

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

168 23 APRIL 1970 EVERY THURSDAY 4d



Lenin: 4 pages of words and pictures



Sunday's protest meeting: Communist Solly Kaye (with microphone) was howled down for his 'leave the problem to me' attitude.

DEFENCE SQUADS AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS

A statement by the editorial board

THE GROWING VIOLENCE against black people on the streets of London and other parts of the country can only be countered by setting up defence squads to patrol immigrant areas and fight off racist attacks.

In South London, the West Indian community has been subjected to intense victimisation by the police force. Several youngsters have been jailed on trumped up charges.

CRISIS

In East London, gangs of 'skinhead' youths are attacking and savagely beating Pakistanis. A crisis was reached two weeks ago with the death of Tauchur Ali.

The only possible defence against this systematic bullying by racist police and frustrated youths is for the black people to build their

own street organisations.

The concern of senior police officers in East London and the 'liberal' press is that the Pakistanis should not fight back and start a 'race war'. But the only way to stop the violence is for the Pakistanis to defend themselves. The skinheads do not take on West Indians — they respect them for their toughness and resistance to attack.

Organised squads of black people in East London, supported by socialists and trade unionists, could deter the youths.

The skinheads attack the Pakistanis because they are a scapegoat for the boredom and frustration the youths feel in the backwaters of East London.

If the black people stand up and fight back the skinheads may turn their attention to their real, not imaginary, enemies. This is what the police and the authorities really fear.

An important step was taken on

Sunday at a packed meeting in Commercial Road, East London when more than 800 people voted to form defence squads.

The meeting was called by the Pakistani Workers' Union and other organisations and was supported by large numbers of Black Panthers and members of the Universal Coloured Peoples Association. International Socialists and other revolutionary groups also supported the meeting.

CONDEMNED

Speakers roundly condemned the role of the police. Reports were given of the police's lack of concern and inaction as the racist attacks have escalated.

One speaker summed up the meeting's feeling when he referred to the police as 'skinheads in blue helmets'.

Solly Kaye, a Communist councillor for Tower Hamlets, was howled down when he told the meeting to 'leave things to him'. Black people are tired of this patronising attitude that achieves nothing.

They showed their contempt for Kaye's approach in their vote to set up defence squads.

We believe that it is the duty of every revolutionary socialist and trade unionist to give the black people their fullest support, to join them in their struggle to stamp out the attacks.

This is the real meaning of black and white unity — not the moralising of tame liberals, but united workers' action on the streets.

From such action, we can go on to build a revolutionary movement

Students must take action to stop witch-hunt

SW student reporter

UNIVERSITY AUTHORITIES and their Big Business backers are making an all-out effort to smash the militant student movement.

Last term saw the biggest year movement among students in Britain. A third of the universities demanded an end to all blacklists and secret files following the disclosures of files on the outside socialist activities of lecturers and students at Warwick.

Now the authorities are attempting to reassert their control. They are trying to pretend that blacklists and files do not exist.

Even at Warwick, where the files were discovered and published, Lord Radcliff's 'impartial' report claims that 'there is no system of recording political information about students and staff'.

At the same time, a campaign of victimisation has begun against students who raised the files issue last term.

At Liverpool, nine students have been suspended for one or two years. Another has been expelled for the 'crime' of being one among 300 students — supported by 1500 others — who peacefully occupied the Senate building.

At Oxford, postgraduate student and IS member Steve Bolchover has been expelled. At his 'trial', no direct evidence was produced on one charge and witnesses for the authorities contradicted themselves in evidence on other charges.

Jail

At the London School of Economics, the administration is asking the High Court to jail Paul Hoch, an ex-student who was found drinking tea in the canteen after he had been forbidden to enter the school.

And the authorities are preparing to follow these examples in other colleges. At Nottingham and Keele, disciplinary proceedings are under way.

Cambridge students who demonstrated at a reception to boost the Greek colonels' dictatorship are awaiting trial. They may well face the same treatment as three Essex students now in Borstal.

The authorities believe they can

Workers' control call

TEESSIDE:— The joint shop steward stewards' committee at the Haverton Hill shipyard — part of the Swan Hunter group — called this week for a campaign for workers' control of the shipbuilding industry.

At a press conference on Monday, the stewards declared that the campaign would be a counter-offensive to the threatened closure of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and Harland and Wolff in Belfast.

The stewards added: 'The management of the industry has repeatedly demonstrated its inability to run the industry as a viable concern.'

They will give out leaflets at their yard to explain their case to the workers. They also intend to take their campaign to the next meeting of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. They will point the way to what they see as the only solution to the

smash the students in the summer term when approaching exams make opposition difficult.

The victimisation can only be stopped by massive and immediate direct action by all students, in individual colleges and on a national scale.

Last term, the new 'left wing' leadership of the National Union of Students made a great deal of noise about its opposition to files and its support for 'non-violent' action against them.

Demand

Militant students should demand that the NUS leaders turn words into deeds, break off all negotiations with the vice-chancellors and call a minimum one-day of national action against victimisation within the next two weeks.

There should be supporting strikes and sit-ins and a mass demonstration in London. If the NUS push for such action, visiting every college in the country and calling for support, the victimised students could be defended.

But it is unlikely that the NUS bureaucrats will do more than take token moves in this direction. Militant students must be prepared to take solidarity action without NUS backing.

Only mass action can protect the victimised students — as it did for those served with injunctions in Manchester last term — and keep alive the struggle against academic spying.

London IS meeting

MAY DAY

Left unity and the working class

Duncan Hallas

on revolutionary politics

John Palmer

on revolutionary unity

Terry Barrett

on the struggle in industry

Chairman: Paul Foot

Friday 1 May 7.30pm

Holborn Assembly Hall,

Johns Mews WC1

(off Theobalds Road, rear of

Holborn Library)

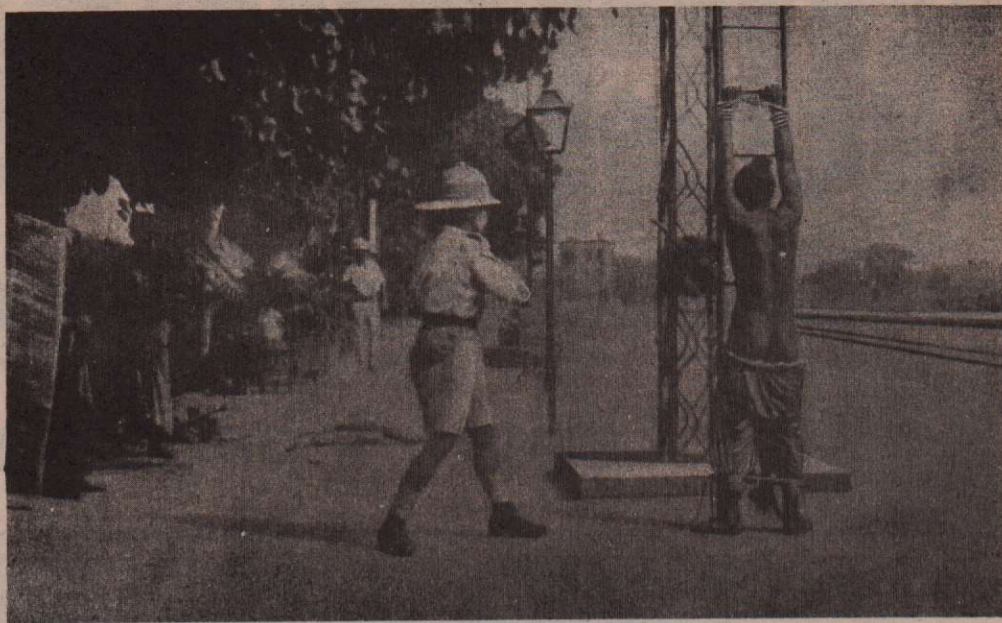
REVOLUTIONARY STUDENTS IN BRITAIN

Oxford CONFERENCE organised by the Campaign for a Democratic University on 9/10 May 1970. Details from:

E A Whelan, Conference Office, Frewin Cottage,

Frewin Court, Oxford. Tel 0865-45231

A reign of terror in the Punjab — then Britain looks for a scapegoat



An Indian being flogged in Kasur during the British terrorism that followed the Amritsar massacre.

At the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Gandhi and the Congress Party became ardent British flag-wavers and recruiting agents. They believed that Britain was essentially democratic and their part in the war would later be rewarded by India's freedom.

The British government was prepared to acknowledge India's war sacrifices by granting a measure of piecemeal reform contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford report. Insult was then added to injury by the government's determination in 1919 to push through the Rowlatt Acts.

Under these Acts, suspected terrorists were to be tried without right of appeal by secret tribunals. Reports of the proceedings would not be published. Possession of a seditious document was a punishable felony and no speeches or writings liable to lead to 'public excitement or a breach of the peace' were allowed.

The distinction between legitimate political agitation and sedition or conspiracy is hard to define and the people rightly feared further inroads into their liberty. Popular feeling against the effects of the Rowlatt Acts was summed up in the slogan 'No argument, no lawyer, no appeal'. There were widespread protests.

Gandhi goes to the masses

Gandhi's 'Satyagraha' campaign of non-violent mass civil disobedience was launched against the Rowlatt Acts.

He and his small band of sworn Satyagrahis first selected other repressive laws such as those affecting the sale of banned literature. He successfully published a small paper without the appropriate licence.

It was then decided to extend the campaign to the masses through the tactics of a general strike (hartal) to be accompanied by fasting and praying. The nationalist movement has previously been dominated by the middle class — Gandhi's campaign gave a political movement a religious colouring which made it more acceptable to the masses.

Indian cities, towns and villages were brought to a stop by the hartal of 6 April 1919. Police and troops panicked when demonstrators did not disperse at their command and in Delhi, Bombay and Ahmedabad there was much violence. Many died and hundreds were arrested.

A report of the Punjab authorities to the central government alleges that 'a conspiracy of a criminal nature existed from March 30'. But this cannot be substantiated — it is more informative to look at the economic circumstances in the Punjab.

Months after the November 1918 Armistice, the Indian people were still burdened with high prices and taxes. In the Punjab, wheat was 47 per cent above 1914 prices, foreign cloth 175 per cent, Indian cloth 110 per cent and sugar 68 per cent.

Grain merchants were affected by export restrictions and the middle class was feeling the pinch of an increase of between 100-200 per cent in income tax. The province also suffered from that year's crop failure and widespread flu and famine.

Amritsar had complete and peaceful general strikes. There had been united Muslim/Hindu demonstrations but very little show of anti-European or anti-government feeling.

The news of the Delhi riots of 30 March and Gandhi's detention spread to Amritsar and one of Gandhi's followers was sent there to preach non-violence. On 4 April orders were served on local Congress leaders Kitchlew and Satyapal not to speak in public and five days later the authorities decided on their internment.

They justified their action in terms of the eventual consequences of the agitation on the rural areas but it was later admitted that 'no serious attempt had been made to get the rural population to join in the disturbances. . . Most of the outlying villages had not even heard of the Rowlatt Bill. . .'

There was no violence until deportation orders were sent for Kitchlew and Satyapal. On 10 April a crowd went to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow to plead for their release.

Their intention was peaceful (they had not molested Europeans on their way there), but they were fired on by a military and police picket which barred their way. Several people were killed and wounded.

Infuriated by these unnecessary killings, the crowd took its vengeance by killing five Europeans, setting fire to government buildings, attacking railway stations and lines and cutting telegraph wires.

The civil authorities sent for military reinforcements, and General Dyer arrived to take over military operations. On 12 April Dyer issued a proclamation forbidding gatherings of more than four people, which would be dispersed by force of arms if necessary.

It was later officially estimated that no more than 10,000 out of the 170,000 population could possibly have heard the proclamation.

Large numbers of outsiders came into the city on 13 April — some for the cattle fair and others for a religious festival. Dyer returned to camp at noon to learn that a big meeting was planned at 4.30.

The Jallianwala Bagh was a piece of wasteland surrounded by houses, with three or four narrow exits and a boundary wall. That afternoon some 20,000 unarmed men, women and children gathered there, some to listen to the speeches and others just to pass the time, for it was a popular meeting place.

Dyer felt they were all 'rebels' and he had orders from his superiors to stamp out any insurrection in Amritsar.

A riot is legally distinguished from an insurrection by its intention. If, for example, a crowd attacks factories and shops that is a riot but if it then attacks a government build-



Gandhi during the 'satyagraha' period

ing (say a post office) then it becomes an insurrection. The distinction is important for the military because of the amount of force they may legally employ to deal with one or the other.

On 13 April General Dyer gathered all 90 available native troops. He was only prevented from using armoured cars with machine guns because of the narrowness of the entrance to the gardens. Without any warning or appeal to the crowds to disperse, he ordered the troops to open fire from 100 yards.

Over 1650 rounds of ammunition were fired for over 10 minutes. Dyer directed the troops to fire where the crowd was thickest. The people tried in vain to escape through the narrow exits and by crawling over the walls. The 'official' number of dead was estimated at 379 with 1,200 wounded but it is certain that the number of deaths was nearer 500, of whom 87 were later identified as residents of outside villages.

Dyer and the troops returned to camp. No arrangements were made for the dead to be buried or the wounded to be cared for.

As the curfew was still in force, none of the distressed friends and relatives concerned dared venture out to claim the bodies. The dead and dying were left heaped together for the night at the mercy of jackals and vultures.

Amritsar buried its dead on 14 April. In May Dyer went to the Afghan front and did not put in an official report until August.

There were wild rumours among British officials in the Punjab that the Bolsheviks and Egyptians were supporting a widespread conspiracy, although later intelligence reports found no trace of this. The proximity of the Punjab to the Afghan frontier was used by the local government to secure central approval for the Martial Law that was proclaimed on 15 April.

In July 15 Indian leaders were charged with forming a conspiracy in Amritsar 'to overawe the government and secure abolition of the Rowlatt Act'. Five were acquitted, one sentenced to death and the rest transported for life.

The word 'Dyerarchy' was coined to describe the official reign of terror in the Punjab. Dyer had whipping posts erected at the spot where a Miss Sherwood had been assaulted on 10 April. Two pickets were put on the street and no Indians allowed to pass through except on all fours.

Students were marched 16 miles in the boiling sun to attend roll calls and salute the British flag. These orders were enforced even in the case of four or five year olds and if any boy was absent without proper cause, his father had to attend in his place.

The property of suspects (and their relatives) was confiscated. In the Lahore area a wedding party was arrested for congregating after curfew and some of its members flogged. There were instances of firing from armoured trains into innocent villages to strike terror into the inhabitants.

In the Gujranwala district, bombs were dropped and villagers machine-gunned. The officer responsible, a Major Carberry, later asserted, 'I was trying to do this in their own interests. If I killed a few people, they would not gather and come to Gujranwala to do damage.'

Lawyers and journalists outside the Punjab were prevented from entering the province. There was strict press censorship and suspension of travelling facilities. In spite of the censorship, news spread throughout India and eventually to London.

Under widespread pressure from all political parties, the Indian government (dominated by British officials) in October 1919 appointed a committee under Lord Hunter of four Britons and three Indians, to inquire into the Punjab and Bombay disturbances.

The report was drawn only from officials whose administration was under review. Lord Hunter had refused to allow imprisoned Congress Party members to give evidence and the Party went ahead and produced its own report.

The Hunter Report is forced to admit that 'allowance must be made for the possibility that if non-official evidence had not been withheld, our conclusions regarding some incidents might have been different.'

The report was published on 27 May 1920 — some 13 months after the massacre. In a covering letter, the Indian government regretted the hand over to the military, condemned Dyer for firing so long and said his attempt to create 'a moral effect throughout the Punjab was a mistaken conception of his duty'.

There was no evidence that the Punjab outbreaks were the result of a pre-arranged conspiracy to overthrow the British government by force. . . but 'a movement which started in rioting. . . might have rapidly developed into a revolution.'

The Punjab demonstrators had vented particular fury on the symbols of British authority (a map in the Hunter report solemnly records the 'places where the King-Emperor's photograph was destroyed').

Any revolutionary organisation there would have tried to obtain arms. In Lahore district alone there were 1700 licence holders, but no attempt was made to raid their houses for arms. There were a few unsuccessful attempts to 'tamper with the loyalty' of native troops and police but not by any organisation.

Dyer was supported in his conspiracy theory by the Punjab governor, O'Dwyer, who believed his action in Amritsar was 'the conclusive factor in crushing the rebellion'. The widespread British officials' sympathy for Dyer was a bit ruffled by his cold-blooded remarks under questioning.

He admitted that many people in Amritsar had not heard his proclamation but said that before arriving in the gardens, 'I had made up my mind that I would do all men to death if they were going to continue the meeting'.

These were damaging admissions which the Commission felt had done 'great disservice to the interest of British rule in India'.

Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson of the Army Council in London commented, 'In the near future we should have many Dyer cases both in India and in Ireland and if we did not stand by our own soldiers we should lose their confidence. Then they would not act and then we should lose the Empire. . .'

In spite of support for Dyer from fellow officers, the Army Council decided he could not be acquitted of 'an error of judgment'. They confirmed his removal from all employment in India and passed him over for promotion.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer came to London to brief fellow-Irishman, Sir Edward Carson — the notorious Orange Unionist — for the Commons debate in July 1920. The India secretary, Montague, condemned Dyer's 'doctrine of terrorism' but General Surtees pointed out that 'We hold India by force'. Carson warned the Commons that 'if you make scapegoats. . . you will never get officers to carry out their duties'.

Lords deplore injustice to Dyer

Not losing the Empire was a cause dear to the heart of Winston Churchill, the British bulldog who held on for so long to the Indian empire — 'We (the British) are there (in India) for ever. . .'. In the Commons debate he condemned Dyer's act as a 'monstrous event. . . which stands in singular and sinister isolation. . . Frightfulness is not a remedy known to the British. . .'

That remedy was known to the British — as has been shown by their brutalities in Ireland, Malaya, Cyprus and Aden. But Montagu and Churchill would not admit that their reign in India rested on the base of physical force alone and therefore condemned Dyer's action. They won the day with 230 votes against Carson's pro-Dyer motion.

This decision was later reversed by the House of Lords which deplored the injustice done to him 'as establishing a precedent dangerous to the preservation of order, in the face of rebellion'.

Indian and Irish troops had been sacrificed in the name of a greater freedom during the First World War but those countries' hopes of being rewarded by self-determination were savagely smashed.

The massacre at Amritsar was a turning point. It put an end to any illusions that one nation could govern another in a civilised way. Sooner or later, domination led to barbarity.

Churchill:
'The British are in India for ever ...'



LENIN



A
political
biography
by
Jim
Higgins

SEAN THOMPSON

The revolutionary whose ideas haunt the ruling classes of East and West

One hundred years ago this month Lenin was born. The bald facts of his life give ample justification for a celebration of this centenary: a life dedicated almost exclusively to the development of a theory and an organisation and tactics that would, in 1917, institute the socialist revolution over one sixth of the world's land mass. All this is justification for a celebration even if it had no relevance to today. It is in the way of an added bonus that it does have contemporary relevance. Not in the sense of crudely transposing the quite different situation of Russian Social Democracy in the early 1900s to the small change of current controversy, but in the

application of an uncompromising revolutionary marxism to real developments in a real world.

In Russia, and the rest of the state capitalist bloc, the revolutionary content of Lenin's life will be obscured by an orgy of Lenin worship. His bureaucratic usurpers will attempt to elevate their latest essays in power politics as the logical continuation of the Russian revolution.

In the West we can expect a deluge of material that will confirm the present crop of Russian bureaucrats as inevitable inheritors of Lenin. At its lowest level (and most of it is at this level) the Bolsheviks and

Bolshevism are presented as a type of Mafia, writ large, and at a slightly, but not much, higher level the whole complicated process will be explained in terms of Lenin's psychology.

East and West, both sets of ruling classes have a very real interest in the continuation of the lies and the myths. Leninism is the theory and the practice of the revolutionary working class. The overthrow of capitalism on both sides of the 'iron curtain' will derive from the development of Lenin's theory to current problems. The emancipation of mankind, started in 1917, will not find it necessary to wait another hundred years.

Four pages on the founder of Bolshevism

Exile and jail – but an unceasing str

Lenin – Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov – was born in Simbirsk on 22 April 1870. His father was a teacher and inspector of schools in reasonably comfortable circumstances. Lenin was able to attend the classical Gymnasium and later the Kazan university, although he was subsequently expelled after his arrest for taking part in a student revolutionary discussion circle.

The 1880s were a period of extreme reaction, following the reforms of the early 1860s and an increase in populist terrorism. In 1887 Lenin's brother Alexander was arrested for his part in the attempt to assassinate Tsar Alexander III. In May of that year Alexander and his comrades were executed.

Lenin was deeply attached to his brother and there can be no doubt that the execution had a considerable effect on the seventeen year old boy.

To suppose, as does the official Russian biography, that this traumatic event set him immediately on the road to a marxist view and against individual terrorism is dubious. What is clear, however, is that from 1888, when he read Marx's Capital and joined a marxist group in Kazan, he was an uncompromising opponent of acts of terror (intended to galvanise the masses which, in fact, led to apathy and despair) and the idealist notions of the Russian populists, the Narodniks (named after their group Narodnya Volya – People's Will.)

Marxist method

In a series of closely reasoned pamphlets he argued for the marxist method against populism. Between 1889 and 1894 he managed to translate the Communist Manifesto into Russian, write several major works (amounting to some 500 pages in all) on Social Democracy and Populism, to organise discussion circles and to pass his law examinations.

In 1895 Lenin went abroad to make contact with members of the emigre marxist group, The Emancipation of Labour. In Switzerland he met the leading Russian marxist Plekhanov and made arrangements for the publication of a collection of articles.

On his return to Russia he

set up the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class in Petersburg and made contact with a number of other groups in other Russian towns. The attempt was made to break out of the closed circles of theoretical discussion groups and to make contact with industrial workers.

Leaflets were distributed at factories and preparation made for an illegal newspaper. In December 1895, Lenin and most members of the League were arrested and the material for the paper seized.

Throughout 1896 and until his exile to Siberia in 1897 Lenin was under interrogation in the St Petersburg jail. In between interrogations he found time to write a draft programme for a Social Democratic Party, an obituary of Engels, a leaflet and prepare material for his major work The Development of Capitalism in Russia.

Tactical changes

In his draft programme and the explanatory notes it is interesting to see how early Lenin's thought developed. In a sense, Lenin's subsequent work was in developing his 1896 programme and fighting for the necessary tactical changes, in a changing situation.

The programme puts at the centre of the analysis the working class. Agitation and propaganda is set by the actual condition of the workers.

In Russia, capitalism came very late on the scene and in consequence it was grafted on to Tsarist absolutism. Alongside the most modern large scale industrial enterprises, the administrative machinery was autocratic, graft ridden, feudal and inefficient.

In this situation the employers were able to hide behind the autocracy. Instead of controlling the state directly they operated through corrupt officials. The working class were subjected to all the concentrated barbarism of capitalism without even the crumbs of political democracy.

The struggle for better conditions in these circumstances became, willy nilly, a political struggle. The task of socialists, in Lenin's conception, was to encourage the day to day struggles against the employers, to



1895: Lenin with his St Petersburg comrades, including Martov, seated on

advise on the relation of forces, assist in the preparation of demands and to cast all this within the framework of a political and democratic programme.

The employers were to be forced in to taking the form as well as the content of state power. The workers needed 'open struggle against the capitalist class. . . in order that the intrigues and aspirations of the bourgeoisie may not be hidden in the ante rooms of Grand Dukes, in the salons of senators and ministers. . . And so down with every thing that hides the present influence of the capitalist class. . . the workers need the abolition of the government's absolute rule only in order to wage an open and extensive struggle against the capitalist class.' (Collected Works vol 2 pp 119-120). The programme, therefore, demanded the norms of capitalist democracy (universal suffrage, religious freedom, the eight hour day, equality before the law, right to strike, factory legislation, liberalisation of the land laws).

All this was to give the working class the possibility of independent activity as a class. In the process of this struggle the working class base of social democracy was to be assured.

With variations, in his estimation of the capacities and strength of the different classes, Lenin maintained to the end the idea of a programme that set out to develop class consciousness and to set the scene for the next stage of struggle. The limits of any struggle were the limits of existing working-class consciousness.

First congress

In 1898 a few revolutionary social democrats met in Minsk at the First Congress of the Russian Social Democracy. Almost immediately a document called the Credo appeared. In it, the democratic demands of social democracy were seen not as a stage in the development of the struggle but as sufficient ends in themselves. It said that socialists should restrict themselves to the economic interests of the workers and subordinate their politics to the liberal constitutional demands of the bourgeoisie.

'Economism' as a theory and tactics for socialist agitation entered the Russian movement at much the same time as the controversy over the German socialist Bernstein's revisionism was exercising the minds of

social democrats in the West.

Lenin in Siberian exile sprang to the defence of the independence of the working class and socialism against economism, while in Europe Rosa Luxemburg and Plekhanov attacked revisionism. The development of Lenin's ideas in this controversy were to find fuller expression in his book What Is To Be Done?

In late July 1900 Lenin left Russia for his first long exile. The immediate political task was, through the medium of a paper, to unite the growing circles of marxist intellectuals in Russia with the spontaneous wave of working class struggles and build a united socialist party. After some initial difficulties with Plekhanov, the paper, The Spark (Iskra), was produced. The earlier years of clarification began to pay dividends. A coherent body of ideas related to the Russian movement had been developed.

The need now was for an organisation capable of popularising and acting on those ideas and to make the vital connection with the working class. It is in this light that the much misused What Is To Be Done? and the controversy of 1902-3 on organisation must be viewed.

A party of a new kind...

From 1901 to 1903 Lenin and his wife Krupskaya carried the main burden of work on Iskra. Some 13 issues appeared in 1901. Many British socialist will know the hard, grinding work involved in financing and producing a readable newspaper that combines socialist agitation with working class appeal.

The production of Iskra and its distribution in Russia multiplied these problems a thousand-fold. Some of the Russian distributors sold the paper and sent the cash but did not follow up their contacts and set up workers' groups. Another unscrupulous rascal sold the copies and then used the money to publish a paper supporting economism.

The leading emigre Russian marxists were an exceptionally talented group: Axelrod, Plekhanov, Potresov, Martov were all capable of brilliant work but they were also undisciplined and argumentative. In the circumstances it is little short of miraculous that Lenin and his wife were able to produce a paper at all.

In Russia, alongside the development of an embryonic socialist party, the chaotic situation gave rise to a number of other political organisations. In 1901 the Social Revolutionary Party, claiming, with some justice, to

be the inheritors of the People's Will, was formed. At much the same time 'liberal' sections of the professions and the middle class formed the Constitutional Democrat Party (Cadets).

What Is To Be Done? is superficially an attack on economism but it essentially the demand for a disciplined party, a party of a new kind. Lenin's insistence on the inability of the working class to advance, unaided, beyond trade union consciousness was not new, indeed it was a commonplace in international socialist circles.

Living movement

What was new was his insistence that intellectuals, who were to bear the socialist message to the workers, must be dedicated, full-time revolutionaries. The capriciousness and instability that characterised so many Russian intellectuals had to be subordinated to the living worker's movement.

The party intelligentsia were to operate under the discipline of the workers in the party branches. It is this vital point that differentiates Lenin's ideas from the rest. In the party controversy over who should be entitled to become a member, the argument turned not on a word or two 'that only he is a member who puts himself under the dis-

cipline of the local organisation but over a whole conception of revolutionary struggle.

At the party congress in 1903 Lenin was defeated on the membership question. Later in the conference, however, he was successful in the elections to the editorial board of Iskra. It is from this victory that the terms Bolshevik (majority) and Menshevik (minority) derive. The split in the Russian movement was never really to be healed and in 1912 the two sections became separate organisations.

The divergence of 1903 and the enmity and bad blood that flowed from that event are often cited as an example of the cold calculation of Lenin and his inhuman attitude to his political opponents. The truth is, as usual, rather different.

Martov, his opponent in the party controversy, was a very close personal friend (even after the revolution Lenin maintained warm feelings towards him). The break with old comrades and the heat engendered in the debate made Lenin physically ill.

What is characteristic of Lenin is that despite the pain it caused him he was prepared, in the interests of the revolution, to break with anybody. The fact of a disciplined, effective party organically related to the working class was worth more than old acquaintance.



The Ulyanov family with Lenin (far right) and Alexander (centre, standing)

'We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order' Lenin, 1917

Struggle to build a revolutionary party



is left

1905: the first Soviet

In the wake of the Russian defeat at the hands of the Japanese in 1905, the situation for the working class became more and more oppressive. A peaceful crowd went to petition the Tsar for the alleviation of their conditions. The crowd carried holy images and portraits of the 'little father' — the Tsar.

The Tsar's response was to fire on the crowd. From humble petitions the Petrograd workers moved rapidly to strikes, demonstrations and armed struggle. Their slogan 'The eight hour day and arms' was given weight and real revolutionary content by the spontaneous development of Soviets — workers' councils. The movement spread like wildfire. Thousands of estates were burned, hundreds of thousands of workers went on strike.

The real fight against Populism and Economism was won in the streets and the Soviets. Lenin's description of the working class as capable of only trade union consciousness was transformed into: 'The working class is instinctively, spontaneously Social Democratic. . . The special conditions of the proletariat in capitalist society leads to a striving for socialism; a union of them with the Socialist Party bursts forth with spontaneous force. . .'

After five years of exile Lenin returned to Russia. At first he was suspicious of the Soviet, seeing in this novelty not an organ of working class power but a transitory combat organisation.

The Bolshevik organisation was small and with little influ-

ence. Lenin called for the recruitment of workers by the thousand. In a time of revolutionary ferment the restrictions of 1903 were unnecessary and redundant.

But the relation of forces in the revolution were against the working class. The autocracy maintained its army, the liberal middle class vacillated and the socialist forces were not strong enough. After several months the leaders of the St Petersburg Soviet were arrested and the subsequent strike in Moscow was bloodily suppressed.

The revolution ended with the Cadets in tortured doubt as to whether they should join Witte's ministry, with some of the choicer examples of Tsarist reaction and a series of government inspired anti-semitic pogroms.

The desert years

The years that followed the defeat of the 1905 revolution have been called the 'years of the desert'. The workers' movement in Russia was in steady retreat. Revolutionaries, active until then, became tired and disillusioned. The most dedicated held on and survived — just.

In the absence of a living movement the emigre quarrels became bitter and inward looking. Immature, ultra-left tendencies developed in the party. Attempts were made by some to import Kantian idealism into

marxist philosophy. Lenin fought all these struggles, if not with enthusiasm, with vigour. The need to hold on and maintain the organisation was amply justified in 1917.

The struggles against the ultra left and the 'God-seekers' are not, of themselves, of any great significance. But, as part of the process by which Lenin developed his ideas of organisation and the application of marxism, the period of 1905 to 1917 is the period in which a party capable of taking power was built and that is certainly of more than passing importance.

Against the war

1914 was the real testing time for socialism and socialists. In country after country, yesterday's revolutionary internationalists became today's grovelling social patriots. Plekhanov in Russia, Hyndman in Britain, Guesde in France, almost the entire German Social Democracy, became enthusiastic participants in national defence.

Those who maintained a consistent position were pathetically few in number. The Russian Social Democracy, the Bulgarians, the Italians and a few isolated groups, such as Luxemburg's in Germany, were all that

kept the revolutionary tradition alive.

It is difficult today, with the experience of 50 years of social democratic betrayal to draw upon, to conceive of the shock that the treachery of the Second International in 1914 imposed on the internationalists. For years the hopes for the revolution had been placed, rather misplaced, in the International, particularly its German section.

To reject the moribund Second, with its passive millions, for a new international with a few adherents was a prospect that daunted all but the most uncompromising. Of these the most uncompromising was Lenin. At the anti-war conference of Berne, Kienthal and Zimmerwald, the slogan 'turn the imperialist war in to civil war' was advanced by the Bolsheviks against the pacifist slogans of 'peace without annexations and international reconciliation'.

In 1916 Lenin wrote his major contribution to internationalism in his book Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. In this work, Lenin develops marxist theory on the connections between the metropolitan countries and the colonial world.

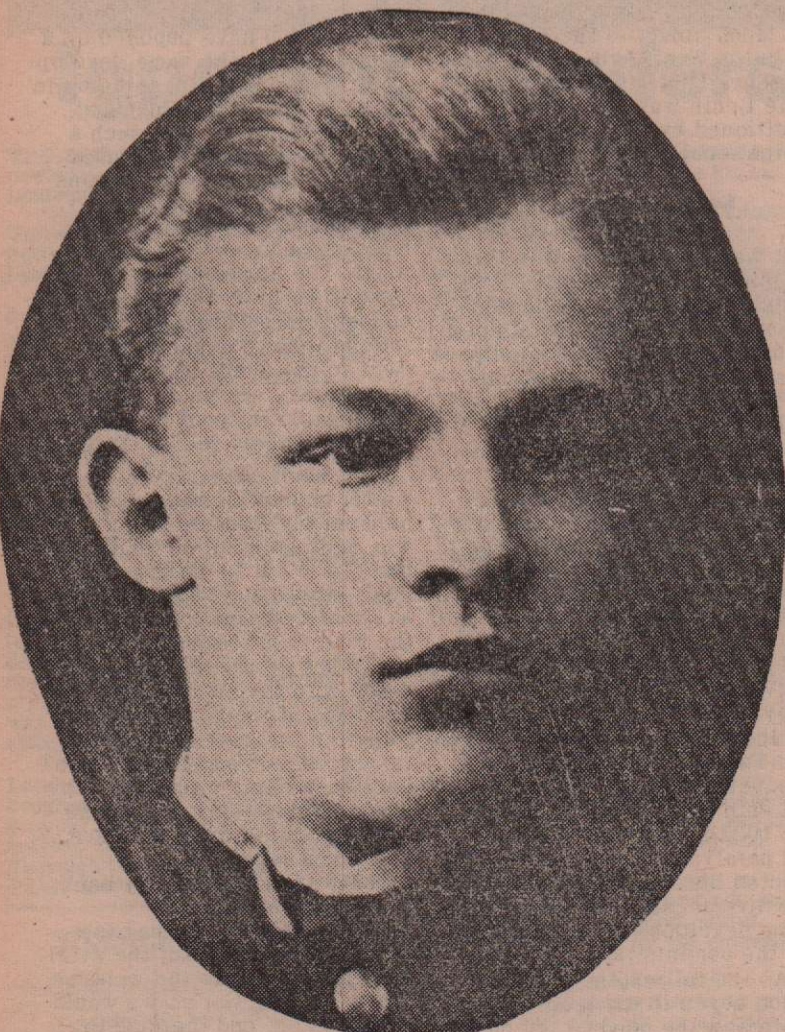
He sees in this the root cause of war and reformism in the metropolitan centres. In its descriptions of the interdependence of the developed and underdeveloped countries, the book brings on to the stage of history for the first time the revolutionary role of the colonial peoples in the scheme of world revolution.

From 1914 to 1917 Lenin lived mainly in Switzerland. The war made contact with the Russian movement difficult and his time was spent in correspondence with those socialists abroad who were against the war. He joined and was active in the left of the Swiss Socialist Party.

He wrote not only his book on Imperialism but a host of articles and pamphlets on the war and the attitude of socialists. In this period he deepened his understanding of the fatal conjuncture of practical opportunism with verbal revolutionism, best exemplified by Kautsky (the erstwhile 'Pope of Marxism').



Lenin speaking in Moscow 1919



Lenin in 1887, the year when Alexander was executed

1917, then Stalin's growing menace

In Russia the ruling autocracy was finding the task of fighting a full scale modern war impossible. The already unstable regime was literally falling apart under the pressure of events. Beat, in battle, unable to meet the minimal requirements of the working population and incapable of relinquishing even a shadow of power to anyone else, the Tsar and Tsarism were doomed.

In February 1917 a peaceful women's demonstration demanding bread was fired on. The result, a general strike, the re-institution of the Soviets — but this time Soviets that could take and could hold the power.

For a short time it was possible for the politicians to maintain the fiction that only they had the necessary intelligence and ability to govern, but not for long. In the beginning the predominant influence in the Soviets was Social Revolutionary and to a lesser extent Menshevik. For them, the Soviets did not represent working-class power but a means to a provisional government.

Years of mechanical adherence to the marxist formula, that Russian socialism would have to wait until capitalism had fully developed and assumed complete political power, blinded them to the actual situation.

The attempt to bend the revolution, despite the tangible evidence of worker's power in the Soviets, to conform to their preconceptions led the Mensheviks into coalitions with capitalist ministers in the provisional government. Finally many of them found themselves on the side of open counter-revolution in the camp of Admiral Kolchak and Baron Wrangel.

April theses

In April 1917 Lenin returned to Russia. His last and longest exile was at an end. His programme (the April Theses) shocked not only the Mensheviks but also large sections of the Bolshevik Party.

In calling for all power to the Soviets, an end to the war, social production under the control of the Soviets, nationalisation of the banks, abolition of the police, the army and the bureaucracy, he was breaking with a whole tradition of Russian Social Democracy and, in the eyes of many, capitulating to 'Trotskyism'. The Bolshevik leadership in Petrograd, in the persons of Stalin and Kamenev, had pursued a policy little different from that of the Mensheviks.

Stalin in particular had indicated support for the provisional government and the war. In the brief but heated controversy that followed, Lenin threatened to take the fight out of the party and into the working class. In the end the Bolsheviks were convinced.

From the recognition of the Soviets as the centre for socialist advance, it was but a short step to the actual seizure of power. The Bolshevik agitators were sent into the factories and the barracks. By June, a demonstration organised to show the workers' support for the provisional government and its war aims brought half a million workers onto the streets almost all of them behind Bolshevik slogans: 'All power to the Soviets, Down with the capitalist ministers'.



Lenin with Bolshevik leaders in 1919, including Radek (1), Bukharin (2) and Zinoviev (3). In the later Stalinist version, the victims of repression were removed to leave only the writer Gorky.

In May Trotsky returned to Russia. As Lenin's views on the perspectives for the revolution converged with his, his own views on such previously disputed questions as the nature of the party converged with Lenin's. In a short time he was accepted in to a leading position in the Bolshevik Party and was to play a vital role in the struggle for power.

After an abortive street demonstration in July the government took the opportunity to arrest leading members of the Bolshevik Party (including Trotsky) and Lenin went into hiding. From July to October, Lenin was effectively cut off from the day to day affairs of the party.

Besides writing a mass of detailed letters and articles on the changing situation, he also found time to write his book on the marxist theory of the state, *State and Revolution*.

The provisional government, now led by a 'socialist', Kerensky, was in a difficult situation. The war was becoming increasingly unpopular, while the allies were pressing for an offensive on the Eastern front. The army General Staff were restless, particularly General Kornilov, at the spread of democratic notions into the army and Kerensky's inability to control the Soviet.

At the same time the Bolshevik slogans were taking deeper and deeper root among the working class. Something had to give. Kornilov marched on Petrograd to restore order, overthrow Kerensky, and set up a dictatorship.

Kerensky, bereft of all but the trappings of power, had to turn to the workers and soldiers organised in the Soviets and, inevitably, to the imprisoned Bolsheviks. Trotsky and the rest were released and brilliantly organised the defence of the city. Kornilov was defeated and the direct road to the overthrow of the provisional government

laid.

On 25 October the Military Revolutionary Council led the insurrection.

The situation that shortly faced the Bolsheviks after the assumption of power was exceptionally grim: the complete breakdown of administration, the break up of the war front and a hostile army of Germans in the Ukraine together with an even more hostile internal opposition. The power had been taken and must be maintained until the revolution in the West could come to the rescue.

Peace with the Germans had to be achieved to allow a breathing space. At Brest Litovsk peace talks were begun. The result was 'a robber's peace'.

With the end of the imperialist war and the defeat of the Germans the 'robber's peace' was annulled but some 22 foreign armies descended onto Russian soil to bring aid and comfort to the various White armies, to snuff out the Soviet Republic and to share the resultant spoils.

The creation of the Red Army by Trotsky and the eventual defeat of the interventionist and counter-revolutionary armies is not only a tribute to Trotsky's genius as an organiser but is also confirmation of the very real support that the Bolshevik government had among the Russian masses.

Four years of imperialist war followed by four years of civil war left Russia prostrate. Transport was at a standstill, as was industrial production.

Even more disastrous, the working class base of the Bolshevik Party had virtually disappeared from the factories. They had fought and died in the Red Army and had been taken in to the government and party administration.

In the absence of the class, democracy disappears and power is exercised behind closed doors

to satisfy the interests of the few. Stalin displayed special talents of an exceptionally high order for this type of skulduggery.

The last years of Lenin's life and his failing health mirrors the decline of the revolution. The monumental problems of reconstruction involved the Soviet state and the party in a number of situations where principle was, necessarily, subordinated to expediency. The New Economic Policy was adopted not as a development of socialism but as an attempt to put a little dynamism into a devastated economy.

It is not without significance that Lenin uses the term 'state capitalism' for this feature of Soviet life. The need to make these compromises was, however, seen as a temporary expedient. Every day that the Soviets extended their life brought them that much closer to the revolution in the West, particularly in Germany. The internal situation, while Lenin was at the helm, was conditioned by the hopes for international revolution.

High rank

It was only under Stalin that the interests of the Third International (set up to aid the revolution abroad) were subordinated to the interests of Russian diplomacy and the internal situation in the Russian party.

The demobilisation of the Red Army made a massive contribution to the ranks of the party. Army officers were able to achieve high rank in the party and the government machine on the basis of some administrative skill and organising ability.

Unfortunately the skills acquired in an army, even the Red Army, are not entirely conducive to working-class democracy. It is on these formations and the lower rank left-overs from Tsarism that the Stalinist bureaucracy was based.

Lenin, due to his illness (in May 1922 he suffered a stroke that paralysed his right side and affected his speech) was at first slow to recognise the full import of the developments in the party and the administration.

As the full extent of the situation began to dawn on him, Lenin saw the need to reform the Party institutions, to cut out the plethora of bureaucratic committees and to increase the numbers on and the influence of the

leading committees of the party.

In his view, the seven-man political bureau held too much power and its actions should be subjected to the discipline of a broader party committee. The essence of the change was to bring into the administration more workers: a return to the fundamentals of 1903.

On the question of Georgian independence, Lenin fought an incomplete and ultimately unsuccessful fight against Stalin and his henchmen.

In the course of Lenin's illness, Stalin utilised his position as general secretary to keep news of developments in the Soviet Union from him. The doctors were given instructions not to permit Lenin to work.

It was only by laying down an ultimatum that he would ignore their advice completely, that he was able to gain a few minutes each day to read reports and dictate a few notes and letters. At one stage Stalin felt so confident that he threatened Krupskaya with a party court for permitting Lenin to dictate a short note.

Lenin did not discover this last episode until after he had completed his 'Testament'. When he did he broke off all personal relations with Stalin. The 'Testament' reveals the difficulty that Lenin faced. With the working class weak and small in number the only salvation for the regime lay within the party structure itself.

The danger of a split was analysed and the character of leading Bolsheviks discussed, not always to their advantage. But it is in an appendix, written some days later, that Lenin suggests that Stalin should be removed from the post of general secretary.

Bomb for Stalin

In the first months of 1923 Lenin feverishly began to prepare a case against Stalin. Directing his attention to the Georgian affair, Lenin let it be known that he was preparing a 'bomb for Stalin'.

But on 7 March, Lenin suffered another attack. He was paralysed and never spoke again.

It is interesting to speculate as to the possible outcome of the struggle if Lenin had lived and regained his health. It is possible to argue, and often is argued, that the internal Russian and the external world situation would have imposed on a Leninist party the same development, with perhaps less barbaric methods, that Stalin imposed.

It seems to me that such a view leaves out of account a whole series of considerations that are linked to the active participation of Lenin in the Russian party and the International. The grotesque theory of 'socialism in one country', the consequent subordination of the international communist movement to the needs of the Russian bureaucracy are, in my view, unthinkable in terms of a party or a government led by Lenin.

But such speculation, no matter how interesting, is not particularly fruitful. Lenin's life was dedicated not to what might have been but in defining the goal, estimating the resources available, and then setting out the road to reach that goal.

Today we are too often presented with the spectacle on the one hand of those who have forgotten the goal, ignore the resources and wander round in ever decreasing circles. On the other hand we have those who only recognise the goal, have little or no resources and proceed to march smartly backward into the past.

For revolutionary marxists the goal is socialism, the available resources are the working class as it is, not as we would like it to be, and the road to that goal is the construction, with the active participation of advanced workers, of a revolutionary party.



Ship owners save thousands as seamen work long hours

by Joe Rourke

National Union of Seamen

EVERYONE knows that ship-owners are the meanest and most grasping employers in Britain. But few people realise just how much the shipping companies have saved by forcing the seamen in their employment to live on £2 1s 2d a day.

A married man at sea, perhaps with a couple of children, is no different from his counterpart ashore. He has to provide for his wife and family who have the same needs as other people.

A single man at sea is in a similar position. He wants the same things from society as any single man ashore, but he has to live on a pittance.

How do seamen manage? The answer is: they do a lot of overtime. A recent survey into the hours worked in the shipping industry came up with the information that every British seaman works 26 hours a week overtime.

If, for example, two seamen work 20 hours each overtime in a week, that extra 40 hours is equivalent to another working man's week. But those extra hours are additional to the seamen's normal week's work.

The average deep-sea cargo ship carries eight Able Bodied seamen. If every one of them works 20 hours overtime in a week that adds up to 160 extra hours worked. That is equivalent to having four extra men working on the deck.

40 hours' overtime worked at 7s 2d an hour comes to £14 6s 10d, which is identical to a week's wages for an Able Bodied seaman. Does it make any real difference whether the shipowner employs another four men or shares the men's wages out by paying overtime to the reduced deck ratings?

Lot of cash

Look at what the shipowner saves by not employing those four extra deck hands.

First, he has no need to build accommodation for them. This means there is more space for carrying cargo which at today's high freight rate means a lot of cash.

Secondly, he does not have to pay the employer's share of national insurance or holiday pay for 48 days per year. If any pay roll tax is involved, he escapes paying that as well.

He makes a saving on food — but that is not all. By working with a reduced number of men in the engine



BILL HOGARTH, the NUS secretary seen talking to picketing seamen at recent pay talks. The union has submitted a 50 per cent pay claim and the employers have countered with 19 per cent. The union conference begins in Hull next week.

room and catering as well as on the deck, the shipowner cuts the galley staff down because there are not so many crew to cook for.

The chain reaction does not stop there. Over the years he has convinced the deck officers and engineers that because the ratings have agreed to reduce their numbers, they too must make some sacrifices so that he can remain competitive and stay in business.

As a result, all vessels built today of 3000 gross registered tons and under now carry only two mates on the bridge. They work five hours on and five off with a corresponding reduction among the engineers.

The ratings never agreed to have their numbers slashed. It was just

imposed on them like so many other things, such as working one man in a watch, no payment for Bank Holidays spent at sea, deck ratings having to work down in the engine room (known as general purpose agreements) and a 52 hour week.

Forced to work 1200 hours' overtime every year to improve his miserable wage, each rating saves the shipowner vast sums of money.

The owner does not have to pay out high wages in getting shore labour to clean and prepare hatches for receiving cargo. The boys just work until midnight or through the night if necessary — all for 7s 2d an hour.

Imagine how much that shore labour would cost if the ship were in the USA, Canada or Britain or in any other country with a high cost of living. The same applies to the men in the engine room who carry out maintenance and cleaning of boilers.

The real reason why we have been living on our knees on the basic wage over the years is to save the shipowner millions of pounds and so boost his profits.

Cottons Column

LAST WEEK the ruling Tory Unionist Party in Northern Ireland woke up to the fact that the appalling near-fascist bigot Paisley was going to beat their candidate in the Bannside by-election.

Hastily, top speakers were drafted into the area to speak for the Unionist candidate, Dr Minford. They included Prime Minister Chichester-Clark, Lord Brookeborough, ageing architect of the Ulster police state and a host of other Stormont notables.

One of them got quite carried away on the election platform. He was proud, he ranted, to be on the same platform as Lord Brookeborough, proud to speak as an Ulsterman and proud of his country's achievements.

Desperately, he cast around for an Ulster achievement. 'Proud,' he burred, 'to speak as a fellow countryman of the man who designed the Titanic.'

The Titanic, readers will recall, was the giant liner which sank on its maiden voyage. Lifebelt anyone?

IF YOU THINK only 'private' industry grinds the workers, take a look at Lord Robens and his merry coal barons. When they close a mine they pay an average of £400 redundancy money to each worker.

But once a miner leaves the pit he has to start paying rent for his Coal Board house. NCB rents average 30s a week.

This means that in five years the redundant miner pays back his lump sum to the Coal Board in rent.

As the government pays seven-ninths of the redundancy money, the NCB is making tidy profit. And it gets you either way, if you are thrown out of work or allowed to work on until pension.

A retired miner gets a 30s a week pension. But he has also to start paying rent of . . . 30s a week.

Physician, heal thyself

A NEW YORK psychiatrist, Dr Arnold Hutschnecker, has recommended to President Nixon that American school children of six years old and above should be submitted to 'crime tests' in order to flush out any potential criminals (or revolutionaries?).

The mini-mobsters would then undergo 'massive psychological and psychiatric treatment' and be remanded in intensive care camps where they would suffer such barbaric forms of 'care' as electric shock treatment and other delights which the good doctor will have thought up.

At the end of all this the American establishment ought to have a tidy, obedient army of mindless plastic zombies. Fine fodder for the ghettos — they'd never complain. For industry they'd never go on strike and for the army they'd never resist the draft or desert.

Dr Hutschnecker does not deny that poverty and squalor are at the root of crime. But he maintains that criminals have an entirely different mental and physical make-up from 'normal' people and that they can be spotted early on.

So here is a fine opportunity for Nixon to keep the American ruling class happy by avoiding having to provide houses, medical care and jobs for the poor while eliminating the disruptors almost at birth.

But as long as there is grinding poverty there will be massive crime waves, as long as there are ghettos there will be riots and looting. And as long as there are rising prices and worsening conditions there will be strikes. To cure all of America's social ills Nixon would have to put half the American working class in intensive care camps.

PS Dr Hutschnecker once treated Nixon himself for a mental ailment. Didn't seem to stop him being a gangster. . .

EAST, WEST, the language is the same. Pravda comments on the US-SR's economic plan for 1970: 'Real income, which is a generalised index of people's living standards (that is, well-off officials as well as workers) is expected to rise by 5 per cent per head in 1970. . . profits for industry in 1970 are set at . . . 11.2 per cent above the figure for profits in the current year.'

The same issue complains that 'many executives have allowed the rates of average wages to outstrip the growth rates of labour productivity.' Anyone feel like translating Cliff's book into Russian?

A high price

THREE ABERDEEN building workers have been awarded the Queen's commendation for brave conduct following an accident on a site in the city last April.

The awards are to Mr William Carr, Mr William Dalgarno and Mr Lachlan Walker. They were working on a site at Cairnry Road when a section of a tower crane became stuck.

Another worker, Mr Charles Barron, who went up to investigate, lost an arm and part of a foot when the section fell on him.

Mr Dalgarno went up to help him and he too lost part of a foot when he was trapped.

Mr Carr and Mr Walker then helped to free the two men and bring them to safety.

Mr Alexander Farquhar, the men's employer, said he was pleased the awards had been made. And he was sure their services would not go unrecognised by the company.

IS YOUR UNION really necessary? That is the question from Tyneside to Mr Clive Jenkins and his Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs.

At the Armstrong Whitworth engineering works in Gateshead, the foremen were recently called out on official strike by ASTMS.

At the end of the first week the management announced that production had gone up in the absence of the foremen. DATA subversives are putting it around that the firm offered the foremen £2 a week to stay out indefinitely. . .

Ignorant slanders on Lenin

THE BBC has dismissed the Lenin centenary in two short and inadequate plays.

'Inadequate' is hardly the word. Grotesque distortions would sum up better the plays shown on BBC-2 last Friday and Saturday.

Out of this spark, the first play, dealt with the important formative years of Lenin's life and the period at the turn of the century when Iskra was published and the Russian Social Democratic Party split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

Apparently Lenin spent most of his youth in total silence, staring dreamily out of windows at the Russian countryside. The only moment of interest was the trial of his brother, Alexander, who was executed for his part in a terrorist attack on the Tsar.

The programme stressed, correctly, that the death of Alexander was a turning point in Lenin's life, decisively sending him along the road to marxism and the revolutionary party. What it failed to bring out was Lenin's lifelong theoretical struggle against terrorism.

The scenes of Lenin's life in London around the time of the 1903 congress painted a picture of a grumpy, humourless robot who cared nothing for personal relationship. Although the future Menshevik Julius Martov appeared as a central

character, the programme failed to portray Lenin's great love for his old friend.

But the most glaring distortion was the portrayal of Krupskaya, Lenin's wife. Her role in life, it would seem, was to be the perfect 'companion' and housewife, making tea and cooking meals, but studiously retiring into the corner to knit whenever a political discussion started. Such a portrayal is an insult not just to Krupskaya but to women in general.

Terrorism

The programme ended with a view of the dying Lenin in 1924 and the comment that he was always intolerant and not averse to a little terrorism. And I would not be averse to a little terrorism at the BBC when such ignorant slanders are put out.

But there was worse to come. Revolution: Lenin on Saturday dealt with the hours preceding the vital meeting of the central committee of the Bolshevik Party in October 1917 when the insurrection was planned.

According to Mr Cecil Taylor, the author of this piece of drivel, Lenin was in a one-man opposition on the committee and could win the day only by threats, ranting and underhand method.

This picture of Lenin as an unscrupulous demagogue finds no mirror in the real events. But it serves its purpose for the enemies of socialism.

The play concluded with Zinoviev denouncing Lenin as a new Tsar — 'you will take us all back to Tsarism'. For those who like their logic chopped and easily digested, here was the message: revolutions achieve nothing and are led by scheming tyrants.

It makes bad television and

Television by David East

Join the International Socialists

There are branches in the following areas

SCOTLAND

Aberdeen; Clydebank; Dundee; Edinburgh; Glasgow; East Kilbride.

NORTH EAST

Durham; Newcastle upon Tyne; Teesside (Middlesbrough and Redcar)

NORTH

Barnsley; Bradford; Derby; Doncaster; Hull; Leeds; York; Selby; Sheffield.

NORTH WEST

Lancaster; Manchester; Merseyside; Preston; St Helens; Stockport; Wigan.

MIDLANDS

Birmingham; Coventry; Northampton; Leicester; Oxford; Potteries.

WALES and SOUTH WEST

Bath; Bristol; Cardiff; Exeter; Swansea

SOUTH

Ashford; Brighton; Crawley; Folkestone; Portsmouth; Southampton.

EAST

Cambridge; Grays and Tilbury; Harlow; Ipswich; Lowestoft; Norwich; North-east Essex.

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Acton; Angel; Camden; Chertsey; Croydon; Deptford; East London; Enfield; Erith; Fulham; Greenford; Hampstead; Harrow; Hemel Hempstead; Hornsey; Ilford; Kilburn; Kingston; Lambeth; Merton; Reading; Richmond; Stoke Newington; Tottenham; Walthamstow; Wandsworth; Watford; Victoria (SW1).

Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the International Socialists to:

Name _____

Address _____

Send to IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2.



SOCIALIST WORKER

6 Cottons Gardens London E2
Editorial: 01-739 1878

Please note new business number:

01-739 2639

The former business number 01-739 1870 should now only be

BACK PAGE

Socialist Worker

LEFT UNITY VITAL TO FIGHT PAISLEY THREAT

by Sean Treacy

THE SWEEPING ELECTION victories of Ian Paisley and his fellow 'Protestant Unionist' in the Bannside and South Antrim by-elections in Northern Ireland last week mark another step to the right by the Unionist movement.

The victories for the extreme right over official Unionist candidates are bound to stiffen the campaign led by William Craig to remove the Stormont leadership of Chichester-Clark. Craig accuses the Unionist leaders of being 'collaborators' with the British Labour government.

Craig knows that if he is not to lose the leadership of the extreme right to Paisley he must step up the pressure to remove Chichester-Clark. His calculations are based on the confident assessment that the Paisley election victories will prompt a number of Unionist MPs to dump Chichester-Clark and come over to the unofficial Unionist group.

ARMED THUGS

Paisley and his supporters represent a half way house between the Craig right wing and the armed thugs of the 'Ulster' Protestant Volunteers.

Paisley has considerable support among sections of the rural Protestant lower middle class and among some Protestant workers. But he has no clear strategy for sabotaging the programme of 'reforms' insisted on by Westminster as part of its policy of stabilising Northern Ireland in the interests of British big business.

Paisley's group is contemptuous of Craig's tame Stormont right wing. He calls them appeasers of the 'Papists'. But he knows that the gunmen of the UPV regard him in a similar light.

Unless Paisley can produce the goods — the overthrow of Chichester-Clark, the smashing of the official Unionist leadership and the sabotaging of the reform promises — he will find himself outflanked by men like McKeague.

RENEW ATTACKS

The immediate consequence of Paisley's victories will be to give renewed confidence to the extreme right. With the British troops turning their attentions more and more to the militant republican and socialist wing of the civil rights movement, the gunmen will be tempted to renew their attacks on Catholic districts.

In this situation, the socialists and left republicans are making determined efforts to wrest the leadership of the militant civil rights rank and file from the so called 'moderates'.

At an unemployment demonstration in Newry last weekend, organised by the People's Democracy and the Derry Labour Party, there were contingents like the 'Ballymurphy Youth Group' which consists of the young militants who fought the British forces in Belfast earlier this month.

At the meeting, speakers stressed the urgency of regrouping revolutionary socialists to fight the threat from the right.

An important part of the struggle of the left in this situation is agitation around the issues of unemployment and rotten housing which hit both Catholic and Protestant workers.

Speaking about this, Michael Farrell of PD said after the Paisleyite successes: 'Time is running out and the by-elections make imperative an alliance of all socialist forces to launch a militant campaign against bad housing, unemployment and low wages.'

The first step should be the organising of a May Day march to show that there are sections of the working class which have not



TWO VIEWS ON PROD DEALS

ROGER ROSEWELL (right) a Midlands trade union organiser, seen making a point at a meeting on Monday called by Tottenham International Socialists to discuss productivity bargaining. The other main speaker (left) was Norman Atkinson, Labour MP for Tottenham, with chairman Mel Norris. Mr Atkinson said that socialism was an evolutionary process and the task now for the trade union movement was to fight for a high wage economy and increased growth. Roger Rosewell countered this view by saying that productivity deals, measured day work, job evaluation and mobility were part of a government-employer offensive to break the power of shop floor workers. He posed an alternative to bankrupt parliamentary reformism: a militant socialist movement fighting for workers' power.

Masked sparks say no to JIB

EDINBURGH: 300 electricians from the Grangemouth Petrochemical site marched through the city last Wednesday in protest against the planned introduction of the Scottish Joint Industry Board on the site.

The sparks wore masks to avoid identification and possible victimisation by their union. Nearly 20 militants were expelled from the EETU after anti-JIB meetings in England and Wales.

The marchers handed in notes of protest at SJIB and EETU offices.

The demonstration spotlighted the fear of many electricians as the JIB spreads its tentacles further into the electrical industry. The

militants at Grangemouth have done a good job but many contracting sparks have raised no overall opposition to the SJIB.

Propaganda and agitation is needed in this direction, especially with the new contracting working rules that demand perfect time-keeping before overtime rates are paid. The rules define the role of shop stewards as being responsible for the application of JIB rules and to make every effort to improve industrial relations so that productivity can be increased.

A real effort must be made this year, when EETU executive councillors seek re-election, to bring democracy back to the union.

Strike backs locked-out men

A ONE-DAY TOKEN strike on Tuesday at the CAV engineering plant in Acton, North London, was almost 100 per cent successful. Only 30 maintenance workers crossed the picket line.

The strike was in support of locked-out laboratory workers. They had been working to rule for eight weeks for parity of wages and an all-round increase.

The management agreed to parity but tied any all-round increase to a package deal. One clause demanded the right to use staff workers on engine test-bed

NOTICES

LENIN CENTENARY: Clydebank Town Hall, Friday 1 May, 7.30pm: Tony Cliff on Leninism and Revolutionary Socialism.

VIETNAM demonstration Sunday 26 April 2pm Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. March to American Embassy.

SWANSEA IS: Open meeting on Permanent Revolution. Red Cow pub, 7.30pm, Friday 1 May.

WANDSWORTH and **LAMBETH IS** branches: Productivity Deals. Spkrs Tony Cliff and Jim Atkinson, sec. Wandsworth Trades Council, Assembly Rooms, Clapham Baths, Clapham Manor SW4 (near Clapham Common tube). Mon 4 May, 8pm.

Published by the International Socialists 6 Cottons Gdns London E2. Printed by SW (Litho) Printers Ltd. (TU all depart- ments) 100, Old Street, London EC1A 3PU.

Clyde bosses want new cash handout and more sackings

by Peter Bain (DATA)

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS in the crisis at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders seem like a re-run of old newsreels. It is less than a year since a combination of concessions from the workers and huge government loans and grants stopped the company going into liquidation.

The injection of more than £20 million of public money, the squeezing of greater productivity from a reduced workforce, and the arrival of Ken 'whiz-kid' Douglas as managing director, spelled out success for UCS as far as the press were concerned.

Now, we are told 3500 manual workers must be paid off if the company is to survive. It is still not certain how many staff workers will also be shown the door, but it is unlikely to be less than another 500.

The directors are also asking the government to put up money to guarantee completion of £15 million worth of potential orders. And the press, which only weeks ago were painting a picture of balmy days ahead for Clyde shipbuilding, are now fully backing the campaign to sack thousands of shipyard workers.

UCS has said repeatedly that either the redundancies are accepted or the company will be liquidated. Harold Lever, the millionaire 'socialist' Paymaster-General has told the yard workers they must accept the position and a statement on behalf of the 44 Scottish Labour MPs reiterated the management's demands 'in the interests of Clyde shipbuilding'.

On top of all this, Yarrow's have announced that they intend withdrawing from UCS and are having talks with the lower Clyde Scott-Lithgow group as well as with other yards specialising in their line (naval work).

The Yarrow breakaway, which takes place after they have received a substantial share of the UCS loans and grants, has government backing. The government believes that Yarrow's would be successful in getting export orders if they were part of a more financially viable organisation than UCS.

Workers angry

The workers' response has been a mixture of anger and bewilderment. Under pressure from every side, it is to their credit that the joint shop stewards committee have repeated their call for an all-out strike if one man is sacked.

The full-time union officials have been making more noise about lack of consultation than they have about actually opposing the redundancies. But their influence among the yard workers has fallen. It is still essential, however, to insist on rank and file control over decision-making.

Many of the outfitting workers (joiners, electricians, etc) have a fatalistic attitude towards the redundancy threat. They have been used to a few months' work in the yards to finish a ship and then moving on when the job is complete.

This time, however, they must ask themselves where they are going to move to. The building industry is experiencing a slump, while management consultants have recommended 600 pay-offs in Glasgow Corporation's Direct Labour Department.

Most sections of the workforce are still determined to fight, and the 1200 Fairfield boilermakers have just finished a two-week strike over their low bonus earnings.

The UCS boilermakers have received a guarantee (for what it is



DOUGLAS: wants £15m guarantee

worth from UCS) that no one will be paid off for several weeks. They have been taking part in a 'monitoring committee' with the management to examine production requirements.

Instead of 700 skilled men being paid off, the union may accept double day shifts and other productivity measures and so claim they have successfully fought redundancy. Danny McGarvey, the Boilermakers' secretary, expressed his willingness to discuss these measures last year and some militants suspect that the management want him to 'sort things out' again.

Boilermakers have a special responsibility to oppose any separate settlement and to fight for a united struggle against the employers.

In view of the local employment situation, the yard workers have no alternative but to continue their fight for the right to work. Clyde-side workers have suffered closures and unemployment over the years.

It is the responsibility of those who run the present economic system to provide jobs. The government should be told that they must provide work of full maintenance for those threatened with redundancy.

But the recurring shipbuilding crises pose a more fundamental question. The bosses use each crisis to blackmail the workers into accepting redundancies and further productivity measures. On each occasion the workers are told that if they agree then the outlook is bright.

The only result of this process has been a steady decline in the number of workers employed in the yards, while the owners, who are responsible for the present situation call on the workers to make more sacrifices.

Yard workers must ask themselves if this way of working is in their interests or is the best possible method of organising production. Clearly it is not. Only when all industry is publicly-owned and run by the workers themselves within a planned, socialist economy, will the workers' interests be taken care of.

The present UCS crisis makes it even more necessary to start fighting for this alternative now.

MAY DAY SPECIAL: ORDER EXTRA COPIES

NEXT WEEK'S Socialist Worker will be a special May Day issue to celebrate the international day of the world's workers. Spread the socialist case even wider next week with the help of Socialist Worker. The May Day issue will have special articles on the Labour government, the fight against the international monopolies and the case for revolutionary socialism. Order extra copies NOW. Ring 01-739 2639

Builders walk off site when man falls to his death

TEESSIDE: 400 construction workers returned to work on Tuesday after a two-week unofficial strike

The men, mainly members of the Construction Engineering Union, are employed at the £34m basic oxygen construction site at the British Steel Corporation's Lackenby works. They walked off the site in a spontaneous mass protest when a workmate fell 40 feet from scaffolding.

A mass meeting decided on indefinite strike action until demands concerning safety were met. Although there is an ambulance post on the main site, it is a mile from the scene of the accident.

It took 20 minutes for the ambulance to arrive due to traffic congestion.

The workers are demanding an ambulance station on the construction site. They have been offered a

claim that the existing service is 'highly efficient'.

A leading CEU militant said: 'All we want are basic safety measures and these must include an ambulance post where the men work. The management seem quite prepared to gamble with men's lives on the chance that the road from the main site is free from traffic.'

It shows that the BSC bosses, just like the private bosses, will