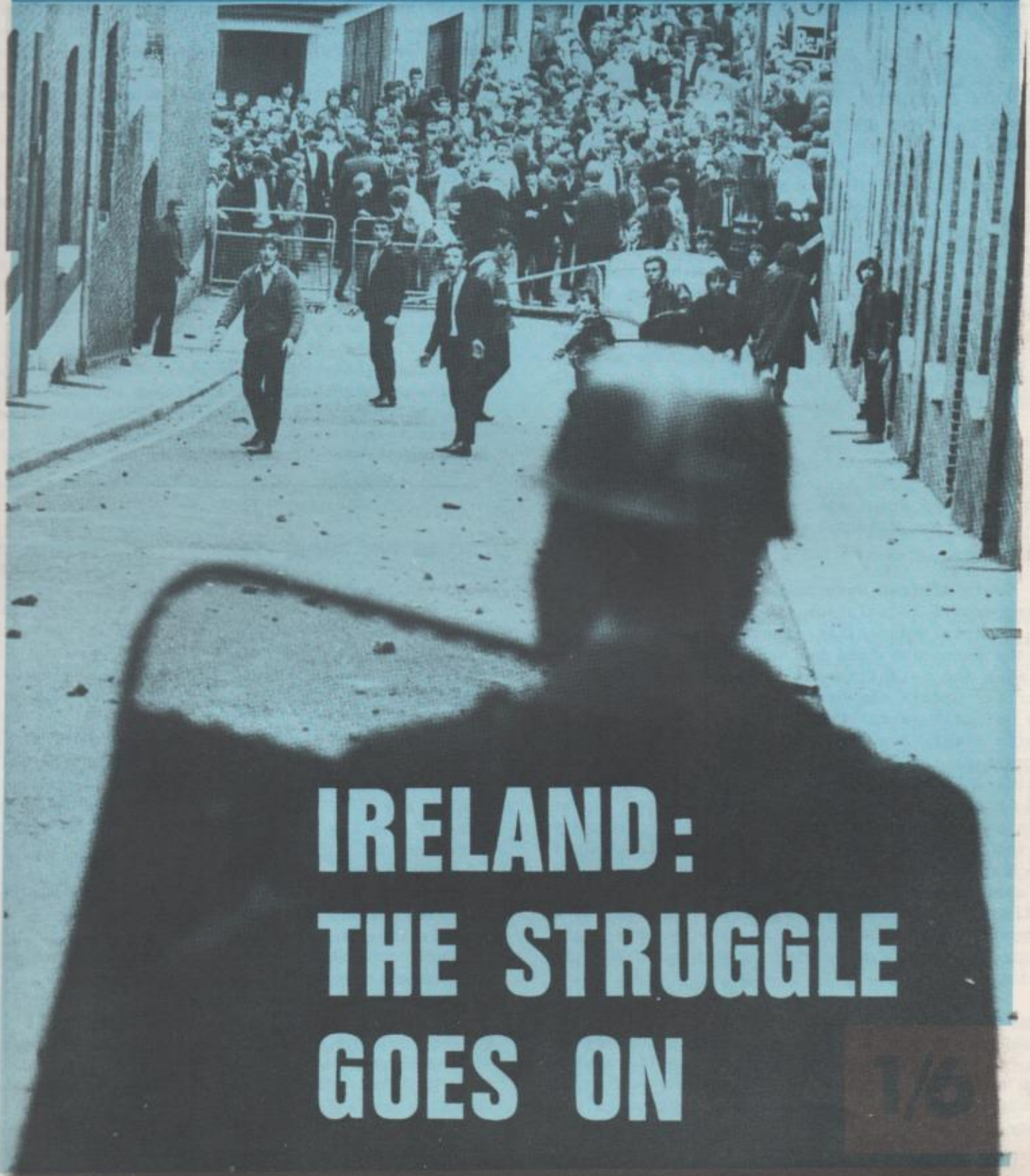


International

A SURVEY OF BRITISH AND
WORLD AFFAIRS

Equal Pay



**IRELAND:
THE STRUGGLE
GOES ON**

Letters

REVOLUTIONARY POETRY

I am editing, for Panther Books, an anthology of revolutionary and radical poetry by young British poets. The intention of the book is to justify, reflect and define the political aspirations of young people today.

I would be pleased to consider contributions from your readers - who should send poems, with S.A.E. please, directly to me.

Alan Bold,
19, Gayfield Sq.,
Edinburgh 1.

FROM ANTI APARTHEID

Available press reports state that at least 50 people have been arrested and detained in South Africa under the Terrorism Act within the past three months, and in accordance with the terms of this Act have been held in solitary confinement without access to lawyers, their families or the press. Due to some British Government pressure, Philip Golding, a British citizen now detained for three months, has been permitted five visits from the British consul. He has not so far been brought to trial and such representations that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office have made on his behalf have had little effect on the South African Government.

Concern for the welfare of these detainees is justified by documented information on conditions prevailing in South African prisons and the treatment accorded detainees. Since 1963 at least 11 have died in detention and hundreds have been tortured...

The South African Government's appalling history of repressive legislation, which includes the 90-day no-trial detention clause, the 180-day law, and the Terrorism Act, has now moved a step further with the establishment of the Bureau of State Security under the General Law Amendment Act in July of this year. Under this act an individual is effectively deprived of his rights to apply to a court of law for redress whether the aggressor be the state itself or any private individual. BOSS has a budget of over £2 million per annum; it is not subject to the authority of the Treasury or the South African Parliament. Clause 10 of the General Law Amendment Act makes it possible to commit an offence under the Official Secrets Act if anyone, including journalists, communicates matters which are being dealt with by BOSS - although no one is permitted to know what BOSS is dealing with.

Clause 10 also gives the security police the right to detain and interrogate people who allegedly have communicated information about matters with which BOSS is dealing. Even if this detention is unlawful, the victim will have no redress in the courts. He cannot prove the lawfulness or otherwise of the police action - because he is not

entitled to know what matter was being dealt with by BOSS. Under Clause 29 the Minister can issue a certificate preventing the victim or anyone else giving evidence in court as to his detention and interrogation.

The desperate situation of all political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia is thus clarified. I am writing in some detail to indicate the urgent need to publicise the plight of the detainees and the men on trial in Namibia*. It is generally accepted that the campaigns on behalf of the Rivonia prisoners in 1963/4 and the 35 Namibians in 1967, helped avoid the death sentences in their cases. We urge you to use every means to gain the maximum publicity for these men and women, whether it be by writing letters to the press or by protest demonstrations...

If you have any further suggestions for implementing or cooperating with us in this campaign, we would be grateful if you would let us know.

David Steele MP,
Anti-Apartheid Movement
89, Charlotte St.,
London W1P 2 DQ

* Since this letter was written news of the sentences has come through. Five men got life; the others got heavy prison sentences.

NB: This letter has been shortened by taking out sections which had been overtaken by events. The AAM will send information about the detainees on application. This can be extremely useful when raising the matter in the labour movement.

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notes of the month

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The key thing in the economic situation of the capitalist world is the likelihood of anti-inflation measures in the United States leading to, at best, a mild recession.

The American balance of payments deficit reached the fantastic figure of 3.8 billion dollars in the April-June quarter of this year. This figure is to be treated with caution because it was accompanied by an actual increase in the currency reserves held by the Americans. However, it did reflect a deficit in trade of an annual rate of over 15 billion dollars. The American Government is bound to take anti-inflation measures and do other things to help its trade position.

Both these steps are certain to hit the United Kingdom. On average, this country sells 12 per cent. of its exports to the United States. Just now with internal deflation and restrictions on government spending, the only way the economy can be kept on its present level is by a massive increase in exports (barring a socialist policy).

This country is already doing badly in a relative sense in the struggle for exports: the massive deficit on the American balance of payments means surplus for other countries. In fact, practically every other country did share in this surplus. Britain shared with France the dubious honour of not taking advantage of the American's bad trade figures.

Unemployment was recorded at 606,152 people on August 11th - the highest total for August since the war. The Ministry of Employment and Productivity drew comfort from the fact that the rate of increase in full-time unemployment was down on that of the last two months. It also draws attention to the fact that the figure was swollen by a large number of school-leavers still unemployed. These qualifications might mean something if we weren't on the eve of a down-turn in the rate of world trade. As it is the LEAST these figures show is that Britain will be facing the coming period of likely recession with an already high level of unemployment.

This is the background to the 600,000 plus figure of unemployed in August. Whilst Wilson and Co. will undoubtedly try to draw some comfort from some marginal improvement in Britain's trade figures (to a great extent statistical and conjunctural) the outlook is extremely gloomy.

Wilson has explained his anti-working class policy as the need to sort out Britain's economic position. In the event we have got the worst of both worlds: anti-working class policies and no solution to the economic situation.



Nixon's Vietnam policy

Nixon is now threatening North Vietnam with not withdrawing troops from South Vietnam unless he sees some sign of reciprocal action.

Two remarkably frank articles in the British press recently cast light on the hypocrisy of Nixon's "stick and carrot" posturing.

The *ECONOMIST* of August 16, quoting the opinion of "a lot of military people" said: "They argue that the Americans and South Vietnamese can maintain the war at its present level after as many as 100,000 Americans have been pulled out without running unnecessary risks

"There are a number of reasons why they say The supply and administration system is now established. General Abrams' emphasis on 'clear and hold' operations is proving more effective bringing security to the villages in the countryside than the original 'search and destroy' tactics."

The *FINANCIAL TIMES* of August 25th also made the point that many American officials argued that the war could be continued with 100,000 less troops. But it has this to say about opposition to the war:

"There is a widely held belief in Washington that Mr. Nixon has only got away with his Vietnam policy" (i.e., promising to end the war and doing virtually nothing) "because the students have been away all summer, and that as soon as the universities open up again in September there will be plenty of trouble. All reports from student organisations confirm this: they want action on the war, and they want it now. They will demand it, just as they demanded it of LBJ, finally increasing the general pressure on him to the point where he has to give.

"This is not an attractive prospect, for President Nixon or for anyone. Student agitation rubs off on non-students, especially when they are agitating against something as unpopular as the Vietnam war. For 18 months now Mr. Nixon has been telling the American people that he will end the

They will want more than glib talk."

Then the article comes to the punch-line: "Any discontent will only be aggravated by the fact that next year is an election year, and that the anti-inflation drive will be hurting people much more directly than now...."

Don't be surprised if Nixon announces new moves to end the war....just before the elections.

Actually, all the evidence points to Nixon carrying on with Johnson's policy. The latter was forced - by the Tet offensive last year - to abandon his policy of meeting each blow of the NLF by an escalation: it just didn't pay off and the consequences (mounting inflation, increasing opposition to the war at home and abroad, etc.) were too much to bear. He then switched to a policy of maintaining the war and trying to get concessions - since none have been forthcoming both he and his successor have been waiting for "something to turn up." They have both tried to present this policy (or lack of a policy) as proof of their desire for peace.

Things indicate that more and more people are seeing through this in the United States. We also have to work for this understanding.

Racism in Leeds

The left has been far too complacent about the danger of racialism. Whilst it is very important to distinguish between racialism and fascism, we would be very foolish if we weren't worried by recent events in Leeds.

Crowds roamed the streets shouting "let's get a Pak" and many people were molested and even attacked just because of the colour of their skin. There are well-substantiated reports that fascist and racist organisations had been active in the area.

We also understand that local response by the left was minimal. This, if true, is most regrettable in view of the potential strength of the left in Leeds.

It is important to nip racialism in the bud. As the social crisis in this country grows, as all the traditional organisations prove impotent, the discontent of workers and lower middle class can easily be channeled into racist paths. Every manifestation must be fought as it arises. It will be best fought by a combination of an anti-capitalist programme and political clarity.

Racialism will be beaten not by going down to the lowest common denominator of the opposition to it but by a firm anti-capitalist campaign. Many of those infected by the virus of racialism, nourished by generations of chauvinism, are discontented with the present state of affairs. They fall victim to the propaganda of right-wing

osed to the things which cause their poverty and bad housing.

They can be won away from this only by firm militant action (with no compromise whatsoever) and by seeing a real radical alternative. Those who concentrate their attention on the small fascist groups divert attention from the real culprits in this matter, the leaders of the Labour Party, who will also mouth phrases against fascist groups whilst passing racist legislation.

Racialism is also countered by the black and brown workers organising themselves to defend their people. Lumpen workers respect people who stick up for themselves. The left should help in every way it can the immigrant workers organise themselves into defence squads. The left should also provide defence squads where necessary. Leeds has been a warning, let us take steps to heed it before it is too late.

STOP PRESS

EYE WITNESS REPORT FROM PRAGUE by John Preslan

The first anniversary of the Kremlin's invasion of Czechoslovakia was marked by demonstrations in the country's major cities. These demonstrations had the support of practically the entire Czech and Slovak people with the exception of a handful of Stalinist bureaucrats and their police force. Nevertheless, the Husak Government used its police and conscript army to suppress viciously every manifestation of discontent with its Kremlin-orientated policy.

On August 21st, I was among a group of some 60 people who were doing nothing more subversive than watching an abandoned barricade burn. No attempt was made to clear the crowd with tear gas instead and without warning, soldiers charged in firing as they ran, while it was also shot at from an armoured car. The victims of this assault could do nothing but run, leaving several dead or wounded behind them.

Stalinist police methods I experienced myself when I was arrested after being batoned without reason by a policeman. Upon being interrogated I was accused of having "participated in an attack on the police", and was told I could choose between imprisonment or immediate exit from Czechoslovakia.

Attacks and police malpractices such as I witnessed in Prague were not exceptional during the period around August 21st. It was, in fact, because of their widespread use that Gustav Husak won what the Kremlin ironically calls "The Order of Lenin".

N.B. A longer report from this comrade will be appearing in the next issue of BLACK DWARF.

Equal Pay now (and then)

by Nora Vange

September 12th has been declared "Equal Pay Day" by the National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights, whose slogan is "Equal Pay - Now!" But if equal pay came tomorrow, it would be about 136 years too late. In 1833 women spinners and power loom weavers combined and raised funds in order to fight for equal pay with the men. Even before that, unions had occasionally tried to fix a rate for the job, without reference to the sex of the person doing it.

When the New Model Unions came into existence in the 1850's the weaving sections of the Lancashire cotton unions were the only industrial organisations of that time to make any real effort to recruit women. An important issue was that of wages; the union fought for district lists of prices which had as their basic feature direct piecework rates under which both men and women received the same rate of pay. Within the unions, too, men and women had the same responsibilities and rights, including that of election to any position in the union. By 1896 about half the total membership was women.

The TUC in 1874 resolved "to promote the self-relying trade union movement among women" but not until 1882 did Congress resolve "where women do the same work as men they shall receive equal pay". During the latter part of the 19th century many new fields opened up to women, at all levels of skill - as dockers, engineers, post office clerks, typists, sanitary officers, shop assistants, brick makers, electricians, etc. Trade union activity increased rapidly, small unions catering only for women coming into existence often only for a brief time.

Wages in the years before the first world war were appalling low. In 1900 unorganised women making packing cases earned from 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d-2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d an hour, whilst the male TU rate was 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d-8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Only after the Federation of Women Workers organised the women did the National Union of Packing Case Workers amend their rules to take in women - in 1913. Many women hollow ware workers in 1912 were earning only 1d an hour - about 4s weekly. After a strike they obtained ten shillings for a 54-hour week.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

During the first world war women took over many of the men's jobs. Only because of vigorous TU activity was the attempt to pay "women's rates" for traditional men's jobs stopped, but the rate was still fixed at $\frac{4}{5}$ of the men's rate, because of the latter's war bonus. Because of the huge demand for their labour, women's wages rose generally and by 1918 the minimum time rate was £2 3s 6d for a 47-hour week in the munitions industry. Women doing traditional men's jobs could earn much more, but employers did their best to



Ford machinists on strike last year

alter jobs in some way to make them "women's work" - a process which goes on up to the present day.

After the war the men returned to their old jobs and many women were displaced, but though wages fell, not all the benefits gained during the war were lost. In the following years the number of women entering employment increased much more rapidly than the numbers for men. Only a few women in industry did exactly the same work as men, except in the textile industry; however, many did similar work to men or took over traditionally men's jobs when new machinery was brought in. In industries covered by trade boards the average rate for men in 1930 was 48s 10d and for women 27s 8d. In a few trades there was equal pay for equal work - shoe repairing, pieceworkers in the fur trade and sugar confectionery, etc.

The excuses given by employers in the 30's strike a very familiar note today. Many jobs excluded married women and this - although imposed by the employer - was cited as a drawback to employing women; in fact, only 50% of women were married and many spinsters had family responsibilities, aggravated by the deaths of their fathers and brothers in the war. The 30% of men who were bachelors naturally got the same as the married men. After the second world war there was a big move back to the home at first, for a number of reasons, but in recent years the trend has again been for married women to work; one reason for this is simply that now most women of employable age are married.

CIVIL SERVANTS WIN EQUAL PAY

After the second world war the gap between the wages of men and women varied from 20% in the teaching and public services, to 50% in many industrial occupations. Equal pay in the civil service and teaching came into force in 1957,

after seven years, proving that the principle of equal pay for equal work could be conceded if enough pressure is applied. Unfortunately, the mainly middle-class women concerned, having gained their point, tended to retire from union affairs, and, in the case of teaching especially, pay levels became low in comparison to industry in the following years. This has lent weight to the argument that the achievement of equal pay, especially in predominantly female jobs, would keep down wages for the men and that women would not play their full part in the union. However, an increasing number of militant girls are entering nursing, for example, and showing that this need not be the case. Certainly, working class women will be as militant as the men.

In the past year or so, the agitation for equal pay has increased dramatically. Many factors are involved. Girls are getting a better education, but still not being allowed to utilise it fully. The widespread use of birth control means that now women can contemplate a real career, perhaps broken for only a few years, whilst increasing divorce rates, plus the fact that men die younger

means that women can no longer regard marriage as "security". The continuing use of percentage wage increases, highlighted by the incomes policy, has actually increased the gap between male and female rates. New machinery means that most jobs are now within the capacity of women as much as men. In addition, the widespread use of agitation against the incomes policy and the anti-trade union legislation has made all workers that much more politically aware.

In 1967 a committee to fight for equal pay for industrial women workers was formed in Paisley, Scotland, and similar committees have since been set up elsewhere. The strike of women machinists at Fords in 1968 for equal grading made a qualitative difference to the struggle and led to the formation of the National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights. In the same year the TUC pledged active support to any union taking action for equal pay, and in November there was a conference of unions with women membership to discuss progress towards equal pay, among other subjects. Since then the unions have adopted a more militant stance on the matter, especially the TGWU and AEF. Women have struck, not just for more equal payment, but also for the basic right to join unions - employers have always favoured women as being more conservative and harder to organise, so this hurts. A recent strike at Ramsgate for recognition and equal pay lasted ten weeks and ended in partial victory for the women. Many unions try to get progress towards equal pay agreements, with varying degrees of success - the shipworkers, clerical workers, etc.

What progress is actually being made towards equal pay? The latest figures, from April 1969, show a fairly encouraging trend. Men's weekly wages, including overtime and bonus, were £23 18s 5d, a 7.4% increase over the previous year, whilst women's, at £11 14s 8d, had only a 7.2% increase, but the hourly rates show a different picture. Men got 10.35d, a 6.8% increase and

women got 6.15d, a 7.5% rise. So women's hourly earnings are rising just a little faster than men's, though I believe this is due more to a few agreements made by unions fighting for equal pay than by a general rise.

LABOUR'S PLANS

Latest news reports are that the Government proposes to introduce equal pay legislation to make equal pay a reality by 1975, and to sign at last ILO Convention 100. However, the Government acknowledges that meantime the unions are going to try to secure equal pay agreements for their members. The pressure that organisations such as NJACWER and the unions have been putting on is bearing fruit, but remembering what has happened in the past to so many Government promises this pressure must be intensified. The Government and some employers have acknowledged that equal pay is right and just, not to mention possible, so why should it be delayed? If anyone screams "Costs!" let them look at the profits British capitalism is making. In spite of all the Government statements the only sure way for women to get equal pay is to fight for it - with the help of their male colleagues. Remember, girls, when the boss squeals, it is not up to you to solve his problems for him - just think how many years he has been exploiting you and push him harder.

On the 18th May this year NJACWER held a demonstration in Trafalgar Square, which was disappointingly small in number, but the high proportion of women workers displayed a militant spirit. However, NJACWER seems to have run out of steam as it had. Composed of many diverse elements, from the Fawcett Society to Mothers in Action, as well as labour organisations, it seems unable to take decisive action. A resolution at the last General Committee, calling for NJACWER to take the initiative in helping to organise women and to fight for equal pay, although criticised by CPers, was accepted and if acted upon, should make NJACWER wage a much more militant campaign.

NOT THE ONLY FIGHT

Equal pay is only one battle in the war women are waging against injustice and exploitation. It will mean nothing as long as the present extensive division of labour in industry continues. Women must also demand equal opportunities, promotion and training, as well as a better deal for their children. But there is no doubt that the application of the principle of equal pay for work of equal value, if applied throughout industry, would have far-reaching effects. We live in a society in which people's "status" is largely defined by their economic "value". Women are underpaid, therefore undervalued (and vice versa, of course). Equal pay would only be a tiny step towards women's full liberation, but none-the-less a vital step. In the fight for it women's political education and consciousness would be developed, making them better fighters for the socialist society which alone will eventually see men and women as free and equal partners in all aspects of life.

King St. worried by 'Ultra Leftism'

In the main resolution submitted for the coming biannual congress of the CPGB, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party admits that nearly 2,000 members have been lost since last congress in 1967. This represents about 6% of the membership and 4% of this loss has been in the last year. When discussing this position, the resolution admits that one of the factors has been the influence of ultra left ideas on the youth and students. It furthermore claims that ultra left ideas are now being combatted more effectively.

An indication of what is meant by the latter point is the appearance, in August, of a 60-page pamphlet by Betty Reid, entitled "Ultra Leftism in Britain". Costing 5/- and with an attractive cover the pamphlet appears to be a serious and objective attempt to come to terms with other left tendencies.

We received this pamphlet too late to devote enough time to ensure that it is dealt with at length in this issue. It is worthy of serious examination and reply and this will be done in the next issue. However, in the meantime a few comments are necessary.

THE IMG POSES A PROBLEM

Although the pamphlet deals with many groups to the left of the CP - it even finds space for the 'Pabloites' - the International Marxist Group receives more attention than any other.

Betty Reid seems to have some difficulty in explaining her criticism of us on the question of unity and Vietnam. In fact in stating her case she is forced to pay us some compliments in a back-handed manner. This will no doubt be used by the SLL to "prove" that there is an alliance between the CP and IMG to divert people away from the "true believers".

Thus when commenting upon the editorial of the first issue of INTERNATIONAL, which was explaining that the new journal would continue THE WEEK's policy of seeking to create non-exclusive organs of struggle on important and principled issues, Betty Reid says that it was "making a claim which is IN PART justified." (BR's emphasis).

This, one might think, is no small tribute coming from one of the professional interpreters of the doctrine. However, she goes on to explain that

this is not the whole of the story. Apparently, the IMG means something different from the CP by unity. A further quotation from INTERNATIONAL reveals that the IMG's kind of unity would exclude the 'soggies' and would be predicated on the assumption that it did not equivocate in its support for all those engaged in struggle. This, according to Betty Reid, is basing unity on the most advanced programme and excludes those working on a programme of immediate demands.

FORMATION OF A BARRIER

A serious warning follows for those "naive" Communists who do not distinguish between the immediate and long-term aims of the IMG. The latter being essentially "unity of the various rival Trotskyist groupings, on the basis of Trotskyist policies, and thus the creation of a barrier between Communists and the left in the labour movement."

So it is not a compliment after all, just a warning that we are rather dangerous to combat.

On Vietnam, at the end of a long section designed to prove that the CP has been right all along (even to the extent of always having a solidarity line), Betty Reid:

"Whatever our disagreements with the IMG we have at least not accepted the line of IS on Vietnam" (that of trying to turn VSC into a multi-issue campaign.)

She then goes on, in a passage which will give members of IMG many belly laughs, to say that we are reeling from a split which lost us direct influence in the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and the Institute of Workers Control.

Near the end of the pamphlet, she says that the CP imposes no bans and proscriptions and it will "work with anyone who will co-operate on an agreed basis for specific aims."

This is an important statement and will be of use in trying to develop unity of action on Vietnam, against the Government's anti-trade union policies and other questions.

Whatever the views of the leaders of the Communist Party they realise they can no longer ignore other tendencies in unity of action. However, it will also mean that the exchange of ideas and debate will be facilitated.

IRELAND: the str

Some people expressed scepticism on seeing the cover of a recent issue of INTERNATIONAL with the legend: "The Permanent Revolution Reaches the U.K." Well no one doubts now the revolutionary nature of the struggle in Northern Ireland; but will it be permanent? By permanent we mean that it is a problem which has no solution under any foreseeable circumstances in capitalist terms.

At time of writing there is a lull in the struggle and Labour's biggest smoothy, Callaghan, is doing the rounds trying to calm everyone down. However the air is heavy with social tension and a spark could start a prairie fire.

The policy of the Wilson Government is very plain - it wants to appear to be doing something and yet wants to avoid upsetting the very status quo which led to the crisis in the first place. Above all, it is frightened of a Protestant "counter-revolution". Hence its shuffling on the question of the B specials. Once again an immutable law of politics has been vindicated: social democracy, which is so firm against the left, will always capitulate in face of a firm right wing.

TORY "RESPONSIBILITY"

Until now the Tory Party has behaved with "responsibility", no doubt heeding the warnings of serious bourgeois journals like the ECONOMIST of the consequences of trying to take advantage of the situation for electoral reasons. It has been left to wild-man Enoch Powell to raise an anti-Irish bogey - so far with little effect. However, the left should be on its guard on this front, particularly if Irish political tendencies take to terrorist methods of struggle.

In Ireland an element of dual power exists in Bogside, with the local defence committees administering justice and many functions of local government. This reached the point where, on one occasion the British army was obliged to provide material for a barricade to replace a new bus which the bus company wanted back.



However, no one should be fooled by the fri atmosphere the British army is trying to cr if those barricades can't be got down by a co ation of trickery and threats the British will be used to take them down by force. quite intolerable for a bourgeois state to within its boundaries a little island of wo power.

CABINET HYPOCRISY

The hypocrisy of Wilson and Callaghan is demonstrated by the fact that they took no whatsoever to deal with discrimination aga the Catholic minority, the political gerrym ering, and the police state repression u forced to do so by pressure of events. Now appeal for calm, denounce the use of violence ask the Catholics to dismantle their barrica They have refrained from denouncing the d violence of the Stormont regime against polit prisoners, and the more insidious violenc enforced unemployment.

Wilson, that doughty defender of democracy ag st the threat of communism, knows full well for years the Unionists manipulated the v boundaries in Derry, giving themselves a major in a town with a two-thirds Catholic populati that in Fermanagh, where over half the populati is Catholic the Unionists hold 38 seats out 50; that discrimination is practiced against C holics in "employment appointments and housi (the ECONOMIST of 23/8/69); and that a set of rressive laws exist in Northern Ireland compara to those of South Africa. Yet he has done noth until now.

PERMANENT UNEMPLOYMENT

Not least in making sure that the struggle w have a permanent nature is the economic situatio Northern Ireland Government officers have esti ated that unemployment will rise to 10% in t province this winter, reaching and exceeding 2 in towns like Derry, Newry and Enniskillen.

Northern Ireland already has an unemployment ra of 7.3% (compared with the too high 2.5% in t rest of the United Kingdom). But this figu obscures a basic tendency: unemployment is mu higher in the Catholic areas of Northern Irela than the average. In July, 1969, there were el ven towns in Northern Ireland with an unemploye rate of more than 10% (more than four times th national average). Every one of these towns h Catholic populations in the 1961 census of arou 50% or more, two of them, Strabane and Newr having over a 75% Catholic population. In July unemployment in the Catholic towns of Kilkeel Enniskillen, Strabane and Derry was 20%, 18%, 18 and 13% respectively. All this compares with th Belfast rate of around 3½% (in Belfast the Catho lic population is about 25%, the same as i Lancashire).

le goes on

by Pat Jordan

Attempts to deal with these terrible figures have been confined to attracting investment (mostly British but some foreign) by offering all kinds of inducements. This has not even held the position: each year Northern Ireland's farms, heavy engineering and shipyards shed 5,000 workers and another 4,000 young people come on to the labour market. Against this total of 9,000 jobs required, construction and service industries create 4,000 jobs, thus leaving a gap of 5,000. Over the last ten years the combined efforts of Stormont and Westminster have created an average of 3,300 jobs per year in manufacturing. Unemployment would have been even higher had it not been for large-scale migration.

UNEMPLOYMENT
JULY 1969



percentage
unemployed:

- under 5%
- ◉ 5-10%
- over 10%

The policy of tax concessions (mostly to British big business), while it has led to soaring profits, has done little to assist the people of Northern Ireland. Firstly, the investment is capital intensive, thus raising few jobs for a given amount of investment. Secondly, it has been concentrated in only a few industries (notably man-made fibres) thus leaving the small-scale economy excessively reliant on a small number of products.

In fact, Northern Ireland has many features of an internal colony in the United Kingdom: low wages and high productivity (the growth rate in the six counties has been twice that of the United Kingdom as a whole over the last ten years); a virtual single-product economy; migrating labour (thus countering the effects of full employment); etc.

As a result of the recent struggles, the economy will be hit in two different ways. Firstly, the entire situation is one in which investors will be very reluctant to build new factories, plants, etc. This will not have an immediate effect on unemployment because there is a two-year time lag between investment and jobs being realised. On the other hand, lower investment potential will mean a lessening of construction and the creation of service facilities - this will hit employment almost straight away.

An immediate and damaging effect of the "troubles" will be to drastically reduce tourism. Over the

last period this has netted Northern Ireland's invisible earnings some £28.5 million per annum. This reduction in tourism will both reduce seasonal employment and generally worsen the economic position.

The British Government, itself in a very difficult economic situation and under an obligation to keep Government expenditure down, will find it hard to put in money to create a basis for the giving of reforms to mitigate the social crisis. Already it will have bills amounting to over £10 million promised to Stormont to enable the latter to speedily pay compensation for fire damage (again mostly to British big business). In addition it has the not inconsiderable cost of recent military operations (not forgetting the upkeep of the army of occupation).

Westminster is already pouring money into Northern Ireland at the rate of approximately £150 million per year. This includes "balancing items" to level up industrial and social benefits of nearly £40 millions. £25 millions is received in direct agricultural subsidies, and then there is the so-called "assumed deficit" for Northern Ireland's nominal share of external affairs and defence. Wilson is paying nearly £100 per person per year to keep the Ulster Unionists in power; in return he gets 10 or so hard line Tory MPs in Westminster.

We thus see that the economic situation is one which shows no chance of removing high unemployment, low wages, and all the other things which have underpinned the recent struggles. What of the political situation?

UNEASY POLITICAL TRUCE

One outstanding feature of the political situation is that every existing political organisation is discredited. Furthermore, there have been no claimants on the scene, as yet, likely to quickly win the loyalty of the disillusioned. Even Paisley has been stoned by his own supporters and nobody on the Catholic side has established anything like hegemony. Saying this in no way decries the heroism of the civil rights leaders like Bernadette Devlin.

A revolutionary leadership has yet to be built and no working class organisation has won any honours in the recent situation. There seems to be no immediate political solution of any kind on the horizon. On the contrary, the uneasy truce could be broken at any time.

If the crisis is likely to be permanent, if there is no revolutionary leadership and no workers solution to the crisis likely in the coming period then working out a correct political approach is of the highest importance. Whilst we have the task of assisting the Irish people in their day

problems. In this sense there are two problems which just have to be tackled: the ending of British imperialism's exploitation of Ireland and the creation of a revolutionary leadership in Ireland capable of leading a social revolution. The first of these tasks is a historic one handed down to us by the sins of omission of generation after generation of the English working class; the second amounts to giving revolutionary Marxists in Ireland every assistance we can and working among the million and a half Irish people in Britain to spread revolutionary ideas.

It is in this context that we have to examine some of the discussions which are taking place in the British labour movement.

SELF DETERMINATION FOR IRELAND

There are a number of objections to this slogan and some say that this cannot be advanced without being qualified by the call for a workers republic. Others argue that Ireland has self determination in the sense that there is bourgeois democracy in both parts of Ireland.

It first has to be made crystal clear in what context the slogan is used. It would be ridiculous for Marxists to insist that this is the main slogan to be advanced by the Irish movement. It is clear that the Irish movement must be won for the idea that the only solution for the problems of the Irish people and, moreover, the only way to unite the Catholic and Protestant workers is a socialist one. Concretely, the slogan of a united Ireland in the form of a workers republic, with the perspective of becoming part of the workers federation of Britain which, in turn would be part of the United Socialist States of Europe, is appropriate. To achieve such a solution power would have to be won by struggling against the bourgeoisie and its allies north and south. To facilitate this Irish revolutionaries would have to work out a transitional programme which would enable them to win the hegemony of the Irish workers and small farmers.

British Marxists in working out and defending a Marxist analysis of the situation in Ireland can put no other programme forward.

BRITISH IMPERIALIST OPPRESSION

But this is by no means the whole story. We have today a continuation of the national oppression of Ireland by British imperialism. This takes two forms: one, the artificial division of the country, with one part being occupied, directly or indirectly, by British imperialism; the second, is the neo-colonialist type exploitation of the economy of Southern Ireland (which is facilitated by the border: incredible as it may seem there is relatively little trade between the two parts of Ireland; only 4.1% of the south's imports come from the north, and only 13% of the south's exports go to the north).

The second point is not generally understood in Britain. Despite formal political independence the grip of British monopolies on the industry,

the first world war. Britain takes no less than 70% of the south's exports and provides 50% of its imports. This kind of relationship in the capitalist world always boils down to the stronger power being able to impose harsh terms of trade. It is estimated that it costs the Republic's Government over £50 millions in subsidies to farmers because of the British Government's cheap food policies.

Under these conditions the only Marxist position is that of unconditional support for the self-determination of the Irish people. This means campaigning against all oppression and interference in Irish affairs. It cannot be conditioned by saying that we stand for self-determination IF the Irish people opt for socialism. We can express opinions, offer advice, support Irish socialist but in Britain, in the British labour movement and against the capitalist state machine we must advance the slogan of self-determination without strings.

RELIGIOUS CONFUSION

It is often argued that self-determination must also be extended to Protestants of Northern Ireland too and as they clearly want to be part of the United Kingdom we should support them in this. First, a few facts: the relationship of numbers between Catholics and Protestants is not reflected by the electoral system in Northern Ireland. In the 1961 census, Catholics made up 55% and the combined total for the Presbyterians and Anglicans was only a bare majority, 53%. It seems almost certain (there being no separate figures for the Presbyterians and Anglicans) that the Presbyterians are in fact a minority. Catholics definitely are in a majority in the counties of Derry, Tyrone and Fermanagh; they must be something near the majority in Armagh and Down.

But to argue along religious grounds is to confuse the issue: we are in favour of national self-determination but membership of a religion does not constitute a nationality. The slogan of self-determination does not mean supporting the right to separation of every religious group (especially those under reactionary influence).

It is argued that self-determination means the ending of the border and the domination of Protestants by the Catholics. Thus instead of having a Catholic minority discriminated against we would have a Protestant minority similarly treated. The Protestants of the North certainly fear this very outcome. Our experience of the behaviour of the Catholic hierarchy in other countries shows that this is not an idle fear.

But these arguments miss some important facts (1) Catholics are being discriminated against, shot down in cold blood, and suffering police repression here and now - this cannot be compared with the possible exploitation of Protestants in the future; (2) a united Ireland would be a very different kettle of fish from the present set-up in the south; in fact, the present regime is hardly likely to survive such an eventuality as the two

Tory parties of the South have been able to keep a radical posture on the grounds of their national struggle against the English. The infusion of a militant working class from the north, together with the existing level of struggle and the absence of the national question to confuse things would clear the decks for a clarification along class lines of the political situation. In this state of affairs the Protestants of the north could ally themselves with a working class fighting both the bourgeoisie and its frocked backers.

(3) The removal of the border and the abstracting out of the national and religious question would lay the basis for a much greater degree of unity of the working class especially, and in the first instance mainly, in the industrial field.

Having said all this it must be emphasised that an important part of a transitional programme for Ireland will be an absolute guarantee against any form of discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, etc.

LIVING STANDARDS REDUCED

A further argument against self-determination - that this would mean a reduction in the standard of living of the workers of Northern Ireland - both Catholic and Protestant - is factually correct but politically wrong.

There is a huge difference in the spending on social services in north and south. Stormont, covering about half the population of the south, actually spent more last year on education (£51 million against £49 million). In the social services the gap is even greater: £82.5 million for the south against £126 million in the north. The average wage in industry in the north was just over £16 for a man against £14 6s in the south (this should be compared with Britain's average of about £23). The south's level of unemployment pay is only about two-thirds of the north.

These arguments cannot be avoided: this is why for Irish Marxists it is absolutely essential to put forward a comprehensive transitional programme - which would demand the raising of the south's living standards to at least those of the north as immediate corollary of the ending of the border - needless to say, such a drastic redistribution of wealth is impossible without the workers and small farmers of all Ireland laying hands on the riches of the country. Hence the ending of the border could be directly linked with a social revolution overturning both bourgeois classes.

By struggling against the border in Britain via the slogan of self-determination we will, in fact, be laying the conditions for a move towards the workers republic we all want.

WITHDRAW BRITISH TROOPS NOW

This slogan flows directly from the position of self-determination but there are people who are willing to support the line of self-determination but not the slogan of the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Again we have to make it clear to whom the slogan is being directed and in what context it is being used.

The civil rights movement of Ireland is opposed to this slogan and is anxious that the British solidarity movement does not advance it. It argues that the arrival of British troops prevented a pogrom and for it to demand their recall would be suicidal.

This dilemma cannot be dodged by shouting about "revisionism" and "sell-outs". These are real problems involving - as has been demonstrated - people's lives.

The slogan demanding the withdrawal of British troops is an educational one designed to clarify the actual political relationship of forces. In the Vietnam campaign we advance the slogan of victory to the NLF, solidarity with the Vietnamese people and self-determination for the people of Vietnam, to explain the nature of the struggle. The demand for the withdrawal of British troops, coupled with a demand for the ending of Westminster support for the Stormont regime, carries out a similar function.

If the left were strong enough to enforce the withdrawal of British troops it would also be strong enough to do many other things too. The only real solution to the danger of the pogrom is the self-defence of the Catholic people - as they demonstrated. A movement capable of enforcing the withdrawal of British troops would be able to take real steps to assist the self-defence of the oppressed Catholic minority of Northern Ireland.

On the other hand, it is extremely short-sighted indeed to think in terms of the British troops "protecting" that minority. Inevitably as the national struggle develops those troops will be used against the Irish people. But even leaving this aside the presence of British troops is aimed to perpetuate the very state of affairs which leads to the danger of a pogrom in the first place. At very best, the presence of the British troops MAY have stopped a pogrom in 1969, only to preserve a state of affairs which could lead to further slaughter in 1970, 1971, 1972.....

The demand for the withdrawal of British troops is one which the British movement must adopt if it is to correctly implement a policy of fighting for self-determination. The emphasis given at a particular time to this slogan is a tactical question.

Obviously, there are big difficulties in making this the main slogan of demonstrations taking place at a time when the civil rights movement is strongly opposed to it. Moreover, for the civil rights movement itself the emphasis should be on the right to armed self-defence.

But for revolutionaries it is essential to include the demand in all their statements on the situation. This is the only way that they can struggle for a correct line on the question; they have, moreover, the job of helping to clarify the problems in Ireland itself. For the civil rights movement to confine itself to demands for the disarming of the B specials (by whom?), etc., is to doom it to a reformist trap.

In the Republic, the demand must be for arms to enable the minority in the north (and those who wish to assist them) to defend itself. The Irish people in Britain can make the same demand of the Eire Government. The left in this country, whilst it cannot make this demand itself, should assist the Irish militants to make and implement it.

In the last analysis all these differences are around one issue: do we stand for a revolutionary

struggle and solution in Ireland or are we trying to calm things down by working out solutions for the present bourgeois governments to implement?

Revolutionary struggle by the people of Ireland themselves, aided by a solidarity struggle among the British people based upon the working class is the only way to complete the liberation of Ireland and set it on the road towards a workers republic.

FOR YOUR BOOKSHELF



PROFITS AND WISEMEN

The subtitle of this collection of essays* "Essays criticising the teaching of the humanities in American Universities", is wildly misleading. It is not a pedagogic text book for left inclined lecturers but covers a far greater field. The catalyst for this rethinking of what American universities are and what they ought to be is Vietnam. Vietnam is the "liberal's war" serviced and propagandised for by the "para-military intellectuals."

Rosgak locates the origins of this academic delinquency in the function of the university. It acts as a service station for capitalism which will teach "anything we can get anybody to pay for". This has its obvious effect on the teaching staff. "And what are the imperatives our students would find inscribed upon their teachers' lives? 'Secure the grant!' 'Update the bibliography!' 'Publish or perish!' The academic life may be busy and anxious, but it is the business and anxiety of careerist competition that fills it, not that of a dangerous venture."

The book is at its most useful when it itemises how effectively the American military have used the academics. A director of the CIA, Admiral Raborn, described his close relationship with the intellectuals: "...in actual numbers we could easily staff the faculty of a university with our experts. In a way, we do. Many of those who leave us join the faculties of universities and colleges. Some of our personnel take leave of absence to teach and renew their contacts in the academic world. I suppose this is only fair; our energetic recruiting effort not only looks for the best young graduate students we can find, but also picks up a few professors from time to time."

The State Department spends about \$30 million on research in American universities per year. In 1966, it had 5,000 foreign affairs studies underway in American universities.

One of the more ambitious undertakings of the United States Army was project Camelot, designed to "assess the potential for internal war in national societies." Up to \$6 million was subscribed for work in thirty-one countries before the project folded in the middle of an international scandal. Project Agile, in 1967, used over 10 anthropologists in Thailand to work out ways of counteracting guerilla warfare. The NEW YORK TIMES reported: "The old formula for successfully counterinsurgency used to be ten troops for every guerilla, one American specialist remarked. Now the formula is ten anthropologists for every guerilla." It is scarcely surprising that out of 10,000 political scientists, only 65 were listed as sponsors of the national Teach-In Committee - the other 9,935 were probably on the military pay-roll!

For those who are shy of the military, big business opens its arms. Grayson Kirk, of Columbia for example, serves on the board of directors of Consolidated Edison, Socony-Mobil, IBM and National Wide Securities Company. Not all of the academics have to be bought. They believe the rubbish they come out with. Professor David Rowe, Director of Graduate Studies explained to the same committee that like all people who have lived under communism, the North Vietnamese "would be perfectly happy to be bombed to be free."

The writers of the essays turn their attention to what should be the concern of the universities. It is here that they are less successful in their analysis. They correctly despise the approach that either treats the humanities as the "ditt bag of an idiot, filled with bits of pebbles, straws, feathers, and other random hoardings," or uses the discipline to grease the chariot-wheel of capitalism. Some get no further than posing the question while others retreat to the liberal mystification of socially-unattached intellectualism. With all these inadequacies, it is still an enlightening book. If only we had such dossiers on our own Encounter-revolutionaries.

* THE DISSENTING ACADEMY - edited by Theodor Rosgak, Penguin 8/-

Rascism and Fascism

by Allan Harris

It has become the practice that whenever Enoch Powell, the racist Tory MP for Wolverhampton, appears in public, he is "welcomed" by demonstrators representing many of the left-wing tendencies and organisations. The slogans and leaflets of these militants usually make an identity between Powell and Hitler, demand that racism be eliminated and that the "drift towards fascism" which they claim Powell represents, be stopped.

In some communities, local "anti-fascist" committees have been organised to combat this trend "towards the right". This feeling that the ultra right are quickly gaining influence is strengthened through the physical attacks made by lumpen whites on Pakistani and other black workers, e.g. the recent races "riots" which erupted in Leeds.

The fight against Powellism and racism will not be victorious unless there is a full understanding of the real relationship of forces that exist throughout the country and unless there is a correct assessment of the direction which the class struggle is heading.

The form of capitalist rule in Britain today is bourgeois democratic. In countries like Greece the capitalist class rules through a military dictatorship. The German and Italian ruling class during the 1930's instituted the most inhuman and barbaric form of capitalist rule possible: fascism.

The two main forms of capitalist rule, bourgeois democratic and fascist, are not identical although one contains the seeds of the other. Marxists who fail to make a clear distinction between these two forms, or put an equation sign between the two, will make the most serious programmatical and organisational errors.

Under a fascist Britain, all democratic rights, like the right to run candidates against the Government, the right to print socialist papers and hold meetings, etc., would be eliminated. Working class and socialist organisations, including the Labour Party and trade unions would be crushed their leaders either murdered or held in concentration camps. Even dissident religious and social groups would come under the iron heel of the dictatorship. For this state of affairs to be reached the working class would have to be broken, demoralised and defeated. The repression would permeate every aspect of society.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Bourgeois democracy is something different. Over decades of struggle the working class has won genuine democratic rights: like the right to

free speech; assembly and vote; as well as the right to organise unions and political parties.

The working class will not let anyone take these rights away from them without a big fight taking place. The ruling class by-and-large, concede these rights although they nibble away at them from time to time.

To state and recognise the differences between fascism and bourgeois democracy and to recognise the positive aspects of the latter over the former, in no way forces a choice between the two. Both are forms of capitalist rule. In fact, a clear understanding of the nature and of the precise characteristics of capitalism (whatever its form) makes it possible to more effectively fight capitalism and replace it with a system where the workers control their own destiny - a socialist society.

To say that Britain is moving towards the right is incorrect. The reverse is true - there is a shift to the left. The same is true of America and most advanced capitalist countries in Europe. The degree of radicalisation varies from country to country, and within each country. What is common to each is a general radicalisation of youth caused primarily by the American imperialist war in Vietnam, and now supplemented by other factors.



MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

Almost one year ago, (October 27th, 1968) 100,000 people (one-third of whom were workers) filled the streets of London in the biggest anti-war demonstration ever seen in Britain. The vast majority of the demonstrators turned out to show their opposition to the role of American and British imperialism in Vietnam and to identify themselves with the Vietnamese freedom fighters. Others clearly identified themselves with some other left-wing demand or campaign.

May Day, 1969, was quite different from other May Days in recent years. Over 250,000 workers

aged a 24 hour strike to protest against the anti-trade union legislation then being proposed by the Labour Government.

The student struggles, highlighted by militants tearing down the gates at the London School of Economics last January, show that the bourgeois educational authorities, while still having room to manoeuvre and grant concessions, are unable to halt this general radicalisation of student youth.

In Northern Ireland capitalist relations broke down completely a few weeks ago, when civil rights fighters commandeered everything on wheels to build barricades in order to stop the B specials and Paisleyite thugs from entering the Bogside. Almost every form of struggle used by the French workers and students in their May 1968 revolution reappeared in Derry only in a much more dramatic way.

Tory plans hatched in Westminster to raise Council rents and thereby impose a big cut in the standard of living of thousands of workers are being met by the organisation of tenants associations. Squatters movements are developing and empty properties are being taken over to rehouse the homeless.

All these struggles have taken place over the past two or three years and it is important to note that they have been taking place under a Labour Government and not a Conservative one. The consciousness of the participants is therefore much deeper.

THE REALITY OF THE SITUATION

To say that British politics are moving to the right is clearly not the reality and it is on reality that Marxists must base themselves to make their analysis. The strength of the ultra-right must be measured not only by what one or two individual leaders say or write, but also by how they and their supporters act. Up till now now, despite Wilson and Company playing into the hands of reaction by betraying everything the Labour Party ever stood for, there has not been one single demonstration held in support of the incomes policy; not one single demonstration numbering more than fifty held in support of the war in Vietnam; not one single demonstration or meeting held in England, Scotland or Wales in support of the B specials of Northern Ireland and the use of guns and tear gas against the Catholic minority there.

It does not follow that the vast majority of the population have a clear class understanding of all these issues. In fact a great deal of confusion exists. What is significant is that today, the voices of racism, reaction and anti communism do not receive a very receptive ear and the handful that do listen and agree are not prepared to do much about it.

The National Front and the super-white patriot Powell do not pose much of a fascist danger at this time, although they could at some future date. Potential fascist organisations become a

real danger when their demagogic appeals are picked up by hundreds of thousands of people, when these masses are organised and prepared to do battle with the working class and its organisations and when the ruling class has tried everything else and failed. As a last resort the ruling class will give the fascists their full support.

A fascist movement does not come into being due to the wishes of a few reactionary individuals, no matter how gifted and powerful they may seem. Such a movement can only arise when the ruling class (or the most powerful sector of it) feels its power seriously threatened and when the mass of the people, in a mood of despondency through a series of defeats desperately try and solve their social problems by getting rid of the "working class agitators", "communists", "jews", or "niggers", thus instituting a "strong" government.

The attacks in Leeds on Sikhs and Pakistanis by white lumpen elements should be taken seriously by everyone concerned with the preservation and extension of democratic rights. To let such things go by unheeded only gives confidence to the racist elements and increases the danger of further and more violent attacks. The black community has every right to organise itself for self-defence along the lines it considers necessary. Any qualification of this position is unthinkable.

THE NEED TO STRUGGLE

Racism and religious bigotry are inherent in capitalist society and backward ideas permeate even the working class and socialist organisations. To eliminate their root causes it is necessary to eliminate capitalism. This will be done when the working class and its allies launch massive struggles to better their economic and social conditions. Such struggles, when they take place will no doubt be daring and heroic but whether they can solve the basic conflict between capital and labour depends to a great extent on how far the working class is prepared to go and whether there is a vanguard organisation that is powerful enough to direct the struggle towards the seizure of power. Without such a combination of force the struggle will reach a climax and then the danger of repression becomes real. In such a situation the middle class hold the workers responsible for the crisis, and are influenced by right-wing propaganda and turn towards the fascist movement for a solution to their problems.

The tasks and problems we are faced with today are very different from those of fighting fascism. We have a leftward development which is much bigger and of much more importance than the polarisation that is taking place on the right. The tasks are to penetrate wherever this radicalisation occurs, to formulate transitional demands which are understood by the class yet deepen and push the struggle forward, and to build a combat organisation in preparation for this struggle. These are the tasks facing revolutionary socialists today.

For a free debate on Trotskyism and "Revisionism" by Bob Purdie

In recent issues INTERNATIONAL has taken up the cudgels against the Socialist Labour League over the way in which its youth movement manoeuvred to prevent a genuine debate between itself and the Young Communist League. This arose from the articles on Trotskyism published in the YCL magazine COGITO, written by Monty Johnstone.

We proved, by quoting from the correspondence published in KEEP LEFT, that the SLL YS had made their participation conditional on the YCL's agreement to three demands which were contrary to the minutes of a meeting between representatives of both organisations to arrange the debate.

This met with a furious attack by Cliff Slaughter in the NEWSLETTER of June 10th; following this we sent a letter of correction to the NEWSLETTER which it refused to acknowledge or print.

This letter also challenged the SLL to debate the International Marxist Group on the subject of "Building the Fourth International". Needless to say the SLL has proved to have cold feet over this challenge too. They have also proved rather tardy in organising the public meeting on the issue of Trotskyism and Stalinism which they promised in April's KEEP LEFT.

We therefore make no apology for returning to this subject in the pages of INTERNATIONAL, since we are denied the opportunity of doing so in public and we see the need to take up some of the more theoretical aspects of the discussion.

To Slaughter our motivation is not a desire to have a genuine discussion on Trotskyism and the Communist Parties but a longstanding inclination to "slander the revolutionary Marxist leadership, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists."

Actually, we consider that in our long struggle to develop unity in action on the British left, in the course of which revolutionary Marxist ideas and leadership would be vindicated, we have been too reluctant to subject the role of the SLL to extensive criticism, preferring to devote our energies to work of more immediate value to the British workers and the world revolution. This has meant that the SLL has been allowed to get away unchallenged with such accusations against us as Slaughter's in June 10th NEWSLETTER, regarding the role of the Marxist tendencies in the Labour Party youth organisation between 1960 and 1964:

"....these revisionists teamed up with the anti-soviet 'state-capitalist' group of Tony Cliff (in the paper REBEL) to provide a counterweight to KEEP LEFT. Not only that, they kept up a barrage of slanders and gossip about the organisation and leaders of the Socialist Labour League which provided a handle for every 'fake left' and every Transport House bureaucrat."

The facts about these accusations are the following: our small forces in the YS constantly sought to achieve unity between all Marxist and left forces in the YS on a principled basis, to combat the right wing and to develop the YS into a mass revolutionary youth movement, through a process of organic political struggle and internal discussion.

For this reason we participated in the united left youth paper YOUNG GUARD (not REBEL as Slaughter states), which involved, mainly, ourselves, INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM and the group which now publishes MILITANT. We broke from this when disagreement over analysis of the Soviet Union made it impossible for us to continue to participate on a principled basis.

It is rather difficult to fathom precisely what providing "the right wing with a counterweight to KEEP LEFT" actually means, but both during and after our involvement with YOUNG GUARD, the paper defended KEEP LEFT against the right-wing witch-hunt, and was itself viciously witch-hunted by Transport House.

At a later date we formed a common organisation with the group which now publishes MILITANT, to develop further our fight for Marxism within the labour movement. We broke with them when they defended the action of their supporters who voted for the expulsion of KEEP LEFT supporters from Wandsworth Labour Party.

In other words, throughout our fight within the YS, we put principles first, both of Marxist theory and the need for unity against the witch-hunt. We challenge the SLL to prove otherwise. If they cannot do that, they should not insult their readers' intelligence by blustering about "gossip and slander".

We are proud of our role in the YS; despite the smallness of our forces we never succumbed to the temptation to augment them by unity on an unprincipled basis; and had we been large enough to have a decisive independent influence we are con-

would have proved correct. And we consider that this strategy was negatively confirmed by the operation of the SLL's.

When the history of their methods within the YS is examined the precedents for their manoeuvres over the YCL debate can be seen; from the start they sought to seize the leadership of the YS, irrespective of the political results of their strategy. The YS in 1960 was filling up with youth who had been radicalised in the CND movement and the 1960 engineering apprentices strike. The majority were well to the left of TRIBUNE but a significant number did not initially become involved with any of the Marxist tendencies within the YS. It was this sector of the YS which at the same time supported the political line of the Marxists, and was persuaded by the right wing to condemn the tactics of KEEP LEFT at the first and second conferences of the YS.

They were persuaded to do this because of the methods KEEP LEFT supporters used in their attempt to achieve ascendancy within the YS. At the first YS conference they totally misjudged the situation and attempted to lead a rush on to the platform in order to eject the Transport House imposed chairman. This was a complete failure since the vast majority of the delegates were too inexperienced to understand fully the role of the bureaucracy. Combined with this the complete hostility and factional attitude towards other left tendencies, which KEEP LEFT expressed, alienated them from this sector of the YS. This factionalism, for which to be fair, KEEP LEFT was not solely responsible, tended to turn the YS into a bear garden, in which manoeuvre for the benefit of each tendency took precedence over both educating the uncommitted left elements and drawing into political activity new layers of young workers and students. The result was that the uncommitted elements streamed out of the YS disillusioned by their experience.

Thus it was that KEEP LEFT scraped together a majority in 1964, not by politically winning over the YS as it existed in 1960-61, but in a much reduced movement of which they were the most active elements. They have tried to build up a legend of their fighting to make the YS a mass youth movement, but the lobbies of Parliament in which they involved large numbers of unemployed youth, their social and sport activities drew only a small number of youth into the YS. The plain fact is that the YS in 1964 was a much smaller movement than it was in its initial stages.

The subsequent evolution of both KEEP LEFT YS and the League itself has, on the one hand, increased the isolationism and factionalism of these organisations, and on the other hand made them rely more and more on the tissue of mythology which they have woven about their experiences within the YS, in order to justify their attitude towards other Marxists. This explains their reluctance to debate outside the pages of their publications, where awkward arguments can be

easily ignored, and quotations selected, in order to conform to the needs of one or other stereotyped "answer", precisely as they have done with INTERNATIONAL.

It is for this reason that Slaughter throws in such pathetically weak arguments as the one about Bob Rowthorne's article in BLACK DWARF, on the National Convention of the Left. Comrade Rowthorne is not a member of the IMG, and while we would not accept Slaughter's interpretation of his article, neither would we associate ourselves with all of Rowthorne's views. Slaughter, however, claims that this article is the basis of our attitude towards the KEEP LEFT/YCL debate on the slender grounds that Tariq Ali who IS one of our members edits BLACK DWARF: in fact Tariq did not edit the issue to which Slaughter refers, since he was in Pakistan at the time. He also tries to back himself up by claiming that "all through last year the NEWSLETTER pointed out the way in which Purdie's group (working through the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign) capitulated to the Stalinists on the spurious grounds of a so-called "united-front." Slaughter is referring to the work for the mass demonstration of solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution which took place last October 27th. The IMG independently, and as part of VSC, took a major part in organising this, and participated on the Ad-Hoc Committee which co-ordinated the work for the demonstration. This committee was made up of representatives of a large number of organisations, among them the YCL and the Communist Party National Students' Committee (though the CP itself).

By no means did these latter organisations dominate the committee. In fact it is no secret that the YCL pressed hard for the route of the demonstration to encompass Grosvenor Sq., but this was voted down by the committee. How this squares with accusations of "capitulation to Stalinism" is rather hard to figure out, particularly since the YCL's participation represented a political somersault on their part. (Until about six months previously they had been denouncing as splitters those who stood for the principle of expressing solidarity with the National Liberation Front.

If Slaughter disagrees with Trotsky, and considers it wrong in principle to co-operate with the Communist Party or its youth organisation, on any basis whatsoever, he should have the courage to say so; failing that he should explain just what was wrong with our work for the October 27th demonstration, or we can only conclude that his objection has no political basis and is simply factional sour grapes.

But, of course, these other issues are secondary to the central theme of the NEWSLETTER's criticism, which is that the IMG, by condemning the methods used by the KEEP LEFT YS over the YCL debate, is expressing a revision of Trotskyist ideas about Communist Parties, and attempting to achieve an unprincipled alliance with the CP. We must, therefore, explain our motives in taking this attitude and our theoretical position with regard to the Communist Parties and their youth movements today.

to be continued in the next issue