

# \* Socialist Worker

For workers control and international socialism 137 11 September 1969 every Thursday 3d

**TUC 'victory':  
Scanlon and  
Jones must  
take action**

**SW Reporter**

THE VOTE by the TUC last week against the government's Prices and Incomes policy is an important victory—on paper.

The decision reflects the growing importance of the two giant unions, the Amalgamated Engineering and Foundryworkers and the Transport Workers, led by Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones. They are very different from the type of leaders who used to control their unions.

The role of all trade union leaders is to attempt to improve the wages and conditions of their members. The right-wing leaders carry out their task without enthusiasm, always willing to compromise, water down their demands in 'the national interest' and discipline their members when they become too militant. Negotiations are carried on in secret without reference to rank and file members.

This attitude was the hallmark of both the AEF and TGWU when they were controlled by arch-right-wingers like Carron and Deakin. Even under Frank Cousins, the Transport Workers were only involved in one major official dispute, the 1958 bus strike.

## SHARPER

Already both Scanlon and Jones have conducted far sharper wage struggles than their predecessors. They believe in a tougher wages policy — the bacon they bring home has far more lean on it.

But because they are the prisoners of the trade union machine, through lack of any real, grass-roots contact with the rank and file, they are often forced to compromise, twist and turn. Scanlon, at the Tribune meeting during the TUC, declared in the middle of a sharp attack on Wilson that the unions had taken on the 'responsibility' of dealing with unofficial strikes. Scanlon attacks Wilson's policies but at the same time accepts the argument that unofficial strikes have to be curbed, that the workers are in some way responsible for the madness of the capitalist system. And he is unaware, apparently, that many unofficial strikes are caused by the remoteness of full-time union officials.

## APPOINTED

Jones spoke eloquently of the shop stewards as the 'soul' of the trade union movement, yet he takes no steps to allow them to play a real part in his union's affairs by dismantling the undemocratic system whereby officials are appointed, not elected by the rank and file.

Both Scanlon and Jones divorce union work from politics. They speak at workers' control conferences as fiery socialists but act as reformist union leaders.

That is why the TUC victory is fine — on paper. To be translated into action means a showdown with Wilson at the Labour Party conference and, more importantly, the mobilisation of the trade union rank and file to fight against every form of incomes policy and productivity dealing.

Scanlon and Jones cannot do it on their own. But millions of workers in key industries carrying out the policies advocated at the TUC can bring us nearer to workers' control in deed as well as word.

## CLARK HYPOCRISY

CHICHESTER CLARK'S statement on Tuesday that the barricades must be removed underlines the urgency of the situation in Belfast, the desperate need for the embattled Catholic areas to defend themselves against further murderous attacks.

Clark promised reforms if the barricades go. No one will be taken in by this hypocrisy. O'Neill promised reforms — and the wild men of the Orange Lodges chopped him. Clark is much more a prisoner of the far right than his predecessor and knows that he dare not ignore their wishes and attempt to introduce minimal civil rights for Catholics.

Clark's statement was praised by the spokesman for the extreme right, William Craig, who congratulated the prime minister for saying that 'law and order' must be restored. Craig's idea of law and order is the right for armed hooligans to terrorise the Catholic areas.

The Catholics must defend their barricades, if necessary against the troops.



British troops using tear-gas in Belfast on Sunday: when the Catholics are armed they can tell the troops to go

# DEFEND the BARRICADES

## No peace until Stormont goes

## EDITORIAL

FOR A BRIEF moment last Sunday the ruling classes of Ireland, North and South, permitted themselves a sigh of relief.

The Reverend Ian Paisley had rallied to the call for moderation from his Unionist masters and had begged the Protestants of Donegal Road, Belfast, to move their 'protest' barricade.

In return, Major General Dyball, deputy director of military operations in Northern Ireland, persuaded the Catholics of Divis Street and Albert Street to remove their main road barricades.

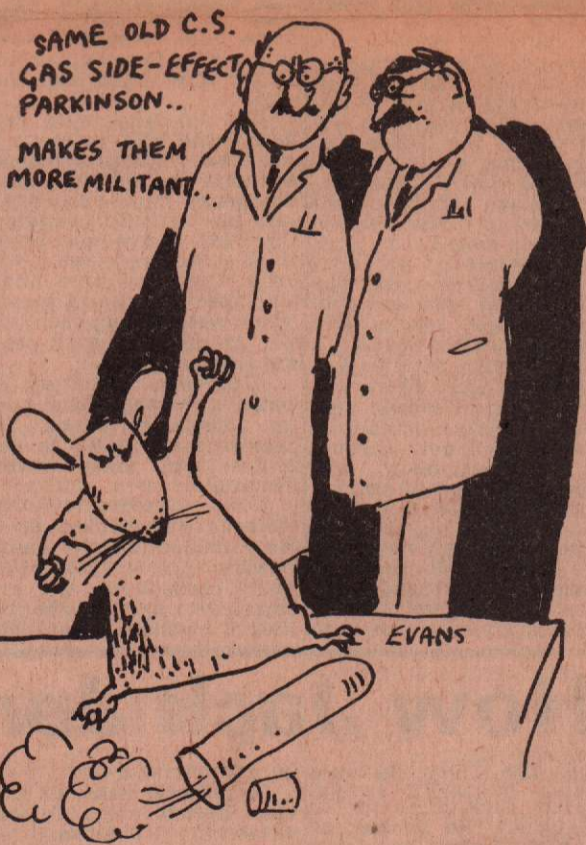
The right-wing press of Belfast, Dublin and London estimated that 'tension had eased' and that 'everything might turn out well.'

## Racism and hate

They got their answer from Radio Orange and Radio Ulster the pirate radio stations which poured out nightly racism and hate against the Catholics behind the barricades.

Within half an hour that Sunday evening, Radio Orange called 3000 Protestants out into the street ostensibly to protest against the alleged pulling down of a Union Jack, in reality to demonstrate that the removal of the barricades was seen as a pretext to continue the plunder of Catholic Belfast.

All their lives these Protestants had been told, as



families had been told for three centuries, that they owed their livelihood, their dignity, their very existence to the Orange Order.

They had been taught by their political and religious leaders that their Protestant religion marked them off as a superior caste to Roman Catholics. They had been led into bitter battles by English Tories, recruited into B-Special platoons by the forbears of Major Chichester

Clark, chivvied into pogroms.

In July 1935, for instance, an upsurge in the demand for Catholic emancipation led to large-scale riots in Belfast. Two hundred Catholic houses were burnt to the ground.

Fourteen people were killed and many hundreds injured. The Ulster Premier, backed by Baldwin in the House of Commons, turned down demands for a public inquiry.

In Dublin President de Valera was too busy closing

the vice on his former Republican comrades-in-arms to utter more than a whisper of protest.

Thirty-four years later both governments have reacted to riots of exactly the same type and violence by setting up an immediate inquiry and by 'stabilising' the situation with British troops.

In Dublin Prime Minister Lynch has no option but to declare an amnesty for Republican militants and to move three-quarters of the Free State army to the Border.

The difference is that in 1935 capitalism in Ulster was still hugely profitable and the maintenance of Orange Power crucial to that capitalism's health.

Today, although Ulster still provides profits for the British ruling class, booming exploitation in Southern Ireland is much more valuable. Orange Power is a threat to 'stability' in the South and therefore an embarrassment.

The lessons of the past week's rioting for the beleaguered Catholics of Belfast are plain. The barricades must stay.

More must be built, and more must be reinforced.

They should call on their supporters in the South to open a second front on the Green Tory regime in Dublin: to send them arms from the Southern arsenals to enable them eventually to demand the withdrawal of the British troops in the confidence that they themselves can stave off a pogrom.

The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital. Those who call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops before the men behind the barricades can defend themselves are inviting a pogrom which will hit first and hardest at socialists.

The barricades must stay until the B-men have been disbanded, the Stormont regime indefinitely suspended and the Ulster police state smashed forever.

Yet the struggle cannot end there. There can be no hope of progress for Irish workers while the island is divided.

But a civil war fought on sectarian religious differences or a United Ireland imposed in blood in a holy war, is no passport to progress either. The lasting success of the beleaguered people of Northern Ireland will depend on the extent to which they and their supporters in the South seek out and work alongside those Protestant workers who are sick to death of the ravings of Radio Orange.

## The cry grows

Their success depends on fighting issues which mean something real to every working man and woman in Ireland. From behind the barricades the cry grows:

We want houses for the homeless and good houses instead of slums.

We want work for the unemployed. We want an end to bullying in the factory and servility on the land.

We want more than that. We want an Ireland where workers no longer live in fear of the boss at work or the landlord at home, where working people run their own economy and society, where they can worship as they wish without fear and without relevance to political decisions.

That is what we want and all who want the same are our comrades.

# Black power leader on hunger strike as pickets demand release

**SW Reporter**

PICKETS were held outside the TWA office, Pentonville jail and the American embassy on Tuesday afternoon by revolutionary black groups in Britain, supported by IS members, to condemn the illegal detention since last

Friday of Robert Williams, 'president of the Republic of North America'.

No charge has been made against him. He is a passenger in transit from Peking to Detroit, where he wishes to defend himself against charges of kidnapping and, no

doubt, to take part in the struggle of revolutionary black groups, in particular the Black Panther Party.

The Home Office is colluding with the American government by refusing to allow him to fly to America. TWA refuses to carry him as a

passenger.

Williams has been on hunger strike in Pentonville since Friday when he told representatives of black organisations that he would fly only to Detroit or Peking. The Home Office wants to send him to Cairo.

# TROTSKY on GERMANY

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# Ulster: how the police state started

THE ORANGE ORDER was founded in 1795 out of the struggles of the Protestant peasantry of Ulster, organised in the Peep o' Day Boys, against their Catholic rivals, the Defenders. In 1798 Orangemen throughout Ireland fought against the revolutionary democracy, the United Irishmen, for the maintenance of the connection with Britain and against 'Catholic Emancipation' in any shape or form.

Following the defeat of Emmet the movement expanded into areas, such as South Co. Derry where the Protestant peasants had given their support to the United Irishmen.

The Rev. S. E. Long has this to say about the early history of the movement in 'Orangeism, a new historical appreciation', published in 1967. 'The Orange Order, founded in 1795, had been very much a labouring and poorer artisan class movement. It had not gained the support, in size, of the gentry, the clergy, the business and professional men and the farmers until the pressure of a Bill, popularly understood to be aimed at giving the country to a Dublin government and the control of the Roman Catholic Church, was mooted. This made Protestant people of Unionist loyalties turn to the Order as a likely instrument for maintaining the British connection and preserving the Protestant religion. There was a huge fear because the terms of the Bill appeared to give power to the proposed Irish parliament to grant money to religious bodies and for the erection of chapels.'

Long is right to seize on Gladstone's Home Rule Bill (1885) as the turning point in the fortunes of the Order. Where he goes way off beam is in pin-pointing the 'defence of the Protestant religion' as the motive behind the rush to the colours of squire, honest burgher and yeoman. Class interests here find their expression in the rhetoric of religion.

The key to the conversion of the ruling-class alliance is to be found in the growth of industry in north-east Ulster around Belfast - the only part of Ireland to experience a classic 19th century industrial revolution.

## Key question

The industrial complex which arose in the Lagan valley and its environs was an integral part of the British imperial market system, its credit governed by the City of London and its raw materials drawn from the same sources as the rest of British capitalism.

The key question for this 'Orange capitalism' - the main element in the coalition despite the political supremacy of the landlord class - was tariffs. If Parnell had his way and Ireland was to have self-government, then in order to develop an indigenous 'Green' capitalism in the south, tariffs would have been necessary to defend the infant industries.

British imperialism would no doubt have imposed counter-tariffs (as in the 1930s) to

compensate for loss of the southern Irish market, thus cutting across the commercial relations of Belfast and the United Kingdom and confining the Orange masters to the minuscule Irish market, whereas before they had been at liberty to sell to the four corners of the imperial globe.

This made no sort of economic sense to the Orangemasters, and they resolved to fight Home Rule tooth and nail. They had the good fortune to find powerful English allies, mostly Tories but with a sprinkling of so-called 'Liberal Unionists'.

Prominent among the latter was Joseph Chamberlain, who first proposed partition as a solution to the Irish problem. Of the former the great inspirer was Lord Randolph Churchill, whose comments on the Home Rule proposals show the English ruling class up to its usual 'divide and rule' trickery: 'I realised that if the GOM, Gladstone, went for Home Rule then the Orange card would be the one to play. And he declared, 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right.'

The idea caught on. While Unionist politicians were explaining how 'the inadequacies of Roman Catholic politicians would impoverish the country' (Long) one Fred Crawford, later to become famous as the organiser of the Larne gun-running, founded, in 1892, a secret society

called Young Ulster.

'A condition of membership was the possession of one of three weapons: a Martini rifle, a USA cavalry or a .455 revolver, and whichever weapon the candidate possessed, he must also have one hundred rounds of ammunition.' (Crawford, 'Guns for Ulster'.)

The Unionists would, of course, have preferred it if the whole idea of Home Rule had been buried for good and all, but because of the strength of the nationalist Irish Party and the readiness of the Liberals to concede its demands, they were not able to stave off the Third Home Rule Bill, which finally passed into law in September 1914.

## German arms

Prime Minister Asquith had offered to exclude Ulster (the full nine counties) from the operation of the Act for six years. Sir Edward Carson, now the chief spokesman of Irish Unionism, refused.

Prior to this the Ulster Covenant had been signed in Belfast in 1912 - Crawford signed in his own blood - and army officers at the Curragh, had declared their unwillingness to fight Orangemen. The Ulster Volunteer Force and Crawford had secured a large quantity of German arms which were put ashore at Larne. By the summer of 1914 all



Armed with German weapons, the Ulster Volunteer Force paraded through Northern towns.

## Religion an Orange smokescreen

by CHRIS GRAY

seemed set for a successful counter-revolution, but this was interrupted by the 'Great War'.

When the participants resumed their activities in 1919 it became clear that Sinn Fein, the new party of Irish nationalism, was sweeping the country and it was not long before armed struggle broke out in the south.

The Six County regime arose out of the heat of these struggles. As a result of a promise made by Lloyd George to Sir James Craig, later Northern Ireland premier, the Government of Ireland Act (1920) came into force, partitioning the country along present lines.

The Stormont parliament was born. The IRA began operations in the Six County area. 'Attacks by the IRA were repelled by the Ulster loyalists who had as their defenders the Special Constabulary, which had come directly out of the Ulster Volunteer Force, a kind of reformed UVF (1920)' (Long).

The Black and Tans were not needed in Ulster: instead the job was done by the A, B and C Specials, of which we now have only the Bs. The Specials were recruited from and drilled in, among other places, Orange factories.

The 'enemy within' was not just the IRA. There was also a hostile Catholic population, plus potentially sympathetic labour people and trade unionists, who could aid the gunmen and had to be terrorised in the old way.

The pogroms began in 1920. 'On July 21 prominent Unionists addressed the Protestant workers in the Belfast shipyards, who were



CARSON Unionists' chief spokesman

in a majority of six to one. The speakers called for 'a show of revolvers'... to drive the 'Fenians' out', writes Miss Dorothy MacArdle in her book 'The Irish Republic'.

The revolvers were produced - the UVF had done its work well. 'During the nights and days that followed armed Orangemen carried the attack into the Catholic quarters of the city. Bombs and petrol, rifles and revolvers were used. Catholics were driven out of their shops and houses, which were looted, then bombed or drenched with petrol and fired.'

'Convents, churches and Catholic hostels were special objects of attack. The pogrom was imitated in Banbridge and other towns.' (MacArdle)

This counter-revolutionary violence was backed up by the introduction of the Special Powers Act (1922), which made conduct of any kind objected to by the authorities illegal, besides suspending

habeas corpus and the more usual British legal safeguards against the police.

Similarly the system of proportional representation introduced by the British government in the 1920 Act was changed, for local election purposes, to the 'straight vote' system. Local electoral boundaries were systematically gerrymandered to ensure Unionist control in Catholic areas like Derry.

## Ignored wishes

The whole settlement was imposed on the south by Lloyd George and company at gunpoint in 1921-22, and confirmed by the notorious Boundary Commission of 1925, where the British and Orange representatives reported in favour of disregarding the wishes of nationalist majorities in Tyrone and Fermanagh, otherwise the new statelet would not have had a sufficient agricultural hinterland.

Such was the birth of the repressive Six County state apparatus. Such were the measures necessary in order to ensure the very existence of the Orange capitalist enclave.

'But times change and we change with them. North-East Ulster democracy is awakening also and we long for and will see in Belfast movements of labour as great as, if not greater than any of which Dublin can boast.'

'In that glorious day Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right, but all those leaders who now trumpet forth that battle cry will then be found arrayed against the Ulster democracy.' - James Connolly, Forward, 7 June 1913.

AFTER reorganising and integrating GEC, Arnol would have to get on with the big profits.

Any doubt about the possibility of putting work to raise softened by GEC share price £5 per share £23,000 sale £155,000 dividend received from shares in the

Meanwhile were put up for auction, Hackbridge, Sydenham, Shepton, Trafford, Shire Dynamo)

In July 1966 chairman of Electricity Board called on GEC's chairman, and suggested Government

assured. A 10% share would give per cent of the market, with R getting the of Electricity Board two power-stations choose from, pleased.

As GEC share price, GEC either to discuss of the merger.

## PROM

On 12 September held a one-day test about reducing the same day announced that Commission again not be examine the me

GEC-EE 'consult' with about redundancies promised not despite a long fixing rings in Even though GEC have 90 per cent of the market and 50 turbo-generator control and defence markets, the GEC is a monopoly.

On 31 November and English Republic as the General English Election with Lord Nelson and Arnold Weisinger director

Throughout the merger, the preparing for the undancies to had called for strike to close GEC and EE country when were announced

But GEC going to make mistake as at Jack Scamp, G relations man employed by

# Socialist Worker

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Business Manager Barry Huggill



mand of no victimisation of trade unionists. Redundancy should be opposed with the demand: five days work or five days pay. Shop stewards organisations should strengthen and extend their in-

fluence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national basis.

We are opposed to racial discrimination, a weapon used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racialism. The labour movement must demand the immediate recall of British troops from abroad as the first step towards ending colonial exploitation.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles with socialist ideas that will link up the various sections of the labour movement and help create a force that will lead on to workers' power and international socialism.

## How Jack Jones built the

MUCH OF Terry Barrett's criticism of TGWU general secretary Jack Jones is fair (28 August). He quotes the agreement signed by Jones and others allowing lorry drivers to man container depots and here I am entirely on the dockers' side.

But if Socialist Worker continues to magnify every failure and mistake he makes and play down every success, without being either objective or constructive, then we will confuse and alienate many of the rank and file we are trying to win over. To say that Jones has dropped the demand for a £15 minimum wage is just not true.

Jones came to Coventry in 1939 when the city was sewn up by the backward-looking AEU. TGWU membership was under 3000. During the war the AEU dug up an old agreement from 1914-18 whereby the vast majority of workers drafted into the factories were classed as 'diluties' and were registered by the AEU shop stewards in what came to be known as the black book.

These workers were to be paid off at the end of the war. I quote this to show that Jones had to fight not only the employers but the AEU as well. By 1945 the TGWU had 40,000 workers in Coventry

in engineering alone. It is never easy, as comrade Barrett says, to gain advances, whatever the economic situation. What is needed is good organisation, a militant rank and file and responsive leadership. Jones provided the latter.

Neither is it easy to organise workers, a substantial number of them skilled, but also unskilled and semi-skilled, many of whom were refugees from east as well as west Europe, as Jones did during his stay in Coventry.

Jones, like all reformist union leaders, will be as militant as his members force him to be - but any union leader who gets too far ahead of his rank and file will soon be chopped off by the other side. I have many disagreements with Jones, but I know we have worse enemies. - JOHN FOSSICK, Jaguar-Daimler TGWU shop steward, Coventry.

## Withdraw the troops?

A MAN WHO goes around on a hot sunny day in a buttoned-up overcoat and then deliberately removes it when the rain comes down would legitimately be regarded as very strange. And so is a socialist

## LETTERS

paper which has for nine months run a campaign including the demand 'Withdraw British troops from Northern Ireland' - which it now removes at the moment when British troops assume an important role in Northern Ireland.

Of course the editorial (21 August) pointed out that no reliance could be placed on British troops. It stated that they are there to preserve the existing set-up, to keep things quiet while Stormont gets on with its work of oppressing the minority. But what about the political conclusion from all this - the need to demand their withdrawal?

Either we oppose the use of British troops - or else we are, by our failure to demand their withdrawal, acquiescing in their presence. Socialist Worker acquiesces, albeit with warnings.

Is SW in favour of British troops in Northern Ireland - or against them? As the paper states, the troops are there to freeze the status quo, which was set up in the first place by British imperialism at gunpoint. It fails to say that in

certain conditions status quo is strengthened by the troops will be the Catholics.

Already, of British troops B-Specials have anti-Republican the Special Force the possible E sionist movement in, say, D would be used

If we have in British troops ing the people what about a place instead of the revolution of the African we think this Socialist Worker against the s dropped the s with it!

The explanation be in SW's lack Ireland as a one sees son for the act Northern Ireland to some out intervene to situation. Or actually look slightly relieve the heart to appears. And drops a slogan Either one

The Weinstock Empire...and how to fight it *EBC*

# Needed -national links and a militant programme to stop the sackings

by our Manchester industrial reporter

...ing AEI... into Weinstock... happy to... job of mak... and bigger... he might... the moral... people out of... profits were... the rise in... ces, to over... re, by his... ry and his... idends rec... his million... mpany. ... eight plants... sale: at Wool... ge, Brentford... field, Hoddes... Park (Lanca... and Willesden... Lord Nelson... hish Electric... einstock and... Lord Alding... ted a merger... support was... link-up with... GEC-EE 50... power-station... vrolle-Parsons... er half. The... rd, with only... on designs to... ould be very... es rose to £7... d EE got tog... s the details

to investigate strikes in the motor industry, invited union leaders to a private dinner at the Hyde Park Hotel on 1 December. There he told them of a new committee, the National Joint Consultative Committee, which he and the GEC-EE board proposed to set up.

The committee, which included the leaders of the 12 biggest unions, would discuss a whole range of issues involving relations between the unions and the company, except wages.

As soon as the merger was announced, new plans for rationalisation were drawn up. The size of the job meant that it wasn't until the New Year that any redundancies were announced. In the power engineering area, 3500 were declared redundant in February, with equal shares for Willesden, Newton-le-Willows and the old favourite, Witton.

In May, redundancies were announced for 150 workers at EE Cross Heath, Staffs, with production switched to Kidsgrove. 135 were to get the push at Kidsgrove, 80 at Stafford and 600 at Hookham in Birmingham.

GEC produced a list showing that 82 per cent of existing establishments were secure with another 14 per cent 'subject to further enquiry'. GEC blamed the cutback in switchgear plants on the declining orders for switchgear from the Electricity Board, but the Board criticised this statement.

At the beginning of August 1969 further redundancies in GEC power engineering and GEC electrical components were announced. The total proposed reduction in the workforce amounted to 4,305 in power engineering and 610 in electrical components. Much of this was to be concentrated in the Merseyside and Manchester areas.

At the time of the announcement, Merseyside had an unemployment rate of 3.8 per

cent and was classed as a 'Development Area'. The closures and sackings on Merseyside make the earlier GEC claim, during the Woolwich closure, that they cared about the high unemployment areas, look very hypocritical.

If Weinstock is to achieve his predicted £70 million profit next year, the rationalisation programme will have to be speeded up. And more rationalisation will mean more sackings.

Since the mergers, more than 12,000 workers, representing 5 per cent of the total workforce, have been made redundant by GEC-EE. Under the plans already announced, thousands more are to be axed.

## REASONS

In discussing how GEC-EE workers are to defend themselves against the Weinstock axe, and how they are to improve their wages and working conditions, it is important to understand the reasons for the company's behaviour.

British industry today faces a growing problem. The days of easy markets in the Empire and Commonwealth are over. The world market, in a whole range of products, is not growing as fast as the firms who want to sell in it. Each year international competition gets sharper. If a firm, or a country, wants to compete successfully under modern conditions, it must meet certain requirements of size and research. Though many British firms are large, they're still not large enough

to compete efficiently with foreign monopolies.

Profits per employee are also very important. In 1968, General Electric (USA) made £840 profit for every worker employed, while GEC-AEI made only £330 and EE only £160.

The drive for higher productivity, which involves redundancies, closing of factories and putting greater pressure on each remaining worker, is all part of the plan to push profits up nearer the level of the US companies.

If GEC-EE is to challenge its American and European competitors successfully, not only must it be very big and productive, but the technological level of its products and techniques must be kept high as well.

In fields like electronics, more and more advanced products keep appearing, at an ever-increasing rate. As a result, firms have to invest huge sums on research if they are to keep their share of the market.

The last few years have seen an incredible growth in the scale of mergers in Britain. This has been strongly encouraged by the government through the IRC.

In spite of its 'socialist' name, the government is in fact strongly pro-monopoly, pro-business. Its economic policy is shaped around the view that industrial companies must be enlarged and 'rationalised'.

Where the interests of the employers and those of the working people conflict, we find the government, time and time again, coming down on the side of business.

This is important for GEC-EE workers. It is hopeless to expect any serious help from the government in the fight against the combine. Far from curbing the ambitions of the directors, the government is the grindstone for Weinstock's axe.

This means that trade unionists cannot rely on old methods like mass lobbies of MPs. They may be useful for publicity, but do not achieve much else.

Only a small minority of MPs are even sympathetic to workers' interests when it comes to the push. Many Labour MPs, along with the Tories, support the government's ideas for 'rationalisation'.

## HAMSTRUNG

It is also hopeless to rely simply on union leaders to help.

At Woolwich the rank and file manual workers and the white collar unions were ready to fight against the closure, but were hamstrung by the manual union leaders who weren't prepared to fight the closure. They included unions like the AEF who have 'Left' leaders.

And the larger unions now meet GEC-EE management on the National Joint Consultative Council. But this only meets at the management's instigation. In spite of the importance of this giant combine, the union leaders have evolved no policy for the defence of their members.

If GEC-EE workers are to defend themselves, they must look first and foremost to themselves and to their own organisation. And they must face the fact that at present they are not too well equip-

ed for a proper struggle.

The white-collar unions (DATA, ASTMS, etc) have formed GEC-EE combine committees. They bring together delegates from all plants in the group to discuss common problems.

The importance of these committees should not be exaggerated but they are a step forward. One weakness is that each union has a separate combine committee.

On the other hand, the manual unions have done little or nothing to promote combine committees to link the GEC-EE factories together. As a result, Weinstock and Co have been able to pick off factories one by one as they pleased, without any united response from the combine workers.

In each factory, members and stewards of different unions work together, in joint stewards' committees, etc. Outside the factory, however, it seems this is more difficult to achieve.

There is a combine committee in existence, an unofficial one, that links some of the factories. But its meetings are not very frequent, and only some of the factories are represented.

Partly, the weakness of the combine reflects the weakness of shop-floor organisation in certain factories. But the weakness must be overcome.

## HAMMER

There's only one way: the most advanced and militant stewards committees must set out to make sure that every factory is represented, that the combine meets regularly, for the exchange of information about conditions in the factories and to hammer out a united, fighting policy for GEC-EE workers.

It is up to the most militant workers to give a lead to their mates and to put pressure on the stewards' committees. Where stewards are unsatisfactory, unable or unwilling to develop a fighting policy, they should be brought into line by the workers or replaced. Stewards' elections should never be a formality.

Other problems must be overcome as well. At national level, the white-collar and manual union leaders meet together in the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. Yet in some factories, there are separate committees for white collar and manual workers'



Weinstock: hit him in the pocket

If two of the tasks facing GEC-EE workers are strengthening factory organisation and extending and strengthening links between the factories, the third is certainly that of hammering out a fighting policy as an answer to Weinstock's attacks.

But something new has happened. On Merseyside, workers are taking matters into their own hands. They will occupy at least one threatened factory from September 19 and run it themselves.

They are telling the GEC-EE bosses: 'You can't run the group without getting rid of thousands of us, so we'll run it and get rid of you. You're redundant!'

The Mersey workers should be given every form of support. They are giving the lead that is needed. Their militancy must be backed up with a fighting programme of action by all GEC-EE workers, who should demand:

1. Nationalisation of the GEC-EE monopoly under the control of the workers. No compensation for those that robbed the workers for years.
2. Immediate withdrawal of the unions from the phoney National Joint Consultative Committee, set up by Weinstock. No more secret talks!
3. Formation of a militant shop stewards' combine committee for both manual and

white-collar workers to coordinate the fight.

4. If Weinstock is closing the least profitable factories, workers must close the most profitable by strike action. Now is the time to demand higher wages, shorter hours and longer holidays. Now is the time to turn the tables and hit the bosses where it hurts - in the pocket!

5. All work from factories closed or on strike should be declared black. No transfer of work to be allowed. Any transferred work must be blacked.

6. Every kind of support should be raised for the occupation - solidarity strikes, occupations, meetings, collections, etc.

## CHALLENGE

For too long, Weinstock, Nelson and company have walked roughshod over GEC-EE workers. On September 19 a united work-force can challenge their right to run the monopoly in the interest of profit and pose the most serious threat by a section of workers since the war.

This series is a shortened version of a pamphlet produced by Manchester International Socialists. Copies (10d each post free or 5s 6d a dozen) from Colin Barker, 44 Sewerby St, Manchester 16.

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## TGWU in Coventry

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'millenium' of the united workers' republic and goes in for all sort of shilly-shallying in the meantime - or one sees an immediate step forward, towards the workers' republic, on the basis of the existing situation and our intervention in it.

SW says that British imperialism set up the Northern statelet and is responsible for the oppressive establishment there and its deliberate division of the working class along religious sectarian lines. It fails to draw the logical conclusion - withdraw British troops - because the logic of that is to oppose the entire set-up of the Orange/imperialist-created state and its border which keeps within it a 30 per cent Catholic population as second class citizens.

poses therefore objectively the break-up of the six county state whose structure and history is the dynamite in the present situation, because it is the framework for working-class division and national oppression.

The break-up of this framework is, for revolutionaries, the most favourable outcome from the present situation, making possible a future working-class unity against the Tories, North and South. Otherwise, the struggle will subside, having won some gains, but leaving intact the still intolerable situation, exacerbated now by the newly redrawn division in the working class. Lynch, Wilson and Chichester-Clark will have a big sigh of relief.

Which is why Socialist Worker must challenge the partition and demand the break-up of the six county state, or at least the right of secession of those areas where Catholics form the majority; ultimately leading to a united Ireland with autonomy for the Protestant areas - not after the workers' revolution, but as a necessary and unavoidable step towards it. - SEAN MATGAM-NA, Manchester 20.

Letters must reach the Editor by first post Monday.

Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the International Socialists to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Send to 6 Cottons Gardens London E2



# NEW PAY BATTLE LOOMS AT FORD

SHOP-FLOOR PRESSURE by Ford workers for equal pay rates with Midlands car plants has forced the 15 trade unions at Ford to demand a 38 per cent pay increase for their members. The increase would amount to £8 to £10 extra a week.

The decision was taken by the unions on Monday when they also decided to press for equal pay for women Ford workers. The claims will be presented

to the management when the full National Joint Negotiating Committee meets on September 25.

Ford workers have seen their wages fall steadily behind the rates in the Midlands and they were further incensed last month when Ford announced record exports of £130m for the first six months of the year. The record makes nonsense of the management's claim that February's strike against penalty clauses had lost the firm millions in exports.

## BUT OFFICIALS STILL HAGGLE OVER SEATS ON NJNC

MONDAY'S meeting of the union side of the NJNC still did not finally agree on the reorganisation of the committee. Following the February strike, the rank and file made it clear that the NJNC was woefully out of touch and out of step with shop-floor thinking.

At that stage, the committee was made up of an equal number of full-time officials from each of the unions represented at Ford. This meant that small unions with only a handful of members had as many votes as the giant Engineering and Transport unions.

At the July meeting of the trade union side of the NJNC the 17 official agreed that the engineering section of AEF and the TGWU should have five delegates each. The Vehicle Builders and General

### Jim Lamborn

and Municipal agreed to have three votes each and the foundry section of the AEF would have two. Along with the smaller unions, this would make a committee of 30.

In the past it has often been difficult to get all the officials together because of other commitments, conferences and foreign delegations and it is by no means certain that the 30 will always be present. A large committee will tend to split into sub-committees and the management will be happy to hold up wage negotiations while sub-committees are appointed, ponder and report back.

Although Monday's meeting did not finalise the committee, it has been hailed as a great step forward that the convenors will have seats on it. But men on the shop floor are not sure who the convenors will be responsible to.

Some convenors have already made it clear that they will not follow the policy of the shop stewards' committee. Some, like Brer Rabbit, will 'sit still and say nuthin'.

When it comes to the crunch, the workers will be hard put to it to know who is on their side, because the NJNC minutes do not give a voting record.

### Workers' voice

The obvious way to reconstitute the NJNC is not to pad it out with a few convenors, some appointed, some elected, but to let each of the Ford plants elect a representative. These men should be the workers' voice. Officials should serve in an advisory capacity.

A NJNC on this basis would do away with the force of union officials reporting back to their executives and ignoring the men on the shop floor. All reports and decisions would be made at mass meetings - a step in the direction of workers' control, to which so many pay lip-service and which must be the aim of every trade unionist.

## Unity at metal works beats bosses

SW Reporter

ALL MAINTENANCE unions at Enfield Rolling Mills came out in support of the AEF on Tuesday when the engineers stopped work over a pay grading dispute. AEF members had previously been working to rule and banning overtime after the management rejected a demand for a 'no strings' increase instead of a productivity deal.

Behind both the productivity deal and the pay grading dispute are the management's plans to dilute the labour force. New 'grades' of skilled workers at a lower rate are being introduced which will cut the rate of fully-skilled men.

Enfield Rolling Mills is a division of Delta Metal which employs 20,000 men, with total profits reaching over £9m - an increase of 32 per cent on last year. The company made £470 profit from each worker, or £9 a week.

The total stoppage forced the management to agree to re-open negotiations, but AEF members are still maintaining their work to rule and overtime ban.

with the rest of the factory. They earn as much as £7 a week less than production workers.

The Leeds RSA factory is also striking over the same issues and three other plants may be affected when the result of a management-union meeting is known.

The management of the government-owned factory, which makes the FN rifle,

# HO

## He gave the 'Third World' heart

Chris Harman

REVOLUTIONARIES throughout the world are mourning the passing of Ho Chi Minh. In recent years this frail old man seemed to many to personally embody the determination and courage of the Vietnamese people in forcing back the US war machine.

And the struggle of the Vietnamese came to be the focal point for the hopes of millions throughout the third world who would no longer tolerate the poverty, exploitation and misery resulting from imperialism. In the Middle East, in Southern Africa, in Latin America those fighting take heart from the Vietnamese revolution and name sections of their organisations after its leader.

We have to give the fullest possible support to such struggles. The same big business concerns that daily exploit the workers of the advanced capitalist countries have throughout the under-developed countries wreaked havoc in their search for easy profits, destroying old established societies, pillaging their resources, forcing semi-starvation upon their populations, using napalm and fragmentation bombs against them should they resist.

The national liberation movements arise as the populations of these countries fight back. But if the leaders of these movements fight the same enemies as revolutionary socialists, they do not always fight for the same goals.

### SUPPRESSED

For instance, in Vietnam the many movements that fought and were bloodily suppressed by the French invaders from the 1860s until 1916 were led by members of the old Vietnamese ruling class, the Mandarinate. The next movement to develop, the VNQDD (similar to the Kuomintang in China) was led by sections of the middle class.

In both cases the leaders hated French imperialism and often gave their lives fighting it. But in neither case because they were socialists. The Mandarinate wanted a return to the pre-capitalist class society that had existed before the invasion, the VNQDD wanted the development of native Vietnamese capitalism.

It was not only the workers and peasants directly exploited by the French who suffered under colonialism. So did thousands whose class background made them look forward to a privileged position in society that was denied them by the French presence.

The movement that Ho Chi Minh built was in many ways different from these earlier movements. It learnt from the failures of previous movements and from the successes of the Russian revolution that the only way to defeat imperialism was to get mass popular support.

This was not possible without overcoming the traditional prejudices of the middle classes and without bringing the peasants to see their immediate economic interests as being served by



the revolution (for example, through protection against tax collectors, usurers and in some cases through land reform).

It also learnt that only through state ownership of industry and agriculture was it possible for there to be any new independent economic development in a world already overcrowded by rival imperialisms.

But at the same time it would be wrong to forget, as so many people do, that those who constituted the leadership of Ho's movement were not the workers and peasants. Instead they were drawn overwhelmingly from a middle class that saw little future for itself while imperialism cramped indigenous economic development.

Even today in the Vietnamese Communist Party 'the worker content is only 18.5 per cent and the higher the party echelon the lower the worker stock'. (Le Duc Tho, quoted in the Sunday Times, 7 September). It has always sought to appeal to sections of the exploiting class, as, for instance, in the programme of the Vietminh, which addressed itself to 'Rich people, soldiers, workers, peasants, intellectuals, employees, traders, youth, women, ...'

It was from Stalin and Mao, not from the Russian revolution, that Ho learnt that fragments of the old middle class could be welded together in a party controlled from the top down, with no internal democracy, so as to form the basis of a new state capitalist ruling class. This would fight against imperialism and to that extent act in the interests of workers and peasants, only to exploit them in its own interests later, after victory.

When forced to fight, Ho and his followers did so courageously. Ho himself was for many years exiled or in prison.

To get support in these periods they stood up for the peasants. But when in 1945-6 and in 1954 there seemed to be a chance for an indigenous state capitalist development through a compromise with imperialism, they refused to continue to fight for a victory that was within sight.

In 1945 this not only meant accepting continued French dominance over the southern province of Cochinchina and allowing French troops to peacefully reoccupy key strategic points in Hanoi, it also meant the Vietminh itself murdering those, particularly the still influential Trotskyists around

Ta Thu Thau in the south, who agitated for the continuation of both the class and the national struggle.

Again in 1954 at Geneva, when the French were only too eager to withdraw from Vietnam, Ho and his party accepted the artificial division of their country so as to build 'socialism' in half a country. In the South the resistance was left to fend for itself against the more or less fascist regime of Diem.

From Hanoi all it received was discouragement until well into 1959.

In the North this was the period in which land previously given to the peasants in land reforms was taken away from them through 'collectivisation'. This resulted in an insurrectionary class struggle against the new regime by the peasants of Nghe An in 1956 that had to be put down by the army.

After both 1946 and 1959 the realities of imperialist oppression smashed Ho's illusions (fostered in the latter case by China as well as Russia) that a compromise would permit any sort of independent national development. In both cases the fight was taken up again courageously.

This deserves our admiration. But it should not prevent us from recognising mistakes and their origins in Stalinist theory and state capitalist practice. Nor should it lead us to forget what happened to those other courageous Vietnamese revolutionaries.

### STRUGGLE

This does not mean in any way diluting our support for the Vietnamese struggle against the US. But the way to give this support is not to delude ourselves into thinking that North Vietnam and its leaders are other than what they are.

Let us be clear. North Vietnam is a one-party regime of the Stalinist sort. In this respect it is like, say, Poland or Roumania. It has nothing in common with socialism.

Ho was not a genial uncle. But he was forced to fight western imperialism.

A victory in this struggle will be an asset, not just for the class Ho represented, but for the workers and peasants of Vietnam, even though later they will have to take up the fight against Ho's successors. It will also be an inspiration for all those fighting imperialism.

And it will be for this that Ho will be remembered.

## Conference backs Irish struggle

DELEGATES and visitors to the autumn conference of the International Socialists last weekend collected £199 16s after an appeal for aid for civil rights movement in Northern Ireland.

Fraternal delegates from People's Democracy movement in Northern Ireland - Michael Farrell from Belfast and Joe Quigly from Derry - told the conference in graphic detail of the terror inflicted on Catholic areas by Orange gunmen.

They spoke of the importance of socialist politics in the struggle in Ulster and Mike Farrell was warmly applauded when he said that socialists in PD had never shirked the issue of a United Workers' Republic being the only real solution to the problems of Ireland, north and south.

### High-spot

A wide-ranging and lively debate on Ireland was the high-spot of the conference and lasted for almost four hours. Criticisms of IS participation in the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign were countered by factory and building workers who said that the Irish campaign had enabled them to speak to hundreds of workers with whom they would normally have little contact.

The conference agreed that Socialist Worker and IS branches active in the ICRSC had laid the base for an important mass campaign.

The delegates had earlier agreed that industrial work remained the central and most vital activity of the organisation. The industrial committee is to be strengthened with the aim of producing regular leaflets and pamphlets on problems facing workers.

## NOTICES

HO CHI MINH: VSC memorial mtg. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1. Sat 13 September 7pm. Vietnamese speaker plus Chris Harman, Tariq Ali, Pat Jordan, Jack Woddis and Bamey Davis.

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## Arms strike against prod deal

SW Reporter

FIFTY WORKERS at Royal Small Arms, Enfield, North London, have been on strike since August 17 against the introduction of a productivity deal that would lead to sackings.

The men, all employed in the maintenance department, also want parity of wages

decided to introduce a scheme known as 'universal maintenance standards' last November. Shop stewards have been studying the scheme since then.

### INFERIOR

It would involve the 're-employment' of some 10 men to inferior jobs in the factory. If

the men refused to move and left the firm, RSA would not have to pay them redundancy money.

The strike committee is meeting officials of the unions - ETU, AEF and TGWU - in an effort to have the dispute made official.

Donations and support to: Strike Committee, c/o Mr Oliver, 37 Bedford Rd, Edmon-ton N9.

### GEC SIT-IN

Next week workers at the English Electric factories on Merseyside plan to occupy and run the plants without bosses as part of their campaign to stave off heavy redundancies. Socialist Worker will publish a major background article to this important event in the next issue.

The unemployment figure for Merseyside in the last issue should have been 24,666, not 2,466.