

Support Miners, Railmen!

WORKERS' fight

3p

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THE MINERS MUST WIN!

Call the Tories' Bluff

THE MINERS have now only one option — to strike! And when they do, they must get the help and support of the whole labour movement.

Heath is determined to beat the miners, because he wants to beat down the whole working class. The issue, of course, isn't only the money the miners are demanding. It isn't even, any more, just Phase 3.

In the next year, if this government is allowed to survive, Heath will attempt a crackdown on working class living standards that will make the last year seem plump and prosperous by comparison. He is standing rock solid against the miners, because what's left of Phase 3 is now a trailer for Phase 4. This, by all accounts, will be a very deep freeze.

If anyone ever doubted that the interests of the whole working class were bound up with the struggle of those up in front — right now that means the miners — last week's events must have shattered those doubts. The whole official leadership of the working class movement heaved and strained to pull apart the different sections of the working class. They declared the miners to be a special case — as if deliberately to hold back the mass and separate it from a miners' victory. This is the surest way to help the government and at the same time isolate the miners as their struggle escalates to strike action.

But Heath knows that it's not a matter of holding back the working class; he wants to beat it down and run the show.

That's why the miners are being used as the whipping

boy of the working class. The two day lockout is an attempt to punish and depress workers all over the country. But as the facts come out to show that the whole lockout was nothing but a political move to isolate the miners and enable the Government to stonewall their claim for a half decent pay rise, Heath's game is beginning to rebound on him.

Now he is being forced to ease up before he gets shown up as the biggest vandal and wrecker since Atilla the Hun.

But if the miners are angry and bitter about the lockout, they are even angrier now at the sight of the plentiful coal stocks Heath has managed to stash away.

The Tories have, for now, backed off from the 'threat' of an immediate election. Last week's crawling by the TUC made it unlikely that the Government could successfully depict the union leaders as would be revolutionaries. And the Government knows that the only hope it has of winning an election is to whip up anti-union hysteria.

But it is a recipe for all round defeat to back down in face of an election 'threat'. The best way to win an election is by an offensive on all fronts against government policy and the Tories' record of crimes against the working class.

They have threatened us with jailings, they have threatened us with laws — now they threaten us with 5 more years of Tory rule.

CALL THEIR BLUFF!
As Heath moves his forces into a position for a confrontation, so must we. **SUPPORT THE MINERS!**



Photo: Sid West

MASS PICKET HITS '4-AT-A-TIME' ORDER

COVENTRY, Saturday 19th Jan: 200 socialists and trade unionists responded to a call from the Coventry Action Committee to man the picket at Coventry Art Castings.

The mainly Indian strikers there are demanding trade union negotiating rights and the reinstatement of one militant who was victimised. But since the strike began, they have ALL been sent dismissal notices.

The mass picket was a reply to police harassment of the strikers. Some have been hauled in to face inquiries as to their 'legal status'. They have

all been told that if more than 4 picket at a time, they will be charged with Unlawful Assembly. The police have already taken their cue from the Shrewsbury trial. On top of that, the police have kept up a massive show of force against the pickets, as many as 25 turning up at one time with 5 dogs, trying to intimidate the strikers.

Despite the police, who were out again in force, Saturday's picket succeeded in turning lorries away. One driver at first attempted to pass the picket line, but after an hour thought better of it because it was

obvious that only a full scale police assault on the picket line would get him through. He had been prepared to pass the picket, but stopped short of getting fellow workers "in trouble with the Law".

Which illustrates what picketing — using as much force as is necessary — is all about.

The labour movement must continue to reply with all its force to the Tory government's threat to this essential weapon of working class struggle. At Coventry, further mass pickets are planned.

D.S.

Rough ride for jailed three

THE THREE North Wales militants jailed by the Tories at Shrewsbury just before Christmas have been split up, isolated and humiliated.

Victimised by the Heath Government, the building employers and the Police

for their active part in the flying pickets of the 1972 national official building workers' strike, these men have been told that if there are protests at the jail gates in their favour they will be moved yet again — this time to Parkhurst.

At present Des Warren (who got 3 years) is in Walton jail, Liverpool; Ricky Tomlinson (2 years) is in Stafford Prison; and "Mackie" Jones (9 months) is in Nottingham Jail. They have been moved about without their families being

informed. Des Warren has been kept in solitary confinement for some of the time, and the police have tried to humiliate "Mackie" Jones by taking him handcuffed into a cafe during the journey to Nottingham.

Eight more Pickets now on trial

THE START last week of the trial of 8 more of the 'Shrewsbury 24' underlines how important it is that we make the aim of the Campaign the dropping of all charges against all 24. Even if the three in jail get bail on 1st February, even if the sentences on the 6 so far found 'guilty' are reduced, as long as the convictions are not completely quashed the ruling class will still have strengthened its laws against picketing and will be in a better position for their attack on the remaining 18. And even now, the 6 still also have other charges hanging over them.

The 8 now on trial (some of whom already stood trial at Mold last summer) will also be put on trial again when the third Shrewsbury trial starts after this one, in 5 or 6 weeks' time.

UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY

The charges against the 8 in this trial are of "fighting and making an affray", and unlawful assembly, one of the charges for which the THREE were jailed. The Prosecution is going hard to get them on this — 4 of the 18 were put under pressure to plead guilty to Unlawful Assembly, with the promise that the other charges would be dropped.

Unfortunately, one succumbed. The 8 are now being faced with the same parade of boss and Lump prosecution witnesses as were used to find the 6 'guilty'. The same 'bad language' and minor damage to property is being used to try to prove that there was "a big display of force", that the pickets were 'violent', and hence that their action "went far beyond peaceful picketing".

LONG CAMPAIGN

It's going to be a long campaign to get these charges thrown back where they belong — back onto the property bosses who mint millions from the blood and bones of building workers, onto the scabs who would break our struggle and reap the improvements we fight for, onto the Lump with its dangers and insecurity, onto the uniformed thugs in blue and the politicians who give them their orders.

Money is still needed to sustain this campaign, to organise and publicise it, and to help the families of the men on trial and in jail. Send it to Mike Williams (Treasurer, Defence Committee), 1 Fford Pentre, Ocean View, Carmel, Hollywell, Flintshire.

(SEE BACK PAGE for other actions planned to FREE THE THREE)

VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN 1870 1924

by Paul Adams

PART 2: How the Russian workers took power

Lenin summed up what happened after Tsarism had defeated the 1905 revolution: "Victorious Tsarism is compelled speedily to destroy the remnants of the pre-bourgeois, patriarchal mode of life in Russia. Russia's development along bourgeois lines marches forward with remarkable rapidity... Revolutionary parties must complete their education. They have learned to attack. Now they must learn ... how to retreat properly."

But for the revolutionaries, to learn to retreat, to face the situation of massive depression in the aftermath of defeat, to adopt tactics appropriate to this new situation, to go down again into the underground after the open work possible during the revolution — this was indeed difficult. Reorientation and re-education of the revolutionaries proved a bitter task to accomplish, specially against the background of defeat and consequent demoralisation.

The whole period was for Lenin taken up with a battle on two fronts, against both ultra right and ultra left tendencies. In the heat of the revolution the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had reunited. After the defeat new divisions emerged. A section of the Mensheviks became open reformists, and a section of the Bolsheviks reduced themselves to ultra left posturing, which threatened, no less than the reformist Mensheviks, to make the revolutionary tasks impossible.

ultra-left

The Bolshevik ultra lefts were known as the 'otzovists' (recallists), and led by Bogdanov, Alexinski and Lunacharski. The Social Democrats had successfully boycotted the undemocratic Tsarist Duma (parliament) during the revolution, when mass struggle provided its own alternative. Now, in retreat, it became necessary to change tactics, to learn to utilise even a reactionary undemocratic Tsarist parliament for socialist propaganda. Lenin, in alliance at first with the Menshevik section of the party, advocated such use of the Duma. Eventually he overcame the at first almost unanimous Bolshevik resistance: the continued revolutionary depression made the need for change increasingly obvious. Except to the hard core 'otzovists'. Their ultra leftism, threatening to reduce the revolutionary party to self isolation and unreality, was linked with a retreat into mysticism. They tried to develop socialism as a sort of religion! Eventually they were expelled from the Bolshevik faction.

legal

The Menshevik reformists, the 'Liquidators', unlike the otzovists who were their mirror opposites, wanted to confine themselves entirely to open work within Tsarist legality, liquidating the underground party. Legal trade unions were now possible, and on this basis they increasingly argued, in effect, for the creation of a working class party of reforms.

Lenin wanted to make the fullest use of all possibilities for legal work, such as in the Duma and the unions, but never to limit either the activity or the propaganda of the workers' party to what Tsarism permitted. That would have been to surrender the ideological, political and organisational independence of the working class.

Once again, an apparently technical question of organisation represented really crucial issues, as

the eventual evolution of the liquidators into full blown reformists demonstrates.

"The proletariat is revolutionary only insofar as it is conscious of and gives effect to (the) idea of the hegemony of the proletariat. ... To preach to the workers that what they need is 'not hegemony but a class party (the slogan of Livitski, a liquidationist) means to betray the cause of the proletariat to the liberals; it means preaching that Social-Democratic labour policy should be replaced by a liberal labour policy."

Pravda

The struggle on both fronts culminated for Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the Prague conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party at the beginning of 1912. Together with a group of 'Pro Party Mensheviks' the Bolsheviks decisively cut off the Liquidators. Thereafter, the RSDLP was essentially the old Bolshevik faction.

Now, after years of depression and isolation, the Russian labour movement began to revive, particularly after the shooting of striking workers on the Lena Goldfields. In 1912 Lenin moved from Paris to Cracow in Poland, to be as near as possible to the struggle in Russia. The Bolsheviks began to reap the rewards of their combination of legal and illegal work. In 1912 they began to publish Pravda as a legal daily paper.

Much of Lenin's theoretical work at this time was focussed on the national and colonial question. One of Lenin's major contributions to Marxism was his clarification of this. Russia had rightly been called the 'prison house of nations', with non Russian nationalities outnumbering Russians in the Tsar's empire. What policy should Russian Marxists adopt towards Russia's subject nations.

nations

Lenin insisted that the road to international working class unity lay through the fullest rights of nations to a separate existence, at will. National oppression poisoned relations of workers in the oppressed and oppressor nations. It was imperative that the revolutionary party of the oppressor nation accept and fight for the national rights of the oppressed nations.

In contrast to this, the Marxists of that other prison house of nations, the Austrian Empire, redefined the right to self determination of nations as the right to mere cultural freedom within the borders of the existing state, which were regarded as sacrosanct. Lenin pointed out that this policy merely perpetuated nationalism, and in no way helped international working class unity.

Lenin wrote a number of pamphlets and articles to combat the Austrians on the right and also an ultra left tendency personified by Rosa Luxemburg, who maintained that, for example, recognition of Poland's right to self determination was a retrograde step.

This question eventually fused with the problem of the world wide struggle against Imperialism. Lenin demonstrated that it was precisely in the period of the highest stages of capitalism that there would be a whole wave of wars of national liberation against imperialism. He argued that revolutionaries everywhere, and especially those in the imperialist countries, must support the oppressed nations and



1908 — Lenin and Bogdanov play chess, Maxim Gorky and his wife look on. Bogdanov won the game, but Lenin won the argument ...

stand for their right to break out of the empires which oppressed them.

Lenin had participated in the congresses of the international socialist movement, though he had concentrated heavily on Russian affairs. Now, in 1914, when the World War broke out, the whole international socialist movement splintered into nationalist sections. Instead of the international brotherhood of the working class against war to which the International had repeatedly pledged itself, the outbreak of war produced fratricidal slaughter. The same artillery fire that lit up the corpse littered battlefields now highlighted the real situation within the international labour movement, which had become rotten with reformism and careerism. Social Democrats became "social chauvinists" overnight, supporting their national governments in the war. Jules Guesde, a leader of the French socialists, even became Minister of War.

Kautsky

Russia was one of the few countries where the majority of socialists did not spring to 'defend the fatherland', though even here a social chauvinist wing emerged, led by Plekhanov.

For Lenin the most crushing and unexpected blow was the fate of German Social Democracy, which also supported the imperialist war. This party, that represented over 4 million voters, went over massively to chauvinism. What shocked Lenin was the fact that Karl Kautsky, the revered "Pope of

Marxism", refused to echo the words of the revolutionary left, led by Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht: "The enemy is at home! Turn the imperialist war into a civil war". Instead, he began to rationalise for the renegades.

Kautsky's betrayal, masked by chatter about disarmament conferences, drew from Lenin a number of brilliant articles which exposed the social chauvinists, including those who had been pillars of "Marxist orthodoxy" during the debates with the 'revisionists' like Bernstein.

the state

Now Lenin turned to a complete examination of the whole of the preceding period of the Marxist labour movement. He set about digging down to the very roots of the rottenness that had corrupted both the theory and practice of the parties of the Second International.

He exposed how the daily life of the parties had led them gradually to accommodate and intermesh with the bourgeois state, much as the liquidators had tended to in Russia. He reworked his way through the whole literature of Marxism, relating it to the whole experience of the class struggle. He uncovered and, in a series of famous pamphlets like *The State and Revolution* (1917), proved that the 'orthodox' Marxists like Kautsky had for years falsified, vulgarised and bowdlerised the real teachings of Marxism on the state, the class struggle and the proletarian revolution. Implacably Lenin struggled to expose, understand and eliminate from the labour

movement the 'baseness, loathsomeness and vileness of social chauvinism and "Kautskyism"."

This was the only way to cleanse the labour movement and rebuild a working class international on firmer foundations. Gradually, small groups of revolutionaries began to make contact and prepare the revival. A conference of revolutionary socialists was held in Zimmerwald in Switzerland in 1915, and another in Kienthal in 1916.

While the ravages of war seemed to stifle all political life, its very barbarism and the conditions it imposed on the working masses both at the front and at home provided the leaven for revolution. As Engels, predicting the world war as long before as 1887, had said: "Eight to ten million soldiers will mutually massacre one another and in so doing devour the whole of Europe. ... Only one result is absolutely certain: general exhaustion and the establishment of the conditions for the ultimate victory of the working class."

february

In Russia at the outbreak of war what had been a growing movement of the working class was suddenly stifled. The Bolshevik Deputies in the Duma were arrested for opposing the war. But within a short period the collapse, the slaughter, the famine of the war revived the movement of the working class.

On February 22nd a wage dispute at the giant Putilkov works in Petrograd sparked off a lockout

EVEN TODAY — after the Chilean military dictatorship has slaughtered thousands of people (more than 15,000 according to Socialist Party General Secretary Altamirano), with freshly killed bodies to be found on the streets each morning in the working class areas — EVEN TODAY the Chilean Communist Party is still placing its hopes on the "democratic traditions" of the army.

"Civil war is not the only road", they say in a statement of 7th January. "Many democratic soldiers and also officers have been repressed, imprisoned and even shot by the putschists. They have led the armed institutions into an abyss, by putting them at the service of an infinitesimal minority. But the democratic traditions broken by the coup d'etat are not dead: they should be reconquered by the people in its struggle to put an end to the dictatorship."

The CP goes on to call for "unity of all the democratic forces", bringing in sections of the Christian Democratic Party — a close accomplice in the coup! (Both the Socialist Party and the left wing MIR are also in favour of a united front, but stop at including the Christian Democrats.)

The very least that socialists owe to the workers killed in the military takeover is to learn the lessons, to recognise that attempts at "broad progressive alliances" with this or that wing

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"EQUALITY IS impossible and inequality has advantages provided it is not excessive".

This happy slogan of the super-rich came out of the mouth of the Tory Minister for the Social Services, Sir Keith Joseph, last Monday.

A measure of what Sir Keith Joseph thinks is "not excessive" is the gap between his personal millions and the means-tested, pared down £10 and under that he doles out per week to those at the other end of the line.

For a slightly more objective assessment, we can look up the figures that the Inland Revenue have just brought out on wealth in Britain.

These statistics show that the richest 1% of the population now owns nearly a quarter of all the privately owned wealth.

which within the week had generated a mass movement of striking workers supported by mutineering troops and sailors. The slogans demanding higher wages were soon replaced by ones demanding "Bread", "Down with the Autocracy" and "down with the War".

The leadership of the movement was quickly taken over by the leaders of the Left in the old Duma, Kerensky, Chkheidze and Skobelev. The Soviet that had been so important in the revolution of 1905 was reborn. And, as a symbolic portent of the coming situation of dual power, it met in the Tauride Palace (the parliamentary buildings) on the 27th, the day the Tsar dissolved the Duma.

A Provisional Government was soon called into office with Prince Lvov as Prime Minister. But on the same day the Soviet issued its Order No.1 urging the setting up of more Soviets, particularly in the army and navy, and instructing workers, soldiers and sailors not to obey any orders unless countermanded by the Soviet.

Lenin arrived in Russia, in Petrograd itself, in April. He was greeted by Chkheidze, then the Chairman of the Soviet, who warned Lenin about the danger of disunity now that the democratic revolution could be fulfilled. But

Chile's 'Communists' still hope to win the Army

f the ruling class only leads to the socialists becoming the prisoners of their capitalist allies' while other sections of the ruling class prepare and choose their time for a mortal blow. The fight against the junta must be carried out on a clear line of independent working class politics.

The Communist Party tries to evade and obscure the most obvious lesson of the coup — the fact that the armed forces are an instrument of the ruling class and must be broken up if any socialist advance is to be made. They pretend that the "putschists" somehow were sent by the Devil to make a coup over the heads of the basically democratic and progressive armed forces.

As if to make its own mute protest against this idiocy, independent working class activity is still showing its head in Chile despite ferocious repression such as the wholesale sacking or even jailing of entire workforces resisting the regime. Bakery

workers have struck in Santiago for wage increases to offset the massive inflation (price doubling and tripling from week to week). This is in fact the second known strike since the coup, following on a construction workers' strike in mid November.

A number of acts of armed resistance — the bombing of a gunpowder depot and attempted bombing of a railway line — have also been reported.

The economic chaos and runaway inflation in Chile is clearly setting up many tensions and splits within the ruling group and its allies. Even the president of the new Junta sponsored trade union federation, set up after authentic trade unionism had been banned and smashed, has accused the Junta of wiping out genuine trade unionism!

Several hundred refugees have been given safe conducts to leave the various embassies where they were sheltering and get out of Chile. Thousands

more are in hiding. Incredible sums are offered as reward for the capture of 'foreigners'.

Not only has Britain taken a hostile attitude, with seven refugees from torture and arbitrary imprisonment having to fight in the courts against being deported from here. But, scandalously, of the various 'socialist' countries of Eastern Europe only East Germany, Yugoslavia and (for refugees with Russian connections only) the USSR have opened their doors.

The Junta is also holding an unknown number of prisoners, including the prominent Trotskyist Luis Vitale and MIR leader Batista van Schouwen.

The international campaign of solidarity must not let up in its efforts.



DID JILL KNIGHT, vicious ultra right wing Powellite MP, write to the Home Office expressing concern over the plight of the four Republican hunger strikers?

To read the Guardian's story on the hunger strike on Friday 4th January, you'd think she had. Certainly, the report quotes at length a series of Home Office statements purporting to be an answer by Lord Colville, Minister of State at the Home Office, to an inquiry by Jill Knight.

By a strange coincidence, there happened to be a Press Conference the evening before, given by the Joint Action Committee which is agitating for the hunger strikers' demands to be granted and for an end to force feeding. By an even stranger coincidence, the replies "to Jill Knight" happened to be replies to all the issues raised at the Press Conference.

Where did Jill Knight come into the picture? And how did she come to show concern at all, and then why did she ask the very same questions that the Joint Action Committee was asking?

The story begins the day before, January 3rd. After a long blanket of press silence, the Guardian on that day ran a report under the headline PRICE SISTER 'NOW VERY ILL'. Among other things, it said "Dolours Price ... is seriously ill in Brixton Prison hospital and could be dying, it was claimed last night."

According to the IRISH PRESS, the night before publication this "reportedly brought several attempts by the British Home Office late on Wednesday night to have it removed." The Guardian apparently responded by saying that if the Home Office would give them a statement, they would consider putting it in the report as well. No, said the Home Office

Knight in dirty armour

spokesman, they didn't make statements about individual prisoners. Thus the report that came out on the Thursday morning ended with the information that "The Home Office refuses to comment on individual prisoners..."

That evening, the JAC held a well attended press conference about the hunger strike; it seemed to be a good take-off point for a lot more pressure to be built up in papers like the Guardian — so vocal when Judith Todd was forced in Rhodesia two years ago.

But those like myself who opened up their copy the next morning, expecting a follow-up to the previous day's sympathetic report, were disappointed and puzzled. For the Home Office had, after all, managed to comment "on individual prisoners". And the Guardian, glad no doubt to make up for its 'stand' the day before, eagerly got the Home Office refutations into print under the headline DOLOURS 'IN GOOD

Their Press



HEALTH'.

Whereas the previous day, it seems, the Home Office "never" made such comments, (no doubt it merely suited them to wait to refute the JAC's press conference) it was now possible for it to release precisely such comments as it "never" made. But really, it was different now. Now ... it was in reply to an MP's inquiry. That, apparently, made all the difference.

Could it be, then, that the Home Office actually rang up Jill Knight, knowing she'd be glad to help them out, and asked if they could 'reply' to an inquiry she'd never made and wasn't likely to make?

Perish the thought! Wouldn't that be something like a conspiracy ... which is one of the heinous crimes the hunger strikers and their 5 comrades (not to mention the 3 pickets sentenced at Shrewsbury) are said to have perpetrated....?

Spilki

LET THEM EAT CAKE CRUMBS'

The 4% below them owns almost another quarter.

The other half of the wealth, according to the figures, is divided between three groups: — those having holdings worth an average of 15 thousand, those worth ten thousand and ... all the rest.

The first of these groups, about 5% of the population, owns 16% of the wealth; the second, about 10% of the population, owns 21% of the wealth.

The rest, the overwhelming majority of the population — 80% in fact — only own between them 16% of the wealth.

"Not excessive", says Sir Keith Joseph...

Yet these figures are not even what they seem; much of the 'middle ground' is a complete fict-

by Arthur Hogan

ion. Take that 10% who own an average of ten thousand pound each. Their wealth (and probably also that of the 15 thousand bracket) consists almost entirely of the cost of one owner occupied house, pushed up ludicrously by the incredible inflation in house prices.

Believe it or not, these figures have been hailed by the experts on equality, the millionaire press, as proof that the 'wealth gap' is "closing". Smugly these press barons announce that the working class is getting a bigger "slice of the cake" than ever before.

Ignoring for the moment



the question of who should own the entire bakery, if you think again about the figures the 10% 'slice of the cake' provided for the 80% of the population (who, Inland Revenue omits to say, just happen to create all that wealth) disintegrates into very small crumbs indeed. And because all our class's wealth is spent almost the moment it is earned on the essentials of life, which are constantly going up in price, the very presentation of this gap in money wealth is a lie.

Our wealth is diminished and eroded daily by inflation, while the wealth of the rich, the real property owners, actually grows: quite literally, they have their cake and eat it!

How much more a lie, then, when the Tories present the gap in wealth as being between the

'lower paid' and the 'higher paid', parading around as the "saviours of the poor" as an excuse for union-bashing, pay laws and freezes.

Sir Keith Joseph rather gave the game away when he went on to say: "I believe that the main struggle today is between the different sections of wage earners and their own brethren."

That, of course, is the way he would like to see it. That is the way people like the millionaire boss of the building firm Bovis, the Director of Audley Properties Limited, the Director of Bovisgate Properties Limited, the Director of Earnings Investment Trust — Sir Keith Joseph — and all the other parasites of his class, hope to keep their slice of the cake ... and, of course, the bakery too.

BRIXTON PROTEST AGAINST POLICE

250 people in Brixton recently held an angry rally to protest, yet again, at the casual brutality of the police.

It arose from an incident which, in all respects but one, was typical of the everyday bullying employed by the police against black people.

One Saturday night shortly after the New Year, following on a minor parking incident, Mr. Henry Young Chin was bundled into a Panda car and driven a short distance. Then the Panda car was stopped under a dark railway bridge, and Mr. Chin was punched several times and subjected to racial abuse.

This kind of experience is so common in Brixton that a committee had actually been set up to 'conciliate' between the black community and the police. Normally, though, the police go on to charge their victims with some offence like 'assault on the Police', thus making sure that they're so busy defending themselves that they're too intimidated to make any complaint about the real assault.

In Mr. Chin's case, it was a bit different. "I told them my name and that I was a businessman in Brixton" (he owns a large cash & carry store); "They stopped hitting me and drove me to Coldharbour Lane and ordered me out of the car. Then they drove off."

Henry Chin got himself patched up at a hospital, and then went to the Police to make a complaint. Soon after, the local West Indian Standing Conference and the black People's Defence Committee called a protest rally for the following Friday.

The police tried to get it called off. Wouldn't 'conciliation' be better, they said, and wouldn't a protest rally "inflame feelings"?

As a matter of fact, feelings were already running high. "The police would rather set up joint committees and appoint 'community liaison' officers than simply stop beating us up and punish those who do it."

The meeting outlined the only sort of conciliation most of those there had in mind. It demanded a public apology to Henry Chin and that charges be brought within 2 weeks against the policemen who had assaulted him.

Lenin had 'not heard' these pompous, yet anxious words. He turned to the people gathered around and announced — "Dear Comrades, soldiers and workers. The piratical imperialist war is beginning to become a civil war throughout Europe. ... The Russia revolution accomplished by you has prepared the way and opened up a new epoch. Long live the world wide socialist revolution!"

The Bolshevik leaders there at the Finland Station to meet him were shocked at what Lenin had said. Some of them must have thought he had gone mad — or become a Trotskyist.

Lenin, however, who had the unrivalled capacity to combine concrete analysis and realism in every situation with rigid adherence to principle, had seen the possibilities of full proletarian victory. Really, he merely developed previously worked out ideas on the motive forces of the Russian Revolution to their logical conclusion. Both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had believed that the revolution possible in Russia was a bourgeois revolution like that of France in 1789. They differed in that the Mensheviks believed that it would be led by the big bourgeoisie and, concrete as ever in analysis, Lenin insisted that the bourgeoisie was too feeble for this task and therefore the bourgeois revolution

would have to be made by the peasantry in alliance with the working class.

Trotsky agreed with the Bolsheviks, but argued that such a workers and peasants alliance, led by the working class, could not stop at completing the tasks of the bourgeois revolution, but would go on to carry through working class socialist measures. To the argument that Russia was not ripe for socialism, was too backward, etc., Trotsky replied that the revolution would not finish even with workers' victory in Russia. It would be the starting point in a linked chain of proletarian revolution which would lead to the workers' conquest of power in the advanced capitalist countries. This was the theory of Permanent Revolution.

Inertia

Slowly, step by step, Lenin had arrived at the same position as Trotsky. And he had done more than Trotsky. He had built a party that, once he had rearmaged it, would be able to ensure that the perspective of workers' power in Russia was more than a mere possibility.

The Bolshevik leaders who resisted Lenin were lapsing into a

neo Menshevism because of inertia and uncritical repetition of yesterday's formulae without reference to today's realities. Once again the party had to be shaken up.

In May, Leon Trotsky arrived in Russia. He had spent a brief exile in the USA and, attempting to return to Russia on the outbreak of revolution, had been arrested at sea by the British navy and interned for a number of months.

Trotsky had joined the Marxist faction of the RSDLP in 1903. He had broken with the Mensheviks and stood alone between the factions for a number of years. In 1912 he had abortively attempted to resist the definitive rupture of relations within the RSDLP. Fundamentally, he had failed to appreciate the tremendous constructive work that Lenin was accomplishing and had tended, from the vantage point of his theory of Permanent Revolution, to regard both Menshevism and Bolshevism as equally inadequate.

Almost immediately on his return to Russia, Trotsky started to work with the Bolsheviks, finally understanding that without the leadership of the Bolshevik Party his theory of Permanent Revolution was only one of a number of possibilities in the situation. He joined the Bolshevik Party that July.

Soon Lenin and Trotsky had

instilled into the Bolshevik Party an understanding of the real possibilities at hand. "We don't need a parliamentary republic, we don't need bourgeois democracy, we don't need any government except the Soviet of workers' soldiers and peasants' deputies." These Soviets were "an organisation of workers and the embryo of workers' government," said Lenin. The need was to raise the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets", although the Bolsheviks still lacked a majority in the soviets.

power

The economic dislocations became worse, the Provisional Government refused to distribute the lands of the aristocracy; it refused to discontinue the war, deserters drifted back to their homes in droves, bring to the countryside the radicalism within the army. Both the soil and the seeds were being prepared for the victory of Bolshevism.

In July, the month of the attempted rightist Kornilov coup, the Bolsheviks faced repression from the Provisional Government. Lenin was ridiculously smeared in the press as being a German agent and once again had to go into hiding, while Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders were arrested.

On their release in September, however, the Government's situation had deteriorated; the prestige and membership of the Bolsheviks grew by leaps and bounds. Trotsky was elected Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet in September.

In June Lenin had told the first All Russian Congress of Soviets that the Bolsheviks were prepared to take power. Now in October, the Bolsheviks organised the working class in the taking of power from the Provisional Government on the first morning of the 2nd Congress. Rapid developments at the front and at home had turned June's "ridiculous remark" into the blazing reality of October's victory.

The world's first workers' state had been established. Lenin, opening the October Congress of Soviets, said very simply: "Comrades, we will now proceed to construct the socialist order."

THIRD AND FINAL PART NEXT WEEK:

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE SHADOW OF STALIN

ACTION AGAINST PICKET TRIALS

AT MANCHESTER last weekend a Conference on the North Wales 24, addressed by the N. Wales Defence Committee, called for the recall of the TUC, for support for industrial action and for more pressure for official support from the union leaderships. It also called for full support for the forthcoming conference in Liverpool on February 2nd.

It resolved to campaign more vigorously, to organise mass meetings in places of work and help to form defence committee in places of work. And it called

for further financial support for the campaign and for the defendants and their families.

IN NOTTINGHAM, angry questions are expected at the next meeting of the Trades Council on January 30th, after a march last Saturday to demand the freeing of the Three, and against the Tory Government, brought out only 300 people (as compared with 2,000 on the last May Day march). Apparently there was very little preparation done in the way of leafleting and publicity, and expected

contingents from the miners, from Ralagh and Plessey never came. But the stress on the need for more work to be put into the campaign is a sign that all is not yet lost in Nottingham.

The 300 in fact made their mark anyway. At the end of the demonstration, George Barclay called on the marchers to re-form and march to Nottingham jail where John Mackinsie Jones is being held. When the police threatened arrests, Cde. Barclay led the marchers the 4 miles to jail

along the public footpath, and they held a big picket.

FUTURE ACTIONS

In LONDON, a lobby of Parliament is planned for January 30th.

In MANCHESTER, there will be a lobby of the regional meeting of UCATT Executive at 137 Dickenson Road, on January 25th.

In LIVERPOOL, a recall of the delegate conference held last September on the Defence of the 24 will be held on February 2nd, at St. George's

Hall. Credentials can be had from Simon Fraser, LTC Secretary, 33 Hatton Garden, Liverpool 3; Tel: 051 236 1778.

In BIRMINGHAM, a conference on Defence will be held on 10th February (and again on 17th February in Wolverhampton). Shop stewards are touring around holding meetings at sites and factories in preparation. Also, UCATT stewards have passed a resolution calling for a national building strike and have pledged to begin extended strike action soon

Poison - no solution to Crisis

ONE PLACE that will see a new candidate standing in the next General Election is Bolton. The candidate, Mr. Geoffrey Booth, was on the Labour Party short list for South Gloucestershire in 1964 and has, it is reported, been an active member of his union, the NUJ - where he has held posts on both the local and national level, and was a member of the NUJ's NEC. He has also been Press Officer for the Coop's banking section.

Average life story of the run of the mill Labour candidate? Perhaps. But Geoffrey Booth is standing as the National Front candidate.

And what is the policy of the National Front, Britain's largest Fascist organisation, in the present crisis? "Coloured immigration should be ended once and for all ... Britain should be withdrawn from the Common Market ... Hanging should be restored..."

Bolton socialists must make sure that Booth's vile brew of racism, chauvinism and barbarism gets the reception it deserves.

G.S.

Anger after NUPE sellout

Ambulancemen are angry after their recent pay struggle. Their union, NUPE, advised them to return to 'normal' working (i.e., all hours, driving defective machines etc), calling off their industrial action in exchange for a productivity deal and a measly £2.50.

"Everyone is terribly upset - we have been sold down the river by the union leadership. Ambulance men all over the North East are joining the Federation of Ambulance Personnel out of disgust with the established unions", Bro. Ron Young told me when I talked to him about the effects of the settlement. Bro. Young is secretary of Houghton le Spring NUPE branch, which has lost half its membership since the strike.

The fact that the men have joined FAP, a scab union registered under the Industrial Relations Act and in principle opposed to strikes, shows the extent to which the trade union bureaucracy disorientates, divides and weakens the labour movement.

A.T.

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COVENTRY Teachers fight staff shortage

COVENTRY Education Authority prides itself on having no teacher shortage. But with the decision of teachers at President Kennedy Comprehensive not to cover for non appointed staff, this myth has been exploded.

Mrs. Rosey Litawski, NUT rep. for the school, told us "Teachers in all the unions here have agreed to this, and the NUT will back us. London certainly isn't the only place with a shortage of teachers. Now that we've taken this decision, it wouldn't surprise me if lots of other Coventry schools are shown up to have the same sort of shortages."

D.S.

Doctors, Lawyers say: STOP FORCE-FEEDING TORTURE

OUTSIDE Brixton Prison last Saturday, 3 people volunteered to demonstrate what forcible feeding was like. All three were violently ill as a result, and one man was taken to hospital.

Yet for the last 8 weeks, Marian and Dolours Price in Brixton, Hugh Feeny in Gartree and Gerard Kelly in Wormwood Scrubs, have been continually force fed.

The four were sentenced at Winchester to life and 20 years. Now the Home Office and the prison authorities seem hellbent on adding to that a further sentence of torture and degradation, and possibly death.

On Sunday evening (Jan. 20th) doctors, lawyers and relatives of the prisoners were on the platform to address a meeting of some 250 people at the Co op Hall, Finsbury Park, organised by the Joint Action Committee which is campaigning for an end to the forced feeding and for the prisoners to be sent to Ireland to be near their home.

The speakers produced an impressive barrage of information and, the more precise and clinical it was, the more horrifying the barbarity of forcible feeding was shown to be.

The medical team detailed a list of seven possible dangers ranging from instant death if the tube was pushed into the lung, to heart attacks, dehydration and septicaemia. And the longer it continued, the more dangerous it would be.

Every nursing manual forbade the practice of oral artificial feeding, and a medieval medical book described the method as barbaric!

David Walsh, the Price sisters' lawyer, said that an injunction to stop it had been turned down by the High Court. Their only recourse now was to get a "declaratory judgment", which could only go as far as a judge declaring that,



Anxious faces: Mrs. Kathleen Feeny, William Kelly and Clare Price listen to the speeches

Photo: Mike Cohen

on the evidence he'd heard, he didn't think it was a good idea.

Martin Loney, general secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, stressed that the Home Office was being deliberately vindictive in refusing to grant the prisoners' request to be allowed to serve their 20 year sentences nearer their homes. Since 1969, 18 prisoners have been transferred at their own request from Northern Ireland to Britain, and 6 from Britain to Northern Ireland.

Hugh Feeny's mother is a working widow, who would stand to lose her job if she took time off to visit her son. Dolours' and Marian's mother is ill, and suffers from the long sea journey. The last time she saw them, it took 19 hours travelling for a 30 minute visit.

Everything in their treatment is vengeful and malicious. The boys, who won't wear prison uniforms because they say they are not criminals, have been refused blankets or sheets to

cover themselves, and Kelly hasn't even a towel. They've had all their hair shorn off, and are refused any visits.

The girls are in a men's prison, which means they have no contact with other prisoners. But they are not even allowed to be together - for "security" reasons...

Is this solitary confinement to continue for 20 years?

They are allowed no male visitors except their younger brother. EVEN THEIR FATHER IS EXCLUDED from the list of permitted visitors.

From the floor, a man who'd been in a British prison hospital wing told the meeting that it wasn't all light and air, clean white sheets and the other things associated with hospitals. It was cold, gloomy and dirty. You got two blankets "stiff as a board" and they'd switch off the heating and tell you that if you felt cold that was because you hadn't eaten.

A nun got up to say that one

of the prison chaplains had protested "but I can't mention any names". All prison personnel are bound by the Official Secrets Act.

After the meeting I talked to Clare Price. She'd seen her sisters and thinks they are very ill indeed. Dolours was "dragging her feet to walk". Both girls find every movement painful. They hardly slept - the hospital wing seemed full of psychiatric cases, who scream and moan. "It disturbs the girls because they feel these people shouldn't be locked up in prison."

Finally, she said there seemed to be "a blanket of silence" in this country about the hunger strike. "There's been much more publicity in America, and even in Australia and New Zealand ... in some Arab countries too, and all over the world. But here there's been nothing."

WE MUST CHANGE THAT!

Rachel Lever



WHITE ELEPHANT OCCUPIED

The protest sit in at Centre Point, the London skyscraper owned by property millionaire Harry Hyams that has stood vacant now for 10 whole years, drew widespread public support. Stuck in the middle of London, luxurious and empty, this building has for a long time been seen as an insult to the homeless and a provocation to the poor.

Even the Tory Government felt it necessary 18 months ago, through its then Minister of the

Environment Peter Walker (himself a property speculator and millionaire) to mutter that they would "do something" about this monument to parasitism. But nothing was done.

On the day of the protest sit in it was announced by Shelter, the housing charity campaign, that the implementation in April of the Government's Local Government Act will add at least another 10,000 to the figure of homeless people; and

the Daily Mirror reported that there are already over 10,000 squatters in Britain right now.

The picture of social squalor amidst the plump pickings of the property pirates was completed by the official publication of figures showing that house building last year was the lowest for 10 years.

And how did the powers that be respond to the protest whose point has been endorsed by these same governments? The

sums up the Tories' attitude to the working class's problems: repression and yet more repression.

JACK PRICE

Fight 3-day kidology!

Smith's Instruments in North London tried to lay men off on account of the 'crisis', saying "we have a £6 million overdraft". What they didn't say was that they usually have a £4½ million overdraft, and that they have increased it in order to stock up on raw materials. Why pay the high interest rates on the overdraft? Because the increase in value of raw materials is much greater than the cost of borrowing money.

A similar move by the International Paint Company to sack people in the weakly organised plants "and re-employ on a daily basis" was also justified by the Company's overdraft. With some raw materials used by this firm

increasing in value by nearly 100% last year, and some chemicals going up by several hundred percent, that can bring in a tidy profit.

Which all goes to show - don't be taken for a ride. Demand to see all the books and all the accounts. And, above all, adamantly refuse to pay for their problems. If the bosses can reap the profits, let them keep the overdrafts too - even if they ARE genuine. ED CONDUIT

LONDON WORKERS FIGHT PUBLIC MEETING

"THE TORY GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESENT SITUATION"

Speaker: Sean Matgamna Sunday 27th January at 8pm, at the Golden Lion, Kings Cross Road.

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