

THE
SOCIALIST REGISTER
1968

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PREFACE

THIS is the fifth volume of *The Socialist Register* and is intended, like its predecessors, to contribute to the discussion of some major aspects of socialist theory and practice. Since we are still asked why we do not "cover" many areas which are both important and topical, we should like to say once again that it is not our purpose, in any one year, to provide such "coverage", nor would it in any case be possible to do so. However, we do believe, and the favourable reception which the *Register* has had from readers in many countries would tend to confirm, that the essays we are able to publish year by year provide a useful if modest contribution to the kind of discussion which is required in the socialist movement, or for that matter outside it. For this, we have to thank our contributors and we do so most warmly. Our thanks are also due to Ben Brewster, who translated the essays by André Gorz and K. S. Karol: and to Martin Eve, our publisher, to whose help and encouragement we owe much. As in previous volumes, we should like to make it clear that none of the contributors to this volume should necessarily be held to share the views expressed by any others.

Of our new contributors to the *Register*, Franklin Adler is a graduate student at the University of Chicago; Michael Ellman lectures on economics at the University of Glasgow; André Gorz is on the Editorial Board of *Nouvel-Observateur* and is the author of *Néo-Capitalisme et Stratégie Ouvrière* as well as *Le Socialisme Difficile*; and John Merrington is now a graduate student at the University of Warwick after spending a year at the Gramsci Institute in Rome.

RALPH MILIBAND
JOHN SAVILLE

January 1968

ISAAC DEUTSCHER

It is with a deep sense of sorrow that, with the kind permission of Tamara Deutscher, we publish in this year's *Socialist Register* one of Isaac Deutscher's last essays. Ever since 1963, when we decided to publish the *Register*, he had given us valuable criticism, advice and encouragement, and he contributed to the first two volumes in 1964 and 1965. We mourn him as a friend and as one of the major socialist voices of our time, as a theorist and as an historian whose work has illuminated some of the most complex areas of socialist thought and practice, and whose writings on Soviet history and experience, rejecting apologetics on the one hand and wholesale condemnation on the other, demonstrated with great brilliance and penetration the value of Marxist analysis when it is handled by a subtle and profound mind. So much which he wrote about the Soviet Union has now gained wide acceptance on the Left that it is all too easy to underestimate the magnitude of his achievement, to forget the hostility and isolation which he had to endure, and to overlook the intellectual independence and the strength of character which made it possible for Deutscher, with the unfailing help of his wife, to be neither discouraged nor deflected.

Isaac Deutscher was a great socialist teacher, one of the greatest in our time. He provided a precious, indeed a unique, link between a rich Marxist tradition, which had been all but obliterated by Stalinism, and new generations of socialists in many countries. Better than anyone else, he made it possible for them to understand a crucial part of their heritage. For this, and for much else, he will be remembered with deep gratitude and the years that pass will not dim but enhance the services he rendered to the cause of socialism.