

# The Future of the Chinese C.P.

ONLY A FOOL would make predictions about the present course of events in China. Here then are my predictions. They are not based on 'the facts'. Although I read Chinese and am just back from Hong Kong where it is possible to talk with travellers and refugees from China, I can't distinguish fact from faith or fear in today's turmoil. These 'predictions' then are mere extrapolations of past tendencies.

Mao and his colleagues took charge of the CP in China in the mid-1930's following six or more years of factional fighting in that Party which included turning factional enemies in to the secret police of Chiang Kai-shek and his white terror. Mao rose to power on a—to be anachronistic—Khrushchev line of permitting losers to live. This change was a matter of survival and security for all. For the next 30 years Party people whose policies were not adopted could even stay in the leadership and argue again—as long as they admitted error each time a line was adopted. Why the breakdown of this dissent and debate within unity today?

It didn't begin today. It began to reach significant size a decade ago when the inner Party apparatus which controlled the capital city branch, the secretariat, the propaganda bureaus, etc., undermined a liberalization effort called the hundred flowers policy. That policy permitted broadened areas of dissent, allowed for strikes, gave increased power to experts, took power from CP branches. The state apparatus under Chou En-lai was supplanting the Party apparatus of Liu Shao-ch'i. Key decisions came from Chou's State Council.

Chou's policy and people had lost by mid-1957. Liu's allies then launched the so-called great leap forward which reversed the previous 'un-communist' trend of higher wages, formal law, careful state planning, etc., and whipped up a mass frenzy putting 'politics in command'. Actually the power to command went to Party cadres. Liu's Stalinist-like control was strengthened. Schools and journals and provincial leaders were purged. The head of the secret police was given a key post in the military hierarchy.

The great leap forward failed. The economy failed. In some areas of China peasants took up arms against the demanded sacrifices and hardships. Troops had to be moved in. Militia were disarmed.

A partial return to liberalization, to the hundred flowers policies, followed at the start of the 1960's. But why? By whom? It is at this point that the picture at the apex of the power mountain is clouded over.

Perhaps the return to partial liberalization was a mere expedient by the

Stalinists to get over a crisis. Once over the hump, they would continue to entrench themselves and remove the liberalizers. As good Stalinists, they could find material benefits a way to win power today, as they a decade earlier regained power by advocating work without much in the way of wage increases, steal Trotsky's thunder today, but harm tomorrow's.

If this view reflects Chinese reality, then the so-called Cultural Revolution may mask a struggle for power between Liu's Stalinists and all the other Party forces who came to fear by late 1965 that Mao's death might be the death of them. They then have united using any and all forces to destroy the Stalinists. Mao's wife, red guards—Chou's people have been willing to call on anything in this fight to the finish. They have succeeded in getting rid of the secret police role in the military. Indeed the security forces have now been purged numerous times. Also the Peking Party branch has been purged, as has the head of literary control, Chou Yang—perhaps the man most hated by the liberalizers—and the propaganda bureau and its head. But that entrenched Stalinist Party apparatus lives and fights back.

This is all suppositional. Here is another supposition which explains most of the 'facts'. Perhaps that return to a partial liberalization a few years ago signified that the Stalinist and 'liberal' leaders had decided to join forces and follow a 'middle' course. The cultural revolution then would be the attack of Mao and others still committed to a revolution of pure values, sacrifice of self, mass energies, etc., against a massive political and state bureaucracy more concerned with getting on with economic development than in doing it in a moral messianic manner.

And there are other possibilities—and other complications. Till 1959 power in China was largely regional. Attempts at centralization were again abandoned a couple of years ago. Liu's allies (Teng Hsiao-p'ing, et al) come largely from one of these regions. His enemies largely come from another. Elsewhere in China the geographical division—and military loyalty?—cuts across the power-policy division at the top.

So does the question of foreign policy. A decision on China's commitment to the Viet-minh has consequences for her relations with Russia. Can one be properly revolutionary in the first instance without compromising one's revolutionary faith on the second—for certainly the Viet-cong would benefit from 'international proletarian solidarity'. Decisions here have serious implications for investment and wage policy, on guns and butter within China, that is, for purists and pragmatists.

And the truth is we really don't know how all these things tie in. What is clear is that the prestige of the CP in China has suffered a tremendous blow. The aura of unity and all-knowing authority, which it had so assiduously cultivated, is lost. Scepticism spreads, as does economic chaos. In the future workers in city and country will find it less easy to merely accept orders. Not only will the life of the people probably decline materially in the immediate future, but more coercion will have to be used to replace the lost consensus and charisma.

I think that one can safely predict that no matter who or what wins the pot in China's power poker, the vast majority of the people are—in the near future—in for hard and harder times.

EDWARD FRIEDMAN.

# Children of Vietnam

'A million children have been killed or wounded or burned in the war. . . . Not many of them even get to hospitals, which are few and far between, but when they do, they may lie three in a bed or on newspapers on the floor. Flies are in the wounds. Even such simple equipment as cups and plates are in short supply. Materials for the adequate treatment of burns—gauze, ointments, antibiotics and plasma—are usually non-existent. . . . When

'Terre des Hommes', a Swiss humanitarian organization, asked for American Government assistance in flying burned and wounded children to Europe for repair (American) officials refused. With crocodile tears they explained children are unhappy when separated from their families'. (This is an excerpt from Dr. Benjamin Spock's preface to a pamphlet 'The Children of Vietnam' distributed by Housmans in this country.)

We have all heard of war atrocities and we are becoming immune to human suffering. But the coloured photographs in this pamphlet shocked this writer. We have seen limbless children, hungry children in Oxfam advertisements, appealing children with large eyes and thin bodies—they no longer shock. Our contemporary 'satirists' even advertise their shoddy ware with such a child—'send your money to Oxfam'—a hilarious joke.

Perhaps this book is propaganda and all the photographs are fakes. But I cannot believe this. Independent witnesses visiting South and North Vietnam testify that napalm and fragmentation bombs that spit out hundreds of metal fragments kill and maim thousands of children.

The photographs bring home the reality of war because they are in colour and because they approximate to real flesh. 'Any visitor to a hospital, an orphanage, a refugee camp, can plainly see the evidence of reliance on amputation as a surgical short-cut,' says a caption. And there is the boy. His brown little body, noble face and wise eyes look at me. His right arm is cut off just below the elbow. Whose victim is he? And the little girl with her nose torn off and her left eye gouged out. Where is her mother, where her father? Who will love her? The

boy with pink blotches covering his body from napalm burns. I cannot be not affected by these photographs. And I cannot see how such a war can continue, how the people of the world allow this to continue.

The book itself puts the blame on the Americans. But in front of me there is another publication, the *Vietnam Courier*, published in Hanoi. It is a good corrective. It shows what suicidal lunatics the North Vietnam leaders are. Fanatics without a shred of humanity. They also print photographs of horribly mutilated children. But their headline is 'The Vietnamese people will fight till final victory'. Their crocodile tears are the same as the Americans!

No, comrades, there are no 'just wars'. This war must stop! To this writer it no longer matters which side 'wins' the war. There must be peace in Vietnam, humiliating as this must prove to one or another set of politicians and military madmen. The slaughter of children must stop.

I realise that this kind of talk, politically speaking, is defeatism. That negotiated peace in Vietnam now would mean a measure of capitulation to American might. But it is time we shed all vestiges of revolutionary romanticism. We must persuade the peoples of this world



that ideological conflict will never be settled by war. And war itself is only possible whilst we allow governments over us, because only governments can provide the machinery for the organisation and conduct of wars.

To stop a stupid and bestial war now is only defeatist if we leave it at that. If it is coupled with the realisation that governmental manipulation of people is a barbaric conception and what we need is merely the administration of things, without militarism, without exploitation, then it is no longer defeatist. I am aware that what I have written is confused, emotional and not practical. But this book on mutilated children completely demoralised me. If this book could get to every home in the country, just the photographs, without the text, it would have the effect of *Cathy Come Home* in spurring people to take action.

R.

## KOSYGIN WELCOMED!

RUSSIA's leading bureaucrat and fake socialist arrived in this country last Monday. On the preceding Saturday, about 40 supporters of the North London Anarchist Discussion Group gave him a pre-arrival 'welcome' in the West End. The demonstration began with a picket of Intourist's (the Soviet official—and only—tourist agency) London Office. Large numbers of leaflets were distributed to callers at the office and to passers-by. One of the Intourist officials accepted one

of the leaflets (reprints of the leading article in the recent 8-page issue of FREEDOM). We hope it gave him food for thought.

Accompanied by a police van the demonstration then moved off towards Fleet Street, leafletting and selling literature as it went. Placards calling attention to Soviet crimes, political prisoners in Russia and fundamental similarities between Kosygin and Wilson (our fake socialist) were carried.

## MR K JOINS THE CLUB

MOST spectacular of the many touching welcomes so far given to Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin is expected on Sunday from an obscure but powerful organisation known as 'The Sons and Daughters of the Russian Revolution'.

From its temporary headquarters deep in the heart of Highgate cemetery, principal co-ordinator of the group, one Comrade Nestor Makhno, yesterday issued the following press statement:—

'This year, comrades, as you all know, marks the Fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. What better place to celebrate this historic occasion, when the workers by their own strength finally threw out their Czarist oppressors, than the exclusive Carlton Club, 69 St. James's Street, S.W.1?

'What better time for such a celebration than midday on Sunday when the new Czar, Czar Kosygin himself, partakes of luncheon at that world-famed Tory stronghold with no less a personage than Mr. Edward Heath, leader of the Con-

servative Party?

'Karl Marx once said of the workers of France: "As far as they are concerned, Liberty means cavalry, Equality means infantry, Fraternity means artillery." . . . Sadly, 50 years after the revolution, how much more true is that statement of the still oppressed workers of the Soviet Union?

'The most recent, scandalous, but not entirely unexpected example of the Soviet state at its worst was the condemnation of the two writers, Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, to seven and five years hard labour respectively, early last year.

'All those attending are invited to wear red shirts, coats, ties, hats, etc. Musical entertainment for the members of the Carlton Club and their illustrious guest will be provided on tin plates. Bring red balloons, inscribed "The People". When Kosygin makes his exit all the balloons will be burst simultaneously.

'Fluttering in the foreground will be a

### NOTE

At noon next Sunday (12) a non-meal to raise funds for Oxfam will be held at or outside (depending on the libertarianism or otherwise of the management) the Carlton Club where Kosygin will be stuffing himself with capitalist food with Ted Heath (not the bandleader). Please note that this is the Carlton Club in St. James's Street, S.W.1, and not the Carlton Club in Bowes Road, N.11. Bring your own crockery, tin plates, empty cooking pots and cutlery.

large flag bearing the hammer and sickle—a blue flag.

'We hope that the nostalgia and inherent symbolism of the situation will bring a tear to the Russian gentleman's eye.

'Karl Marx is dead! Assassins and vultures gather! The people may roast. The Russian Revolution ends in the Carlton Club!'

### TIME

Sunday, February 12. 12 noon.

### PLACE

69 St. James's Street, S.W.1.

## ANARCHY 72

ON SALE NOW DISCUSSES THE WORKERS

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# Sunley's: The Right to Picket

FOR over three months now workers on Sunley's £5m Government contract in Westminster have been on strike. They took this action over the company's insistence that the men had to change into their working clothes before clocking-in and the introduction of a gang system of bonus, which replaced the negotiated collective scheme. Two weeks later, Sunley's sacked 350 men and closed the site. Although most of these have found other jobs, 18 men have been maintaining the picket line.

Official union recognition was given by the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers. The Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers gave their support only in the early part of the strike. The fact that a picket line has been maintained all this time and the two unions have given their backing, has prevented Sunley's from re-starting the job. Only about 30 men working for sub-contractors have continued to work.

The contract should have been finished last October, but the Government has given them a six months extension. This

has let them off the hook with regard to the penalty clause in the original contract, which stipulated a fine of £900 for each day's work over the completion date. It has been estimated that Sunley's will need another year to complete the contract. Therefore, unless they were willing to reinstate Jack Henry, the ASW Federation Steward, and the other 17 men, they had to do something about these pickets.

The answer they came up with was the serving of writs on these men, restraining them from carrying on with their picketing. It took two attempts to serve the writs. On the first occasion, the men insisted that they be served on them at their homes and refused to accept them. The following day, a solicitor's clerk managed to serve the writs at the picket line. Although the men were, at first, quite angry at this resort to the law, the final scene, with the clerk sprinting up and down the road was a more lighthearted affair.

## 'WATCHING' AND 'BESETTING'

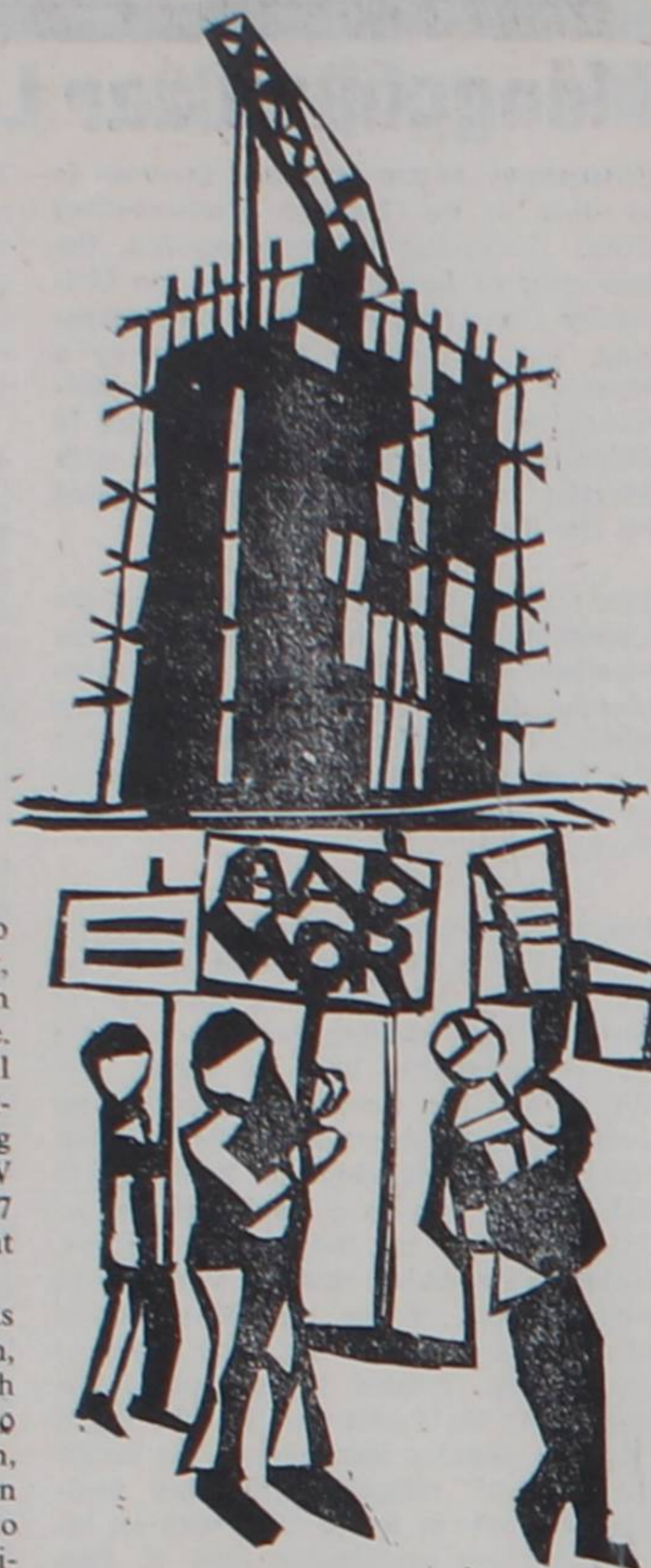
However, this action can have serious implications, not only to those on strike at Sunley's, but also to the whole of the trade union movement. The wording of the injunction includes 'restrain the defendants from watching and or besetting the works and from intimidating persons employed by Sunley's or their sub-contractors'. It also claims damages against the pickets for unlawful conspiracy to injure Sunley's.

The injunction, granted by Mr. Justice James, is couched in terms which make picketing unlawful. However, this point was clarified and the company's solicitors said 'They (the men) are not in breach of the injunction by picketing.' This statement was confirmed by the police, who said that they would allow two pickets at each gate. These statements were issued the following day, when the picketing continued as usual, so the writs might just have been issued in an attempt to frighten the men off.

The wording of the injunction totally ignores the 1906 Trades Disputes Act, which clearly legalised picketing, but the exact wording should be noted. 'It shall be lawful for one or more persons acting on their own behalf, or on behalf of a Trade Union or of an individual employer or firm in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information or peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.'

It is important to remember that the law that trade unionists often ran foul of before the 1906 Act is still on the Statute Book. This is the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. This made picketing a hazardous job, for it included the following: (1) Intimidation of any person; (2) Persistently following a person from place to place; (3) 'Watching or besetting' a person's home or place of work. As the Civil Liberties Handbook of Citizens' Rights points out, the emphasis in the 1906 Act is on the word 'peacefully', and Sunley's have said that some fighting broke out when drivers took their lorries through the pickets.

Some recent interpretations of this Law cast strong doubts on the protection it affords to pickets. For instance, both the Emerald v. Lowthian and the Square Grip v. MacDonald cases were upheld because the judges said that 'irreparable damage might be done' to companies and that the 'defendants would suffer little



or no damage'. The Rookes v. Barnard judgement upheld a breach of contract and so gives weight to the conspiracy charge in the injunction. It must also be remembered that Sunley's have said that the whole dispute was the work of London Joint Sites Committee and might have something up their sleeve in this direction.

At the time of writing, the High Court hearing of last Friday had been adjourned until Monday. However, this whole affair just illustrates the flimsiness of the protection the law gives. It is always open to interpretations of various natures. Even the use of lorries for bringing in 'scabs' could be interpreted as being outside the 1906 Act.

## SOLIDARITY FROM OTHER SITES

The leaders of the TUC might have reached the 'corridors of power', but the rank and file remain outside the law. They will still have to continue relying on their own strength. This has been shown in the Sunley's dispute, for since the writs were issued, workers from other sites in London have been taking the day off and doing their bit on the picket line. Their banners have publicised from which job they have come and this action shows that the lads realise they are involved as well.

On Friday, when 16 men were at the High Court, workers from a number of jobs were at Sunley's manning the picket lines. This is the way to show the employers and judges that trade unionists are not going to be intimidated by injunctions and the best way to defeat them is to maintain pickets at Sunleys, Workers in all industries should show their support for these men, for they are defending the rights of all trade unionists.

WHETHER LAST WEEK'S play on BBC television, *The Lump*, will focus the same amount of attention on the building industry as the *Cathy Come Home* play has on the homeless remains to be seen, but certainly an attack on the labour-only sub-contracting is long overdue.

The play, written by Jim Allen, himself a building worker, was produced by Tony Garnett, who also produced *Cathy Come Home*. The main part, taken by Leslie Sands, was Yorky, a bricklayer Federation Steward who is sacked after the men have called a strike over safety conditions.

The union organiser, as usual, tells the men to go back to work, but they refuse to unless Yorky is reinstated. The management refuse to do this and they also reject the suggestion of the union official that if they take back Yorky, the union will withdraw his steward's credentials, leaving the way clear for his transfer and later sacking.

# FREEDOM

## For Workers' Control

FEBRUARY 11 1967 Vol 28 No 4

## Where Do We Go from Here?

### WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Everyone is waiting for the flood gates to open in July, but this certainly is not going to happen. Whilst the Government cannot hope to continue with Part 4, the TUC will attempt to fill the breach. The plan is for the TUC to work out a norm each year, and endeavour to pressurise individual unions to moderate their demands.

The TUC and the CBI have held the first of their monthly tête-à-tête. According to George Woodcock it was a friendly meeting and very promising. The director general of CBI said that the only point that was agreed was 'not to paper over the cracks'. The two sides will endeavour to present a joint viewpoint on the proper growth of income. There is not complete harmony in the joint camp, the TUC accuse the CBI of not being able to hold their prices as well as the workers have held back on wages.

On March 2, union executives meet at Central Hall, Westminster, to discuss what policy to adopt after July. George Woodcock is in favour of the TUC taking over from the Government in terms of wage regulation. The only question he can't answer is how to enforce it; whilst some unions may acquiesce there are always the rebels.

The Government post-freeze policy is based on Part 2 of the Prices and Incomes Bill; at the moment Part 2 has a delaying power of three months, the Government is considering extending this period to twelve months. Whilst this is not palatable to the TUC, the chances are that there could be a compromise on the length of the delaying power. There is, in fact, no actual opposition to a Prices and Incomes policy, the difference of opinion between the Government and the TUC is purely one of method and application.

Wilson, in his Swansea speech, has given fair warning—either the TUC and CBI get together and work out a plan for wage regulation or the Government will do it for them. There is more than a strong possibility that Wilson has been

under strong pressure from some members of his Cabinet to extend Part 4 beyond August. The PM is nobody's fool—why stick his neck out, if he can get his industrial hatchet men to achieve the same result in a different way? Michael Stewart, on the other hand, is a realist—if you want to play the state capitalist game, then play it properly—rule and control.

The time has got to come for statutory control of wages, this is the logical outcome of Labour Party policy. The conditioning of public opinion has been going on over the past few years; I believe the majority of workers are prepared to accept this position. The *Morning Star* may scream its head off, but if the Communist Party formed the Government they would adopt similar policies.

Paternalism is not something new, as time goes on the workers will get their wage increases within the framework of Government or TUC control. Collective bargaining will be a sham, one will go through the motions knowing full well the maximum norm has been set.

For the moment, anyway, providing the worker can see the possibility of keeping his car or the possibility of getting one, he is reasonably content, social consciousness in the old-fashioned sense is out. 'Solidarity' is a luxury 'few' will endeavour to afford.

What's to be done? All this may sound like heresy but, facing facts, the lower-paid workers are getting by, either by excessive overtime, two jobs, or wives going out to work, full-time, part-time or home jobs. If this is not the case then where is, or was, the reaction against the wage freeze? If any group of workers had a legitimate case it was the railwaymen and local government industrial workers—their reaction was one of 'mild' rumbling.

If we do not wake up, this nightmare we live in will indeed be reality, with our aspirations and dreams for freedom as active as that of a doctored tom cat.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

**Work Wanted in France.** Long shot. Can anyone help married couple (30's) find permanent work—France/Switz. Box 47.

**Dialectics of Liberation.** International Congress sponsored by Institute of Phenomenological Studies. London, July 15-30. Registration Fee 15 gns. Allen Ginsberg, Paul Goodman, Herbert Marcuse, Ronald Laing, etc. Enrolments to IPS, 65a Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.3.

**Accommodation Wanted.** Girl wants flat in London sharing with 2/3 others. Lesley Owen, 24 Crawshaw Drive, Emmer Green, Reading.

**Work.** Urgent; young couple, both graduates, seek any work in which they can be together (for personal reasons this is more important than the money). John Tittensor, 103a Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

**Accommodation.** Young couple (with two small sons) urgently need 3-room s.c. flat at reasonable rent. Willing to decorate, baby mind, help in house, garden, etc. Box 42.

**Speakers.** Harlow Anarchists intend to run a series of public meetings and indoor forums. Comrades willing to speak on anarchistic topics will be paid expenses if necessary. Please contact the Harlow Group (see groups column) with offers or suggestions.

**Conference on 'Race Toward Tolerance.'** Islington International Friendship Council. Speakers: David Pitt; Eric Silver of the *Guardian*; Mrs. Shirley Williams. Chairman: James Cameron. 2.30 p.m. Saturday, February 25, 1967. Islington Town Hall, Upper Street, London, N.1. Refreshments and collection.

**Voluntary Editorial Secretary.** Wanted for FREEDOM editors. Two evenings a week. Fridays and Mondays. Shorthand not essential but own typewriter desirable. Write Freedom Press.

**Badges.** Harlow Anarchists. Badges of any slogan, any colour, 1/- each, 10/- per dozen, £1 for 30. 1 in. diameter. Enquiries: 138 Penny Mead, Harlow, Essex. Proceeds to duplicator fund.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

## Let us have your orders now for the 8-page FREEDOM

## The Lump

With the assistance of a Roman Catholic priest and the police escorting in the 'scabs', the strike collapses. Yorky is blacklisted and so, with a young university student as his labourer, forced to go on the 'Lump'.

Although the play had a documentary approach, the death of Yorky, when a trench caves in on him during a fight with the 'Lump' man was, I felt, an overdramatic way of ending the play but nevertheless highlighted the tragic effects of labour-only sub-contracting. Jim Allen caught the atmosphere of the building site, the workers' attitudes, language and the approach of the union organiser just right. These were really true to life.

The play upset a great number of apple-carts in its attack, not only the trade union officials and the employers, but also the Communist Party. Although Yorky describes himself as a communist, he had given up the Party after the South Bank, London, strike. The CP, he said, was only out to organise lobbies and petitions, and were only after official positions of power.

A discussion of the play followed in *Late Night Line Up* with Mr. Holloway.

once the president of the employers' federation. The way Jim Allen kept referring to the anarchy in the industry, when he obviously meant chaos, showed that he obviously was not an anarchist. However, he said he was a revolutionary and that he wanted the building industry nationalised, but with the workers running it themselves. He was against the profit motive altogether and said homes, hospitals, etc., should be a social service.

Mr. Holloway agreed with him about the 'Lump', but defended the labour-only scheme whereby a firm hires out men to the main contractors. He did not mention that these firms guarantee no strikes, unlimited hours with overtime rates, and that many have no protection for the men if they are involved in an accident. Whether it is the 'Lump' system shown in the play, where the man who hires out the men is also their landlord and ganger-man, or the system defended by Mr. Holloway, they are both being used increasingly by the employers. The Selective Employment Tax has further accelerated the use, as it is classified as self-employment.

This system is a menace to trade union organisation, but union executives have done very little so far to combat it.

About the only thing that Jim Allen and Mr. Holloway agreed on was one union for the industry, but for different reasons, no doubt.

P.T.