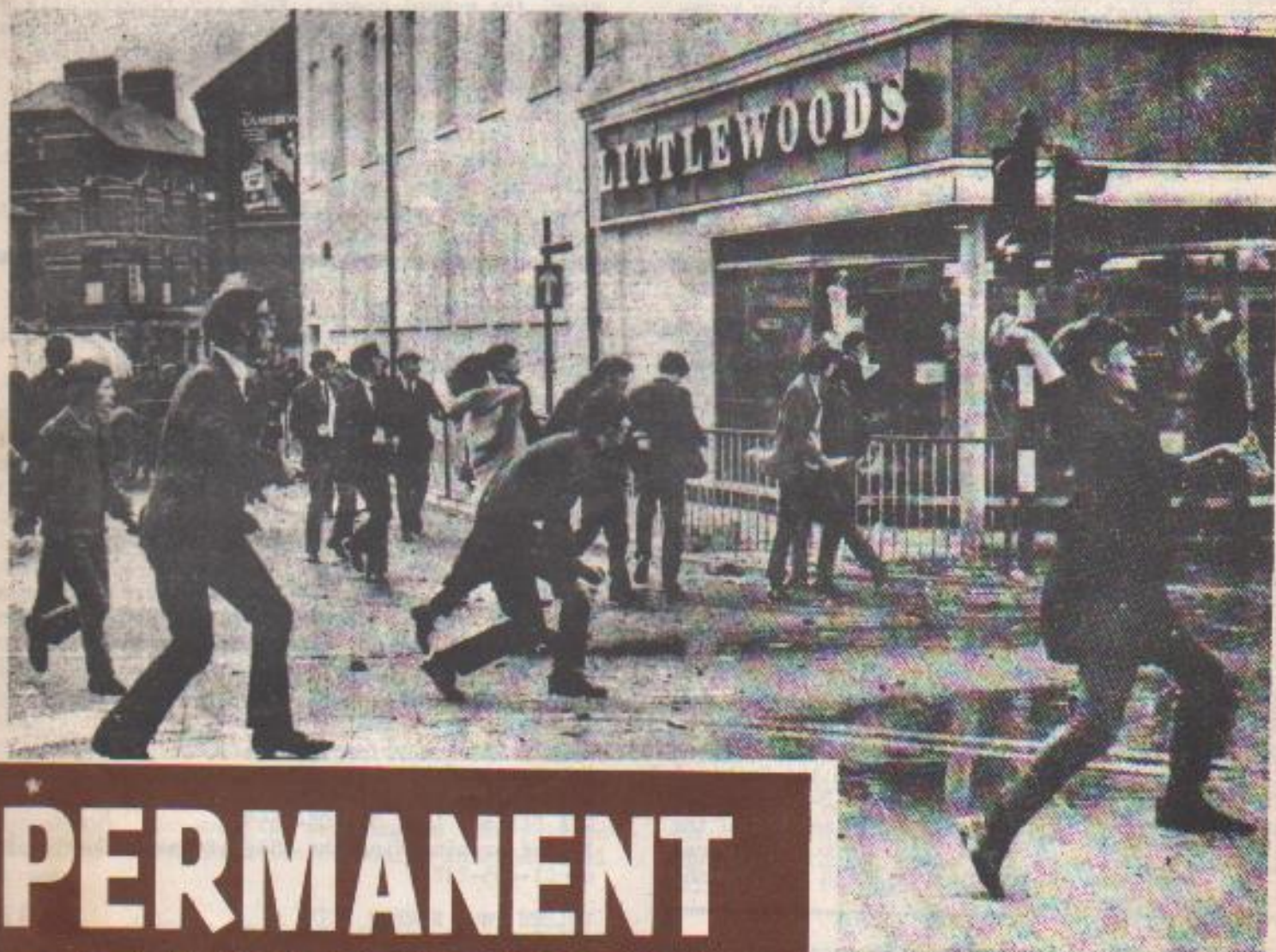


**International**

A SURVEY OF BRITISH AND  
WORLD AFFAIRS

**The Fight  
against 'In  
Place of Strife'**



**PERMANENT  
REVOLUTION  
REACHES U.K.**

**1/6**

**WOMEN:  
Why we  
are marching**

FROM LEXONORA LLOYD\*

The West Middlesex branch of NJACWER has circulated most labour organisations in the area, with some encouraging results: already two trade councils have asked to affiliate; one wants a speaker. One trade union branch has affiliated and two others want a speaker for their women's sub-committees. A Labour Party women's section has also affiliated and individual membership is now growing.

Most important of all, we are sending delegates to the West London conference in Defence of Trade Union Rights on 14th June.

I am sure that these links with the labour movement can be forged throughout the country. In particular, all truly progressive men should join NJACWER (National Joint Action Committee for Women's Equal Rights) but be prepared to take a back seat, realising that one purpose of the organisation is to educate and develop women.

Whilst branches should be now going all out for the May 18th Rally, they should also be discussing activities, both national and local, for after that date.

It is especially important that the struggle for equal pay and job opportunities - only a part of the campaign - is tied up with the defence of trade union rights and the fight against the incomes policy. All meetings on these subjects should include a NJACWER speaker.

FROM SEAN REED, LONDON

A branch of the Peoples Democracy has been formed in London. The aims of the group are to act in solidarity with the civil rights movement in Ireland, North and South.

The meeting to form Peoples Democracy, held in Conroy Hall, was attended by approximately 100 people. After a full discussion the aims agreed were to demand an end to all repressive legislation, such as the Public Order Act and the Criminal Justice Bill; to demand that the R-Specials be disarmed and disbanded; and the disarming of the RUC. The agreed slogans for the movement are: "Self Determination for the Irish People" and "One Person, One Vote."

Public meetings are to be held once a month to decide how the London branch can actively help the home movement. The meeting made a call for a single issue campaign on Ireland and instructed the committee to call a meeting to plan the first move.

PD plans to picket the homes of shareholders in Derry property companies who live in and around London. One major target may be the Honorable Irish Society.

PD secretary is Jane Wilcox, 103, Balham Park Rd., Wandsworth Common, London S.W. 12.

FROM RSSF

On April 18, two lecturers at LSE were sacked. Robin Blackburn was found guilty of approving of the students' action of taking down the AFTER they had done so. He did not deny this to

his "tribunal" - a special committee of the standing committee of the Board of Governors. Mick Bateson was sacked for inciting students to take down the gates. He did not deny this.

The ruling class guaranteed us freedom of speech and most especially academic freedom. Once again it is clear that this freedom extends only to EMPTY words; when the words begin to challenge the basis of existing authority, they defy "the rule of law" and must be suppressed.

LSE Socialist Society has had two meetings since the sackings have been known. Comrades decided to call a strike from Monday (the 21st) at 9.30 when the school opens. When you receive this we will be picketing and entering lectures to transform them into a discussion of the reasons for these sackings.

We are striking for five demands:

- (1) immediate reinstatement of Blackburn and Bateson;
- (2) immediate end to all disciplinary proceedings against staff and students;
- (3) modification of exams in the light of this year's events;
- (4) resignation of Adams and Robbins; and
- (5) democratic control by staff and students over all appointments.

We are asking RSSF comrades to support our action in the most militant way possible. Obviously responses will vary according to the politics of each locale. At this time it is impossible to say how long the strike will go on or whether it will change form into an offensive occupation.

We can provide speakers about the situation at LSE. See phone numbers below. Although no demonstration is planned at the moment, it has not been ruled out as the struggle goes on. Obviously contributions to an LSE Strike Fund will aid the fight.

For news and speakers ring:

RSSF Office, 01-353-5735;

GSA Office, LSE, 01-405-6559.

In the evening ring the RSSF office or 01-452-5365 or 01-455-2429.

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# THE FALL OF DE GAULLE

These days, militant action on the streets can bring down the high and mighty - even some one as high and as mighty as de Gaulle. A year may have gone by but there is no doubt that it was the May events of last year which led to his downfall.

However, there is every indication that sections of the French bourgeoisie who had on more than one occasion regarded him as their saviour now thought of him as a too expensive overhead. His inability to prevent labour "unrest", his refusal to devalue the franc and his foreign policy has caused the French bourgeoisie to strive for another solution to its numerous problems.

However, things are very different in 1969 from 1958. In particular, a new element has entered the political arena: the growing revolutionary vanguard. Whilst there may be some immediate illusions because of this "success", nothing indicates that the French workers will cease their

struggle for social justice. France promises to be an area of great class struggles in the immediate future.

For Britain, two immediate consequences follow: the instability (and possible devaluation) of the franc is bound to affect the pound, still tottering because of the failure of the Wilson Government to solve the balance of payments crisis; and the question of Britain's entry into the common market may be resolved. Both these developments bode no good for the British working class - the former will lead to further attacks on our standards and the latter will lead to a strengthening of monopolies in Britain.

However, the example of the French workers and youth is likely to be infectious; and the fall of de Gaulle is a reminder of the fact that the power of the ordinary people is decisive.

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## The IMG and the Fourth International

Since its inception in 1965, the International Marxist Group has struggled for the policies of the Fourth International in Britain. The IMG was formed by marxists who firmly believe that to be a revolutionary means to be an internationalist; and that to be an internationalist of necessity means being a member of a revolutionary international. Those who have deviated from this principle soon vindicate this position in a negative way by rapidly degenerating, witness especially the SLL, which placed itself outside the world Trotskyist movement by refusing to take part in the 1963 re-unification of Fourth International forces.

The IMG, despite the inexperience of its cadres and the difficulty of operating in a country with larger forces calling themselves trotskyist, has had some successes in this respect and has managed to improve its organisation, numerically and qualitatively.

However, the Fourth International takes the recognition of an organisation as a section very seriously. It has a well-tried procedure for doing this and any objections are taken very seriously. At the Easter world congress of the Fourth International this question was thoroughly discussed and as a result a decision was taken to recognise the IMG as the official British section.

The IMG is proud to achieve this position at the same moment as the entry into the Fourth International of the Communist League of France (the direct successor of the JCR), which has brought into

the Fourth International nearly 1,500 tried revolutionary fighters.

We will be publishing plenty of material on this congress and its deliberations in future issues of INTERNATIONAL, but in the meantime we point out that the decision was accompanied by a call for all members of the Fourth International in Britain to join the IMG immediately. Moreover, the IMG points out that all those in Britain who wish to be part of the Fourth International - world party of socialism founded by Leon Trotsky, should open discussions with it with a view to joining its ranks.



# PERMANENT REVOLUTION REACHES U.K.

## EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The violent events in Northern Ireland are revolutionary in more than one sense: apart from their non-peaceful form they are revolutionary in content because they represent the rejection by a wide strata of a parliamentary solution to their problems.

The British ruling class tries to meet this situation by sending more troops in on the one hand and by trying to absorb Bernadette Devlin into the system on the other. Present indications are that it is not likely to have much success in either of these endeavours.

The granting at some unspecified date of "one man, one vote" and the resignation of Captain O'Neill will not help British imperialism much either. All agree that the issue of "one man, one vote" is no longer the key question - this concession is more likely to stimulate opposition by showing that the rulers of Northern Ireland can be made to retreat; moreover the expected tardiness in its application will provide yet another general irritant.

It is clear that our previous assessment that there is no real solution to the everyday problems of the Ulster people within the present framework or one that is likely to be brought about without revolution is being vindicated daily. This will have profound consequences and not only for Northern Ireland.

The British bourgeoisie knows this very well and this explains the extraordinary attitude taken up towards Bernadette Devlin after her victory in the by-election. This is an old trick of the British ruling class. In this specific case it is meant to lay the basis for diverting the opposition of the civil rights movement in Ulster into a parliamentary cul-de-sac. But such is the crisis of British imperialism that it has little room for manoeuvre and too few resources to carry out this kind of operation.

Struggles on the streets are thus likely to become a more or less permanent feature of the British political scene in the immediate future. Even the talk of civil war is not so wild as some may think: the principle of armed self-defence is now accepted by wide sections of the Ulster population and the bomb attacks on water installations, etc. - no matter who is responsible - suggest a new and "acceptable" form of struggle.

Two further factors complicate this political equation: firstly, it is difficult to calculate

what effect all this will have on the already leftward moving situation in Southern Ireland; and secondly, politicians of Westminster and Stormont have not got control over the Protestant extremists and their political supporters in the Unionist Party.

The fact that violent forms of political struggle have burst on to the British political scene is already having an effect on the thinking of people - we should be careful not to dismiss the phenomena of the Free Wales Army as merely a comic opera episode. This tendency will be even more pronounced in the future: British imperialism and its political system is in an irreversible state of decline and decomposition, there will be all kinds of situations arising in Britain in the near or immediate future in which wide sectors will be rapidly losing their illusions in peaceful methods of struggle.

Thus the problems posed by the new stage of struggle in Northern Ireland are likely to be generalised. We should be prepared for these forms of struggle spreading to the outlying areas of the British Isles, where, just as in Northern Ireland, economic depression combines with elements of a feeling of national oppression; likewise in the black ghettos of the big industrial cities, who could confidently predict that in the next few years that the events of Derry will not be repeated in a more explosive form?

This situation poses for British marxists problems of strategy and tactics which some of them may have thought would never be on their agenda.

A huge amount of work needs to be done on this score - even the elementary task of convincing marxists that events in Northern Ireland are of decisive importance is as yet unfulfilled. The tiny response to solidarity demonstrations called by various organisations is clear evidence of this. The marxist left has yet to respond seriously, let alone the wider movement: the sending of more British troops to Ulster scarcely caused a ripple on the British political scene.

All left-wingers should support the newly-formed British branch of the Peoples Democracy in its endeavours to get a massive solidarity campaign going. But even this will be of no avail unless correct policies are adopted.

The left must support the right of the Irish people to use whatever methods they think fit in the struggle for self-determination; it should help the people of Northern Ireland to achieve ARMED SELF-DEFENCE against the thugs of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the B-Specials, the Paisleyite hooligans and BRITISH TROOPS; and it should oppose by ALL MEANS POSSIBLE the sending of British troops to Northern Ireland, demanding at the same time the withdrawal of those already there. It has a special duty of assisting the Irish people living in Britain to take part in their national struggle and it has the special task of opposing any move to place the six counties under London control - the latter proposition, already accepted by some on the "left", is a proposal to continue England's 600-years of exploitation of Ireland.

# MAY DAY 1969

## A turning point for the left?

John Blair

This year's May Day demonstrations take place in the most critical political climate since the election of the Labour Government in 1964. At the time of writing it is not clear just how many trade unionists will respond to the call for a one day strike on Thursday, May 1st, against the Government's intention to implement the terms of the White Paper, "In Place of Strife". But reports are coming in daily of more factories, shipyards, etc., swelling the numbers so that there is every chance of a more significant protest than was seen on February 27th.

The fact that strikes are now being called on May 1st is of great significance. For many years before the 1st World War the parties of the Second International proclaimed the brotherhood of the working class and its international solidarity by organising strikes and demonstrations on 1st May. Even in times of comparative social peace this celebration of an International Day of Labour was a constant reminder of the latent power of the working class movement and its mass support. This tradition disappeared along with the internationalism of the 2nd International after its historic capitulation to imperialism.

In Britain, the demonstrations held on the Sunday following May Day have been reduced of late to an empty ritual. In many places they have actually been abandoned by a Labour Party which no longer wishes to stress its links with the working class movement. Even in Glasgow, where the Trades unions can usually mobilise a demonstration of 5,000, the march has in recent years been almost totally devoid of political slogans - an aimless Sunday afternoon saunter ending in sporadic heckling of some Government spokesman.

The beginnings of a reversion to the traditions of a May 1st "holiday" are a welcome sign that, after many years of insularity and subservience to Fabian ideology, sections of the British labour movement are beginning to return to some of the better traditions in our history. In recent years the standard bearers of militant anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist demonstrations have been in the main the students and youth. It is apparent now that, as happened in a spectacularly deep-going fashion in France in May 1968, the workers' movement is beginning to be moved by these lessons in struggle. When this happens on a really big scale in Britain, the way will at last be opened for a mass revolutionary movement to emerge.

Meanwhile it is particularly to be hoped that the May 1st demonstrators will not concern themselves solely with the White Paper, important though that is. Let us also recall some of the internationalist spirit of May Day by proclaiming our solidarity with the workers and peasants of the

neo-colonial countries, especially those fighting in Vietnam, with the workers of Northern Ireland battling the British-backed police thugs, with the workers and students of Czechoslovakia and the other workers' states struggling for socialist democracy against the iron hand of the bureaucracy.

The struggle against the Labour Government's anti-trade union legislation will of course not be limited to May Day. We are witnessing at this juncture the logical culmination of the whole orientation which the Wilson Government has taken since its accession to power. Faced with the problems of the British capitalist economy, exacerbated by highly unfavourable economic conditions throughout the capitalist world, the Government has never shown any sign of an attempt to break out of the straitjacket of bourgeois ideology. We see, as has been demonstrated time and time again, that, while in times of relatively favourable economic conditions the social democrats can make some reforms (as did the Labour Government, 1945 - 50), in the period of crisis for the imperialist economies, they can only act as the servants of the ruling class, using their relations with the working class movement to facilitate their savage attacks on the standard of living through price, tax and rent increases.

But in Britain our Labour "leaders" have a very intractable problem. The trade union movement has 10 million members. In the full employment conditions of the last 20 years they have won many advances: the have been acquired in great measure by localised, shop-floor bargaining. The trade unions, and in particular the shop stewards, stand in the way of the "rationalisation" of British capitalist industry because they will resist the detrimental effects of this process upon their own wages, working conditions and in some cases, their actual livelihood. This is the logic of the White Paper. The "softening-up" process has begun.

Revolutionary socialists welcome the fact that there has been such widespread opposition to these proposals, not least from a large number of Labour M.P.s and a host of leading trade unionists. But we will treat this aspect of the opposition with some caution. For 4½ years many of these "left-wingers" have tolerated the rightward evolution of the Wilson Government, supporting its racialist immigration laws, its wage freeze, its imperialist posture overseas. Because of their failure to decisively oppose this trend they have assisted the demoralisation and decay of the labour movement.

For a number of years it has been urgently necessary to rebuild the left on a firmer foundation. The events of the coming months can greatly

although the Government has made many mistakes, Wilson remains the "best leader the Labour Party has" and that "the only alternative to Wilson is the Tories". If we are to salvage anything from the disarray into which the movement has been thrown by the criminal actions of the Wilson Government, such illusions must rapidly be shattered.

The divisions which are now opening up in the movement over the White Paper, involving even some right wing union bureaucrats, open up tremendous possibilities for revolutionaries, but they make clarity on the left even more urgent; especially because, whatever the outcome of this conflict we have entered a period of acute strife within the labour movement in which even the possibility of a total split involving the defection of some trade unions and C.I.P.s cannot be excluded. The real problem is to build a firm Marxist core in the Labour Party and in the unions, which will be capable of integrating the partial struggles which are now emerging into a coherent fight for the defeat of the Wilson leadership as part of the struggle for a real revolutionary party of the left in Britain.

The tentative beginnings of a regroupment taking place around for instance the workers' control campaign and the May Day Manifesto Convention of the left, can be a valuable beginning for our

assist this process. But it is necessary to be very clear what is the objective. There can be absolutely no compromise with the present leadership which has amply demonstrated its political bankruptcy. We are often told by "left-wingers", and particularly by those around TRIBUNE, that work in this situation. Significant demonstrations all over the country on May 1st could mark a really healthy beginning in action. But periodic demonstrations and grand conferences of the left are not enough. Day to day activity which begins to give a political orientation to partial struggles is a necessity. United front committees should be started in every locality on a non-exclusive basis, drawing in comrades from all groups and none, uniting workers and students and prepared to intervene to materially assist whatever struggles develop. Such committees if they developed in a healthy fashion would be the beginning of a real regroupment of the left into a revolutionary POLITICAL force.

It is many a year since the opportunities open to revolutionaries and the tasks facing them have been so substantial. We have to ensure that the 'new' left proves more able to grasp these opportunities than has the 'old'. As the struggle develops it is likely that May Day 1969 will come to be remembered as one of the landmarks in the struggle for socialism in Britain.

# IT'S THE DEGREE THAT COUNTS

Jo O'Brian

I recently tried to sell a copy of SOCIALIST WOMAN to a young girl at a multi-racial meeting in Wolverhampton. She refused to buy one on the grounds that it was sectarian to emphasise the degree of exploitation suffered by women; the general exploitation of workers was the central issue and degrees of exploitation inside this mass condition were an irrelevance.

I'm going to write about the importance of degree of exploitation, because it is not an irrelevance - it is central, and has always been, to any organised resistance to the exploited state of British workers.

The American historian, Smelser, in his study of the Lancashire cotton industry in the nineteenth

century, wanted to know why it was that the cotton workers reacted particularly violently against their conditions at certain times.

To say that they reacted because they were exploited is an insufficient explanation, because they were continuously exploited, and always had been, long before they were even a proletariat.

He studied the organisation of labour in the cotton mills and found that the mill owners progressed from employing male workers to employing predominantly female labour and eventually to using a large percentage of child labour.

When the men were thrown out of work and women instead were employed, at a lower wage, the working class family began to crack: it lost economically, one wage earner was rendered socially useless, the other was taken from her home and children, and customary domestic organisation became impossible. When both parents were unemployed and made reliant on the earning capacity of their children, the strain on the family unit was increased manifold. The working class watched its children being savaged by brutal working conditions, hours too long even for adults, and the crippling monotony of factory work.

No wonder that Smelser found that as this alteration in the labour force progressed, as organisation against capitalism increased among Lancashire workers. In other words, exploitation of the workers by the system under which they lived was the necessary condition for their rejection of this system, but the DEGREE of exploitation decided when, and possibly whether, they organised to fight against it.

The British proletariat suffered far greater

physical hardship in the nineteenth century than it does today. In consequence the reaction to exploitation was both more militant and more consistent. Here in Nottingham there were regular Chartist meetings of three thousand people when the population of the town was only around fifty thousand.

The red herrings of modern capitalism are meant to mystify the main body of the labour force - a labour force which is predominantly male and white. The red herrings I am referring to are: permission from the capitalists for male white workers to feel superior towards all women and blacks, and for this superiority to be institutionalised by varying acts of discrimination against female and black workers.

I do not choose the word "superiority" at random - I use it because it relates to self-respect - which is squeezed out of every person who is controlled by capitalism. The more a person is simply a machine for producing senseless profits, the more his self-respect, and consciousness of his value as a human being, deteriorates. The more capitalism allows, or seems to allow, him some value and self-respect, the less intolerable he finds the system. Even the false balm of suggested superiority over other working groups goes a long way to reassuring the English working man of his worth.

But the black worker and the female worker have no false balm to soothe them. More than four million women are not getting equal pay for equal work. Three million work on jobs with no direct parallel with men at all.

Degrees of exploitation are like nerve endings - where they are raw the reaction to unfavourable conditions is instantaneous. Women carry these nerve endings in their sex; black people in the pigmentation of their skin. They are exploited to an even greater degree than other workers because of these special circumstances - and their reaction to exploitation is consequently greater.

Of course, degree of exploitation is not assessable only in economic terms. British car workers are militant and prosperous. The special pressures under which they work are not related to finance or even social status, as they are skilled workers.

Ernest Mandel, in *NEW LEFT REVIEW*, March/April of this year, stated that recently in America there has been such a speed-up of the rhythm of work in the metal and car industries that the average age of the workers is continuously lowering. The pace in certain American industries is becoming killing, and it is possible that the same is happening in related industries in Britain.

So, though the car worker might continuously wish to change the system under which he works, it could be the employer's specific demand that he speed up his work to an inhuman pace that causes him to put down his tool bag and say "hold on a minute". Degree of exploitation, again, crystallises the general in the particular.

Why are women reacting NOW to discrimination instead of ten years ago or one year hence? We can

only guess. Possibly the strain on the family is becoming noticeably greater with pay restrictions and increased unemployment. Most important is the fact that they are ORGANISING. None but the most politically sophisticated will herald the revolution with the words "smash capitalism"; "End racial and sexual discrimination" may be the specific issues around which this social change - in the beginning - will be organised.

It is interesting to see that the girl who quarrelled with organising against capitalism around the issue of the conditions of women, was quite willing to organise around the issue of racial discrimination. She was probably a student: black - especially amongst the student body - has become the colour of political consciousness. Black it's colour may be; but if it has a sex, it will be feminine.

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# **Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis**

by Peter Buch

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# FOR A FREE DEBATE ON STALINISM & TROTSKYISM



**Bob Purdie**

In recent months a discussion has developed on the British left concerning Trotsky, his role and his ideas: NEW LEFT REVIEW, in particular, has published articles and correspondence from Nicolas Krasso, Monty Johnstone, Ernest Mandel, and Tamara Deutscher.

An interesting development came at the end of last year when the Young Communist League theoretical magazine COGITO carried the first article of a three-part series by Monty Johnstone, analysing Trotsky and Trotskyism.

This article is significant in a number of respects: it was a thorough and vigorous critique of Trotsky's ideas, based upon a POLITICAL analysis of their content and application; the article meticulously refuted the slanders against Trotsky which have been the currency of the Communist Parties for many decades; and it even went so far as to call on leading members of the Communist Party to revise the allegations that they had made about Trotsky in the years previous to the 20th congress of the CPSU; and for the British party, like the Italian, to publicly reject the allegations made at the Moscow trials.

In other words, for almost the first time, the basis was laid in Britain for a fruitful discussion on the differences - historical and contemporary - between Trotskyism and the Communist Party.

For many years the Trotskyist movement struggled to refute these slanders. In face of the enormous power of Stalinism, its parties, its state base in the Soviet Union, its GPU terror, its links - diplomatic and military - with capitalist states; its magnetic attraction for wide layers of workers and intellectuals who were moving into opposition to capitalism, the men and women of the Fourth International fought to clear Trotsky's name.

This fight was carried out not for the sake of the personal vanity of the Old Man, but because these slanders constituted an enormous wall bet-

ween the rank and file of the communist parties and the ideas of Trotskyism.

Without being able to disprove them, the Fourth International could not begin to convince the workers in the communist parties of the political role of Stalinism and of the correctness of Trotskyism.

Now that period is over: no one, who is worth taking seriously still accepts these charges as anything but a tissue of lies. A tremendous task has been accomplished and an important part of the struggle of the Fourth International has been vindicated by history.

Today the main axis of the disagreements between Trotskyism and the communist parties lies in the POLITICAL ROLE, historic and contemporary, of the two tendencies which came out of the struggle in the international communist movement after the death of Lenin. The accusations of the Moscow trials are no longer the central issue, their importance lies in the extent to which they reflect the ideological methods of Stalinism and their political role in silencing opposition to Stalin's policies.

Today in condemning the slanderous methods and terror embodied in these trials, and in relating them to many of the contemporary defects of the workers states and the communist parties (in particular, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia), the Trotskyists are joined by many members, particularly the youth, of the communist parties.

With this in mind it might therefore seem that when the Young Communist League accepted the challenge of the KEEP LEFT Young Socialists to debate the issues raised, that an extremely interesting and valuable discussion would ensue. This, however, was not to be.

The reasons for the failure of this debate to take place were revealed in the April, 1969, issue of KEEP LEFT, which printed various letters which passed between Sheila Torrance, of the KEEP LEFT Young Socialists, and Peter Carter, of the YCL, together with the minutes of a meeting which



took place between representatives of both organisations to discuss arrangements for the debate.

They clearly reveal why the debate did not take place and which party was responsible for the breakdown of negotiations. Unfortunately for KEEP LEFT they also quite clearly refute its accusations on this score.

The first letter is dated January 16th, from Peter Carter referring to a letter of January 7th from Sheila Torrance, agreeing in principle to "publicly debate Trotskyism" and suggesting a meeting of four representatives from each organisation to work out arrangements. Then follows a note from Sheila Torrance confirming the venue for this meeting. The important sections of the minutes of this meeting are as follows:

"The following decisions were agreed on Thursday, January 23, 1969, at a joint meeting of three representatives of the Young Communist League and four representatives of the Young Socialists.

"1. There was no agreement on the title of the debate. The YCL representatives wanted the debate to be called "Trotskyism". The Young Socialists wanted the debate to be called "Trotskyism and Stalinism". After a long discussion a proposal put by the YS delegation that each organisation advertise the debate in their own way. This proposal was rejected by the YCL delegation.

"It was therefore agreed that the YS delegation take back this position to their own organisation and would contact the YCL in a few days.

"2. It was agreed that there would be no restriction on the contributions of the speakers at the debate. They would base their contributions on the subject matter in the articles in COGITO by M. Johnstone and KEEP LEFT by R. Black.

"3. It was agreed that the speakers be G. Healy for the Young Socialists and M. Johnstone for the Young Communist League."

Then a few days later the following letter thumps on to the YCL's doormat, dated January 27:

"Following our meeting on Thursday, January 23, I have now consulted the National Committee of the Young Socialists who have instructed me to write as follows:

"1. It must be understood that it is the Young Socialists who have initiated the debate. As far as we are concerned the title for the debate must be "Trotskyism and Stalinism" since it is absolutely impossible to discuss one without the other.

"2. The speakers must represent their respective organisations and be prepared to speak on their behalf. Although the debate is being organised under the auspices of the Young Socialists and the Young Communist League, both G. Healy for the Young Socialists, and M. Johnstone for the Young Communist League, are adults and should be prepared to speak as follows:

"G. Healy for the Socialist Labour League  
"M. Johnstone for the Communist Party.

"My committee is emphatic that this must not be a debate between individuals. It can only have fruitful results provided all the serious historical differences separating Trotskyism from Stalinism are dealt with as fully as time will allow. To discuss any kind of censorship of either of the speakers would be absolutely out of the question.

"3. If the Young Communist League do not agree with these proposals, then we suggest they publish their own material and we will publish ours advertising the debate in the way we have outlined here.

"There is absolutely no reason why the debate should not go on and we are looking forward to it.

"A copy of our record of the meeting is enclosed.

Yours fraternally,  
Sheila Torrance  
(National Secretary)"

This is a truly amazing letter. Let us examine it point by point:

1. To insist that the title of the debate be "Trotskyism and Stalinism" implies that the KEEP LEFT Young Socialists are debating on behalf of Trotskyism and the YCL on behalf of Stalinism. There is no reason why, on the basis of point two of the minutes, that the title of the debate should be any restriction on discussion of the role of Stalinism, since the contributions were not to be restricted and were to be based on the material contained in both the COGITO article and R. Black's reply, which was published in the January KEEP LEFT. The latter dealt very fully with this aspect.

The YCL quite clearly took its distance from Stalin in the COGITO article; the KEEP LEFT Young Socialists may doubt the YCL's sincerity and wish to prove, through the debate, that they employ Stalinist methods; but to demand, before the debate commences, that they concede this is...to employ Stalinist methods.

2. Point two of this letter arbitrarily changes the agreed basis of the debate by demanding that the YCL agree that Monty Johnstone speak ON BEHALF OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, the KEEP LEFT Young Socialists may be able to take decisions for the SL - but it does not follow that other organisations operate with this degree of informality.

3. Point three of the letter is a proposal which, like point one, the YCL had already rejected.

There are two possible explanations for this letter, one is that the leadership of the KEEP LEFT Young Socialists is so obtuse that it does not understand agreements which it has signed; the other is that the letter was designed to put an ultimatum to the YCL which it could not possibly accept and thus prevent the debate from taking place.

Pete Carter replied with a couple of cautious letters, the first to intimate that the KLYS

letter of January 27th will be discussed by the YCL national committee; the second, dated February 27th, is as follows:

"The National Committee of the Young Communist League has accepted your challenge as announced in January KEEP LEFT, which was Sheila Torrance, National Secretary of the Young Socialists, informs KEEP LEFT that Monty Johnstone is invited to a public debate on Trotskyism'.

"We are ready to meet that challenge and put forward Monty Johnstone to debate, as the author of the articles in COGITO.

Yours fraternally,  
Pete Carter  
(National Organiser)"

After some further correspondence regarding the publication of the follow up articles by Monty Johnstone, Sheila Torrance sends a long letter, dated March 11, from which we publish some extracts:

"The National Committee of the Young Socialists has now considered your letter of February 17 and has instructed me to reply as follows:

"The letter can only be interpreted as a deliberate evasion of the political questions which a public debate on Trotskyism and Stalinism would expose.

"The meeting on January 22 between representatives of our two organisations was minuted, and made very clear the points agreed and those still to be settled. They include an agreement that M. Johnstone speak, not in his individual role as author of the COGITO article, but for the Young Communist League, opposed by G. Healy for the Young Socialists.

"The Young Communist League and the Communist Party want to avoid the question of Stalinism because the whole of their own political nature is at stake....

"Johnstone has been exposed by Black, as the editor of CHALLENGE who not only condemned Slansky and his comrades, but advocated the extension to other countries of the methods used against them. And finally, he depicted the murder of Slansky as continuator (sic) of Stalin's correct struggle against Trotskyism....

"You do not want to answer on these questions, above all because you continue the opportunist policies of Stalin, despite apologetic remarks about Stalin's 'excesses'.

"We must inform you that if the original conditions are not returned to, and if the title is not changed to include 'Stalinism', we have no alternative but to go ahead and organise a public (sic) meeting with our own speakers, to which your members would be invited and at which they would be given the floor.

Yours fraternally,  
Sheila Torrance  
(National Secretary)"

It is perfectly true that Pete Carter's letter of February 17th is evasive about the agreement of January 22nd, but since the KLYS had already ridden a coach and four through the agreement it is a bit much for them to demand that the YCL return to the original conditions.

But what is really serious about this whole business is that the KLYS attempts to draw POLITICAL conclusions from the fact that the YCL refuses in face of this patent manoeuvre to accept an ultimatum. This is clear also in relation to the accusations against Johnstone regarding his attitude to the Slansky trial; there is only KEEP LEFT's word for it so far, and many of us have learned to employ a certain reserve with regard to the veracity of some of KEEP LEFT's material.

However, it is obvious that if the debate had come off, no matter under what title, Johnstone would have been obliged to make some reply. By preventing the debate the KLYS has deprived Johnstone of the opportunity to debate these accusations in public, with those responsible for raising them.

This is not only undemocratic, it raises as a serious issue between the YCL and the KLYS what is in reality a secondary issue, compared with the political differences between Trotskyism and the Communist Party and unnecessarily alienates YCL members.

This method has nothing in common with the tradition of Leon Trotsky. In dealing with political opponents Trotsky dealt principally with the ideas they expressed, and only after an exhaustive and objective analysis of what aspect would he proceed to an objective examination of their actions, and relate these to their ideas. The concept of manoeuvring rivals into a compromising position, and making emotionally charged accusations against them in order to pin a distorted political label on them, was introduced by quite another figure in the history of the communist movement.

The political issues raised by the present discussion about Trotsky are of prime importance to the new generation of revolutionaries; they deserve serious discussion and study by all sections of the working class movement.

The International Marxist Group, which as the British section of the re-unified Fourth International, represents the mainstream of world Trotskyism, is willing to debate with the Communist Party or YCL, or with their members, without allowing any secondary issues, such as the title of the debate, whether or not these organisations are Stalinist, or accusations of past misdeeds, to get in the way of a free objective discussion.

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Signed articles do not necessarily represent editorial opinion.

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# The fight against IN PLACE OF STRIFE:



## Pat Brain

The incomes policy, the Donovan Report and the Labour Government's White Paper, "In Place of Strife", presented by the Minister of Employment and Productivity, Barbara Castle, represent the opening stages of a new phase of intensified class struggle between the working class and the owners of the means of production in Britain's capitalist economy.

Trade unionists cannot afford to make any mistake about the nature of this anti-trade union legislation. If the legislative steps being taken by the Government are successfully enforced without a massive opposition by the trade unions, this will undoubtedly take Britain a large stride towards a corporate state. In which case the unions will then become a disciplinary agency for big business and its governments.

To analyse the White Paper objectively, I think it is necessary to place the examination of the document in the correct context by sketching very quickly some of the rapid technical and economic changes taking place in Britain's economy. Following this we can then examine some of the militant response by the trade unions and project what we feel are the kinds of actions required by the working class to meet the offensive of the Labour Government.

British capitalism has undergone and is undergoing

at an increasingly rapid pace a tremendous internal reorganisation. This together with the penetration of United States capital investment in the most profitable sectors, has to a large extent represented a substitute for growth in an economy which had otherwise been virtually stagnant. In 1968 a record number of mergers took place inside Britain, increasing the monopolisation of industry. These developments took place primarily in response to the growing competition in the world capitalist economic system and the growth of the international companies which are struggling for a greater share of the world market. The extent of the crisis for British capitalism can be summed up in the devaluation of the pound.

Hence the Labour Government's White Paper "In Place of Strife" which is designed to resolve the coming struggles between unions and bosses over incomes, for ownership and control at the point of production in favour of the employers.

The White Paper is an astonishing document because of its blatant and hostile anti-trade union character. The document bends over backwards to try and find a historical precedent of Government intervention in industrial relations to try to rationalise its role in regards to trade unions; in so doing the document makes no differentiation between Labour's administration and the Tory and Liberal administrations, during which the unions had to fight for recognition.

One of the main themes running through the docu-

ment is the continual advice given to employers on how best to control the unions. In the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH of April 13, for example, the following statement appeared: "The Confederation of British Industry has grave reservations about the effectiveness of the proposals in Mrs. Barbara Castle's White Paper 'In Place of Strife', which will be the basis for legislation. Many employers would prefer to see legislation to make industrial agreements legally enforceable."

In section 43 of the White Paper a reply to this is given: "This would not only be ineffectual; it could prove a deterrent. As the Donovan Report points out, few collective agreements, including procedure agreements, are today in a form suitable for legal enforcement; the vast majority would be void in law for uncertainty. The most urgent need is to press ahead with the reform of procedure agreements; but unions are not likely to cooperate with enthusiasm in this if they feel it is merely a first step to coerce them into legal commitments they do not want. It is for employers to convince unions that legal enforceability is in their own interests."

Thus it is true to say that the Labour Government and many employers have a TACTICAL difference over legally enforced agreements. But this disagreement lies only in estimating the right time and place for implementing legal collective agreement procedures into industrial relations. There are many examples throughout history of social democrats trying to demonstrate how indispensable they are for administering the system for the capitalist class.

The White Paper is oriented in such a way that certain gestures are made towards the trade union bureaucrats. They include: protection against unfair dismissals, assistance in obtaining trade union recognition, establishment of the right to join unions and wider provision of adult training.

But the essential theme in Barbara Castle's White Paper of reducing the power of the rank and file worker on the shop floor comes through very clearly in the part of the document which is addressed towards the bureaucrats in the trade unions. In fact, the document stresses very strongly the necessity for trade union leadership to strengthen its administration in order that it can control unofficial strikes.

The parts of the document which are causing great alarm throughout the trade unions are the following: legally imposed ballots for official disputes, cooling off periods, legal penalties, etc. As you can see by a quick glance at these legislative measures, if implemented they would in large take from unions the right to strike.

We will now take a closer look at those sections of the document which are leading towards a massive conflict between the unions and the Labour Government.

#### LEGALLY IMPOSED BALLOTS FOR OFFICIAL DISPUTES

This measure is designed to take away from the worker the control he has won over working conditions at the point of production. The concessions he has achieved against speedups, improve-

ments in bonus payments and by way of safety have to a large degree been won, if not by withdrawing his labour then by threatening to withdraw his labour.

The Ford strike brought home very clearly the undemocratic nature of the national negotiating union committee; and likewise the mobilisation of the shop floor workers pointed the way for more direct representation from rank and file. The democratisation of the unions is an affair of the workers and they must reject any interference by a Government which is spearheading an anti-trade union offensive.

There used to be a saying in the trade union movement in the United States: that letting a Government into a union to supervise its affairs is like letting a fox into a hen house to supervise running of the hens.

#### CONCILIATION PAUSES (COOLING OFF PERIODS)

This is a very dangerous piece of legislation. A Government injunction could be served on a group of workers in the middle of a strike, ordering them back to work for twenty-eight days. The pretext for this action is outlined under the sub-title "Strikes and the National Interest". It reads: "Britain's special problems in industrial relations arise not from official strikes and lock-outs, but from sudden industrial action taken before adequate negotiation or discussion of the problems have taken place. Such strikes can cause serious damage, not only to other employees in the same firm but employees elsewhere and, above all, to the country's economic development."

I know personally the importance of fighting this pernicious piece of legislation. We in the Post Office Engineers Union are being threatened daily by an offensive against our wage standards and working conditions by the Post Office management and the Labour Government. The militants are trying to work towards taking some effective action such as strike action. But if we succeed the first reaction will be: "its against the public interest". This is the thin edge of the wedge: the first step will be to clamp down on workers in Government services; this, no doubt, will be followed by action against workers in the industry vital for exports.

#### LEGAL PENALTIES

We will first take a look at legal penalties; then we will examine some of the reactions by the trade unions. If the proposals embodied in the White Paper become law then in certain circumstances in which there is a Department of Employment and Productivity order for a return to work the continuation of the strike will render the strikers, or their leaders or those inciting the strike (the White Paper does not make this clear), liable to financial penalties. These would be imposed by the industrial board. The collection of the fines would be dealt with through the court by "attachment of earnings and other civil remedies for the collection of debts."

The Labour Government claims that trade unionists will not have to go to gaol. But following from

the attachment of earnings, the report recommends that a standard questionnaire be produced which will compel a debtor to disclose full details of his means and circumstances. Refusal to complete the questionnaire will mean that the debtor has to attend court for examination. A refusal to do this will be deemed contempt of court and the debtor will, therefore, be liable to be committed to gaol.

Opposition by the trade unions to this legislation grows daily and a great storm is blowing up which could lead to a great conflict between the unions and the Labour Government.

But can we expect a serious struggle to be waged by the union leadership as represented by the Trade Union Congress? The trade union leadership as represented by Vic Feather is quite upset, why? Because on the one hand this legislation tends to cut out the role of the bureaucrat as mediator between the bosses and workers. Trade union bureaucrats just like the social democrats need to make a great point of trying to prove how indispensable they are for the functioning of the system.

On the other hand the trade union bureaucrats are beginning to feel the heat from the rank and file - it is becoming very clear that more and more workers are willing to listen to the militants.

As late as Friday, April 11th, the trade union leadership offered Wilson through the TUC a voluntary agreement between the Government, the unions and employers to forge a new procedure which would reduce the number of strikes. This the Government rejected.

Hopeful signs are emerging of rank and file response in the unions. In fact this is one of the reasons that the TUC has threatened Wilson with a special meeting of the congress.

Just to give a few examples of the militancy of the rank and file: Britain's second largest union - the Amalgamated Union of Engineers and Foundryworkers - had before its conference 28 resolutions attacking the anti-trade union legislation. The Conference went on record later voting unanimously against the White Paper in all its sections.

At the annual conference of the Scottish TUC, held at Rothsay, a similar position prevailed: 28 resolutions condemning the White Paper, and the conference went on record decisively against the Government's proposed anti-trade union legislation.

The proposed May 1st strike is gathering support and will be the largest political strike held since the end of the war. Of especial importance is the decision by members of SOGAT in London to come out just when the May 1st national papers should be printed.

One of the most devastating comments by a trade union leader is that by Allan Sapper, deputy general secretary of the Association of Cinematographic, Television and Allied Technicians (ACTT), who said that the Government is trying to do what Hitler and Mussolini started to do in Germany and Italy: Government by decree and unionism by

decree.

In fact, he is quite correct to point out that the actions taken by the Government can lead us in this direction if not blocked by the unions.

The one point that must be stressed is the necessity for the unions to go over to the offensive. The first battle over penalty clauses was fought at Ford's, and although we are critical of the role of Scanlon and Jones we must recognise that what was lacking was a revolutionary trade union caucus armed with an offensive strategy. Trade unions must, in the next period, become revolutionary instruments of the working class and not just defensive organisations.

Demands such as workers control, which were aired at the workers control conference at Sheffield must come out of the text books and become the property of the mass of the workers.

In answer to the Government's anti-trade union offensive must come the resounding demands for socialist ownership and control of the basic means of production and finance by the working class.

In conclusion I would like to make reference to three quotations from Leon Trotsky's "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay".

"There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration of modern trade union organisations in the entire world: it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power, this process is equally characteristic of the neutral, the social democratic, the communist and anarchist trade unions. This fact alone shows that the tendency towards growing together is intrinsic not in this or that doctrine as such but derives from social conditions common for all unions."

"By transforming the unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism."

"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution or on the contrary the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

FROM FRANK BORTON (NOTTINGHAM LBY ORGANISER)

A high level of anti-racialism activity has marked the whole post period of the left activities in Nottingham, gaining much local and national press coverage. Apart from intervening very succinctly and leaving the Nottingham Transport Committee the very hot turban issue to resolve (it has the same attitude as Wolverhampton) the following gives an idea of what has been achieved:

The aggressive picket of Whitlock over Anguilla scorched his ego and left us in occupation of his "surgery" which he claimed was for his constituents' "personal" not political problems.

The day before Powell's visit to Nottingham we

held a meeting in the Market Square at which various immigrant and socialist representatives spoke. This was followed by a 250-strong march to one of the areas where immigrants live in large numbers.

Despite the diversity of people and slogans, the demonstration showed a fantastic degree of cohesiveness and combativity. The slogans included: "Black and White, Unite and Fight"; "Black Power for Black People - All Power to the People" and calls against all phoney legislation on immigration and race laws with the political message that "The Power is not in Parliament, the Power is in the Streets."

Powell was likewise warned of his fate should he be so incautious to come without his customary protection.

On Sunday 27th April, 25 comrades participated in the demonstration at Wolverhampton. The willingness to mix it on the reactionaries' home ground may prove interesting on May 2nd when the messy Powellite Monday Club men are holding a public Tory election meeting on immigration in another area containing many black people.

All credit must go to the Nottingham Anti-Colour Bar Campaign and its leadership for initiating all these actions. It has earned the dislike of every conservative element in the city and has provided the left with grounds for unity in action. More power to the Anti-Colour Bar Campaign.

# CONDEMNED FROM THE DOCK

NAN MACLEAN MILTON

"I am a socialist, and have been fighting and will fight for an absolute reconstruction of society for the benefit of all. I am proud of my conduct. I have squared my conduct with my intellect, and if everyone had done so this war would not have taken place." John Maclean, 1918.

1968 was a year of great significance for revolutionary socialists. Events like the student uprisings all over the world, the success of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign in Britain, the occupation of the factories in France, the anti-authoritarian movement in Czechoslovakia, all speak of a resurgence of revolutionary spirit, undoubtedly fostered by the splendid resistance of the Vietnamese people to American imperialism.

But it was the small and apparently unimportant happenings which stirred me most of all. What a thrill it was to hear on television the German

student who wanted to go back to the ideas of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the young candidate in the recent Ulster election who declared that his policy was based on the ideas of James Connolly, and part of my father's "Speech from the Dock" spoken by a Scottish T.V. announcer with apparently great feeling and sincerity:

"I am not here as the accused; I am here as the accuser of capitalism, dripping with blood from head to foot."

The above quotation is repeated on the front page of a new pamphlet issued by the International Marxist Group, "Condemned from the Dock", a republication of John Maclean's 75 minute speech made at his third trial on 9th May, 1918. This is an excellent contribution to this recent tendency to seek reassurance and inspiration from the pioneers of Marxism. The whole speech is an example of scientific socialism as applied to the circumstances of the times, and a classic exposition of that revolutionary internationalism which is the very essence of Marxism.

The speech is introduced by a clever and lively biographical sketch by Bob Purdie, which helps to put it into proper historical perspective. Bob, however, has been handicapped by the fact that his only source of information was a short biography written by Tom Bell, who was a loyal member of the Communist Party until his death, and previously belonged to the sectarian Socialist Labour Party which was often hostile to Maclean's party, the British Socialist Party. It was inevitable therefore that Bell was unable to understand Maclean's outlook during the last few years of his life, when he fought to form a Scottish instead of a British, Communist Party, and after failing to do this, formed the Scottish Workers' Republican Party.

If, in parts of the preface, I seem to hear the voice of Stalinist Tom Bell instead of the voice of Bob Purdie, it is not Bob's fault. It is the fault of the Communist Party in Scotland, which claimed Maclean as its spiritual father, but neglected to publish any of his innumerable speeches, articles, leaflets or pamphlets.

I hope this gap will be filled by the John Maclean Society, formed in March, 1968, in order to "commemorate the Life, Educational Work, leadership and sacrificial effort for the workers of Scotland and the World, of John Maclean in various ways on significant dates and events in his career, to encourage appropriate research, to publish his writings, lectures and speeches, and to relate his teachings to the circumstances of today." In the meantime, however, I would suggest that "Condemned from the Dock" should be read in conjunction with the recently published book by Walter Kendall, "The History of the Revolutionary Movement 1900 - 21". This is a masterpiece of well-documented facts and logical deduction, and much of its enthralling story has never been told before. The brilliant chapter, "John Maclean and the C.P.G.B." should be read carefully, for here for the first time, is part of the real story of John Maclean's latter years. The whole story will be told eventually.

Bob Purdie's quotation from the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International is of great personal interest to me. I was one of the first supporters of the Fourth International in Scotland, and the Transitional Programme was a great event. I had spent my 1937 summer holiday in the Newspaper Library at Hendon copying out all the articles my father had ever written from all the socialist papers available. This is the kind of work that the Communist Party should have done, but I was afraid these kind of records might be destroyed in the war I knew was coming, so I was

forced to do the job myself. Typewritten copies of most of this material are now in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. I finished up steeped in the Maclean idiosyncrasy, and was struck even more forcibly than ever before by their similarity to Leon Trotsky's.

\* "Condemned from the Dock", John Maclean's speech from the dock, 1913. Re-published with an introduction by Bob Purdie by International Marxist Group, 2/- p.p. from Alan Rae, c/o Smith, 61, Fergus Drive, Glasgow N.W.

## G.I. DEMO'S WORRY WALL ST.

Tens of thousands of persons took to the streets throughout the United States April 5 and 6 to demand that American troops be withdrawn from Vietnam. The demonstrations were the largest since April 1968. They marked a dramatic end to the lull in anti-war activity induced by last year's election campaign, the Paris negotiations and the "honeymoon" of the Nixon administration. Particularly significant were the large numbers of American soldiers marching in the front ranks of anti-war parades in several cities.

In New York a throng estimated at more than 100,000 marched through midtown Manhattan April 5. In Chicago the same day, some 37,000 protesters took part in the largest demonstration on record in that city. On April 6, demonstrations were held in nearly thirty other cities. In Atlanta, Georgia, 3,000 persons joined a parade opposing the war and commemorating the first anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King. Press reports, which generally understate the size of demonstrations by at least half, put the number of anti-war marchers in San Francisco at 15,000 and in Los Angeles at 4,000.

The nationwide demonstrations were called by the GI-Civilian Anti-war Conference, which met in Chicago December 27-28, 1968. The conference had the support and endorsement of leading anti-war groups and activists from many cities. It elected a liaison co-ordinating committee including Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party; Sidney Lens, co-chairman of the National Mobilisation Committee; Howard Petrick of the Student Mobilisation Committee (SMC); and others. In New York the massive parade was organised by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. The SMC played a vital role in organising the tens of thousands of students that turned out and in leafletting army bases to involve GIs in the action.

Marchers assembled in the rain in midtown Manhattan, filling the side streets for blocks around 41st Street and Sixth Avenue. At the head of the parade were GIs under a banner reading: "GIs Against the War in Vietnam!" Several hundred soldiers were on hand, in civilian clothes and wearing white paper caps identifying them as anti-war members of the American armed forces. Behind the GIs marched rank after rank of veterans of Vietnam and other wars, many wearing med-

als or the insignia of various campaigns. After them came the students and youth.

The overwhelming majority of the marchers were young. Most were high-school students. Even the rain, which kept many adults away, failed to dampen the enthusiasm of these anti-war warriors. There was a profusion of homemade posters and banners. The most common demanded: "End the War in Vietnam", "Bring the Troops Home" and "Free Speech for GIs". Others said: "Since Talks Began - 10,000 Dead", "Peace Now" and "Victory to the NLF". Many wore black armbands with the numerals "33,000", signifying the number of Americans dead in Vietnam. One marcher carried an effigy of a crucified soldier. The massive march lasted more than three hours. The concluding rally at 72nd Street in Central Park was nearly over before the last of the marchers stepped off from the assembly point thirty blocks away.

The demonstration received wide coverage in the press and over radio and television. It was the major event on evening national news telecasts. One radio station provided live coverage of the march and the rally. The NEW YORK TIMES devoted five columns of its front page on April 6 to a picture of the GI contingent.

The sharp resurgence of the movement that brought down Lyndon Johnson sent tremors through the Nixon administration. While the anti-war throng was marching in New York, Washington officials told the press that Nixon had decided to end the war and pull U.S. troops out. The actual "plan", however, remained as much a secret as the one Nixon claimed to have when asked about the war during his campaign against Humphrey many months ago. It was clear that the antiwar movement had drawn blood in Washington, but Nixon still appeared to be stalling for time.

Another aspect of the anti-war demonstrations that drew worried attention from capitalist commentators was the growth of the GI contingents. In a page-two article on April 6, the NEW YORK TIMES said: "The peace demonstrations by soldiers in six American cities this weekend reflect the rapid growth in recent months of a seriously worrisome problem and an emotional affront to the armed services - aggressive anti-war militancy by enlisted men. A contradiction in terms, the anti-war soldier may become the most disruptively effective peace activist yet, with an impact that could far exceed his small numbers in the 3.5 million-man armed forces."

# Debate: Ireland

FROM BRIAN DUNLOP (BELFAST)

Murray Smith in his article on Ulster said that socialists should support the demand for a united Ireland even without the condition that it would be a united socialist Ireland. I cannot agree with this. By replacing the present political division of two separate capitalist states with one united capitalist state would in no way further the struggle for socialism in Ireland.

Northern Ireland is not very different from Cumberland, Scotland or Wales in relation to British imperialism. The people of Ulster, the vast majority of them that is, do not want to be united with the rest of Ireland under the conditions offered to them at present. They do not want to be incorporated in an all Ireland republic modelled on the present regime in the South. They would lose some of the welfare benefits such as the free health service, family allowances, etc., that they now have as British citizens.

The recent elections back up what I say. Out of 52 M.P.s elected only 6 came out in their campaigns in support of a united Ireland. Among the Catholic population there was a definite decrease in support of the Nationalist Party. Ivan Cooper and Paddy Devlin, who both defend the border, defeated their anti-partitionist contenders in Catholic areas and Peoples Democracy which doesn't have a policy on the border almost gained a seat from the Nationalists in South Down in a straight fight.

By far and away the most important problem Marxists in Ulster encounter is to get support among the Protestant working class for the civil rights movement. This is by no means an impossible task but is certainly a difficult one. It is therefore of paramount importance that correct slogans are put forward. Protestants must be made to realize that it is their movement too, and that it is not purely a campaign for Catholic emancipation.

This can best be done when the civil rights movement is extended to the South to fight such measures as the Criminal Justice Bill and church interference in the affairs of the state. It must fight against the Nationalist controlled councils and expose discrimination on both sides. Murray Smith - maybe without meaning to - gives the impression that the Protestant workers don't suffer the same kind of oppression as Catholics.

Even in towns of comparative prosperity here there is an abundance of slums, lack of basic amenities, etc. In no way should the struggle be blunted by purveying the theory of the Catholic as the "white negro".

The fact that there is an absence of social democrat reformist ideas among the workers here means that Marxists here do not have the same problem as those in Britain have of fighting these ideas and the bureaucratic apparatus that feeds off this reformist ideology.

The struggle for a united Ireland is a similar struggle

of the third world in many ways. Socialists in Britain can best do us a service, not by calling for the removal of the border but by demanding: Tories out, North and South; Catholic and Protestant workers unite.

## OWENISM JATKINSON

There have been many books on Robert Owen. This is scarcely surprising. In Britain during the 1840's, socialism was synonymous with Owenism. Marx and Engels were forced to rename their "Socialist Manifesto" the "Communist Manifesto", in recognition of the hegemony that Owenism had won amongst the political working class. Is there room for yet another book on Owen? Harrison has demonstrated that there is.

The Fabians and their followers presented one aspect of Owen. They showed Owen the cooperator, Owen the trade union leader, Owen the educationalist and Owen the reformer. They lopped Owen until he fitted into the Procrustian bed of the gradualist theory of British Socialism. Owen was lauded as the originator of a native socialist theory that owed nothing to Marx. By concentrating on a very few years of his life and ignoring the rest, Owen could safely be inserted into the Pantheon of reasonable radicals in a niche between Place and Lovett.

The American writers have given a very different slant to Owen. His trade union work is completely ignored or exhibited as a dreadful warning of what happens when crackpot politicals are allowed to intervene in respectable labour organisations. They have emphasised the utopian and communitarian side of Owen. Harrison has joined together these two parts to attempt to present the whole man.

Harrison's task, particularly in his use of comparative techniques, is a very necessary one. Too often the British left has been presented with a series of stereotyped paradigms rather than the actual history of the labour movement. Inadequate understanding of the past will often lead to a simplistic interpretation of the present. Marx praised Owen for his attack on "every principle of existing society". Many present day Marxists, however, would be scandalised to realise that this same Owen also addressed meetings on the "Divine Millennial State of Life upon the Earth" and the means of speedily attaining it. They would be embarrassed to realise how Owen and the early working-class movement accepted much of the chiliasm of the Shakers, the Swedenborgians and other sectaries: nearly as embarrassed as the Fabians were, before they censored or ignored these most unnatural and non-gradualist misconceptions.

It is scarcely surprising that many of the left are unable to interpret the complexity of contemporary phenomena such as Black Power, the student revolt and the third world revolution, when their socialist memories are peopled with one-dimensional stereotypes. We have to struggle to regain our past as a part of the struggle for the future. Harrison has presented us with more of the facts that we must assimilate to accomplish this task.

\* "Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America" by J.W.C. Harrison.  
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971, p. 1