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WORKERS' FIGHT

DOCKERS MUST FIGHT BACK NOW!



DOCKERS AGAINST DEVLIN

by Harold Youd,
T.& G.W.U.

21,000 dockers struck work to greet 'modernisation'. So much for the crapy talk about the Great New Deal for the docker! Most dockers know that the Unions, the employers and the Wilson government sold them up the river. At the time of writing Liverpool is still out after two weeks - tragically isolated but still completely solid.

Strenuous efforts were made by Press and television to present it as a matter of the dockers being a bunch of misguided oafs led by a handful of subversive leaders. Apparently we are too stupid to recognise that the Devlin Scheme to give the employers a firmer, more comfortable ride on our backs is exactly what we've been looking for these last 50 and more years! But the strike has made it very plain that the dockers know the score. We have had to be coerced into allowing the new scheme to begin operating. And no wonder!

The right of the employers to discipline the docker is being restored after 20 years of joint Union/Employer control of discipline. Employers now have the right to set dockers to work outside the docks. The much-ballyhooed minimum of £15 (and in London £16) can be seen from the figures on our wage-packets as a confidence trick. A man on flat rate gets only a few shillings over the minimum for the first two nights overtime! It means a return to the 44 hour week in fact! And a great big annihilating stick hangs over our heads - massive redundancy particularly in London.

The dockers have been coerced alright - those who struck work and also those who were bamboozled by the unholy Union/Employer/Government United Front into passive acceptance of the reorganisation that the powers on high chose to inflict on them.

The new scheme on the docks is part of an attack on the whole working class. A

glance at recent newspapers shows how this attack is being done in other industries. The carworkers are being locked out or laid off. Railwaymen are faced with the demand for more work for the same pay. Miners are also on the defensive as they see more and more pits closing down. In the docks the Devlin Scheme is the first step to mechanisation. The preliminary softening up to intensive exploitation.

Two things combine to allow this scheme to be forced on the dockers. The treachery of both docks unions and a consequent lack of a nationally organised resistance. And parallel with this, the general lack of a national leadership at rank and file level. The Government and employers were thus able to divide port against port, and the intensive press and TV campaign confused many dockers. At the 11th hour in London they tried to buy off the whole port by suddenly granting to London only the £6.10.0 unconditional sick pay. Despite this, of course, half of London's dockers struck.

Despite the carefully planned strategy of the employers 10,000 men in London came out, Liverpool's 9,000 and the 1,500 in Manchester. This seemed a promising start at the beginning of the week. It was certainly a possible basis for a rapid extension of the strike. Given a national organisation and a serious leadership it could have been spread. In their absence it lost momentum and faded out. Hull's failure to come out was probably decisive. Here the employers benefited from the demoralisation of sections of the Hull dockers, half of whom have been regularly unemployed for the last year. London and Manchester dropped out at the end of a week. Liverpool alone remained. What began as a semi-national strike has been reduced to a bitter local struggle.

One of the big limitations of the strike movement was that it was not an anti-De-

vlin strike. It was over the price for acceptance of Devlin, including the increase in employers' power, intensification of work etc. This was one result of the weakness and lack of both national preparation and national leadership - which also led to the collapse of the strike. Weak national link-ups were established and up to about two months before D-Day the programme was for resistance to the scheme as such. But after the confused signing of the new employment forms the demands shifted to the terms for accepting - that was undoubtedly the thin end of the wedge.

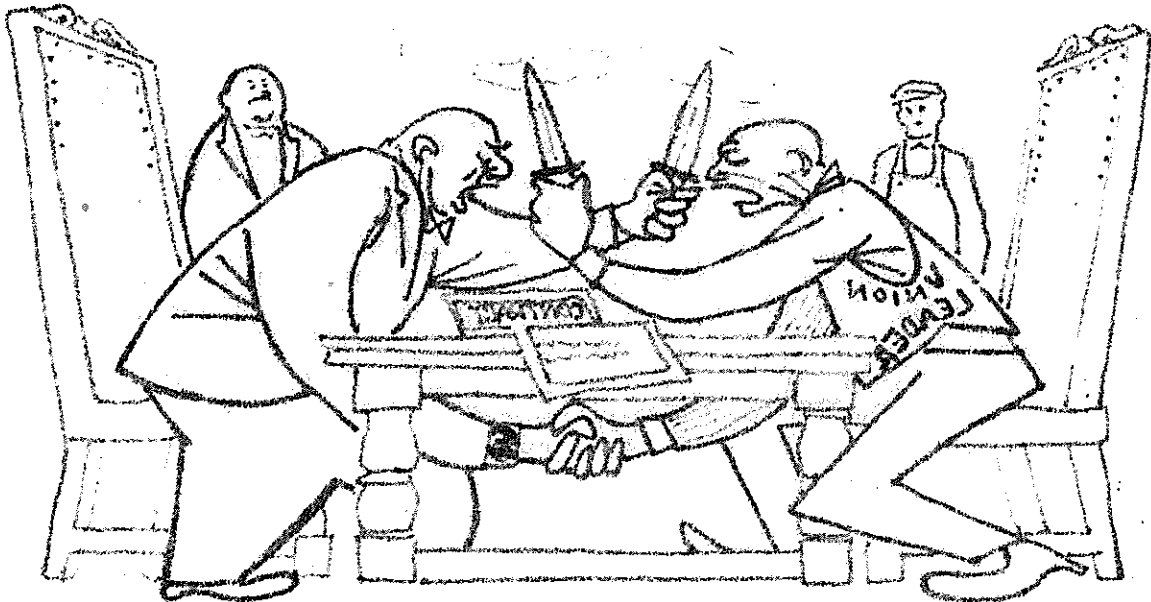
The most effective programme in answer to the problems posed by the current docks reorganisation was and is a programme which demanded not a bigger carrot as reward for accepting increasing employers' power in the ports - but workers' administration and control under nationalisation. Not terms for accepting Devlin but a working class anti-Devlinisation programme!

Liverpool is still out. Manchester and

London are back at work. But the problems are now only beginning. The new system won't begin to bite for a while. In Manchester a foreman's meeting was addressed by an employers' representative and instructed to play it cool for the first few weeks! The fight to prevent the full tightening up the employers want is only beginning. Even now - particularly now - we must resist all encroachments. In places like Manchester overtime must be banned. Few dockers take seriously Gunter's assurances on redundancy. London has threatened to strike again in January unless some of their demands are satisfied. The battle is by no means over. But the lessons must be learned.

- 1) We need a solid, permanent rank and file national link-up, a National Docks Liaison Committee.
- 2) We need to prepare, draw up and propagate an alternative dockers' programme.
- 3) We need above all to prepare to fight back.

As yet the screws have only been put in place. They have hardly even begun to be tightened.



WILSON'S RECIPE:

According to the strategy of the Labour leadership now in power, the Labour Government was to administer capitalism better than the Tories, and serve up the goodies with 'fair shares' all round. The 13 wasted years of time-marking were to give way to a brisk march forward, led by the man with the pipe and the Gannex coat.

But now, 3 years of marching on this particular route have somehow landed us not at the Gates of Plenty but in the barren land of unemployment, warnings of harder times ahead and provocative kite-flying as the first step in a probable attempt to re-introduce the means test. A new perspective! Mass unemployment alleviated by ... "selectivity"! The Social Democratic Golden City of planned capitalist prosperity on the horizon can now be seen as only a utopian capitalist mirage. The actual features of the current landscape resemble scenes from the bleak past rather than a rosy future.

INCOMES POLICY MYTH

Of course it was nonsense at the start. It avoided the key questions. The nature of the capitalist system, its laws, rhythms and contradictions, and the strict limits these place on any group which simply tries to administer it - these were ignored, as was the biggest question of all: WHICH CLASS RULES?

It was no accident. Wilson, Brown, Gunter et al stand four-square for the capitalist system. They have maintained a consistently pro-capitalist, anti-working class, stand. Workers who complain about the wage freeze are denounced, and those who have fought it have frequently been witch-hunted. Bloody policies have been pursued in Aden in the interests of area security for the oil companies. Mass repression of trade unionists continues in Hong Kong. Labour Britain has given jackal-like support for US Imperialism's slaughter in Vietnam. At home private

Means Test & Unemployment

industry has been subsidised. Railways and mines have been given a state funeral. The God of the Tory pagans, profit, is now defended and glorified by the very people such as Gunter who openly advocate means tests. Dead set on modernising British capitalism, they are as determined as any capitalists that the working class will pay for it. In the words of Douglas Houghton "Never has any previous government done so much in so short a time to make modern capitalism work." (TIMES 25.4.67).

The main concrete result of the Labour Leaders' plan has been the Incomes Policy. The only result of the Incomes Policy has been the Wage Freeze. Within two months of victory in 1964 came the Declaration of Intent of the Government, TUC and CBI. This pledged voluntary control of prices, wages and profits in line with productivity. But only wages have been controlled: and the control of wages was not left to the people most concerned. Wage restraint has been reinforced with legislation,

Prices, profits, rents and rates cannot be planned. Market forces dominate under capitalism. This was demonstrated almost immediately when prices rose by 22½% from July '66 to Jan. '67! With wages at a standstill, rents, rates, food prices, travel expenses and much else went up. So did DIVIDENDS - THE LARGEST YIELD SINCE 1962! The only category of Prices and Incomes that could be held down was and is wages.

The very idea that wages and profits could be equated is fraudulent. The demand of certain labour leaders for a ceiling on dividends was really a cry to the government: "Give us a better line to kid the workers with"! Really, of course, dividends not paid out are ploughed back to increase the capital value of the company - and its shares. The shareholders continue to own and control the enterprise and exploit the workers.

The rewards are merely reaped a little later. But wages lost by the working class are foregone permanently: wages and dividends are NOT comparable.

Incomes Policy under capitalism is a con-trick on the working class. It follows the experience of European countries such as Holland, which had centrally regulated wages from 1945 to '59. During this period the Dutch workers' standards fell from the highest in Europe to the lowest next to Spain and Portugal.

ROLE OF THE UNION LEADERS

The role of the trade union leaders in response to these policies of a social-democratic government is worth examining.

They supported the Prices and Incomes Act with merely verbal reservations about compulsion. They voted for the "standstill" and period of "severe restraint". As long as the overwhelming majority of trade unionists were prepared to extend their good will to a government which they'd elected, which they considered their own, the trade union leadership could openly side with it. However, in the last year, with resentment building up against blatant anti-working class policies, the trade union leaders have twisted and turned.

Trade union leaders earn their comfortable livings by obtaining a little bit here and there for their members, whilst sitting in all kinds of government and employers' committees. They are the stockbrokers of the labour movement. Their very position rests on the existence of employers and workers. As such, they inevitably, as a group, seek to preserve the system which perpetuates these two classes. They have always come to the rescue of capitalism at its most critical moments. However, as an intermediate group they are subject to cross pressures from both sides. They are often forced into verbal concessions to the workers and even, on occasion, to take action against the employers. However, in the last analysis they always seek to bring together worker and employer so that the system is maintained. This is demonstrated by the behaviour of

the TUC General Council with regard to the Incomes Policy.

They proposed that instead of the government vetting wage claims the TUC should! Their criteria for wage increases were very little different from the government's. Wage increases would only be allowed if there was greater productivity or more exacting work, if increases were necessary for essential distribution of manpower, etc.

George Woodcock in his typically blunt manner revealed the true purpose of the proposals. He boasted that the TUC wage vetting system already in operation had been successful. He pointed out that in face of large numbers of workers opposing the wage freeze in practice, the government could do little about it. "Are they going to send all the recalcitrants to prison?.... If anybody can deal with recalcitrants, it is us". (My emphasis.)

Trade union leaders right and 'left' again supported the TUC proposal overwhelmingly. Cousins at the Union Executives' Conference on March 3rd, where this was discussed, tried to maintain that the TUC's aims were somehow different from the Government's! Paynter, the so-called "Communist" Secretary of the Mineworkers, also supported the proposals. He saw them as the lesser of two evils! (It is noteworthy that the MORNING STAR of March 4th casually regretted Cousins' position, after building him up, but blatantly missed out on one of its own leading members.) The TUC will almost certainly step up the attempt to regiment the trade union rank and file in the near future. Proposals are under way to regulate the powers of the Joint Shop Stewards' committees by setting up regional machinery and by centralising union federations. Also, the tendency to amalgamation will bring more and more workers under rigid control from the top.

TUC ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Annual Conference, held in the first week in September, has been acclaimed by all the 'left' groupings, from TRIBUNE to the MORNING STAR, as a great victory and a programme for the trade union movement. Whereas the 1966 Congress gave

full support to the government, this year, under pressure from the ranks, policies were adopted which, on paper, were a little different from Wilson's. Instead of deflation and unemployment, the resolutions against the government's economic policies called for a high wages, high productivity policy and the extension of public ownership. But what sort of 'victory' and what sort of 'programme' are the TUC Conference resolutions?

Considering the increasing collaboration between the TUC executives, employers and government, without a determined mobilisation of the mass of trade unionists Annual Conference becomes merely a talking shop, another blind for the day to day dirty work of class collaboration. Woodcock knows this and that is why he replied to the economic debate thus: "All in all, I don't think the composite motion really means a great deal in this context, one way or the other." !!

Any opposition to the Incomes Policy in the labour movement is of course to be welcomed. But the verbal leftism of the T&GWU has not prevented it from selling the dockers over the counter, nor prevented its officials from continuing to play the role of strike-breakers. Cousins has not led one serious move against the policy, although he is in a position to do so.

Only the movement and activity of the rank and file offers an alternative. Only the self-action and growth of consciousness of the workers opens up any perspective of escape from the logic of the present system, administered by its Labour handmaidens. Those, including the left bureaucrats like Cousins, who stand opposed or are indifferent to rank and file action, however left they talk or whatever their subjective intentions, are hand in glove with the essential premise of the wage-freeze capitalist system - which is the non-activity of the masses. Opposing mass action, they render sterile their own opposition.

FIGHT THE CAPITALIST POLICIES OF WILSON!

All talk about Incomes Policy under capitalism is anti-working class nonsense. All practical attempts at wage freeze must be resisted - officially and unofficially; within the trade unions and within the Labour Party. The working class cannot allow itself to bear the cost of capitalist modernisation. The attack on our living standards must be met with a determined counter-attack.

Initially this will take the form of industrial action. Already a minor strike wave seems to be developing. This is only the beginning. Trade union militants are now faced with the job of overcoming the inertia, conservatism and downright treachery of union leaders. Labour Party socialists are also faced inescapably with the need to consider the lessons of three years of capitalist-Labour government. It is clear that Wilson's road is not the way to socialism, to the rational reorganisation of the economy. Only the victory of the working class in struggle against the whole system and the establishment of Workers' Power will do that.

Phil Semp.

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**A L S O R E A D
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WORKERS FIGHT

All correspondence, reports, articles should be sent to the editor, Rachel Matgamna, 31 Leicester Road, Cheetham, Manchester 8.

FOR A TROTSKYIST REGROUPMENT !

The need for a healthy revolutionary socialist - Trotskyist - movement in Britain has rarely been more obvious. Not for a decade and a half has there been such an opportunity as now to advance revolutionary politics. A Labour Government in a period of conjunctural crisis is putting the tight squeeze on the working class. The necessity for a working class socialist alternative to the inept and treacherous social democratic politics of the Wilson government is felt by more and more people, hitherto beyond the reach of Marxist politics. And in the unions the striving for an effective rank and file alternative to the castrated trade unionism epitomised by George Woodcock and the General Council of the TUC is erupting in a growing number of 'unofficial' rank and file actions against wage restraint, and the introduction of the new methods of labour intensification.

We are in a situation of serious prospects of struggle and of great objective opportunity for fusing the revolutionary socialist movement and programme with the burgeoning struggles of the class. The tasks of socialists in this situation is to participate in every way possible in these struggles and strive to consolidate the growing opposition to the effects of the system into consciousness of the whole process and into acceptance of the revolutionary socialist programme in opposition to class society and those working class political trends (social democracy and stalinism) which support its continuation.

In one other respect also the situation is highly favourable. The so-called "Communist" Party, up to now the main barrier to Marxist politics, is openly visible as the old-fashioned social-democratic party that it is. It stands shamelessly clad in all the smelly old weed-flowers of opportunism - parliamentarianism, pacifism, prostration before any and every trade union leader who utters a left phrase even by accident. It has almost totally abandoned the rank and file struggle in the unions for deals at the top. These days it is even bedding down with purveyors of obscurantist dope and liberal double-talk. If it continues for much longer to be any sort of barrier to our politics, then it will be purely by default.

The road is therefore open for serious advances for the politics of Marxism. Already under pressure of the situation the left bureaucrats have begun to move into limited opposition. This will open up further possibilities of struggle. But it sharpens the need for an effective Trotskyist organisation capable of

relating its revolutionary perspective to the concrete situation as it is emerging and of working realistically to deepen the struggle on the one hand, and on the other to organise a Marxist force capable of preventing and overcoming the half-heartedness, vacillations and sell-outs which are bound to be the other side of the coin of any oppositional movement of the centrists, led by such unstable left bureaucrats as Cousins. Any serious long-term gains from the growing centrist opposition can categorically be said to depend on the existence of a seriously organised revolutionary organisation working within it.

But here we come up against the great vacuum in this situation: the weakness politically of the two avowedly Trotskyist organisations. These weaknesses, in our opinion, render both ineffective at present, and are sure to show up both as politically non-existent to the same degree as the situation sharpens.

Trotskyism is the basic Marxist programme of the conquest of power by the working class. It is the unfalsified Programme, method and experience of the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky. It embodies the world experience of the workers' struggles, including the defence and development of Bolshevism by Trotsky and the Left Opposition in battle against the Stalinist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union. Trotskyism is the only developed working class alternative to venal stalinism and supine social democracy. It means reliance on the self-controlling activity of the masses of the working class, which it strives to mobilise on the programme of Transitional demands for the eventual overthrow of capitalism. It is the programme of the workers' revolution, organically linked with the practical struggle to aid its development: not only a programme, but the struggle to build a revolutionary party to fight for that programme. Its traditions are those of the Bolsheviks and the Left Opposition: workers' democracy, unremitting struggle for theoretical clarity, revolutionary activism, unbending hostility to and struggle against capitalism and all those within the labour movement who stand for its continuation.

The two largest Trotskyist groups are the Revolutionary Socialist League and the larger and better known Socialist Labour League. (There are other groups. But we will not deal with these because they obviously sectarian and dead, or loose and amorphous). Both claim the Trotskyist tradition, both display bits and pieces and whole chunks of the phrases and formulae of Trotskyism. But actually they are both political mutations. Neither has very much to do with the politics, the traditions, the methods of Bolshevism - and least of all with its spirit. They are two groups divided by equally mechanical orientations - the one towards the left and activism, the other towards the right and quietism, each with a hard core of people assembled by these characteristics. Both are sects in different ways. Neither has any prospect of ever playing a serious role in the struggles of the proletariat. Proclamation of Marxism did not save the old Social-Democrats from going rotten. Nor did use of the word 'Bolshevism' make the CPs Leninist. And for these organisations, the proclamation of Trotskyism has not been enough to prevent their degeneration into twin sectarian caricatures of the right and left face under the pressures of capitalist society. They are the product of prolonged isolation and theoretical backwardness, aided by a tainted common origin in the already poisoned CP of the middle 1930s.

The RSL is a rightist group, sectarian in approach, quietist and platonic in practice. Buried in the Labour Party, they reject all action not agreeable to the bureaucracy: they bow to every bureaucratic faction in the working class movement, trade union and Labour Party alike. Platonic objections recited like a litany - to which they have reduced Trotskyism - make no difference at all, since they divorce it from the practical activity necessary to back it up.

In their eyes the struggles of the workers are rigidly confined, on principle, within the walls of ... the Labour Party! They have helped to expel revolutionaries from the Labour Party! They are even known to treat trades councils as soviets! It is an organisation of 'contemplative 'Marxists'. In practice its leading members function as right-wingers, whatever their intentions. They adapt pedagogically (or it began that way, anyway) to the lowest Labour Party level, and over the years this has been allowed to become their own level. They await big events, patiently and quietly, and abrogate any role for themselves, or for any revolutionaries, until the revolutionary kettle boils itself spontaneously. In practice they reject the Marxist conception of the working class struggle as a conscious battle. Also in practice they reject the Leninist theory of the combat party.

The future proletarian revolution is dependent on a serious revolutionary combat party of Marxist activists. This party can only be assembled and educated in the preceding periods, engaging in struggles that are continuously a part of the ferment under capitalism. The scholastic Marxism, abstract propaganda and manāna Trotskyism of this organisation is the kiss of death for revolutionary politics.

The SLL plays Hyle to the respectable and quiet Jekyll of the RSL. It lives only to proclaim loudly the need for all the things that the RSL is not. In particular "THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY". But a healthy revolutionary party is not built up from the waste-paper of proclamations. The SLL sheds the objectivist basis of Marxism completely in favour of an idealist propagandist conception of reality. They believe that capitalism hangs by a thin thread and is constantly on the verge of collapse. Just a little verbal bombardment with their revolutionary imprecations will bring it down! This wishful conception of capitalism in a permanently pre-revolutionary situation completely distorts their vision. It leads to a reduction of their much-proclaimed Bolshevism into a holy credo rather than a guide to action. Bolshevik action must begin with the real material world, the real situation and the real possibilities.

Actually the SLL is a throwback to the ultra-leftism of the very early Zinoviev Comintern - with large elements of Third-period Stalinism mixed in as well. Recently it has become Maoist, adopting shamelessly the stalinist position that to call for the workers to overthrow the Mao regime in China is "counter-revolutionary". Where the RSL is right-opportunist the SLL is left-opportunist.

The positive sides of the SLL, its organisational discipline, its active and open hostility to the bureaucracies, its invocation of the elan of Bolshevism, have made it a serious sect in the real sense of the word. But its weird combination of Third Period Stalinism and lately the Maoist tinge make it an even bigger blind alley than the RSL. It maims many of the people who pass through it, because of the truly Maoist internal regime, which differs from the Chinese version only in the absence of actual dunce's hats for the victims. It completely fails to educate or keep for very long the vast majority of the people it involves in activity.

Over the past few years all the weaknesses of the SLL approach have emerged into the open. Its behaviour is unbelievable as the list of 'incidents' is long. The criminally sectarian abandonment of work with the Vietnam Solidarity Committee; the Tate affair, followed by threats of the capitalist courts to suppress publication of the facts. Their world-view is apparently determined by their factional needs of the moment. In sharp contrast to the glorification of Maoist Stalinism, they have conducted a most hostile and mendacious campaign of propaganda

against Cuba, on any and every pretext, even the flimsiest. The reason for this? they developed factional differences on the class character of Cuba with former international comrades. (According to the SLL, Cuba is a plain capitalist state, unlike China where it is counter-revolutionary to call on the workers to overthrow the bureaucracy.) Their factional needs determined the class differences which they were able to see between Castro and Mao! Mercifully their contributions here are such sub-stalinist gibberish as to be very ineffective.

Neither of these two organisations offers other than sterility. In the coming struggles, the RSL will keep its head down, and perhaps play its accustomed role of being militantly anti-militant. The SLL will indulge in terrible and fearful exhibitions of ... shadow-boxing - on the sidelines. Yet in the last few years the relevance of the Trotskyist programme and traditions on which these organisations nominally stand and disjointed elements of which they display has allowed them to recruit many young people: given certain changes there are great possibilities. A movement free from the melodies of RSL/SLL can and will be built.

What concerns us is what is to be done towards the reconstruction of the Trotskyist movement on a healthy basis. We believe this will be achieved through regroupment of the healthy elements attracted by the above groups - particularly the SLL - and then repelled. We cannot foretell the course or features of the necessary regroupment. We believe the logic of the class struggle, the ever-more patent bankruptcy of the RSL/SLL, will demonstrate the need for this. We believe that the ground for this must be prepared consciously. WORKERS' FIGHT has been started to participate in this work. WORKERS' FIGHT will assist in the struggle where its supporters are active, and will attempt to analyse some of the problems of the movement. We advocate revolutionary socialist unity in action, dialogue where there are differences

Besides the avowedly Trotskyist groups there is the International Socialism Group, which has roots in the Trotskyist movement. Originating in an abstentionist break-away from the Fourth International nearly two decades ago. Recently it has grown into a sizeable left centrist force. It does not claim to be Trotskyist in any defined sense. It does claim to be revolutionary socialist, most of its members feel that it is possible to separate these. It is a loose organisation which has absorbed many good comrades in the vacuum left by the suicide and self-effacement of the "hard Trotskyists". Its deficiencies are amorphousness in organisation and ideology: it began by junking the Bolshevik heritage and insofar as it has developed in a healthy direction this has consisted in re-adapting piece-meal elements of the politics of Trotskyism. We cannot say how far this process will go. It is a movement in process of change. Possibly some of the future forces for the Trotskyist regroupment will come from this source.

We invite comments and discussion on these points.

LABOUR DEFENCE

1. U.S.A.

The MacCarthyite high tide in the USA has receded in recent years - but that only means a relapse to the normal harrassment of socialists by the 'regular' methods of the Red-Squad cops, witch hunt job victimisation and frame-up charges under the wide and arbitrary powers of the Vagrancy laws. The latest victim is the Spartacist League, a militant Trotskyist group whose activities have now brought reprisals from the state. Four of their comrades have recently been arrested and charged in Louisiana.

We received the following outline of events from Liz Gordis:- "Recently the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities (of the State of Louisiana) brought out a 145 page pamphlet on THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND CERTAIN OTHER COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHERN LOUISIANA, which featured the testimony of several police agents and, in addition to reprinting some of our publications and leaflets, gave the names, addresses and places of work of as many of our comrades as they could find out. Following the publication of this report, several of our comrades lost their jobs and have been the target of police harrassment and many threats from ultrarightists. Most recently three of our comrades and a sympathiser were arrested in New Orleans on a charge of "Vagrancy" (which meant three black people and a white girl sitting in a car discussing politics). This turned into an attempt to "get" our people when the cops found literature of the Spartacist League in the trunk of the car. With the cops and the judge at the preliminary hearing aware that they had a group of Spartacist "commies" in their hands, they are determined to give these comrades the maximum sentences, which means gaol terms and heavy fines. We are going all-out to build up a defence case, to get publicity nationally and internationally, and to raise money to fight these

repressions." Their case comes up on October 3rd.

We appeal for action in solidarity with these comrades - protest to the US Embassy; get a resolution of protest to the US Embassy through your trade union branch or other labour organisation. Donations will also be welcome at the following address: Box 1377 G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001.

2. Ireland

Committees in Dublin, New York and London will soon be planning an international protest outside Irish Embassies to demand the release of Joe Dillon, sentenced last May after an obvious frame-up to 5 years' imprisonment. So far, a stream of protests has resulted in this sentence being cut to 3 years. This is not enough.

Dillon was one of the leaders of an opposition grouping, inside the Nationalist IRA, which was moving towards a working class orientation. After refusing Special Branch bribes to turn informer a year ago, he was told that they would "get him". The charges were so obviously fictitious that the judge had to admit that he was "probably in error...."

Already there have been big protest demonstrations in London and New York. The pressure must be kept up. Send resolutions and letters to Mr. Brian Lenihan, Department of Justice, Merrion Street, Dublin 3.

3. Peru

In Peru a death sentence is carried out within 24 hours: the threat of a sudden sentence and execution still hangs over Hugo Blanco, the Trotskyist peasant leader whose mass popularity has swelled further during the world-wide campaign to free him. Other political prisoners went on hunger strike & 15,000 demonstrators filled the main square in Lima. Add letters & resolutions to Peruvian Embassy.

Leon Trotsky

1917: THE KEY FACTOR

Without the armed insurrection of 7th November 1917 the Soviet state would not be in existence. But the insurrection itself did not drop from Heaven. A series of historical pre-requisites was necessary for the October Revolution.

- 1) The rotting away of the old ruling classes - the nobility, the monarchy, the bureaucracy.
- 2) The political weakness of the bourgeoisie, which had no roots in the masses of the people.
- 3) The revolutionary character of the agrarian question.
- 4) The revolutionary character of the problem of the oppressed nationalities.
- 5) The significant social burdens weighing on the proletariat.

To these organic preconditions must be added certain highly important connected conditions.

- 6) The Revolution of 1905 was the great school, or in Lenin's phrase, "the dress rehearsal" of the Revolution of 1917. The Soviets, as the irreplaceable organisational form of the proletarian united front in the Revolution were created for the first time in the year 1905.
- 7) The imperialist war sharpened all the contradictions, tore the backward masses out of their immobility, and thus prepared the grandiose scale of the catastrophe.

But all these conditions, which fully sufficed for the OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION, were insufficient to assure the VICTORY OF THE PROLETARIAT in the Revolution. For this victory one condition more was necessary.

- 8) The Bolshevik Party.

When I enumerate this condition last in the series, I do it only because it follows the logical sequence, and not because I assign the last place in the order of importance to the Party.

No, I am far from such a thought. The liberal bourgeoisie can seize power and has seized it more than once as the result of struggles in which it took no part; it possesses organs of seizure which are admirably adapted to the purpose. But the working masses are in a different position; they have long been accustomed to give, and not to take. They work, are patient as long as they can be, hope, lose patience, rise and struggle, die, bring victory to others, are betrayed, fall into despondency, bow their necks and work again. Such is the history of the masses of the people under all regimes. To be able to take the power firmly and surely into its hands the proletariat needs a Party, which far surpasses other parties in the clarity of its thought and in its revolutionary determination.

The Bolshevik Party, which has been described more than once and with complete justification as the most revolutionary Party in the history of mankind was the living condensation of the modern history of Russia, of all that was dynamic in it. The overthrow of Tsarism had long been recognised as the necessary condition for the development of the economy and culture. But for the solution of this task the forces were insufficient. The bourgeoisie feared the Revolution. The intell-

-gentsia tried to bring the peasant to his feet. The moujik, incapable of generalising his own miseries and his aims, left this appeal unanswered. The intelligentsia armed itself with dynamite. A whole generation was wasted in this struggle.

On March 1st 1887, Alexander Ulianov carried out the last of the great terrorist plots. The attempted assassination of Alexander III failed. Ulianov and the other participants were executed. The attempt to make chemical preparation take the place of a revolutionary class came to grief. Even the most heroic intelligentsia is nothing without the masses. Ulianov's younger brother Vladimir, the future Lenin, the greatest figure of Russian history, grew up under the immediate impression of these facts and conclusions. Even in his early youth he placed himself on the foundations of Marxism, and turned his face toward the proletariat. Without losing sight of the village for a moment he sought the way to the peasantry through the workers. In heriting from his revolutionary predecessors their capacity for self-sacrifice, and their willingness to go to the limit, Lenin at an early age became the teacher of the new generation of the intelligentsia and of the advanced workers. In strikes and street fights, in prisons and in exile, the workers received the necessary tempering. They needed the searchlight of Marxism to light up their historical road in the darkness of absolutism.

Among the emigres the first Marxist group arose in 1883. In 1898 at a secret meeting, the foundation of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party was proclaimed (we all called ourselves Social-Democrats in those days). In 1903 occurred the split between Bolsheviks and Menshevik, and in 1912 the Bolshevik fraction finally became an independent Party.

It learned to recognise the class mechanics of society in its struggles during the events of twelve years (1905-1917). It educated groups equally capable of initiative and of subordination. The discipline of its revolutionar action was based on the unity of its doctrine, on the tradition of common struggles and on confidence in its tested leadership.



KAMENEV



TROTSKY



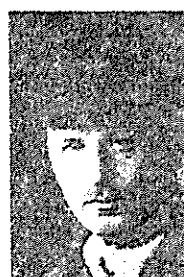
LENIN



SVERDLOV



ZINOVIEV



BUKHARIN



JOFFE



RYKOV



STALIN



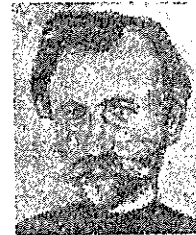
KRESTINSKY



KOLLONTAI



SOKOLNIKOV



PREOBRAZHENSKY



DZHERZHINSKY

Such was the Party in 1917. Despised by the official "public opinion" and the paper thunder of the intelligentsia Press, it adapted itself to the movement of

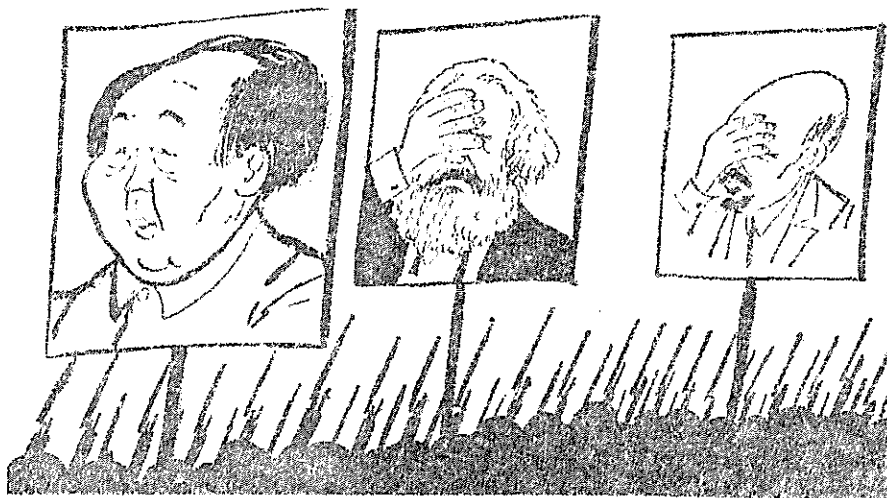
the masses. It kept firmly in hand the lever of control in the factories and regiments. More and more the peasant masses turned toward it. If we understand by "nation" not the privileged heads, but the majority of the people, that is, the workers and peasants, then the Bolsheviks became during the course of 1917 a truly national Russian Party.

In September, 1917, Lenin, who was compelled to keep in hiding, gave the signal, "The crisis is ripe, the hour of the insurrection has approached." He was right. The ruling classes faced with the problems of the war, the land and liberation, had got into inextricable difficulties. The bourgeoisie positively lost its head. The democratic parties, the Mensheviks and social-revolutionaries dissipated the last remaining bit of confidence of the masses in them by their support of the imperialist war, by their policy of compromise and concessions to the bourgeois and feudal property-owners. The awakened army no longer wanted to fight for the alien aims of imperialism. Disregarding democratic advice, the peasantry smoked the landowners out of their estates. The oppressed nationalities of the far boundaries rose up against the bureaucracy of Petrograd. In the most important workers' and soldiers' Soviets the Bolsheviks were dominant. The ulcer was ripe. It needed a cut of the lancet.

Only under these social and political conditions was the insurrection possible. And thus it also became inevitable. But there is no playing around with insurrection. Woe to the surgeon who is careless in the use of the lance! Insurrection is an art. It has its laws and its rules.

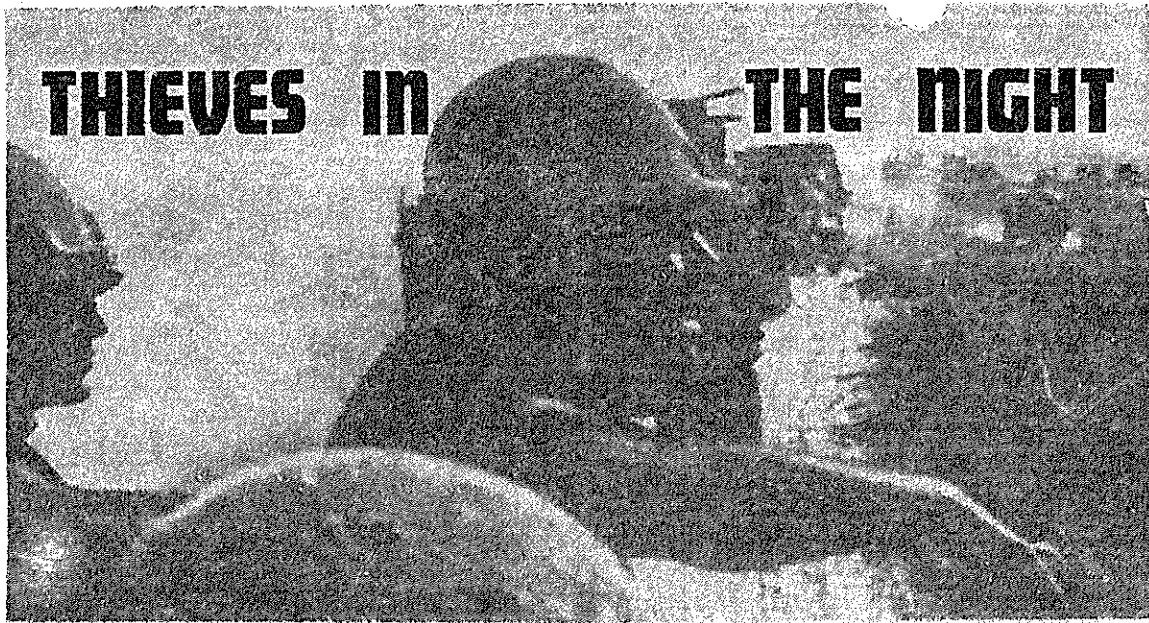
The Party faced the realities of the October insurrection with cold calculation and with ardent resolution. Thanks to this, it conquered almost without victims. Through the victorious Soviets the Bolsheviks placed themselves at the head of a country which occupies one-sixth of the surface of the globe.

From: The Russian Revolution, the text of a lecture given by Leon Trotsky in Copenhagen, November 1932, and published by the Revolutionary Communist Party. Pictures from a leaflet of the R.C.P.



"Cultural Revolution" - seen from Eastern Europe

THIEVES IN THE NIGHT



A major asset of Israel in the West is its IMAGE - Gallant little, democratic little Israel, haven of the persecuted and the disinherited, beleaguered by senselessly hostile Arab hordes who forever threaten Armageddon. This image disarms those it grips to such an extent that they become immune to facts. And unfortunately, as the recent war showed, it has a wide grip - even within the labour movement and its 'left'. The Zionist State of Israel, which acts as a frontier guard for imperialist oil interests in the Middle East, is able to utilise mass public sympathy with the Jews in general to hide its aggressions against the Arabs. The merciless disinheriting of over a million Arabs is ignored, as is the treatment of the Arab minority within Israel as 5th class non-citizens. To attack Israel is to court the label "anti-semitic", irrational though this may seem in view of the fact that during the war all the traditional anti-semites were loudly and violently pro-Israel.

The first opportunity the Israeli Zionists had of forcibly acquiring large tracts of someone else's land was in 1948. Before that time they had merely bought their land from its feudal lords, and thus more or less 'legally' evicted its occupants, the poor peasants who had tilled it for centuries. But in 1948 they annexed 6,000 square kilometers of land over and above what had been allotted them by the UN Partition Resolution

(itself far in excess of territory covered by Jewish settlement). This area included 388 entirely Arab towns, such as Jaffa, Acre, Lydda, Ramallah and Beer-sheba; 34 largely Arab towns including Jerusalem, Safad, Tiberias and Haifa; and about a thousand entirely Arab villages. This land, these buildings, the orchards and fields, they wanted for their own exclusive use, and with characteristic thoroughness they made sure of getting vacant possession.

The entire population of the village of Deir Yassin near Jerusalem, including 130 women and children, were massacred in cold blood. Photographs were taken of the mutilated bodies and, over a caption "IF YOU DO NOT LEAVE THIS IS WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU" widely distributed among the Arab population. Attacks by the Haganah on Jaffa, Tiberias and Acre resulted in the flight of thousands. In other towns (eg Ramleh and Lydda) the population was given half an hour to leave, on foot and barehanded. In like manner nearly a million people were virtually thrown into the desert.

While the refugees languished in camps

for 20 years (there were no generous donations from New York businessmen or the people who had disinherited them for their resettlement) the plight of those who stayed behind is little better. They are denied many rights and opportunities given to complete newcomers of the same class, and have lived under military rule with curfews, passports for internal travel and many restrictions. Their degradation moved the Editor of MAARIV (the main Hebrew evening paper) to write in 1954: "I feel a dread of going round the parts of the towns where the Arabs live, and the hate which fills their eyes when they think of our supremacy... I am ashamed to look at these people. I do not at all feel shame to fight them but I do not in the least want to assume the role of a thief in the night..."

But the Israeli State was not yet satisfied. Zionism demanded a totally Jewish State, and any remaining large Arab settlements had to be shifted, broken up and dispersed to make way for Jewish settlements. The "Population character" had to be changed, and the Ben Gurion administration started a racialist scheme for "Jewishising the Galilee", which has been continued by Eshkol.

In 1954 building by Arabs was totally forbidden. In 1958, a law was enacted which required the authenticity of land ownership to be proved with official documents going back at least 15 years: otherwise the land would be confiscated by the State. This law was aimed at village common lands, which were not entered in the official registers. As a result of the expropriations that followed the average cultivated area in the Arab villages in Israel dropped from 2 acres per person in '48 to $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in '65. The process continues and over 160,000 acres (most of it under cultivation) has simply been purloined on one pretext after another.

No Arab can be secure in his own house, for hundreds of houses have been summarily demolished on various pretexts, such as 'illegal building'!! Not even is it done in that polite and humane manner which we hear so much about. A report in the newspaper DAVAR described how on Sep-

-tember 2nd., 1964, 150 people in the village of El N'eim were forced by police from their houses to stand on a nearby hill and watch the scene, as "A mushroom of smoke rose high in the sky, furniture went up in the air, tin sheets were crushed and water cisterns were demolished ... while women screamed, children cried and grown-ups stood with threatening fists..."

OCCUPATION 1967

Is it any wonder that in June this year 200,000 people hurriedly packed up everything they could carry and took to the road once again before the Israeli advance? And can we really believe, in view of the actual record of Israel's dealings with the Arabs (as opposed to the myth) that the kindly, dazed invaders were sorry to see them go? Hardly. But it need not be left to conjecture. The pattern and behaviour of '48 was repeated exactly, this time using more modern methods. The massacre of Deir Yassin was repeated on a vastly bigger scale - with napalm. On only the second day of the war the refugee camps of Jericho (housing some 60,000 victims of earlier aggression) were bombed with napalm. In Jordan the informed estimate, according to THE ECONOMIST, is "between 14,000 and 18,000 killed, of whom maybe half were civilians. The main cause of death was napalm bombing. Eye witness reports from Lebanese doctors speak of continuous bombing of roads where civilians were fleeing from the West Bank. Ambulances and medical units were destroyed."

More conventional methods were also used to remove the unwanted population, both during and after the war. Looting was rampant. Throughout the West Bank the population was subjected to continual threats and intimidation, combined with free transport to the River Jordan. It has been rumoured, for example, that occupation troops were issued with a special shoulder-flash, bearing in Arabic the well-remembered name: DEIR YASSIN. In Gaza, after Israeli parachutists had earned a reputation for severity, they were replaced by troops ordered to go easy, and practice only 'selective' reprisals - "which means that if arms

are found, you blow up the house, not the village...." (OBSERVER 17.9.67) In West Bank perhaps as many as 10 villages were blown up, including the border villages of Yalo, Beit Nuba and Amwas which were completely destroyed; and about two-thirds of the town of Kalkilya was dynamited. All the inhabitants were forcibly removed to tents in the hills.

As the occupation got under way, the Israelis deported Arab leaders who were not keen to collaborate; they closed down shops and a bus company when they took part in a one day strike against Israeli rule; they took in school textbooks, and edited out all anti-Israeli references, virtually rewriting history (Israeli children, for instance, are taught that their country was more or less one big mosquito swamp before the advent of the heroic pioneers). As in 1948, they have seized land-registry records, and appointed a "custodian of absentee property". After the Mayor of Ramallah told some foreign reporters that hotels had been looted, he was forbidden to see newsmen any more. And at the UN it was reported that soldiers had beaten up and tortured 6 Arabs on the Allenby Bridge, then thrown them into the water and shot them. One survived to tell the story.

REFUGEES

The big issue standing out above all else is the question of the refugees. Having driven out roughly 200,000 people they were not going to just let them come back. Israel's Jewish supremacy policy would not allow the integration of these populations, any more than it did in '48 and after. Wanting the land but not the people, (but having, for the sake of the IMAGE, to appear to let them back) resorted to red tape.

Application forms for returning refugees were not accepted unless the applicant could prove that he left West Bank between 5th June and 4th July. Others, who left temporarily before June 5th, would be allowed to return, but must apply through Israel diplomatic missions abroad - and such an animal is indeed rare in the countries of the Middle East: rare to the point of non-existence!

Completed forms had to be examined by the Israeli Minister of the Interior. Finally, if permission was granted, each refugee had to await notification of the exact time and place of his crossing.

After the forms were finally completed, there were further delays. In Israel they were classified on the basis of where people lived on the West Bank (giving the Israelis the option of excluding people from areas which they wished to settle, e.g. Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Jericho). The Jordan authorities then had to search the temporary camps to find the applicants again. Moreover, they were processed on the basis of individuals, not by families - so that many who had permits stayed behind with members of their families who did not have them. There is evidence that this was a deliberate tactic - certainly all youths of 18 to 24 years were barred.

In case all this was not discouraging enough, an arbitrary (and obviously too short) time limit was set, more in line with the campaigns of ambitious politicians against permitting any to return, than with the urgent need of the refugees themselves, whose conditions have been described as "varying from the appalling to the impossible". (27.7.67, TIMES). In the end, after all the publicity about generous Israelis helping people to return home, only 14,000 crossed back, though 170,000 wished to: less than the number that left during the same period, "unnoticed and unrecorded by the television cameras." (31.8.67 TIMES). For these there was no red tape: "Here (the exit point lower down river) a makeshift tent by the side of the road speeds on the departing people as fast as they can sign their names." (Ibid.)

ZIONISM

The IMAGE claims that Israel is not expansionist and that Israelis only want to live in mutually respecting peace with their neighbours. But we can glimpse something of the real attitudes in a snatch of conversation quoted from before the establishment of the State of Israel. Einstein is supposed to have asked of Chaim Weitzmann "What about the Arabs if Palestine were given to the

Jews?", to which he received the reply: "What Arabs? They are hardly of any consequence."

Since Zionism takes its ideological justification from the Old Testament, Israel for these people could 'legally' stretch as far east as the Persian Gulf, as far north as Syria and Lebanon. There is much talk these days, if not of all these areas, at any rate about "natural frontiers". The Syrian Heights have been renamed by their Biblical name; and in a speech in Paris on July 18th the Israeli Ambassador Walter Eytan said that save perhaps for Sinai, Israel had not taken anything that belonged to anybody else!

Israel's territorial claims, on this basis, are unlimited. The only limitation is on taking in too many Arabs within her nice new borders, within what is now variously called "Israel Territory" and "Israel". What it all amounts to is that they must be made either refugees outside this territory, or a manageable minority within it. Either way they lose, as we have seen. Plans are already under way to shift around hundreds of thousands of Arabs to fit in with Israel's "demographic and territorial" needs. 'Surplus' people from the Gaza area (where because of military strategy the population was hemmed in and could not leave) will be moved down to El Arish and into the vacant camps at Jericho (made empty by bombing and kept empty by refusing return permits to anyone who had lived there - can we still believe that nothing was premeditated or that, as the TIMES tried to make out "each commander - each private soldier even - made policy as he went along.")

Whether to hold on to the territory they have occupied or give it back will depend on whether Israel manages to balance the population so that Jewish supremacy is maintained. The same Jewishising policy as in Galilee, using the same methods, will be attempted. Israel's "socialist" Minister of Labour, Yigal Allon, (tipped as a probable successor, along with Moshe Dayan, to the present administration) is publicly in favour of settling the occupied territories: 3 military-style kibbutzim are already being

set up and more will follow. Those pressing to keep the "natural frontiers" believe that if Israel openly incorporates these territories permanently, a further mass exodus of Arabs will take place. Meanwhile, a massive campaign is under way to bring in Jews from abroad to settle in the newly acquired lands and help control the Arabs.

WHO IS CONFUSED ?

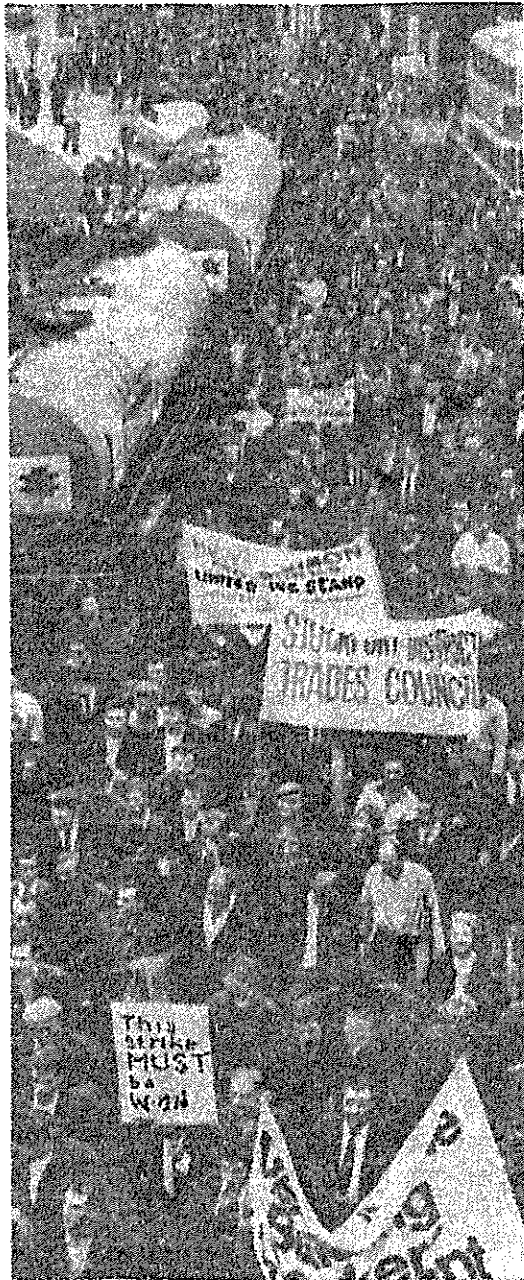
A letter in TRIBUNE recently described the occupation forces, in line with the IMAGE, as "humane, slightly bewildered and somewhat confused". There is just a grain of truth in the description: there is, presumably, some confusion on their part as to how to achieve their aims and objectives and at the same time preserve intact the above image. As to the rest, it can be plainly seen that there is ample experience, no confusion and certainly little humanity in the Israeli solution to the "Palestine Problem".

If Israelis ever admit to 'toughness', as they euphemistically refer to their repressions, they justify it by saying it is the only possible policy in their circumstances. But there is another policy - that of breaking from racialist Zionism and the role of imperialist stooge, and turning to friendly co-operation with the Arab states against imperialism. The precondition for such a change is an end to the exclusively Jewish (Zionist) nature of the State of Israel, bringing to an end the oppression of the Arab minority. Israel must withdraw from the occupied territories and pay for re-instating and compensating all the refugees - from '67 and '48.

While Israel retains her present policies, socialists must vigorously support the anti-Imperialist Arabs in any conflict - however much they would like to see Israel integrated into the Middle East, this will certainly not come about through simple neutralism. Above all, THE IMAGE -- so false, so misleading, so useful to the Imperialists - must be eradicated by contact with the facts.

Rachel Lever.

THE SIEGE OF ROBERTS ARUNDEL



The old man in front of me carried a placard pro-claiming: THIS STRIKE MUST BE WON. He had come with a group of building workers from Liverpool to march in solidarity with the engineering workers of Roberts-Arundel, Stockport, who had been on strike for ten months. As the demonstration surged into the town, filling the road and stopping the traffic, he addressed himself to every halted truck driver we passed: "Leave it there and join us - it may be your fight next."

Solidarity was the keynote of the march, as it had been throughout this strike. Without help the men who began fighting nearly a year ago against a particularly reactionary employer, might not have kept going. They have been supported much of the time by the main engineering plants in Stockport, with money, mass picketing every week, and a massive demonstration last February. The firm's goods - textile machinery - and supplies had been blacked, and now, as the climax of a week of mass picketing, lobbying and leafleting 12,000 workers of 20 different unions had struck for the afternoon in sympathy and for self-defence - and many had come to demonstrate.

The strike started last November. After a year or so of harrassing the workers, the new American based management declared a number of redundancies, and shortly afterwards proceeded to fill the vacancies with women at about half the rate. On November 28th. the men walked out, and within a week the strike was made official. The management then sacked the strikers, declaring that it did not recognise trade unions as negotiating bodies. They advertised for scabs, in the following terms: "To those individuals who appreciate working in a free atmosphere rather than the bureaucratic and restrictive environment of a union shop...."

Thus the strike was over elementary trade unionism. If Roberts-Arundel won, it would have given the go-ahead to the many British companies which still use a combination of bribery and threats to hinder the workers' attempts to join a union. (See this year's TUC Report). In the Roberts-Arundel dispute this question has been a little obscured by anti-Americanism and some almost chauvinistic talk about British trade unionism and American anti-union methods.

In fact the strike arose because this American management tried to cash in on the fact that in Britain trade union negotiating rights are not guaranteed by law - as they are in the US.

Despite the prolonged deadlock, the strike resulted in an upsurge of militancy in the area, rather than the reverse. The strike generated such solidarity that a radicalisation could be seen in, for instance, quite backward non-union shops: Many of these joined the strike on Sept 1st. - and at the same time decided to join the union themselves.

But for all the solidarity, victory had eluded the men in this struggle. Somehow the factory had managed to keep going. Though some of the scabs had actually changed sides and joined the strikers, the majority seemed uncommonly dedicated in face of mounting hostility and violence.

Then in mid-August the six-day campaign was planned. A delegation visited Harold Wilson, the TUC, Gunter & the US Embassy with requests that pressure be put on the Roberts-Arundel management to recognise trade unionism and negotiate. They received promises, and everyone vaguely agreed that they had a case. But Roberts Arundel still refused to succumb to pressure even from their fellow-employers (who wished to avoid the token strike on September 1st.). And, naturally, the US Embassy officials pointed out that there was nothing legally wrong in the management's actions! Counter-pressure came too, with Carron sending out urgent directives against the solidarity strike.

By the afternoon of the big demonstration it seemed that the only road to victory was to bring the factory to a stop for good. Most of the men knew that they wanted to get into the factory and make sure that it was stopped. It was in this mood that we marched to the works 3,000 strong. The cops, though out in force, could do little to stop us. All the usual inhibitions, instilled in years of bourgeois indoctrination, about the sacredness of property, had melted away in the course of this bitter struggle: the demonstrators wanted to hit out physically at the company - and immediately, at its factory.

Some people, however, clung to their inhibitions: the "Communist" Party, for

one, which was out in force, Stockport being one of their strongholds. Their main objective seemed to be to defend the factory - and its defenders - from the anger of the workers. Through the lack of an effective alternative leadership, they achieved this objective - but not before they had given everyone present a gala display of open treachery and slavish prostration before legality and capitalist Law and Order.

Twice around the factory we had gone in the narrow streets, and the mood was building up for something better than broken windows. Though everyone enjoyed the constant sound of tinkling glass, it was generally understood that this was merely the prelude to better things. As the crowd swelled before the gates, pausing a little before the great assault, the cry went up from the CP boys: Back to the Town! Stop the Traffic! It needed only an undecided few hundred to take up this call, and the rest had to follow. Remembering last February when the demonstration was split and those that remained were savaged by the cops, nobody dared to break the march in two. If at that moment even a small organised group had made for the gates it would have galvanised everyone else to stay. But the moment passed.

For the next hour and a half the CP successfully played the Grand Old Duke of York. Their earlier slogan, shouted by a frantic, puffing Peter Coughlin - "We're here to get the factory, not the police" - was seen to have meant very little as they marched us away from the factory and round and about the streets of Stockport, gathering weariness and frustration. And when a group of angry workers set upon a chauffeur-driven Bentley carrying a pin-striped creature, the CP boys inevitably turned up in the nick of time, with a story that it was somehow or other 'one of us'. One of them, perhaps?

Finally the dominant feeling of "back to the factory" grew from a little muttered rumble to a great urging, and back we all marched - albeit led by the CP by the longest route. The first turning we

came to which led to the works was heavily cordoned off by a line of cops - supported by the CP, who as ever were armed with the "cause of unity". We found that they were pushing us onto a plot of empty ground, where a meeting had already been prepared. And there, once more in the name of the ubiquitous unity we were urged to disperse! Bro. Bernard Panter (who back in February had won acclaim as he led more than a thousand workers from Shell Chemicals, Carrington, to join the strikers on the occasion of the 'riot') informed us, with an almost convincing note of regret in his voice, of all that his comrades had achieved. And it was true: the police had indeed brought massive re-inforcements, and the march was indeed by now reduced to about a third of its original size. Among the many hecklers who reminded him of just who had brought about this situation, a good number were members of his own Party.

And so ended the great siege, with the citadel still standing. In miniature we had witnessed again the dearth of revolutionary leadership. The drive of the workers towards direct action was frustrated in the interests of keeping an angry mass demonstration as a toothless 'protest'. Where the factory might have been occupied and held, and even if it couldn't have been run for the benefit of the workers, at least put out of action as a nesting-ground of scabs - energies were used up, the occasion and opportunity allowed to evaporate, and everyone went home feeling somewhat deflated. The most positive outcome to hope for is that fewer people now have illusions about the CP. At least, it will be positive if something is done by those who have seen through the CP to

build up the kind of leadership for the future that the Party should have been. The strike led to a radicalisation of the area - and had the workers broken through the fetishism of private property, had the siege of Roberts-Arundel become an occupation, then the radicalisation would have been far deeper, and the effect on the workers' combativity, confidence and consciousness of their own strength that much greater.

T.W.

September 1st. 1967.

POSTSCRIPT: As we go to press the Roberts-Arundel strike, which appeared to have ended in a general victory for the men, is on again. The Company agreed to recognise the union and re-instate the strikers in batches. It refused to sack the scabs. At first this seemed acceptable and the press attributed the ending of the strike to the efforts of Salvation-Army-John Boyd, (Carron's legitimate son!) Of course the growing involvement of the local trade union movement, and the threat of an area general strike, was the real reason why the Company looked for a settlement. But apparently it was just a bit of sharp practice: they stalled about arrangements for re-instating the men, even in batches. It appears to be a question of the scabs keeping the jobs or the strikers getting them back. The weak willingness of the union to acquiesce in the scabs continuing in their jobs has led the Company to "try it on" again. We urge all trade unionists in the area to join the mass picketing which is to begin again in the first week of October.

U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW!
INTERNATIONAL . PROTEST
October 22nd. - TRAFALGAR SQUARE 2.30