MAGNIFICENT MINERS!

THE FIRST of November 1977 will go down as one of the great days for the British working class.

It was the day the miners rallied against the vast array of employers, ministers and bureaucrats who had campaigned against them.

Against all the predictions, they raised by £105,634 to £119,661 against the Coal Board’s productivity deal, which had been supported by their union president, Joe Gormley and the Minister for Energy, Anthony Wedgewood Benn.

They have refused to pay with their blood and bones for an increase in coal production. By their vote, they have called for a united union and a united fight for higher wages and better conditions.

The Stock Exchange was pleased. The Coal Board losses mounted. Even the pound, which has been looping at reasonable recently, was battered.

Everywhere—men who have lost their livelihood—people who have been made redundant.

For they know that the miners’ No is not just a refusal to a productivity deal. It’s a No to all those appeals for sacrifice, and not to rock the boat, accompanied by a commitment to keep rich men rich at workers’ expense for another four years—no, since the last time the miners gave the lead in 1934.

They know that the miners will now press ahead for the £135 which their conference voted for in the summer.

They know that every other worker will start to stand up straight again, to feel proud of their union, determined to use their union strength to win back the profits which have been squeezed out of them for four long years.

Press ahead

They know that firemen will not listen if their union leaders, as with the miners, try to help their bets over conference decisions.

They know that agricultural workers won’t accept the subs of 10 per cent and that miserable 0 per cent. They know that hospital workers, nurses and teachers won’t stand back any longer while their services are reduced and their jobs destroyed.

The miners’ vote is a beacon—a beacon of confidence, hope and militancy—of what seemed like a dark pool of poverty, apathy and moderation.

FOLLOW IT!

Grunwicks: Stop the scabs’ bus on Monday

This Monday’s mass picket at Grunwick is certain to be affected by the overwhelming confidence felt by workers everywhere after the miners’ ballot result.

Thousands of workers will be much more willing to take action and join the miners in striking against Grunwick’s refusal to call off the picketing.

There is no further reason for discrimination against the miners, their families and their communities.

Essential

It is even more essential that in the last couple of days before the weekend every worker, every trade unionist, every friend and colleague who has ever expressed even the slightest sympathy for the Grunwick strikers, should be invited to join the torches going to the mass picket.

Where possible, mass meetings should be held to get the message across. Miners’ MP Dennis Skinner, touring North London factories this week hoping to spark to us mass workers as possible.

Teeth

The miners have spearheaded the campaign to keep the Grunwick mass picket alive in the teeth of opposition from the TUC and the Labour government.

It was the miners in the summer who helped build the picket into the giant black wall of 11 July. It was the miners who brought the main contingent to the recalled mass picket on 17 October.

Now more miners are expected on the picket line next Monday than ever before. Together with thousands of others they can prove an unbeatable combination. Monitors must prove the slogan: The workers united, will never be defeated.

MASS PICKET: This Monday, 7 November, 6.30am onwards. Chapter Road, London NW10 (next to Dollis Hill tube station).
ENNALS TO CHAIR MEETING AGAINST ABORTION

THE PACT between the government and the anti-abortion lobby has been broken. Ennals, Secretary of State for Health, who is also a member of the anti-abortion lobby, has agreed to chair a private meeting of MPs organized by the National Abortion Pressure Group.

The debate will take place in No. 10, Whitehall, where Ennals is an MP. It will be a private meeting, and Ennals will be the chairman.

ENGINEERED

Liz Gibson, who describes herself as a pragmatic supporter of Women's Voice, in a letter to Norvik Social Worker: "This is not an open debate. The whole thing is engineered to boost life and the anti-abortion lobby." She quotes from the meeting and adds: "We think it's disgraceful that a Labour Minister should be involved in this meeting, and it makes us think that the difference between the government and the anti-abortion lobby is far greater than we thought."

The meeting-and Ennals.

The great march the press ignored

MARY ROYSON, mother of two children from North London, went to the big abortion demonstration in Birmingham last Sunday. "It was very big - much bigger than I expected," she says.

At one point the march was on a slope, or a long winding road, and there were thousands of people behind me, she said.

"Most of the people there had travelled a long way to get there. I reckon that really everyone is really fighting for their rights, especially for abortion."

"There were banners there not just from women's organisations and Women's Voice, but from trade unions as well."

"But the press ignored it. The march was to get round to people's minds and the newspapers don't say anything about it."

They're always quick to report violence. But great demonstrations of women like that are completely ignored.

Pictures from Sunday's demonstration in Birmingham by Phil McCowan

CSE Examination

Subject: SOCIALISM
Candidate: D. HEALEY
School: WESTMINSTER SCHOOL FOR HYPOCRITICAL LAYABOUTS

Question 1.
Imagine you are Chancellor of the Exchequer and you are contemplating cuts in income tax. You are faced with two people—one married and earning £30 a week and the other also married and earning £500 a week. Whose tax do you cut the most by and how much?

Answer:
I would cut the tax of the person earning £30 a week by £1.04 and I would cut the tax of the person earning £500 a week by £2.55.

Examiner's Comments:
Quite right. This man shows promise.

Question 2.
Christmas is coming and the profits are getting fat! A time to put some money in the rich man's hat. A time to get paid. A married person earning £500 a week will get a tax rebate. How much will this be? Will you give anything to the old age pensioners and if so, how much?

Answer:
I will give the old age pensioner a £10 bonus. I will give the person on £500 a week a tax rebate bonus of £89.

Examiner's Comments:
Absolutely correct. This candidate has shown great imagination and personal integrity. He really does understand what governing this great nation of ours is all about. There must be a place reserved for him in the House of Lords as a reward for his services. (After all, we know they won't really abolish it.)

Maggie Thatcher well done!

Signed:            WELL DONE!

The Labour ministers and the anti-union boss's yacht

REMEMBER the Fortescue? The way hotel workers were sacked simply for joining a trade union? Multi-millionaire Charles Fortescue refuses to countenance recognition for unions within his empire.

Remember too the attempt to suppress in 1969 of a Labour government to introduce a law against the unions, similar to the law actually introduced by Ted Heath, Tory government two years later.

The diaries of Richard Cranston, former Labour Minister of Overseas Development, who was a Labour government's main policy implementer, contain this entry:

"In a remarkable connection between the two sets of events..."

CHRISTMAS

Cranston tells how, after discussion on how the anti-union loi d'application was being implemented, Barbara and I rushed off to Cafe Royal. Right up till the end there was a 'petty' affair but the cafe had been bought by the state."

Later he continues the story of how they travelled on the 'gorgeous vessel' which was 'so remarkable' of how they were met in Rome by two cars and a very sleek Cafe Royal waiter.

ALL POWER TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND?

Pound Soars! A Great Boost for Britain's Moral! The Daily Express was delighted with the 'flogging of the pound', this week, which has raised the value of the pound on international exchange rates.

"How was this important decision taken?" For it wasn't even discussed in the cabinet."

It was taken by a committee of three men. One of them, Pools Minister John Callaghan, was in favour of the pound. Another Chancellor Denis Healey, was against it."

The man who flipped the balance was Gordon Richardson, Governor of the Bank of England. No one ever elected him. He 'rose to office' through a mixture of inheritance and financial cunning.
TROOPS THREATEN THE FIREFIENDS

It's a disgrace, labour! Labour government is willing to use the troops. What a mockery it makes of our struggle for free collective bargaining. No, we've got to get these strikes broken in. There are no collective bargaining. The information was leaked out by local radio.

ANGRIL is growing on Merseyside at the news that the government have made contingency plans to break the firemen's threatened strike by using the armed forces. The information was leaked out by local radio City and confirmed by the Liverpool Daily Post.

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"It's the shop stewards who represent the workers. They should have the say in running the unions, over wages, schools, hospitals..."

Michael Fenn, a shop steward in the London Dockers, and Secretary of the Rank and File Conference Organising Committee, talks to Socialist Worker about the importance of the conference.

INTERVIEW BY CHRIS HARMAN

Mohair

"I've met Scanlon, I've met Jones. I've met Chapple. They're all the same. Bureaucrats, more unionists and silk ties. They're getting very similar to the unions in the US, big business managing business. They're getting very big and powerful and they're starting to work for the larger businesses. And that's what they want to keep. They're completely divorced from the people they are supposed to represent."

The people who represent the workers are the shop stewards, in the ports of industries where there are no stewards, the shop stewards are what they call them. We do absolutely nothing. But the National Port Shop Stewards Committee called a one-day strike. Out of 70,000 dockers we got 36,500 out on strike.

The government coughed a grant of £600 and the job was done for another three years. We had periods of dribbling, the same groups turning up all the time. About 20 ports were represented at the first stewards meeting about Preston. At later meetings a lot of them didn't turn up, and it gradually went down to the hard core. But they all said they'd support the strike over Preston and that was backed up by the Dockworkers, which we sent to about 15 major ports with the front page saying 'your jobs are at stake'.

I've been writing to Blokes now since 1973 when I've never met in my life. They never come to meetings. But they sell the paper. They've got an identity with the Dockworkers.

THURSDAY IN A hunger, a need to get to do something for the trade union officials. That's why we've got to have a rank and file movement, because the official trade unions are so weak. There are stewards who are active, who are socialists, who feel the need to do something when they see the local hospital closing down, when they see they have to pay another two or three quid for the kids school dinners, when their wages are being cut. But they know the officials are not doing anything, because they can sell it and tell them on television saying 'now, we've got it down to the hard core.'

The last attempt at a rank and file conference was the Union Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. But they couldn't do it, because their attitude was that they were the guardians and everyone had to do what they said. We, the Royal Group of Dockers, were one of the founder members of the London committee. But we withdrew from its conference because they were completely undemocratic. What did they do? They closed the gates at Preston in nothing. The mimicking is nothing. Shrewsbury—nothing. Nothing.

The same thing is true in other places. Our problem was knowing whom to contact. That's the importance of the rank and file movement. You need stewards with names and addresses you can contact.

Build

All the enthusiasm of the conference can be put to good use. Shop stewards committees, shop stewards, to help other trade unionists who are in dispute, to provide contacts so that they can get financial assistance.

One of the most important things that could come out of this conference is to build a network of contacts that will enable us to use during strikes. That's why it's important that every shop stewards committee, and branch needs delegations.

- Rank and File delegate conference Saturday 26 November. 12.30am, New Century Hall, Corporation Street, Manchester. Signposts invited from all trade union locals and members from Rank and File Centre, 255a Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

BENEFIT FILM SHOW for the completion of the film about the 1977 Right to Work march

UNION MAIDS—a rarely shown documentary from the USA in the 1930s, based on three women who came from the rank and file to become union organisers.

- plus Irvine's LAND WITHOUT PAIN

- plus extracts from the filming of the Right to Work

- plus a speaker

Saturday 12 November, 6.30pm, The Cinema, Tottenham Street, London WC1

Tickets £1.50 (includes film, tea and food available). RANK AND FILE FILMS
REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

How it was won and why it was lost

IN PREPARATION for the first of May, the Soviet Government has decreed, when possible, the removal from the streets of old Tsarist monuments, the old stone and metal idols which remind us of our slavery of the past. We shall then endeavor to erect in the nearest future on our squares new monuments, monuments to Labour, monuments to workers, men, women and peasants, monuments which will remind every one of you, look, you were a slave, you were something, and now you must become everything, you must rise high, you must learn, you must become the master of all life.

There are the sciences and the arts—and all this is inaccessible to the toilers, because the workers and peasants are compelled to live like convicts, chained to their wheelbarrows. Their thought, their consciousness, their feelings, must be freed.

It is all of this that we shall be reminded by May Day when we must meet together with the Red Army and declare: we have taken the power into our hands and we shall not give it up, and this power is for us not an end in itself but a means—a means for another grand object, which is, to reconstruct the whole life, to make all wealth, all the possibilities of happiness, accessible to the whole people.

To establish at last, for the first time, such an order upon this earth as would do away, on the one hand, with the man bent and oppressed and on the other, with the who rides on the back of his fellow-orn.

TAKING POWER INTO YOUR HANDS

Comrades, we should be wretched, blind people of little faith if we even for one single day, were to lose our confidence that the working class of other countries will come to our aid, and following our example will rise, and bring our task to a successful conclusion.

You need only call to mind what the toiling masses are living through at the present moment—the soldier masses of Germany on the western front, where a raging, hellish offensive is going on, where millions of our brothers are perishing on both sides of the front.

Everywhere the war produces the same consequences. Death and poverty reign supreme in all lands. And the final result will be, in the long run, everywhere the same: the rising of the toiling masses...

But you, workers of the other countries, do not exhaust our patience too much, hurry up, stop the slaughter, overthrow the bourgeoisie, take the power into your hands, and then we shall turn the whole globe into a republic of Labour.

All the earth's riches, all the lands, and all the seas—all this shall be one common property of the whole of humanity, whatever the name of its part—English, Russian, French, German, etc. We shall create one brotherly state: the land which nature gave us.

This land we shall plough and cultivate on associative principles, turn it into one blossoming garden, where our children, grand-children and great-grand-children will live in paradise. Time was when people believed in legends which told of paradise. These were vague and confused dreams, the yearning of the soul of the oppressed for a better life. There was a yearning after a purer, more righteous life, when people said: 'There must be such a paradise, at least in the other world.'

But we say, we shall create such a paradise with our toiling hands here in the world, upon the earth, for all, for our children and grand-children, and for all eternity.

LEON TROTSKY

From a speech made in April 1928. Trotsky gave his life to the cause of socialism and was at the heart of the Revolution. He was later banished and murdered by the bureaucratic ruling class that grew on its ruins.
"I went back to Petrograd riding on the front seat of an auto truck... The old workman who drove held the wheel in one hand while with the other he swept the far, gleaming capital in an exultant gesture.

"Mine!" he cried. "All mine, now! My Petrograd."

John Reed 10 Days that shook the world

1905
15 January Russian Japanese War results in coding of Port Arthur to the Japanese.
22 January Bloody Sunday in St. Petersburg. Vast crowd of peaceful workers led by priest Father Gapon march to present the Tsar with a petition. It began "Sire, we workers, our children and wives, the helpless old people who are our parents, have we come to you, Sire, to seek justice and protection." Instead of protection they get bullets. Hundreds were killed and wounded. Outrage in St. Petersburg. The First Russian Revolution had begun. In May came the first workers council in all the Empire of Russia at Vassilievskis. The idea spread like wildfire.
14 June Mutiny on the Battleship Potemkin. Mutineers isolated.
26 October First Soviet of Workers' Deputies in Petrograd.

1914
1 August War declared between Russia and Germany. Russian economy too weak to bear the burden. Series of military defeats.

1916
29 December Murder of Rasputin the monk. Guru to whom both Tsar and Tsarians deferred. By this time 15 million men were mobilised in the armed forces. Two and a half million soldiers had been killed and three million captured or wounded. Starvation, shortages of fuel and clothing in the cities. For workers and poor people, that is. Meanwhile the rich, bloated with war profits, are feasting.

1917
13 February Strike wave in Petrograd.
7 March International Women's Day demonstration in St. Petersburg starts the revolution. Women demanded bread, 90,000 strike and besiege the town hall. But there was no repeat of Bloody Sunday. Crearit officers feared that soldiers would refuse any order to shoot workers.
Next day the movement explodes. Slogans change to Down with the autocracy, down with war. Government forced topile Consacks, but even Consacks will not wound anyone.
Third day of the revolution, 250,000 workers are on the streets. Result in the army becomes an epidemic.
12 March Tsarist regime overthrown in St. Petersburg. Organization of State Duma (Westminster style Parliament) but also a Soviet of Workers' Deputies - much more radical workers democracy.
15 March Abduction of the Tsar in favour of his brother, Michael. Establishment of first provisional government.
16 March Abduction of brother Michael, shortest reign in history.
16 April Lenin arrives from exile at the Finland Station. Met by a delegation of moderate socialists, hoping to ignore them and turn to address the rank and file. "The hour is not far off", he says "when the people will turn their weapons against the capitalist exploiters."
20 April Publication of April Theses by Lenin, calls for new workers revolution and the end of the war.

3-5 May Demonstrations of soldiers and workers against Provisional Government and its intention to prolong the war. Government terrified, looks to moderate socialists to shore up its power. These gentlemen are only too willing to oblige.
17 May Trotsky returns from America.
1918
3 March Best Litovsk peace treaty signed.
7 June First Congress of Soviets opens in Petrograd now known as Petrograd, later Leningrad. 1 July Kerensky announces new offensive against Germans with a great hoo haa and fanfare. Revolution at the war spreads into open revolt in the army and the factories.
17 July Half a million workers and soldiers on the streets of Petrograd with slogans like 'Down with the Provisional Government'. "Down with the ten capitalist Ministers! 'All power to the Soviets of Soldiers and Workers Deputies'."

1919-20
Civil War, as various dictators Kolechak, Denikin, and Wrangel, funded by foreign powers, attempts to crush the workers' government. Period of War communism. By a mixture of heroism and will, the dictators and their imperialist backers are divided by November 1920. But the price paid in dead workers, political exhaustion and economic ruin is enormous.
1921
March New economic policy proclaimed. Of necessity the workers' government has to make concessions to the peasants and capitalistic forces.
23 April Lenin, ill since Christmas has operation to remove bullets fired into him in 1918. Partly paralysed, he loses ability to speak.
31 December Lenin desperately worried by growing bureaucracy, lack of sensitivity to the oppressed nations, and Stalin's authoritarian attitude, issues his last testament.
1923
10 March Far Lenin further political activity impossible due to new stroke. Failure of ill-considered rising in Germany isolates revolution still further.
1924
WORKERS POWER:
Heart and soul of socialism

by John Reed, author of the classic
"Ten Days That Shook the World."

The Soviet state is based upon the Soviets—or Councils of Workers and Peasants’ Soviets. The Petrograd Soviet of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies, which was in operation when I was in Russia, may serve as an example of how the urban units of government function under the socialist state.

It consisted of about 1300 delegates and in normal circumstances held a plenary session every two weeks. In the meantime, it elected a Central Executive Committee of 110 members, based upon party proportionality, and this Central Executive Committee added to itself by invitation delegates from the central committees of all the political parties, from the central committees of the professional unions, the factory shop committees, and other democratic organisation.

Elections of delegates are based on proportional representation, which means that the political parties are represented in exact proportion to the number of votes in the whole city. And it is political parties and programmes which are voted for—not candidates. The candidates are designated by the central committees of the political parties, which can replace them by other party members. Also, the delegates are not elected for any particular term, but are subject to recall at any time.

No political body more sensitive and responsive to the popular will was ever invented.

EMBRACED, AND WEEP, AND CHEERED

I shall never forget the Peasant’s Conference which took place towards the end of November, and how Teheran fought for central and lost it; and that wonderful procession of grizzled proletarians of the soil who marched to Smolny through the snowy streets, singing, their blood-red banners fluttering in the bitter wind. It was dark night. On the steps of Smolny hundreds of working men were waiting to receive their peasant brothers, and in the dim light the two masses moving one down and the other up, rushed together and embraced, and wept, and cheered.

When the March Revolution broke, the owners and administrators of many industrial plants either left or were driven out by the workers.

Without supervisors, foremen, and in many cases engineers and bookkeepers, the workers found themselves faced with the alternative of keeping the work going or of starving. A committee was elected, one delegate from each shop or department; this committee attempted to run the factory.

It is in this quality of the Russian that is forgotten by people who think that Russia can have no government, because there is no central force; and whose mental picture of Russia is a servile committee in Moscow, bossed by Lenin and Trotsky, and maintained by Red Guards.

Quite the contrary is the true. The organisations which I have described are reproduced in almost every community in Russia. And if any considerable part of Russia were seriously opposed to the Soviet government, the Soviets could not last an hour.

TO DECIDE once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics.

The way out of parliamentarism is not, of course, the abolition of representative institutions and the elective principle, but the conversion of the representative institutions from talking shops into ‘working’ bodies.

The commune substitutes for the venal and rotten parliamentarism of bourgeois society institutions in which freedom of opinion and discussion does not degenerate into deception, for the parliamentarians themselves have to work, have to execute their own laws, have to themselves to test the results achieved in reality, and to account directly to their constituents. Representative institutions remain, but there is no parliamentarism here as a special system, as the division of labour between the legislative and the executive as a privileged position for the deputies.

Lenin, in State and Revolution, the book of the Russian revolution written in August and September 1917 as the workers reached out for power.

Arthur Ransome, author of bestselling children’s books like Swallows and Amazons

THERE was a tap at the door and a couple of railwaymen came in. They explained that a few hundred yards away along the line a concert and entertainment arranged by the Jasmin’s philanthropy was going on, and that their committee, hearing that Radek was at the station, had sent them to ask him to come out and say a few words to them if he were not too tired.

‘Come along,’ said Radek, and we walked in the dark along the railway lines to a big one-story wooden shanty, where an electric lamp lit a great plastered ‘Railwaymen’s Reading Room.’ We went into a packed hall. Every seat was occupied by railway workers and their wives and children. The gangways on either side were full of those who had not found room on the benches. We wriggled and pushed our way through this crowd, who were watching a play staged and acted by the railwaymen themselves, to a side door, through which we climbed up into the wings, and slid across the stage behind the scenery into a dressing-room. The little room filled to a solid mass as policemen, generals and ladies of the old regime threw off their costumes, and, in their working clothes, plain unornamented and unembellished, sat round to listen. When the act ended, one of the railwaymen went to the front of the stage and announced that Radek, who had hardly come back after imprisonment in Germany for his cause of revolution, was going to talk to them about the general state of affairs. I saw Radek grinning at this forecast of his speech, hunching his shoulders, when he began to speak. He led off by a direct and furious onslaught on the railway workers in general, demanding work, and more work, telling them that as the Red Army had been the vanguard of the revolution, and had saved the country from an Austrian and Kulchak, so now it was the turn of the railway workers on whose efforts not only the Red Army but also the whole future of Russia depended.

TO HAMMER HOME TRUTHS

I wondered what sort of reception a man would have who in another country interrupted a play to hammer home truths about the need of work into an audience of working men who had gathered solely for the purpose of legitimate recreation. It was not as if he suggested the medicine he gave them. His speech was nothing but demands for discipline and work, coupled with prophecy of disaster in case work and discipline failed. It was delivered with all his speeches, with a strong Polish accent and a steady succession of mistakes in grammar.

As we walked home along the railway lines, half a dozen of the railwaymen pressed around Radek, and almost fought with each other as to whom should walk next to him. And Radek, entirely happy, delighted at his success in giving them a fresh start instead of a rebuke, with one stout fellow on one arm, another on the other, two or three more listening in front and behind, continued raving to them until we reached our wagon, when, after a general handshake, they disappeared into the night.
THE PARTY: Instrument of liberation

The Russian Revolution proved among other things that a working class party is essential to the taking and keeping of power. But it is not a party of the kind that Labour bureaucrats or sectarian marxists conceive.

The Russian revolutionaries were not genteel or well-dressed, nor were they the sort that would fit into the mould of a party. The Bolsheviks were rough and ready, they were einfach, and they were a party of the masses. They were the Party of the Proletariat, the Party of the Workers of Petrograd, Moscow, and the South. They were the Party of the Russian Revolution.

The Party of the Bolsheviks was a Party of the Proletariat, a Party of the Working Class. It was a Party of the Poor, a Party of the Majority. It was a Party of the People.

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The Party is the Party of the Proletariat, the Party of the Working Class. It is the Party of the Poor, the Party of the Majority. It is the Party of the People.

ITALIAN REVOLUTION

The Party of the Bolsheviks was a Party of the Proletariat, a Party of the Working Class. It was a Party of the Poor, a Party of the Majority. It was a Party of the People.

FORGED DURING YEARS OF STRUGGLE

With the Petrograd workers impatient for a showdown with the provisional government, it is no wonder that in April, June and July the leading local Bolsheviks were ultra-left, far to the left of the Central Committee, and straining at the leash. At the same time, party leaders elsewhere, practically throughout the provinces, were dragging behind the Central Committee, and belonged overwhelmingly to the right wing of the party.

Power could both the militant Vyborg and Narva districts organisations of the party, and the extreme right-wing organisations of Kiev and Odessa be kept in tandem on the move or as a target. The Party was a Party of the Proletariat, a Party of the Working Class. It was a Party of the Poor, a Party of the Majority. It was a Party of the People.

To add to the difficulties, what Lenin had in mind was not a smooth running party organisation with a large cadre of well established local leaders, but one which was a large mass of the working class.

How could one expect stable leadership in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, where membership grew from 18 to 3,540 over five months in Ekaterinburg, where membership grew from 40 to 2,800; or in Saratov, where it grew from 60 to 500?

And what was the central party apparatus that had to deal with this exploding party membership, with the numerous city committees scattered over enormous distances, with very few local cadres, many still hesitant even about breaking organisationally with the Mensheviks.

A group of five or six women party workers made up the secretariat. The office was two rooms plus a toilet in Krokeshinsk Palace, the headquarters of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd. Our room served as an office, the other as a reception room. The toilet was a store room for the party records. After the July Days the secretariat moved to the apartment of one of its senior members, Elana Stavova, and a short time later to a boys' school.

Given the Stalinist myths about Bolshevism, one would imagine the workings of the Central Committee to have been round by red tape and bureaucracy. But there was nothing of the sort.

First of all, attendance at Central Committee meetings shows how far this body was from bureaucratic formalism. The Sixth Congress elected 21 members to the Central Committee. However the number of members present at various sessions when records were kept ranged between 6 and 16, with an average of 10 per session at the 10 October session which took the historic decision as to the affairs of the party and its future.

The Central Committee again and again reached decisions which its members forget all about immediately afterwards.

Above all, the state of the Bolshevik Party in 1917 demonstrates that the Party was not ready or not ready for revolution. It does not arise like Minerva from the head of Zeus. It is moulded, transformed in the process of the revolutionary struggle, and above all in the revolution itself. The ideas of Bolshevism were not disenchanted ideas, but were represented in thousands upon thousands of proletarian cadres who had been forged during years of struggle.

THE BOLSHEVIK Party was not an autocratic entity that sound power behind the backs of the workers in some elitist coup d'etat. It had been for the Russian Revolution would not have lasted a week. But the truth about this remarkable working class party of a new type existed under a mountain of official lies. In recent years a number of writers have begun to get the truth about the Bolshevist Party. One of these is Alexander Rabinowitch, Professor of Russian Politics at Indiana University. His book 'The Bolshevists come to power' includes the following portrait of the party: In reality the indispensable vehicle of the masses as they moved into action and reached out for power over their lives.

The central question of why the Bolshevists won the struggle for Petrograd in 1917 permits no simple answer. Had it been for the Provisional Government's commitment to the February revolution, a policy which in 1917 enjoyed no broad support, it would not have been better able to cope with the myriad problems of war. In any case, the Provisional Government inevitably attended the collapse of the old order.

The story of the Bolshevists' growing strength and authority in 1917 and 1918 is the saga of the Bolsheviks' gradual acquisition of the slogan 'Peace, Land and Bread' and 'All Power to the Soviets' in reality the indispensable vehicle of the masses as they moved into action and reached out for power over their lives.

Perhaps even more fundamentally, the phenomenological Bolshevik subjectivity cannot be attributed in even small measure to the nature of the party in 1917. I have in mind Lenin's bold and deliberate creation, the immensely historical significance of which cannot be denied, the Bolshevist 'proletarian', though vastly exaggerated, oracular, and self-discipline. Rather: I would emphasize the party's internally relatively democratic, tolerant and democratic atmosphere, and method of operation, as well as its open and mass character.

FAMINE

He dreamed of the recon- structing of apartment houses and the upkeep of streets for free, he said, a city appearance is an important psychological factor for its inhabitants. His deepest solicitude was for the young, and not only to those in the ranks of the Komsomol. War and famine had exaggerated the flood of Barenboim's, the homeless children, who formed bands of robbers, and who were the brewers of Berlin's 'Road to Life and of Pedagogical Poem' by Mendelssohn. Lenin had fortified and added to the provocation for the benefit of the young strays he created a special committee attached to the supreme executive committee of the Dzerzhinsky at its head. The Chka then had to help those between fifteen and one wonders if, in taking such a step, it was not true that he is the first great leader who utterly discounts the value of his own personality. He is quite without personal ambition, even all of his writings, and his rule of the souls, and his role in the movement of the masses, which with or without him, would still move. His whole faith is in the elemental forces that move people, his faith in himself is merely his belief that he justly constitutes the direction of those forces. He does not believe that any man could make or stop the revolution which he thinks inevitable. If the Russian revolution fails, according to him, it only temporarily, and because of forces beyond man's control. He is consequently free with a freedom no other great man has ever had. It is not so much what he says that inspires confidence in him. It is that he is free of the need of an audience, this obvious detachment. Arthur Ransome
WOMEN WERE in the forefront of the revolutions. In March, 1917, the International Women's Day demonstration sparked off the whole revolutionary process.

If the November revolution cleared the way for giant steps down the road, February revolution and divorce was not.

Divorce laws were changed so that divorce was no longer a matter of public or private request of either partner. Application for divorce was made available on demand. A tremendous effort was made to end the ignorance of biology, sexuality, and contraception.

The revolution 'Vorontsov' made a heroic effort to destroy the so-called family hearth— that archaic, stuffy, and stagnating form under which the woman of the ruling classes performed the role of home and childbearer from childhood to death.

The place of the family as a shut-in petty enterprise was to be occupied, according to the plans, by a finished system of social care and recreation: maternity houses, child-care centres, kindergartens, schools, social dining rooms, social laundries, first-aid stations, hospitals, sanatoria.

But this was no revolution from above.

As Vera Alexeyeva explained:

'I remember the first women's meeting I called, how I tried to draw the women out to discuss the problems before us. One after another got up and talked of their own troubles. Each one had her tale to tell of how she had suffered during the revolution and the family. How could one throw away the family and clothing, how could she find work, why should she care about the equality of the sexes? She had been a housewife all her life. Now they are talking about our problems—but how can we organize day nurseries to take care of our children and how can we improve our nursery schools to better education of our children and how can we improve our condition. That is a great achievement, and they want the women to think about and act collectively.

But foreign intervention, civil war, famine, and economic chaos were all pressed in on this experiment.

Before long the new ruling class, the Bolsheviks, was found to be no better at restoring the iron grip of the czarist order. The attempt was to get a diet of bread and beer and constructing again the kind of society that had led to the mortality beloved today by Mary Whitehouse and the Festivals of Light.'
WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITED!

BRITAIN

Harry McShane the Glasgow socialist was working as an engineer in 1917, historic year of the first successful socialist revolution, he was working at A. N. W. Smith's factory when the November revolution of 1917 occurred and the Bolsheviks took power through their party, the new form of workers' government in Russia. The Liberals went stone mad; Winston Churchill turned the enemy's voice into the Bolshevik's beast and he lost any popularity he had ever had in the working class. The Labour Party wouldn't support the Bolsheviks either. Like the Liberals Ramsey MacDonald and others had been supporting Kerensky, the president of the Mensheviks, the Russian Socialists, who wanted a Parliamentary 'Duma' and not Soviets.

Of course the revolutionary element, including some of the Persians, began to understand workers' democracy for the first time. For the Glasgow socialist movement the second Russian Revolution, and the new Soviet system, was a revelation. From Phillips' papers we get to know the slogan 'All power to the Soviets!' and to get some idea of what Soviets were. Phillips reports that they were Workers and Soldiers Councils and a new kind of rank and file organisation and everybody had welcomed the Leeds Convention in June. But what set of facts was not understood was that this organisation would become the form of Government in the future. When they shout out 'All Power to the Soviets!' it was obvious in Russia that they had discovered something new — organisations, a system of working-class self-government, through which the old crowd could be completely destroyed. We began to realise what was meant by revolution. We were talking about working class power — before we had only known working class revolt.

Of course most of the workers didn't support the Bolsheviks, many were still Liberals and the Liberals were campaigning for the overthrow of the Bolsheviks and the return of Kerensky. But for the first time the ordinary worker saw the possibility of something being gained by revolution. Phillips was a man who saw the point that they were the first to be implemented in Glasgow for workshop organisation it was easier for them to understand what was happening in Russia. Many people were sympathetic to the ideas of Revolution who hadn't been before and we used the Russian Revolution to get our ideas across. We started the ideas of the Russian Revolution and spread them. Lenin's 'State and Revolution' helped us enormously in our understanding.

The attitude of the British Press towards the Revolution was perhaps best summed up by the Daily Mail, 'The remedy for Bolshevism', it announced, 'is a bullet'. The paper and evening papers were bombardment by the Bolsheviks were a constant barrage from the press. They were against the Bolsheviks' policy of adding to the war, the war was the cause and effect of the war. Phillips had a lot of trouble getting information through the papers. Phillips found this very frustrating.

Eddie Browne was for many years secretary of the Manchester District of the Engineers Union. Inspired by the Russian Revolution and its impact on Britain he joined the Communist Party in 1924. Then retired Eddie Browne has written 'To make the future now', a history of Manchester Trams Union and built up one of the finest working class libraries in the land.

I was still at school when the Russian revolution took place in 1917. By 1920 there was a terrific sympathy right throughout the labour movement with the Soviets and the Russian system. War weariness was also a factor. It was only two years after the end of the war. The two factors coalesced and made for a tremendous movement. It took the form of masses of workers being prepared to take action in support of the 'Hands off Russia' movement.

1920 was perhaps the one time when the leadership was in line with the rank and file. But the leadership was never put to the test. There was agitation and propaganda, demonstrations the Jolly George incident when the dockers refused to load arms for Russia. But the leaders were never called on to translate the threat of the General Strike into action. Whether they would have done so if the government had refused to back off, I don't know. But if they had called a strike, the response would have been tremendous.

The impact of the revolution in Britain was certainly tremendous. The idea of a Soviet Britain came directly from the experience of the Russian workers in 1917. The Communist Party in Britain was formed as a result of its impact, on the basis of adherence to the Third International because the Second International had betrayed the workers and also on the basis of support for Soviets (direct workers' power) as against Parliament. The revolution was a terrific inspiration for all the militant workers in Britain, the shop stewards, the political activists in the British Socialist Party, the Socialists Labour Party and other organisations. After the revolution their thinking was if the Russian workers have their own power in Russia, must it be possible to do the same here.'

Kathleen Jones has been a life long feminist of socialism. Now 76 she is a keen reader of Socialist Worker and Women's Voice. She sent her recollections of the revolution 60 years ago this week to Socialist Worker.

'My father ran to the room in the morning with a folded newspaper, calling out, 'Here you are! And slipping it on to the breakfast table. To this day I can still see the banner headline across the paper.

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA. My parents were both socialists. I felt frustrated, thinking to myself, 'Like 1789 in France when the people couldn't stand stagnation and tyranny any longer'.

Then my aunt was sitting with us asking, 'Will I get the war over any sooner?' My father said, 'No, it must last longer'. My heart sank.

My elder brother whom I loved dearly was a conscientious objector in the army and I lived in constant dread of losing him, crying about him in bed when I ought to have been sleeping.

Then I thought, 'No, dad isn't always right. This is a splendid thing. Only good can come out of it.'

My friend still remembers his feelings too. He says, 'I remember thinking, 'At last something has happened'. The war was going on and on and then, when the Russian Army revolted and started shooting their officers I thought, 'This is fine'. Yes, people thought it would prolong the war because the Russians gave it up the Germans would be able to turn all their attention to the other Allies and finish them off. But when Czar Nicholau was deposed, it seemed the daylight out of Kaiser Bill and all the other autocrats at the top and they had to pack up.'

The chairman moves the resolution for a general strike at the historic meeting of the Council of Action in London in 1920. The British Government was threatening war against Russia with the workers of Britain were weary and determined to fight to stop the war. Their leaders were forced to take more radical action than ever before. They set up councils of action and threatened a general strike. Rank and file militants up and down the country pressed hard for the councils to take up this fight against unemployment price rises and repression in Ireland. But the government gave way and the Labour leaders did everything in their power to ensure that the councils never developed any independent life linked, thinking to myself, 'Like 1789 in France when the people couldn't stand stagnation and tyranny any longer'.

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The Russian Revolution sent shock waves across the world.

THF Russian Revolution sent shock waves throughout the world. It reached into South African society, into Asia and Latin America.

The first great test of the Chinese revolution had come in 1919 when nationalist students, supported by workers in the cities, rose in protest against the Versailles settlement and against the corrupt Paris politicians who wanted to capitulate to Japan.

This new current in Chinese life and the new revolutionary impetus radiating out of Russia quickly found a common path, generated a high political atmosphere and sent powerful shocks coursing through the entire political structure of China, and for that matter, the white race.

The October Revolution offered more than an example to the Chinese people. It appeared to be a successful test on a huge scale, of a whole set of ideas that had peculiar relevance in China.

The world had no place for it as a new and free national state based upon a freely functioning capitalist economy. China's hope for expansion on a capitalist basis collided with the superior competitive position of foreign capital which was far more interested in extracting immediate profit from Chinese raw materials and cheap labour, in the classic manner of colonial exploitation, than in the systematic development of a new and productive economy for the Chinese people as a whole.

The Chinese workers had already begun spontaneously on the revolutionary path. The impulses they radiated from the cities were already beginning to stir great layers of the peasantry into action. Chinese industrialists and businessmen, their hopes for expansion frustrated, were already reaching out to control the incident movement and were already attempting to clench themselves as Lenin foresaw they would, with the authority of Communism.

In a few short, swift years, a stupendous mass movement from the streets of China attacked and the tired land of Chinese cities. It threatened to destroy all that was corrupt and rotten in Chinese society.

Russia, by now controlled by Stalin, intervened in this movement and, blindly declaring its own purposes, prevented this movement from breaking clear of the hold of the exploiting classes. As a result the Chinese revolution was halted in its forward surge; the new organizations of the people were scattered, their leaders cut down.

HAROLD DISANTAS:
'The Triumph of the Chinese Revolution'

ITALY

IN AUGUST 1917, the Russian provisional government of Kerensky sent two emissaries to seek support from the workers' movement in the west for its policy of continuing to take part in the First World War. When the emissaries, Stéphane and Goldemberg, reached Turin 40,000 workers met them with cries of 'Long Live Lenin'.

Ten days later there were barricades in the streets of Turin. The forgiving cause of the rising was the disappearance of bread from the shops. But the violent and bitter struggle was a direct result of the number of dead and wounded—had other origins.

In the preceding months opposition to the war had grown. There was now a widespread feeling that it was better to lose five hundred in a battle for the workers' own cause than ten thousand against the German machine for the cause of the bourgeoisie. (I tor, I eol di Fascismo).

The uprising was bloodily suppressed, and many workers' leaders arrested or forced to flee from Turin. But by the end of 1917 the workers' movement was reviving, with the elections of factory councils in the biggest plants. In spring 1918 there was a huge strike in all the city's engineering factories. But the official leaders of the Socialist Party and trade unions declared this to be premature and allowed the employers to isolate it.

In the autumn there were renewed strikes, culminating in the occupation of factories throughout Italy, and the formation of armed red guards to protect the occupied plants.

But there was no revolutionary party able to finish the revolution by taking state power. Eventually the workers returned to work, on the basis of a compromise.

Within two years high unemployment had demoralized the workers' movement and the fascists were able physically to destroy the trade unions and the workers' parties.

AMERICA

BEFORE the First World War the American Socialist Party had more than 80,000 members. In 1907 there were 1000 socialists elected to public office, including the mayor of Akron, Ohio and Milwakuee. The party had five daily newspapers and 320 other publications.

The Socialist current in America also rose on the revolutionary wave that was sweeping the world and which culminated in the 1917 Russian Revolution. The official newspaper of the Socialist Party, the Appeal (equivalent of a Trades Council) the Union Record welcomed Lenin and Trotsky to power in hamster page headlines.

This wave reached its peak in 1918. In March 1917 the German revolution was already over and the failure of the Russian Revolution. Hundreds of thousands of American workers remained revolutionary socialists right through the depression, but the heart and soul of socialism was destroyed in a movement dominated by Joseph Stalin.
WHY THE REVOLUTION WAS LOST

We have always proclaimed and repeated this elementary truth of Marxism, that the victory of socialism requires the joint effort of workers in a number of advanced countries.

V Lenin
February 1922

BY a mixture of popular support revolutionary armies and at times pure will, the counter-revolutionary forces and the foreign intervention were defeated in the Civil War. But the price paid was enormous.

This cannot be counted in merely material terms, but in these alone it was great. What suffered above all was industrial and agricultural production.

In purely quantitative terms, the class that had led the revolution, the class whose democratic processes had constituted the living core of Soviet power, was halved in importance. In real terms the situation was even worse. What remained was not even half of that class, forced into collective action by the very nature of its life situation. Industrial output was only 18 per cent of the pre-war figure, labour productivity was only one third of what it had been. The very personnel of the factories were not those who had constituted the core of the revolutionary movement of 1917. The most militant workers had quite naturally fought most at the front, and suffered most casualties. Those that survived were not only in the factories, but as cadres in the army, or as commissars to keep the administration operating on the Soviet machine. Raw peasants from the countryside, without socialist traditions or aspirations, took their places.

THE BOLSHEVIKS HAD NO CHOICE

But what was to be the fate of the revolution if the class that made it ceased to exist in any meaningful sense? This was not the problem that the Bolsheviki leaders could have foreseen. They had always said that isolation of the revolution would result in its destruction by foreign armies and domestic counter-revolution.

What confronted them now was the success of counter-revolution from abroad in destroying the class that had led the revolution while leaving intact the State apparatus built up by it.

In all this the Bolsheviki had no choice. They could not give up power just because the class they represented had dissolved itself while fighting to defend that power. The alternative was too horrible to contemplate. Nor could they tolerate the propagation of ideas that undermined the basis of its power—precisely because the working class itself no longer existed as an agency collectively organised so as to be able to determine its own interests.

Of necessity the Soviet State of 1917 had been replaced by the single-party State of 1920 onwards. The Soviets that remained were increasingly just a front for Bolsheviki power.

Paradoxically, the end of the Civil War did not alleviate this situation, but in many ways aggravated it. For with the end of the immediate threat of counter-revolution, the cord that had bound together the two revolutionary processes—workers' power in the towns and peasant uprisings in the country—was cut.

The revolution in Russia had reached the stage where it involved the exploitation of the country by the towns, maintained through naked physical force. It was clear to many in the Bolshevik party that this meant the revolution must remain in danger of being overwhelmed by peasant insurrections.

There seemed to be only one course open. It was to accede to many of the peasant demands, while maintaining a strong centralised socialist State apparatus, via a New Economic Policy.
THE ABSOLUTE OPPOSITE OF SOCIALISM

Russian today: Dissidents speak out

A feable logic whose finger beckons us to the dark spectre of Stalinist Soviet Union...Have you forgotten the other bankruptcies? What was Christianity doing in the various catastrophes of society? What have been the causes of Bolshevism? What has Conservatism ever produced in either its enlightenment or reactionary form? Did it not spawn Musolinii, Hitler, Stalin or后台? Or...and nothing is finished yet.

The reactions have an obvious interest in confounding Stalinist totalitarianism—embattled of the Soviet Union; Bolshevism itself; their aim is to strike at the roots.

Socialism, at Marxism and even at Liberalism...Victor Serge 'Thirty Years vs. the Workers Revolution'

AMASSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ROCKETS

As far as the nationalities policy is concerned, the history of the Soviet Union is nothing but an internecine clivage of territorial generations, for 'unification' of foreign lands, subjection of and discrimination against many nationalities in the country, among them the Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans, Jews, the Baltic nations, the people of the Caucasus and Central Asia, etc. This makes the Soviet Union to live a 'prison of the nations' than Tsarist Russia was.

While preaching about 'international detente' and 'peaceful coexistence' the Soviet Union is in fact amusing at an increasingly fast rate nuclear weapons and rockets.
**BUILD THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE!**

Public meetings and events organised by the Socialist Workers’ Party and its fraternal organisations.

- **Scotland**
  - **Edinburgh**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Tuesday 7 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street EH1 1AE. For info and tickets: 0131 226 0337.
  - **Glasgow**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Tuesday 7 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street G1 1AE. For info and tickets: 0141 226 0337.

- **Yorkshire**
  - **Bradford**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting 7 November, 7.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street BD1 1AE. For info and tickets: 01274 667872.

- **North West**
  - **Liverpool**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Tuesday 7 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street L1 1AE. For info and tickets: 0151 709 0337.

- **East of Scotland**
  - **Dundee**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Monday 6 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street DD1 1AE. For info and tickets: 01382 226033.

- **London**
  - **South**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Monday 6 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street SW8 1HE. For info and tickets: 020 7222 0337.
  - **North**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Monday 6 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street NW1 1AE. For info and tickets: 020 7222 0337.

- **Wales**
  - **Bangor**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Monday 6 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street LL5 1AE. For info and tickets: 01248 683033.

- **Scotland**
  - **Edinburgh**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Tuesday 7 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street EH1 1AE. For info and tickets: 0131 226 0337.

- **South East**
  - **South London**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Tuesday 7 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street SE1 1AE. For info and tickets: 020 7222 0337.

- **South West**
  - **London**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Monday 6 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street SW1 1AE. For info and tickets: 020 7222 0337.

- **SW Notices**
  - **AFL-CIO Socialists**: Socialist Workers Party public meeting Monday 6 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street SW1 1AE. For info and tickets: 020 7222 0337.

- **Action in the unions**
  - **Hospital Workers**: Important meeting 7 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street SW1 1AE. For info and tickets: 020 7222 0337.

Notices for this column must be posted to SWP by 7pm on the Monday prior to publication. Write to: Socialist Worker, 7 George Street, London SW1 1AE.

**SCOTLAND**

**The Russian Revolution**

**How it was won — and how it was lost**

**SOCIALIST WORKERS’ PARTY MEETINGS TO CELEBRATE THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1917 REVOLUTION**

- **East of Scotland**: Tuesday 7 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street DD1 1AE. For info and tickets: 01382 226033.

- **North of England**: Thursday 9 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street N1 1AE. For info and tickets: 020 7222 0337.

- **South of England**: Thursday 9 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street SW1 1AE. For info and tickets: 020 7222 0337.

- **London**: Tuesday 7 November, 7.30pm to 9.30pm, at the Belgrave: Address: Belgrave, 7 George Street SW1 1AE. For info and tickets: 020 7222 0337.

**SUB/EDITOR**

with experience of design needed for Socialist Worker. Experience in socialist politics needed. Apply in writing with full details of experience to the Editor, Socialist Worker, 7 George Street, London SW1 1AE. Phone 01-720 0180.
LET THEM EAT CAKE?

REGARDING James Finty’s letter on the Hung-

ings food prices cut the

hungry hop in Darlington, we’ve had a great response
cut the

from women. They get the message quite
cut the

enough letters to stop buying goods.

However, if James Finty’s letter is an explanation, allow me

are the rich only ones who can afford to buy
goods these days. We can’t afford to buy food, so the answer from the rich is the same as Marie Antoinette’s

let them eat cake.

Therefore, it’s not the rich’s fault, it’s the government’s fault.

When we control the economies, when we control our lives, we will be able to

The women, the ones who have to go out to buy food, are

why they’re【8】

EUNICE SHAPIRO

Darlington

WHY represent your interests in terms of price?

I think we should be thinking of a health budget, not a

and simplest

products.

JOHN BRYAN, Halifax

Cuts campaign

WE NEED a campaign to

fight the cuts in the Health Service, not to fight
cut the

for higher pensions. When the Socialists hold an

in the Norris constituency.

The Terry-connected cuts are now being forced
cut the

We are sending a letter to the

government, calling on them to stop the cuts.

The campaign is

means more

cuts, and for a substantial increase in pensions.

An SWP supporter, Ireland

THE ONLY objective I can see in your otherwise excellent article is to sell

in the Dublin constituency.

The British press, the northern English and the southern government

are the invaders in the north.

The British press and the Irish press, the

in the Dublin government do indeed all

in the same cause.

BILL MONAHAN, 11 Dorset, Essex

LOST DOCUMENT AT LEWISHAM

Would the person who

taken from a weekly on

for safe keeping please contact Socialist, phone 01-739 6361

POWER OF THE ELITE

I HAVE a problem. You

might even call me neurotic. I

see. I worry excessively when I read articles on these

horrific inhumanities placed such

Wind City, nuclear power plant.

You could call me non-

progressive and unrealistic, but electricity produced in

the original way has been

okay since its introduction. What is the point in taking

chances with substances which not only are dangerous but

also exist for almost incomprehensible amounts of time?

The powers that be demand too much in return for the electricity produced.

DICK WILLIAMS

Lewisham

SOCIALIST WORKER 5 November 1977

17

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

by LEON TROTSKY

Trotsky’s finest literary works and the most authoritative, impassioned and superbly written study of the Russian Revolution ever written.

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£1.298.

PLUTO PRESS, Unit 10

Speenhamland

7 Chalcot Road, London NW1
THOSE WHO watched the Panorama programme about the Dobson revelations in Socialist Challenge might still be smarting from the intervention of Lord Robens, chairman of Vickers.

Robens told Peter Cooper, who taped the speech, 'You have betrayed your father.' He then went on to liken Peter to Nazi children who betrayed their soy in the Hitler regime.

Lord Robens has always believed in the closest possible cooperation between father and son.

When Lord Robens was chairman of the National Coal Board, his son's new public relations company in Nottingham received generous contracts—from the National Coal Board. The young Robens was married to Patricia Bonner, daughter of the chairman of Bonner Engineering, a firm which made a fortune out of the very hectic contracts it did during the mid-60s—for mining equipment for the National Coal Board.

Agreed.

When the Board decided to cut the pit prep contracts to their mining firms, Bonner's part of the business was sold at fantastically lucrative terms to Dougherty Engineering.

Young Robens thus did very well indeed from decisions taken by the Coal Board, of which his father was chairman, thus establishing that every parental relationship of which the Robens were proud.

By the way, if you spell Bonner correctly I think you get Robens. Amazing coincidences.

DON'T PAY 2000 Guineas for your kitchen...
Jewish speaker banned by Zionists

THE FIRST Jewish speaker ever has been stopped from speaking at a British University—by supporters of the State of Israel.

Norman Temple, a Jewish member of BAZO, the British Anti-Zionist organisation, was a guest speaker at Liverpool University's first B'nai B'rith Jewish Society. Rather than face a Jewish speaker arguing against the racist policies of the State of Israel, the Jewish Society successfully moved a resolution banning Norman-Temple from speaking.

Last week we reported that we were being evicted from our premises. This week we have investigated new offices and costs. In the meantime, if we need to borrow or rent, we will still need a few thousand pounds if we are to buy premises from which we cannot be thrown out. How can we raise such funds? We are aware that you our readers have been exceptionally generous during 1977. Please pass on our appeal for £40,000 appeal closely followed by the £10,000.

If it is at all possible, we need to avoid launching yet another fund. But do we to this we need to keep our existing target of £10,000. If we can raise £13,000 to £14,000, then any time around we can do it. We will have just about enough money to make ends meet.

So dig deep, organise these collections and help us move.

SOUTHERN AFRICAN AIRWAYS

SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS in London was forced to close down early last week of its 7-day service. The picket was organised jointly by the Southern African National Students' Organisation and the Socialist Workers Party student organisation.

Another three student unions have joined the call for a national demonstration on Southern Africa on 13 November.

At Hull University 200 students attended a mass meeting to discuss Southern Africa.

On Saturday, around 20 activists from Exeter University and Falmouth College interrupted the town in support of the struggle in Southern Africa. Afterwards they attended a rally organised by Exeter University Student Union.

Students at Aberystwyth University have now been on occupation for over two weeks in protest against the College's investments in South Africa. On Sunday, they organised a mass picket of the Assembly office of the South African consul.

The consul was trying to persuade people to emigrate to jobs in South Africa. As a result of the picket, nearly 4 people were arrested.

On Saturday, a rally in support of the occupation was attended by delegations from colleges all over Scotland, and a further rally on Monday.

The picket line outside the Assembly office is now well staffed.

No newspapers has reported this attack on free speech. Instead the Daily Mail and other newspapers continue to support the Socialist Workers Party anti Jewish.

In fact we haven't been arrested, we've been banned by the Zionist societies. What we have aimed at is the funds of student unions should not be used to maintain pro-Zionist Yeshiva students.

So send your contributions and we will put across in BBC's programme on Saturday and Sunday.

We support the call of the million Arab refugees, living in camps outside Israel, who are driven from their homes. As long as they are not allowed to return home, as long as Israel is racist, Israelis will be a target state and we will oppose it.

Welsh rock

THE RIGHT to Work Campaign in Port Talbot, South Wales, is literally swinging along.

Two weeks ago a large crowd brought 250 people from the town to hear Alastair and Red Dog, two of the most popular groups in South Wales.

Red Dog have agreed to play every month for the Right to Work Campaign, five of charge, and many more parties and socials are planned.

PRE VIEW

SATURDAY

Several hundred were living proof that it's not crooks, not the law, but the state that under capitalism, Denier of one of the human rights of the oppressed, the only planet he ever designs to destroy, the blind eye of the state.

Boil the dignity of those fighting now. But it's doubtful if these millions of people who will not be put across in BBC's programmes will be heard on Saturday and Sunday.

BBC start repeating the same old 'Hitler's War' on War. This shows how undemocratic their programmes can be. They specifically avoid the last thing they had before the war which they had been broadcasting.

Our design department report the Tom Robinson band, the most political of the new rock groups, and we're sure that the struggle to the attitudes will be on women. How we can rely on them when they had both feature on 5:19 pm.

MONDAY

Broadcasters, housewives and the unemployed have a chance to fight back this week. The TV set is the venue of the fight. We are repeating Bird Legend: The TV, the plays about the trials, tribulations and effectiveness of a left wing Labour MP.

TUESDAY

A disease which affects all women, but hits badly if you don't get adequate treatment. Many women will see the symptoms of breast cancer in themselves.

The programme shows the relationship between science, fiction, film, television.

-- Paul Kurt is appearing on What are the papers this Tuesday.

November Issue Out Now!

The revolution of the women, the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Is the pill really safe?

More about maternity have

Covers from S.W. sellers or direct from Writers Club, Quality, London, E.2. Price 20p including postage.

Every SWP branch must collect all orders from the local states level, and separate them from SW orders.

THE BRITISH National Party has announced a march in Sheffield on December 12. The slogan 'Curbfear for Black Culture', which the party distributed at Sheffield and Rotherham, was recently held in Rotherham. The party in Sheffield and Rotherham are invited to attend counter-protest.
Leyland: What after the ballot?

By Tony Priest, TGWU shop steward Leyland Longbridge.

For a start, the Communists inside the factories advocated corporate bargaining along the same sort of lines as in the management.

Patric Levis pays £13 a week for a room in a room owned by her employers. The London Metropolitan Hotel, which made £15 million profit last year.

Above: Sanie Levis pays £13.50 out of her meagre wages to live in a room owned by her employers.

The London Metropolitan Hotel, which made £15 million profit last year.

RIGHT: Anne Linehan pays £25.50 for a room she shares with two others.

First: the Communist Party inside the factories advocated corporate bargaining along the same sort of lines as in the management.

Most of the workers inside Leyland have had no information about the management's plans for them. The factory leadership was used to strike

But the hurdle was still the first skirmish in what will be a long, bitter struggle to organise every worker on every line. And the struggle will only add to the bitterness in the battle over corporate breakdowns, productivity deals, speed-up, and the kind of compromise that has led to the fall of the EEC.

We must organise now to protect the rank and file staff and the rank and file workers organisation on every line. And we must draw a line in the sand against the New Unionism that is coming down the road.

Saturday, 16 November, 11am, Birmingham.
CHRYSLER: NOW FOR A FULL-SIT-IN

by Chrysler SWP branch

The REAL reasons for the management-engineer squeeze at Chrysler, Linwood are not out in the open. The company's clear intention is to destroy our trade union organisation. A 17-page company document presented to the shop stewards last week makes this clear.

Chrysler tries to pretend that all they want is to remove the thorny problem of shopfloor control over our elected representatives, but there's no doubt that Chrysler do not want our representation at all. They have been in a deadlock for two days during which they have offered nothing but a list of 20,000 terms. It is in this way that they are trying to renege on the promises we got out of our last agreement.

Fifteen days before the last strike, Chrysler management at the Stoke Bridge plant was still arranging briefs and movement discussion meetings in the factory, a drowned out line in the stove.

The response of the trade unionists, that Chrysler's factory has been barbaric. For two and a half weeks the workforce have been taking part in a sit in but sadly the shop stewards committee, elected democratically by a large minority of shop stewards, has been locked out. As a result of this sit in half the workforce are now out of work.

Majority

The majority of the shopfloor feel that the implications of Chrysler's actions are an insult to the majority who have responded by playing it over for two and a half weeks. Public opinion supporting the strike has never been greater.

Our message to the executives is clear: the majority of the workforce have been locked out, we'll wait until you allow them back for their future.

The majority of workers will not stand against the company. All the same, the leadership still has to accept the responsibility for directing the majority of the workforce. The workforce can only remain united in the face of threats to their future.

There is an urgent need to take control of work at the plants. The majority have responded and the management's hands and feet are tied to the workforce.

A new decision with the Shop Stewards Committee has taken the

AUEW election results

The VOTE in the first round of the General Election in AUEW shows a huge, with the victories of the last two years. In the first round of the General Election in AUEW shows a huge, with the victories of the last two years.

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Sixty years ago this week the working people of Russia took control of their own lives.

Their revolution inspired workers throughout the world before it was turned in on itself and crushed. If you want to know how it was won and how it was lost, turn to page 5.

"We will not give up Petrograd" Russian revolutionary poster by David Moor (real name Dmitri Orlov)