

NATIONAL COMMITTEE 9 /10 OCTOBER 1982

Saturday

- 11.30 Political report - Cunliffe
- 12 Youth work - Hunt
- 12.30 Finance - Kinnell
- 1 Break
- 1.45 Premises - Levy/Hill
- 2 Conference preparations - Hill
- 3.30 International work - Cunliffe (report; decisions to be taken at next NC, one day of which will be reserved for this)
- 4.15 RWL - Smith
- 5.30 End

Sunday

- 10.00 Minutes
- 10.30 NHS - Chorley
- 11.20 NUM - Glover
- 11.40 Labour Party
 - Report on broad groups - Hill
 - Resolution - Kendall
 - Resolution - Carolan
 - Resolution - Kinnell
 - (1 to 1.45 - break)
- 2.30 Women's commission report - Parkinson
- 3 Police accountability - Kinnell
- 4 Letter from Matthews
- 4.30 End

CONFERENCE: There is a resolution from Leicester, regretting the decision to postpone the conference and asking that the pre-conference discussion be opened as soon as possible.

KINNELL RESOLUTION:

1. Our guideline for tactics should be total inflexibility on political content, total flexibility on forms of organisation and expression.
2. The present witch-hunt makes it very likely that soon we will not be able to operate in the O as openly as at present.
3. Whatever happens, we will need to maintain some method of publishing our full politics.
4. Tactical choices must however be guided by the strategic importance of the O and the tactical importance in the near future of being within the struggles of the broad O Left that will come into conflict with a new Labour government or be forced to rethink by a new Labour defeat.
5. In the event of our present methods of expression being banned, the option of only publishing our full politics - i.e. of breaking with the O to proclaim an alternative party - is to be rejected. So is the option of remaining in the O only to do 'illegal' work there. We need also to prepare possible channels of 'legal' work in the O to supplement our 'illegal' work.
6. The best such channels that can be seen at present are the various local 'B' and the 'T' groups being set up around the new T. We should prepare paths. Possibly

these contingency plans will be unnecessary, but we should maintain as many options as we can.

The NC therefore instructs members:

- a) To get involved in local 'B' where they exist, or in moves to develop new ones,
- b) to float the idea of a national conference of 'B' groups,
- c) To get involved in local 'T' groups where they exist, *being aware that this involves selling a few copies of T, using 30 as focal pt.*
- d) The NC further instructs the OC to develop a systematic policy of contributions by our comrades to T.

KINNELL RESOLUTION ON POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY

We should campaign boldly and positively for the bourgeois democratic demands of accountability, sacking certain police chiefs, etc.

The demand for local councils to control the police is the boldest, simplest summing-up of the bourgeois-democratic demands. It can also be readily linked to immediate practical proposals:

- for Labour councils to set up unofficial police committees, to which they co-opt local trade unionists, black community representatives, etc. For these committees to publicly demand the right to inspect police stations and police files, to hear and investigate complaints against the police, etc.

- for Labour councillors to use their existing positions on county police committees in an active and campaigning way.

These bourgeois-democratic demands would not detract from or contradict more advanced demands like disbanding the police, workers' defence patrols, withdrawal of police from specific areas, etc. On the contrary, they would be a fruitful path of development towards the more advanced demands (which we should also continue to put forward).

On the level of general principle, bourgeois-democratic control of the police can very well co-exist with capitalism. It does, more or less, in the USA. But in Britain, with a strong political labour movement and a fairly high level of class struggle, formal bourgeois-democratic control would rapidly lead to clashes between Labour councils and the police. The police would defy the council's policy. Then either the council would abandon its formal rights to control (that's what would happen if the present leadership of the labour movement is able to decide the matter), or it would move to break up the command structures of the police.

The bourgeois-democratic demands could mobilise the labour movement in conflict with the police - and then the outcome of the conflict would depend on our struggle for leadership within the labour movement.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 7.10.82

Present: Kinnell, Cunliffe, Carolan, Smith, Morrow, Levy, Jones

1. MINUTES

Levy submitted an addition to the minutes of 16.9.82 (see below).

Cunliffe moved that in future decisions only be minuted unless there is a specific decision to minute full discussion. Agreed.

2. CURRENT SITUATION

BL Cowley: Smith reported briefly on victimisation moves.

NES: a) Morrow moved that we should argue against any immediate date for a national NES shop stewards' conference, on grounds that it would be unrealistic. Agreed.

b) Noted that Evington had argued against our other comrades on this in HUTC meetings. Agreed to instruct him that he must consult with other comrades if unable to attend caucus meetings.

c) Resolution received from Leicester proposing that we should call for cross-union action committees, for regional link-ups, and that we should discuss perspective of a national strike committee.

Agreed: we should raise demand for TUC HSC to call a national shop stewards conference, in the perspective of this conference electing a national strike committee.

3. N.C. PREPARATIONS

Agreed: a) Next NC to be 2 days with 1 day for international work only.

b) Timing priorities for this NC to be conference preparations/ RUL/ Labour Party.

c) On finance: Morrow to attempt to query college costings. EC to make statement to NC that we made a serious error on summer school budgeting.

d) On LP issue: Carolan asked if any comrade was intending to call for a special conference on this, and reply was no.

4. LETTER FROM OLIVER (on question of ed James standing as candidate)

Agreed to discuss at NC with Coventry eds with letter from ed James to hand.

5. MAGAZINE INSERT

Agreed minority statement to be done and technical work completed Friday.

6. MAGAZINE

Agreed Carolan to make a brief report at NC

7. BROAD GROUPS CONSTITUTION

Agreed to make detailed amendments to make it more 'legal'.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 3.10.82

Present: Smith, Jones, Carolan, Hill, Gardiner, Kinnell, Parkinson, Noonan.

1. LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

Hill reported: discussion.

2. NHS

Jones: formulation 'series of one day GSs' is wrong. We should call for 'a one-day GS as part of the preparation for an all-out GS'.

Agreed with 1 abstention (Kinnell).

3. BL

Smith reported: discussion.

4. LIBEL CASE

Hill reported: discussion. Agreed to consider resolutions at next meeting.

5. NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Carolan reported proposal from Morrow to restore parity on NC. Discussion. Eventually Jones proposed that we should continue with NC as it is. Agreed.

6. RWL/LELAND

Discussion on minutes of EC 23.9.82. Agreed that a statement from Smith should be reported in the minutes; further discussion on the political issues next time.

Statement from Smith: It has been normal procedure that overseas visitors phone Oxford, contact individuals, Leland discussed with me and Jones simply because it was not possible to get a committee meeting together. There was no lack of attempts to arrange discussions with other individuals. I suggested to Leland he go to Leicester because I would not be able to discuss with him for a couple of days.

7. MAGAZINE INSERT

Kinnell reported that Carolan (who by this point had had to leave to speak at a meeting) wished to propose a short minority statement be added to insert. Agreed Carolan to discuss with Cunliffe, but insert not to be delayed: any problems to next EC.

Implementation of Armstrong resolution: Cunliffe & Kinnell reported proposals.

a) Reading list to be circulated.

b) Comrades to be invited to work on discussion documents. Kinnell said he would do one - an attempt at a survey of some of the literature. As many eds as possible to be involved through circulating drafts, notes, etc.

c) A day school to be fixed up when some of these discussion documents are ready.

Agreed.

(3.10.82 continued)

8. AOB.

Jones: pipeline article by McVicar appears to support Reagan boycott.
Other cds thought not - but agreed Jones write a letter to paper.

Discussion on arrangements for EBs. Agreed to combine them with ECs or
OCs on Sundays.

Levy addition to EC minutes 16.9.82

The decision to reopen debate on the Malvinas issue at the annual conference is disturbing. Comrades have every right to do so but they should consider the implications. What the special conference discussions showed were real differences between the two sides on basic issues such as the nature of imperialism. Adopting the new position has not resolved that; comrades remain convinced that they are right, which is understandable. But one of the points made by the former majority OC comrades against having the special conference was that we needed, not a conference, but a thorough and lengthy debate within the organisation to grapple with the theoretical differences which had arisen. Their other major objection was that the ending of the war had made the issue dead. I think both views had some weight then, but are even more applicable now. The decision to have a further vote will totally dominate a conference where there is so much else we should be discussing to take forward our daily work. We already have agreed to a resolution calling for an extensive internal theoretical discussion on the differences flowing from the Malvinas war. That is the best way to proceed.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE 19.9.82

Present: Carolan, Chorley, Collins, Cunliffe, Fraser, Gardiner, Grassac, Gunther, Hill, Hunt, James, Johnson, Keith, Kendall, Kinnell, Levy, Lewis, Maddo, Morrow, Noonan, Oliver, Parsons, Wheeler, Whettling, Wolf.

Apologies: Smith, Jones, Parkinson, Armstrong, Stevenson, Hotchkiss, Booth, Jagger, Piggot, Traven

Apologies for parts of meeting: Grassac, Morrow, Wheeler, Cunliffe, Kinnell, James, Whettling, Oliver.

Absent without apologies: Harding, Harrison, Macdouglass, McVicar, Matthews, Pearson, Picton, St John

1. SEPTEMBER 22

Discussion. Proposal: Hill/Levy/Chorley. Agreed unanimously (see list of NC decisions).

2. NC PREPARATIONS

Gunther: all comrades must be notified of time and place at least 2 weeks before the meeting.

Carried, 10 votes to 5. Keith: Does this mean that any NC not satisfying these conditions is invalid? Agreed that it did not.

Parsons: what about discussion on RML? Agreed that it would be at next NC.

3. LABOUR PARTY

Kendall: moved a resolution - to be voted on at October meeting.

Gunther: resolution on October 30 conference. Carried unanimously.

4. NEWSLINE SLANDER CAMPAIGN

Report from Cunliffe and discussion.

Parsons: We should sue the Oxford Mail.

Morrow: Should press for Oxford TC to set up a LM inquiry.

Levy: Should do a circular to members.

Keith: Should do a statement for the left press.

5. DAI AND SARAH S.

Chorley: moved Manchester branch motion for expulsion on grounds of moving out of country without adequate consultation.

Parsons: motion (as on list of NC decisions, bar last para).

Collins: addition to Parsons motion (i.e. last para as printed).

Manchester motion defeated, 9 for, 13 against, 1 abst.

Collins amendment carried, 19 for, 0 against, 4 abst.

Parsons motion as amended, carried, 14 for, 6 against, 4 abst.

Keith: "Should eds D and S move to Germany, this NC believes they will be putting themselves outside the organisation. The WSL should in this

case maintain closest relations with them, but will not view them as members". Ruled out of order.

6. LABOUR PARTY

Gunther and Morrow put rival resolutions.

Gardiner: Postpone discussion to October 3.

Carried, 1 vote against, 4 abst.

7. OXFORD READMISSIONS

Hill: moved EC recommendation that Todd, Ann M, Mary W be readmitted initially as candidate members.

Carried, 14 for, 8 against, 2 abst.

7. CONFERENCE

EC proposal: to postpone conference to New Year.

Parsons amendment: to decide date at next NC.

Wheeler amendment: to open pre-conference period immediately.

Parsons amendment carried, 11 for, 4 against, 5 abst.

EC resolution carried as amended, 19 for, 4 against, 0 abst.

Wheeler amendment: agreed that it would be referred to October NC.

8. SPECIAL CONFERENCE

Kinnell: motion to freeze discussion.

Carried, 14 for, 4 against, 2 abst.

9. FINANCE

Cunliffe: motion on fund-raising for summer school deficit.

Carried, 1 against.

Levy: EC should investigate summer school budget.

Parsons: Accounts of summer school should be circulated.

A meter should be installed on centre phone.

10. I.M.G.

EC: motion. Carried unanimously.

11. INTERNATIONAL WORK

Brief report from Cunliffe.

READING ON IMPERIALISM: SOME NOTES

To study modern monopoly-capitalist imperialism is to study the world economy over the last 100 years. A vast range of theoretical ideas and empirical research is therefore relevant. The list below is extremely selective. (Moreover, much of it assumes a knowledge of basic Marxist texts). Even so, it represents a lot of reading. The list may be useful, however, to comrades willing to put some effort into theoretical self-education, and save them from getting completely lost in the mass of relevant books and articles.

The list focuses heavily on Latin America: this does mean, however, that comparison of different theoretical views is sometimes easier because the same country is under discussion from the different views.

BASIC MARXIST TEXTS

Lenin, 'Imperialism, the highest state of capitalism' (Moscow pamphlet)

Bukharin, 'Imperialism and world economy' (Merlin 1972)

Luxemburg, 'The Accumulation of Capital' (RKP 1951).

SURVEYS

Tom Kemp, 'Theories of Imperialism' (Dobson 1967). Covers Hobson, Luxemburg, Lenin, Stalinists, and 'political' theories of imperialism: a "scientific dissection of opposing theories" (from a Marxist viewpoint), rather than a positive empirical study.

Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, 'Studies in the theory of imperialism' (Longman 1972). A collection of articles under 3 headings: theories of imperialism (i.e., mostly, Marxist theories); theoretical aspects of contemporary imperialism (Magdoff on 'imperialism without colonies' and Sutcliffe on 'imperialism and industrialisation in the 3rd World'); and 'case studies in the working of imperialism' (Egypt 1789-1882, India since independence, Guinea to 1958, Belgian imperialism in the late 19th century, French expansion in Africa, British capitalism in Latin America before 1914.) (The case studies are sometimes from Marxist, sometimes from decidedly non-Marxist, viewpoints).

Michael Barratt Brown, 'The economics of imperialism' (Penguin 1974). A convenient, short and clear summary of the whole literature (Marxist and non-Marxist), with empirical background. Marxist-inclined.

Ernest Mandel, 'Late Capitalism' (NLB 1975), chapters 3, 10, 11. These chapters summarise some main facts about post-war development and survey a lot of the literature. They can be read separately from the rest of the book.

SOME POST-WAR MARXIST MATERIAL

Paul Baran, 'The Political Economy of Growth' (Monthly Review Press 1957). "The principal obstacle to rapid economic growth in the backward countries is the way in which their potential economic surplus is utilised. It is absorbed by various forms of excess consumption of the upper class, by increments to hoards at home and abroad, by the maintenance of vast unproductive bureaucracies and of even more expensive and no less redundant military establishments. A very large share of it... is withdrawn by foreign capital". Baran's book was a pioneer of modern studies on imperialism from the angle of how it 'underdevelops' poorer countries; the basic idea taken over into these studies is that it 'underdevelops' these countries by siphoning off profits from them. The 'underdevelopment' is measured by comparison with what Baran sees as the success of Socialism In One Country in the USSR.

Andre Gunder Frank, 'Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America: historical studies of Chile and Brazil' (MR Press revised edition 1969). This book takes off from Baran's ideas and develops two further ideas:

a) A polemic against the idea shared by bourgeois theorists and traditional Stalinists that Latin American economies are 'dual' economies,

with a progressive capitalist sector alongside a backward feudal sector: "no part of the economy is feudal and all of it is fully integrated into a single capitalist system".

b) Capitalism creates a pattern of metropolis-satellite or centre - periphery relations: primarily internationally but also within countries. Internationally, "the metropolis expropriates economic surplus from its satellites and appropriates it for its own economic development". Thus: "the development of underdevelopment".

Frank has a political conclusion: "The historical mission and role of the bourgeoisie in Latin America - which was to accompany and to promote the underdevelopment of its society and of itself - is finished. In Latin America as elsewhere, the role of promoting historical progress has now fallen to the masses of the people alone... To applaud and in the name of the people even to support the bourgeoisie in its already played-out role on the stage of history is treacherous or treachery".

This is aimed against the Latin American CPs. It should be noted, however, that Frank is not very consistent about his political conclusion. Despite the above he comments, for example, on Brazil before the 1964 coup: "The progressive forces, including Brazilian nationalist business interests, had offered (president) Goulart an alternative... (but) Goulart again tried to put off demands of the progressive forces..." ('Underdevelopment and Revolution' p.346-7).

Harry Magdoff: 'The Age of Imperialism: The Economics of US foreign policy' (MR Press 1969). This sets out to show in some factual detail "that there is a close parallel between, on the one hand, the aggressive United States foreign policy aimed at controlling (directly and indirectly) as much of the globe as possible, and, on the other hand, an energetic expansionist policy of US business".

Ernesto Laclau, 'Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America', in New Left Review no.67, May-June 1971. This is a critique of Frank. He argues that Frank mis-defines capitalism as just a market economy, a system of exchange. But capitalism is a mode of production - and non-capitalist modes of production have been important and still exist in Latin America. Frank, Laclau complains, bundles together centuries of world history into one set of concepts (capitalism, metropolis-satellite), but: "It seems to me more useful to underline (the) differences and discontinuities than to attempt to show the continuity and identity of the process from Hernan Cortes to General Motors". Baran's model (which underlies Frank) is, he argues, "consistently less applicable today to contemporary Latin America." Laclau, however, agrees with Frank in rejecting the 'dual' economy model. The capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production in Latin American countries are closely linked into one - capitalist - economic system.

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, 'Dependency and Development in Latin America', in New Left Review no.74, July-August 1972. Giving facts on post-war development in Latin America, Cardoso concludes: "The idea that there occurs a kind of development of underdevelopment, apart from the play on words, is not helpful. In fact, dependency, monopoly capitalism, and development are not contradictory terms: there occurs a kind of dependent capitalist development in the sectors of the Third World integrated into the new forms of monopolistic expansion". (He especially highlights the shift of imperialist investment in Latin America and elsewhere from raw materials into manufacturing).

(Note: There are many who argue that Cardoso, in retaining Frank's idea of 'dependency' or 'periphery' while opposing the notion that it means across-the-board underdevelopment, is trying to square the circle. See for example Ed Ellis's articles in the Internal Bulletin. The arguments against 'dependency' theory are summarised in chapter 7 of Bill Warren, 'Imperialism, pioneer of capitalism', New Left Books 1980. Warren's general views are not necessarily shared by all opponents of 'dependency' theory.)

Bill Warren, 'Imperialism and capitalist industrialisation', in New Left Review no. 81, September-October 1973; Arghiri Emmanuel, 'Myths of development versus myths of underdevelopment', and Philip McMichael, James Petras, and Robert

Rhodes, 'Imperialism and the contradictions of development', both in New Left Review no.85, May-June 1974.

If Cardoso represents a cautious and selective critique of the Baran/Frank underdevelopment theory, Warren represents the most extreme all-out assault on it. He argues that empirical evidence shows that "a major upsurge of capitalism is taking place in the Third World", and that on the whole imperialism is likely to promote capitalist development in the Third World. The 'underdevelopment' theory is likely to make socialists dupes of Third World bourgeois nationalism. (Warren's book mentioned above is a longer development of the same argument).

Emmanuel is the author of an influential book ('Unequal Exchange', New Left Books 1972), which analyses imperialism in terms of exchange relations favouring rich countries (i.e. they get high prices for their products) and exploiting poor countries (i.e. they get low prices). (His political conclusion is that "the contradictions between classes within the advanced countries, which still undoubtedly subsist, have nevertheless become historically secondary. The principal contradiction, and driving force for change, are henceforth located in the realm of international economic relations").

He concedes to Warren that there has been a 'wave of industrialisation' in the Third World, and "an improvement in the bargaining position of host countries vis-a-vis foreign resource companies", which some have wanted to deny out of dogmatism. He agrees that: "The mere arrival of foreign capital in a country... enslaves or develops the country just as much as any other capital, neither more nor less". But he argues that Warren exaggerates his statistics - and that world capitalist inequality is self-reproducing because new capitalist investment will generally flow more to richer areas.

McMichael and others also criticise Warren's use of figures. They conclude that: "Capitalist development in the Third World today means dependent growth in a small proportion of countries, for the benefit of a small proportion of the population".

Ruy Mauro Marini, 'Brazilian "interdependence" and imperialist integration', in Monthly Review, December 1965; 'Brazilian sub-imperialism', in Monthly Review, February 1972. These are a pioneering study of sub-imperialism - defined as "the form which dependent capitalism assumes upon reaching the stage of monopolies and finance capital" - in Brazil following the 1964 military coup.

Andre Gunder Frank, 'Crisis: in the world economy' and 'Crisis: in the Third World', both Heinemann, 1980^{and 1981}. These books give a bulky, but vivid and readable, introduction to the crisis of the 1970s, with a lot of factual material. The scrapbook-type style makes them quite suitable for dipping in and reading individual chapters and sections.

Walter Rodney, 'How Europe underdeveloped Africa', Bogle-L'Ouverture 1972. Rodney was a black Guyanese Marxist, assassinated by political enemies in 1980. This book is of course outside the Latin American focus of the rest of this list; but it is a detailed and closely-argued exposition of the 'development of underdevelopment' through a historical account from the 15th century to the end of the colonial period. Its political limitations are indicated by the fact that a final section was provided by a minister in the Tanzanian government.

September 1982

Cunliffe
Kinnell

PS: This list is limited, of course, not only by our concern to keep it short, but also by our ignorance. It would be useful if comrades who want to recommend to our special attention books or articles not mentioned above (or want to argue that some of these mentioned above do not deserve attention) would write in, so that their suggestions can be circulated.