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EDITORIAL

The anti-revisionist "movement" in Britain at the moment is composed of a number of small groups and individuals. The influence of this movement on British society is negligible. Their existence is due to an apparent recognition of the existence of revisionism in the world movement. I the word "apparent" here because there is very little evidence that the majority of these groups are prepared

Marxists and the Working
class Movement.
The National Question in
Britain.
The 'Bourgeois' Working Class.

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to define what they mean by revisionism, or that they are prepared to **analyse** the development of revisionism. In my opinion every situation in history demands of marxists that they accept priorities. The priorities will differ according to the situation. Where marxists are in control of the situation, they can to a very large extent determine the nature of the situation, and the priorities will be more clearly seen. When capitalism is in control of the situation, it to a very large extent determines the nature of the situation, and when it takes the form of social democracy which is the

present phase in the evolutionary development of British capitalism, and when this phase of its development stretches over a long period, and maintains a relatively high level of employment, the class-consciousness of workers in the main becomes blunted, but never obliterated.

There are many workers who do not lose their awareness, and (this may surprise some "marxists") because they are class-conscious they talk about class, and although they haven't got the "answers", other workers become class-conscious: the numbers increase in spite

of the unfavourable conditions. Class-conscious workers preach class war even though in many cases they have given up hope for their own class. The more determined are attracted to one or more of the various "left" parties, organisations or groups. The majority of those who are so attracted become disillusioned very quickly (a tribute to their objectivity?); the remainder spend the rest of their time pounding the drum of the particular organisation they belong to on their job, adding to the frustration of their fellow class conscious brothers (who still increase in number) without ever bringing an ounce of political clarity.

Here the situation is, and here the situation stays as far as the "marxists" are concerned. Where does the blame for this situation lie? Not with the workers. There are ^{more} "marxist" organisations in Britain today, and more class conscious workers, than there have ever been, and there is less political awareness among the workers. Does this situation not clearly indicate theoretical chaos, and absence of analysis?

In the present situation in Britain the cry that theory will develop out of practice, or even that theory and practice go hand-in-hand, is utter rubbish, just as is the shout of the trotskyists and revisionists to "force" labour to change its policies, and "support" the workers in their struggles for higher wages. On the other hand in any system of society where no clear analysis exists of the various forces (political and economic) operating in that society ~~exists~~ no theory exists. Clearly then the "practice" for marxists in such a situation is to undertake the analysis in order to develop the theory.

The marxist struggle for the overthrow of imperialism, and the promotion of world communism is being fought on an international front with each section playing its role according to the conditions determined for it by the demands of the international movement, and the objective situation in which it finds itself. And no section is more, or less, important than the other, providing it is playing its role. How do we in Britain determine what our role should be in order that we may contribute to the international struggle? We can best answer that point by first showing how not to work.

The circulation of the "little red book" in Britain can help the development of an anti-revisionist movement as can a number of other Chinese publications, which can be considered invaluable aids. But to take the view (as some sections of the "anti-revisionist" movement obviously do) that circulation of these works is in itself enough, and that no effort to relate the lessons contained within them to the concrete conditions in our own society is necessary, is worse than useless, its positively reactionary. No society can move forward to revolution unless the people who subjectively desire it have worked out a clear analysis of all the forces determining the society's development. If the comrades who circulate, or quote from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin or Mao have not undertaken this task, or are not in the process of doing so, the best that can be said of them is that they subjectively desire that their

Efforts will stimulate others to do the work that they themselves are not prepared to do. This attitude in itself is not a bad thing, but it does not make the people concerned anti-revisionists.

In British society which is a highly advanced capitalist system in a non-revolutionary phase of its evolution, if no comprehensive analysis of its recent political history exists, then no marxist organisation exists. The realisation in the minds of only a small number of people of the objective need for such an analysis would result in the emergence of a Marxist organisation. The refusal of the anti-revisionist movement to face this truth can only be accounted for on the basis of a purely subjective approach to the situation in which they find themselves. This has the effect of holding back the political development of the working class, and in the case of the people concerned they, after short periods of tub-thumping and slogan-shouting, emerge as out-and-out reactionaries (e.g. ACMLU/MLOB) when their dreams fail to materialise. It needs more than a casual glance at the state of the British anti-revisionist movement at the moment (a state which it took no more than 3 years to arrive at) to understand the need for political clarity. After months, and months of discussion, and argument, fragmentation, and more fragmentation what "lines" or "attitudes" have we ended up with? Here it is worthwhile to mention the positions that some of these "marxists" have arrived at.

One "theory" is that the British working class is a bourgeois working class; another is that the entire working class is a labour aristocracy with the exception of the lowest paid sections. Now these "theories" are not worth dwelling on, except to say that they arose out of the anti-revisionist movement and the people who hold them are still members of it. Of the remaining sections of the "anti-revisionist movement" in Britain no less than four of them will have constituted themselves as "parties" during the course of this year. Not one of them, to my knowledge, has put a pen to paper to explain the nature of British revisionism, its influence on British society as a whole, and on the British industrial working class in particular, or the effects of its influence.

To set up "parties" or even to issue vague calls for unity, as other sections of the anti-revisionist movement do before we have demonstrated that we understand at least something of all the forces operating in our own society is surely an indication of a purely subjective approach, i.e. a desire on the part of the people concerned to be associated with what clearly exists, (one does not have to be a marxist to see it) the world movement against imperialism and revisionism; but association in a passive sense, similar to a fan-club --sitting on the side-lines cheering on their heroes, but never taking part in the game. Such activities as far as the international movement's interests are concerned will pass until something better comes along. The international movement cannot determine the exact moment in which a British marxist organisation will appear on the scene. Only British marxists can do that. But if and when one does appear it would be welcomed by the international movement, (no matter how small in numbers) as a tremendously important factor in

the struggle.

Because of the nature of the role of British imperialism in the World situation, and because of the lack of understanding of the contradiction that exists in the political situation in Britain itself, one essential is necessary for a Marxist organisation -- the realisation on the part of each and every member of it of the necessity for theoretical clarity. Only a thorough analysis of recent international political history which gave rise to the various forms of revisionism which exist in Britain to-day can achieve such clarity. If we are not capable of understanding the necessity of theoretical clarity, and if we are not capable of undertaking the analysis necessary to arrive at such clarity, then our condemnation of the various forms of revisionism that exist in Britain amount to mere "cries in the wilderness". And indeed, each and everyone of the organisations which we subjectively condemn constitutes in reality a potentially more positive means of progress for the working class than we do. We are in fact less positive than the class conscious worker who continues to preach class war while having given up hope for his own class, his attitude can only induce apathy to the political level.

ON THE ECONOMIC LEVEL OURS BRINGS IT

A real Marxist organisation in Britain comprised of a fraction of the numerical strength of the combined "Marxist" parties and groups would constitute a powerful weapon for the promotion of the interests of the British working class and the international movement.

Can we achieve such an aim by ignoring the existence of these "parties" & groups, and concentrating on that section of the working class which is, as yet un-influenced by them? To answer this question it will be necessary to ask: what is the explanation for the attraction of such a large, and potentially powerful section of the working class into organisations which can only retard, or completely destroy its political development? There are two possible explanations. One is that this chaotic political situation is a true reflection of the conformity of the British movement to the demands of the international movement, and needs no further explanation, until such time as an explanation is called for, and supplied by the needs of the movement external to Britain. In other words there is no need of a British anti-revisionist movement, and the British working class exists as a reserve force to be organised, and called to action at a time in the future which will be determined by the strategic, and tactical demands of the international movement.

There is only one thing wrong with this sort of militaristic approach to the problem. Anyone with even a basic knowledge of military tactics knows that a reserve force is in reserve as part of the main body, and can be called into battle at any time if the course of the struggle deems it necessary. Further the reserve force is conscious of its position, it is aware that it is part of the main body, it understands the developments in the struggle,

it is organised and ready at a moments notice to enter the struggle. The British working class is none of these things, and it is the job of Marxists to ask why, not to benoan the fact. And that brings one to the second possible explanation, which is that 'organised marxism' as it exists in Britain today is merely an expression of various forms of reaction, and that these various forms of reaction, consciously or unconsciously exist as a brake on the potential development of the working class.

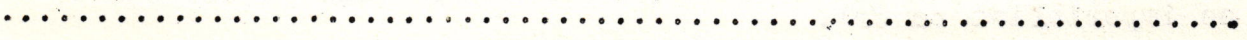
If this is true it follows that in the interests of the British working class and in the interests of the entire international movement, it is necessary for British Marxists to expose the various forms of reaction to the British working class and to the international movement, in order that, on the one hand the international movement can gauge the strength of the British movement, and on the otherhand the British working class can develop a true assesmsnet of the character of the international struggle.

There is one way, and only one way this can be done, and that is by isōlating the 'theorists' of the various reactionary movements from their supporters, and this can only be done by exposing the falseness of their 'theories'. Which in turn can only be done by a real Marxist theoretical analysis of their 'theories'

If such a programme of action properly carried out did not show results in terms of the development of the political awareness of the British working class then we would have to pay attention to those in the anti-revisionsit movement who talk in terms of the Bourgeois working class, or the entire working class being a labour aristocracy. But not before. We would indeed have to reconsider our position in relation to Marx. To undertake such a programme of action effectively will undoubtedly result in the people concerned being limited in their actual involvement with the current activities in the working class for a considerable time. But as the results of their efforts bear fruit, and begin to be channelled back into the movement they will begin to reestablish their position in the movement in a much more positive way, in such a way, that if their analyses are correct they would be entitled to refer to themselves as the vanguard of the working class. And it would not be long before the movement saw them as such.

To fail to undertake such a task will certainly result in the permanent isolation of the anti-revisionist movement and will leave the movement to the tender mercies of oppurtunism of one kind, or another.

G. Golden



THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN BRITAIN.

The March-April 1968 issue of 'Red Front' (M.L.O.B., i.e. Baker & Bland publication) carries an article called 'Brendon Cliffords Researches'. It purports to be a reply to an article on the history of Scotland in the 16th. and 17th. centuries, published in The Communist in November 1967.

This article was a refutation of M.Bakers contention that before the Puritan Revolution (1640) there was a single British nation; that Scottish and English nations had never existed; and that the triumph of capitalism in Scotland, ensured by the massacre of the clans at Culloden, served the interests of the Scottish masses. The main, historical part of this article is ignored by the author of 'Brendon Cliffords Researches', who relies on the probability that nobody will remember what was in the previous articles, and that nobody is interested enough to find out. And it must be admitted that in making that assumption he is very near the truth.

The answer to one of the secondary points runs as follows: " In 1891 cries Mr.Clifford triumphantly, Engels referred to the British Isles 'where the two islands are peopled by four nations". Mr. Clifford 'forgets', however, that Marxist-Leninists do not regard the classics of Marxism as 'holy writ'...In 1891 the Marxist concept 'nation' had not yet been developed". (Page 8).

In fact quoted from Lenin's State and Revolution. In this work, written five years after the nation had been scientifically (defined') by Stalin, and a year after Lenin himself had developed the theory of the national question in the imperialist era Lenin quoted this passage from Engels and added in his own words that despite appearances the national question had not been solved in Britain. That is the first piece of Bakers charlatanism

The second concerns Stalins analysis of the change in the content of the national question in the imperialist era. The M.L.O.B. is bothered about this, but does not quite know why it is bothered. Perhaps the matter is too simple to serve the purpose of tricksters. In the pre-imperialist era the essence of the national question was the question of the market; the attempt by the native bourgeoisie (e.g. the American) to control its own market. In the imperialist era national struggles cannot achieve success on the basis of the market. The national struggle then takes on the context of a struggle of the masses against imperialism. Its successes must in fact lead to the speedy elimination of the market as the regulator of national life, as in China, Vietnam, Albania; and if the dominance of the market is not abolished the independence of the nation cannot be maintained, imperialist domination must be restored, e.g. Yugoslavia (or, if the resources are great enough, that nation will itself become an imperialist power).

(Hence, if one bases oneself on 'definition of concepts', instead of an analysis of historical developments, one can only see para-

doxes. If the nation is defined as a category of the market how can there be a national struggle which is not led by the bourgeoisie, and whose success depends not on the consolidation of the national market, but on the abolition of the market as a regulator of national life?).

If the national question ceases to be essentially a question of market, if a national question develops in a society in which the market has not developed the bourgeois nation, if a national struggle develops, under the leadership of the working class, in a society whose subsistence economy has been disrupted by imperialism, and in which no unified national market has developed, and if the success of that national struggle depends on preventing the market from becoming the regulator of national life: then we have a very different state of affairs from that described in Stalin's 1912 article- as Stalin himself made clear.

Finally Mr. Baker struggles over the question of whether capitalism serves the best interests of the masses. He writes: "By the title of his article-'How Capitalism serves the People'- B.Clifford wishes to suggest that Hammer or Anvil is saying... that capitalism serves the interests of the masses now, in the period of general crisis of capitalism" (who reads the A.C.M.L.U. only holds that capitalism only served the people in the pre-imperialist era) "This is to sink to the depths of political dishonesty new even for trotskysts such as Clifford. (Page 9). (Mr. Watkins-Baker recently explained how he crushes trotskysts without bothering to find out what trotskysm is all about: he always calls them trotskystites! How one becomes a trotskyste in Baker's eyes seems to be largely a matter of chance. At a public meeting on March 23rd. he described Mao most of the time as a trotskyste, but occasionally as a Bucharinite. In his vocabulary the difference between the words 'kautskyste', Trotskyste', and 'bucharinite' is the same as that between scoundrel, blackguard and rogue).

I must try to regain my political honesty by assuring Mr. Watkins-Baker that, even though he is first of all an agent of his own shallow egoism and through that has become a very minor agent of imperialism, he has not to my knowledge ever said that imperialism serves the people. He has only said that the pre-imperialist capitalism that slaughtered the clansmen in cold blood at Culloden, and later drove the clans off the Highlands to starve and make way for animals served the best interests of the Scottish people.

Baker continues to insist that capitalism, at least when it was coming into existence, served the interests of the masses. In 'Capital' Marx shows precisely how capitalism served the interests of the people in England: by murder, degradation and starvation; and by lowering their standard of living far below that which existed under the feudal system that preceded it. To say that it was a historically necessary phase in the development of class society, and that it brought into being the forces and conditions

that can abolish class exploitation, is very different from saying that it served the interests of the people. It served their interests only by making them the gravediggers of this final, most intense, and most viscious form of class exploitation.

Baker quotes from Lenin's 'Two Tactics' in support of his view: '...the bourgeois revolution is in the highest degree advantageous to the proletariat.' That would seem to put the C.W.O. in opposition to Lenin on that score. But that's only the half of it. In the same work Lenin went on to say that 'a bourgeois revolution is more advantageous to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie'. Why didn't Mr. Baker crush us altogether by quoting that? Because once again it must be admitted that Mr. Baker is a charlatan. The first quote might pass without raising suspicions. The second certainly would't.

Did Lenin say that capitalist exploitation served the working class interest 'in the highest degree', and that the capitalist exploitation of labour was more advantageous to the workers than to the capitalists? If he did, then Mao as he appears in Baker's caricature would be a true Leninist. But of course Baker caricatures Lenin as well as Mao. He represents both as saying that capitalism serves the working class interest in the highest degree, and then agrees with Lenin while disagreeing Mao. (A most remarkable mind our Mr. Baker has!).

Of course Lenin did not hold this view any more than Mao does. I am not saying that he didn't write the words Baker quoted, or the words I quoted. He wrote them in the pamphlet in which he worked out the strategy for the working class in the Russian bourgeois democratic revolution, 'Two tactics of Social Democracy In the Democratic Revolution', 1905. In this work he showed that there were two possible outcomes of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia: a reactionary bourgeois dictatorship, most probably taking the form of a constitutional monarchy, or a 'revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'. The second outcome was possible because the belatedness of the overthrow of the autocracy permitted the development of a strong independent political movement of the working class. In the struggle for democratic political reforms it was possible for the workers, through forming an alliance with, and leading, the peasant revolution to ensure that the bourgeois revolution did not result in a reactionary bourgeois dictatorship, but in a revolutionary worker-peasant dictatorship.

Benefiting from the belatedness of the Russian bourgeois revolution, and learning from two and a half centuries of bourgeois revolutions abroad and from more than half a century of development of the Marxist movement abroad, the Russian workers could beat the Russian capitalists in the struggle for democratic political forms (the absence of which was shackling the development of capitalism in Russia).

The revolutionary worker-peasant dictatorship would bring about thorough political, social and economic (mainly agrarian) changes,

measures which, as Lenin explained, do not in themselves imply the abolition of capitalism, and in fact were most favourable to the rapid development of capitalism. But even though a thorough democratic revolution would bring about conditions favourable to the rapid development of capitalism (against feudalism), political power would not be in the hands of the bourgeoisie. What would happen then? Would the revolutionary worker-peasant dictatorship set about encouraging the development of the capitalist mode of production, which M. Baker sees as serving their interests (and which his idol Liu Shao-chi, tried to do in China)?

Lenin said: "When the time comes we shall attend directly to the question of the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat" (Two Tactics Page 95.). "The complete victory of the present revolution will mark the end of the democratic revolution and the beginning of a determined struggle for a socialist revolution". (ibid. Page 145). There was never any question (for Lenin) of the democratic dictatorship furthering the capitalist interest.

In 1917 the Leninist strategy ensured that the most thorough bourgeois revolution the world had seen sounded the death knell of capitalism. So we can see what Lenin meant he said that the bourgeois revolution 'is in the highest degree advantageous to the proletariat', and that 'a bourgeois revolution is more advantageous to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie'. He did not mean that capitalist exploitation served the interests of the masses. And nobody with any understanding of class struggle reading Two Tactics (as distinct from searching for quotes in it) could possibly fail to understand that Lenin was developing a strategy for preventing the bourgeoisie from gaining political power in the revolution to establish bourgeois-democratic political and social conditions, and for cutting short the development of capitalism in Russia at the point of the bourgeois revolution against Tsarism.

(Trotsky was never able to puzzle this out. Even when he started pretending to be a Leninist he insisted that this strategy was self contradictory. But then Trotsky was rarely able to make contact with anything but his own inspirations. Like Mr. Baker he was blinded to reality by the pure inspirational products of his own imagination.)

Capitalism does not serve the interests of the masses, whatever the disciples of Liu may say. (And how fitting it is that such a drab moraliser as Liu should have such thoroughly 'British' and middle class disciples as Mr. Baker and Mr. Bland). And it never served them less than when it was coming into existence in England.

the fact that capitalism was historically necessary, and that the emancipation of the masses lay through socialist revolution against capitalism, and not through pining for the re-establishment of pre-capitalist social forms, does not mean that capitalism

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serves (or served) the masses.

The bourgeois revolution is an entirely different matter. The bourgeois revolution even three centuries ago unleashed social forces whose interests were not in the least bourgeois; their common interest with the bourgeoisie only went as far as the destruction of feudal forms. In Russia, China and Vietnam the social forces of the masses released in the bourgeois democratic revolution were able to destroy capitalism at birth. (Of course, Mr. Baker's position has changed considerably since last year. Last year he was including Revisionist Russia and Eastern Europe in the socialist camp. Now he declares that even China is capitalist. The logic of his 'criticism' of Mao should lead him to make the same criticism of North Vietnam, but like the trotskyists whose company he has joined, he has't the guts to do this.

In my article in 'The Communist' last November I showed that the substance of his position was identical with Liu's even though he sloganised about Mao. His attack on Mao has not involved him in any change of approach or position. The skunk has merely discarded his flimsy camouflage and openly joined the company of his fellow skunks. But the nature of the stink has been unmistakable for a long time).

Why has Baker distorted Lenin in the manner? Is he a knave or is he a fool? The truth is that he is a bit of each.

THE BRITISH NATION.

Baker holds that 'it was not until 1950 that Stalin came to differentiate clearly between 'nation' on the one hand and the forerunner of a nation-'nationality' or 'pre-nation'-on the other'. Stalin did not claim to be the first Marxist to make these distinctions. In fact in 1866 Marx wrote that: 'the representatives of 'Young France' came out with the announcement that all nationalities and nations were 'antiquated prejudices' " (Selected correspondence Page 208). And in the 'Origin of the Family', Engels described how European nationalities which developed into the modern European nations came into being in the early middle ages.

Mr. Baker implies that when Engels said 'four nations' in 1891, he meant four nationalities. In any case Mr. Baker himself is now able to describe the British Isles more correctly as two islands peopled by two nations'. 'These two nations are the Irish and the British nations, the latter being composed of three nationalities'. (My emphasis).

IN Hammer or Anvil Nov-Dec 1966 Baker said that: "The British nation...has evolved from the fusion of three developing nationalities", through the "fusion of the development of three abortive nationalities." (Our emphasis). The fusion took place at least more than three and a quarter centuries ago, since the civil war was a class war between the British bourgeoisie and the British nobility...By this revolution the British bourgeoisie became the ruling class of Britain".

We must apply a bit of reason to this. If the English nationality had developed into an English nation it would no longer have existed as an English nationality. By becoming a nation it would have ceased to exist as a 'pre-nation'. Baker holds that it didn't become a nation, but that in the 16th. or early 17th century it 'fused' with the Scottish and Welsh nationalities to form a British nation.

What happened to the three nationalities once they had developed into a single nation? Having become the British nation did they cease to exist (as does every 'pre-nation' which becomes a nation) or did they still somehow or other continue to exist as separate 'pre-nations', despite the fact that they had become a single nation.

It has been generally accepted by Marxists that nations are unified by the market. Stalin writes that: 'With the appearance of capitalism, the elimination of feudal division and the formation of national markets, nationalities developed into nations'. (Marxism and Linguistics). A weak development of capitalism would therefore hinder the consolidation of a nation. Stalin pointed out that 'reverse processes also occur', when 'owing to the absence of the necessary economic conditions of development' the language of a nationality instead of developing into a national language splits up through its dialects into separate languages.

But since the 16th. century one thing that has certainly not been lacking in Britain is a strong development of capitalism to consolidate the single nation which, according to Baker was formed about that time. Yet, according to Baker the three ('abortive') nationalities still exist. There are three 'pre-nations' and one nation. The three 'abortive' nationalities fused to give birth to a single nation,, and yet they remain in existence along with that nation after more than three centuries, during part of which that nation was a master of the world to a degree that no nation ever was before or ever could be again.

Well, be that as it may, Baker now has to admit that there still are Scottish and Welsh nationalities. If he did not admit this he would have to explain the Scottish and Welsh nationalist movements as having been conjured out of the air. And having made this concession to reality his various ideas cannot be made to dovetail. On the one hand he denies what on the otherhand he asserts.

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In the Jan-Feb 1968 issue of Vanguard, R. Archbold comes out in support of the M.L.O.B.'s distortion of British history. (Archbold until recently a contributor to the Communist and Irish Communist now, for reasons best known to himself, declares the C.W. O. and I.C.O. to be lumpenproletarian trotskyist bodies. They have been the only consistent exposers of trotskyism and defenders of Stalin over the past few years because 'that is the best disguise for trotskyism'. Furthermore, 'Not only are they branded as

trotskyists everywhere' (i.e. by Archbold; by I.Kenna (F.C.A.) who characterises the British working class as a whole as a labour aristocracy whose intobjective interest is served by collaborating with the imperialists to exploit the neo-colonies and by Baker-Bland who declare that Mao is a trotskyist and a fascisit)

Archbold writes: 'Britain is one nation, composed of its constituent parts of Scotland, England and Wales, historically evolved and developed with the growth of capitalism. To deny that Britain is one nation is to deny the historical development of Britain as one nation, occupying a single territory, having a common language, integrated economy, and an overall common culture. The fact that a 5% minority in Wales and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ % in Scotland, speak Cymreig and Gaelic respectively, is the best proof that English is the common language of the British nation, not because of forced anglicisation, but because it has historically superceded the former language.

The remnants of Scottish and Welsh culture are relics of the past and one of the preserves of bourgeois intellectuals and professionals, and not their possession of the working class in either country. The defeat of Charles Edward Stuart was not the destruction of Scottish national independence, but the defeat of feudal and reactionary forces. The merchants and bankers centred in Edinburgh did not support 'Bonnie Charkie' but George. Their class interest demanded this, the merging of the class interests of the bourgeoisie of Scotland and England (England Mr. Archbold What about Wales which was already in the Union) at a time when the bourgeoisie in the struggle against feudalism was a revolutionary class; when they could claim to speak in the name of 'freedom' and 'liberty'..." (Pages 5/6).

Only a man whose soul has been rotted to the core by imperialist ideology could represent the butchery at Cullodern as a triumph for 'freedom' and 'liberty', or of the Highland clearances as a victory for progress. He will find no support for such views in Marx. Let Mr. Archbold try to make his bourgeois drivel tally with Marx's writing on the defelopment of capitalism in England, and of the Highland clearances (which finally broke the back of 'reaction' in Scotland) in Vol. I. of Capital.

When the English bourgeoisie was at its most revolutionary when it was constructing the bourgeois state in England, this revolution was endangered by a rebellion in Ireland which had its basis in a historically obsolescent mode of production. Cromwell, the most revolutionary bourgeois leader who has ever existed in Britain went to Ireland with his Army, the most democratic bourgeois army that ever existed, to put down Irish reaction. Ireland at that time constituted a greater threat to the bourgeois revolution than the 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' incident of a century later. But did Marx ever breath a word of support for Cromwell's Irish campaign?

A century after the Union with Scotland saw the 'merging of the class interests of the bourgeoisie' of Ireland and Britain.

The Irish Parliament liquidated itself and Ireland came into the Union. Perhaps Mr. Archbold would care to explain why Ireland did not thereby become part of the British nation.

Mr. Archbold treat Scottish and Welsh cultures as 'relics of the past' (Baker's phrase is 'survivals from the past'). Only 5% of the Welsh speak Welsh and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the Scottish speak Scottish. Perhaps Mr. Archbold would care to say what percentage of the Irish speak Irish. He will find that there are fewer native speakers of Gaelic in Ireland than in Scotland or Wales. English 'has historically superceded the former language', to use an imperialist way of putting it.

As to the existance of a separate Irish capitalism, the Irish bourgeoisie merged their interests with the British bourgeoisie in 1800. The national movements of Tone, Emmett and the Fenians were opposed by the bourgeoisie in Ireland (which were just as much the Irish section of the British bourgeoisie as those in Scotland were the Scottish section).

As to unity of economic life: the Partition of Ireland by imperialism was based on the diunity of Irish economic life: on the fact that the economy of the North could not exist without the British market while the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the South wanted protection against that market.

In treating the national question as being essentially a question of the market (as he does in a letter to Workers Broadsheet Jan-Feb. 1968) Mr. Archbold does not base himself on Stalin's analysis, but on Kautskys and Trotskys. Stalin showed that in the era of imperialism the essence of the national question was the struggle of the masses against imperialism. With his Kautskyite outlook Mr. Archbold could make no sense of the national struggle in Ireland. He has of course to pay lie service to it, but despit the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Connolly on this aspect of the national question in Britain, it is clear that it is all Dutch to him, as to Mr. Baker.

'Red Front' asserts that the C.W.O. has 'endorsed the reactionary pseudo-nationalist views put forward by the S.W.P. (Page 9). The writer in Red Front, of course, knows that this is a lie (which 'history' will justify). In fact the C.W.O. has pointed out that neither the M.L.O.B nor the S.W.P. have implemented the Marxist principle that all the workers oppressed by one state should form a common organisation, irrespective of national differences within the State.

The Only British state is the United Kingdom state. Marxists therefore should begin from the principle of a single U.K. organisation, and only abandon that principle if it proves impossible in practice to implement it. But neither the M.L.O.B. Mr. Archbold or the S.W.P. base themselves on the state principle of organisation. All base themselves on the national principle of organisation. Their differences arise from disagreements as to which nations exists. All are nationalist in outlook. All stand

for national principle in party organisation. All refuse to stand for the Marxist principle of organisation of all the workers under the U.K. state in a single organisation. All stand for the organisation of a party which includes a segment of the existing state, and basis itself on nationality.

The M.L.O.B. has consistently refused to acknowledge the existence of the U.K. state. At a public meeting in November 1967 Mr. Bland declared that if a British party included the N. Ireland region of the U.K. state it should also, to be logical include Hong Kong. Hong Kong occupies the same position as N.Ireland. In this he was parroting Mr. I.Kenna of the F.C.A. who has over a period of years ridiculed the idea of organising a party along state lines, and declared that if it included N.Ireland it should also include Hong Kong, Malta etc.

Yet none of them can refute the statement that the state machine in N.Ireland is part of the British state machine in the same sense the state machine in Scotland or Cornwall is. The State machine in N.Ireland is distinguished only by having the most highly developed coercive organs, armed police, armed special forces, naked brutality, no pretence of Habeus Corpus, political prisoners etc. By washing their hands of this section of the U.K. state they are not 'recognising' Irish independence: they are recognising the Lloyd George-Churchill's 'solution' of the Irish question.

If the C.W.O. has not published an account of its disagreements with the S.W.P. that is because we consider it a more urgent matter to expose those anti-revisionist groups in England who are saturated with the British imperialist outlook, and who have been falsifying the history of Scotland along imperialist lines in an attempt to justify their opportunism.

The imperialist outlook of the majority of the anti-revisionist groups in England does not of course justify Marxists in Scotland making concessions to the bourgeois nationalist outlook, but it is undoubtedly one of the contributory causes of their concession to bourgeois nationalism. And since 'The Communist' is published in London it must settle accounts (theoretically) with the imperialist outlook before it can deal scientifically with the question of Scottish nationalism. There may be 'nationalist disruption in Scotland' but there is also imperialist disruption in England, whose agents are Mr. Baker etc. First things first.

.....

We recognise that we have not made a thorough analysis of the present state of the national question in Britain, and that this must be done. But such an analysis must be made historically. An analysis which begins with a falsification of the 17th. century in order to justify a certain line of tactics is totally opportunist.

It is clear that, as Lenin said in State and Revolution the national question in Britain has not been solved. This means that there is still an objective basis for national movements. The rise of Scottish and Welsh nationalism has proven Lenin's statement: they could not have arisen without an objective basis. Baker, Archbold, etc., are in the ludicrous position of condemning these national movements for having arisen without an objective basis, i.e. for performing a miracle. We hope in the coming months to produce a historical treatment of the national question in Britain and as a consequence an analysis of the present national movements.

B. Clifford.

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THE 'BOURGEOIS' WORKING CLASS.

At a symposium on Neo-Colonialism organised by the Spirit of Bandung committee on Saturday March 30th. 1968 H. Edwards, an American, gave a new lease of life to an old idea in the movement. With such phrases as the British workers are 'bribed agents of capitalism' the unbroken role of Western working classes in opposing Colonial liberation,; she proved that the bourgeois working class idea is still very much alive in the movement. After her contribution A.H. Evans, who thanked Edwards for her 'striking contribution', and I. Kenna both spoke from the floor explaining how they have supported the bourgeois working class idea for years.

During the whole period of discussion B. Clifford was attempting to gain the chairmans permission to speak. He eventually took the floor when the chairmans subtle vigilance in stopping him slackened.

Apart from a handful of people in the predominantly student audience. everyone supported this counter-revolutionary idea of the 'bourgeois working class'.

After a question from the floor which was not given a straight answer by Edwards it became obvious that a genuine discussion on this controversial issue was not going to be allowed.

At this point H. Bains left the platform, and other members of the audience left the meeting, including supporters of 'The Communist'

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Letters from readers will have to be carried over for publication in the next issue of 'The Communist', along with the next part of the analysis of Yugoslavia.

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