

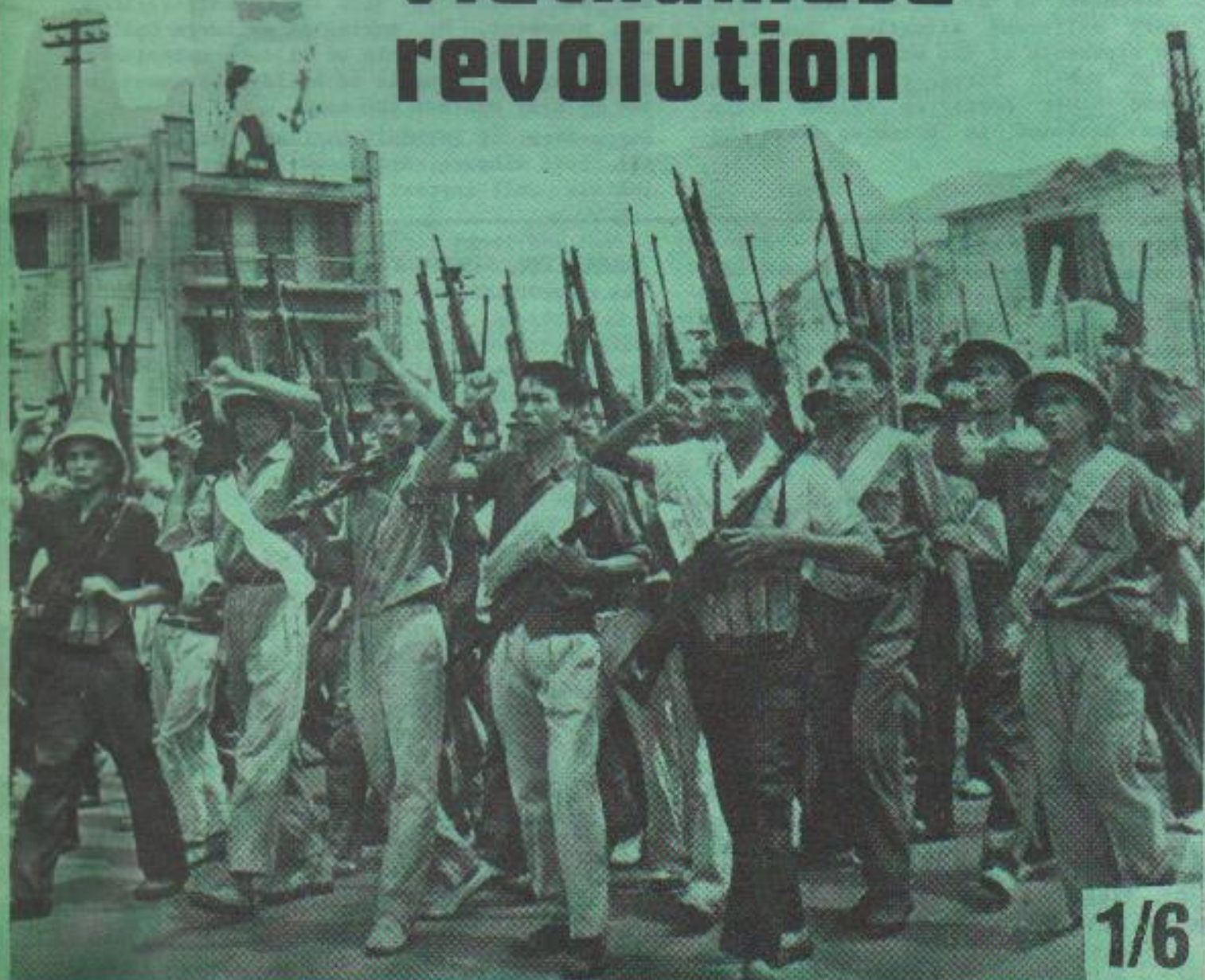
**International**

A SURVEY OF BRITISH AND  
WORLD AFFAIRS

MANDEL v. GALBRAITH

BY 'PHONE

**mass action  
to aid the  
vietnamese  
revolution**



**1/6**

# Mass Action To Aid Vietnamese

The huge success of the Moratorium Day demonstrations in the United States showed that Nixon has failed in his attempts to defuse the American anti-Vietnam war movement. The attempt by certain US officials to witch-hunt the demonstrators by linking them with Hanoi backfired. We look forward to an even more successful demonstration on November 15th.

Paradoxically enough, Nixon's efforts seem to have had much more success in other countries than in the United States. Britain is no exception to this rule. We might say that another contributing factor has been the sectarianism and opportunism of certain left groups in Britain.

Both the Vietnamese and the American anti-Vietnam war movement have stressed the importance and value of actions in Britain, and especially mass actions. When they began the protest movement in the United States there was a very different situation than from today: The opponents of the war were isolated and had an uphill struggle. Support from Britain and other countries helped their morale and assisted in breaking down the isolation.

It would be easy to get over-optimistic about the likelihood of the US aggressors pulling out of Vietnam. No doubt Nixon will try some stunt on November 3rd designed to dampen down the November 15th action. There is no evidence that the US administration has decided to pull out. We can be sure that US imperialism will not give up its struggle to dominate Vietnam unless forced to do so.

At present the only circumstances we can envisage which will lead to US withdrawal are those where it is in danger of decisive defeat because of a combination of military success by the Vietnamese and the demoralisation of its own army.

It is from this point of view we have to view the coming November 23rd demonstration in Britain. This demonstration is designed to show our support for the Vietnamese people and our solidarity with the US anti-Vietnam war movement. By making it as large and as successful as possible we will be materially assisting the struggle to build a movement in the US army against the war.

Supporters of INTERNATIONAL must demand from all left wingers, anti-imperialists and socialists full support for this demonstration.

## HUGO BLANCO SERIOUSLY ILL

Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader who is languishing in gaol on the island of El Fronton, is critically ill. Newspapers in Lima have carried articles calling for blood plasma for Blanco, who is suffering from the effects of bad diet and lack of vitamins. According to a communication we have received from Hector Bejar, Hugo Blanco is suffering from pernicious anemia.

Funds are urgently needed for plasma, these should go to: Committee for Human Rights, Rosa Alarco, Avenue Tacna 685, Department 132, Lima, Peru.

There are other not-so-well-known political prisoners in Peru who are ill. In Hunacayo, Ortiz is ill with Leishmaniasis (an infection caused by protozoal parasites), Simeon Flores with goitre and Nic de la Cruz with T.B.

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# The Strike Wave



Britain has joined the other countries of Western Europe in experiencing a strike wave. Dustmen, miners, car workers, and even foremen have joined in. Faced by this militancy the Government and some sections of the employers have been forced to concede increases which would have been quite unthinkable a short time ago.

Yet at the same time the movement which sprung up against the anti-trade union legislation has gone into sharp decline. Earlier this year this movement could mount two political strikes of 100,000 and 200,000, yet last month it could only muster 75 to its national conference.

No one can blame this decline on to the workers - they are showing their militancy every day. We believe that there are two reasons for this decline.

Firstly, it must be said that after the Government withdrew the anti-strike legislation, in exchange for a promise from the TUC that that august body would police unofficial strikes, the majority of militant workers felt they had scored a notable victory. This, in itself has been a powerful contributing factor to the strike wave, but has made the old-style defence committees seem redundant.

Secondly, we believe that the decline of the

organised movement reflects the bad leadership given to it. The lack of an offensive strategy and concentration on defensive demands, the continuous watering down of programme to get "broader support", until the lowest common denominator was reached, the lack of involvement in real struggles, the complete lack of real discussion about the problems confronting the movement - all these things have contributed to this decline.

Where were the trade union defence committees whilst the dustmen's strike was on? Surely it was elementary that these committees should have been organising solidarity action. Instead, in most of the committees, dominated by lower rank trade union officials, there was a fear of "interfering" in another union's field.

If anything substantial is to come of the present strike wave the trade union defence committees must turn themselves from bodies organising meetings for trade union leaders and Tribune MPs to being principally concerned with assisting trade union struggles - local and national. It should be possible to build a national network of such committees, uniting all those who will support militant action around an offensive programme. That such committees will tread on the corns of "left" trade union leaders goes without saying.

## Trotsky's 90th Anniversary

November 7th is the 90th anniversary of the birth of Leon Trotsky, organiser of the Red Army and founder of the Fourth International. It is also the 52nd anniversary of the great Russian Revolution. It is a fortunate whim of history that these two dates coincide.

The October (November new style calendar) Revolution was, no doubt, the greatest event in man's history. It tore one-sixth of the surface of the world out of the grip of capital. It began the process of world revolution.

Trotsky's role in both these events was crucial. He was second only to Lenin in the Russian Revolution and was the principal standard bearer in the struggle to keep the ideas of world revolution alive after the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union.

Today, thirty-odd years after the Moscow trials which were to have destroyed Trotskyism, the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union still finds it necessary to issue books combatting Trotsky's ideas. Leading Soviet intellectuals

have to admit that Trotsky's ideas have greater appeal to the youth in the west than those of the official communist parties.

Why is this so?

The ideas in men's heads always reflect and are conditioned by a living reality. Trotskyism is Marxism in our time. It represents the striving of mankind to get out of the impasse capitalism has created. It is essentially the ideology of the only class which can carry out the historical mission of destroying capitalism before capitalism destroys mankind. In a word it is the ideology of world proletarian revolution.

All other systems which have claimed to provide this ideology have been put to the test and found wanting. No other ideology can explain, without throwing socialism out of the window, what went wrong in the Soviet Union after the death of Lenin. No other set of ideas can get to grips with the problems of revolution today, in fact most other tendencies have given up the idea of revolution just at the moment when society is most pregnant with it.

Sometimes, when they can find no other flaw, Trotskyism's opponents point to the fragmentation of the Trotskyist movement as proof of its lack of viability. We regret very much that the movement is fragmented but reject this argument completely. This fragmentation (which tends to be much exaggerated anyway) is due to the difficulties in building a movement in face of attempts by various forces to keep Trotskyism isolated. It also reflects the great difficulties of the present era and the huge organisational and theoretical problems which face the revolutionary movement. Other movements which have tried to build an alternative to the official communist and social democratic movements are much more fragmented than the Trotskyists. One has only to look at the numerous Maoist and Anarchist organisations, for instance. Now the "official" communist movement is starting to split up.

In an ironic way, some of the fragmentation in the Trotskyist movement is a tribute to the strength of Trotskyist ideas. The fact that there are contenders for the mantle of Trotskyism is proof of the political capital there is in being seen as the continuers of

Trotsky's ideas. This is because many of the essential ideas of Trotskyism have been vindicated by history.

However, we must say that for us the ending of divisions in the movement and continuing the process of unification of revolutionary forces started by the re-unification conference of the Fourth International in 1963 is a vital task.

Next year will be the 30th anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky. Stalin thought that the assassin's ice-pick would end the threat to the rule of his bureaucracy - how wrong he was. Today a new generation of young communists in the workers states is taking up Trotsky's ideas.



TROTSKY WITH LENIN IN RED SQUARE

Had Trotsky been alive today he would have been an old man but his spirit would have been young as he saw his ideas grasped by wider and wider sections of the youth. Well might the bureaucrats of Moscow, Peking, Prague and Transport House fear this influence.

The world today cries out for proletarian revolution; capitalism can solve none of the problems facing mankind, the only perspective it offers is of starvation, greater and greater repression and an eventual nuclear war. Without in any way denying the heroism and devotion of other revolutionary currents, we say that only the heritage Trotsky left us in the form of his analysis of the Soviet union, his theory of permanent revolution and - above all - his writings on the creation of a world revolutionary party, begins to get to grips with the problems of revolution today.

In this sense Trotsky lives on.

# THE STRUGGLE IN EDUCATION TODAY

By a group of socialist teachers

## INTRODUCTION

As an introduction to the article, we felt that there should be a few notes on the work in the National Union of Teachers.

1) One of the problems that is faced in any work amongst teachers is that of large numbers of unions (some disguised under the title 'association') which represent them. This large number causes fragmentation of the teachers' potential power, often in the individual schools.

**NUT:**— National Union of Teachers. The only union which attempts to represent all teachers.

**NAS:**— National Association of Schoolmasters. Traditionally a male superiority stronghold, although this has been played down due to TUC affiliation. Militant but predominantly concerned with the pay and conditions of the career teacher at the expense of the younger and lower paid.

**AAM:**— Association of Assistant Mistresses.

**AMA:**— Assistant Masters Association.

Both these are elitist unions. Main support in grammar schools amongst graduate staff.

There are also various head teachers associations.

Although there is representation on most committees from all unions, they have very diverse interests and consequently little unity of action.

2) Within the NUT itself there are problems of fragmentation. The smallest unit is the school and communication between it and the union depends on the tenuous connection of the school representative — a voluntary position, usually self-appointed, often very unreliable. (In some schools the head effectively blocks any contact; eg if the union representative from the local association wishes to see the school representative in any school, the head has to give his permission to the visit.)

## STRUCTURE OF THE N.U.T.

**Area Associations** — members elected from the local associations. (In London ILTA [Inner London Teachers Association], the area association meets once a month; in some areas the association meets only once a year, in some cases once every two years.)

**Local Associations** — committee members are elected by the teachers in the schools; but at this level there is a small amount of participation, which is partly due to a high proportion of married women in the union who find it difficult to attend union meetings after school, not at their place of work.

**Schools** — many of the members are in small schools where there may be only one or two in the NUT. (Problems of contact and support for action.)

Union policy is of course directed by conference and by the EC which is controlled by head teachers. (On the present EC all are head teachers bar one, the one being a deputy head!)

Work is possible in some of the area associations, eg in ILTA in London, but more importantly there are openings in the work of the local associations.

At present the main work in the union revolves around the fight for an interim pay award in 1970 — the lead for this was given by the action of over 1,000 London teachers on July 9th, with a half day strike and march. The issue of oversized classes will be very important in this academic year, although we must be very conscious to remove this fight from that of salaries. It is possible that the reduction in class size will be used as part of a pay deal, as were school meal duties before.

In the near future, Short will try and foist a Teachers' Council on to the NUT and from the prevailing mood in the schools, it is likely that it will be received with pleasure by many teachers. The whole concept of these councils must be exposed and fought against, although teachers have always wanted the label 'profession.' (The Young Teachers Conference this September had a motion starting: 'Conference believes that in the interests of education and salaries, the NUT must seek all means available to achieve recognition of teaching as a profession ...') However, there is a growing number of teachers who are becoming unionised and who are thinking of themselves as members of a trade union. It is the first step.

One of the most important developments in the past year was the creation of the *Rank and File*, which has started to play an invaluable part in giving some cohesion to the work of militants in a union where it is very easy to feel and be isolated.

## THE JOURNAL *RANK AND FILE* AND ITS ROLE AMONG TEACHERS

The half-day strike of 7,000 London teachers on July 9th was significant in two ways: it showed that teachers are angry about the level of their wages and are prepared to act; and that coordinated work by militants can have an important effect. In London, at least, one of the functions of the journal *Rank and File* is to do this coordinating work. It is a journal concerned with raising NUT militancy and changing the policies of the union. It specifies its broad aims as:

1. To increase democracy both in the NUT and in schools.
2. To turn NUT into a militant union, capable of fighting for the demands of the rank and file.
3. To examine the role and priority of education in society.

(Quoted from Statement of Principles and Aims of *Rank and File*.)

This statement was drawn up in response to the *Militant Teachers Group* who had thought out a programme and were working for its acceptance by *Rank and File*. At the same time this compelled us to examine the nature of our work in the union and our attitude towards education.

There are a number of points which need some clarification in this statement. Militancy alone is not enough (we can appreciate this by looking at the NAS). If this is accepted, then the immediate issues with which we concern ourselves in order to make the NUT into a fighting union have to be approached with a very clear idea of what we are trying to do. Aim 3 is fundamentally political in nature, and a genuinely democratic system of education can only be achieved in a socialist society. Thus the short term goals must be seen as steps on the way to the long term goal and it is this that must guide our general lines of approach. Bearing this in mind we would criticise the loose use of the word 'democracy' and the lumping together of the struggle for democratically run schools and a democratically run Union. The two issues are different, and on the schools issue there is not one issue but many. Strong staff associations whittling away the power of the Head internally and demanding effective representation on governing bodies is of a different order from discussion of the LEAs, which on the face of it are part of the 'democratic' local government structure. At the same time the Union machinery is very 'democratic' on the surface. The use of umbrella terms may well confuse the issue.

Section 2 on the need for NUT militancy is acceptable, and is probably all official policy of the Inner London Teachers' Association, if not of the NUT nationally. The crucial point is pushing for its implementation. This section also states: "... we must no longer see ourselves as superior to other working people, but seek their support by publicising our case". There are two ideas here and it would be more in place perhaps in Section 3 because we would not only be making teachers conscious of their class, but we would also be emphasising the role of education in our society — its discriminatory attitude towards working-class children, Government policies, cuts in building programmes etc. We have to face the fact that the education system has, over generations, effectively brainwashed many working class people as well as teachers. Its function is to do precisely that.

In order to clarify rather than obscure all the complicated issues, it might be possible to see them in two distinct but closely linked perspectives: on the one hand the immediate priorities such as the basic scale, interim award, and class size; on the other hand the raising of socialist consciousness.

The Union determines the amount to be pursued for the basic scale and the way in which it is to be fought for. Here we should not specify amounts in our general programme, but emphasise the priority of the basic scale (and possibly the sliding scale idea?). We should also work for the most militant action possible and be aware of all the implications of trying to use the sustentation

fund. The idea of regional differentials would, we consider, hamper the long-term perspectives. It would be urging the value of militancy for its own sake, and would divide the Union and would encourage the employers to buy off the militant sections without making the struggle for the basic scale any easier. Would 7,000 London teachers come out on strike for a better basic scale if they were given a really substantial London weighting?

Class size is a pressing issue and will become more so. Government and LEA cuts and sackings of part-time teachers make the present NUT policies important. Issues of control by teachers of their work situation could be raised here rather than the militants setting a specific numerical target. The class teacher should say how many children they can teach effectively.

Strong staff associations are necessary. But what should our attitude be to the position of the Head and demands for representation on governing bodies and LEAs? What are the principles behind these issues? Do we really believe that given the present social and economic system that teachers would really be granted control, and if they were would it be in the interests of achieving the education system we want? If it were being put forward as a transitional demand, we must be careful to link other ideas with it; eg without a fully effective school council, a strong staff association could be a bastion of reaction. The main problem at the root of this confusion seems to be a tendency to examine only the structure of schools, and not to relate it to the aims and methods of the sort of education it provides in the more formal sense. External pressures on the secondary schools will not be limited by changes in the internal structure, nor are these pressures only exerted by boards of governors, LEAs, or even the Government. There are the obvious pressures of higher education, and also the wider factor of the 'technological revolution', the demands of employers for some sort of indication of the leaver's level of formal education, not to mention the demands of pupils and parents for the same sort of thing. Teachers become frustrated and cynical because of how and what they have to teach.

*Rank and File* have published a pamphlet — 'The Teachers' Charter' — which expands many of the ideas put forward in the Aims and Principles document. Most of the criticisms put forward here remain equally valid for that, but we will examine it in more detail in a future issue. Meanwhile, we would see the role of *Rank and File* as a means of coordinating work in the NUT to raise the standard of militancy, changing the policies of the Union and pressing for the policies of which we approve. The journal should be an open forum for discussion of policies and action, and must question the nature and quality of the content of education. Readers of *International* who are teachers should take this journal and the groups growing up around it seriously. A weekend school was held on October 11th and 12th in preparation for a national conference to be held in January. Copies and subscriptions are obtainable from *Rank and File*, 87 Brooke Road, London N16.

## THE LIBYAN REVOLUTION SHOWS ITS TEETH

As the September 1st Revolution enters its third month, its aims and objectives are gradually becoming clearer. Colonel Mu'ammarr El-Qathafi, Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and Commander General of the Libyan Armed Forces, has emerged as the chief spokesman and ideologist of the revolution. Like other leaders of the revolution, he is addressing mass rallies all over the

country. Under the semi-feudal Senussi regime, politics was a subject barred to the ordinary citizen. The servile press only served up to the public what the rules permitted it to print. Nearly every issue carried adulatory passages about the great King Idris with an occasional song of praise for ex-Crown Prince Hassan. Now all that belongs to the past. The people are beginning to feel that Libya belongs to them and not to the oil companies and their local stooges, or to those who enriched themselves out of the oil bonanza at the expense of the common people. True, they have not yet a voice in the government, and until theirs is the decisive word, the gains of the revolution and its promise for a future will not be secure. But with the growth of trade unions independent of the state, and the developing political consciousness of the workers and peasants such a development cannot be long delayed.



King Idris, Colonel Swerib, and former heir: Prince Hassan.

The principles of the revolution have been defined by Col. Qathafi as 'freedom, socialism and unity'. Addressing a mass rally in Benghazi, he explained how he interpreted these terms.

'By freedom,' he said, 'we mean freedom of our homeland and citizens in Libya, politically, economically and socially and the liberation of the Libyan individual from all restrictions, from humiliation, oppression, ignorance and slavery.'

'... also the liberation from poverty, backwardness, persecution ... from that big prison with its horrible walls in which the people lived.

'Regarding socialism ... all of us should participate in production, everyone has to take part in producing what he consumes.

'Socialism does not mean, as some believe, that poverty should be shared by all. On the contrary, it means spreading prosperity among all.

'... The new era puts before you the great responsibility of building this community. There will be no one to tell you to do this and do that, for you alone will have to do everything for yourselves.

'... alliance of the working forces, comprising workers, farmers, non-exploiting capitalism (sic), educated people and soldiers will build socialism, achieve social justice and spread abundance, not poverty.'

On the role of the armed forces, which Col Qathafi referred to as 'the vanguard of the people, faithful to freedom, socialism, unity and social justice', he gave this assurance in a speech at Sebha: 'the armed forces will not be placed above the people, who are the ruler, the lord and king of kings'.

In its short life of just over eight weeks, the revolutionary regime has begun to give effect to its words that the days of hollow promises were over. It has made a rigorous investigation of funds accumulated by ex-ministers, high civil servants, hangers-on of the royal Dewan, and local entrepreneurs who have enriched themselves at the expense of the people. These will result in subsequent legal proceedings. Former royal palaces have been converted into schools, hospitals, etc. The luxury homes of ex-ministers have been thrown open to the public so that the people can see how

they were exploited by those who were supposed to serve them. Fraudulent public contracts have been exposed. For an example of these latter, miles of highway contracted for to be six metres wide were found to be only four metres wide - barely room for two cars to pass. The old system of sub-contracting, with the resultant accumulation of profit for the middle-man, is now illegal. Minimum wages for the lowest paid workers have been doubled from 50 piastres to £1 Libyan (£1 Libyan = £1.3.0. sterling).

Ministers will not be able to use their offices to accumulate personal fortunes as in the past. By a decree of October 6th, no minister may take up any other public position or private career; purchase or hire state property, or lease the state any of his property; borrow funds from government or private banks; request the banks to guarantee a loan borrowed from others. All these were common malpractices under the old regime. Furthermore, all ministers on assuming office must give a full and audited account of their financial standing and a similar account must be rendered when relinquishing their posts. Any differences to the advantage of the Minister must be accounted for.

In foreign affairs, the new Libya is firmly committed to the cause of Arab unity and the liberation of the Zionist-occupied Arab territory. When the new British Ambassador presented his credentials to Col. Qathafi, it was made clear to him that armed support for Israel would endanger Libyan relations with the United Kingdom.

The one weakness in the programme of the September regime is its declaration that there is no intention to nationalise the oil-fields in the foreseeable future. But it is emphasised that this is a matter of expediency, and not principle. With a largely illiterate population of under 2 million, Libya simply has not got the manpower or technical know-how for a takeover. Such a step can only be taken in the context of a unified Arabia, or, as a first step, a united socialist Maghreb. But, as Col Qathafi has said, the unity of the Libyan people must first be consolidated. Nevertheless, the government is determined to obtain a larger share of the oil revenues for the development of the Libyan economy, especially agriculture, and the growing strength of trade unions in the oil fields will ensure a better deal for the workers who produce the wealth. As *Al Fair*, an Arab-language paper, wrote on October 5th, 'We hoped that when the revolution came, these (oil) companies would change their attitude ... and no longer regard their Libyan employees as unimportant.' It particularly singled out the American-owned Esso company in this respect.

There can be no doubt that with the revolution of 1st September Libya is on the march, in the vanguard of the Arab nationalist revolution. To conclude with a quotation from another speech of Col. Qathafi:

'The orders of the people will be obeyed by the rulers without hesitation. The people have inspired the revolution and the armed forces are only the means to express this ...

'... we shall never monopolise Chairs and politics, as we are part of this people, in whose service we shall always be.

'... we should also act fiercely and powerfully against those trying to rob the people of their gains, as international colonial powers are not pleased to see the people of Libya liberated.

'The destiny of the people from now on will be decided by the people themselves in the street, in the shop, at home, and everywhere.'

Long live the Libya Revolution!

Martin Shaw gets into a worse mess when, to his credit, he tries to argue politically. He forgets the essence of the theory of the permanent revolution: namely that there is no revolutionary role whatsoever for the bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries; that because of this any revolution in those countries which does not take place under the leadership of the working class and which does not set itself socialist tasks (as opposed, please note, to establishing socialism) is doomed to impotence.

We Trotskyists believe that the evolution of the colonial revolution since the end of the second world war gives ample confirmation of this theory – wherever colonial revolutions have taken place under bourgeois leadership they have been quite unable to solve any of the fundamental problems. Whether the country's leadership has donned a 'socialist', anti-imperialist garb (Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Burma, Tanzania, etc) or not, has made little difference. These countries have made little progress in either raising living standards or industrialisation.

On the contrary, those countries which have had proletarian revolutions (distorted and deformed as they might be) and carried out a social transformation have made striking advances. (We do not say socialism has been established in these countries.) We have only to compare the difference between China and India to see this.

I will agree that these revolutions have been carried out in a bureaucratic or empirical manner; that because of the world-wide crisis of proletarian leadership these revolutions have been mediated through forms very different from the classical (ie, pre-1914) marxist schema (eg, in China via a peasant army which was led by a party which had its origins in the marxist movement; in Cuba via a petty-bourgeois tendency which empirically adopted marxism-leninism in face of the objective situation). But none of this either challenges the class nature of these regimes nor the theory of the permanent revolution.

Their 'exceptionalism' is nothing new: wasn't the October Revolution carried out in an under-developed country, with a comparatively small working class and led by a secret underground party (I almost joined Nigel Harris, Kautsky, and the Mensheviks in saying 'small clique')?

There were plenty of people around in 1917 and afterwards who said that one couldn't have a proletarian revolution in Russia because of the small size of its working class: besides some of the Mensheviks they included the Asutro-Marxists, the SPGB, the right wings of the SLP and BSP, etc – some of them even called the Soviet Union state capitalist in those days.

Marxists have never defined the class nature of a society in terms of its political forms, and those who seek to describe Russia, China, Eastern Europe, North Vietnam, Cuba, etc, as state capitalist or to use Martin Shaw's non-marxist terminology, 'peasant-based, statist petty-bourgeois' (it should be noted that in the latter, Martin Shaw joins Healy, the Stalinists, etc, in discovering a new form of society) have to do so on a sociological analysis of the internal class relations.

State capitalist theory applied to the workers' states gets one into all kinds of theoretical confusions and contradictions: I will mention two briefly.

# STATE CAPITALISM VERSUS M

by DAVE WINDSO

(1) If we define Cuba as a state capitalist regime, or in the style of Martin Shaw, a peasant-based, statist petty bourgeois regime, we have some difficulty in explaining its revolutionary foreign policy. I hope Nigel Harris and Martin Shaw will not deny that the Cubans support revolutionary movements in Latin America (by saying this I am not agreeing with everything they do). I trust that our state capitalist twins will not deny that the Cuban Government makes a revolutionary call for the overthrow of almost all the other Latin American regimes. (I wonder if comrades Harris and Shaw would go so far as to say that Che Guevara went into the Bolivian jungle in order to establish a state capitalist regime in that country?)

Marxists have believed that since the early part of this century, capitalism has outlived its progressive role and yet, according to the theoreticians of state capitalism, here we have a capitalist regime trying to spread revolution.

(2) How does the Vietnamese revolution fit in with this theory? Are we to believe *a la* Chris Harman that the North Vietnamese are struggling to establish a state capitalist regime in the south? How do Martin Shaw and Nigel Harris square this with members of IS carrying NLF flags on demonstrations and chanting 'Victory to the NLF'? – surely international socialists should not call for the victory of one (state) capitalist regime over another (private enterprise) capitalist regime. (I have been told – horror of horrors – that IS members have been heard to shout 'Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh!')

Surely an explanation based upon this absurd thesis is quite incapable of explaining the nature and heroism of the Vietnamese struggle. Isn't the only rational explanation of the depth of this struggle the fact that the Vietnamese are also waging a social struggle and that the peasants and workers are so fervent in their support of the NLF and DRV because this support expresses their class as well as their national aspirations?

There is a way round these contradictions: one which resolves them and which would make life easier for our state capitalist friends: that is to say that marxists have been wrong about the period we live in, that in certain countries, capitalism, in its state capitalist form, can still play a progressive role.



# M R ARXISM

(Continued from last month's issue)

Che Guevara



Was he trying to establish a state capitalist Bolivia?

That would explain Cuba's foreign policy, that would explain the Vietnamese revolution's tenacity. But unfortunately for the Kidrons, Harrises and Shaws of this world other consequences would follow.

It is a basic premise of marxism that no social system disappears until it has outlived its historical role. Unlike the utopian socialists, Marxists believe that 'mankind does not set itself tasks it cannot achieve'. Regardless of men's wills a social system is only ripe for social revolution when its relations of production (the class forms) have come into irreconcilable conflict with the further development of the means of production and social advance:— in the era of imperialism, this has to be viewed from an international point of view — this is another aspect of the theory of permanent revolution. If we accept the proposition that state capitalism still has a progressive role to play in the underdeveloped countries, then because we are not utopians we have to face the facts and elaborate a policy which is in harmony with history and the perspective of the coming progressive state capitalist revolution.

I am sure that Kidron, Harris and Shaw will hold up their hands in horror at this suggestion, but such a view is in harmony with their positions. Kidron 'explains' the LSSP calling upon the Cey-

lon working class to make sacrifices in the interests of making capitalism more competitive. Why not go the whole hog and call upon them to make a state capitalist revolution? That, if we are to judge correctly the other 'state capitalist' revolutions in China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc, would really make Ceylonese capitalism much more competitive.

Harris says that the Indian marxists have to concentrate on Economic demands until the working class is a significant force — what better way of achieving this than to support a 'state capitalist' revolution? This would, after all, bring to power a new class which would accumulate capital and, as Marx taught us, the other side of the coin of the accumulation of capital is the creation of a strong working class.

Shaw has his peasant-based statist petty-bourgeois regimes ..... surely 'state capitalism' is an advance on whatever he means by that.

Such is the logical conclusion of the very revolutionary sounding theory of state capitalism. Unfortunately for the state capitalist theoreticians of IS, theory *does matter* and incorrect theories have a logic. Because they reflect the class pressure on the people advocating them, there is an irresistible tendency for them to be taken to their logical conclusion.

Saying this does not challenge the socialist credentials of the people holding them. In fact firm criticism must be seen as an attempt to stop this process.

Martin Shaw will have none of this; linking his comrade Kidron's views with those of Burnham and Shachtman is a smear tactic. One would think from reading his letter that it is the merest of coincidences that Mike Kidron and the bureaucratic collectivists (Burnham and Shachtman) both hold different theories from Trotsky about the class nature of the Soviet Union. The truth is very different.

There is a high degree of affinity between Mike Kidron's views and those of the bureaucratic collectivists, in their essence, in their origin and even in the sphere of organisation.

Explaining his differences with Trotsky, James Burnham wrote: 'The dominant, the *fundamental* issues in the present dispute are two, one involving the entire International, the other particularly the SWP. The first is the central political issue. This has been clarified and amplified by the course of events and the discussion. What it concerns is the *problem of the strategic orientation of the Fourth International in the present phase of the second world war* ...

'The practical politics of every active and serious political organisation is normally governed by what might be called a *strategic focus*, an axis around which the major part of agitation and action revolves ... Today there are two tendencies in the Fourth International. They are differentiated by the fact that they propose two sharply different strategic orientations, different axes to govern our practical politics.

'Trotsky-Cannon proposes the *strategy of defence of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the lesser evil* ...

'The opposition, nationally and internationally, proposes the *strategy of the third camp* ...

'The second central issue is the question of the regime in the SWP ...'

It is quite wrong to say that the Burnham-Shachtman opposition was on the basis of the theory of bureaucratic collectivism. The issue was that of, as Burnham makes quite clear, *defencism* versus the *strategy of the third camp*. I would argue that the essence of the differences between the state capitalist theoreticians of IS and the Fourth International is on exactly the same basis.

The third camp position of state capitalism used to be made absolutely explicit in the banner headline of its old paper, *Socialist Review*: 'Neither Washington Nor Moscow'. This was to make it absolutely clear that in the conflict between Washington and Moscow, the Socialist Review group would be neutral. The position of the Fourth is and always has been for the unconditional defence of the property relations that Moscow represents.

Indeed, in its message of greetings to readers in January 1957, *Socialist Review* said: 'The Labour Movement is on the high road to learning, through its own experience, the way to Third Camp, international socialism for which this paper stands'.

The practical proof of all this is shown by an examination of the origins of the state capitalist tendency in this country. These are markedly similar to the origins of the Burnham-Shachtman group in the United States. Both groups originated in a similar situation and under similar pressures. As will be well-known to many readers of *International* the bureaucratic collectivists originated in the period just before the second world war. In this period the left movement was subject to fantastic pressures because of the crimes and somersaults of the Soviet bureaucracy. The signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact was followed by the invasion of Poland, the occupation of the Baltic republics and the war with Finland. The latter especially was occasion for a tremendous anti-Soviet press campaign. All this affected the Trotskyist movement and the discussion began on the basis of the question: how could the Soviet Union remain a workers state when it behaved like an imperialist one? This, of course, was linked with the Moscow trials and complete suppression of workers democracy in Russia.



Stalin

The bureaucratic collectivists may have given a new name to this phenomenon (which does, incidentally, get them involved in real mental gymnastics which Cliff has made great play of) but they agree with the state capitalists on the fundamental issue: *defencism* could no longer be the correct policy.

The Socialist Review group originated in the aftermath of the outbreak of the Korean war. There was a witch-hunt against the left at the onset of the Cold War much facilitated by the crimes of Stalinism, especially the purges in Eastern Europe. Under these circumstances, some members of the British section of the Fourth International wavered and opposed the policy of *defencism* of the Soviet Union, China and North Korea. Early issues of *Socialist Review* make this clear.



Lenin and Trotsky.

In issue number one, in an article by Bill Ainsworth entitled 'Whither "Socialist Outlook"?' (the entry paper of the Trotskyist movement at that time) we read: 'Since the outbreak of war in Korea, the *Socialist Outlook* has campaigned for full and unconditional support for the Stalinist forces in Korea, who (so it claims) are conducting a genuine struggle for national and social liberation of the oppressed Korean people ... This attitude, of course, is fundamentally identical with that of the Stalinists and their fellow-travellers'. One only has to substitute the word Vietnam for Korea to see what a right wing policy that was.

In issue number two, in an article by one V. Karalasingham (another leader of the LSSP!) under the rubric 'The War In Korea' we read: 'Our Third Force position - "Neither Western Capitalism nor Stalinist Totalitarianism" - demands that we lend no support to either camp in Korea ...'

This article, incidentally, although originally in *Janata*, the organ of the right-wing Socialist Party of India, was described as having been quoted in the Shachtmanite paper *Labour Action*.

Lastly in the sphere of organisation, surely Martin Shaw is aware of the close links between the Socialist Review group and the Shachtmanite Independent Socialist League, which continued up until the latter organisation was dissolved by Shachtman in the late 1950s. Let me remind him of some facts:

Throughout the middle 1950s the press of the Socialist Review group advertised and distributed the press of the ISL, *The New Internationalist* and *Labour Action*.

In its list of 'independent socialist literature' the *Socialist Review* frequently publicised books by Max Shachtman including his *Fight for Socialism* and *Struggle for a New Course* (his introduction to Trotsky's *New Course*). Owen Roberts, described as *Labour Action*'s London correspondent, was a frequent and regular contributor. Members of the ISL coming to Britain were generally active in the Socialist Review group. One of them, named Sergio Junco, specialised in anti-Castro articles in *Young Guard* at the height of the US administration's activities against Cuba. Another ISL supporter, Andre Giacommeti, specialised in articles on Algeria which were viciously anti-FLN and pro-MNA.

One might argue that this was in the past and once Shachtman had shown his true colours by going into the extreme right wing Socialist Party the connection ended. This is quite incorrect — IS maintains its links with the third camp bureaucratic collectivists to this very day.

When the ISL was dissolved some of its younger members were bitterly opposed to going into the Socialist Party. Some joined the SWP and helped to form the Young Socialist Alliance, others grouped around Hal Draper eventually formed the Independent Socialist Clubs.

The former group shed their bureaucratic collectivism (though for accuracy's sake it must be said that some of them are now supporters of Healy), the latter retained, in essence, the old policies.

In the paper of the ISC, *Independent Socialist*, consisting to a large extent of reprints from *Socialist Worker* and *International Socialism*, one can find its programme. One reads:

'We stand for a socialist policy which is completely independent of and opposed to both of the reactionary systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and bureaucratic communism ... We are for strengthening all tendencies toward a Third Camp of those who reject both war blocs and their military preparations. In Vietnam, we favour not only popular revolution against American domination, but also the rejection by the masses involved of the Communist leadership of the NLF ...' (no victory for the NLF for them!)

One can almost smell the shades of Burnham.

As if to make the point absolutely clear, the ISC had a conference recently and launched an organisation called, guess what, *International Socialism*. Will Martin Shaw continue to say that to link IS theoreticians with the theories of Shachtman is a smear? If he thinks that this indeed is a smear he should request the leadership of his organisation to stop associating with the American bureaucratic collectivists.

I hope the editors of *International* will allow a bit more room for this already overlong article to say a little about some of the other points raised in the criticism of my letter.

Martin Shaw surely knows that Anil Moonesinghe maintained contact with IS and espoused state capitalist theories within the LSSP. He should realise that the whole purpose of my letter was to point to the dangerous consequences of the anti-marxist theory of state capitalism and not to saddle IS with responsibility for the LSSP's degeneration.

As for the role of the Fourth International, Shaw merely repeats the slanders of Healy in laying the blame of the LSSP's degeneration on that body. As pointed out many times before, the leadership of the Fourth International criticised, sometimes publicly, the LSSP over a period of years. Healy, incidentally, has a major portion of the blame for this degeneration because of his refusal to take part in the 1963 reunification. Had his organisation done so, the moral authority of the Fourth International would have been much greater in opposing the opportunists in the LSSP. As it was, when criticised they pointed to the division in the Fourth International.

Martin Shaw seems to think that the Fourth International should have expelled the LSSP before it went into the coalition. He applies double standards: if he thinks that the method of expulsion should be used to settle political differences before these are expressed as deeds, he should start in his organisation, where whole branches defy and even oppose IS national policy publicly.

(1) they were really stung because of the serious conclusions one could draw from the appearance of the Kidron article. They should not blame me for that but the editors of *Socialist Worker*. Instead of trying to divert attention from Mike Kidron's serious political mistakes they should join those comrades within IS who have protested against the appearance of the article.

(2) they chose to regard the letter as an attack on the socialist credentials of their organisation — it was not, as is shown by my appeal to members of IS to struggle against Kidron's and Harris's theories. In the absence, anywhere, of authoritative statements as to where IS stands on these vital questions I chose to assume that the majority of members (and maybe even the leaders) of IS would oppose them.

Was I right or wrong — only time will tell. Am I naive in thinking that the majority of members of IS will reject state capitalism when they realise its anti-revolutionary consequences?

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## Book Review

# "THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE"

Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber's *The American Challenge*\* is a particularly repulsive book. It is about the operations of American capitalism in the Western European economy. According to Servan-Schreiber, Europe is in danger of colonisation by American business, whose superiority is based on a number of interrelated factors — large-scale production, superior technology, and superior business management.

There may be some degree of truth in Servan-Schreiber's argument but he does not appear to have correctly gauged the extent to which the productivity gap (between American and European business) is closing. Ernest Mandel has pointed out that only in a few fields does American industry still enjoy real technological advantage over European and Japanese competitors — such as in computers and aircraft. In many other fields, technological advantages have either disappeared, or are disappearing — for instance in steel, automobiles and electrical appliances. The implication of all this is an increased invasion of the American market by European and Japanese goods. Thus 10-15% of America's market for steel is now supplied by Japan and Western Europe, and the same sort of figures apply in the automobile market.

In addition, concentration amongst European capitalists is taking place and can be expected to increase — the merger of Citroen and Fiat announced for 1970 creates a corporation producing 2 million cars a year, equivalent to the third largest American car firm —

moving up to the second largest if the present rate of growth in the American and European industries is maintained. American industry will be faced with enormous difficulties given that its labour costs are two to three times those of Europe. Of all this Servan-Schreiber has nothing to say.

Despite the inadequacies of the analysis, it is interesting to see the liberal economist come out into the open about the real nature of capitalist imperialism when he thinks his own 'civilisation' is threatened. 'It is a historical rule that a country politically and economically strong makes direct investments (and thus gains control) in less developed countries. Thus European capital used to flow into Africa - not for simple investment but to gain economic power and exploit local resources'. What is Servan-Schreiber's solution? It is certainly not revolution for this is an out of date dogma. He has quite a different role for the Left to play in meeting 'The American Challenge'. It should 'exploit the capital of confidence it enjoys among wage earners to obtain greater expansion and then negotiate (!) the advantages thus secured from all social classes to obtain a different distribution of society's income (!)'. The political *raison d'être* of the book couldn't be put plainer than that.

For this exercise in class collaboration, our hoped-for prize is the attainment of 'Post-Industrial Society' discovered by the crystal gazing of (Mr Megadeath) Herman Kahn in conjunction with the

Hudson Institute. How Kahn actually arrived at all his conclusions about the features of the 'Post-Industrial Society' and about what countries would reach it by the end of the century, Servan-Schreiber doesn't bother to tell us. What matters is that according to Kahn we aren't going to make it. 'In a pater colloquium in Paris, Herman Kahn suggested, to please his audience, that France and Germany might belong to this select group (of Post-Industrial Societies) but it isn't in favour to tranquillize us in this way for his study says just the opposite'.

Particularly striking throughout Servan-Schreiber's book is his continual stress on what he terms 'The Second Industrial Revolution' - The critical importance of the new productive forces rooted in advanced technology and what has been termed in other circles 'The reintegration of intellectual labour into the productive process'. The world-wide student revolt is an expression of the fact that these productive forces cannot in the long run be contained within the existing set of capitalist property relations. Despite his stress on these new forces, Servan-Schreiber has not grasped this - though perhaps he has an inkling when he calls for 'the liberation of imprisoned energies by a revolt in our social methods - a revolution to revitalise elites and even relations between men'. However, a much more thorough revolution than Servan-Schreiber advocates will be necessary to liberate these new forces. This points to quite a different course for the Left than the one he wishes it to adopt.

## The Irish Republic

D.Kendall

Once the laws governing the import of foreign capital into Southern Ireland were repealed and protection was relaxed in the late 1950s and early 60s, the Southern Irish bourgeoisie had little objective basis left for its pose as a progressive class. Not that this was in fact a new development, for the whole attempt to develop capitalism in one country was doomed from its inception. Rather than see its economic privileges imperilled by the broadening of the national struggle into a thorough-going anti-imperialist struggle, British capitalists were prepared to grant some concessions to the Southern Irish in 1922. With political independence came protection and control of *new* foreign investment in the South. Neither of these two measures was sufficient to free Ireland from the imperialist stranglehold, however. Much of Ireland's surplus flowed abroad and what remained was used to build up small scale service industries and a few light industries. The Irish market was too small to build up a viable capitalist economy and the 1950s saw a stagnant economy in the 26 counties and a large surplus agrarian population being forced to emigrate. The Irish economy could not develop in isolation from the main imperialist market, not as a capitalist economy at least. This economic fact secured political recognition with free trade and the throwing open of the market to foreign capital. The post-war economic boom allowed a rapid development of light industry. Export markets were relatively easy to find and capital flowed to Ireland in search of cheap labour. Emigration and unemployment began to drop but this boom could only sustain itself while the general boom lasted. Once a general economic downturn began, the process rapidly reversed itself. The base of the Irish bourgeoisie had

become narrower. Only a few big bourgeois (by Irish standards) would gain in the long run. As soon as the economy sagged many smaller firms would begin to find themselves in difficulties, the more liberalised trading relations became.

The proletariat had become bigger and its hopes and expectations grown much more ambitious during the boom years. The capitalist found himself in the position of having conceded a lot during the time of rapid growth. He had to claw some of it back and resorted to all the weapons in the arsenal of modern capitalism - inflation, productivity agreements, etc and a most vicious anti-strike bill, which attempts to limit the right to strike and lays down strict penalties for infringement of its stipulations. The development of class consciousness has been reflected in the breakup of the Green Tory political strength. The urban areas have recorded an increasing vote for the Labour Party. For two years in succession Ireland was top of the league for days lost in strikes and in recent months maintenance workers in Dublin secured a huge rise, which still continues to affect the shaky economy seriously.

Recent events in the North have further radicalised wide sections of the working class. The demand is for guns for the North, but although it has no further economic interest in the continuance of the partition, the Southern Irish bourgeoisie is much too deeply committed to British and world imperialism to be an effective agent in the liberation of the North. Only a people's war could do that and, having resolutely repressed the workers after the end of the Civil War and throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the Dublin capitalists won't become involved. More ineffectual actions such as the despatch of field hospitals to the border and announcements in the UN will take place in an attempt to keep the people quiet but it will be very difficult for the Green Tories to maintain their progressive posture in the face of continuing resolute struggle by the oppressed people of the North.

To liberate the whole of Ireland and make a real economic revolution the workers will have to build a party with the other sections of society that have no interest in the continuance of capi-

talist rule. The small farmers have traditionally supported the Labour Party in the south and west but their support seems to have been alienated in the recent elections by Fianna Fail's Red scare tactics. To forge a successful alliance with the farmers a transitional programme will have to be evolved, which takes into account their fears with regard to their small property after the revolution, and the vigorous attempts the bourgeoisie will make to play on these fears. The continuation of the economic struggle in the south and the building of a strong workers' movement will damage the Orange bloc in the North. The increasingly dilapidated state of Northern Irish capital will cause increasing doubt among the Protestant workers on the capability of the Protestant industrialists to safeguard their interests, but nothing will alter their consciousness so much as a strong workers' movement a few miles to the south, breaking up the monolithic image of the Catholic

## THE CAMERON REPORT

by Bob Purdie

Lord Cameron, the Scottish judge appointed by the Governor of Northern Ireland to lead the commission of enquiry into the reasons for the outbreak of violence in the province, is reputed to have an ancestor who was one of the original 13 apprentice boys of Derry who shut the gates of the city against the Jacobite forces of James II. This action is a famous one in the history of the struggle to preserve the power of the new British bourgeois class. His descendant is called upon to perform a task which is no less important, but much more complex.

The report is a classical example of the judicial mind at work, not only in its language, but in the method with which the evidence is sifted, and the preconceptions from which it starts. There are three fixed stars in Lord Cameron's universe, firstly that Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom, and that its constitutional status must be maintained, and flowing from this that the state machinery of Northern Ireland, by virtue of the fact that it is British, must be impartial and that any individual or group which does not accept the constitution of the province is at best deluded, at worst evil-intentioned. When describing the violence in Derry last October 5, the action of the RUC in batoning civil rights supporters, including Eddie McAteer and Gerry Fitt (before any order to draw batons had been given), the indiscriminate use of water cannons, the boxing in of demonstrators by two lines of police, and the savage baton charges by both lines, are presented as unfortunate, but temporary, aberrations on the part of the RUC, while the left wing of the demonstrators is dealt with summarily: 'A section of extremists wished to provoke violence, or at least a confrontation with the police without regard to the consequences'. It is particularly instructive to read along with the section of the report which deals with the Burntollet ambush the excellent book *Burntollet* by Bowes Egan and Vincent McCornack, which comes to radically different conclusions about the nature of the attack, and which presents much more detailed evidence than Lord Cameron's commission appears to have considered.

South that it suits the bosses to present. They rightly fear at present that integration with the South would lead to a reduction in the level of their own wages, but this fear could be much alleviated by the emergence of independent politics in the South.

When threats begin to be posed to the safety of British investments in Ireland in the South and the North, the role of British troops as protector of capital but not people will soon become revealed and they will line up with the big bourgeoisie in the North and the Dublin bourgeoisie to put down the Irish people. The Irish can only free themselves once and for all from the power of British capital by building a revolutionary party led by the Proletariat to continue the struggle where Connolly and Larkin left off. The immediate demand is for arms against the North, the ultimate aim is to turn the arms against the bourgeoisie.

However the significance of the Cameron report does not lie in the accuracy of this detail or that conclusion (and indeed it contains a large amount of useful factual information), but in the strategy which it sets out for the restoration of capitalist stability in Northern Ireland. It tries to do this by outlining a view of the reason for the troubles, and measures to overcome them which can achieve a consensus of the Northern Irish and British ruling classes, the state functionaries in the province, the Labour Government, and most importantly those sections of the right wing of the civil rights movement which represent the new Catholic middle class. This consensus is best summed up by a passage from a pamphlet issued by the Government of Northern Ireland as a commentary to accompany the report: 'In commending the report for public study and reflection, the Government attach only one condition, namely that it should be taken as a composite whole. When this is done, a pattern emerges which the country has for long recognised as existing and as threatening civil and constitutional stability. It is a pattern of some genuinely held grievances; of the formulation of well-meaning organisations to ventilate these grievances but also of the prompt exploitation of these organisations by ill-disposed persons for their own ends, not the least of which is a systematic attempt first to discredit and then to undermine all constituted authority - the local authorities, the police, the Ulster Special Constabulary and ultimately the Parliament and government of Northern Ireland - in a determination to achieve either the merging of this state into the Irish Republic or the setting up of a new Irish Workers' Republic.

With minor orchestrations, this theme can be played by all of the above mentioned sections, and in fact some of them have introduced an important new variation: Callaghan, 'liberal' commentators such as *The Guardian*, and Quintin Hogg, have suggested that in return for the imminent reforms, the 'Catholics' ought to make some gesture to the 'Protestants'. The gesture they have in mind is simply that the 'Catholics' should recognise the Northern Irish constitution; in other words that they should give up the perspective of a united Ireland. This argument is reinforced by constant reference in the Cameron report to the genuine grievance which Protestant extremists felt about the refusal of the Nationalists and Republicans to recognise the constitution (this is rather similar to suggesting that the lot of the Jews in Nazi Germany would have been improved if they had accepted the right of the SA to persecute them).

The strategy outlined in the Cameron report is quite clear; the base of the artificial Northern Irish state must be changed from a perpendicular bloc of the Protestant working, middle, business and landowning classes to a diagonal one which includes the Catholic middle and propertied classes, and expels from the bloc the

plebeian Orange extremists and excludes the working class and youth of the Nationalist, Republican, and Socialist camps. It is very questionable whether this perspective is realisable; in fact as this is being written news is coming in of clashes between Paisleyites and British troops, sparked off by the decision to make basic changes in the structure of the RUC and the 'B' Specials; on previous form the Unionists and the Labour Government are more likely to make concessions to these elements than to the civil rights movement, but how they will get out of this tight spot is far from clear at present.



British troops under fire in ulster

One thing is clear, however - energetic attempts will be made to separate from the 'legitimate' civil rights movement the militant Republicans and the revolutionary left. This is quite likely to go as far as extensive arrests, and failure with the other fork of the strategy can only result in a more energetic pursuit of this policy in an attempt to appease the Orangemen. This indicates the necessity of a close alliance between the Republicans and the Left, if only for mutual protection.

However this must extend beyond a merely defensive strategy to the whole field of political perspectives. The Republicans must clearly understand that their strategy to date has foundered on indifference to the Irish Republic engendered by the negative features of the southern bourgeois regime; they must extend their fight, take up the cudgels against the 'Green Tories' and genuinely seek to reunite Ireland as the 'Workers Republic' which they have verbally accepted recently.

Similarly the Left, in particular PD, must refurbish their line by recognising the importance of the national question. At every step which the civil rights struggle in the North has taken, the weight of Irish history has settled more firmly on its back.

Undoubtedly the civil rights movement, like Parnell's Home Rule party, was able to achieve a great deal with demands which fell short of the call to smash the hold of British imperialism in Ireland, but like that experience it must be seen as a historically limited movement which gestates the forces for a new assault on imperialism. This is not to say that the civil rights struggle is over, or should be de-escalated; on the contrary the left should increase its efforts to drive the movement forward and gain leadership of it, but it should be understood that the main enemy of progress in Ireland is not the southern 'Green Tories' or the northern 'Blue' ones, but British imperialism, so that consistent Republicans and revolutionary socialists have the same enemy and aim; in the short run they need each other for protection, in the long run they must fight together for success. This is the essence of James Connolly's message to the workers of Ireland, in face of the 'Cameron consensus', which seeks to smash them: the Republicans and the Left must unite on a 'Connolly consensus'.

The Cameron report represents a final attempt to close the gates on the forces which menace the existence of the Northern Irish state, but the hinges are rusty and the bars are rotten; there is yet time to rally the workers of Ireland, north and south, to smash down these gates for ever, and smash with them the evils of imperialism, capitalism and religious sectarianism.

## LABOUR AFTER BRIGHTON

From the point of view of the Wilson leadership, this year's Labour Conference is already being built up as one of the most successful ever. From the viewpoint of the left it was one of the most unrewarding.

The general decline of political activity inside the party was reflected in the fact that affiliated and individual membership was lower than at any time since 1951. Only just over 300 out of 630 Constituency Parties were represented at Conference. The low political level is demonstrated by the failure of Vietnam or racialism - two key questions - even to appear on the agenda.

The big story of the week was the conflict between the Government and the AEF and the T&GWU which ended with the delegations of these unions casting their votes against the NEC Policy

Statement: 'Agenda for a Generation'. (The statement was nonetheless passed.) But Scanlon and Jones said they would accept this document if just a few words about the necessity for a Prices and Incomes policy were dropped. The rest of the document however is simply a recipe for the continuation of the Government's current policies for the modernisation of British capitalism. The leaders of Britain's two major unions do not appear to understand that if you accept one you have no choice but to accept the other. A fight conducted on such a level is assured of failure in advance.

Nor was there any sign of a real fight from any other direction at Conference. The Tribuneite left made the usual gestures and indulged in the usual rhetoric, yet their impact was absolutely nil. This is graphically illustrated by the results of the NEC elections. After a year in which the Government had launched an unparalleled attack on the basis of its own traditional support, Barbara Castle, the architect of 'In Place of Strife', kept her seat at the head of the Constituency Section. The only change on the whole executive resulted from the retirement of Bessie Braddock!

Revolutionary socialists get no satisfaction from seeing this atrophy in Britain's traditional mass working class political organisation. The Conference was clearly seen by the leadership as a pre-election run-in. They certainly used the opportunity as one long publicity show. The latest opinion polls and the pitiful showing of the Tories makes a Labour victory appear increasingly possible. In other words it is not going to be enough to turn the other way and hope the Labour Party will die. As long as the organic links which exist between the Party and the organised class in the trade union movement endure, wholly unexpected revivals of this kind will continue. Those links will be broken when significant masses of British workers are convinced through concrete political struggles of the possibility of a revolutionary alternative.

On any score it appears unlikely that there will be a fight of any significance within the Labour Party for several years. Hugh Scanlon himself proposed the motion of support at Conference to the Labour Government in words which Wilson later seized on to illustrate his own theme of the unity of the movement behind his leadership. Only a really traumatic disaster appears likely to shake the apathy. In the meantime, and in preparation for the conflicts which must eventually arise, the duty of the British revolutionary left is to build its own forces to the extent that they are able to make an independent and decisive intervention which can wrest the leadership of the left away from the Tribune reformists and and left union bureaucrats and place in the hands of those who will conduct a real struggle for the revolutionary transformation of British working class politics.



Ernest Mandel

## MANDEL DEBATES GALBRAITH BY 'PHONE

From an American correspondent

Ernest Mandel, noted European Marxist scholar, editor of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche*, and a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, was barred from participating in a conference on 'Technology and the Third World' organised by the Graduate Students Association at Stanford University, California, 17-18 October.

Without giving any official explanation, the U.S. State Department refused to give him a visa for the four-day visit.

Mandel, best-known as the author of the two-volume *Marxist Economic Theory*, was to debate Professor John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard University as a feature of the two-day session. He had also been scheduled to address the student body at the nearby University of California campus at Hayward.

Although the invitation to Mandel had 'strong concurrence' from the office of the Stanford president, the State Department persisted in its refusal, disregarding strong protests from Stanford, Harvard, and Princeton faculty members.

Galbraith expressed the view of the overwhelming majority of the conference participants when he assailed the State Department action, in his keynote speech on the opening day of the conference, before an audience of some 1,600 people.

The conference was able to partially circumvent the State Department ban by arranging for a trans-Atlantic telephone discussion between Mandel and Galbraith.

On 18th October, the conference heard a tape-recorded address by Mandel on 'A Radical View of the Development of the Third World and Technology'. Over the telephone hook-up, Galbraith then commented on Mandel's paper, and Mandel replied to Gal-

braith's comments. Mandel's paper and the exchange between the revolutionary Marxist and the liberal were followed with intense interest by the 500 students present. Following the transoceanic debate, there was discussion from the floor with Galbraith.

The ban on Ernest Mandel is especially arbitrary since he made a two-month tour of the United States last September and October, speaking at 30 universities from coast to coast.

At that time his revolutionary positions (he made no secret of his Trotskyist views) were attacked by such right-wing voices as *Barbarian's* magazine, conservative columnist William Buckley, and in front-page editorials in the Hearst papers signed by Editor-in-chief William Randolph Hearst, Jr.

Mandel has been invited to speak at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton, Columbia, Amherst, and the New School for Social Research in early December.

He has also agreed to participate with Andre Gorz, Lucien Goldman, and other speakers at a conference in New York on Nov. 29 on the subject of 'Agencies of Social Change' under the joint auspices of the Socialist Scholars Conference and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

These sponsors intend to make a vigorous effort to get the ban on Mandel lifted so that he can fulfil these engagements. They contend that the right to hear and debate dissenting views face-to-face goes hand-in-hand with the right to read them on the printed page.

A national protest campaign will be launched if the government authorities continue to refuse to give Mandel a visa.

# THE WAR CONTINUES!



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