

## WHO IS IN DANGER?

There is one lie which every capitalist must maintain above all others. The British ruling class has pushed it more effectively than most. It is the lie that the working class cannot build an alternative society to that of the bourgeoisie.

They spread this lie through a myth called the rule of law. The story which they must get the working class to accept is that the class struggle must take place within the framework of the rule of law. So long as that framework is accepted the rule of the bourgeoisie is guaranteed.

After 'Red Wednesday' when the dockers were freed, the capitalist class is scared. *The Times* puts the matter bluntly. Its editorial is entitled 'We are in danger'. And Mr Rees Mogg, the editor of *The Times*, is frightened because on 'Red Wednesday' the myth was blown sky-high; the class struggle is not based on the rule of law. Quite the opposite; the legal rules are changed and changed again depending on the relationship of forces in the class struggle.

*The Economist* spells out the results much more clearly. "If the abiding memory from this week is merely going to be the relief of the unrepentant Mr Steer amid tunes of glory, then the country will have passed in these past days from the rule of law to the rule of something very undesirable indeed."

That 'very undesirable' something unfortunately stuck in *The Economist's* throat. We will spell it out: *the rule of labour*, the power of the working class. That is what took the place of the 'rule of law', the rule of the bourgeois state on 'Red Wednesday'.

Last week hundreds of thousands of workers in practice began to challenge the authority of the bourgeois state. This happened in spite of the fact that the official leadership of the trade unions and Labour Party openly embraced the 'rule of law', Parliament, the courts and in fact the whole apparatus of the bourgeois state.

The task for the communists is to turn this practical rejection of the bourgeois state into a conscious, organised political strategy for smashing this state. As we said in the *Red Mole* strikespecial, communists must "seek to unite the working class on the basis of a fight against the main force of the ruling class - the state, Parliament and the other agencies of fraud and repression."

The campaign of massive solidarity with the docks strike must be combined with a campaign within the working class for the re-launching of mass action to destroy the Industrial Relations Act. But within all this work the task of communists is to educate the tens of thousands of class-conscious workers who organised last week's great victory.

Let us explode the 'rule of law'. We must build a strategy for the rule of the working class.

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# END THE ACT: NOTHING LESS

The release of the five dockers is a great victory. Massive rank and file solidarity has thrown Heath and the leaders of the capitalist class into their biggest crisis for over 30 years. By last Tuesday any lingering doubts the government may have had about the determination of the working class were smashed. Tens of thousands of workers were joining battle as every hour passed. So the Government had no choice but to free the five or risk everything - the Act, its own future, even the future of its class - in the hurricane of a general strike. Donaldson's NIRC had to free the five.

## GUARDIAN ANGELS IN THE LORDS

The Law Lords also met on Red Wednesday. To feigned surprise they conferred in extreme haste. However, they did have something very clever to offer. Their decision in the Heaton case is intended to do something more than save the Government. *It could strengthen the Act.* The judges have not simply freed the dockers. They have re-imposed the £55,000 fine on the T&GWU. Their lordships understand that their road to victory against trade unionism need not pass through Pentonville Prison. If only the trade union movement will give them time, they are quite prepared to make a detour.

## GOVERNMENT'S PLANS

The events that led to the imprisonment of the dockers have blown the Government off course. When Whitehall officials first drew up the Act they were not so stupid as to believe that victory could be gained by imprisoning individual trade unionists. Such tactics could succeed only after the unions had been greatly weakened.

The aim of the Industrial Relations Act was to get the leaders of the trade unions to police their own militants. The way this could be done was by fining the trade unions for the acts of groups of workers in struggle. Thus the NIRC's fining of the T&GWU because of the blacking of lorries. The funds of the unions could be seized. Such a move would be far less likely to lead to a massive response than would imprisonment. Because the union leaderships would reject a militant fight in defence of their funds, they would have no choice but to toughen up their rule books and take action against their shop stewards. In this way the Government would not have to intervene directly but would force the union leaders and rank and file to fight it out.

## SETBACK

This policy received a setback, however, when the Court of Appeal became frightened by the rail dispute and ruled that the unions were not legally liable for the actions of individual workers. The State was forced into a situation that in order to make the Act at all legally enforceable it would have to move against these individuals. But now the law is right back where the Government wanted it; they can fine unions but do not have to imprison individual workers.

## THE T.U.C.

It is the trade union leadership which again takes the limelight. They now have to make the



Bernie Steer's message from prison being read to the Tower Hill rally the day before the five's release.

first move. And already their response is markedly different to that of the rank and file. There has been virtually no response to the Lords decision.

## WHAT SORT OF RESPONSE?

Clearly the central question is the fight against the Act. The focus is now the fine on the T&G. However, this cannot be divorced from the other struggles which are going on. The national docks strike puts great responsibility on the whole working class. The Government and the employers are not only fighting on the overtly political question of the Act. This is only a means to an end for them. It is the means to the end of strengthening the fight to keep wages down, increase redundancies and all those other measures which will ensure bigger rates of profit. Only a combination of the fight on these two fronts gives any chance of coming to grips with the essence of the bourgeoisie's offensive. Any working class leadership which was serious in its struggle against the Government would there-

fore have to recognise that it is against the bases of capitalist power and not just individual government actions that the real struggle has to be launched. This is the only practical way of defending the trade unions.

## LEADERSHIP FOR THE STRUGGLE

The last week has proved a severe test for all those using brave words against the Act. Neither Scanlon or Jones said a word - except Jones in unison with Lord Aldington. But we must also ask: where was the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions? A resolute move by this body would have been enough for it to have seized the initiative, but it too was found wanting. It is now necessary for the militants who organised the strikes to join together to form a unified leadership for the struggle to smash the Act through a national meeting of strikers delegates. The initiative for such a meeting should be taken by such bodies as the National Ports Shop Stewards Committee and the LCDTU.

# STRIKES FREE THE FIVE

The dockers were released not because they had purged their contempt or because of the Jones-Aldington report, or even because of the earlier House of Lords decision in the Heaton case. They were released because, in the words of *Guardian* legal correspondent Michael Zander, "there is a realisation that in the present climate the law cannot be enforced". They were released because increasingly large sections of the working class were beginning to reject the right of the capitalists to legislate in their name, quite literally 'taking the law into their own hands' and forcing the Government to beat a hasty retreat.

The first response came within minutes of the announcement of the committal order made by the NIRC, when dockers in the Royal Group in London walked out. By the evening they had been joined by men in the other main London docks and in Hull, with Liverpool dockers already out in a separate dispute declaring that they would stay out until the five were released. And on Friday night newspaper production in Fleet Street was held up while electricians held a meeting about the jailings, although they finally decided to return to work. But in the next two

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Below: John Weal explains how

# BRIANTS SHOW THE WAY...

The fight to release the five dockers has been greatly helped by the production of thousands of leaflets printed in an occupied factory. The factory is Briant Colour Printing on the Old Kent Road, south London. The workers there occupied originally when the management said the company was going into liquidation and handed out redundancy notices on the spot. By sheer luck, it coincided with the arrest of the dockers and the struggle which it sparked off.

Suddenly those 150 workers at Briant's discovered that because they controlled the means of production, even in just one place, they were able to provide a vital service in aid of the actual struggle - printing the leaflets for the London Ports Shop Stewards' Committee.

That act represents a new departure as far as forms of solidarity action are concerned. In the past, solidarity has taken four forms: first there is purely verbal solidarity of the kind most favoured by trade-union leaders. It is a token gesture which commits them to nothing. Next there is the blacking of goods as in the miners' strike.

A higher form still is the solidarity strike such as the South Wales miners gave to the dockers recently. A variant of this is that the strikers use their mass support to aid the course of the struggle. This happened when the Birmingham engineers marched on Saltley coke depot and closed it down. Now there is Briants.

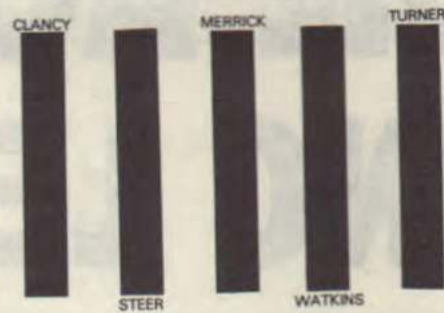
At Briant's instead of withholding their labour, they are using it - instead of leaving the factory or work-place, they are staying on in it and instead of producing something because it can be sold on the market, they are producing because it is useful and only because of that.

## LEARNING THE LESSON

Bill Freeman, the leader of the Briant workers was given the biggest applause of the morning at Tower Hill on Tuesday, before the Pentonville Five were released, when he explained what the Briant workers have been doing. But an hour later when the same militants who had cheered Bill Freeman passed the Morning Star offices, they called on the strike. Why should the Morning Star workers have stopped producing a paper? The ruling-class had the tremendous advantage of being able to use the BBC throughout the strike to get their ideas across. But the only means of mass communication at the disposal of the working-class was that provided by Briants. What the action of the Briant workers meant

was that the whole of Fleet St. could have been turned into a centre for producing papers for the workers' struggle.

Instead of simply striking, bus drivers could be on call to carry around flying pickets where they are most needed. Telephone engineers could keep the STD system going, but could disconnect all lines or calls linking different sectors of the state machine. BBC workers could black all government statements



**Five Trade Unionists are inside. WHY AREN'T YOU OUT?**

Published by London Port Shop Stewards

The leaflet that helped to win the strike - printed by Briants

but could organise programmes where workers could state their case. Dockers could unload food ships and distribution could be carried out through local action committees.

## THE FIGHT AGAINST CAPITAL

The importance of those leaflets produced by Briant's workers is that they have a *dual nature*. By producing them, the workers are flying in the face of all that capitalists regard as holy-profit. But in themselves they actually play a part in furthering the course of the class struggle.

Everything which the *International Marxist Group* argues for in its programme for this struggle also has this *dual nature*. In the fight against what capitalism through the state is doing to the working class, whether it be to lock up dockers or to fine a union £55,000, we say that the working class must develop new institutions, new social relationships

which begin to challenge capitalism as a whole. For instance, we call for the spreading of solidarity strikes and for factory occupations. These prevent capitalism functioning as an economic system.

## HELP THE STRUGGLE.

The tactic of production under mass occupation both helps the struggle and contains within it the seeds of a new society. Of course it also requires organisation. So it is necessary for democratically elected factory committees to be elected, for action committees on an area basis, connecting these factory committees, to be formed, for support committees which involve the surrounding population, instead of being passive in society will begin to make decisions about all aspects of its existence. This may seem pie in the sky but it does happen. For instance in a town called Nantes in France during the General Strike of May 1968, the workers took control of the town and organised the entire food supply, health etc.

In Quebec a few months ago, in response to the arrest of three trade union leaders on the same sort of issue as the dockers question 18 radio stations were occupied and one town completely taken over.

Once there is a situation where many factories are occupied and a lot of them are doing the same as Briant's - producing what is needed for the struggle - once the action committees co-ordinating the areas are organised into a national delegates conference representing millions of people and their families, then you have a situation of 'dual power' in the country.

The national delegates conference is the 'parliament' of the working class and organises their defence and well being. Isolated like small islands in a sea of vital activity, the old state machine would remain the organising centre for the capitalist class and those in society who still support them. We are not by any means at this situation now. But a firm struggle in defence of workers' organisations, such as the Transport and General Workers Union, hounded by the Industrial Relations Act, against the Act itself and the class which feeds off it, such a struggle will lead in this direction.

## FLINCHING.

Far from flinching at such a task, we say that the working class in Britain has waited far too long, has been far too kind to those who oppress it day in day out. It must take up this struggle with a will to win. The importance of Briant's is that the action there, small though it was, can be the straight arrow which points the way forward for the rest of the working class.



The scene outside the docks delegates meeting on Thursday

# DOCKS-SOME BACKGROUND

The central problem which lies behind the national strike is one worked in all the traditional industries have faced - the threat or reality of redundancy. Theoretically the docker has been protected from this threat since the 1947 Docks Labour Scheme registered all dock workers and established joint control over the size of the register.

Despite the fixed register the majority of men remained casually employed in a limited sense. Though registered, and entitled to "fall back money" in the absence of work for the day, 70% of the dockers were not with a regular employer but were part of a pool from which employers drew. This situation was changed in the late '60s with the implementation of Devlin Phase I and "decasualization". The Devlin agreement meant massive redundancies followed by the allocation of all who remained to specific employers. The agreement was accepted by the men because it appeared to offer both job security and security as to the level of weekly income absent from the previous casual system. Registration and joint control remained despite the end of casual labour.

Since decasualization the employers have recommenced ridding themselves of labour made surplus by: the growth of unregistered ports, the further decline of the short sea trade and containerisation. This has meant the growth of the temporary unattached register where men subsist on fall-back pay of about £20 a week. The growth of the TUR has been particularly swift in the last few months.

The demands put forward by the National Docks Group and/or the National Shop Stewards Committee include:

- \* equal pay for all registered dockers (including those on the TUR)
- \* work sharing to absorb the TUR
- \* return of all groupage container work to registered dock workers
- \* registration of all the independent ports (This is to stop their further expansion which stems from the lower costs of inferior pay and conditions)
- \* retirement at 60 on 70% earnings
- \* extra weeks' holiday

What has particularly annoyed the dockers is the growth of container depots which employ non-registered men within the vicinity of the existing port. It is this which has led to the picketing at Chobham Farm, Midland Cold Storage and Dagenham Cold Storage. Ernie Waring

# Wilberforce Shuffles the Pack...

Shortly after the five law lords had unanimously ruled that the T&GWU is responsible for the actions of its shop stewards, Lord Wilberforce motivated the decision in a statement.

He said that the basic mistake made by the Court of Appeal when it reversed the NIRC decision was that of saying that there had to be some express delegation of authority from the union's leadership. He commented: "It is hardly conceivable that a dock worker joining the union would be content to be represented in an industrial dispute by someone who was not in a position to call for industrial action by him and his workmates in support of their claim."

This argument was used to justify the decision of the law lords. In legal terms it means:

1 In accordance with the policies of the union, embodied in its rules and practice, shop-stewards have an implied authority to act in the interests of the members they represent.

2 That at the time of the dispute it was union policy to retain work on containers for dockers and, consequently, to prevent other workers from doing such work.

3 Shop stewards representing the dockers had implied authority to take industrial action in furtherance of that policy. That includes the blacking of the haulage firms.

by **Pat Jordan.**

4 The NIRC was entitled on the basis of the evidence before it to conclude that the union, because its shop stewards were operating with implied authority and carrying out union policy, had been guilty of an unfair industrial practice.

5 As soon as the NIRC ordered the ending of the blacking, the union became responsible to take all possible steps to stop the blacking.

6 The NIRC was also entitled to conclude that the union had not taken such steps to stop the blacking.

7 That the order it made against the union was in accordance with the stipulations of the Industrial Relations Act.

This all goes to show how flexible the "Rule of Law" is when the ruling class is squirming and wriggling to get itself out of a mess.

Whitelaw's statement that the main priority for British imperialism in Ireland is to root out and destroy the military capability of the Provisional IRA marks the start of a new confrontation policy against the nationalist people of the Six Counties.

What became known after direct rule as the 'Whitelaw policy'—the policy of containment and conciliation—has now been replaced by one of suppression.

Twice since the present struggle commenced, this confrontation policy has been tried and failed. This time the British government has prepared the ground on the political, military, and propaganda fronts.

### DIVIDE AND RULE

The mistakes of the 'Faulkner period' have been learned. Faulkner engaged in a battle so obsessed with the need for maintaining Orange unity that he took on the Catholic community as a whole. While attempting to avoid an Orange backlash, Whitelaw will not allow his 'destroy the IRA' policy to be hindered, as it was in Faulkner's day, by the fear of a break up of Orange unity which would result in the Orange backlash. Faulkner's obsession with maintaining Orange unity necessitated drawing the battle lines in such a way as to force all tendencies in the Catholic community into opposition.

Whitelaw's policy is to take advantage of the British engineered casualties resulting from the IRA bombing blitz on Belfast to try to isolate the IRA from the Catholic community, and then destroy the IRA.

The SDLP decision to enter into talks with Whitelaw, in breach of their previous pledge of 'no talks while internment lasts', shows that this policy is having at least short term success.

### ONE HOUR WARNING.

As the *Sunday Times* reported on July 23, the Provisionals gave one hour's warning for each of the bombs. In the case of the Oxford street bus depot, where four were killed, the Provisionals stated that they heard on the British army radio the warning being discussed 'a good 35 minutes' before the bomb went off.

The *Telephone Samaritans*, a mainly Protestant organisation in Belfast, has stated that it received and passed on the warning 55 to 60 minutes before the blast.

## Tories' New Course in Ireland



Above: British machine-gun crew moves into action in Belfast

In its haste to provoke revulsion at the casualties, the British Army counter insurgency-public relations experts exaggerated the casualty count, claiming 11 dead. In fact they have since been forced to admit that the civilian fatalities were seven.

Further evidence of 'negligence' is that many survivors of the blast stated that when they entered the Oxford St bus depot, in some cases to get out of the area of other expected

explosions, they found members of the RUC lying under buses with weapons drawn.

*The bombing served the Provos' cause; the casualties served the British.*

### PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

Taking advantage of the casualties, Whitelaw then launched his psychological warfare blitz, to panic all other Republican, nationalist and socialist tendencies into condemnation of the Provisionals.

From this condemnation the British propaganda machine hopes to push them into at least neutrality, while Whitelaw 'destroys the IRA's capability'. From recent statements from the Official Republican movement, Whitelaw has reason to be hopeful on this score.

No one must fall for this. A defeat for the Provos would not be a defeat for the Provos alone. If Whitelaw succeeds against the Provos he will take on all other tendencies one by one.

### UNITED FRONT.

In entering this new phase we must realise that this will in many ways be the most dangerous phase of the national liberation struggle. Before we have had to face either the carrot or the stick. In the coming period the policy will be the carrot and the stick, thus increasing the tendency to division within the anti-imperialist ranks, both in Britain and Ireland.

In Britain the basis for such united front solidarity action already exists in the Anti-Internment League. The divisions which existed when internment was introduced, between those who saw the need for a principled solidarity position and those who were confused on this issue, have now been resolved, as far as the majority of forces around the AIL are concerned.

The need for explicit solidarity with the IRA can and will continue to be discussed, but this must not detract from united front action under the banner of the AIL.

The Anti-Internment League has a number of events planned in the London area: August 9th, the anniversary of the introduction of internment, public meeting at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (Holborn tube) at 7.30 pm. On the following Saturday, August 13th, the AIL urges all branches and affiliated or sympathising organisations to organise as many pickets on British Army recruitment offices in as many places as possible. On September 3rd, there will be a demonstration initially intended for supporters in the Greater London area.

For further details contact John Gray, Basement flat, 139 Holland Road, London W14. Tel: 01-603 3085. Gery Lawless

### ANTI-INTERMENT LEAGUE

Public Meeting

### IRELAND: WHAT HAS TO BE DONE?

Speakers: Frank McManus, M.P.

Bowes Egan

and guest speakers

CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Square  
(near Holborn tube)

WEDS. 9th AUGUST . 7.30 p.m.

## JONES-ALDINGTON OFFERS PEANUTS

The absence of even any 'militant' talk from Jack Jones regarding the jailing of the five dockers was no accident. Jones was, in fact, working flat out behind the scenes to defuse the situation and restore the docks to 'normal', in the company of Lord Aldington, ex-deputy chairman of the Conservative Party, banker and chairman of the Port of London Authority. The fruit of his labour—the Interim Report of the Joint Special Committee—is now out. It is a perfect example of how to try and sugar the pill of redundancies and 'containerisation' sufficiently to make it palatable to a section of the rank-and-file in order to drive a wedge between them and the 'militants'.

Some weeks back, the dockers served notice that there would be a national, official stoppage unless their demands for a fall-back rate of £42 a week, an extra week's holiday a year and—most explosive of all—guarantees for keeping container work in the hands of registered dockers were met. While the Delegate Conference on 14 June decided to put off any action until after the report was published, it was clear from the Chobham Farm experience that the more militant sections of the rank-and-file were not prepared to wait and were demanding action (with no compromises) straight away.

The Jones/Aldington Committee (which included two 'rank-and-file' dockers, Billy Powell of the T&G Executive Committee and John French of the National Joint Council and the National Port Modernisation Committee) was thus forced to work at top speed to defuse the situation before (a) other, smaller ports followed the lead of the Chobham Farm militants, and (b) the NIRC moved in against the lay leaders of the Midland Cold Storage picket and made any deal a hundred times more

difficult to sell to the members. Unfortunately (for the Jones/Aldington Committee), the report appeared three days after Sir John Donaldson had had the leaders of the Midland Cold Storage picket arrested for 'contempt of court'.

The Jones/Aldington report centres around three specific recommendations.

1. The elimination of the temporarily unattached register (TUR) from 4 September, i.e. all dockers will be attached to a permanent employer so that no one will have to rely upon the fall-back pay of £23 a week.

2. The increase of minimum redundancy payments from about £1,000 to £3,000 and maximum payments from about £2,000 to £4,000 which is designed mainly for men who are 'unfit' and/or over 55 years of age.

3. Vague promises that agreements should be sought between unions, port authorities and other employers for 'container groupage and other port-type work to be made available to registered dock-workers'.

In many respects, the report seems to strike at many of the problems facing dockers with the threat of increased 'containerisation' but, in effect, it does the opposite since its starting point is precisely to 'ease the industry's surplus manpower problems'. The carrot of increased severance pay dangled before the older men represents an attempt to pressurise these men out of work since it is operable only up to 31 December. While the 'time limit' put on these payments is designed, in the short-term, to undermine the unity of the dockers and create divisions on grounds of age, etc., their long-term effects are even more disturbing. Since the older workers (aged between 55-65) represent 25 per cent of the total docks work force, the report ensures that their departure will reduce the work force sufficiently to soak up the men on TUR and still pave the way for

the destruction of thousands of potential jobs. Just to make sure, the report also specifies that: "To assist the foregoing arrangements to operate effectively there should be a general standstill on recruitment to the main register at every scheme port, this to apply till 1st January, 1973, or such later date as the Committee subsequently recommend."

In other words, under the smokescreen of preserving dockers' jobs, the report is bent upon cutting still more. The abolition of the TUR does not appear so positive in this light since it is premised on the old employers' trick of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul'. At the same time, those dockers at present on the TUR who would be employed on a pro rata basis shared among existing employers would, according to the report, operate a work-sharing scheme with loss of pay for those shifts missed. Not content with cutting jobs, the Jones/Aldington Committee are therefore also suggesting a cut in pay totally opposed to the London shop stewards demands of £42 a week fall-back pay or work-sharing with no loss of pay.

Perhaps the most important part of the report is its comments upon the future of containerisation and its relation to dockers' jobs. What emerges from this—under the bland formulas of 'securing additional job opportunities for registered dockworkers in this field' which mean absolutely nothing—is its total lack of guarantees. This is not altogether surprising. Since the report believes that to 'rationalise container groupage business by negotiated agreement' is the solution to the docks, they are in fact endorsing that very process which has resulted over the past five years in the reduction of dockers' jobs from 60,000 to about 40,000.

The report is the old Jones three carder—the men are offered the usual peanuts, the employers get the gravy.

T. Turner

### Faulkner's propaganda booklet

Sir,—On looking through Brian Faulkner's propaganda booklet "The Terror and the Tears," I came across a photo of my young son and daughter. I would like to put the real facts on record.

It was not the Irish Republican Army who were responsible; it was the British Army acting on Faulkner's orders who wrecked my home assaulted my wife and arrested me for no reason at all as I was never charged with anything at all.

My home was completely wrecked and the "Blood and Tears" photo which was taken in a school where my family had to stay till they got rehoused.

I would now like to thank the Irish Republican Army for the help they gave my family. Will you please try and print this letter as people have had the wool pulled over their eyes for far too long.—Yours, etc.,

BERNARD MCBRIDE.  
Rossmore Avenue,  
Andersonstown.

# NO JAIL NO FINES



BERNIE STEER



DEREK WATKINS



CORNELIUS CLANCY

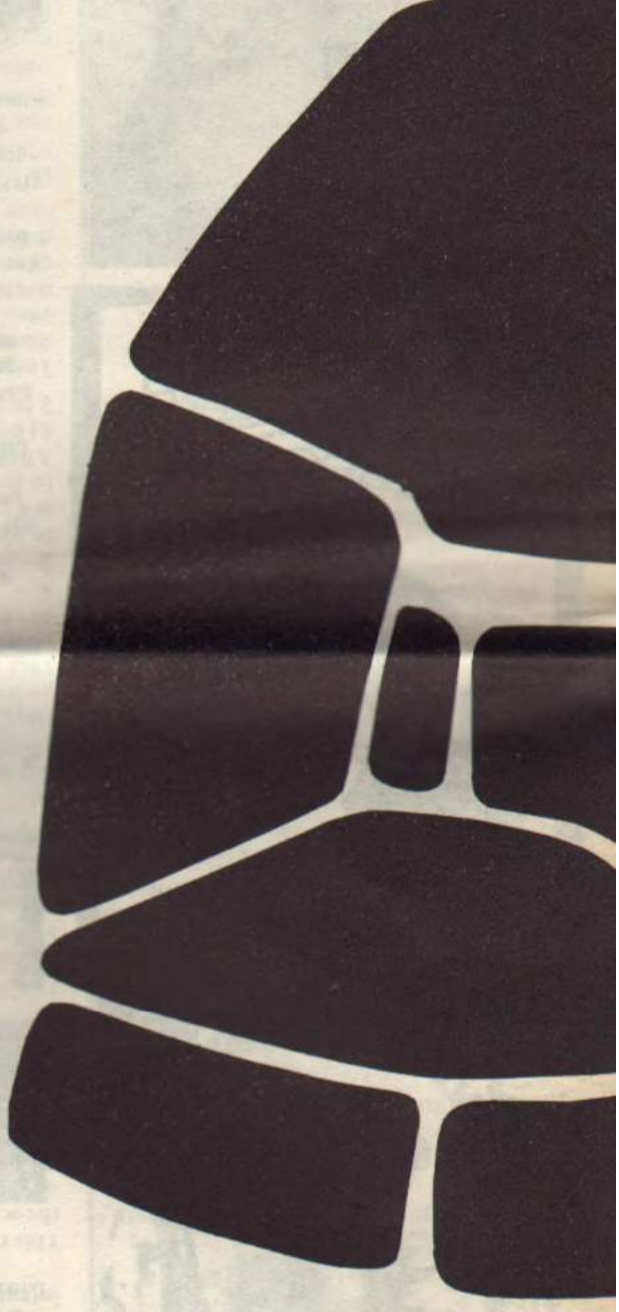


ANTHONY MERRICK



VIC TURNER

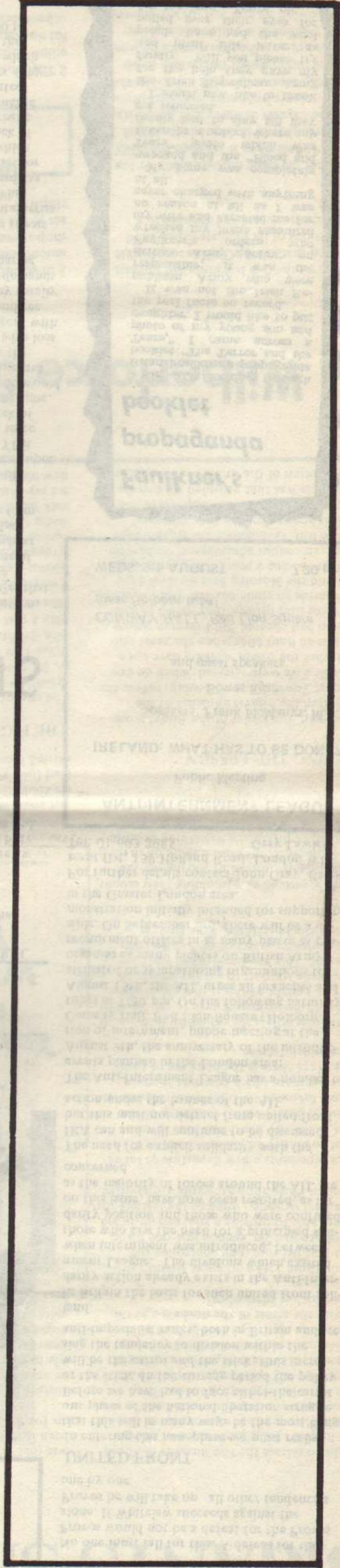
# SNARSH



COUNCILS

ACTION

# THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT THE GOVERNMENT



# "SOVIET" REPRESSION FAILS TO HALT SPREAD OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

## THREE JAILED IN YUGOSLAVIA

On Red Wednesday, as the five dockers were being released from jail, the following report appeared in *Le Monde*:

"Two male students and one female student of the University of Belgrade, accused of attempting to create a 'terrorist' group and to resuscitate Trotsky's Fourth International were condemned last Friday to between 18 months and 2 years imprisonment by the Belgrade Departmental court."

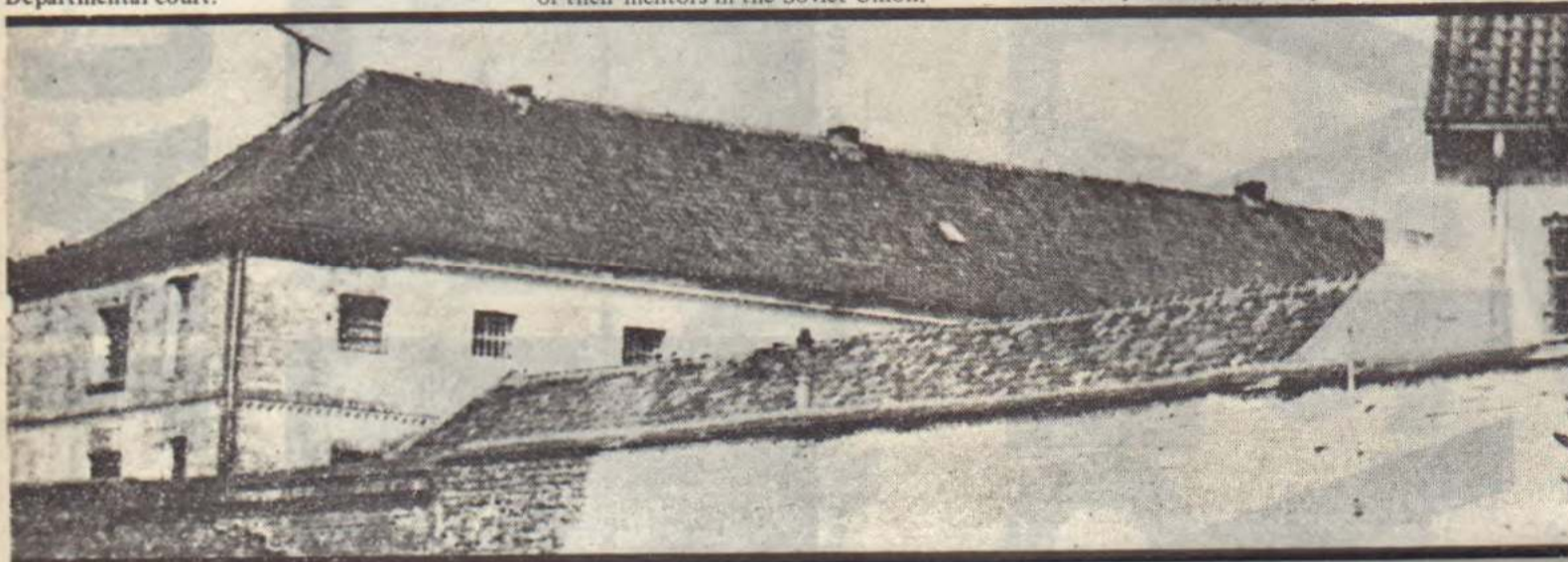
trials of communist militants have been launched there over the last few days. Husak has been attempting to learn his lessons from his 'Soviet' masters who have been pressuring him for the last three years to dispose of the "subversives" who call for genuine soviet democracy to be established.

## ANOTHER RUSSIAN LESSON

But the junior partners of the Kremlin bosses should also take note of the actual experience of their mentors in the Soviet Union.

The movement among writers has grown enormously under the impact of repression against Solzhenitsyn and has spread into the scientific intelligentsia: Andrei Amalrik has directly pointed to the existence of bureaucratic domination in the U.S.S.R. Academician Sakharov, the doyen of Russian nuclear science, has become a major figure in the civil rights movement, leading the protest against Yakir's second imprisonment.

*Chernyakhovsk prison hospital in the U.S.S.R.*



This trial has been rather a delicate operation for the Yugoslav bureaucracy. The problem was to demonstrate how dangerous were the ideas of these students *without* having to explain the nature of these ideas. As the report noted:

"During the trial, which had been adjourned a number of times, the court refused requests by the defence for the appearance as a witness of the rector of the University of Zagreb, a specialist on Trotskyism who would have been able to define precisely the nature of this doctrine."

To further obscure the communist programme of the Belgrade students, the Yugoslav bureaucracy cleverly staged the simultaneous trial of a reactionary, anti-communist group of Croatian nationalists.

## MORE TRIALS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Husak regime has already sent many revolutionary marxists into its prisons and further

They have 40 years of experience in the art of repression and have progressed far beyond the show trial techniques of the 1930s. The modern method is psychiatric repression, imprisonment in so-called mental asylums on the basis of a "specialist's" report. But the results of this repression have in fact been to spread the movement of opposition in the U.S.S.R.

Since the famous trial of two literary intellectuals in 1966 - the case of Sinyavsky and Daniel - the opposition movement has thrown up a whole series of new leaders. In 1968 demonstrations took place against the invasion of Czechoslovakia, including a protest in Red Square organised by Pavel Litvinov.

The civil rights movement has spread west from Moscow into Belorussia under Pyotr Yakir and east to Tashkent under Pyotr Grigorenko - both of whom openly proclaim their adherence to Leninist principles of soviet democracy and communism.

## CAMPAIGN

The new feature within the opposition movement in the U.S.S.R. is the emergence of currents which openly link themselves with the revolutionary heritage of the Russian working class. This is the most worrying long-term development for the Kremlin bureaucracy and its adherents in the rest of Eastern Europe. Each year new evidence comes to light proving that the entire Stalinist project of liquidating every trace of the Leninist oppositions of the 1920s has failed.

So far the movement of solidarity with the oppositionists in Eastern Europe has been weak in comparison with the publicity campaigns of capitalist publishing houses hungry for the profits they can reap from oppositionist writers who can claim no royalties. The urgent responsibility of all communists is to launch a campaign with the victims of bureaucratic repression in Eastern Europe.



Pyotr Grigorenko



Larissa Daniel



Andrei Amalrik & his wife



Solzhenitsyn



Pyotr Yakir



Pavel Litvinov

## Lightning Pickets Highlight Irish Situation

The Anti Internment League has been engaged in a series of lightning pickets and demonstrations designed to highlight important political aspects of the struggle in Ireland. These have been directed against both the British Government and the 'Free' State regime of Jack Lynch. They have attacked the violence and duplicity of Whitelaw and his Tory/Unionist mentors, and the complicity of 'Stab in the back' Lynch, with his Curragh concentration camp and repressive laws.

One effective action was carried out inside the Aer Lingus Air Terminal in West London, (to the fury of the Metropolitan Police who arrived too late to stop the pickets gaining admission).

On Thursday, July 27th simultaneous pickets were carried out on Whitelaw's office and on the Hanover Grand Hotel where the Free State Embassy had organised a junket for its pals of the British press.

As the journalists trickled out, wiping the last crumbs from lips still moist with the hospitality of an ingratiating Fianna Fail government, they were met with chants of "Whitelaw Out - Lynch Out" and with placards demanding the closure of the Curragh and the freeing of Republican Prisoners. Notable amongst the guests was T.E. Utley of the 'Daily Telegraph' the most reactionary and pro-Orange journalist in Britain.

Part of the frivolities was the showing of a film designed to boost the Irish tourist industry - limping badly from a campaign of pressure directed against Lynch, by Heath through these very journalists.

At Whitelaw's office demands were raised for the withdrawal of British troops, and self-determination for Ireland. Other placards read: 'Ireland unfree will never be at peace'. These pickets are part of a campaign which will intensify during the late summer and autumn with a major public meeting in August.

## Union Call

Circular No. 893 - dated 26th July 1972

Dear Colleague,

### TUC Call for One-day National Strike

The National Council this afternoon decided to instruct all NGA members to withdraw their labour on Monday, 31st July,\* in response to the TUC call for a national strike on that day in protest against the imprisonment of five trade unionists under the Industrial Relations Act.

The Council, fully conscious of the responsibility that rests on the trade union movement to secure the release of these five men, also took cognisance of the fact that the operation of the Industrial Relations Act is responsible for their imprisonment. The instruction to members will therefore remain valid even in the event of the five men being released before Monday and the strike, so far as the NGA is concerned, will in that event be used to emphasise our continued opposition to the Act.

The other printing unions are being informed of the Council's decision and it is hoped that they too will support the one-day strike as a protest against the Act in general as well as against the imprisonment of trade unionists in particular.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN BONFIELD

General Secretary

\*This has been defined as the start of any shift on that date, except in the case of morning newspaper workers, whose shift is defined as that starting on Sunday, 30 July.

# "U.S. Deliberately Bombs Dykes"

## says Jane Fonda

Eye-witness evidence of systematic bombing by the U.S. of the dykes of North Vietnam was revealed by Jane Fonda at a press conference on Tuesday (25 July) after her return from North Vietnam. She spoke of seeing dykes which had been destroyed by very accurate bombing of the kind impossible unless done intentionally.

This report is confirmed by many other on-the-scene correspondents. In early June a group of foreign journalists were inspecting dyke damage near Hanoi when a dozen U.S. fighter-bombers appeared on the horizon, dropped their bombs on the dykes, and then returned to spray the startled party with machine-gun fire.

Over three-quarters of the population of North Vietnam - 15 million people living 800 per square kilometre - and most of the crops and industry of the North are concentrated into the Red River basin, the Plain of Tonkin including both Hanoi and Haiphong. The Red River, flowing 5 to 6 metres above the land, is used to irrigate the paddy fields which provide the food and livelihood of the Vietnamese people. Surrounded by the mountains from which descends the River, the Plain would be periodically submerged were it not for the fact that since the Middle Ages, the Vietnamese peasants have built up an intricate system of dykes. One system is built up along the Red River; a second system, more or less perpendicular to the first, is built up along the Plain to block flooding if one section of the primary system breaks. Finally, there are coastal dykes to prevent coastland flooding during typhoons. Altogether, there are 4,000 kilometres of dykes, reinforced every year since 1954 by 2 to 3 million cubic metres of earth.

The danger of flooding is particularly great during the rainy season, from July to October yearly. Breaks in the dykes during these months could easily submerge wide areas, indeed whole cities, destroying not only the livelihood of millions of people but costing hundreds of thousands if not millions of lives.

In a speech (April 30th) before Texas oilmen, Nixon warned the North Vietnamese of what was in store for them. First he defined the dykes as "a strategic target and indirectly a military target". Then, to make his intentions crystal clear, he threatened: "As far as the targets in North Vietnam are concerned, we are prepared to use our military and naval strength against military targets throughout North Vietnam, and we believe that the North Vietnamese are taking a very great risk if they continue their offensive."

Thanks to the acquiescence of the bureaucracies in Peking and the Kremlin, Nixon was given the green light to do what he wanted. April 16: the first B52 raids of the war on Hanoi, mass bombing of civilian targets in the North. May 9: mining of the harbours of Haiphong, and the coast and waterways of the North, a step never before taken because of the fear of Soviet and/or Chinese reaction. Since that time, hardly a day has gone by without new reports of dykes being bombed, in particular dykes in the three most populated provinces around Hanoi.

Throughout May and June, all attacks on the dykes were denied by U.S. Defence Department spokesmen. By the end of June, when the *New York Times* was stating that "without a doubt, there is now systematic bombing of the dykes in North Vietnam", Nixon's only comment was that all such reports were inaccurate. On 5 July, the State Department coolly changed tack in order to prepare the U.S. public for the "unfortunate tragedy" it had itself done everything to make inevitable. While admitting that "accidental bombing of the dykes could not be ruled out", it predicted a "higher than normal



Jane Fonda visits scene of U.S. bombing in North Vietnam

probability" that floods similar to those of last year would strike the North in August. The next day, Secretary of Defence Laird admitted damage though denying ever targeting a dam or a dyke - and then repeated the warning about August flooding! He could hardly have established U.S. responsibility more clearly, and may even have been hinting at the use of artificial "rain makers" as well (see *The Red Mole* 46).

Nixon's politics are the politics of genocide. In the words of Yves Lacoste: "If in his speeches President Nixon has excluded the use of nuclear arms (because it would certainly be difficult for him, alone to assume the responsibility for this step), the risk of genocide by drowning is much greater and more immediate, because U.S. planes can cause it without Nixon ever giving explicit orders, which would permit him to deny all responsibility. (Nevertheless) ... if the dykes break this summer in the North, the responsibility for this genocide must weigh on President Nixon."

Will bombing the dykes destroy the will and fighting capacity of the North Vietnamese?

Or, like all previous escalations, is this one doomed to failure? In an interview in *The Guardian* (July 13), Nguyen Minh Vy of the Paris delegation gives the following reply: "Already there is danger of the dykes breaking. It will increase if the bombing continues... (Some people believe) that after several million people have been killed by the dykes breaking, Vietnam will give in. But they should remember that in 1945 there were floods and famine and two million people died - and this was followed by the August Revolution."

Designed for systematic terrorisation of the population, the bombing of the dykes has only reinforced the determination of the Vietnamese. After the August flooding of last year (and probably in anticipation of the present attacks), what the Vietnamese describe as an "enormous budget" was consecrated to the consolidation of the dykes. From September '71 to March '72, 3 million cubic metres of earth were transported. And today, in the midst of the most murderous bombing in human history, the peasants and workers of North Vietnam race against time. But they will win!

## RED PAMPHLETS

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A pamphlet on the Social Security system, incorporating the latest experiences of the working class in the Manchester sit-ins. This is a useful handbook for all militants needing practical advice on how to claim. PRICE 2p.

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### BUILDING WORKERS STRIKES

A new pamphlet on the background to the present dispute and in particular the rise of the Building Workers Charter group and its politics. PRICE 2p.

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IMG Publications, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. (please add for postage)

# Building Workers Say



## "NOW IS THE TIME"

On Wednesday, 26 July, 2000 building workers assembled in Bedford Square to demonstrate for their pay-claim. As far as the rank-and-file were concerned their main interest was obviously in the crisis over the Industrial Relations Act. With the release of the dockers on Wednesday evening the UCATT and T & GWU leadership will no doubt forget there was ever any interest in the subject

### THE CAMPAIGN

Up to now the employers have not budged one inch. At a meeting of building workers in Bristol on Friday, 21 July, a member of the E.C. of UCATT reported to the meeting that the employers had made an offer, which when worked out had amounted to just less than the previous offer in cash terms. The Union negotiators had no choice but to reject it. "Up to now the building workers have only bared their teeth, now is the time for real militancy" were his words to the meeting. However he was unable to offer any line for struggle from the E.C. Up and down the country the same story is true. The local Action Councils are the only bodies which have organised the struggle from start till now.

### NATIONAL STRIKE

The tactic of selective strikes was probably correct at the beginning. It was obviously impossible to call out every site when only about one third would have responded. It was important to gradually build up strength, using militant sites as poles of attraction for the rest. The tactic hit some companies very hard. They pushed on the Employers Federation for a quick settlement.

### BUT WHAT NOW?

It is clear that the selective strike tactic is now no longer enough. There are several reasons for this. First, at this stage it is possible that many of the militants will

get demoralised when they are nearing the end of their fifth week out. They see that others have been earning money all that time, yet will receive the benefits of any settlement. Secondly, many sites are campaigning not to be called out because they have the option of staying at work and seeing others win their settlement for them, (many individual militants on these sites do of course want to support their fellow trade-unionists). Thirdly, the employers who have not been selected are sufficiently strong to stop the "let's settle caucus" from having much sway. They probably subsidise them anyway.

By PAUL SMITH

### "STRIKE NOW ...

Now that there are 26 thousand building workers out on strike there is the basis to call them all out. Mass pickets could be arranged, as there have been in London on some sites. Already, certain areas like Bristol have stopped everything. The scaffolders were the first to come out, and the Action Council followed this lead from the Bristol Strike Committee. By the mass meeting the following day four companies had offered negotiated settlements. The scaffolders agreed not to go back on any site still in dispute.

### ...WHILE THE IRON'S HOT"

But this is not the only reason for calling a national strike now. The Tory Government is in deep political crisis, and the five dockers are out of jail. But the Tories have also managed (through the decision of the Law Lords) to get back to the position they were in before the Appeal Court judgement. That means that the principle of free trade unionism is still in deep jeopardy.

### THE PROBLEM FOR BUILDING WORKERS

The problem for building workers has not so much been how to protect their unions but how to build them. This is the first time that building workers have been able to put enough pressure on their Union Executives for them to be anything else but company unions. For the first time there is a national fight on a real problem for workers in the trade. Building workers have never been able to use the militancy on some sites to win big wages for the whole industry. That was because of low basic rates (sixteenth in the D.E.P.'s table) and site by site bargaining for bonuses.



### UCATT AND THE T & GWU

The present claim attacks the reasoning behind the bonus system. With reasonable basic rates there can be no division between workers and the struggle against the Lump can begin in earnest. But the T & GWU faces fines and costs of over £80,000 and UCATT has an overdraft of £60,000 already. In that situation these unions are going to be very wary of letting their militants step out of line.

### CONCLUSION

It is in the direct interests of building workers to follow the lead of the dockers and the workers in the West of Scotland. If they are ever going to make their Union into an effective instrument of struggle, they must defend it now by calling for the strike to continue until the repeal of the Act. Secondly, to make sure that the TUC does not drop the struggle, building workers have to call for a conference of the rank-and-file in liaison with the dockers.

### CHARTER

Charter has a special responsibility in all this. Keeping the rank-and-file movement organised is essential if pressure is on the leadership to cane their militants. Also urgent is the development of a programme for Charter which enables militants to work out a strategy for dealing with the attacks of the State. Basically what is being fought out by the building workers is not just the problems of the building industry but the problems created by the capitalist system (as the effects of the Act show).

# STRIKES (From page 1)

days NATSOPA machine-men succeeded in closing down Fleet Street completely. In many ways this was decisive since the absence of papers showed very clearly that it was not at all a case of 'business as usual'; the working class was preparing to fight back.

### STRIKE SPREADS

On Monday, the first working day since the arrests, the strike began to spread to all parts of the country and all sections of industry. Its immediate effect was to some extent hampered by the annual holidays, which meant that most men in traditionally militant sections such as the Scottish miners and Midlands carworkers were not involved. Nevertheless every port in the country was closed, market porters came out in Grimsby and at Covent Garden and Smithfield in London, lorry drivers, container workers and warehousemen shelved their dispute with the dockers to strike "alongside our brother trade unionists", construction sites not already out over the UCATT claim started to shut down and so the strike spread.

This took place, though, without any real support from the trade union bureaucracy; no union national executive other than that of the 'blue' NASD (which is excluded from the TUC) made the strike official, although the national council of the National Graphical Association has called a one-day strike against the Act on Monday. Indeed, while the strikes were spreading the TUC leaders were preparing to visit Heath in Downing Street, and leader of the main docks union, Jack Jones of the T & GWU, was doing his best to ensure that his joint report on the docks would provide a means of defusing the situation. Rather than give any lead in the situation, the TUC delayed any decision on action until it became clear that unless it did something a substantial proportion of its membership would simply by-pass it anyway. So came the belated call for a one-day token stoppage on Monday, not against the Act even but simply to call for the release of the dockers. Throughout the strike it was clear that their main concern was to keep open the way to a continuation of their talks with the Government and CBI about the economy and 'conciliation' procedures.

### SUPPORT GROWS

Still support for the strike continued to grow on Tuesday and Wednesday as shop stewards and regional union executives took matters into their own hands. In London, the demonstration on Tuesday and the subsequent barricading of the road outside the prison had a big effect, with more building sites coming out, Heathrow workers voting for a 24-hour stoppage from 6 a.m. on Wednesday morning, white-collar workers at the Royal group of docks coming out and then the decision by London Transport workers to stop work from midnight on Tuesday. On Wednesday further groups of workers in London voted to join the strike, in particular Southern Region train drivers and ticket collectors at Waterloo who thereby pushed the ASLEF executive into calling a meeting to discuss action on Thursday.

Outside London, too, support grew rapidly. Miners at some pits in Scotland, Wales and Yorkshire were already on strike, and by Tuesday a total of 35,000 South Wales miners had voted to strike with more pits still balloting on the issue. Seventy five South Wales miners travelled up to London on Wednesday to join the picket outside the jail. In Sheffield all the major engineering firms were brought to a halt; in Wales steel-workers at Shotton came out, along with blast-furnacemen at Port Talbot and construction workers at Baglan Bay near Swansea; in the North-West representatives of 250,000 engineering workers voted for a one-day strike on Monday; in Liverpool 10,000 road haulage drivers including some from Heaton voted to strike; in Glasgow workers struck at the headquarters of Scottish television; aircraft workers at BAC Weybridge voted for a 24-hour stoppage; Abernethy miners voted to strike; Somerset trawlermen joined fish porters already on strike; and so it went on. Most significant, perhaps, was the action of workers in Hull where 300 shop stewards from more than 20 unions voted to recommend immediate action throughout the city.

### ACT IS REAL ISSUE

With the release of the five, the strikes ended. The task now is to explain that their release was only a limited victory, and that what is at stake is not so much individual instances of the use of the Act, but the very existence of the Act as a whole. That is the only way to prepare an ongoing struggle which will not be diverted by the manoeuvrings of the ruling class.

Martin Meteyard

### THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP AND THE RED MOLE

This broadsheet is produced by the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International). The IMG is a revolutionary socialist organisation which believes that the struggle against the employers, the Industrial Relations Act and the Tory government cannot be separated from the struggle against the capitalist system. We therefore support every struggle against that system, such as those for higher wages and better working conditions, and against racism, the oppression of women, and British rule in Ireland. We believe that all these struggles can only be successful if linked to a general strategy of nationalisation of all major industry under workers control and for a state based on workers power. The IMG produces a fortnightly 12-page newspaper, *The Red Mole*. For further information about the activities of the IMG and for a sample copy of *The Red Mole*, fill in the form below and send it with a 5p stamp to: IMG, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

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