

5p

1974

STUDY

PROGRAMME

1974

1974

STUDY

PROGRAMME

1974

The Party is trying to make an honest study of the history of the British working class. It will be done by many comrades, amateur in the discipline of history but professional in the discipline of class struggle. It is an onerous task requiring modesty, patience, meticulous accuracy, the knowledge of useful sources, the most useful of which are experience in practice and knowledge of one's place of work, district, trade and trade union. It will take a long time and be an arduous task so let us hope other comrades are modest in their criticisms. The Webbs spent a very long full-time effort on their classic History of Trade Unions and then only till 1920. Lenin waited impatiently for his copy and was hurt that they did not send him one in advance. Do not despise honest academic historians even if their conclusions are not ours. But beware of the tele-professors, the pot boiling journalists and the sociologist turned historian and do not dare use them to question the line.

But before you start, throw away your prejudices, your myths, which prevent you thinking. The most offensive is the one, only popular in this generation, that workers know only words of one syllable, they can not read or think logically. In the Metropolitan Working Men's Clubs of the nineties the programme of meetings could and did include anything from "Explanation of post-mortem examination at Berlin" to "The Address on the Civil War in France by K. Marx", taking in the poetry of Shelley and the steps of the quadrille en route. If you say workers are illiterate you mean you are illiterate and it is time you changed that situation. Because you were idle at school you must now do homework. The other bogeymen will come out in discussion but please do not waste the time of a whole branch giving an airing to your particular ghosts. If a C.C. or Secretariat member does this it is an unpardonable offence to communist discipline and an example of self love.

The terms of reference of this section are deliberately narrow. Because the subject is so large and so bedevilled by prejudice from right and left, because so many on both sides hate, because they fear the working class, there has been an endeavour to pull out one thread. In other sections you will study Chartism, the Poor Law, Economics etc. without which this section is incomplete. For instance, one should study the fact "negotiation by wrecking" has long been a favourite tactic of British workers. The Luddites are worthy of study because all the government spies could not make them betray each other. They had so many workers by the dozen. Even soldiers sent against them often fraternised. And do not be too certain it was useless. After all, they smashed many frames that the employer was renting to them. Above all, with a full belly do not sit in judgment on people who were starving. There is argument for and against whether the Industrial Revolution brought a better life to workers. They starved in both town and country, but at least in towns they were in a mass and did not have to kowtow to Squire or Parson. And study the career of 'Oliver the Spy' if you are still doubtful about the groups. He ran from place to place calling to workers that a revolt was just down the road and hanged many of them.

Your study is like a Lurçat tapestry. Stand away from it sometimes or you may see only red threads or black ones and the whole design is more beautiful than its separate parts.

So let us take the advice of Mrs. Battle - "A clear fire, a clean hearth and the rigour of the game."

## BOOK LIST

### REQUIRED READING

The Communist Manifesto  
Left Wing Communism - an infantile disorder  
Lenin on Proletarian Revolution and Proletarian Dictatorship

### BACKGROUND READING

Pelham. History of Trade Unionism. (dull but useful for dates)  
Blythe. Akenfield. (for remnants of feudalism in the country)  
Marx. Capital. (Vol. 1 of Part I, printed in October)  
(Vol. 2 of Part I, in stock)  
(This is a must. Save your money and buy it)

All these can be obtained in the shop.

### FROM LIBRARIES - Try to obtain

Labouring Men by Hobsbawn.  
The Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850, by Robin Rieve.  
The British Labour Movement by Morton & Tate. (recommended)  
The Town Labourer )  
The Country Labourer) by J.L. & B. Hammond.  
History of Trade Unionism, 1866-1920, by The Webbs.  
T.U.C. Reports.  
The Luddites of Yorkshire by J. Berry.  
The North-East Engineers' Strikes of 1871 by Allen, Clarke,  
McCord, Rowe.  
Mary Brown by Mrs. Gaskell. Sketches by Boz. Dickens.

There are other books on the shelves  
where you might find other information

Try to obtain any books of W. Hannington.

### H.M. PUBLICATIONS

Away with All Strife. Labour Party.  
National Industrial Relations Act.

## THE TRADE UNIONS IN BRITAIN

### Section 1

#### The Birth of Trade Unionism.

The Webbs (Fabians) defined a Trade Union as a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working life.

Marx said: "Wages are only a special name for the price of labour-power and are usually called the price of work; it is the special name for the price of this peculiar commodity, which has no other repository than human flesh and blood". "Consequently labour power is a commodity which its possessor, the wage-worker, sells to the capitalist. Why does he sell it? In order to live." "Life for him begins where this activity ceases, at the table, at the tavern seat, in bed."

Please read the chapters "Bourgeois and Proletarian" and "Proletarians and Communists" in the Communist Manifesto.

Constantly refer to "Wage Labour and Capital".

It is usual to study the Trade Union Movement from about 1750 but it would be unwise to forget the long struggle of workers before that period. In the fourteenth century worsted cloth manufacturers moved from towns to country because of the militancy of town workers. By the time of Chaucer there were already 'middlemen', capitalists who distributed work to country cottages for spinning and carding, then collected the spun wool and took it to weavers, fullers and dyers, from craftsmen to craftsmen, until the finished cloth was ready for him to carry on pack horses to market. By the thirteenth century weaving was so developed that it could be exported. The middleman became a wool grower and by 1600 Sir Thomas More would write: "the sheepe have cate up men"; the landowners were stealing common land and evicting tenants for the gold rush of wool. So, long before the Industrial Revolution there were capitalists, a few of whom even had factories, and there were proletarians, landless men, who sold their labour power.

It is claimed that there was a permanent Union of Hatters in 1667 but the first Trade Union (as we think of them today) appeared in Britain in the eighteenth century. Just as modern capitalism appeared first in Britain, so did Trade Unionism. Both were copied, amended, changed by other countries. (Please read Lenin on Proletarian Revolution and Proletarian Dictatorship, pages 49 and 50.).

From a system in which a worker was still not divorced from the ownership of his tools, the transformation to a system in which there were separate classes of capitalists and wage earners was rapidly taking place. The bourgeoisie created the proletariat, its executioners.

In human affairs change does not happen suddenly or without preparation, so that for a period the old and new systems existed side by side; the independent master craftsman heir of the mediaeval gilds and the newer factory system; then bridging the gulf between them and typical of the first half of the eighteenth century the "domestic system" with the capitalist financing production in the workers' homes, a method satisfactory to many because of its long habit. Population figures show the magnitude of the change. In 1801 the first census registered a population of ten and a half million. Fifty years later it was twenty one million. In the middle of the Eighteenth century about half the people lived in country districts; by 1851 less than a quarter.

	<u>1801</u>	<u>1851</u>
Manchester	35,000	353,000
Leeds	53,000	152,000
Sheffield	46,000	111,000
Birmingham	23,000	181,000

In the older towns upper and lower classes lived side by side; the newer towns were large industrial towns composed almost entirely of workers and in the biggest towns, workers were confined to "slums of a hideously squalid character quite separate from the quarters where the more prosperous citizens lived."

#### Trade Unionism before Legality

First please read Chapter 6, "Should Revolutionaries Work in Reactionary Trade Unions?" of "Left Wing Communism - an Infantile Disorder".

Then ask the question: "Is there or was there ever a case of Red Unions?"

First were the trade clubs of the Eighteenth century. They were usually small, confined to one trade and sometimes met in public houses whose signs are still reminders, e.g. "The Carpenters' Arms". They were like friendly societies, with sickness and burial funds; sometimes they were a house of call for employers seeking skilled workers; sometimes they could enforce trade customs such as the limiting of the number of apprentices. Some of them, like the coopers in Glasgow or the stocking makers in Leicester, were relatively powerful organisations of craft workers. The hatters, the London Goldbeaters and the Society of Painters before 1800 had a national character and steady funds.

As these organisations became more numerous the Employers became apprehensive. Justices of the Peace had fixed wage rates in the time of Elizabeth I and from then workers could sometimes successfully petition Parliaments of landowners who hated the new rich manufacturers. But employers did not wish to return to State Control and in 1799 and 1800 pushed through the Combination Acts banning all combinations of workers for any purpose relating to employment.

In the "Town Labourer" the Hammonds quote the case of a cotton weaver earning 8s a week for 14 hours a day. The employer reduced wages 3d per loom for artificial light. He forgot to return the reduction in Summer and the next Winter wanted to make a fresh reduction. The workers, 12 men and 11 women, left work. They were taken before the Magistrate who sent them into the yard to choose whether they would go to work or prison; they refused to return at the reduced price and were given a month's imprisonment.

This one example of 10 years' struggle by workers showed that the Acts had to be repealed. Not to be despised either was the work of the Radical tailor of Charing Cross, Francis Place, who played a large part in getting the repeal through Parliament. He thought the repeal would end combinations but instead an epidemic of strikes followed. The Combinations Acts were passed when the ruling class was terrified of the influence of Jacobinism among the lower orders. Hume, a leader of the repeal movement, now warned the strikers: "If the operatives do not act with more temper, moderation and prudence, the legislature will be obliged to retrace its steps". He observed that the trade unionists were estranging their best friends!

Societies now came out into the open and many new ones were formed; in 1829 a national union of spinners, porters in 1831, builders in 1832. The period between 1799 and 1825 of illegality gave rich experience to the working class; new tactics, the combining of legal and illegal methods, the development of a firm solidarity, the readiness to fight back in the face of all risks and, above all, that the state was demonstrably the instrument of the employers. The Webbs quoted a worker: "every civil power of the district was exerted against him (the trade unionist) because he was acting illegally, every active man was regarded as a turbulent dangerous instigator to be watched and crushed if possible".

Please discuss now who created the Unions. Was it the employing class, the State, a group of intellectuals, or was it a creation of the working class? Was it merely an economist struggle? Did this struggle end the revolutionary feeling of the working class?

#### After "Legality"

Unable to prosecute for combination, the ruling class started to punish workers for "molestation", "obstruction", "intimidation", construing picketing as an offence. It charged, among many, George Loveless and five colleagues who had formed the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers which had among its rules an initiation ceremony including an oath of secrecy. The Tolpuddle Martyrs were sentenced to 7 years transportation which most people seemed to regard as worse than hanging. In spite of widespread demonstrations and protests it was not till 1838 that they were brought back from Australia. In 1829 the cotton spinners of Lancashire took the initiative in setting up the Grand National Union of Spinners of England, Scotland and Ireland. It proved premature but organisation in Lancashire, the centre of cotton spinning, was established.

In 1830, the Northumberland and Durham Miners set up a union which lasted 2 years and only collapsed after a heroic 6 months' strike when there was a wholesale use of troops and marines against them by the coalowners. Hopburn, the leader, was 'blackod' and became a ragged hawker of tea. Starvation compelled him to sue for work and he had to promise he would be involved in no more union work. But as he went back, he said: "If we have not been successful at least we, as a body of miners, have been able to bring our grievances before the public and the time will come when the golden chain which binds the tyrants together will be snapped, when men will be properly organised, when coalowners will only be ordinary men and will have to sigh for days gone by. It only needs drive to bring this about". There have been thousands of heroes like Hopburn who lose all and who do not even get their names in the history books.

The Grand Consolidated Trades Union, 1833-4, was a result of long struggle and hard work and the Utopian Socialism of Robert Owen. All workers could belong on payment of 3d per week and 10s strike pay would be paid. Soon it had half a million members, including women, and from as far afield as Glasgow, Perth, Exeter and Belfast. Strikes strained its resources, organisers were arrested and workers were presented by employers with 'the document' - "We the undersigned hereby declare we are not in any way connected with". The production of the 'document' usually meant stoppage of work but the Grand Consolidated could not survive.

Karl Marx in 'Capital' writes with warm humanity of the conditions of working people, which meant men, women and children, and of the hours worked. He approved of the work of the Factory Inspectors and quoted them. "Children of 9 or 10 years dragged from their beds at 2 in the morning and compelled to work for a bare subsistence until 10 or 12 at night; their limbs wearing away, their frames dwindling, their faces whitening and their humanity absolutely sinking into a stone-like torpor utterly horrible to contemplate." English novelists, Dickens, Mrs. Gaskell and others, have described such scenes. The Reverend Valpy in 1860 asked: "What can be thought of a town which holds a public meeting to petition that the period of labour for men shall be diminished to 18 hours a day?".

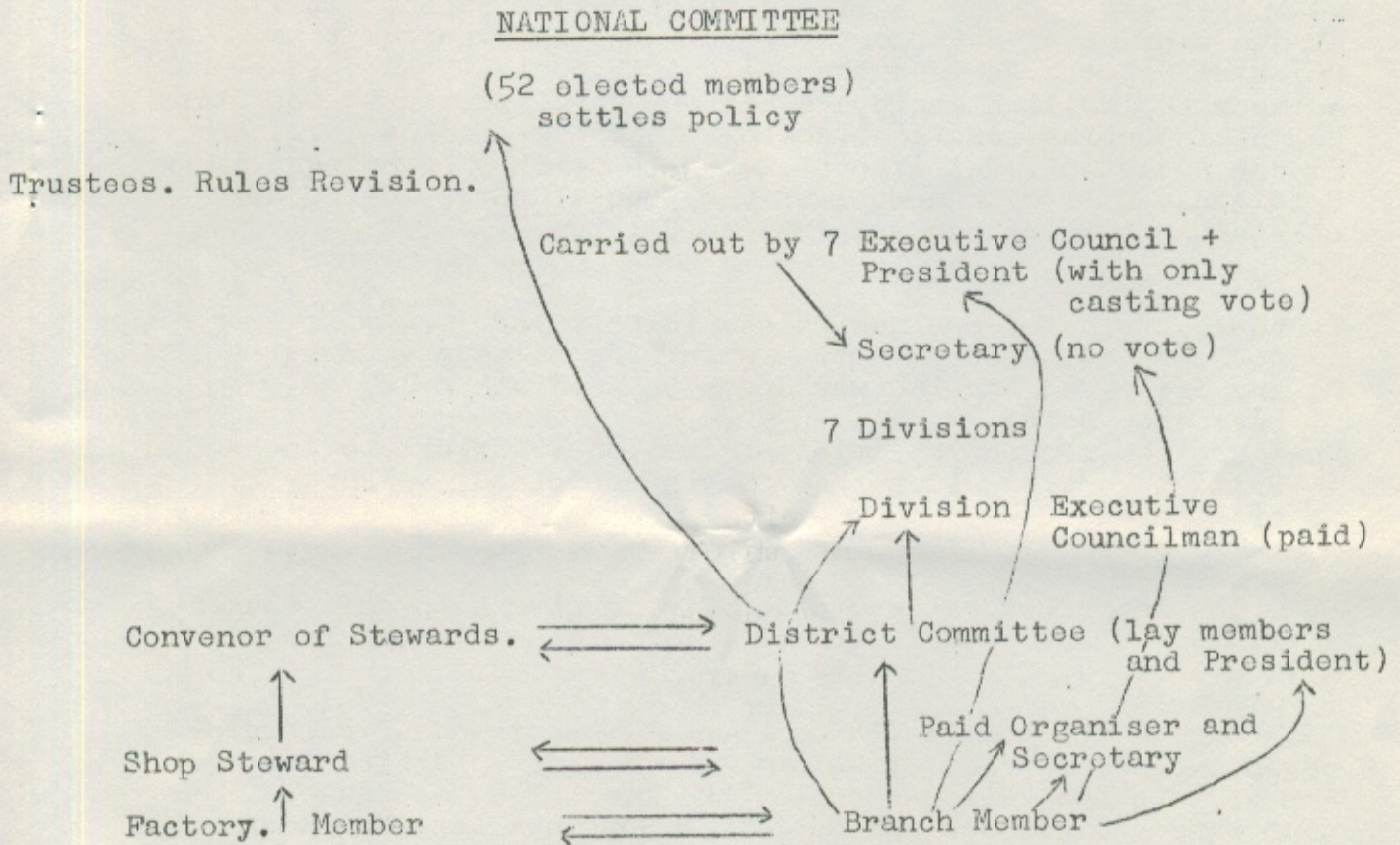
Please read "Left Wing Communism", pages 28-31. Discuss "What is leadership of the mass - communist and non-communist?" What is the Labour Aristocracy? Who are they, where do they come from? How can they be Aristocracy if they labour? Or is the term a piece of idiotic nonsense?

Engels wrote "Capitalists are always organised, they need no formal rules, etc. But workpeople (ugh!) from the very beginning cannot do without a strong organisation well defined by rules and delegating its authority to officers and committees. The Act of 1824 rendered these legal. From that day Labour became a power in England."



From a T.U.C. report of 1951: "The new trend (in T.U. organisation) expressed itself in a search for effective organisation, based on a regular income and centralised control. To the engineers goes the honour of first finding the formula of success". The T.U.C. was not agreeing with Engels, it meant "the advantage of a good understanding between masters and men that strikes are a ferocious animal that you know would destroy". That was from the Executive of the Stonemasons in 1845.

Here is the structure of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, now the A.U.E.W.



Lenin described this as a fine example of democratic centralism.

Again from the T.U.C. report of 1951: "Though professedly conciliatory in its approach to industrial problems, the A.S.E. was not welcomed by the employers. It gained prestige by its high rate of strike pay and by its generosity to striking builders in 1859. The Carpenters followed its pattern by founding the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters & Joiners in 1860. In 1863 after strikes and lockouts the Miners National Association was formed and lasted until 1881.

In these formative years a small body of men (called the Junta) and called by all non-union critical intellectuals - 'leaders', Allen of The Engineers, Applegarth of The Carpenters, Guile of The Ironfounders, Coulson of The London Bricklayers and Odger of The London Trades Council (founded in 1860) stood for a policy of arbitration and conciliation. Was this correct? Was it the members? Was it a betrayal of revolutionary sympathies? Was it a tactic?

To understand you will have to study the economic and political situation then extant. They belonged, as representatives of their unions, to the International Working Men's Association or First International, 1864, for which Marx drafted the inaugural address that set out clearly the road of advance for the European working class movement. The English membership was almost entirely the T.U. representatives of their unions which had affiliated as organisations. But Applegarth etc. were Liberals. Even though they served on the executive, how far did they agree with the political standpoint of Marx's draft? "That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves ---- that --- and the abolition of all class rule". It was also a convenient machinery for bringing the various trade unionists of the various countries into contact and defeating methods the British employers had and were constantly resorting to, of importing foreign blacklegs to break strikes, e.g. the London basket-makers' dispute, when the employers brought in Belgians. A Flemish member of the Council spoke to the six Belgians who thereupon returned to Belgium.

Is there a place for Black Unions in Britain?  
Is there racial discrimination among the British workers?  
Do the Irish and English workers hate each other as Marx once said?  
What are the responsibilities of immigrant workers to the British working class that they have joined, voluntarily or otherwise?

The International was also able to give help on a bigger scale to the successful strike of Tyneside engineers for a 54 hour week.

During the 1860's Trades Councils, composed of delegates of unions or branches of unions in a town or district were set up. In 1864 Glasgow called the first T.U. delegate conference to discuss the Masters & Servants Act; Manchester convened in 1868 what is now known as the first T.U.C. to discuss the implications of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions.

Discuss in the light of present events the relationship between Unions and the T.U.C.  
Does the T.U.C. have power over individual unions?  
If so, what?  
Does the T.U.C. play a useful role in the Labour Movement?  
To what pressures is the T.U.C. subjected?  
How did Lord Citrine, Lord Feather and Mr. Murray get their positions?

From now there was a sharpening of the never-ending attack by Government on the Trade Unions.

- 1866 A criminal officer misappropriating union funds could not be charged.
- 1867 Judgment. Restraint of trade in pursuit of strike action - illegal.
- 1869 Royal Commission - picketing an offence and Registrar of Friendly Societies must find acceptable, union rule books.

#### General Workers Unions

Big play, by right and left, is always made of the reactionary Craft Unions and the big step forward that came with the formation of the snobbishly, and incorrectly called by the T.U.C. report of 1951, "Unions for Labourers".

The Gas Workers "created" by Will Thome and Tussy Marx, now the Municipal & General.

The Transport & General Workers' Union arising from the struggles of Dock Workers. The great figures were Tillet, Tom Mann and John Burns of the A.S.E., not to mention Cardinal Manning, leader of the Roman Catholic Church in Britain, and, of course, Mrs. Besant, the Theosophist, who had 'led' the match girls into struggle in 1888.

From the T.U.C. 1951 report: "In a flight of colourful oratory which enchanted his hearers and has sent echoes down the corridors of history, Burns outlined the terms to the waiting dockers on Tower Hill, London - 'I myself, looking to the horizon, can see a silver gleam - not of bayonets to be imbued in a brother's blood, but the gleam of the full round orb of the dockers' tanner'." Tillet is reported - but the T.U.C. leaves this out - to have got on his knees on Tower Hill, London, and prayed to God to strike dead the employers.

Some useful dates are:-

1882	Textile Workers
1887	Sailors & Firemen's Union
1890	Clerks & Teachers
1913	National Union of Railwaymen

Immediately before the First World War there was great industrial ferment. There was a National Strike of Dockers, Sailors & Firemen in 1911; in Liverpool the Town Hall was burnt and clashes with police. Now was formed the triple alliance of railwaymen, miners and transport workers, promising to help each other in strike action, and to negotiate on wages simultaneously. These unions had a membership of 2,230,000, half of the trade unionists affiliated to the T.U.C. in 1911.

After the betrayal of the Second International it was expected that all class conflict would be forgotten for the duration of the War 1914-18, but there was a constant fight on dilution; trade union membership grew from 2,682,357 in 1915 to 4,532,085 in 1918. Now the Whitley Council was set up by the Government to create Joint Industrial Councils in certain industries and to deal with the Civil Service.

Now begins the long period lasting up to 1974 of the Government of the day "guarding" the trade unions against their wicked militant extremists, "assisting" them. Not till 1974 did one Samuel Britton, Economist of the Financial Times, openly express on television his opinion that The Combination Acts should be brought back.

At the end of the war was a short-lived police strike. In 1919 Engineer transport workers and railway refused to attend a National Industrial Conference called by Lloyd George but railwaymen came out on strike and won recognition in all grades and wage demands.

It would be useful here to discuss:-

- a) the use by the ruling class in World War 1 and 2 of repressive legislation and how workers fought back, remembering that in both wars trade union membership rose sharply, especially among women.
- b) the role of the revisionist and pre-revisionist parties in both wars. They claimed credit for the shop stewards' movement in 1 and they wished workers to sacrifice all hard won rights for the sake of production in 2.
- c) How would you answer the demand from the C.P.G.B. in 1939-45 that all militancy must be ended because it was (correctly) a war against Fascism? How far did the party and the mass respond?
- d) Find out the exact terms of the E.W.O., the Essential Works Order, in World War 2 and how it was used against workers but never employers.

In 1920 affiliated membership of the T.U.C. was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  million, but the post-war slump beginning in 1921 caused a decline so that by 1924 it was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million and still falling. By 1924 industry began to revive but the Labour Government of 1923-4 was just as vicious as the following Conservative one and in 1925 the miners were threatened with yet another drastic wage reduction and a longer working day.

The events that followed you know - the General Strike, the strikebreakers, the betrayal. In their own words: "the T.U.C. General Council decided to call off the strike after assurances from the Government that made a compromise appear possible. Nevertheless the miners would not abate their full opposition to wage reductions and an extension of working hours. For 6 months they continued their lone stand substantially helped by working class contributions to the Help the Miners Fund. Finally, however, they had to give in."

Trade Union membership fell and the Conservatives were able to pass the Trades Disputes & Trade Unions Act 1927, aimed at, according to the T.U.C. "weakening the alliance between the Unions and the Labour Party, in other words "contracting out".

It would be useful here to discuss "Who created the Labour Party?"  
What is its main strength?  
Who paid for it?  
What is social democracy; why did it come and why does it stay?

On the initiative of the T.U.C., talks on the problems of industry took place with a group of leading employers with the idea of finding a way by which strikes and lock-outs could be avoided

Known as the Mond-Turner talks (Mond was head of the Imperial Chemical Industry and Turner was a veteran T.U. Leader and Chairman of the T.U.C. 1928).

Again, to quote from the T.U.C.: "that the Unions were not merely out for what they could get at all costs, as some critics seemed to think - but that the T.U. Movement itself had a vested interest in the efficient conduct of industry carried on for the benefit of the whole community".

This exercise in class collaboration alas was sabotaged in the Unions by those self-seeking workers it was endeavouring to assist!

It would be an interesting if speculative question to discuss the betrayal by trade union members in the Social Contract debacle at the 1974 T.U.C. Congress, remembering that in 1974 the members did not have the same economic pressures ranged against them as in 1928.

The slump lasting until the thirties, the unemployment, the villainies of the second Labour Government of 1929 and that friend of Duchesses, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, of working class origin and illegitimate to boot, is of importance that needs study. Wally Hannington's exceedingly well written and inspiring books on the unemployed worker struggles are worth searching for. Unfortunately, these struggles were conducted apart from and not with the employed workers.

The sad story leading to the National Government and the support both at home and abroad by the ruling class of Fascism as a bulwark against the only Socialist State in the world, the U.S.S.R., is lightened only by the constant national effort given by trade unionists against the Fascist attack in Spain, the curtain-raiser to the Second World War and the fight against the Mosleyites at home.

During that war, in spite of the Revisionist Party's sabotage, workers fought to defeat Fascism and to preserve their class. The employers never allow patriotism to dim self-interest so you may find it interesting to recall the "Seven Shop Stewards" when Ernest Bevin - you remember, one of the saviours of the dockers from the reactionary craft unions - Minister of Labour, instituted legislation which meant fines and imprisonment for

workers late for work, changing jobs, taking militant action in defence of work standards or supporting their convenors but chided gently employers who sacked workers, closed shops or just put profit before the war effort. The shop stewards, one of whom was our Chairman, fighting among other things for the retention of their Convenor, a black man, were tried at the Old Bailey and sentenced to 3 years and £1800 fine. The sentence was suspended because the Red Army were now fighting alongside the British and so they were told to go away and be good little boys and one woman, to fight in our common cause.

And at the same time as workers, including girls, were imprisoned for refusing to leave home and work in a distant town, one woman trade unionist was sacked and although the Tribunal of the E.W.O. - a worker, an employer and a neutral (usually a clergyman - Marx used one too for one of his Chairmen) found against the employer. The government took legal action and it was fought to the House of Lords who all found for the employer - that he only had to pay wages not employ. This at a period when a worker could go to prison for not working.

From now on you are on your own. It is easy to find your own facts.

1. Discuss the role of the revisionists in the Labour Movement today.  
Discuss the role of the Trotskyites, the left Labour M.P.s and the assorted nuts.
2. Discuss "industrial unionism" beloved even of some socialists.
3. Discuss democracy in unions, including the fact that many members do not vote, do not attend branches. Why?
4. Discuss leadership, including that of the media.
5. Discuss the idea bruted abroad for a very long time that 'inflation' is caused by the working class eating and that the way to cure 'inflation' is by wage cuts.
6. Discuss the influence, if any, of the international trade union bodies.
7. Discuss the new 'New Unionism', the white collar workers. Why now? Is it economic as the manual workers have been told they are or is it different? Is it different as 'the dog stands on his hind legs'? What about the new unions, e.g. A.S.T.M.S.? What about the 'efficient idea' of clever people from Universities being appointed as organisers instead of ignorant, ill-educated shop floor workers?
8. What is the position of women in unions, in industry?
9. How is it possible to end prejudice, in our Party for a start, against sections of workers - nurses are goodies, doctors are baddies. Everybody hates teachers and despises civil servants! And, of course, everyone who works in a factory is an angel from Heaven!

10. How do you combat the new line that if black workers in England do not get the plum acting parts, or become headmasters or foremen, it is racial discrimination? Do we care if anybody ever becomes a foreman or a headmaster?
11. When is a strike not a strike?
12. How do you explain that "right wing social democrats" can support a Marxist-Leninist in fighting for the rights of a union?
13. What do you think of the fashion for amalgamation? Remember Gill, the revisionist for over 30 years, the first communist on the T.U.C. General Council, a draughtsman, who is now General Secretary of one of the unions amalgamated with the giant A.E.U., a small tail trying to wag a large dog. Again, this is admired by many Socialists.
14. What is the role of a Marxist-Leninist in the Trade Union Movement?
15. Why was it that the A.E.U., a craft union, was able during and since the Second World War to lead the working class in militancy and progress?