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PREFACE

This year's *Socialist Register* is being edited by David **Musson** and myself. Through pressure of work **Ralph Miliband** and John Saville have temporarily stepped aside for **1982**, but our intervention from inside the publishing house is for one year only. As befits caretakers, we are making no major changes in direction; readers may find small nuances of difference, but these we have not intended. A journal such as this which has now come of age has a life of its own which tends to resist arbitrary change.

Having said that, there are one or two innovations that have come about. One is that we have a larger number of review articles than has been usual in the past. Peter Sedgwick writes on Alasdair **MacIntyre**, Paul Kelemen reviews Halliday and Molyneux's *The Ethiopian Revolution*, **Huw Beynon** contests Jeremy Seabrook's account of changes in the British working class, John Saville reviews developments in Labour History. Along with these is included Valentine Cunningham's answer to a review article last year; the *Register* has always adhered to the principle of the right of reply.

Another innovation this year is the reprinting of Isaac Deutscher's essay on the early history of the Polish Communist Party from his collection of essays *Marxism in Our Time*. Isaac Deutscher contributed to the first two issues of the *Register*, and two posthumous essays appeared in **1968** and **1969**, but these were all making their first appearance in the covers of the *Register*. Apart from translations, there has hitherto been no reprinting of articles. Two reasons have suggested to us that we should make an exception in this instance. The first is that this highly apposite piece of historical writing is not now available in any form, nor has anyone else covered the same ground. Deutscher was himself a participant in these early struggles of the Polish CP and was uniquely qualified to write about them. We felt it would be a great loss if this was not made available. A second consideration was that only a small minority of our readers would already be in possession of the original essay; they, we are sure, will be the first to agree with its importance today. To Tamara Deutscher we are grateful for permission to republish and for the Introduction she has written.

For the rest, we begin with British problems. Stuart Hall delivered the first Fred Tonge Memorial Lecture on 'The Battle for Socialist Ideas in the **1980s**', and has adapted this for us; Paul Gilroy and Joe Sim have each written around the theme of police power. Roy Green and Andrew Wilson write jointly on the TUC/NEC document 'Economic

Planning and Workers' Control'. Dealing with Eastern Europe, **Denis MacShane** writes on Poland under military rule and Bill Lomax studies the changing attitudes of opposition in Hungary. From East Germany we have translated the profound and moving speech of the novelist Christa Wolf when accepting the official Biichner prize. Ernest Mandel writes on the problems of the Chinese economy, and David Ruben on Marxism and the Jewish Question. Finally Ralph **Miliband** contributes a brief obituary on Ruth First, victim of the South African government's terrorism.

In our temporary role as editors we should like to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to Ralph **Miliband** and John Saville for the help and advice they have given us as well as for the contributions both have made to this volume. We are grateful to **Barbara** Einhorn who has translated and introduced Christa Wolf's speech, and to Mandel's translators, John **Barzman** and Gregor **Benton**. We should also like to put on record our thanks to our colleague **Philippa** Jones who has shared in all the editorial tasks, and to Heather Hems who for the tenth time has set the entire text of the Register. Not least our thanks are due to all those who responded to our pleas for contributions.

October 1982

Martin Eve

Until his death in his eighty-fourth year, Fred Tonge was the widely respected President of St Pancras North Labour Party. It was resolved to commemorate his life and work in some suitable way, and it was thought most appropriate to inaugurate a series of annual lectures, of which this is the first.

Leaving Bristol Grammar School at fourteen to earn his living on the railways, Fred volunteered for the army in 1914 and spent four years in the trenches. On his return to the Great Western Railway he became an active union organiser, and in the face of fierce opposition from his employers took part in the formation of branches of the union throughout the West Country. This activity led to him becoming a delegate to the National Executive of his union, then a full-time official; also to his move to London where he became a borough councillor, a London County Councillor and a Parliamentary candidate. These developments in no way modified his socialist outlook and he remained a man of the Left all his life.

In his old age he remained an activist in his branch and constituency party, as well as being a most effective governor of a number of local schools. A generation or two older than most of us, he exemplified the working people who had built the Labour movement from its beginnings.

Martin Eve