

# workers' ACTION

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10p

LAST YEAR the TUC leaders got the Phase 2 wage limits accepted by a massive majority. The annual Congress found the bureaucrats more firmly in control of the movement than since at least 1969.

This year Jones, Basnett, Murray and the rest won't be able to congratulate each other on how well the Social Contract is working. They will have to start dusting off their militant speeches of yesteryear. The conference hall will resound with warnings to the Government.

On Saturday September 3rd, just before the start of the TUC, the National Port Shop Stewards Committee will be meeting to discuss action on their claim for 20% or £100 a week. Most of the major ports have supported this claim.

All over the car industry claims have been put in that break the Government's guidelines of no increase in earnings over 10% and never more than one raise within 12 months. Jaguar, Coventry, has already taken strike action, and the Longbridge works is seething.

In many other industries, particularly in engineering, demands have been lodged in excess of the guidelines.

The strike rate in January-July this year was 140% up on the same period last year. It is that rank and file militancy which will force the TUC Congress to appear more left wing.

No-one at Congress will speak in favour of the 10% limit on pay rises. But probably no-one will put forward a plan of action against it.

The TUC could make the 10% rule unworkable quite simply. At present the rule is being enforced by Government sanctions against firms which break it. They are threatened with withdrawal of state aid, export credits, and public contracts, and refusal to authorise price increases.

These sanctions have worked in a few cases. But they can only work for relatively few and relatively isolated sections of workers. It is not possible for the Government to impose that sort of sanctions on large parts of British industry!

The "12-month rule" will be the major debate at the TUC, on Wednesday September 7th. As far as can be predicted, the decision rests on which way the AUEW's votes are cast. The AUEW Conference

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## NO TO THE 12- MONTH RULE

### WHY THE CARNIVAL EXPLODED AGAIN



MONDAY'S street battles at Notting Hill have marked a new stage in the development of police anti-riot tactics. Armed with shields, truncheons, goggles and reinforced helmets and directed with military efficiency with the help of a helicopter, they quickly dispersed, isolated and hunted down disorganised groups of mainly West Indian youths. Scotland Yard ended the day having decisively evened the score for their humiliating defeat at last year's Carnival.

Throughout the two days of the carnival there had been a tense atmosphere, with the processions carefully controlled by largely white stewards. The police were visibly present only in very small numbers — the vast majority hidden away as far distant as Hyde Park. Sunday evening saw the first concentration of youths under the Westway flyover, where some fighting took place and a number of whites were robbed. Carnival stewards cooled it down.

But by early evening on Mon-

[see back page]

4pm, Monday 5th September  
Winter Gardens, Blackpool

Lobby of TUC

## TUC MUST SUPPORT GRUNWICK STRIKERS

THE SCARMAN Inquiry has ticked off Grunwick boss George Ward, and offered him dozens of escape-routes to settle the dispute without conceding too much.

The question now is whether the labour movement will be satisfied with that, or whether we will go all out to win this strike.

A petty profiteer like Ward could be crushed in a few days if the TUC used its full strength, organising regular mass pickets and blacking all services. But the TUC is frightened — because (they say) it's against the law, or it might lead to violence.

George Ward isn't worried about using violence. Indeed, it is his efforts to push busloads of scabs through the picket lines, and the police efforts to protect those scabs, which "might lead to violence".

Nor is George Ward worried about defying the courts. He has not commented on the Scarman report yet. But his advisors in the right-wing "National Association for Freedom" (NAFF) have denounced the Inquiry, headed by Lord Justice Scarman, as

biased against them. The Inquiry panel, they say, "did not include a representative of the private sector", or "anyone with a successful record in business" (British Leyland manager Pat Lowry does not satisfy them as a bosses' representative!)

So far Ward and the NAFF have successfully made a nonsense of the Employment Protection Act. They have learnt the truth that the law bends itself to accommodate the strong — and it bends much more easily for employers, for it is the interests of their class that the law fundamentally serves.

Mass industrial action in July 1972 won speedy, and very "legal", freedom for five dockers jailed by the Tory government. And mass industrial action now can win speedy victory for the Grunwick strikers. No matter how many sympathetic judges they can find, the NAFF can't get all 10 million TUC-affiliated trade unionists put in jail for "illegal" industrial action. We cannot tolerate a

Cont'd  
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# 40 Soweto schools put under direct state control

IF A HURRICANE or an earthquake had made 30,000 people homeless in the middle of winter, it would be a disaster. The South African Government, however, can quite well manage such a thing with police dogs and bulldozers — and without all the 'disaster' publicity either.

Under the apartheid system, Africans are only allowed out of the homelands on 'migrant worker' contracts — without their families. Over 70% of the economically active African population is involved in this 'migrant labour' system.

In 1967 the government declared a policy of cutting down on African labour in the Cape Town area, which is 600 miles from the nearest 'homeland'. But economic expansion brought a big increase in African labour

— perhaps 200% — in 1968-74. No housing was built for the African workers, and so they had to settle in shanty towns. Moreover, many of them were 'illegal'.

This month, the government decided to start enforcing its policy. Shanty towns housing 20,000 to 30,000 people have been razed by bulldozers, and the people told to go back to Transkei — and this in the middle of South Africa's winter.

## Savage

The magazine Newsweek describes evicted Africans, watching the bulldozers, singing the hymn, "O God, our help in ages past/Our hope in years to come". But more and more of the black workers of South Africa are coming to understand



London protest last week against Apartheid repression

that their hope and their help is their own militant struggle against the apartheid regime.

That struggle has in the past year been spearheaded by the youth of Soweto. In the last couple of weeks, police have made further attempts to break up the Soweto school students' organisation.

"It was savage. It was at its worst when police with dogs chased school children around the yard" — so a black Anglican priest described one of the police raids.

40 schools in Soweto have also been put under direct Government control. On Sunday 14th August police invaded a church where a funeral service was being held for a girl shot in a previous police raid. According to the Johannesburg Star, people outside the church

were beaten and set on by dogs, a busload of students attending the funeral were taken to police headquarters, and two Star reporters were threatened with arrest.

The police have killed several and arrested hundreds. But they have not subdued the rebellion in Soweto, which, with one million inhabitants, is South Africa's largest city.

Meanwhile, new constitutional proposals from the South African government (not yet published, but described in the press) give an obscenely exact reflection of the apartheid system.

The "Coloureds" and "Indians" representative councils are to be upgraded to the status of Parliaments, each with its own Cabinet and Prime Minister, alongside a white Parliament, Cabinet and Prime Minister.

At the top of the power structure would be an executive council, elected by the majority parties in the three Parliaments, composed of 6 Whites, 3 coloureds, and 2 Indians. A President would be elected on a similarly-weighted system.

If you admit the principle of classifying human beings according to the tint of their skins, the weighting is no doubt meant to reflect the different numbers of Whites (4.2 million), Coloureds (2.3 million), and Indians (0.7 million). And there are 17.7 million black Africans — but they are to get no political rights at all.

## Repression mounts

REPRESSION, and more repression, has been South Africa's response to the growth of black militancy since the Soweto revolt of June 1976. A recent press release from the Anti-Apartheid Movement gives the facts:

■ At least 10,000 arrested since June 1976.

■ 4,000 charged in apartheid courts with offences related to unrest between June and October 1976.

■ 559 detainees currently held.

■ 24 deaths in detention since March 1976. (Between 1963 and 1976 22 people died in

detention).

■ In Terrorism and Sabotage Act trials alone sentences totalling 450 years imposed on 80 people since June 1976.

■ In other trials 1122 people convicted between June and December 1976.

■ In January the Justice Minister said 386 people were awaiting trial in 52 Terrorism Act trials.

The major trial in progress at present involves the 'Pretoria 12'. These 12, charged with organising for the overthrow of the regime, face sentences between five years and death on conviction.

# What are the real issues?

THE CASE OF MAUREEN COLQUHOUN

As the moves to replace Maureen Colquhoun as Northampton North's Labour MP get more and more publicity in the press, the real issues involved are more and more obscured.

It needs a major effort to plough through all the stories about car park attendants and railway season tickets, and to see that the original issue was Maureen Colquhoun's support for arch-racist Enoch Powell.

It was in January this year that Colquhoun called on the labour movement to "listen to" Enoch Powell. In the following days she made it clear that this was not slip or a misunderstanding, and that she shared Powell's views, not on every point of policy, but on the basic issue of blaming black people

for racial conflict.

She said that Powell was not a racist. But, as Workers' Action wrote at the time (3rd February): "Enoch Powell is Britain's Mr. Racist. To say that he is not a racist is to say no-one is a racist. It is not just naive, it gives credibility and cover to his racist message and the violence it incites". And all the more so because Colquhoun has a reputation as a left-winger.

## Vague

Northampton Trades Council passed a resolution, from the town's no. 3 AUEW branch, dissociating from Colquhoun. Northampton South CLP rejected proposals from Workers'

Action supporters to put out a statement denouncing Colquhoun, but made a declaration against racism in general.

In Northampton North CLP procedural rules were invoked against motions condemning Colquhoun, and the GMC only passed a vague statement of regret. But Kevin Mayes, Northampton North LPYS secretary and a supporter of Workers' Action, announced that the YS would push to have Colquhoun replaced.

The YS resolution read: "This GMC rejects explanations given by Maureen Colquhoun for her recent statements that Enoch Powell was not a racist, etc., as totally unsatisfactory....

Despite adequate opportunity to clearly express her total dissociation from Powell and his racist policies, she has not done so. "For these reasons we state now our intention not to re-select Maureen Colquhoun to be our candidate at the next General Election..."

Northampton North YS also moved an emergency resolution at the YS conference condemning Colquhoun, which was ruled out of order by the "Militant"-dominated platform.

But in the CLP, the initiative was taken over by Park Ward, who tabled their own resolution, calling for Colquhoun's replacement without

giving any definite reasons, after the YS's had been ruled out of order.

Their reasons for wanting her removal were not so clear.

The general feeling that Colquhoun was being "a bad MP" was strengthened by Colquhoun's wild reaction, when she talked about taking "a handful of people" who were "manipulating a constituency", "to the High Court, and be heard properly with a bit of British justice on my side".

All the obscure, irrelevant, or downright reactionary charges against Colquhoun then began to come out. The Labour Party national leadership seem to have become convinced that Colquhoun was best left to sink, for there has been none of the outcry over this case that there was over the Reg Prentice affair.

## Muddled

Workers' Action, however, made it clear that our case against Colquhoun was based on her support for Powell and nothing else. Back in Dec (Workers' Action no.40) we had protested when Colquhoun was hounded for going to share a house with another woman rather than with her husband.

Maureen Colquhoun can't be let off the hook because the campaign against her has been muddled so much. She has com-

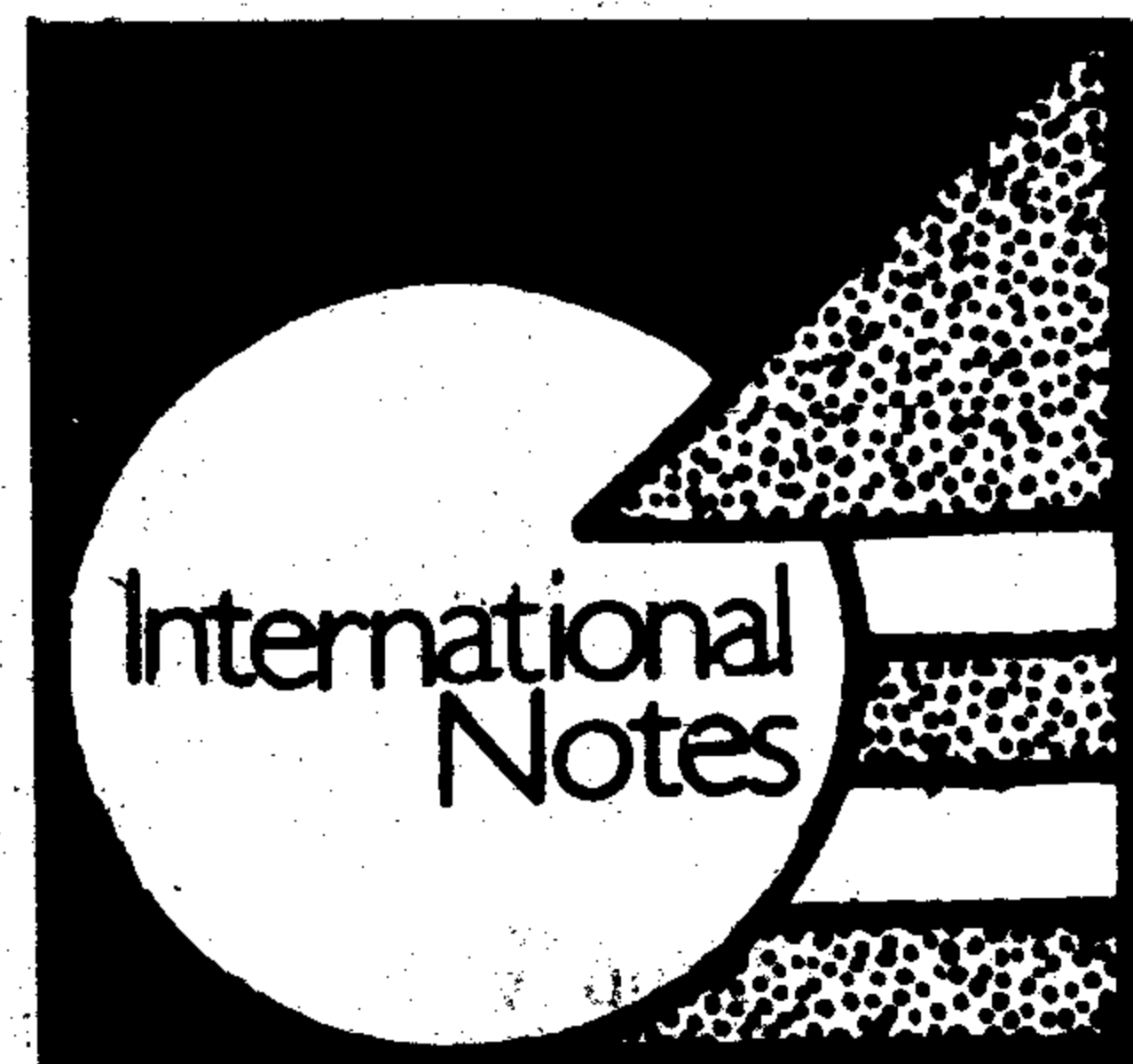


plained about "losing her job" as an MP — but she was not elected in order to give Maureen Colquhoun a job, but as a Labour representative.

Local Labour Parties should have the right, through simple and direct procedures, to control and to recall Labour MPs. The present red-tape creates the breeding ground for the sort of politicking, personalised factional warfare, and muddying of the issues that has so obscured the significance of the Colquhoun affair in the fight against racism.

THE POLITICS OF Militant

A Workers' Action pamphlet. 20p + 7p post from 49 Carnac St, SE27



● From p.1

voted for free and unfettered collective bargaining after Phase 2, but AUEW President Hugh Scanlon wants to interpret this as meaning bargaining fettered by a 12-month rule.

The 12-month rule means three things. Firstly, that prices go up week after week and month after month while wages are kept from catching up for a year. Secondly, that workers lose the ability to go into action for wage increases at the time that is tactically best for us. Third-

# NO TO THE 12-MONTH RULE

ly, that the Government avoids a snowballing series of wage increases in the next few months, with different sections following each other in catching up on the drop in living standards since 1975.

What we really need is a "one-month rule" — wages rising each month, £1 in-

crease for each 1% rise in the cost of living — and that on top of straight increases which make up for the loss since 1975.

If the Congress accepts the 12-month rule, it will probably try to make up for it by a lot of strong talk on unemployment. And indeed 1,600,000 unemploy-

ed is a scandal. But it cannot be dealt with by directing investment, reflation, job creation schemes, or any of the other quack solutions.

Reduce the working week to 35 hours; win adequate basic wage rates; and campaign for a ban on overtime. That is the way to



deal with unemployment — and it is within the power of the TUC to push it through.

Even without the TUC, it is within the power of the rank and file to fight effectively for these militant policies. Over the last seven months it has been rank-&-file struggles, bitterly opposed by the TUC leaders, which have made new strict pay limits impossible, and forced the trade union leaders to modify their policies. Rank-and-file struggle can also make sure that the next few months are the months when we begin to make good the losses of the two years of pay controls.

## GRUNWICK

# Scarman: Pay off the strikers but above all call off the pickets!

**IT WOULD be good if the Grunwick strikers were reinstated, but the easiest solution is to pay them off! That is the recommendation of the Scarman Court of Inquiry.**

"Ideally, Grunwicks should therefore offer re-employment to all those strikers who before the dispute were full-time employees of the company and who wish to be taken back. That should be done if at all practicable.

"It is recognised, however, that the nature of the company's business is such that the necessary number of vacancies may not now exist, although it seems that a seasonal business dependent on overtime must have some vacancies... the question of determining the number of vacancies that exist could well, and should, be considered by a mediator either agreed by the company and the union, or appointed by the Secretary of State for Employment in the absence

of such agreement. It would be reasonable for the company to make to those for whom there are no vacancies an ex-gratia payment commensurate with their length of service".

On union recognition, too, the Report only goes half-way towards the strikers' demands. The strikers' union, APEX, is not named — because APEX recognition is still to be ruled on by the Law Lords. However, the report says:

"We have no doubt that union representation, if properly encouraged and responsibly exercised, could in the future help the company as well as the employees". It could remedy "the company's lack of a properly developed industrial relations policy including effective machinery for the examination and redress of grievances".

The Inquiry's view of unionisation is radically different from the strikers'. The strikers want a union in

order to tame Grunwick boss George Ward's arrogance and to improve their sweatshop wages and conditions. The Inquiry wants a union in order to calm things down.

On the Inquiry there was one trade union leader, Terry Parry of the FBU, one manager, Pat Lowry of British Leyland, and a judge, Lord Scarman. All three share the view that the best way to control the working class is to settle industrial relations by compromise. A cowboy boss like George Ward arouses their disapproval:

"There is, we stress, nothing unlawful in the company's attitude towards unionisation; but whether in all the circumstances it remains today reasonable is another question — perhaps the fundamental question confronting us". "Though within their rights... the company, in our view, acted unreasonably, and inconsistently with the policy of the law".

George Ward's "unreas-

onableness" has threatened to make a mockery of the whole apparatus of the Employment Protection Act and the Advisory, Conciliation, and Arbitration Service (ACAS), both vital elements in "selling" the Social Contract. That is why all the trade union leaders, all the Labour Party, and even most Tories, have denounced or criticised Ward.

But for all these people, and for the Scarman Inquiry, Ward's behaviour is regrettable; the working-class mass action against him is intolerable.

"... We did not take evidence on the blacking of Grunwicks mail and consequent related activities. It is significant that the two unions involved, both the UPW and APEX, have experienced great difficulty in persuading UPW members to call off the blacking and obey the law. Whilst recognising that unions consider certain actions necessary in furtherance of a trade dispute, we cannot condone advocating action which had been clearly judged to be against the law".

"The union, we are satisfied, had no intention of provoking violence and civil disorder by calling for the mass picket. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the risk of a mass picket getting out of control was known".

The report recognises that "other than the acceptance of defeat... no other course [except calling for solidarity] was open to the union". But it concludes by welcoming the fact "that the government has under review the law relating to picketing". In contrast, the report makes no suggestion that the law relating to union recognition be tightened up, so as to make recognition an automatic right once a union has minimum support.

Preferably George Ward's union-bashing one-man war should stop. Definitely working-class mass action to defeat Ward should stop. Those are the conclusions of the Scarman Inquiry.

**CORRECTION:** In last week's article on Grunwicks we described Brent Trades Council leader Jack Dromey as a member of the Communist Party. Mr Dromey is not in fact a member of any party, though his political views are close to the CP's.

# APEX MUST URGE FIRM ACTION AT TUC

From p.1

situation where basic trade union solidarity is outlawed through dubious legal interpretations.

It must be total victory for the Grunwick strikers. The Scarman Inquiry gives Ward the option of reinstating some and paying off others. That is a loophole for Ward to victimise the most militant leaders of the strike. To allow it would be a despicable sell-out.

The strike committee has called on APEX to put forward an emergency resolution to the TUC. But the way APEX leader Roy Grantham is talking at present makes it likely that the resolution will not be put forward, or will be phrased in terms so vague as to make it useless.

From the beginning, Grantham has promised to abide by the recommendations of the Scarman Inquiry. Now he says he has accepted the Report's criticisms of APEX, and will not be calling for further mass picketing and industrial pressure. Responding to the Report's vagueness on union recognition, he has declared, "Reinstatement is the key to the problem. The issue of union recognition is not a very important issue in relation to this dispute".

If there is no-one to be found at the TUC who will put an emergency resolution for immediate action to win the Grunwick dispute, then the TUC will have condemned itself. But the matter cannot rest there. Where the TUC fails, the rank and file must take up the fight, forcing Ward onto his knees and the TUC into action by a mobilisation like that of July 1972.

## GRUNWICK CONFERENCE

# Still starved of action

"WE ARE drowning in support, starving for lack of action", declared Mrs Desai, from the Grunwick strike committee.

But the Grunwick support conference on Tuesday 23rd April was another wordy parade of support, with no action organised, planned, or decided upon.

312 delegates met at short notice in London, called by the South East Region TUC and Region no.1 of the TGWU, but the main practical proposal was for an emergency motion to TUC Congress. Whether this motion goes forward, and what it says, is up to the Executive Committee of APEX, which is holding a special meeting with the strike committee on Tuesday 30th August.

Martin Flannery, from the Tribune group of MPs, was "deeply convinced we are going to win, because we have got to win". Kevin Halpin, and other speakers representing the

point of view of the Communist Party, spoke of "a mass picket to stop everything moving".

North London AUEW district secretary George Anthony struck a more militant note, attacking the trade union leadership for calling off the struggle, and APEX for having illusions in the reasonableness of Ward and of the state. He even named a date for another mass picket: September 12th, at the end of the TUC Congress. But nothing was spelled out.

Those actually involved in the front line of the struggle had difficulty in making their message stand out amidst this flood of fiery words and references to the battles over Goad, over Trico, and over the Pentonville Five. Archie Sinclair, from the Cricklewood post office workers, described how they had been browbeaten back to work, not

by the Post Office, but by their own trade union leader, Tom Jackson.

It was not "millions and millions of words that would win. Only one answer: mass solidarity".

Mahmood Ahmed, from the strike committee, told the conference that "there had not been enough pushing on the picket lines".

Those who came to the conference did not need to hear the sabre-rattling declarations on how militant action was going to win. They needed to hear a sober and realistic assessment of the problems and possibilities of the dispute, and a practical discussion on how to support the strikers.

Instead, the Communist Party and the Labour Left used the conference as an opportunity to polish and display their medals for militancy.

STEPHEN CORBISHLEY

**THE 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) was held in Peking from August 12th to August 18th.**

Almost a year after the death of Mao Tse-tung and the purge of the "Gang of Four" (which includes Mao's widow Chiang Ching) the 11th Congress was Teng Hsiaping's Congress. The keynote was the political rehabilitation and advancement of the twice purged Teng and the public burial of his so called radical opponents under a mountain of allegations and abuse — to which they are allowed no answer. Coinciding with the official announcement that the Congress had been held, there came reports that close associates of Chiang Ching have now been shot.

The Congress was the occasion for a large scale restoration of old-guard CPC leaders who had been pushed aside or disgraced in the factional battles of the last ten years: Teng is their representative. Almost half (90 out of 201 members) of the new Central Committee are officials who were disgraced during the Cultural Revolution. A new Standing Committee of four will, together with Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, run the "People's Republic of China".

The promotion of Wang Tung-hsing (previously obscure and relatively young) to membership of the 5-man Standing Committee has caused some passing surprise among commentators. In fact it symbolises with remarkable precision the Byzantine character of the entire sequence of events which led to the defeat of the "Gang of Four" and the consolidation — for now — of the Gang of Five.

## Palaces

Wang was chief of Mao Tse-tung's bodyguard, and seemingly 'with' Chiang Ching and her friends: but he changed sides during the lead-up to the Palace coup after Mao's death — and provided the armed men to round up the "Gang of Four".

China is in fact ruled by a gang of bureaucrats which bases itself on the state machine which was set up after the CPC conquered state power at the head of the peasant-based People's Liberation Army in 1949.

Having overthrown capitalism in China and established a social system modelled on the degenerated workers' state of the USSR, the CPC and PLA bureaucrats suppress and manipulate the working class and peasant masses.

That the rulers of China are a distinct caste separated from the masses by a distinctly privileged social position is shown clearly in the pictures they themselves have painted of the life of Mao's wife Chiang Ching. The official denigrations of Chiang Ching show her living in palaces and indulging in lavish personal consumption, enjoying such luxuries as private airplanes.

Unintentionally the now

Teng's policies will bring more reliance on imported technology. But China's weak economy has little to give in exchange. The Far East Economic Review quotes the Bank of International Settlements' figures for China's borrowings as US\$506 million to date. China is reluctant to borrow too much, when it notes that the USSR is in the red by US\$9855 million, and even Poland owes US\$5615 million.

Instead, hopes are being placed on an export drive. At present, over 30% of China's total foreign revenue comes from its operations in Hong Kong, where it sells food and primary products and which it uses to re-export goods to places like Taiwan which it couldn't trade with direct. China owns factories, shops and banks and other concerns in Hong Kong (such as the petrol station in this picture) and takes its share of the Colony's huge tourist industry. It also get foreign currency in remittances to mainland families of Hong Kong workers.

Thus Peking will seek to expand its operations in Hong Kong rather than reclaim the Colony. But the downturn in world trade and increasing protectionism will depress Hong Kong's economy and hinder China's own export drive.

# ENTER THE GANG OF FIVE



dominant group throw light on the materially privileged existence of the whole bureaucratic caste. For, even if she had some unusual tastes, Chiang Ching certainly would not have been able to live like that while the rest of the bureaucrats subsisted on the wages of an ordinary worker or farmer!

Among themselves the bureaucrats have found that the only way to regulate their relations and the conflicts of different bureaucratic and military cliques is to establish a Caesar to arbitrate. First Mao, now Hua.

Differences of policy, on how to deal with the tremendous problems of poverty and underdevelopment which the Chinese people face, can only find expression through the distorting and blurring medium of the conflict of bureaucratic and military cliques.

Thus there are disputes on

whether to rely on the development of modern technology (Liu Shao-chi, Teng) or on labour intensive production (Mao); on whether it is best to reward skill and productivity among workers and peasants by wage differences (Liu, Teng) or to rely on whipping up mass enthusiasm through a permanent agitation (Mao).

These issues are discussed behind the backs of the masses exclusively by the top bureaucrats. And within the bureaucracy the line-ups and motives are linked with personal and clique rivalries — while for outward consumption they are always expressed (even by the opposing side) in terms of this or that bit of "Mao Tse-tung Thought".

Outside the top layers of the CPC — which is exclusively a party of the privileged state bureaucracy — there is no right of political initiative or opinion. Political prisoners include some Trotskyists who

have been rotting in jail for over a quarter of a century.

Every major event, from the 1958 Great Leap Forward to the Cultural Revolution after 1967 and now the purge of the "Gang of Four", has taken

through the exercise of overturning decisions of previous congresses, re-writing the constitution etc. And history is re-written again and again to preserve the myth of a continuity of correct political leader-

## by Cheung Siu Ming

place as a result of factional battles and the gang warfare of bureaucratic cliques within the ruling caste.

Where, then, do the masses come into it?

They are asked to "discuss" issues, take part in campaigns of "criticism", write "Tai tse-pao" (wall posters) etc., either as one faction's orchestrated war against another, or as a mopping-up exercise when the decisive battle is over. But any independence, any airing of real working class grievances, is ruthlessly suppressed by the police and the PLA.

In the Cultural Revolution Mao initially attempted to use a mass mobilisation of the youth as a club against the section of bureaucrats who wanted other economic policies. But when that mobilisation got out of control, Mao used the state forces to end it.

## Backward

China often presents an unusual spectacle of intense popular political ferment. But the targets of criticism are conveniently silent (or even dead), and real debate is stifled. Congresses are convened only when one faction has become dominant or when a compromise is agreed, so that the bureaucracy as a whole can face the masses with a common front.

The Congresses then go

ship, personified by Mao and his "Thoughts".

Whatever the differences between the factions, they are all united in their fear of losing control of the masses.

The basic issues underlying the factional struggles in China in the past three decades concern the problems confronting an economically backward country where the vast majority of the population are peasants: namely, how to increase agricultural productivity and carry out industrialisation; and how to relate to imperialism and to the East Europe/Russia bloc.

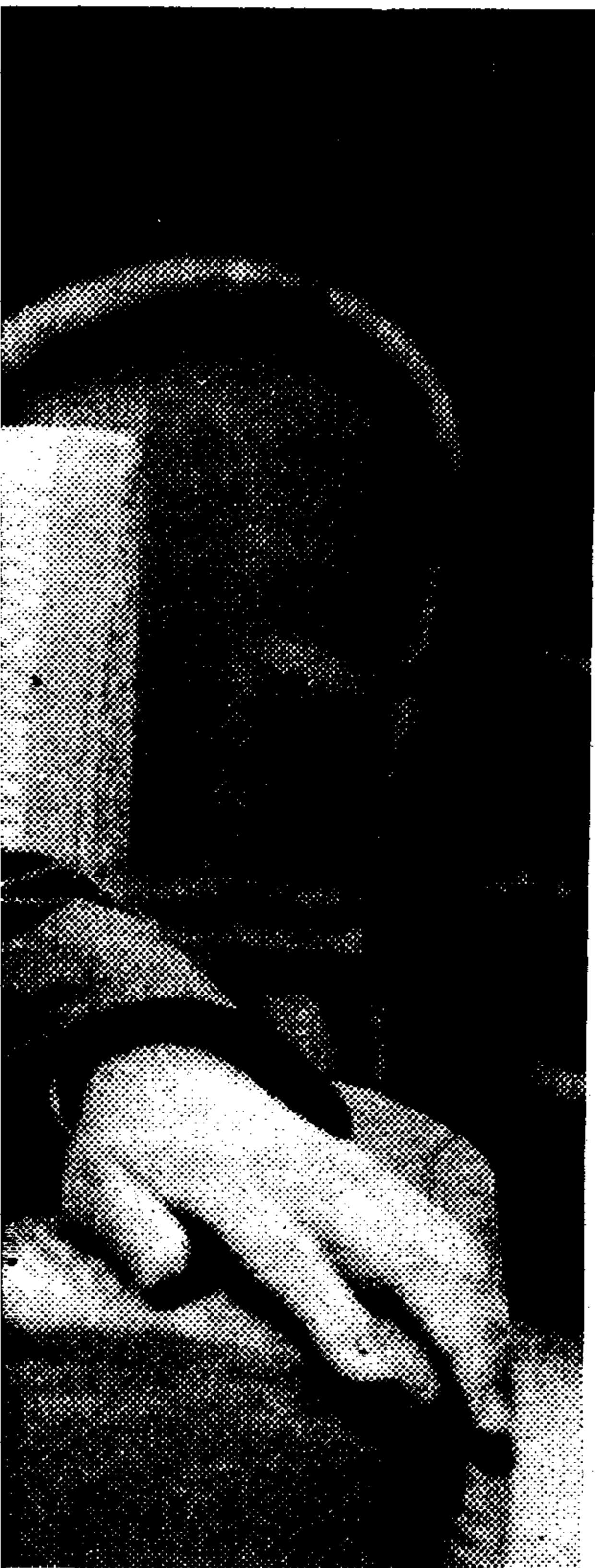
The objective difficulties are enormous. What has been achieved in China in the past 28 years is vastly superior to what capitalism managed before 1949. However, the development of China is grossly distorted as a result of the rule of the bureaucracy and its nationalist conceptions.

The Cultural Revolution came to a close at the end of the '60s with the suppression of the Red Guards and dissident movements, and with a series of untidy compromises within the bureaucracy. Many of the purged Party cadres were gradually restored, co-existing with a new layer of younger cadres. The old guard, headed by Chou En-lai, administered the State apparatus and conducted foreign policy.

Teng was rehabilitated as Vice-Premier in 1973. Chou's



# FIVE



persed, before arresting several hundred of those who refused to leave the square.

Although some slogans indicated illusions in Chou's policies, many were against bureaucratic rule in general and the Mao cult: "We want true Marxism-Leninism: for that we are willing to shed our blood!" "The People's Militia, stand united with the people!" "The age of Emperor Chien is over!" (comparing Mao to a ruthless dictator).

## Purge

Similar demonstrations spread to other cities. The Maoist controlled media denounced them fiercely, and announced the purge of Teng.

This was most likely to have taken place with Mao's and Hua's support, while the other leaders dared not support Teng for fear of inflaming the wave of demonstrations which threatened the entire ruling caste. A campaign to criticise Teng was launched, as usual with no right of reply.

While less prominent cadres were able to preserve their future position by refraining from making speeches while attending anti-Teng rallies, the top leaders, especially Hua, are on record in calling Teng a "rightist deviationist".

However, the wild media attacks by the Maoists really indicated their weakness within the Party and Army hierarchy. Their campaigns were more and more confined to the pages of the People's Daily, for they were no longer capable of calling forth the masses — nor did they dare to mobilise the masses and the youth, who are disillusioned by the experience and results of the Cultural Revolution. The Maoists' only trump card was the ailing Mao himself.

Hua Kuo-feng, who was personally promoted by Mao and not of the generation of the old guard, soon realised the balance of forces, and consolidated his succession after Mao's death by a swift and dramatic shift, made visible in the purge of the Maoist "Gang of Four".

## Pressures

Hua continues to be the most suitable figurehead to preside over the present transitional phase, though clearly Teng has been resurrected as the motorforce of the new ruling alignment.

The rehabilitation of victims of the Cultural Revolution will now probably go ahead, with the exception of Liu Shao-chi. Liu is probably dead already; in any case he is too prominently identified by Mao as China's arch "capitalist roader" for his name to be cleared without risks. Though he stood for the same policies as Chou and Teng, the ground rule for Stalinist bureaucratic faction fights in China as elsewhere is that political expediency always comes before factional loyalty and consistency in programme.

The incessant factional struggles within the leadership of the Chinese state and party bureaucracy and Army have in part been the result of terrible material pressures on Chinese society. Unlike the Russia of the 1930s it has no wealth of natural resources to draw on, and its dense population creates constant pressure on the land. The safety and stability of the bureaucrats requires that solutions be found.

There is no reason to believe that Teng and Hua have the answer. And though the 11th Party Congress has registered the defeat of the Shanghai "radicals", it has not established a decisive new regime. Hua is Chairman, but he needs Teng (who is 73) and Defence Minister, Marshall Yeh (who is 80) as his link with the old guard of the Party.

With China's economic problems still unsolved, Hua could have a rough ride ahead of him.

# THE CULT OF MAO LIVES ON



THE MAO CULT still proves useful for China's rulers today. Volume 5 of his writings [1949-1957/58] has just been published, and Mao's mausoleum is completed in time to coincide with the 11th Party Congress. Even Teng claims Mao's authority for his first rehabilitation, after being denounced by Mao as a "capitalist roader".

There is a logical link between the Mao cult and the Chinese leaders' defense of Stalin. They are surely aware that the CCP was nearly wiped out in 1927 when they followed Stalin's policy. [See WA30]. However, they share with Stalin the same nationalistic, anti-communist programme of "socialism in one country". They use Stalin's bureaucratic methods in stifling workers' democracy, and they enjoy the same type of material privileges.

Mao and all the CCP leaders were always the most staunch defenders of Stalin, while admitting that he did make the odd "mistake".

Hua, Teng and Co are equally aware that Mao's political zig-zags and factional manipulation has plunged China into numerous crises. Mao's Great Leap Forward and People's Commune policies were costly "short-cuts" towards industrialisation and land collectivisation. The failure of these adventurous policies, combined with bad harvests and the withdrawal of Russian aid, resulted in 3 years of near famine.

Again, Mao's launching of the Cultural Revolution destabilised the Party and State apparatus far beyond Mao's factional needs. The abrupt downfall of previously designated successors to Mao [Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, the "Gang of Four"] has seriously strained the credibility of the whole ruling caste.

Yet Mao's prestige as the "Great Helmsman" of the 1949 revolution is so heavily indoctrinated into the minds of the young generation that it is too risky now to attack him openly.

To denounce the Cultural Revolution as one of Mao's fraudulent manoeuvres would only re-ignite the dissident movements which had to be suppressed by naked force. So policy changes have to be justified by firstly blaming the Gang of Four for "distorting" Mao's directives, and secondly by publishing essays like the "Ten Great Relationships" in Volume 5 of Mao's writings — the last major works to stress productivity and modernisation. Since Mao went against most of this in his later years, it is no surprise that they were never published in his lifetime.

thesis of the "Four Modernisations" and Teng's three reports on industry, on scientific research and on administrative organisation (written in 1975) form the basis of the "moderate" faction, which includes most of the senior Party and Army leaders. They are in favour of a layer of technical experts and "educated" factory managers to administer the State sector of the economy, as in the USSR; a partial restoration of market forces to boost production (peasants owning land); the creation of research institutes to help develop industry and defence; and the trimming down of the PLA into a small professional army with modern equipment.

## Strikes

However, neither faction was able to impose its will: the Chou/Teng faction controlled the administrative organs, while the Maoists controlled the media and relied heavily on Mao's prestige. The country was wracked by regional rivalries, and there were tremendous strike waves in 1975 while the factional stalemate dragged on. The PLA was frequently used to "restore production".

Teng was purged for a second time shortly after Chou's death at the beginning of 1976.

During the April festival when it is traditional to mourn the dead, a gathering that was probably initiated as a factional "manoeuvre" by the "moderates" (to use the pretext of mourning Chou as a political demonstration against the Maoists) turned into a massive rally outside Tien An-men square in Peking. It was over a hundred thousand strong, and totally out of control of either faction. The police and People's Militia had to wait for 13 hours until the crowd dis-

## Wave of workers' strikes

*Demonstrations like the one above, welcoming Hua's 'accession' were orchestrated set-pieces. But judging from the few spontaneous or out-of-control demonstrations that have been reported, workers and peasant are looking to the new leadership for cash incentives, and improved living standards.*

*These expectations could come into conflict with the actual needs of the modernisation policy, which will demand centralised discipline and the production of an export surplus.*

*The new leadership's authority, though firm enough to hold a Party Congress, has yet to be asserted in the country at large. The past few years have seen the growth of regional/military rivalries, and weakened central control has resulted in the emergence of "warlords" — local Party boss or Army commander (often the same person). There are still dissident movements surviving from the Cultural Revolution; and there are pressures of peasants for land.*

*Above all, the bureaucracy must keep control of the working class. 1975 saw a wave of strikes. More recently the violent struggles spanning vast areas of China, which were put down to "supporters of the*

*Gang of Four", were in fact [according to the Far East Economic Review] working class actions for higher wages and demanding control of the means of production. Railway workers, able to travel and obtain a wide view of events, were often in the vanguard of these struggles.*

*Only a democratic working class regime could be a progressive alternative to the existing regime in China. The Chinese working class was defeated and pulverised by the armies and police of Chiang Kai-shek, of Japanese imperialism and then of Maoism [which had a deliberate policy of not involving the urban working class in the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek. It now needs to emancipate itself by smashing the power of the Maoist bureaucracy — its state apparatus, its privileges, its control of the means of production — and by replacing it with a democratic regime of the working class.*

*The existence of a working class opposition will surprise no-one who knows something of the history of the Chinese working class. And it is ultimately of greatly more significance than the doings of the bureaucrats at their 11th Party Congress.*

# TYNDALE CASE MORE THAN A CLASH OF PERSONALITIES

IAN HOLLINGWORTH reviews "SIR IS WINNING" (The Story of William Tyndale Junior School) by Shane Connaughton, showing now at the Cottesloe (National) Theatre, South Bank, SW1.

TWO years ago six teachers at William Tyndale Junior School, Islington, went on strike demanding an investigation into the campaign mounted by certain school managers against the progressive teaching techniques in use at the school.

This campaign was centrally assisted by an "old fashioned" teacher on the staff, one Dolly Walker.

For their pains the six teachers have been sacked by their employers, the Inner London Education Authority.

The Tyndale teachers are appealing against their dismissal, and their Defence Campaign is still in operation. Ideally this play about the Tyndale 'Affair' should have been an integral part of that campaign. It isn't that — and unfortunately it fails in some respects as a play in its own right too.

The play had been altered after Dolly Walker threatened legal action. That is perhaps why she is portrayed as a sweet old fashioned thing who stuck to her guns, instead of the

malicious right wing reactionary of the Rhodes Boyson stamp which she undoubtedly is.

The play does expose the con of state education enabling pupils to "get a good job" and it hinted at the inadequacies of both the traditional and progressive approaches.

But it got bogged down, just as the teachers themselves got bogged down, in a myriad details, trying to keep tabs on the whole of the ILEA as it twisted and turned in an orgy of buck-passing. This must have made life very difficult for those in the audience not already familiar with the Tyndale story.

The play also tended to downgrade the role of the ordinary teachers at Tyndale, so that the affair appeared to be a debate between Dolly Walker and Terry Ellis, the Head. So we saw nothing of the democratic decision-making by the whole staff (instituted by Ellis) and instead showed the conflict more as a clash of personalities —

Nonetheless, this is a play that socialists interested in education should try to see. And if they want to do something about the Tyndale business, they can contact the Tyndale Defence Committee — 32 Clifton Court, Finsbury Park, London N4, Tel: 01-263-2536.



# A police spy in every home?

FOR 3½ hours Sussex police hiding in a private nursing home filmed a crime being committed in the next room. Through a tiny hole in the wall a small videotape machine recorded how Mrs. Yolande MacShane pressured her 87-year old mother Mrs. Mott into agreeing to commit suicide, and giving her the sleeping pills to do it with. From her mother's death Mrs. MacShane stood to inherit £40,000.

The police used the film in court to convict Yolande MacShane. And then they gave it to Yorkshire TV and encouraged them to show everyone what "modern methods" can achieve.

## Savagery

No matter how many TV crime series you have watched it was impossible not to be both intrigued and revolted at the cynical, mild-mannered savagery of Mrs. MacShane: "No, God won't punish you Mum. He only punishes us for

all the mean things we've done. This isn't a mean thing ... People are doing it all the time..."

Mrs. MacShane came over as greedy, spiteful and callous. She had, we were told, spent two years as an organiser for Mosley's fascist Blackshirts (and, according to the *Evening Standard*, was more recently a National Front member).

YTV's introduction described her as playing "the lady of the manor" in her Cornish village.

What better way to justify the extraordinary police spying — which had needed no warrant, merely the permission of the nuns who ran the nursing home. If it seemed ominous, was it not after all to protect a helpless old lady and catch her heartless daughter in the act.

The police pushed for this film to be shown and to get the maximum publicity. It is an ideal case with which to introduce people to the idea of "modern" police surveillance techniques.

The 'prevention of crime' is of course a great alibi for the police. No doubt if they were caught installing bugs or video-cameras in every home and employing official narks in every street they would proudly point to the number of children and wives they'd saved from being battered.

But does police snooping stop with the protection of babies and old ladies? Or, more to the point, does it even start there? Or is the whole Yolande MacShane publicity a bit of a blind for something quite different?

## Enemy

The police and the other organs of the state machine are not essentially nor originally protectors of "the public" against villains. The state is basically an apparatus for maintaining the supremacy of the ruling class and protecting its property. It is there to keep the workers down and permit capitalist exploitation to proceed as smoothly as possible.

Their few "good works" could far more effectively be accomplished by other means. Old people would be much better protected by decent social services. The police do (and can do) nothing to save the 50,000 or so who die every winter through cold and hunger. But they do sustain and defend the system that kills them by neglect.

Let's not forget it: the state is the enemy of the working class, the defender of property and not life, and it doesn't become something different if a policeman helps an old lady across the road — or saves her from a predatory daughter.

The Sussex police spokesman in the YTV documentary, said the use of such spying methods as trapped Yolande MacShane doesn't mean the beginning of "Big Brother" methods. It would seem, on the contrary, that this is just what the showing of the film is designed to herald and to justify.

Why else should the police add that "the film should serve as a warning"...

THE "Socialist Programme" and "the unity of the working class" are the never-failing recipes of the paper MILITANT for every struggle, irrespective of the realities and complexities of the issues involved. This has led them to support the British Leyland management's drive for corporate bargaining.

Bob Ashworth, a senior steward at Rover, Solihull, outlines their analysis in an article "Unity for One Claim!", in *Militant* of 12th August.

Not only are Ashworth's conclusions similar to the Leyland bosses' conclusions, but at several points the text of his article reads like a document from Leyland management or the management-union "participation" committees.

Phrases like "the anarchy of piece work", "a sure recipe for divisive disputes", "to bring order into the anarchic state of Leyland negotiations" pepper the article. This is not just a question of journalistic style. The entire article is written not from the point of view of the class struggle but from the point of view of arranging matters so that everything is for the best in the most socialist of all possible worlds — whether or not that is the world we are living in.

Ashworth is right when he says that just because the bosses want something is no reason why socialists should automatically oppose it. But why do management regard corporate bargaining as so important?

To make Leyland competitive on the world market, management have to get a massive round of investment in modern plant and a big increase in productivity to reduce unit costs. That means more exploitation of Leyland workers, attacking living standards and simply getting rid of much of the Leyland workforce. There is clearly no common interest between the workers and the management in this!

The major obstacle to this process is the strength of shop floor organisation, centred on shop stewards who are resop-

# UNITY FOR ONE SELL-OUT?

ponsive to the needs and concerns of the rank and file.

The abolition of piecework and introduction of Measured Day Work in 1971 was intended to undermine the shop stewards by taking work rate negotiations off the shop floor. But the effects of MDW were limited because mutuality on manning and conditions was defended.

Similarly, the Ryder proposals attempted to neutralise the shop stewards by integrating leading stewards into the participation structure. Again, the plan has been a partial failure as the "participants" have been increasingly isolated from the shop floor while more militant stewards have challenged their authority from below.

Now the bosses are pushing for corporate bargaining as the "final solution" to the shop steward problem. By conducting all negotiations on wages and conditions only with the convenors and officials at national level, management hope to bypass the shop stewards and render them irrelevant.

Because Ashworth starts from an abstract call for "unity" and ignores the reality of the struggle in Leyland (he doesn't even mention the shop stewards!) he ends up advocating this thoroughly bureaucratic scheme. For a "Trotskyist", Ashworth seems blissfully unaware of Trotsky's warning that "slogans as well as organisational forms should be subordinated to the indices of the movement."

At a meeting of Leyland Cars Convenors on August 4th, called to discuss propos-

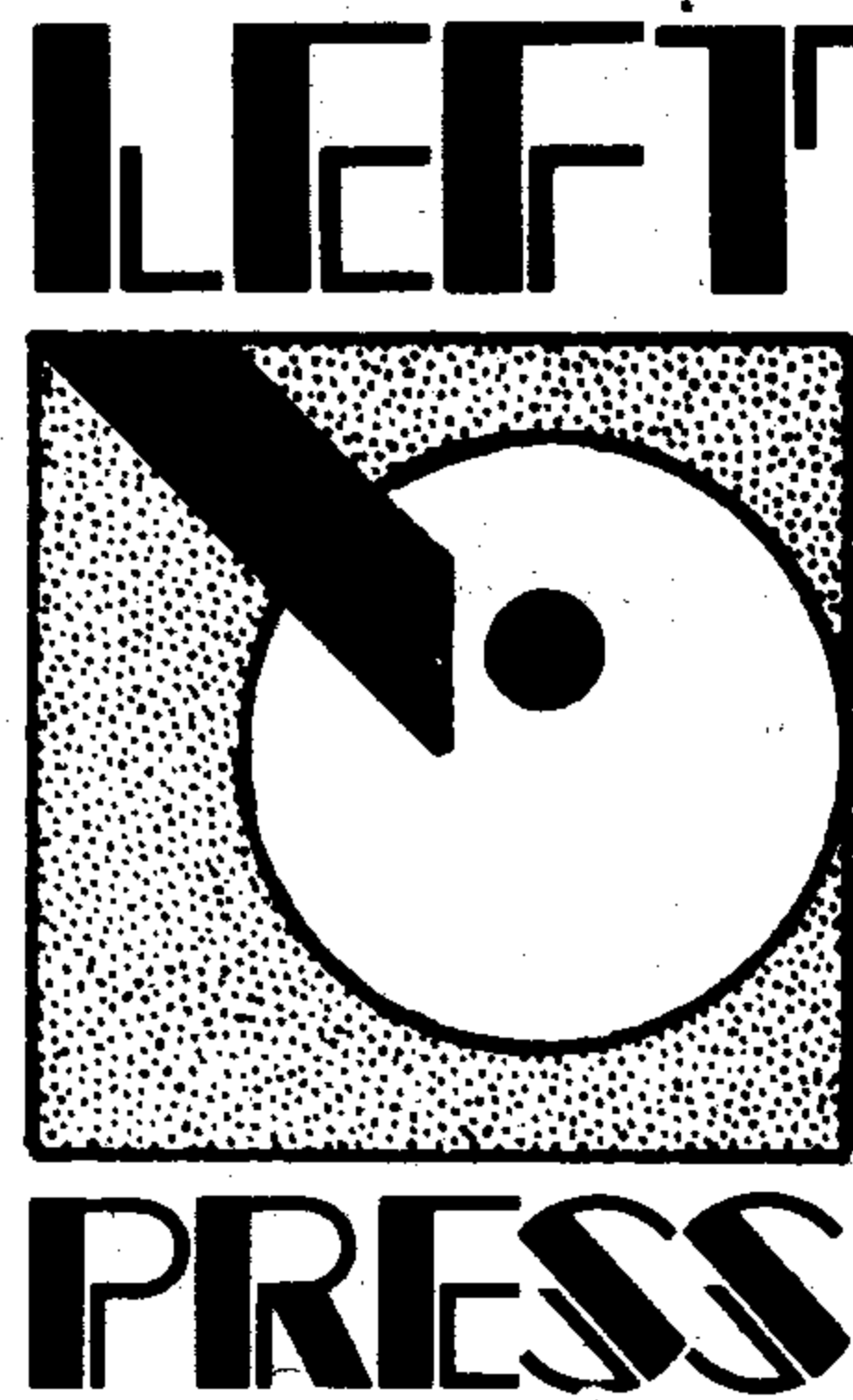
als for "reform" of the wages structure drawn up by the Joint Working Party after the Toolroom strike, a motion drawn up by *Militant* supporters at Rover proposed that the British Leyland Trade Union Committee (that is, the convenors) become the national negotiating committee. This would mean corporate bargaining, with the Leyland workforce represented by the very men who stabbed the toolroom fight in the back when it was up against Phase Two.

Most of the convenors now accept the principle of corporate bargaining, but want a "phased" introduction in the hope of getting buy-out money at each stage. Thus they voted to reduce the number of bargaining units in Leyland from 58 to 34, but rejected management's proposal for immediate corporate bargaining.

And they rejected the Rover motion (which also advocated a £15 across-the-board claim and a cost of living clause) by 95 votes to 87.

Ashworth claims in *Militant* that "the size of that minority undoubtedly reflected the fact that, in spite of some of the leaders, the mass of Leyland workers instinctively look to a united claim and a united struggle."

Indeed? How he arrives at this remarkable conclusion, considering that it was only the "leaders" who were voting while the mass of Leyland workers have never been con-



sulted on corporate bargaining, is a mystery.

More likely, the size of the minority for the Rover motion reflects the extent to which participation has succeeded in imbuing convenors with the management's viewpoint.

Genuine militants in Leyland must oppose corporate bargaining, whether accompanied by *Militant*'s bleatings about unity or by management's calls for rationalisation.

Unity can be achieved by extending shop floor control over all levels of union representation, but not by taking negotiating powers from the shop floor and giving them to remote and unrepresentative committees. And it can be expressed by giving maximum support to any section that's in a fight over its claim.

Parity can be used as an argument for big annual claims in the lower paid factories in the group, that could lead to a "levelling up" of wages throughout the group. But under no circumstances should "parity" be used (as Ashworth, *Militant* and management propose) as a justification for a corporate bargaining structure which is designed to hold back the higher paid factories and achieve a levelling DOWN of wages.

# CDLM calls carworkers' conference

ON the initiative of Workers' Action supporters, the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement has decided to call a Carworkers' Conference on September 18th.

The Conference should provide an important forum for the exchange of experience between militants from different plants and different political tendencies, and for debating the demands which carworkers should be fight-

ing for.

The Conference has been called on the basis of a platform of four demands:

- No to corporate bargaining;
- For 100% lay-off pay;
- Break the 12-month rule
- Pay increases to compensate for the fall in living standards since 1974.

But an adequate policy on wages and conditions for workers in the car and components industry will have to

go beyond this platform. It must take up issues of workers' control, nationalisation, unemployment as well as wages and shop floor democracy.

Workers' Action supporters will be advocating:

1. Pay increases at least making up for the drop in real wages since 1974. New wage agreements should include a clause guaranteeing monthly increases in line with rises in the cost of

living. For a £75 minimum wage.

2. No to the 12-month rule or any other restriction on the right to bargain. Full support for workers in struggle who come up against this rule.

3. For shop floor democracy. Direct election and recallability of negotiating committees, and direct control by mass meetings over all stages of negotiations. No "corporate bargaining" in Leyland. For Combine Committees directly answerable to the shop floor.

4. For 100% lay-off pay in all cases of lay-off.

5. No to participation schemes. Withdraw from the Cars Council and other participation bodies. Open the books. No secrecy. For workers' inspection of records and plans of all the commercial, financial and production

operations of the employers.

6. For shop floor vetos on management decisions on working conditions, safety, line speeds, manning, and shift arrangements. No "buying out" of working conditions. No productivity dealing.

7. Nationalisation of the motor and components industry without compensation and with workers' control.

8. Against redundancy. Don't cut the jobs, cut the hours — work sharing under shop floor control without loss of pay. No covering for jobs lost, even by "voluntary" redundancy.

9. For a 35 hour week. For a campaign against overtime working.

These nine points represent the main points of a strategy for car workers in the battles following the end of Phase 2.

## Direct action needed to save Direct Works



300 Building industry delegates at a conference on 20th August pledged themselves to fight against the destruction of local authority direct works departments. The conference, at Houldsworth Hall in Manchester, was called by local action committees in Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool.

Glasgow direct works department has already been closed down, and the conference was told how the newly

elected Tory council in Salford had taken just three weeks to sell off the department's plant and equipment. Direct works is threatened both by the Labour Government's cuts in public spending and by the policies of many new Tory councils.

The "Freeson Bill" would have allowed direct works departments to tender for contracts for councils other than their own, but it was dropped by the Government

as part of the Lib-Lab pact. The conference called for the reintroduction of the Bill.

Cutbacks in direct works will give a boost to corner-cutting private employers. The result for the building industry is a revival of the "lump", miserable working conditions, skimping on safety, bad standards of construction and maintenance, and lack of proper training for apprentices.

The conference, however, was less concerned with organising rank and file builders for a working class resistance to these dangers, than with promoting a broad mish-mash of a campaign to convince everyone of the virtues of direct works.

Delegates who had indicated that they had criticisms of the platform policy were not called to speak, while the "Friends of the Earth" were given time to tell us how warm we would all be if we insulated our lofts ... or, rather, let the direct works departments do it.

And the direct works departments were boosted as "model employers". But one of the reasons for the decline of direct works is that it is grossly underpaid, and therefore departments are often undermanned. A £12 claim is being discussed to bring direct works departments up to parity with private contractors. Scarcely the record of "model employers"!

BILL COPPOCK

## WWCC to hold trade union school

The WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER CAMPAIGN is planning a trade union day school for November 19th, in London.

The Charter has been passed by many trade union branches but as yet the work around the demands has been spasmodic and un-coordinated. The Charter day school will attempt to help women trying to organise for women's rights on the shopfloor and within unions.

The morning session will include speeches from women who have been engaged in major struggles during the last year — Trico, Laird Portch, Yardleys — drawing out the problems which they had to face and the solutions they found. Workshops will be held on topics such as maternity

leave, nursery provision, legislation, part-time workers, and on organising within the unions.

Such discussion will hopefully lead to the creation of women's fractions within unions around the demands of the Charter. This is absolutely vital if the Working Women's Charter is going to become something more than just a document to pass at union conferences.

There will be a special session at the end of the school where people can discuss the situation which exists within their different unions.

The school is not seen as a one-off event but as the first in a series to try and consolidate and build on the important work that has been done by many individual women and Charter groups in the unions.

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## 'MODERATE' MINORITY SABOTAGE STRIKE



An unrepresentative minority, seeking to overthrow democratic decisions by intimidation and direct action, last week became the heroes of the press. Some hundreds of Longbridge workers who mounted a demonstration against a strike call supported by 9,000 others were acclaimed as champions of moderation.

When the radio news spoke of possible attempts by anti-strike people to break the picket lines, it was with glee rather than horror at the idea of minority use of force.

Because the vocal minority were opposing strike action, automatically they were called "moderates" — although the workers supporting the strike call were demanding negotiations, and Leyland management (very moderately!) was breaking a written agreement by refusing to negotiate!

### Expiry

The trouble began when Leyland management refused to negotiate on the claim submitted by the Longbridge works committee. Management said they would only negotiate at national level, for the whole Leyland combine, despite the fact that the current plant agreement says:

"It is agreed that at the end of the period of this agreement a new direct workers' agreement will be prepared, negotiated, and brought into operation. To this end, both parties will commence the negotiations for the new agreement three months before the expiry of the existing one". The existing agreement runs out in November.

The works committee had been very far from inflexible. The claim included offers of productivity speed-up, and even before any talks had started the works committee had said they might drop all or part of the demand for £13 increase on the basic in return for an agreement guaranteeing £1 wage increase for each 1% in the cost of living.

### Anger

But Leyland's refusal to talk sparked the works committee into action. And that raised a lot of problems.

For years the Longbridge unions have operated very bureaucratically, in line with the Stalinist politics and traditions of their main leaders, members of the Communist Party. On Thursday, the day shift were suddenly presented with the proposal for an all-out strike, without any adequate time for consideration or explanation of

what the issues were.

Many times CP stewards in Longbridge have explained to us that they don't want too much democracy or involvement by the rank and file, because decisions on when and how to take action should be left in the hands of those who know best. The short-sightedness of this view became very obvious when they set about trying to organise an all-out strike in Longbridge for the first time since 1956.

The anger at the cuts in our living standards was running so high that the day shift voted massively for a strike, though everyone knew it would mean taking on the Government. Even the prospect of being laid off soon on 80% pay because of the Lucas dispute (which is not very likely now, as Leyland have found alternative supplies; but not everyone knew that) didn't swing votes against the strike.

On Thursday evening at 6pm, Longbridge convenor Derek Robinson came on television and announced that the strike was going ahead. That's when things started to go wrong. Night shift workers were infuriated by Robinson's bluster, because they hadn't even heard of the strike call yet, let alone been consulted.

When the night shift arrived at work, they were given a letter from management saying that an "attractive"

SEE:  
Page 6 —  
Corporate bargaining;  
Page 7 —  
Cars conference.

offer had been made at national level. The issues of the national negotiations, "corporate bargaining", and the "working party" had never been discussed at shop meetings — and in any case the senior stewards could not have explained the issues properly because, in line with their general method of looking for "clever" ways of getting round management rather than putting the issues squarely before the rank and file, they have not come out clearly against "corporate bargaining". So the management letter had a big effect, and there was a majority on the night shift against a strike.

There was still an overall majority in the works for a strike (about 9,000 to 5,000 — though the "exact" figures given by the works committee are sheer bluff, since there is no way they could have counted so exact-

ly). However, anger was mounting, not so much against the strike as against the bureaucratic methods of the senior stewards. And so the works committee called the strike off.

There is no way, however, that Longbridge workers are going to get an adequate in-

crease through the "working party" and "corporate bargaining". What is needed is shop meetings this week to discuss the "working party", our claim, and action on the claim, to be followed by a mass meeting of the whole works.

We need to throw out the

present bureaucratic methods of trying to sneak increases without either management or workers noticing, and go for a straightforward, adequate claim: £30 increase on the basic, plus £1 rise for each 1% rise in the cost of living.

JIM DENHAM

## £25 ? MORE LIKE A FIVER!

THE PRESS has spoken of a "£25" offer made by management. But management's letter to Longbridge workers itself says, "The financial benefits cannot be stated at the moment because the package still has to be negotiated with the unions".

The offer has been made to a "working party" set up at national level, where the union side is appointed by the Executives of the unions involved, via the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. One of the major issues in Leyland at present is whether negotiating power is going to be kept in the hands of the shop stewards' organisation, close to the shop floor, or whether it is to be handed over entirely to such bureaucratic national bodies, under Ley-

land's "corporate bargaining" scheme.

The management letter listed four points.

□ 1. A general increase in November 1977. BUT managing director Alex Park, in the Leyland Mirror, has insisted this increase must be within the "10% limit". So it will be less than £5, gross. And the offer rules out further pay reviews before November 1979!

□ 2. A move towards parity in four six-monthly stages starting November 1977 and ending November 1979. BUT the first stage would be less than £2, and the full four stages would only bring Longbridge up to where Rover is now.

□ 3. Improved sick pay and lay-off arrangements.

□ 4. An incentive scheme, beginning January 1978. BUT the main aim here is to increase management control and remove "mutuality". Management reserves the right to suspend the incentive scheme at any time, and it depends on the number of finished cars. And there are no figures for the money benefits. In addition, the parity moves are conditional on accepting the incentive scheme.

Management's letter says, "In November 1977, most Longbridge employees could expect to receive between £8 and £10 in the course of the parity programme". The dense vagueness and ambiguity of this sentence are a big contrast to the press talk of "£25 increase".

## EVENTS

small ads are free for labour movement events. Paid ads (including ads for publications) 8p per word, £5 per column inch — payment in advance. Send copy to *Events*, 49 Carnac St, London SE27, to arrive by Friday for inclusion in the following week's paper.

SUNDAY 4 SEPTEMBER. International-Communist League public meeting on "The Transitional Programme and Trotskyism Today". Speaker: Ian Macaulay. 8pm at the 'Roebuck', 108a Tottenham Court Rd (Warren St underground).

MONDAY 5 SEPTEMBER. Lobby of the TUC Congress, called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. 11am, Winter Gardens, Blackpool. Coaches organised by North London AUEW leave from Midland Rd, Kings Cross, at 6.30am. Bookings £3.50, from 01-240 0625. Train from Euston, organised by "Rank & File Organising Committee": tickets £7.50 from 265a Seven Sisters Rd, London N4.

MONDAY 12 SEPTEMBER. Huddersfield Council of Labour week against racism. Monday: Multi-cultural evening, 8pm, Poly Great Hall. Wednesday: Anti-Apartheid Movement meeting with national and local speakers on South Africa. 8pm at the Friendly & Trades Club, Northumberland St. Saturday: March against racism. Assembly 2pm at Cambridge Road Baths.

SUNDAY 18 SEPTEMBER. Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement carworkers' conference. 11am to 4pm at Digbeth Halls, Birmingham.

SATURDAY 15 OCTOBER. Rally to launch the Manifesto of the International-Communist League: "The Fight for Workers' Power". From 2pm at the Co-Op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

SATURDAY 19 NOVEMBER. Working Women's Charter day school on women and the trade unions.

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## WHY THE CARNIVAL EXPLODED AGAIN

### FROM PAGE ONE

day several thousand youths had gathered. A pool of pure energy, for two hours they swarmed, expelling first white bodies — minus their wallets. In the absence of the police, they turned next on black Carnival stewards, who with staves and iron bars were attempting to impose order. Finally, in the absence of any coherent leadership or direction, the crowd began feeding on itself, gang against gang.

The anger and frustration stored up for months of unemployment, discrimination, and humiliation could find no outlet except pure violence.

The first tactic of the police had paid off handsomely. Not only was the crowd of youths incoherent and self-destructive, but they had become isolated from the whites who remained in the area and from older blacks. As dusk fell, squadrons of police spearheaded by the Special Patrol Group moved suddenly from three points simultaneously, in overwhelming force.

With lurid orange and blue light playing on their shields, they looked like a river of molten

steel. Truncheons and shields in solid phalanxes dispersed the main body of youths within three minutes.

For two hours thereafter smaller battles were fought, brick against shield and truncheon, but invariably resistance was shattered within minutes by devastating police charges. After a while the police began to provoke attack by placing small groups of men behind shields as bait, and as soon as a bottle or brick was thrown, dozens more would appear and charge down anyone in sight.

For most people in the area — as well as for the youths — the experience was shattering. One Irishman could be seen wandering blindly in the middle of a rubble-strewn street, holding his head in his hands and wailing: "For God's sake stop. It's just like bloody Belfast".

Indeed, Police Commissioner McNee has begun in earnest to apply the lessons learnt in Ireland and from the CRS in France. From now on street confrontations are to be governed by a set of rules new to British workers. The blacks of Notting Hill were the first to learn what those rules are.

James Ryan