) Industrial Department members to meet regularly with 'Socialist Worker' staff to provide the materials for a serious industrial coverage, to cover our workplace experiences in detail and to make 'Socialist Worker' the method of communicating our industrial strategy.

These measures will not substitute the activity of the membership in our own workplaces. They will make it possible to raise the comrades' confidence and for us to educate each other.

However, without the basic organisation and information the Industrial Department can provide, our tasks are made far more difficult.

150. Prior to the vote on the actual resolutions, a motion that 'These resolutions shall be dealt with on an individual basis, in view of their difference in content', was placed before Conference. This proposal was eventually carried, but only after a lengthy discussion concerning the democracy of the proposal, and the two resolutions were then carried by large majorities.

151. The second topic for debate during the morning session was 'Rank and File Work and Fractions' and Duncan BALLAN introduced a member of the Central Committee and the Industrial Department, to give a brief outline of the intended party programme in respect of these matters.

152. Rank and File Work and Fractions

The content of the speech and discussion which ensued was centred on the various methods of building the rank and file movement within the workplaces and improving the organisation and membership of the many fractions within the industrial spectrum. The majority of persons making contributions were either members of the Industrial Department within the central party structure or regional industrial representatives and there can be little doubt that the basic framework of a resolution on this topic had been prepared well before the conference actually commenced.

153. The resolution on this subject, which was prepared by a drafting committee consisting of Gareth JENKINS and

Rank and File Movement and Fractions (Resolution)

- 1) The Trades Union Congress/Government co-operation has led to retreat in wide areas of the movement. One obvious result in the ABEW election. This means that the necessity for building a rank and file movement is greater, not less. There are already signs that a groundswell is beginning again, particularly in the public sector where the Government's ability to intervene to enforce its policy on pay and cuts is far more successful than in the private sector.
- 2) The demoralisation has taken its toll on Socialist Workers Party members, who are less willing to rebuild in the workplace than they should be. There is also a problem with new members, recruited via general politics, who have little confidence of workplace organisation. Yet if the Socialist Workers Party is to make the impact it has to in the workplace in order to build the necessary revolutionary organisation, then members need also to start working now to help create those structures and organisations which can eventually take on the employers and the state.
- 3) At the moment on the big issues of pay there is not much movement. The Government's ideological offensive has seen to that. But the situation in other areas of local, sectional and women's issues for example - is such that it is possible

[REDACTED]

to generate enough confidence amongst workers to take these smaller scale issues and win. But only if we have the necessary organisation. The Broad Left method - building individual stars, ignoring or discouraging rank and file initiative - conspicuous, failed.

Our problem is that we need to convince Socialist Workers Party members that it is possible to build rank and file organisation in their workplace. We need to recruit Socialist Workers Party members into Rank and File - not let them be colonised by districts or 'take up' away from the workplace what look like more 'glamorous' issues - Anti Nazi League work for instance. Only if we win this type of political issue in the workplace itself can we be competent about the capacity of our organisation to lead. Otherwise whatever results we have will be dissipated. We will not have taken the initiative.

4) Consequently we need a much improved fraction organisation. The necessity is to centralise our particular experience of fighting in the workplace and communicate that experience. We also need to train our members in the crucial issues that confront them in the workplace - such as Health and Safety (or Maternity Leave conditions) and encourage members to use their experience in assisting other members in their districts. Fractions should undertake:-

- a) a regular fractional newsletter/bulletin.
- b) well-prepared national meetings.
- c) local fractional organisation.
- d) joint fractional work on specific issues - e.g. London Weighting.

District/Branch Committees should ensure that when regulars come round advertising national or other fraction activities special efforts are made to get members (particularly blue-collar members) involved. This means, for example, that transport, baby-sitting etc. are arranged as a priority by the District/Branch.

5) There is quite clearly an imbalance between white collar and manual in this organisation. Our white collar workers are in general better organised than manual. That imbalance must be corrected. Districts have a particular responsibility in this respect. For example they should hold industrial meetings so that the problems of manual industrial workplace organisation can be sorted out and priorities

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

established. The Industrial Department must continue to put a large proportion of its resources into work with our manual union members.

154. At 1pm, HALLAM closed the morning session and requested that all the delegates returned promptly at 2.15pm as the debates planned for the afternoon were likely to be lengthy and the time available was relatively short.

155. The majority of delegates complied with this request and in addition, many of those who had not attended earlier arrived specifically for the afternoon session. Thus, promptly at the time appointed, Duncan HALLAM was able to open the afternoon session and introduce [REDACTED] to speak on 'The Right to Work'.

156. Right to Work Campaign and Unemployed

[REDACTED] informed the delegates that the Right to Work Campaign had been clearly established as the only organisation capable of mobilising significant numbers of the unemployed, in particular youth and school leavers. It was therefore necessary to use this achievement to convince the Communist Party (through the Campaign Against Youth Unemployment, where it existed) and Labour Party militants to join the campaign in a united front against unemployment. The Right to Work Campaign was an activist organisation when compared with other groups and it was therefore very necessary to encourage 'broad left' groups to increase united front activity and treat the debate on sectarian issues as of secondary importance.

157. With regard to youth, the new Socialist Workers Party Youth Organisation would help to politically organise young unemployed persons and those who had just left school. In addition to this, it would be necessary to commence direct action in respect of 'claimant work' by picketing tribunals, occupying the Department of Health and Social Security dole managers' offices, invoking protests amongst dole queues, building a campaign against 'fortnightly signings', picketing against gas and electricity cut-offs and occupying buildings where social services were due to be cut, e.g. nurseries and hospitals. Also, unemployed youth should be used to squat in unoccupied buildings which could then be used as centres for those out of work, the group concerned organising for local council support once access had been obtained.

158. He then stressed the importance of 'Right to Work' marches which had, in the past, provided a great deal of excellent publicity for the plight of the unemployed. It was imperative, however, that this should not be allowed to lapse in the period between marches and in order to remedy this situation he suggested

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

that the unemployed members should arrange, amongst other activities, 'direct action' every time the unemployment figures were released (usually on the second Tuesday in every month) and that such protests should be organized by local SWP groups.

159. In addition to the 'physical demonstrations' it was necessary for party members to ensure that 'Socialist Worker' was sold regularly outside the door offices, experience having shown that the best time for this particular activity was during the summer months when people were willing to stand and discuss their problems.

160. HALLAS thanked [REDACTED] Privacy for his contribution and several persons then made short speeches on the various topics involved, but nearly all were concerned with the activities of local groups in connection with the Right to Work Campaign. When the last comment had been made, a drafting commission was elected, consisting of [REDACTED] Privacy, which produced the following resolution:-

The 'Right to Work Campaign' and Unemployed (Resolution)

Forecasts are that the number of people unemployed will take a dramatic leap even compared to present levels and this in a relatively short period of time in terms of world economies. Projected figures are between four and five million by the early 1980's.

The official Trade Union Movement and the Broad Left have abandoned the unemployed. This will become ever more apparent as the coming General Election draws near and as the official movement moves further away from the unemployed, the need for a revolutionary movement to organise, politicise and fight for the leadership of the unemployed is not a luxury for the Socialist Workers Party, nor an optional extra, but is totally necessary in the building of the revolutionary party.

The Right to Work Campaign is still probably our best credential inside the Labour Movement. Not to use the campaign would be to throw away the benefits of two to three years hard work. There exists substantial sympathy toward any fight against unemployment despite the retreat on other issues. The recent experience of Merseyside shows that consistent work and imagination can lead to considerable gains being made even in a period of downturn in struggle. Without doubt the Right to Work Campaign can be instrumental in building rank and file groups. Therefore, the following steps must be taken:-

- 1) Regular work around Labour Exchanges, e.g. leafletting to advertise the initiatives of the Right to Work Campaign, 'Socialist Worker' sales and regular explanation of the cause of unemployment and the need for a socialist alternative.
- [REDACTED]

- [REDACTED]
- 2) Consistent work around factories etc. threatened by redundancy no matter how small, with a campaign against accepting redundancy payments as an alternative to fighting for jobs.
 - 3) Support for groups of workers who do not accept redundancy even after acceptance by the majority of the particular workforce.
 - 4) Branches and districts should appoint comrades responsible for the Right to Work Campaign.
 - 5) Involvement in claimants issues is important because of the long-term nature of mass unemployment and can help to build the Right to Work Campaign.
 - 6) Apart from local issues the Right to Work Campaign must still be preserved as a national organisation and be seen in the forefront in any fight for the thirty-five hour week.

Arguing for the ten demands of the Right to Work Campaign can fight a major propaganda battle in the working class movement especially at shop floor level. The Right to Work Campaign can keep alive the ideas of resistance to closures and redundancies.

Today's bricks are tomorrow's houses.

161. When the business dealing with the Right to Work Campaign and Unemployment had been completed, Duncan HALLIAS left the platform and Lindsey CASHAN took his place as chairperson, immediately introducing [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] one of the Student Organizers of the Socialist Workers Party, to speak on 'Student Work'.

162. Student Work

[REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] stated that the opportunities for the Socialist Workers Party as a modern revolutionary organisation were immense when one considered that many graduates would become disillusioned with the machinery of a capitalist state system which had progressed to leave them unemployed at the end of their educational career or forced them to accept employment which was considerably below their expectations in view of the qualifications achieved. In addition to this there was also a large negative audience amongst the ranks of black student youth who were suffering daily from harassment and a severe lack of funds.

163. She stated that the Socialist Worker Student Organisation (formerly the National Organisation of International Student Societies) consisted of eight hundred full members of the Socialist Workers Party and an organised periphery of approximately two thousand students, advising the delegates to

[REDACTED]

consult the duplicated sheets in their personal document folders for an accurate breakdown of the membership figures and the numbers of Socialist Workers Party members at individual colleges (see Appendix 12 - pages 22 - 24). The Socialist Worker Student Organisation was an autonomous body having its own national committee and conference but linked completely to the Socialist Workers Party on a political basis.

164. Three years previously, the Party had taken a decision to set up student branches with the main emphasis on student members working within the colleges themselves, the current statistics proving that this had been a fairly successful venture. However, the Party had found in recent months that in many areas the growth of these branches was being undermined by members who felt that their energies should be directed towards every form of political activity other than student work. There was even a more disturbing trend of students moving back to the nearest geographical branches rather than remaining in poorly supported college branches and, in some colleges, the failure of the Party to take an active stance had allowed the National Front to emerge with the powerful political initiative.

165. It was therefore necessary to re-establish the student perspective by building the Socialist Worker Student Organisation in the colleges and universities, together with individual branches which could then take the responsibility for student work from the various geographical SWP districts and continue to mobilise students for broad-based campaigns: such as the Anti-Nazi League which in the past had proved to be a fertile recruiting ground for the Party.

166. [Redacted] Privacy [Redacted] then emphasized that one of the most important facets of college work had been allowed to deteriorate over the last year i.e. the sale of 'Socialist Worker'. This had been seen by many student members as a 'chore' which had to be fulfilled if one was to remain a member of the organisation, when in fact it was the most important method of establishing the political ideals of the Party amongst the student population.

167. Regarding specific areas in which the student membership of the Party was particularly weak, she then moved on to the problem of organising women amongst the vast potential that existed in colleges and universities. This it was hoped would be resolved by building Women's Voice groups in the colleges based on two main perspectives. Firstly, the national body of Women's Voice had organised a speaking tour of colleges on the subject of 'The Suffragette Movement' (1978 being the fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of women) which could be used as a springboard to create a Women's Voice presence in the colleges. Secondly, the National Union of Students women's committee had launched a charter of demands for women in education. The student membership should therefore take up the argument that the demands of the charter could only be achieved by constant activity - a motion at a union meeting being completely inadequate. This would mean that the Party had to take seriously the arguments concerning the need for a Women's Voice movement,

[REDACTED]

why socialism was necessary if women's liberation was to survive and above all, build support for the revolutionary socialist ideals which support feminist activity.

168. The next facet of student work at which [REDACTED] Privacy reported was 'international work' and she believed that this was one area where the Party had achieved significant success, particularly with regard to South Africa and the Middle East.

169. Following the death of Steve BIKO earlier in the summer, the student membership of the Party had begun to organise in the colleges and universities on a massive scale with the 'South African Solidarity Campaign tour' raising the question of armed support for the guerrillas, in many cases for the first time. As a direct result it had been possible to mobilise South African Solidarity Campaign groups in the colleges involving South African and Zimbabwean (Rhodesia) black students, although the expected militancy on a national scale did not emerge.

170. With regard to the Middle East situation, it had been possible to establish many Palestinian Solidarity Campaign groups in the colleges and improve contacts with the Palestinian student population as a result of campaigns convincing students and student unions not to collect or send money for the benefit of the State of Israel. Within the Socialist Worker Student Organisation there were also a number of Jewish students working on a 'Jews Against Zionism' campaign which concentrated on propaganda work and close liaison with the Palestinian Solidarity Campaign. Although not a large part of the organisation, it was doing valuable work in countering the widely held belief that 'anti-zionism = anti-semitism' and that all Jews were Zionists...

171. The final facet of student work which she covered was the Anti-Nazi League activity within colleges and universities throughout the country. The National Union of Students had overwhelmingly supported the League and as a result, a successful 'Student Campaign Against the Nazis' had been formulated. Student members should take every opportunity to prove that they were the most active and militant supporters of 'SKAN', (School Kids against the Nazis) taking up the arguments on immigration controls and the necessity to confront the fascists physically with those students who were becoming politically involved for the first time.

172. In view of the limited time available (only one hour was given to cover the entire subject), the discussion was extremely short with the delegates agreeing with the perspective put forward by [REDACTED] Privacy and merely adding their personal observations and experiences on the ideas raised. The debate was halted by Lindsey GERMAN just before the time scheduled for the end of the session, in order that a drafting commission could be elected.

173. The drafting commission convened, consisting of [REDACTED] Privacy and Andy FERGUSON, produced the following resolution which was passed by a unanimous decision the next day:-

[REDACTED]

Student Work(Resolution)

1. The central orientation of the Socialist Workers Party is for members to relate, organize and build the party within their workplaces. For student members of the Socialist Workers Party, this means that their first priority is to organize in branches in their colleges. From this follows that 'Student work' per se is not a soft option for the organization but an essential part of the Party's work. Conference believes that in colleges where we have two or three members the districts should give a lead to encouraging these comrades to build a college branch. The change in social composition of students over the past fifteen years, coupled with an unprecedented increase in graduate unemployment and education cuts, means that more and more students are being faced with the grim reality of capitalism's economic crisis. There are, therefore, real and significant gains to be made for the Socialist Workers Party in winning students to revolutionary politics through the Socialist Worker Student Organization.
- 2) It follows from (1), therefore, that the main area of work for Socialist Workers Party students is the building of an organized periphery in the colleges, i.e. the Socialist Worker Student Organization. The Socialist Worker Student Organization bases itself on the politics of the Socialist Workers Party and fights around such issues as Tuition Fees, Grants, Education cuts and the struggle for a fighting campaigning National Union of Students. It is absolutely vital to the continuance of our presence within the colleges (given the fact that anything from a quarter to a third of the students leave college each year) that the Socialist Worker Student Organization must be built in all colleges where we have a presence. If we have any illusions whatsoever that we can build a mass student movement which can lead campaigns locally and nationally then the building of the Socialist Worker Student Organization is a vital prerequisite. If we don't build it, then we will die and wither away from natural wastage. The Socialist Worker Student Organization has to run to stand still in terms of its membership.
- 3) The Socialist Worker Student Organization must intervene locally and nationally within the National Union of Students, arguing for General Meeting sovereignty, active democracy and direct action to win student demands. They must continuously be seen by Rank and File students as being the organization which acts, whether it is over Nazis in the colleges or the price of refectory meals.
- 4) Outside the Socialist Worker Student Organization, the members of the Socialist Workers Party must see

the building of the Student Campaign Against the Nazis and Women's Voice groups as being their top priorities.

- 5) Outside, college Socialist Workers Party members are expected to do at least one paper sale and to help districts and branches in local disputes (i.e. collecting money for the firemen, winning support for the picket lines, etc.).

CONFERENCE therefore believes:-

1. That students should organise primarily in Student Branches.
2. That District Committees and Branches should give all support possible to student members of the Socialist Workers Party in setting up student branches and Socialist Worker Student Organisation Societies.
3. That student branches should build the Socialist Worker Student Organisation, Women's Voice and the 'Student Campaign Against the Nazis'.

174. The final session of the day was devoted to 'Women' and Lindsey GERMAN introduced Margaret REES, the National Women's Voice Organiser, to speak on this topic, which proved to be one of the most emotive issues at Conference in view of the strong desire by many Women's Voice members for autonomy from the main structure of the Socialist Workers Party.

175. Women

REES opened her speech by suggesting that delegates consult their personal document folders where could be found statistics concerning the number of women in the Socialist Workers Party, an analysis of women members in trade unions, membership figures for Women's Voice groups (where available) and sales/production figures for 'Women's Voice', the women's magazine produced by the Party (see Appendices 4, 13 and 14 - pages 9, 25 and 26 respectively). Whilst they were thus occupied, she explained that the magazine 'Women's Voice' had been responsible for building the periphery of the Party amongst women during the past year, developing the political ideas and confidence of women party members and recruiting many women to the Socialist Workers Party itself. Thus, the next logical step was to organize these women into an effective, working body - Women's Voice - a completely new strategy for the Party and, indeed, for any revolutionary organization in the country.

176. She continued by outlining the particular oppression of women through the family structure in a capitalist society, which meant that the manner in which they developed politically

was completely different from that of men. Women would fight over issues such as equal pay, abortion and sex discrimination because they were items of direct and specific importance, tradition decreasing that women were not at all interested in trade unions or politics. The tradition of organising women had been associated for many years with middle class women and reformist politics, degenerating considerably over the past fifty years; the only shred of women's politics existing at the present time being women's organisation at its worst - the women's Trades Union Congress and the women's conference of the Labour Party.

177. She criticised the attempts made by the Labour Party and Communist Party to organise working class women and said that the women members of the Socialist Workers Party had, on the other hand, appreciated the need for a specific form of organization for introducing women to politics and driving them forward to work effectively within the party and on issues directly concerning them. The solution had been found in the publication of 'Women's Voice', a magazine which was not a 'party-line' paper (it included non-party women at its editorial meetings), but dealt on a broader base with issues specifically orientated towards women's struggle in the widest sense. By the same token, the Women's Voice Organisation had been built by women within the Socialist Workers Party to cater particularly for working class women who were not party members and did not wish to join the Socialist Workers Party, but nevertheless felt politically motivated to discuss matters or take part in activities centred around 'women's issues'. As a result of the success of these two ventures, it was considered that Women's Voice should be built as an autonomous unit outside the main party structure, whilst still retaining the Socialist Workers Party as its political base.

178. HESH stated that no plans had been made for the development of Women's Voice, a national rally being held later in the month at Sheffield sufficing to set the programme in motion. Following this, there would be regular national delegate meetings to mobilise local groups throughout the country and assist them in recruiting women who wished to work around a basic programme for women's rights and liberation. It was important, though, that those recruits were left in no doubt that the aims for which they were fighting could only be achieved through a socialist society and in this respect it was imperative that all women within the Socialist Workers Party joined Women's Voice (a point which created considerable dissent amongst many women members who could see no relevance in conceding to this course of action and, in any case, did not believe that Women's Voice should become an autonomous organisation).

179. The problem was not solely related to dealing with women who were not members of the Party, however, and she confirmed that it was still vital to develop the internal women's organisation by increasing the activities of the national women's committee, arranging women's conferences to debate political perspectives and building a full educational programme to equip women with the political knowledge and confidence to enable them to lead arguments and debates in every political arena, not just those related to women.



180. Lindsey GRENAN then thanked Margaret HENN for her valuable contribution and the debate was opened for contributions from the delegates. While the speeches were many and varied, both for and against an autonomous Women's Voice organisation, the majority of points in favour of the suggestion have already been well covered in HENN's speech and the main argument against consisted of the resulting division between men and women's work which was (1) sexist and (2) counter productive in producing recruits.

181. Another argument against autonomy for 'Women's Voice' was the danger that if male members of the Party were prevented from becoming involved in women's issues, then the reverse would apply and the Women's Voice organisation would become a modern version of the Women's Liberation Movement, being solely orientated around women's struggle instead of being politically linked to the Socialist Workers Party as a 'complete' revolutionary socialist body.

182. The general feeling amongst the delegate opposing the idea of autonomy was that women already involved in the Women's Voice organisation would prefer to return to the fold of general Socialist Workers Party politics once they realised that they were becoming far too deeply polarised around feminist issues instead of general socialist politics.

183. Eventually, it was necessary for Lindsey GRENAN, the chairperson, to intervene and call the delegates to order, so that a drafting commission could be elected to draw up a resolution on the subject. It was at this stage that the futility of arguing in a democratic manner became evident to those opposing autonomy for Women's Voice, because there were only sufficient volunteers to form one drafting commission and all concerned were in favour of the move which had the backing of the Central Committee. Thus a drafting commission, consisting of Privacy Margaret HENN, formulated the following resolution, which was passed by a substantial majority the next day:-

Women

(Resolution)

Women's Voice exists to fight for women's liberation and socialism. Women's liberation is only possible with socialism but women must themselves fight for their own liberation. The experience so far and our political analysis shows that women's Voice can draw into political activity women who would not otherwise be involved in fighting for socialism.

As from this conference, the Women's Voice organisation is formed.

'Women's Voice' is the magazine of the Women's Voice organisation which is the sister organisation of the



[REDACTED]

Socialist Workers Party, with its own membership, groups, national structure, capable of making its own decisions at local/national level.

The first delegate meeting of Women's Voice groups will take place in the autumn.

The Socialist Workers Party must accept that the political priority of the women members is to organise other women. Socialist Workers Party women should be involved in the building of Women's Voice and see that as the activity that takes political priority. The building of Women's Voice must be seen as one of our major spheres of work and therefore our leading women comrades should be responsible for it in the districts and branches.

Wherever women work we can use 'Women's Voice' not just by selling it but building around the sales small Women's Voice work place groups based on discussion and activity, around the specific issues which affect women, e.g. nurseries, maternity leave, equal pay, abortion, etc.

Local Women's Voice groups should work around new workplaces and produce regular factory bulletins in order to attract manual working women. We can't expect overnight results. It will need as much attention to detail as any similar Socialist Workers Party activity.

Immediate campaigns that every Women's Voice group can involve themselves in include hospital closures and Women Against the Basis. All our experience shows that small meetings, on housing estates, or with a group of interested women are more valuable than large public meetings as a way of building Women's Voice groups.

The Socialist Workers Party Women's Committee will have to take a more active part in developing our fraction and rank and file work and this should lead increasingly to our women taking a lead in developing the policies of the party.

For future conferences, special arrangements must be offered to delegates with children.

154. Following the closure of the debate on 'Women', Lindsey GERMAN thanked the delegates for their attention and formally closed the business at 6pm.

* * * * *

[REDACTED]

Tuesday 29 June 1978

AGENDA

9.30 - 10.00	Drafting Commission Reports
10.00 - 12.00	General Election Strategy
12.00 - 1.00	Finance
1.00 - 2.00	Lunch
2.00 - 4.00	Ireland and Irish Work, International Work
4.00 - 5.30	Election of Central Committee, Control Commission and National Advisory Committee
5.30 - 6.00	Drafting Commission Reports.

* * * * *

186. The fourth day of the Conference was opened at 9.30am by the chairperson, Simon TURNER, who spent the first half-hour session dealing with the voting procedure on resolutions which had been prepared by drafting commissions the previous evening. Once this section of the business was completed, he moved on to the major item of the day - the General Election Strategy - and introduced Duwan HALLAS to open the debate.

187. General Election Strategy

This subject was, without doubt, the most contentious single item on the conference agenda, there being three completely different opinions regarding the course of action to be adopted by the Party at the next General Election. This trichotomy of the membership was not eased by the fact that the Central Committee, considered by many members to be the 'elder statesmen' of the Party and the fount of all political knowledge, was also in complete disagreement, there being two distinct factions, one led by Duwan HALLAS (one of the founders of the Party) and the other by Steve JEFFRIES (considered to be one of the best political theorists in the younger section of the Party). It was no surprise, therefore, that HALLAS had only been speaking for half an hour when he was interrupted from the floor of the conference by JEFFRIES on 'a point of order'. When asked the basis of his argument by the chairperson, Simon TURNER, he stated

[REDACTED]

that HALLAS was not presenting an agreed party perspective to the delegates and therefore was only entitled to the statutory five minute speaking period as laid out in the Conference Standing Orders (Article 8). Before TURNER could pass judgement on this comment, HALLAS declared that he was only making a preliminary introduction to the basic issues of the debate and requested that he be allowed to finish his speech uninterrupted. In order to prevent the discussion degenerating into a 'free for all', TURNER intervened and stated that he would allow HALLAS a further five minutes in which to explain his personal viewpoint. Thus the morning session continued in a rather stony manner, with the delegates either arguing amongst themselves or forming specific factions around certain points in the programmes presented. In the event, those present aligned themselves either with the proposals put forward by HALLAS or JEFFRIES, or in some cases with a third 'middle of the road' suggestion presented by [REDACTED] from East London.

188. The resolutions prepared by the three drafting commissions that were later elected were as follows:-

189. The first resolution, proposed by a drafting commission consisting of [REDACTED] and Steve JEFFRIES was:-

Election Strategy

(Resolution - Carried)

1. The General Election is a period when hundreds of thousands of ordinary people talk about politics. It provides us with an opportunity to raise what we have to say about Labour's record on:-

- * unemployment
- * immigration controls
- * wages
- * cuts
- * housing
- * women's rights

How do we use this opportunity?

2. We don't believe that there will be a serious Socialist Workers Party intervention on our general politics if there is no direct electoral intervention. All the evidence is that we do not motivate general political campaigns without a focus. We're more likely to organise unemployed workers to heckle Labour ministers when we're fighting Labour than when we're not.
- [REDACTED]

- [REDACTED]
3. The greatest danger if we don't run candidates is that we will completely dissolve ourselves into the Anti-Nazi League. Without candidates and the consequent Socialist Workers Party intervention in the election we will completely fail to establish our independence inside the Anti-Nazi League at a time when all other political organisations will be doing so, and at a time when there is increased awareness of general political arguments.
 4. The experience of electoral interventions is that we can build around candidates, and that when elections take place without candidates it is extremely difficult to motivate members' Socialist Workers Party activities.
 5. The battle over wages in 1977, over the cuts, over equal pay, at Greenwich, at Lewisham, the Carnival, the (too) slow rise in 'Socialist Worker' circulation and other left papers, including 'Women's Voice' has created an audience it would be a tragedy for us not to approach in the General Election as the Socialist Workers Party. We need to choose areas with large Labour majorities so that we can run a strongly anti-Labour campaign relating to those many thousands of people (our political periphery) still disillusioned with Labour's record.
 6. We support a serious left anti-Labour vote, and therefore wish to work out a non-aggression pact with other left-of-Labour forces.
 7. Socialist Worker has to be honest about expectations and explain why we are standing - not only to the readers in the constituencies where we are running, but also to all our readers. Nationally we are for keeping the Tories out, but the real task remains the building of the revolutionary socialist alternative.
 8. Conference believes that gain can be made for our Party in the General Election by standing a limited number of candidates. We instruct the Central Committee to prepare the ground in discussion with the Districts to ensure that we have at least one candidate in every major area.

190. The second resolution, prepared by a working commission consisting of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Privacy

Privacy [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] as follows:-

Electoral Strategy (Resolution - Defeated)

Our original reasons for deciding to stand fifty or sixty candidates at the next General Election remain

[REDACTED]

valid today; it is not sufficient simply to advocate more militancy where the political arguments of the Government and Trade Union leaders are suffocating workers' resistance. We have to pose an overall political solution to all those who are prepared to fight against the sell-outs, racism, sexual oppression, etc., particularly in the run up to the elections when the atmosphere is highly politicised.

Going into the next election with activity on Right to Work, the Anti-Nazi League etc and then quietly saying 'Vote Labour' is to duck our responsibilities to pose this overall solution.

Our recent attempts to pose the 'Socialist Alternative' have been a limited success as a local party building operation but they have been seriously upset in terms of votes by the Socialist Unity offensive. The International Marxist Group have out-flanked us. Despite their lack of a base they have put themselves in the same league as us in the eyes of a growing periphery of uncommitted workers and youth. Equally important, the disunity of the left is a barrier preventing workers moving towards revolutionary politics.

A separate campaign with fifteen Socialist Workers Party candidates does not solve these serious problems. The Socialist Unity offensive against us is mainly electoral and it is mainly through a united front electoral strategy with them that we can undercut their vague but quite significant 'Socialist Unity' appeal. No retreat leaves the field wide open to them. We would be talking of the need for 'the socialist alternative', but in the eyes of the electorate, Socialist Unity would be that alternative and we ourselves would also be voting for it with nothing in return.

Instead we should publicly call for a strictly electoral link up which would include Socialist Unity and many other organisations as possible from the working class and the black community. We would retain our Socialist Workers Party identity and argue the need for building the revolutionary party and the need for unity in action around concrete issues such as fighting fascism, unemployment, wage controls, etc.

We should fight for an agreed candidate on an agreed platform of opposition to wage, import and immigration controls and support for rank and file organisation, anti-imperialist struggles and the struggles of other oppressed groups (women, gays etc) - i.e. an 'anti-national interest' platform which we share with the International Marxist Group (unlike the Broad Left) despite all our other differences with them.

Such a joint electoral campaign:

1. Enables us to raise the resources to put up perhaps fifty candidates and get television time, but even if this figure were not possible we could put up more than the thirty seven the Communist Party proposes standing. Our combined resources would be more than the sum of its parts.
2. Means the International Marxist Group can no longer hide behind the nice vague appeal of unspecified 'unity' and the argument swings to our terms of building the party out of united struggles.
3. Undercuts the Socialist Unity offensive and allegations of sectarianism. Publicly proposing it would be good propaganda in itself.
4. Makes recruitment to the Socialist Workers Party easier - it lowers the Socialist Unity barrier puts us in contact with their periphery (e.g. various Asian groups), and prevents them siphoning off part of the Anti-Nazi League periphery away from us. They don't have the base and structure to seriously recruit from a joint campaign. We do.
5. A joint election campaign gets non-committed Anti-Nazi League supporters something to work for as well as being against the Nazis.
6. There would be considerable spin-off to areas outside the forty or fifty places we had a joint candidate, and spin-off after the election is over. It would help undercut the International Marxist Group in the few areas (e.g. teachers, students) where the International Marxist Group are a real problem on the ground for our comrades. More importantly, a significant electoral bloc to the left of the Communist Party would attract the better elements in the Communist Party/Labour left.

191. The third and final resolution on electoral strategy was prepared by a drafting commission consisting of Duncan HALLAS, Eddie FROVOST and Andy STROTHERS and read as follows:-

Electoral Strategy (Resolution - Defeated)

1. Our original perspective of a major intervention in the General Election (50 to 60 candidates) is not now a serious possibility. It assumed a rising level of class struggle after years of Labour government,

large scale working class dissatisfaction showing in a refusal to vote Labour (as in 1970 when one million Labour votes were lost with little Tory gain in votes) and our electoral dominance to the left of the Communist Party. None of these things are true at present and the existence of a 'radicalised layer' of voters - in fact no greater than the traditional protest vote for the Communist Party - is no substitute.

2. We must nevertheless make a firm Socialist Workers Party intervention in the election by means of posters, a national leaflet special coverage in 'Socialist Worker' (including a special election issue), Right to Work interventions and so on as well as active participation in an Anti-Nazi League Campaign. Real, though modest, gains in numbers and periphery can and must be made through these campaigns.
3. Standing ten to fifteen candidates would add very little to our intervention. It has the disadvantage of putting us in the eyes of the left, in the same league as Socialist Unity, the Workers Revolutionary Party, etc., and way below the Communist Party. To intervene on a big scale would be valuable. Since that is not a viable tactical option it is better to say frankly that we do not have the strength to achieve it and to withdraw temporarily from the field so far as candidates are concerned.
4. The option of a part of alliance with Socialist Unity is no solution. Of course if we could field a substantial number of candidates a non-aggression pact with other forces to the left of Labour would be an important objective. Since we cannot and Socialist Unity cannot either a pact would merely strengthen the 'anti-partyism' that is widespread in the 'radicalised layer'.
5. The thrust of our propaganda must be the bankruptcy of the Labour Party and the necessity to build a real socialist alternative. We should call for an anti-Tory vote. Vote Left, Vote Labour or cast a protest vote for candidates left of Labour but build the Socialist Workers Party as the core of the fightback against Thatcher and Callaghan.

191. The vote on these 12 resolutions, all of which had been prepared during the lunch break, took place before the close of the final session of the day (a period specifically set aside for voting on drafting commission reports). The chairperson for the session was Simon THOMAS and for the presentation of the resolutions on election strategy he was joined on the platform by Steve JEFFRIES and Duncan HILL (prefering to remain in his seat amongst the delegates). THOMAS informed the delegates that the first vote to be held would establish whether Conference agreed with the basic content of the resolutions on an individual basis. When this was done, the resolution prepared

[REDACTED]

by Steve JEFFRIES and supporters was carried by a substantial majority, the resolution prepared by [REDACTED] Privacy was defeated easily and the resolution prepared by Simon HALLAS was carried by a small majority.

193. TURNER then stated that a final vote would be taken in the form of a straight choice between the two resolutions (which were obviously incompatible), each delegate being allowed one vote only. He then instructed the six tellers to count the votes for each resolution (only delegates with pinned credentials being permitted a vote) and bring their tallies to the platform following the completion of the voting procedure.

194. When the vote had been completed, TURNER counted the totals produced by the tellers and announced that the resolution prepared by Peter BAIN, [REDACTED] Privacy and Steve JEFFRIES had been carried by a majority of 74 votes to 56, thus defeating the "HALLAS resolution". HALLAS, not satisfied with the accuracy of the count (and taking the defeat as a slight on his political integrity) demanded that the vote be taken again, but TURNER stood his ground and the matter was then closed. (It remains to be seen, however, whether this policy is actually adopted in view of the fact that it was only passed by a minute majority and many of the delegates expressed their dissatisfaction over the failure of all concerned to produce a united policy).

195. After the closure of the debate on 'Election Strategy', Lindsay GERRARD took up the position as chairperson in order that Simon TURNER could present the report and perspectives on 'Finance'.

196. Finance

TURNER opened his address by advising the delegates to read the financial statistics which had been prepared by the National Treasurer, [REDACTED] Privacy and set out on duplicated sheets to be found in the personal conference folders (see Appendix 6 - pages 12 and 13). He explained that these sheets only dealt with the financial in-flow of cash to the Party during the preceding twelve months (only a brief comparison being made with the annual total for the previous year), and it could be seen from the figures presented, that the total amount of money received by the National Office on a monthly basis from districts and branches had not increased significantly since the last conference, despite the necessity to combat inflation. This was considered a disquieting state of affairs, especially when the amount of money received for any particular month could vary by as much as a thousand pounds, making the task of meeting bills and wages monumental. The apparent reason for this financial embarrassment was the manner in which local districts and branches tended to finance their own local activities from subscriptions received, instead of sending the money to the National Office. Indeed, some areas which had full-time organisers were drawing more money from the Centre than the districts concerned were sending in.

[REDACTED]

197. It continued that individual branches had extremely poor attitudes towards sending money, and in particular subscriptions, to the Centre and when the situation had been investigated by Central Committee members, it was found that the districts and branches concerned were all 'sitting on very healthy bank balances'. This new independent financial status had brought about an attitude within many branches that money was available from subscriptions and no longer was it necessary to harness the membership in the form of levies or hold continual fund-raising drives. In particular, there had been a noticeable drop in the number of members who were donating to the Party a portion of any windfall they received (i.e. whether a tax rebate or an inheritance).

198. The other major problem centred on the 'spendthrift' attitude adopted by many branches of the Party in paying donations to strike funds, settling bills for coach hire and paying fines for members who had been arrested, instead of printing collection sheets and ordering the membership to raise money from the local periphery. On this point, it was therefore imperative that all treasurers sent every subscription payment to the Centre as soon as possible and raised money for purely local issues by other means.

199. It was significant that no full statement of accounts concerning the financial dealings of the Party was (or ever had been) produced and it was safe to assume from the under-currents amongst the membership itself that such a move would be far too time-consuming and 'revealing' for those involved. In relation to this, Wilson himself, at one point in his speech, told the delegates that the position had now been reached where 'the Party could no longer survive by juggling the accounts', 'there were no more companies that could go bust' and 'the deprecation fund at the print-shop could no longer be raided'.

200. He then revealed that, in order to combat these problems, the Central Committee had produced a four-point plan which had been designed to increase the inflow of cash into the Party coffers. Their proposals were as follows:-

1. A new system of raising subscriptions would be introduced. Subscriptions would be raised by means of a system of national bankers orders payable direct to the Centre and those national subscriptions that could not be raised by that method would be collected in cash on a local basis. Local subscriptions should be raised separately by bankers orders or cash collections.

National subscriptions would be raised using a sliding scale to establish the amount of money paid by individual members in relation to their weekly take home pay. It was appreciated that the individual financial commitment of members varied, i.e. they might be married and have children, and in these cases the amount of money collected as

[REDACTED]

subscriptions could alter accordingly. The rates for a single person proposed under this system would therefore be as follows:-

Minimum subscriptions - Working 35p
 not working 10p

Rate Paid By Weekly National Subscription

Age Group	Rate
Under 30	35p
30 - 35	50p
35 - 40	75p
40 - 45	1.00p
45 - 50	1.50p
50 - 55	2.00p
55 - 60	2.50p
60 - 65	3.00p
65 - 70	4.00p
70 - 80	5.00p
80 - 90	7.00p
90 - 100	10.00p

2. The 'Weeklist Worker' would launch a fighting fund of £2,000 per month, with the expense on raising the money from the periphery outside the Party in the form of bankers orders from readers and donations. In addition to this, individual branches should send a monthly amount to the paper and donate a percentage from the profits of local fund-raising activities.
3. The centre would become responsible for the payment of the wages incurred by all full-time party workers, although expenses would remain the responsibility of the district concerned.
4. Tony CLIFF was to be placed in overall charge of the initial drive for the bankers order and national subscription system.

201. There was then a short discussion on the implications of the new subscription system, the main criticism from the delegates being that it had been 'imposed' on the membership by the central party organisation - without time for sufficient discussion, and a drafting commission was elected to produce a resolution on the matter. The drafting commission consisted of [REDACTED] and Jimmie FURMAN and their resolution was as follows:-

Privacy

Privacy

Finance

(Resolution)

Conference has decided on a variety of political initiatives to build and strengthen our Party in the coming months (General Election campaign, work amongst youth, blacks, etc.). These decisions have to be backed up by financial resources which should in part, be raised from outside the membership of the Socialist Workers Party. As never before, finance is a political question. Raising money from our periphery can be a mechanism for introducing a political argument.

Over the past year or two the amount of money raised regularly from non-members has drastically fallen. This applies everywhere from contacts on estates to readers of workplace bulletins. We welcome the use of Socialist Worker Supporters Bankers Orders as a part of this process, but recognise any other possibilities.

The loose attitudes to raising money from outside the organisation has led in many areas, to an equally bad attitude to money inside the organisation. Subscriptions are very uneven and in many cases unacceptably low. Most branches and districts need to raise considerably the level of subscriptions to the Centre, to appoint branch and district treasurers who are leading comrades, and to embark on a consistent fund-raising drive. In concrete terms this means a number of practical measures.

National Subscriptions

Conference reaffirms the decision taken by the Central Committee and unanimously endorsed by the April meeting of the National Advisory Committee, to introduce from 1 July 1976 a sliding scale of national subscriptions.

The scale has been printed in an internal bulletin and in a letter to treasurers. It is a guide intended for single comrades with few financial commitments and treasurers at local level should be sensitive when using it, particularly with new members. The National Bankers Order is the best mechanism for ensuring that individual subscriptions reach the centre on a regular basis. All comrades with bank accounts should fill in bankers orders. Those who do not have bank accounts must be encouraged to open them, unless extreme circumstances prevail. Those who cannot will pay the new level of subscriptions in cash, which will be forwarded regularly to the Centre by the local treasurer. The new level of subscriptions means that branch treasurers will have to be more efficient and vigilant about the collection of cash subscriptions and thereby prevent the building up of unpayable debts.

[REDACTED]

After the implementation of these levels of subscriptions takes place, districts now paying wages to their full-time organisers will no longer do so. They will be paid from the Centre.

Local subscriptions and fund-raising

The system of direct subscriptions to the Centre will mean that local treasurers will have to see their role not only as subscriptions collectors but now, and more so, as fund-raiser of local finances, and that the emphasis must be on fund-raising from events (dinners, film nights, dances, financial appeals at public meetings, etc) and raising money regularly from the periphery, rather than a high local subscription system. To assist in this process the national Centre requires and will solicit ideas and information on fund-raising from the branches. It will produce a hand-book for fund-raisers/treasurers based on this information.

The organisation of area schools on fund-raising should also be taken up by the districts in conjunction with the Centre.

Experience has shown that in some areas branches and districts have set up financially unviable local centres. Areas which wish to do so should have consultations with the Central Committee before a decision is reached.

202. This resolution was presented to Conference during the final session of the day and was carried 'nem. con'.

203. Lindsey GEDDIS then asked the delegates to remain in their seats for a short period before going to lunch in order that Duncan HALLAS could return to the platform and make a brief announcement.

204. HALLAS reminded the delegates that the following morning was the final session of the conference and, in view of this, it would be necessary for the resolutions concerning 'Nationalism and Revolution', 'Day Work' and 'Education and Training' to be drawn up prior to the actual debate in order that the voting could be completed within the conference period.

205. Simon TURNER once again resumed as chairperson when the conference re-opened after the lunch break and immediately introduced [REDACTED] a member of the Socialist Worker Tendency (Northern Ireland) to open the debate on Ireland and Irish Work.

Privacy

206.

Ireland and Irish Work

[Redacted] spoke for approximately half an hour on the policies and activities of the British Government in relation to Northern Ireland, dealing specifically with the repressive schemes of the Special Air Service, the British Army and Royal Ulster Constabulary as 'agents' of the 'invading' Imperialist regime. She was followed by Jerry FITZPATRICK, the Irish Organiser of the Socialist Workers Party, who presented to Conference a report on the achievements of the Party during the past year and the perspectives for the future in relation to Irish work.

207. FITZPATRICK informed the delegates that Irish work had continued through the previous year at a moderate pace, with the Socialist Workers Party being involved in most of the initiatives that had been taken, including pickets against the Prevention of Terrorism Act and support of the anti-Imperialist prisoners. The most significant success, however, had been the part played by the Party in launching the International Tribunal on the British Presence in Ireland.

208. He then qualified this list of 'impressive' activities with the comment that only a handful of members from the Party had consistently committed themselves to Irish work, the remainder tending to ignore the question completely.

209. This work, over the past years, had been regarded by much of the Party membership as the task of 'Irish specialists' and consequently, with only a handful of members taking part, the Irish question had slipped in priority when compared with other activities. FITZPATRICK then informed the delegates that the time had come to change this outlook and draw up a programme that would immediately involve the active membership of the Party.

210. Following a brief outline of the activities of the Troops Out and United Troops Out Movements, the Anti-Internment League and the emergence of the Socialist Labour Party in the South of Ireland, FITZPATRICK dealt with the specific areas of Irish work where it was necessary to concentrate the efforts of the Party membership during the coming year. The first of these was 'anti-recruitment' work and he reminded the delegates that the current high unemployment rate provided a fertile recruiting ground for the armed forces. It was essential, therefore, to mobilise against any recruiting campaign and invoke leafletting programmes at door to door to prevent school leavers and the unemployed joining the army.

211. The next item of importance was the building of a genuine 'troops out' party inside the labour movement and, whilst recognising that it was not possible to build a mass organisation at the present time, it was nevertheless

[REDACTED]

essential that arguments were put forward whenever possible in order to create a good foundation for future militant activity.

210. The last section of his talk dealt with the support given by the Socialist Workers Party to the Provisional Irish Republican Army and he stressed that the criterion on this was the fact that the PIRA forces were fighting British imperialism and therefore were entitled to unconditional support. However, to conform with the Party line on the topic, he added that the membership could not agree with the methods and tactics used by the 'freedom fighters' and would reserve the right to criticize their actions. He then spoke briefly on the subjects of solidarity with Irish socialists and the various forms of propaganda available to assist members of the party in their fight on behalf of the Irish working class.

211. He concluded by informing the delegates that Ireland was not 'just another problem for revolutionary socialists', but a blatant example of the British imperialist war machine at work in close proximity to the bases of the British labour movement. There was no option for the Socialist Workers Party as revolutionary socialists, but to commence an immediate programme of education amongst the working class movement in order to build a militant activity against the British presence in Ireland based on the following four slogans:-

Troops Out Now

Self Determination for the Irish People

Unconditional but not uncritical support to all those fighting British imperialism

A 32 County Socialist Ireland.

212. THORNTON thanked [REDACTED] and FITZPATRICK for their contributions and opened the subject for discussion amongst the delegates for a short period before suggesting that a drafting commission be elected. The elected commission consisted of [REDACTED] Jerry FITZPATRICK, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. Their resolution reading as follows:-

Irish Back

(Resolution)

This conference confirms that the Socialist Workers Party's position is:-

1. For the immediate withdrawal of all British troops.
2. For the right of the Irish people to determine their own future.

3. For a 50 county socialist republic.
4. Unconditional but not uncritical support to all those fighting British imperialism.
5. For the repeal of all repressive legislation including the Emergency Provisions Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act.
6. For the immediate release of all Irish political prisoners.

The coverage in our publications is still inadequate and over reliant on horror stories. 'Socialist Worker' must carry weekly articles. An attempt must be made to explain why Irish people need to resort to gun and bomb. Both 'Women's Voice' and 'Socialist Review' have an important role to play and must have regular coverage. Given our workplace orientation it is crucial that Ireland is covered in the rack and file papers and workplace bulletins.

It is important that Socialist Workers Party branches and district organise meetings on Ireland. There is a separate need for branch discussion on Ireland as well as larger public meetings.

The new pamphlet on Ireland must be properly used by the organisation. It provides the background information that is required if we are to intervene effectively around the Irish issue. We must ensure that the pamphlet is sold as widely as possible. The 'Socialist Worker Review', which is produced by the Socialist Workers tendency in Ireland, must be read by every member and where possible sold to Irish workers in Britain.

In the coming year the Socialist Workers Party must organise in the following areas:-

1. International Tribunal

This is an important initiative which will enable us to take our arguments on Ireland into the Labour movement. We must not waste this opportunity. Socialist Workers Party members must argue for support for the Tribunal, particularly in the trade union movement. It is important that there is a large Socialist Workers Party presence on the Tribunal next spring.

2. Political Prisoners

The campaign for the return of political status is at present the most important initiative in the North. The Socialist Workers Party must do all it can to support this campaign. In particular:-

- a) Support and organise public meetings at which word. from the Relatives Action Committees are invited to speak.

- [REDACTED]
- b) Support demonstrations and pickets calling for the return of political status - e.g. July 9th.

3- Building a 'Troops Out' current

The British working class is the only force this side of the Irish Sea capable of getting Britain out of Ireland. It is thus crucial for socialists to try and build a current inside the British Labour Movement around the slogan of 'Troops Out Now'. In particular we must:-

- a) Argue for the Troops Out position inside the Labour movement.
- b) Organise anti-recruitment campaigns to counter the economic desperation facing many school leavers.
- c) Organise pickets and support for Irish activists and militants held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

This resolution was carried 'nem. con' when placed before Conference later the same day.

215. Since WILSON then introduced Pete GOODWIN to lead off the debate on International Work.

216. International Work

The entire content of GOODWIN's speech dealt with the similarities in revolutionary struggle throughout the world and the manner in which it was essential for the Socialist Workers Party to maintain close liaison with revolutionary socialist groups and trends in other countries, in some cases taking solidarity action with unique groups in this country. It appeared that a great deal of his speech was 'over the heads' of many delegates who were not sufficiently aware of the structure of the International Socialist organisation or the details of individual revolutionary groups or struggles taking place in other countries. The resolution on this topic, prepared by a drafting commission consisting of [REDACTED] Pete GOODWIN, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] read as follows:-

International Work

(Resolution)

The Socialist Workers Party is an internationalist organisation. It is therefore essential that we devote the necessary resources to international work.

International work can be divided into two general areas:-

[REDACTED]

- [REDACTED]
1. Building international consciousness and activity amongst the working class. There is a tradition of the revolutionary left, including our organisation, of seeing this as being centred on frequent central London demonstrations. We have to make conscious efforts to break with this tradition and make the fight for internationalist consciousness part of every aspect of our everyday work. International issues must be regularly taken up in 'Socialist Worker', in pamphlets, in branch meetings and educationals and above all in the unions and the workplace.

Among the most important areas of this work in the coming year will be the fight against Zionism and the building of a Palestine Solidarity Campaign. Because of its ideological importance we should also put specific emphasis on the struggle against the state capitalist regimes of Eastern Europe.

2. Spreading our politics internationally with the ultimate goal of building a revolutionary international.

The crisis of the international revolutionary left provides new opportunities at the same time as it re-emphasises the necessity of this work. We must not have the illusion that we have the answer to everything, nor that rapid results can be achieved. The fight for our politics on the international scene requires long term, modest and detailed work. But the organisation must ensure that the resources and encouragement to comrades are provided to ensure that this work goes on.

The work involves:-

- a) the development of top level contacts and discussions with foreign organisations, with the object of spreading these discussions in print to a wider audience.
- b) the building of the International Discussion Bulletin as an organ of international debate. All members must be aware of their responsibility to use what international contacts they have to build its circulation.
- c) systematic attempts to intervene in debates in the international revolutionary press.
- d) work amongst exiles in Britain. This is vital to the building of cadres who will eventually return to their home countries.

All members must take the initiative in drawing foreign contacts into the practical work of our organisation, argue the general politics of the Socialist Workers Party with them and put them in touch with the relevant specialist group of the International Department. Again, the

[REDACTED]

International Discussion Bulletin is an important weapon for comrades in this work.

We must give every possible assistance to those organisations in other countries which basically share our politics and modestly begin to see ourselves as an International Tendency.

This resolution was carried by a substantial majority when placed before Conference during a short break in the proceedings the following day. In addition to the actual discussion which took place during the conference proper, there was a three hour meeting between the members from the International Department of the Party and foreign observers attending the conference following the final session on the agenda on Wednesday 21 June 1978.

217. After the debate on International work had been completed, Simon TURNER informed Conference that the time had been reached for the election of the Central Committee, Control Commission and National Advisory Committee and invited Duncan HALLAS to the platform to preside over the procedure.

218. Election of Central Committee, Control Commission and National Advisory Committee

Before commencing the voting procedure to elect the new leading committees, HALLAS reminded the delegates of the need to comply with Article 13 of Conference Standing Orders which stated that 'delegates must vote for a full committee in each case'. He then informed them that he would deal first of all with the election of the Central Committee and stated that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], both members of the retiring body, were unwilling to stand for re-election due to pressures of work (in [REDACTED] is manager of the "Socialist Worker" print shop and [REDACTED] wished to devote more time to the development of the International Department). In view of this, he asked whether there were any proposals from the floor regarding the constitution of the new Central Committee, and, when none were received, put forward a 'slate' which had been prepared by the retiring members and read as follows:-

Alex GALLAGHER

Tommy CLIFF

John BRASO

Duncan HALLAS

Chris HARRIS

Paul HOLBROOK

[REDACTED]

Privacy

Jim NICHOL

Margaret REED

Simon TURNER

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This proposal was then put to the vote and carried by a unanimous decision, despite the fact that prior to Conference there had been a considerable undercurrent amongst the membership for a 'completely new look' party leadership.

219. The next item was the election of a Central Commission and in view of the relationship it enjoyed with the Central Committee it was no surprise that Duncan BALDWIN presented another 'slate' for this body, which read as follows:-

Peter HAIN

Duncan BALDWIN

Privacy

Ted PARKER

Privacy

Much to his surprise, however, the proposal was not challenged and the delegates voted by a unanimous decision to accept the names suggested.

220. The election of the National Advisory Committee was not such an easy task and there was considerable disagreement amongst the delegates concerning the number of members which should constitute the committee and the personalities proposed as committee members. It should be remembered at this stage that a list for nominations had been open for the previous three days, the final total amounting to eighty-seven persons, from which only forty members would be elected to the National Advisory Committee. This list had been shortened by the Conference Advisory Committee in consultation with many delegates to forty-five names and published prior to the commencement of the elections. The proviso was, however, that all the nominees (with the exception of [REDACTED] Privacy) were union representatives and each delegate was insistent that his particular union was proportionately represented on the national body (the fact that some unions had five nominees seemed to make very little difference at all).

221. Eventually, after much argument, it was proposed from the floor that article 5(e) of the Socialist Workers Party Constitution be amended to read 'The National Advisory Committee be amended to read 'The National Advisory Committee consist of 15 members. It normally meets at two month intervals'. This was immediately seen as an honourable solution and carried by a unanimous vote. The list of nominations and final constitution of the National Advisory Committee are given in Appendix 15 (pages 27-30) to this report.

222. The final session of the day was devoted to the presentation of drafting commissions' reports (including the General Election Strategy, previously mentioned) and

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

after the completion of this task and ensuing votes, Miss
MURPHY closed the business at 5pm.

Wednesday 21 June 1973

AGENDA

9.30 - 10.30	Nationalism and Revolution
10.30 - 11.00	Gap
11.00 - 12.30	Education, Training and Respite
12.30 - 1.00	Conference Closing by

223. Duncan HALLIDAY opened the business on this final day of Conference promptly at 9.00am and immediately launched the debate on 'Nationalism and Revolution', calling Peter HAIN and Alex CALLINICOS to the platform as speakers.

224. Owing to a shortage of time drafting commissions had been elected the previous evening to draw up resolutions on the subject for debate during the morning and, instead of the debates being led off by a speech on future policy, they were started with the presentation of the drafting commissions' resolutions, continued by way of debate and completed with a vote on the proposal(s) in question.

225. Nationalism and Revolution

The resolutions on this subject were thus presented by HAIN and CALLINICOS in accordance with the above procedure.

226. The first resolution was prepared by Peter HAIN, Jim NICHOIL and [REDACTED] and read as follows:-

Nationalism and Revolution

(Resolution - Carried)

We affirm the right of the Scottish people to self-determination as a matter of principle. In England the party clearly says yes to the right of the Scottish people to self-determination as an assembly. But we don't believe that is the question we have to consider.

The issue in the present period we have to address ourselves to is - whether the demand for a Scottish assembly is a progressive demand we should support in the struggle for socialism or whether it diverts this struggle.

We believe to argue support for a yes position leads us to reinscribe up a blind alley and seriously impairs our ability to win the ideological arguments for a socialist alternative.

For us to argue against the assembly proposals does not constitute support for the present British state and constitution any more than saying No to the common market meant support for the unity of the British nation state.

The establishment of such an assembly would, we believe, lead to any improvement in the conditions of the Scottish working class. Whoever win the elections to such an assembly will not be able to provide a strategy to satisfy the needs of the Scottish people (jobs, wages, working conditions, problems of inflation or an improved health service).

To argue for a Yes vote for such an assembly is to create a more favourable climate to the nationalist arguments that the only way to achieve these goals is a separate state.

Scottish socialists cannot remain neutral on the issue.

To pose the arguments as Yes to an assembly is to encourage workers to see the solution to their problems as being separation from England rather than in class terms.

Considerable numbers of Scottish workers are not so naive. Our Scottish periphery would be puzzled if we were to say Yes to something which they already know is no answer.

Our task in Scotland is to build a propaganda campaign to convince workers that there is a socialist alternative, and to get across clearly our message - devolution, nationalism, are no solutions to the economic crisis capitalism is in. We have to build a serious opposition on the question of wage controls, decent housing, hospital cuts, etc., and wage the ideological battle for a Socialist Workers Party. No other position allows us to put our total opposition to the British State and combat the narrow sectarianism of Scottish nationalism.

227. The second resolution on this subject was prepared by a drafting committee consisting of Alex GALLINIOS and Andy STEWARTSON and read as follows:-

[REDACTED]

Devolution and the National Question (Devolution -
Revised)

1. Our starting point as revolutionary socialists in approaching the national question is the fight for the international unity of all workers. But we should not allow our support for working class unity to be confused with preserving the integrity of the existing British capitalist state. On the contrary, our main fight is against this state and the British nationalist ideology to which it gives rise.
2. Conference supports the right of self-determination for the Scottish and Welsh peoples. We do so not because we have any illusions in nationalism, but because -
 - a) In doing so we can show that revolutionary socialists are opposed to all forms of national oppression, and
 - b) workers can be drawn into political activity in many ways, including national movements.
3. However, to support the right of self-determination is not to advocate the exercise of that right in all situations. Independence, let alone local assembly, will solve none of the problems of Scottish and Welsh workers - only the struggle for workers' power on British and international scales offers a solution.
4. In particular the Scottish National Party is an openly capitalist party concerned to win through devolution and then, independence, a better deal for sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie. In no sense is it an anti-imperialist party. One of the main tasks of Socialist Workers Party members in Scotland is to oppose the bourgeois nationalism of the Scottish Nationalist Party.
5. However, devolution is a reform in which many Scottish (and, to a lesser extent Welsh) workers have illusions. The Hamilton and Greenockian bye elections by no means suggest that the Scottish Nationalist Party is finished, especially since the Labour Party officially supports devolution. We must make it clear that while we do not share these illusions, we will do nothing to prevent Scottish and Welsh workers going through the experience of a local assembly and, if they choose, independence.



6. The referendum provided for under the Devolution Bill offers us three choices - to call for a No vote, for abstention or for a Yes vote.
7. To call for a 'No' is to line up with the Tories, the Confederation of British Industry, etc, in defence of the United Kingdom. The Tribune 'left' opposition to devolution is no better, since their alternative is a nationalist economic strategy which seeks to solve the problems of British workers at the expense of workers in other countries.
8. The Gwynedd amendment to the Devolution Bill, which requires a 'Yes' vote by 40% of registered voters for devolution to be implemented, means that to abstain is effectively to vote 'No'.
9. The sole remaining alternative is to call for a 'Yes' vote. Within the 'yes' camp we would raise our own distinctive politics - arguing for change not through parliament, but through mass struggle and presenting as the solution not national separation, but international socialism.

228. When these resolutions were put to the vote, the proposal put forward by Peter HAIN and supporters was carried by a substantial majority and that proposed by GALLAGHER and STANWORTH was defeated.

229. HALLAS then moved on to the parallel item for discussion on the agenda and introduced Privacy to present the resolution on 'Gay Work'.

230. Gay Work

Accordingly, Privacy presented the resolution on 'Gay Work', which he had prepared in consultation with Privacy and Privacy and then informed the delegates that he considered it totally unsatisfactory that a mere half-hour period had been allowed for a debate on this highly emotive subject. When informed by the chairperson that this was the only period available and that the situation would be remedied in future, Privacy (in a fit of pique) that he considered there to be insufficient time to give a detailed report on 'Gay Work' during the past twelve months and that instead, he would lead a short discussion on the implementation of the points raised in the resolution, which read as follows:-

Gay Work

(Resolution)

1. The Conference recognises that there is a growing interest in the political significance of personal relationships, sexual behavior

[REDACTED]

sex roles. This is particularly true of radicalized youth and of women who are now confronting their oppression on a wider scale. The very fact that this area of discussions creates excitement and interest makes it essential that we relate to it in order to draw people closer to us politically. Our comrades in *Back Against Lesbians* are already beginning to do this.

2. The right have always been much more on the ball in this area than the left. We have to take up issues such as DeLaguerre's pushing the family unit, Paisley's 'Campaign Against Sodomy', the Whitehouse campaign against 'Gay News' and draw the general political lessons. We have to take up the role of the police, media, education process in enforcing standardized sexual behaviour.
3. There is a danger that these issues can become abstract and 'soapy'. A clear orientation on the workplace is therefore very important. Employment rights for homosexuals, trade union support for gay rights demonstrations, etc. are central and we must carry this necessity into the Gay Movement. Rank and File gay groups continue to appear within the trade unions.
4. We recognise that the struggle against lesbians oppression is fundamentally different to that of homosexual men and needs a different organisational approach.
5. 'Socialist Worker' and the Rank and File papers need to take up gay politics much more aggressively than they have in the past.
6. We are still failing to consider homosexuals ~~and~~ the Gay Movement when producing propaganda; this is a very serious omission in the case of anti-fascist material.
7. There is a continuing need for education of our members and periphery on the subject of sexual politics.

As a result of the debate on this resolution, an amendment was proposed, and carried as follows:-

Conference regrets the non-appearance of the pamphlet on sexual politics and instructs the training sub-committee to produce it as a matter of urgency.

A vote was then taken on the resolution 'in toto' and it was carried by a substantial majority, the remaining delegates preferring to abstain rather than vote against the motion.

234. With time rapidly running out, HILLAS then requested that he be allowed to immediately initiate the final session of the business and accordingly presented the following three resolutions on 'Education, Training and Pamphlets':-

Training and Education

(Resolution - Carried)

Conference determines that, as well as the pocket pamphlets, a series of basic pamphlets, priced 25p should be produced on our basic politics and perennial topics which should be kept permanently in print.

- a) The incoming Central Committee should set up a proper training sub-committee, comprising a number of worker members and full-timers, including members with special skills (e.g. in the use of different media), and a fully committed member of the Central Committee with overall responsibility for training.
- b) Set up a proper training department with a full-time staff member whose sole work is in training.
- c) Inform the membership of the composition of the sub-committee and department and the tasks they have been set, through the Internal Bulletin.
- d) Call on districts, branches, etc., to appoint training officers and to communicate direct to the training department and through the Internal Bulletin. The training department and sub-committee should initiate a continual exchange of ideas, information and materials for training with the membership; seriously consider the many good suggestions which have recently been made in the Internal Bulletin; encourage the imaginative use of different media; and liaise in training with other central departments, sub-committees and groups (the Industrial Department, Women's Voice, Plans, South African Solidarity Campaign, Eastern Europe Group, etc.). As training is involved in all our activities the training department's liaison role is vitally important, both in terms of the particular training needs of the different sections of the party, and in co-ordinating their particular contributions to the training of all Socialist Workers Party members.

Health and Safety

(Resolution - Carried)

Conference notes that when struggles around wages and redundancy are suppressed, many militants seek to maintain workplace organisation and class consciousness by raising and fighting round issues of health and

safety. Conference also notes that this October a whole new layer of powerful shopfloor union positions will be created, viz, health and safety representatives.

Conference, recognising the importance of health and safety at work and its potential for being a set of issues around which rank and file organisation can be built, resolves that:-

1. The National Advisory Committee and Central Committee should discuss work around health and safety issues with a view to starting an education and training campaign;
2. Before September a 'pocket pamphlet' on health and safety be issued;
3. Branches should encourage discussion of health and safety and maintain close co-operation with the Socialist Workers Party Science Group.

Pamphlets and Bulletin

(Resolution - Carried)

Conference resolves that the industrial department of the Central Committee, in collaboration with members of the National Advisory Council, etc., produce by the autumn a Socialist Workers Party handbook entitled:-

'The new bosses' offensive and how to fight it - a militant's handbook for organising in the workplace'.

To be produced in a first edition of 20,000 in the 50p - £1 price range.

The following topics would be covered:-

Introduction

New things have changed since the last bosses offensive (productivity deals, starting in the early '60s, peaking in the late '60s/early '70s); integration of stewards and conveners into management, near continuous incomes and conveners into management, near continuous incomes policy; increase in check-off and growth of legislation affecting shop stewards but also spread of unionism to new areas (white collar workers, petrol workers, garage mechanics, etc.,). Generally however, crisis of shop stewards movement.

Back to first principles

'The majority decides': rebuilding shopfloor democracy.
'Unity is strength': dealing with scabs, spineless minor

[REDACTED]

officials, unions, etc. 'An injury to one is an injury to all': fighting against victimisation.

Everyday battles with the boss

Dealings agreements made with the boss (fighting over the 'right to manage'); dealing with the Law (Health and Safety Act, industrial tribunals). Tactics - non-co-operation, strikes, meetings, balloting, etc.

Beyond the factory wall

Solidarity actions: collecting money, support committees, build up rank and file organisation.

In the end it came down to your politics

Rightward development of the 'left trade union leaders', collapse of traditional militant organisation, the Broad Left, Rank and File movement, the Right to work Campaign, the need for a new workers party, why the Socialist Workers Party.

The handbook to be written with a wealth of concrete details from both the experience of big events and that of (very) small ones, so that it can be genuinely used as a handbook, enabling militants to be more effective in every aspect of their work.

Why this revolution?

It's necessary for the Socialist Workers Party to make a fresh turn to the class. The last time we made such a turn, we had mainly a student/ex-student membership. The turn was made to win us significant working class membership. By and large it was successful; membership grew from very roughly one thousand to two thousand. Of the increase about fifty per cent were manual workers. How was it done? Very professionally - Cliff wrote a book in collaboration with a large number of militants called 'The new bosses offensive - productivity deals and how to fight them'. And the book served both as a visiting card to thousands of militants whom we got to know for the first time and as a weapon with which we could argue and win militants to our politics.

History never simply repeats itself of course but it is true that the crises in the shop stewards movement which produced the opportunity we seized with the 'prod' book as it was called has re-emerged though in a much more serious, more political form.

Why a Book?

Our recent growth from 2 to 5 thousand members has meant we have many new, young and, as far as industrial work is concerned, inexperienced members. Just as with

[REDACTED]

the last turn to the class, our experienced cadre is far too small to provide the constant assistance that inexperienced militants need. At the same time with the decay of steward organizations, many new militants are not getting the basic training they would have got, say 20 years ago. There is a vacuum emerging and if we don't fill it, the right will. Already the Trades Union Congress is negotiating for funds to send 100,000 stewards a year on courses (that's every steward in the country, once every three years).

At the same time the bulk of our membership is on the outside as far as workplace organization is concerned. The factory bulletin initiative launched by the Central Committee last autumn has failed to reach its main objective, namely a decisive shift inside the organization to a workplace orientation. Many parts of the organization did respond and responded excellently. But experience shows they were primarily the bits already on the inside. Starting a bulletin is something we can all use, it can be the instrument we use to turn the organization as a whole a decisive step towards being rooted in the workplace (and thereby leading far more successfully to an increase in the number of bulletins).

232. These three resolutions covered adequately the main criticisms which had been levelled at the party leadership during the preceding months, concerning the severe lack of any basic training programme for new members of the Socialist Workers Party and the failure to instruct rank and file workers on the manner in which to escalate the struggle in the workplace. In the event, following a short discussion, the resolutions were finally passed by a unanimous vote.

233. HALLAS then called on the 'patron' of the Party, Tony CLIFF, to make a short appraisal of the achievements of the Conference.

234. CLIFF, in his usual verbose manner, recounted the many major issues that had been resolved by the delegates (with the exception of the 'Electric Strategy') and then drew the conclusion that in the coming period of struggle it would be essential for the Socialist Workers Party, by relating to its mass periphery gained through the activities of the Anti-Nazi League, Women's Voice, Place and similar groups, to build the fight for a socialist alternative amongst the working class movement.

235. Duncan HALLAS then thanked the delegates for their attendance on behalf of the Central Committee and announced that the conference was closed at 1pm.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

INDEX OF APPENDICES

- APPENDIX 1 Analysis of SWP membership and recruitment figures for major districts and individual branches.
- APPENDIX 2 Requiries for membership from 'Socialist Worker' application slips (in paper) and recruitment resulting from these applications.
- APPENDIX 3 Trade Unions in which the SWP has active members.
- APPENDIX 4 Analysis of membership of SWP in relation to Trade Union participation 1976 - 1978
- APPENDIX 5 Analysis of union membership of conference delegates.
- APPENDIX 6 Analysis of the financial situation of the SWP.
- APPENDIX 7 Analysis of production figures and sales percentages for 'Socialist Worker' since the 1977 conference.
- APPENDIX 8 Analysis of weekly editions of 'Socialist Worker' showing number of writers employed, number of strikes reported and corresponding total strikes per month recorded at the Department of the Environment.
- APPENDIX 9 Analysis of publications produced and printed by the SWP for unions and 'rank and file' organisations.
- APPENDIX 10 Analysis of production and sales figures for 'Socialist Review', up to 15 June 1978.
- APPENDIX 11 Analysis of membership figures for 'Flame', the Black Caucus of the SWP.
- APPENDIX 12 Analysis of the National Organisation of International Student Societies membership and influence within student establishments.
- APPENDIX 13 Comparison of union membership for women members of the SWP for 1976, 1977, 1978.



- APPENDIX 14 Analysis of production figures and sales percentages for 'Women's Voice' since January 1977.
- APPENDIX 15 Full nomination list for the National Advisory Committee of the SWP.
- APPENDIX 16 List of full-time Party workers.
- APPENDIX 17 List of delegates.
- APPENDIX 18 List of foreign delegates.
- APPENDIX 19 Editorial Staff of 'Socialist Worker' attending on 'full' delegate credentials.
- APPENDIX 20 List of accredited observers.
- APPENDIX 21 Stewards responsible for security.
- APPENDIX 22 List of persons mentioned in the report or appendices, references to whom are not shown elsewhere.
- APPENDIX 23 List of organizations mentioned in conference report.
- APPENDIX 24 List of publications mentioned in report and appendices.

APPENDIX I

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

Analysis of Socialist Workers Party membership and recruitment figures for major districts and individual branches

Growth of major districts

		Membership at Conference in <u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>
<u>LONDON</u>				
Central	- East } West }	134	165	140 *
East	- Newham & Ilford } Waltham Forest }	87	134	135
Inner East	- Hackney } Tower Hamlets }	65	125	140
North	- (Islington) (Les Valley)	84	109 (55) (54)	160 * (100) * (60)
North West	- Hammersmith } North West London }	68	84	125
South East	-	60	79	73
South West	- (South London) (South West London)	79	126 (80) (46)	186 (132) (54)
West Midlands	-	50	60	60

NOTE: The figures in parentheses indicate membership totals (where available) for districts within a larger, geographical district. When considering the figures marked with an asterisk, it is necessary to appreciate that during the past year the membership of two Central London branches has been transferred to the Islington District in North London.

PROVINCES

Birmingham		47	85	100
Coventry		44	50	59
Edinburgh		40	85	100
Glasgow	- Central } Faisley } West }	160	250	210
Leeds		58	150	125
Manchester	- North East, South East } South West & Salford }	80	120	176
Hareyside		40	105	125

APPENDIX I (contd)

	1976	1977	1978
Sheffield			
Tyneside	40	105	125
	37	80 *	87

* This figure possibly includes the total for Sunderland Branch

Recruitment figures since Conference 1977

<u>LONDON (Districts)</u>	<u>Total recruitment since Conference 1977</u>	<u>Increase in membership since Conf. since 1977</u>
Central London	21	
East London		-25 *
Inner East London	65	1
North London	30	15
North West London	77	51 *
South West London	50	41
South East London	82	60
West Middlesex	35	0
	29	0

* See 'NOTE' on previous page

PROVINCES (Districts)

Birmingham	62	15
Black Country	24	Not applicable
Lepton	27+	Not applicable
Cardiff	23	Not applicable
Coventry	9	Not applicable
Edinburgh	45	9
Glasgow (Central/Paisley/West)	94	15
Hull	13	-40
Leeds	49	Not applicable
Leicester	16	-25
Manchester (NR/SR/SW/Salford)	69	Not applicable
Merseyside	68	48
Sheffield	65	8
Stockport	15	20
Swansea	2	Not applicable
Tyneside	27	Not applicable
Bradford	14	7
		Not applicable

APPENDIX I (contd)

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party in the
provinces showing recruitment figures since
Conference 1977

Aberdeen	14	East Ross	9
Aberystwyth	6	Ely	14
Alton	0	Evechem	6
Ashford	3	Exeter	2
Bangor	5	Falkirk	6
Barnsley	0	Forest of Dean	1
Barrow	4	Glenrothes	0
Basilston	5	Gloucester	9
Basingstoke	4	Goole	3
Bath	5	Grantham	1
Beebles	7	Gravesend	12
Bedford	9	Grays	5
Blackburn	5	Grimsby	0
Blackpool	4	Guildford & Woking	5
Bridgwater	6	Halifax	11
Brighton	10	Harlow	7
Bristol	27	Harrogate	11
Burnley	0	Hemel Hempstead	9
Bury St Edmunds	3	High Peak	1
Boston	3	High Wycombe	8
Bury (Leeds)	8	Hitchin	4
Bangor	10	Huddersfield	5
Canborne	5	Ipswich	2
Canterbury	10	Leamster	0
Cardiff	16	Lancaster	8
Carlisle	3	Leicester	22
Chelmsford	3	Leamington	3
Chester	2	Lincoln	5
Chesterfield	3	Llanelli	4
Colchester	6	Loughborough	12
Crawley	3	Lowestoft	2
Crewe	2	Luton	1
Darlington	3	Maidstone	4
Derby	4	Mansfield and Sutton	7
Dewsbury	0	Medway	8
Doncaster	12	North Cornwall	1
Dunfermline	0	Newport	0
Dumfriesshire	0	Northampton	

APPENDIX I (contd)

Dundee	6	Harwich	22
Durham	4	Nottingham	10
Oxford	20	Telford	3
Plymouth	1	Trunbridge Wells	5
Pontefract	8	Wakefield	3
Pontypridd	12	Warrington	10
Pool	1	Wellingborough	1
Portsmouth	13	Watford	2
Port Talbot	1	Welwyn and Hatfield	15
Preston	9	Wigan	3
Reading	23	Workington	0
Rochdale	0	Wrexham	2
Roufard	1	York	8
Rugby	0		
Saffron Walden	3		
St Albans	15		
St Helens	0		
Shrewsbury	1		
South Elmhall	6		
Slough	8		
Southend	15		
Southorpe	6		
Southampton	25		
Stafford	0		
Stirling	3		
Stoke	5		
Sunderland	3		
Swindon	11		
Teesside	17		

NOTE: These figures have only been compiled from returns actually received at party headquarters. Also student branches are not itemised separately, but included in the totals of the town concerned.

Examples of Branches recruiting figures

	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>
Banger	12	22
Bristol	17	40
Canterbury	15	25
Cardiff	23	39
Harrogate	5	16
Leicester	20	42
Pontypridd	9	16
St Albans	10	18
Southampton	25	40
Southend	10	18

NOTE: When considering all the foregoing figures it is essential to realise that, although the recruitment figures given amount to a considerable total, the wastage from persons leaving the organisation and transferring from branch to branch is also quite considerable. Thus the actual membership does not increase in proportion to the recruitment figures given.

APPENDIX I (contd)

New and revived Branches of the Socialist Workers Party since Conference 1977

Accrington	Evesham
Ashford	Forest of Dean
Aylesbury	Goole
Facoles	Grantham
Bridgewater	Port Talbot
Burton-on-Trent	York Hospitals
Bury St Edmunds	Reading Hospitals
Boston	Kilmarnock
Carlisle	Leyland
Kly	Barrow

NOTE: This list does not include new branches within existing districts or student branches.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party which have been lost since Conference 1977

Sawflect	-	members transferred to another branch
Grimsby	-	Nil members assumed (chaotic organisation)
Kilmarnock	-	members transferred to another branch
Lampeter	-	1 left (student branch)
Rugby	-	disolved

Analysis of 'Under 18' membership of the Socialist Workers Party

School students	Aged 16-13	131
	Under 16	44
		<hr/>
		175
		<hr/>
Others		175 (approx)

Since January 1978, 82 school students are known to have joined the party. All the above figures are based on the first 3,400 registration forms to arrive at the centre in 1978.

APPENDIX 2

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegates Conference
of the Socialist Workers Party

	<u>Enquiries for membership from 'Socialist Worker' application slips (in cases)</u>				<u>Recruitment resulting from these applications</u>		
	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>
January		28	114	114			
February		62	144	126		126	82
March		92	157	125	150	235	138
April		38	116	112		220	95
May		60	147	114	77	205	167
June		119	136		62	310	178
July		128	122		64	201	
August	65	112	164		77	236	
September	40	91	128		100	140	
October	39	102	144		174	323	
November	27	130	159		192	171	
December	16	60	93		243	139	
					181	124	

APPENDIX 3

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegates Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Trade unions in which the Socialist Workers Party has active members

ACTS Association of Clerical, Technical and Supervisory Staffs
APEX Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staffs
ASBBSW Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Blacksmiths and Structural Workers
ASLEF Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen
ASTME Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs
AUEW Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers
AUT Association of University Teachers
CCHSE Confederation of Health Service Employees
COSA Clerical Office Staffs Association (NUM)
CPSA Civil and Public Servants Association
CSU Civil Service Union
ESTFU Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union
EIS Educational Institute of Scotland
FBU Fire Brigades Union
FTAT Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades
GLCSA Greater London Council Staff Association
GMWU General and Municipal Workers Union
ISTC Iron and Steel Trades Confederation
IRSF Inland Revenue Staff Federation
NALGO National Association of Local Government Officers
NASDU National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union
NATPE National Association of Teachers - Further and Higher Education
NASSOPA National Society of Operative, Graphical and Media Personnel
NFA National Graphical Association
NSCM National Society of Metal Mechanics

APPENDIX 1 (contd)

NUAAW National Union of Agriculture and Allied Workers
NUWE National Union of Bank Employees
NUDETW National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers
NUHKW National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers
NUJ National Union of Journalists
NUM National Union of Mineworkers
NUFLAT National Union of Footwear, Leather and Allied Trades
NUS National Union of Students
NUT National Union of Teachers
SOCS Society of Civil and Public Servants
SLANS Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and Process Workers
SOGAT Society of Graphical and Allied Trades
TASS Technical and Supervisory Staffs Association (AUSW)
TGWU Transport and General Workers Union
UCATT Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians
UPW Union of Post Office Workers
UEDAW Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Trades

APPENDIX A

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of the national membership of the Socialist Workers Party in relation to trade union participation - the first 1,400 annual registrations for 1978 being compared with the same figures for 1977 and the first 2,007 for 1976

	1976	1977	1978
Members in manual unions	687	1079	1122
Members in white collar unions	709	1071	1008
Members in National Union of Students	377	658	594
Unemployed members - no union	157	258	261
School students	25	79	168
Housewives	37	93	76
Others	15	162	203
	<u>2007</u>	<u>3400</u>	<u>3400</u>

Analysis of women members of the Socialist Workers Party who are members of trade unions - based on the registration totals given above

	1976	1977	1978
Members in manual unions	73	140	161
Members in white collar unions	199	330	338
Members in National Union of Students	90	174	153
Unemployed members - no union	54	63	80
School students	3	15	33
Housewives	37	93	76
Others	10	54	74
	<u>446</u>	<u>869</u>	<u>915</u>

Numbers of positions held within the trade union movement by members of the Socialist Workers Party

<u>Manual Workers</u>			
	1976	1977	1978
Trade Union/Shopfloor positions	300	298	289
Trades Council delegates	138	117	132
Others	83	133	120
	<u>521</u>	<u>548</u>	<u>541</u>

<u>White Collar Workers</u>			
	1976	1977	1978
Trade Union/Shopfloor positions	389	445	403
Trades Council delegates	148	169	154
Others	226	284	271
	<u>763</u>	<u>898</u>	<u>828</u>

<u>Totals for all categories</u>			
	1976	1977	1978
Trade Union/Shopfloor positions	689	743	692
Trades Council delegates	286	286	286
Others	508	417	391
	<u>1284</u>	<u>1446</u>	<u>1369</u>

APPENDIX A (contd)

Analysis of the national membership of the Socialist Workers Party - number of individual members in each respective trade union

<u>Manual Unions</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>
NUFW	43	119	133
USDAW	20	34	36
Docks	6	6	6
Boilermakers	13	22	22
NEFPU	47	72	61
OSMU (& Mac'ns)	17	51	52
ROWU (& AOTS)	141	216	234
NIM (& COSA)	12	33	28
Print	70	74	94
AHEW	170	189	186
Post Office (UPW & POWU)	30	33	33
UCATT	34	62	56
Rail	26	35	33
Buses	13	12	21
Sheetmetal workers	2	16	14
NUFLAT	1	4	2
ISFC	2	5	9
NEPM	1	2	6
NUDETW	3	2	6
HUALAW	2	1	3
NUDEW	1	5	1
FBU	5	11	32
PTAS	0	6	7
Bakers	0	3	7
COHSE	20	41	33
Others	2	17	18
<u>White Collar Unions</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>
INTEP/CYSA/CSU/SOS	58	111	123
AUF	12	19	17
NATFWR	101	115	88
ASTMS	111	133	130
NUP	146	271	248
NIS	22	42	32
TAGE	24	42	47
AFRX	15	23	31
NALGO	181	254	237
NUJ	29	32	20
ENTS	10	24	17
NUWA	3	4	6
<u>Other categories</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>
Unemployed	157	258	281
Students	377	658	594
School students	25	79	168
Housewives	37	93	76
Others	18	162	154
Totals	2007	3400	3400

APPENDIX 5

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate
Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of union membership of conference delegates

White Collar Unions

APEX	1
A.S.P.S.	9
CPSA	5
NIS	1
CLOSA	1
IRIS	1
NALCO	2
NATYHL	11
NUJ	5
NUY	1
SOFS	17
TASS	1
	2

Manual Unions

AHEW	11
Boilermakers	1
COHEE	1
ISEFPU	3
FBU	2
GMU	2
NATSOFA	1
NGLA	1
NUM	1
NUPE	1
SLAIR	10
SOGAS	1
TGWU	1
UCATT	6
UDAV	2
	1

Other categories

Unemployed	7
NUS	12
Not affiliated	26
	<hr/>
	145
	<hr/>

APPENDIX 6

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of the financial situation of the Socialist Workers Party

National subscriptions received over the past twelve months (since Conference 1977):-

1977	June	£
	July	2,678
	August	3,247
	September	3,005
	October	3,672
	November	3,206
	December	3,250
		3,020
1978	January	3,800
	February	4,511
	March	3,396
	April	4,092
	May	3,394
		<u>£41,271</u>

Comparative figures for current and previous years in relation to income/membership:-

	<u>June '76 to May '77</u>	<u>June '77 to May '78</u>
Income from national subscriptions	£35,650	£41,271
Approximate national membership	3,100	4,000
Average amount paid per member	£11.50	£10.25

(NOTE: It is also important to remember that the inflation rate for the period in question was around 12%, thus the organisation had far less financial resources in real terms during the last year)

Totals from Fighting/Defence Funds	£48,000	£15,500
<u>Average monthly income (National subscriptions and Funds together)</u>	<u>£6,970</u>	<u>£4,760</u>

Examples of variations in the amount of subscriptions paid to the Centres:-

<u>Branch/District</u>	<u>Average monthly amount (March/April/May 1978)</u>	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Average per member</u>
Durham	£17	12	£1.40
Inner East London	£300	135	£2.25
Paisley	£10	50	£0.20

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX 6 (contd)

Examples of variation in National Subscriptions paid by Branches/Districts:-

<u>Month</u>	<u>Bedford Branch</u>	<u>South West London District</u>
February 1978	£10.20	£55.00
March "	4.60	21.00
April "	6.60	40.00

Examples of overheads incurred by districts running full-time bookshops/headquarters:-

<u>Monthly overheads</u>	
Birmingham	£140
Cardiff	70
Glasgow	75
Manchester	100 (since vacated)
Sheffield	80

APPENDIX 7

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference
of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of production figures and sales percentages
for 'Socialist Worker' since the 1977 Conference

	<u>Total Print Order</u>	<u>Paid Sales</u>	<u>Paid Sales as % of print order</u>
July 1977	28,250	15,390	54% *
August 1977	28,100	15,390	55% *
September 1977	29,000	15,370	53% *
October 1977	32,200	17,380	54%
November 1977	26,375	17,190	65%
December 1977	30,925	15,330	50% *
January 1978	30,700	16,390	53% *
February 1978	30,725	17,050	55%
March 1978	28,250	16,250	58% *
April 1978	31,380	17,580	56% *
May 1978	30,925	18,250	60%

Notes: An asterisk beside the percentage figure denotes that there were no student sales during that month.

Approximate breakdown of national paid weekly sales
of 'Socialist Worker' in terms of places sold:

By party members and supporters at their workplace	4,300	29%
Sales in colleges and universities	3,000	19%
Street sales	2,600	18%
Sales to members (own copies)	1,800	12%
Postal subscription/bulk orders	1,550	9%
Private sales	1,100	7%
By party members outside workplaces	700	4%
Deliveries to individual supporters	600	3%
Union meetings, cinemas, newsagents etc.	500	3%
Public houses	500	3%
Other sales by supporters	400	2%

Appendix 7 (cont'd)

Selected examples of weekly paid sales of 'Socialist Worker'

	<u>Papers taken</u>	<u>Paid for</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number sold per member</u>
Smith London	775	317	41%	2-3
South West London	425	390	92%	7
Leeds	600	286	48%	2
Edinburgh	500	200	40%	1
Norwich	250	215	86%	5-6
Coventry Central	200	168	84%	10 plus
Chelmsford	75	57	76%	5-6
Waldstone	50	30	60%	1-2

Sample percentage sales for three major districts showing increase in sales as a result of local devolution

BIRMINGHAM

	<u>Papers taken</u>	<u>Papers sold</u>	<u>%</u>
Birmingham North	300	215	72%
Birmingham South	200	173	87%
Loughridge	100	61	61%
Totals	<u>600</u>	<u>449</u>	<u>75%</u>
Before local devolution Totals	<u>600</u>	<u>310</u>	<u>52%</u>

COVENTRY

	<u>Papers taken</u>	<u>Papers sold</u>	<u>%</u>
Coventry North	100	77	77%
Coventry East	75	56	75%
Coventry Central	200	168	84%
Totals	<u>375</u>	<u>299</u>	<u>80%</u>
Before local devolution Totals	<u>300</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>33%</u>

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX 7 (cont'd)

GLASGOW WEST

	<u>Papers taken</u>	<u>Papers sold</u>	<u>%</u>
Albion	100	70	70%
Trunchapel	100	68	68%
Partick	150	92	61%
Clydebank	100	66	66%
	<u>450</u>	<u>296</u>	<u>66%</u>
Totals	450	296	66%
Before local devolution	<u>375</u>	<u>125</u>	<u>33%</u>
Totals	375	125	33%

APPENDIX B

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the
Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of weekly editions of 'Socialist Worker' showing
number of writers employed, number of strikes reported and
corresponding total strikes per month recorded at the
Department of the Environment

<u>Date of Issue</u>	<u>Headline</u>	<u>Number of writers</u>	<u>Strikes reported</u>	
2 July 1977	Grunwicks	9	20	
9 July 1977	Class, Not Colour, Divides Us	13	18	
16 July 1977	The Morning the Rank and File Stopped Grunwicks	13	16	150 *
23 July 1977	They've Given us the Price Explosion (tea, coffee etc). We Cannot Go On Without a Wages Explosion	10	20	
30 July 1977	1,614,000 (Unemployed)	17	21	
6 August 1977	The £3000 Million Robbery	13	17	
13 August 1977	Death on the Dole	8	26	
20 August 1977	We Stopped the Nazis and We'll Do It Again	7	17	296 *
27 August 1977	Now Who are the Wreckers	12	25	
3 September 1977	We're Marching For You	18	20	
10 September 1977	Prices Don't Wait 12 Months Why Should Wages	9	19	
17 September 1977	Support the Bread Workers	9	22	277 *
24 September 1977	'Brutality'	13	29	
1 October 1977	The Crook Who Helped Make a Prime Minister	10	22	
8 October 1977	They're Taking the Food Out of Our Mouths	10	18	
15 October 1977	Save our Hospitals	11	19	294 *

/contd

APPENDIX 8 (contd)

<u>Date of Issue</u>	<u>Headline</u>	<u>Number of writers</u>	<u>Strikes reported</u>	
22 October 1977	Abortion: Callaghan's Dirty Deal	15	20	
29 October 1977	Your Factory Could Be a Bomb	14	20	
5 November 1977	Magnificent Miners	5	17	
12 November 1977	Firemen Give Their Lives For You..... Give Them a Livelihood	11	21	
19 November 1977	Pay The Firemen	10	16	215 *
26 November 1977	Force Them To Pay The Firemen	13	19	
3 December 1977	Now is the Time to Turn Sympathy Into Solidarity	10	28	
10 December 1977	Betrayed, Abused and Flaming Angry	14	11	
17 December 1977	The Plot to Wreck the Miners' Claims	6	19	36 *
24 December 1977	How Long Can They Sink	20	9	
5 January 1978	Labour's in a Day Madness	10	14	
14 January 1978	Free Speech	14	17	
21 January 1978	Cutter Tories	5	15	194 *
28 January 1978	Strike Breakers Reward	10	18	
4 February 1978	Wanted	12	20	
11 February 1978	Operation Raglan	6	18	
18 February 1978	Race : The Guilty	16	17	198 *
25 February 1978	Licensed to Kill	13	14	
4 March 1978	The Waste and the Wilderness	11	14	
11 March 1978	Asian Seamen Left to Drown	18	17	
18 March 1978	US Miners Defy Carter	15	19	195 *
25 March 1978	The Rape of Lebanon	14	17	
1 April 1978	Wage Snatch	13	17	
8 April 1978	Nazi Bombers	7	19	

/contd

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX B (contd)

<u>Date of Issue</u>	<u>Headline</u>	<u>Number of writers</u>	<u>Strikes Reported</u>	
15 April 1978	Spillars Sackalot	15	18	
22 April 1978	A Match to Fire the Mersey	11	16	14,1 *
20 April 1978	Carnival Edition	14	19	
6 May 1978	MAGIC	11	16	
13 May 1978	Nazis Humiliated	15	13	
20 May 1978	Callaghan's Curse	17	15	
27 May 1978	Pit Deaths Double	22	16	
June 1978	Enjoy the Goals	13	12	
10 June 1978	Women's Rights Denied	32	20	
17 June 1978	Never Again	21	19	

NOTE: An asterisk denotes the total number of strikes in a particular month as recorded by the Department of the Environment.

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX 9

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of publications produced and printed by the Socialist Workers Party for unions and 'rank and file' organisations

<u>Union/Organisation</u>	<u>Publication</u>	<u>Issues since January 1978</u>	<u>Print Order</u>	<u>Paid Sale</u>
ASTMS	Red Collier	2	1000	600
Engineers	Charter		2000	?
Civil Service	Redder Tape	3	2500	500
NETFU	Contact	3	2500	200
	Contracting Bulletin (2-)	1	3000	2000
FBU	Fireman	1	3000	?
	Daily Strike News	1	1200	?
		40	4000 (after first ten issues)	?
Hospital Workers	Hospital Worker	3	7000	3500
Miners	The Collier	4	1800	850
NATFHE	Rank and File	3	2000	1200
NUJ	Journalists Charter	4	1200	600
NUF	Rank and File	3	5000	3000
NALGO	NALGO Action News	5	3000	2000
UPW	Post Office Worker	1	850	250
UNSW	Shopfloor	1	1000	600
Fuses	Platform	2	2000	1500
IRSP	Inland Revenue Rank and File	2	3000 *	1000

NOTE: The figure denoted with an asterisk does not include the figure needed to send one copy to every branch on a complimentary basis.

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX 10

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of production and sales figures for 'Socialist Review'
up to 15 June 1978

	<u>Issue 1</u>	<u>Issue 2</u>	<u>Issue 3</u>
Point Order	7500	9000	8000
Distribution to Branches	3650	4650	5000
Distribution to Bookshops	800	1200	1300
Distribution to Bookmart	300	300	300
Central sales (see note (a))	650	550	100
United Kingdom subscriptions	200	200	200
Distribution to Foreign fraternal organisations	250	250	250
Foreign subscriptions	200	200	200
Approximate wastage	750	1650	650
Printing and design costs (see note (b))	£950	£1250	£869
Number of copies paid for by branches (up to 15 June 1978 and not including bulk distribution)	1600	850	Not Available

NOTES:

(a) These figures are probably an underestimate and only include the large sales, eg. Skagness Rally for sales of 'Socialist Review 1' and Carnival and Windscale demonstrations for sales of 'Socialist Review 2'.

(b) In addition to the actual costs of design and printing, 'Socialist Review', as a subsidiary of Socialist Worker Distributors (the print shop), has to cover £500 per month of the total overheads, the bulk of this being staff wages.

* * * * *

APPENDIX 11

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference
of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of membership figures for 'Flame',
the Black Caucus of the Socialist Workers Party

Location and composition of current 'Flame' Branches:

	<u>SWP Members</u>	<u>Non SWP Members</u>	<u>Total</u>
Birmingham	7	17	24
Exinton	5	4	9
High Wycombe	2	12	14
Leeds	1	10	11
Lewisham	1	6	7
North London	7	6	13
North West London	4	3	7
	<u>27</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>85</u>

Areas with isolated Afro-Caribbean members:

Colchester
Glasgow
Inner East London
Liverpool
Manchester
Newcastle
Norhampton
Outer East London
Sheffield

In total approximately
18 members

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX 11 (cont'd)

Background to 'Flame' membership from a sample census
taken at a national 'Flame' cadre school in May 1978

Age Groupings : 9 members were aged between 17 and 20 years
3 members were aged between 21 and 23 years
5 members were aged between 24 and 29 years
2 members were aged 30

Occupation : 9 members were fully employed
6 members were unemployed (2 having recently
completed college courses)
4 members were students

Origins : 11 members were born in Britain
8 members were born abroad (4 in Jamaica and 4
in Africa)

Analysis of 'Flame' publication and sales figures
for the period June 1977 to May 1978

Print order per issue	3000
Average distribution figure	2725
Number of editions	6 (+1 Special)
Total sales figures for period (ie paid sales)	4342
Total income for period	£ 356
Average paid sale per issue	621

NOTE: For the greater part of 1977 there was no business manager for 'Flame' and for a period of four months the 'Flame Organizer' took no active part in the financial affairs of the paper. Thus, it is quite possible that the sales figures were actually higher than quoted above although the requisite sums of money have never been recovered by the organisation.

APPENDIX 12

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

Analysis of the National Organisation of International Student Societies membership and influence within student establishments

Breakdown of colleges having a NOISS membership in different regions: *

	<u>1976-77</u>	<u>1977-78</u>
Home Counties	20	23
London	32	42
Midlands	11	21
North East	5	7
North West	13	18
Scotland	21	19 *
South Coast	8	11
South West	5	7
Wales	9	8
Yorkshire	12	19
	<u>136</u>	<u>175</u>

NOTE: * From the figures given it would appear that the membership in Scotland has declined. In actual fact, although the number of establishments has decreased, the total membership has increased to 82.

Breakdown of different establishments having a NOISS membership:

Universities	45	51
Polytechnics	27	27
Education College	30	20
Further Education and Techn	23	57
Art Colleges	-	8
Miscellaneous	11	12
	<u>136</u>	<u>175</u>

Total membership of National Organisation of International Student Societies is approximately 2,300

The approximate ratio of NOISS members to Socialist Workers Party members is 3 : 1

The ratio of men to women in the NOISS is approximately 2 : 1

APPENDIX 12 (contd)

Breakdown of Socialist Workers Party membership in colleges:

Colleges with more than 10 SWP members:

Bangor University	10
Bristol University	22
Edinburgh University	10
Essex University	12
Glasgow University	11
Hull University	13
Jordanhill (Glasgow)	12
Kent University	12
Kingway Princetown	14
Leeds University	10
London School of Economics	11
Manchester University	10
Middlesex Polytechnic	10
North East London Polytechnic	29
Portsmouth Polytechnic	10
Sterling University	10
Teeside Polytechnic	10
Warwick University	11

Colleges with more than 8 SWP members:

Aberdeen	9
Herriott Watt	9
Lancaster	9
Oxford	8
Polytechnic of Central London	8
Reading	8
Sheffield Polytechnic	9
SOAS	9
Thames Valley Polytechnic	8
York	8

Colleges with more than 5 SWP members:

Aberystwyth	6
Birmingham University	5
Bedford College	5

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX 12 (contd)

Bradford University	6
Brunel University	7
Kilburn Polytechnic	5
Newcastle University	5
NCIT	6
St Albans College of Further Education	5
Salford	7
Sheffield University	5
Southampton University	6
Sussex University	6
URA	7

Colleges with more than 1 BWF members:

Birmingham Polytechnic	4
C F Nott	4
Chesterfield Technical College	3
Croydon Technical College	3
Doncaster Meteorological Institute	3
Durham University	3
Exeter University	4
Highbury Technical College	3
Kingston Polytechnic	4
Leicester Polytechnic	4
Leicester University	3
Liverpool University	3
Loughborough University	3
Newcastle Polytechnic	3
Oldham Technical College	4
Orpington Technical College	4
Paisley Technical College	3
Treston Polytechnic	3
UGC	3
Surrey University	3
University College Cardiff	3
Wolverhampton Polytechnic	4

APPENDIX 13

Comparison of union membership for women members of the
Socialist Workers Party for 1976, 1977 and 1978

	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>
NUFF	16	15	55
USDAW	4	7	12
EW.FU	4	2	1
GMWV	4	6	6
TGWU	20	14	42
NUN (ACOSA)	1	1	1
Print	16	15	18
AUNW	55	5	8
Post Office	1	3	1
Bakers	-	1	-
Mail	1	4	3
Press	1	4	-
NUFLAT	-	2	-
COBSE	-	-	10
ISTC	-	1	1
NUBTV	-	-	3
NUKCV	-	1	-
Civil Service	10	28	35
AUT	2	3	2
RATPAC	29	23	28
ASTMS	16	29	32
NUF	42	115	108
EIS	16	17	11
TASC	-	3	2
APEX	7	8	9
NALGO	68	96	99
ECJ	5	6	5
NUBE	-	1	2
ENTS	-	-	5
Housewives	37	93	76
Students	90	174	153
Unemployed	34	63	80
School students	3	15	33
Others	10	54	74
	<u>446</u>	<u>869</u>	<u>5</u>

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX 14

Analysis of production figures and sales percentages
for 'Women's Voice' since January 1977

	<u>Total Print</u> <u>Order</u>	<u>Print Sales</u>	<u>Paid Sales as %</u> <u>of print order</u>
January 1977	6500	3830	59%
February 1977	7000	4650	66%
March 1977	8000	3260	41%
April 1977	8500	5350	63%
May 1977	8500	5470	64%
June 1977	8500	4150	49%
July 1977	9000	4300	48%
August 1977	9000	5170	57%
September 1977	9000	6200	69%
October 1977	10500	5760	55%
November 1977	10500	3600	35%
December 1977	10500	7090	68%
January 1978	12000	8310	69%
February 1978	12000	6680	56%
March 1978	12000*	5470	46%
April 1978	12000	6320	53%
May 1978	14000**	Not available	-
June 1978	12000	Not available	-

NOTE: * - denotes price increase to 15p per copy
** - denotes extra copies for 'Carnival Edition'

[REDACTED]

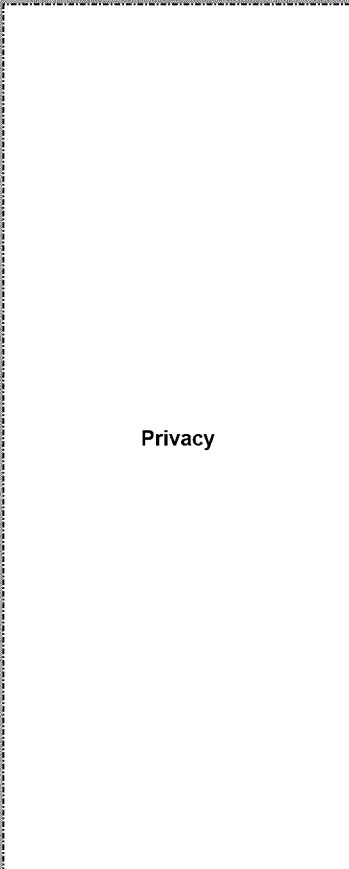
APPENDIX 14 (cont'd)

Membership figures for Womens Voice groups from available returns

	<u>SWP Members</u>	<u>Non SWP Members</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bedford	1	2	3
Canterbury	3	5	8
Chelmsford	5	4	9
Kentish Town	3	5	8
Medway	4	3	7
Norwich	2	13	15
Pontefract	7	2	9
Reading	8	3	11
Shrewsbury	3	3	6
Walthamstow	5	3	8
Wolverhampton	7	7	14

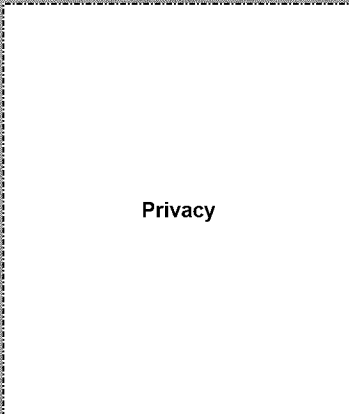
APPENDIX 15

Full nomination list for the National Advisory Committee of the
Socialist Workers Party



Privacy

Roger COX



Privacy

Lindsay GERMAN



Privacy

- SGA
- DCATT
- * TGWU
- * Unemployed
- * NALGO
- * PUPE
- * Full time SWP
- AUEW
- * AUEW
- Full time SWP
- AUEW
- ERTPU
- AUT
- * TGWU
- * NUT
- NATFHE
- ASIMS
- * NUJ
- NATSOFA
- CPRA
- * NUPE
- * AUEW
- AUEW
- NUT
- * TGWU
- * CPRA
- * NUPE
- * AUEW
- NASDA
- * ASLEY
- * FNU
- * GSWU
- * Full time SWP
- Full time SWP
- * Full time SWP
- * TGWU

APPENDIX 15 (contd)

Privacy

Brian HIGGINS

Privacy

Gareth JENNINS

Privacy

Eddie PREVOST

* Boilermakers

* ISTC

* NUS

* UCATT

* UCATT

* NUT

* NATFHE

* NUPE

* UCATT

* TGWU

* Unemployed

* Full time SWP

* COHSE

* AUEW

* NUT

* GLOSA

* NUPE

* EMTU

* CSU

* CPSSA

* Full time SWP

* NUPE

* CPSSA

* IRSP

* TABS

* AUEW

* NUS

* NUT

* FBU

* TGWU

* NALGO

* NUPE

* NATFHE

* UPV

* EMTU

* NALGO

* NUN

* NUN

* TGWU

APPENDIX 15 (contd)

Privacy

- * TGWU
- * ASTMS
- Full time SWP
- NATFHE
- NUT
- Full time SWP
- NALGO
- IBU
- NUPE
- NUT
- NATFHE
- NALGO
- * RMTFU

Total nominations: 31

NOTE: Those names marked with an asterisk were on a shortened 'recommended' list of forty five names produced before the final discussion on the subject.

National Advisory Committee of the Socialist Workers Party
for the period 1978-79

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| <u>ASLU</u> | <u>NATSOFA</u> |
| Privacy | Privacy |
| <u>ASTMS</u> | <u>NUL</u> |
| Privacy | Privacy |
| <u>ASBP</u> | <u>NUN</u> |
| Privacy | Privacy |
| <u>Roger COX</u> | <u>NUPE</u> |
| Privacy | Privacy |
| <u>Blacke</u> | <u>NUE</u> |
| Privacy | Privacy |
| <u>Collegiate</u> | <u>NUT</u> |
| Privacy | Privacy |
| <u>RMTFU</u> | <u>TIASS</u> |
| Privacy | Privacy |

APPENDIX 15 (contd)

CPSA

Privacy

FAI

Privacy

CPMI

Privacy

IBEW

Privacy

NAACP

Privacy

NASTA

Privacy

TGMH

Eddie FREYDORF

Privacy

UCATT

Privacy

Brian HIGKINS

Unemployed

Privacy

UNSW

Privacy

Lindsay GRIMAN

Privacy

Areas represented by members of the National Advisory Committee

East Counties

Basildon
Harlow

Midlands

Birmingham
Coventry

North East

Newcastle

Yorkshire

Sheffield
Bradford

North West

Macclesfield
Manchester
Merseyside

Scotland

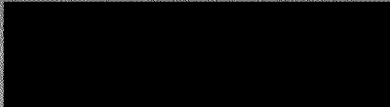
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Stirling

Wales

Cardiff

Analysis of the composition of the National Advisory Committee

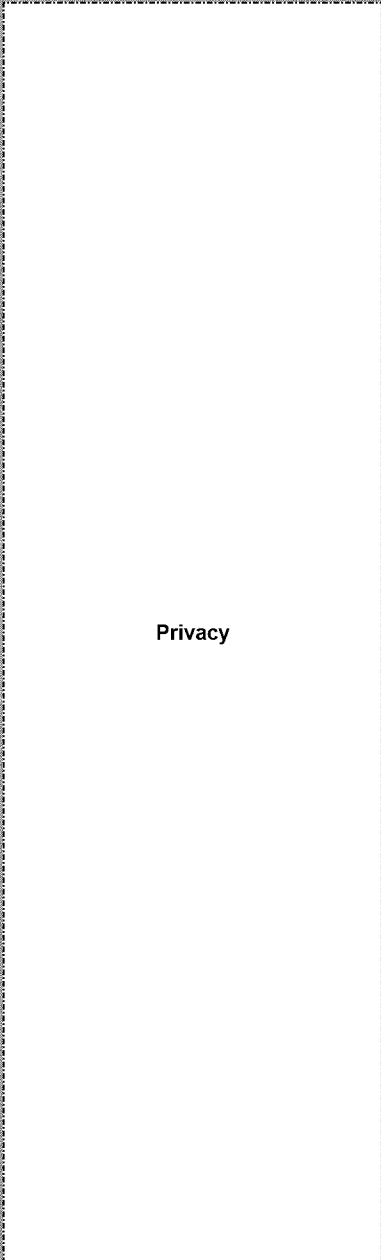
Total membership	45
Woman members	13
Blue Collar members	23
White Collar members	12
London based members	20
Black members	4
NHS members	2
Unemployed	1
Full time S&P workers	6



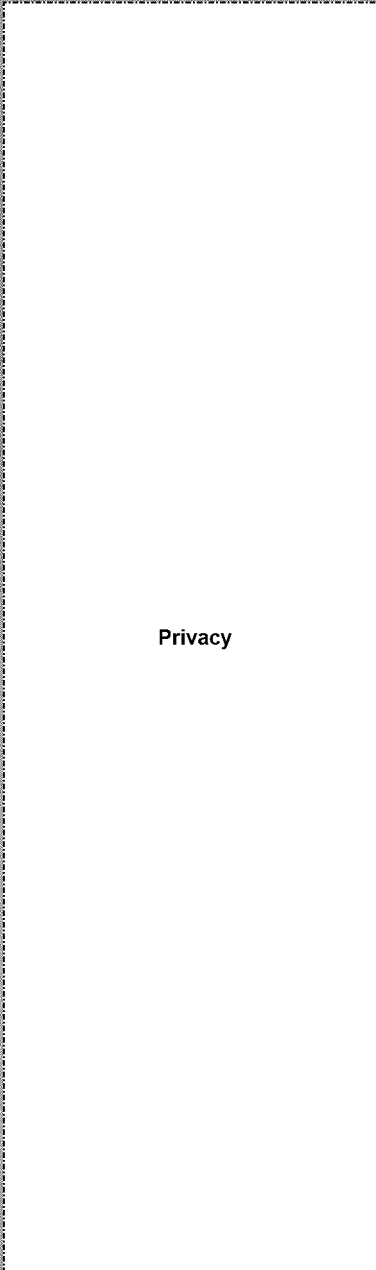
APPENDIX 16

to Special Branch report concerning the
1978 National Delegate Conference of the
Socialist Workers Party

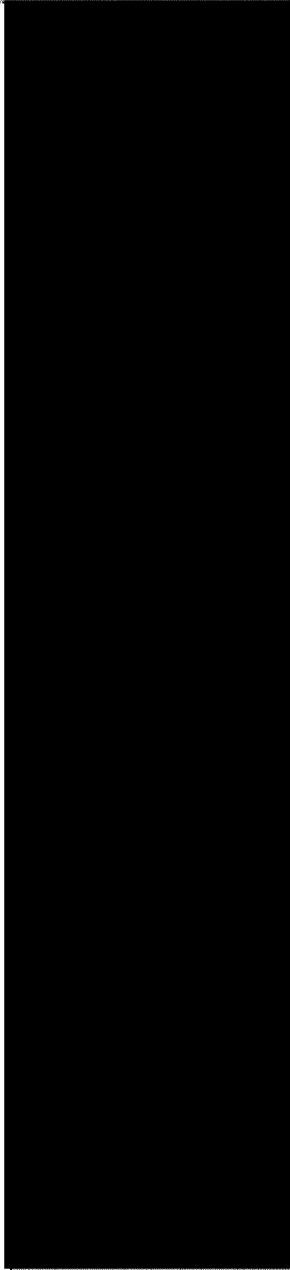
LIST OF FULL-TIME PARTY WORKERS



Privacy



Privacy





Alex GALLINSON

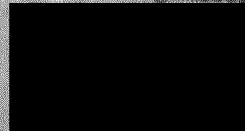
Privacy

Central Committee (1977 - 1978)
RF 402

Privacy



district organiser



(1978)



district organiser



district organiser



district organiser



district organiser

Tony CLIFF

Privacy

Privacy

John DEARON

Privacy

Central Committee (1977 - 1978)
RF 402

Privacy



Full-time party worker - district organiser
No Trace



Full-time party worker - district organiser
Unable to identify



[REDACTED]

Gerry FIELDPATRICK

Privacy

Irish Organiser
RF 402

Privacy

Lindsay GERTMAN

Privacy

Full-time party worker
RF 402/76/410

89

Peter GOWEN

Privacy

International Departm
RF 402

Privacy

Privacy

Duncan HALLAS

Privacy

Central Committee (1977)
RF 402

Privacy

Privacy

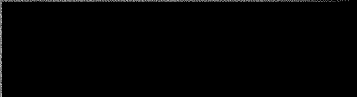
Chris HANMAN

Privacy

Central Committee (1977)
RF 405

Privacy

Privacy



Paul HOLBROOK

Privacy

Full-time organizer
RP 405

Privacy

Steve JEFFREYS

Privacy

Central Committee (1977)
RP 405

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Phil MARFLOTT

Privacy

Full-time party worker
RP 405/

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

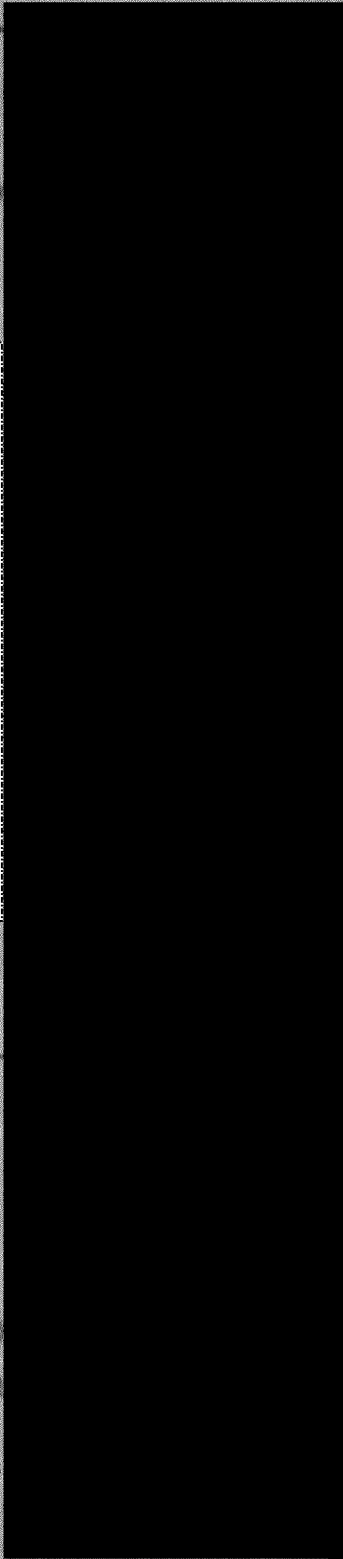
Privacy

Jim NICHOY

Privacy

Central Committee (1977)
RP 405

Privacy





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Privacy

Privacy

Red PARKER

Privacy

Security Control Commission
RF 405/

Privacy

Privacy

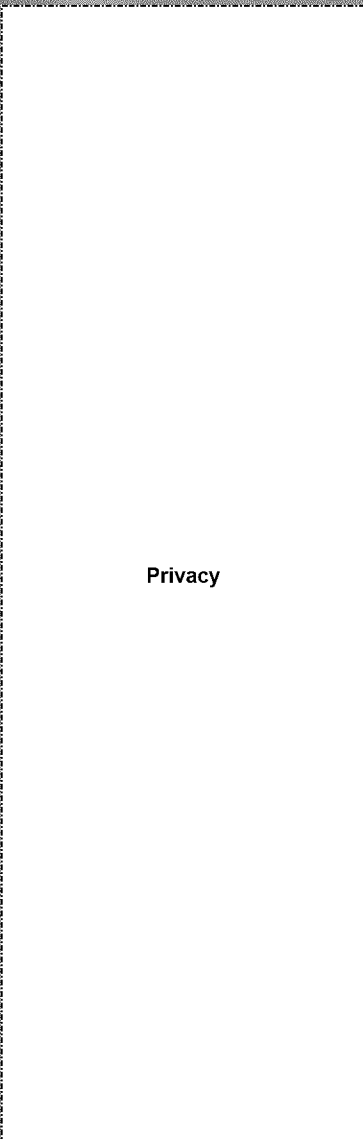
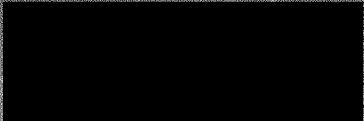
Edie PREVOST

Privacy

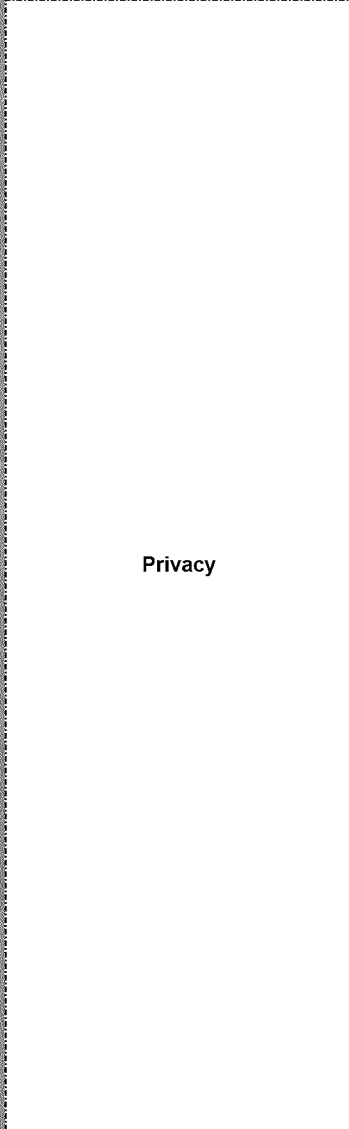
Security Control Commission
Delegates for Douglas
RF 402/

Privacy

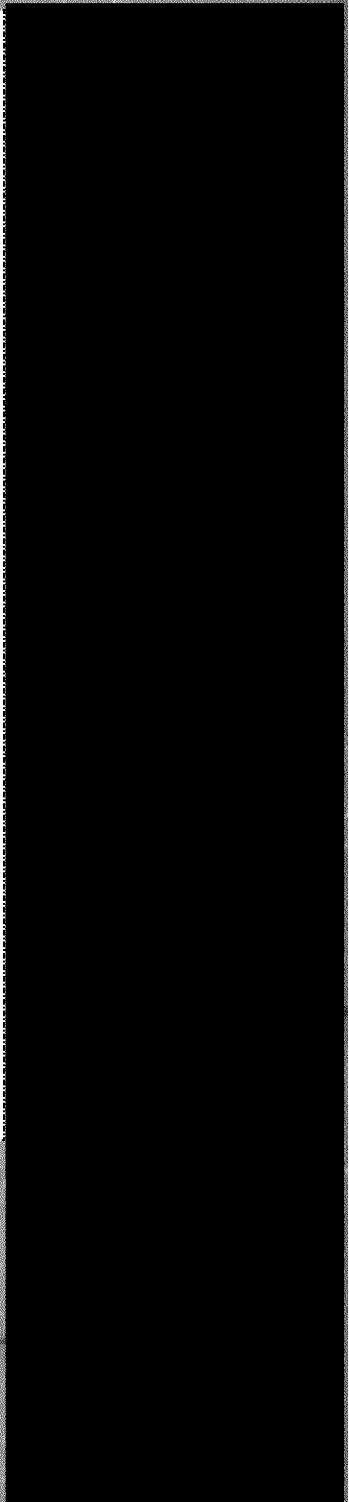
Privacy



Privacy



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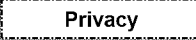


Andy STROUTMAN

Full-time party worker
RF 402/



Privacy



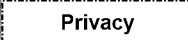
Privacy

Simon TURNER

Central Committee (197
RF 405/



Privacy



Privacy



APPENDIX II

In Special Branch Report concerning the 1976 National Delegate Conference of the
Socialist Workers Party

LIST OF DELEGATES

Privacy



Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Roger Cox

North West London

ANW

Privacy

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Privacy



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE

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Privacy

Privacy



Privacy

Privacy

Privacy



APPENDIX 13

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegates Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

List of foreign delegates

Privacy

No trace

Australia
International Socialists

Privacy

No trace

West Germany
Sozialistische Arbeiter Gruppe

Privacy

No trace

Spain
Accion Communiste

Privacy

No trace

France
Combat Communiste

Privacy

No trace

Belfast
Northern Ireland
Socialist Workers Tendency of the
Socialist Labour Party

Privacy

No trace

No trace

No trace



APPENDIX 19

to Special Branch report concerning the
1978 National Delegate Conference of the
Socialist Workers Party

EDITORIAL STAFF OF 'SOCIALIST VOICER' ATTENDING ON 'FULL' DELEGATE CREDENTIALS

Privacy

Paul FOOT

Privacy

IP 105/64/395

Privacy

Privacy

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to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

List of accredited observers

- Student Observer
- Anti-Nazi League Observer
- Flame Observer
- Flame Observer

- International Observer
- Anti-Nazi League Observer

- Flame Observer

- Socialist Review
- Flame Observer
- International Observer

- Womens Voice Observer
- Flame Observer
- Student Observer

- Youth Observer

- Youth Observer

- Student Observer
- Anti-Nazi League Observer
- Flame Observer

Privacy

Privacy

Accredited observers (contd)

Privacy

Youth Observer

Mentions

Observers not accredited to any particular organization

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[Redacted]

In addition to the above, credentials under 'Observer status' were also issued to various factions within the party for use as shown below:-

- Printshop Observer (All conference) One delegate
- Printshop/Socialist Worker staff Two delegates
(General use - rotating)
- Youth Observers Three delegates
a/o Privacy
Full-time youth organiser
- Flame One delegate
a/o Privacy
- Women's Voice Six delegates
a/o Margaret HEN
Full-time Women's Voice Organiser

Privacy



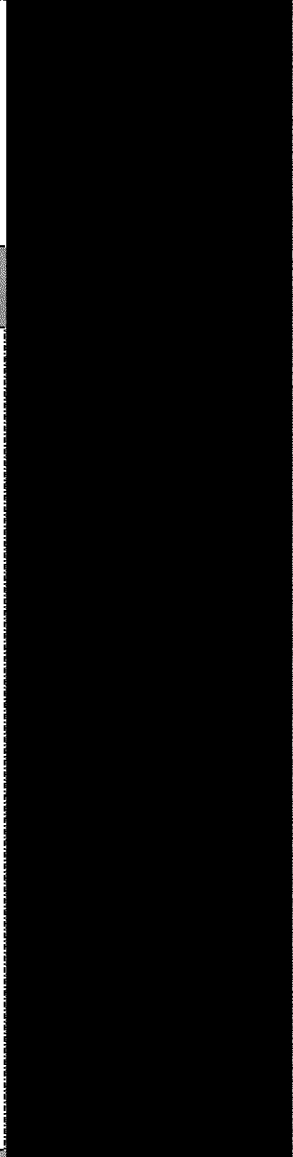
APPENDIX 21

to Special Branch report concerning the
1978 National Delegate Conference of the
Socialist Workers Party

STEWARDS RESPONSIBLE FOR SECURITY:

Privacy

Privacy



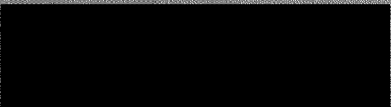
Colin CLARK

RF 402/77/790

Privacy

Privacy

* * * * *



to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference
of the Socialist Workers Party

list of persons mentioned in the report or appendices,
references to whom are not shown elsewhere

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To Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Students Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

List of organisations mentioned in conference report

Anti-Nazi League

Asian National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

Bangladeshi Workers Association

Big Flame

Black Panther Party

British Movement

Claimants Union

Communist Party of Great Britain

Indian Workers Association

International Marxist Group

International Socialists

International Tribunal on the British Presence in Ireland

Labour Party

National Front

National Organisation of Student Societies

National Union of School Students

Pakistani Workers Association

Palestine Solidarity Campaign

Rabel

Right to Work Campaign

Rock Against Racism

School Kids Against the Nazis (SKAN)

Socialist Challenge

Socialist Labour League

Socialist Unity

Socialist Workers Party

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX 33 (Cont)

Socialist Worker Students Organisation

Socialist Workers Tendency (Northern Ireland)

Socialist Worker Youth Movement

Troops Out Movement

United Troops Out Movement

Workers Revolutionary Party

Young Communist League

* * * * *

APPENDIX 21

In Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

List of publications mentioned in report and appendices

'The Collier'
'Contact'
'Engineers Charter'
'Fight'
'Fireman'
'Flame'
'Freedom Fighter'
'Hospital Worker'
'Inland Revenue Bank and File'
'International Socialists Journal'
'Journalists Charter'
'Militant'
'NALGO Action News'
'Newslines'
'Platform'
'Post Office Worker'
'Red Collar'
'Redder Taps'
'Shopfloor'
'Socialist Challenge'
'Socialist Review'
'Socialist Worker'
'Socialist Worker Review'
'Temporary Boarding'
'Womens Voice'

* * * * *