INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • PUBLISHED FROM TUESDAY TO SATURDAY • NUMBER 38 • WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1969

BY

G. HEALY

PRICE 6d.

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It is all very well to engage in a little mild breastbeating about how 'nobody told us', like George Matthews, the editor of the 'Morning Star', but surely you cannot believe this to be adequate.

Consider for a moment, the implications of Stalinism. It was not just that Stalin was a tyrant who tortured, assassinated and executed the majority of Lenin's Central Committee which led the Russian Revolution to victory in October 1917.

You must explain the political forces which motivated these terrible deeds.

That is the main question which the Gollan leadership of the Communist Party leaves unanswered. That section of the leader-

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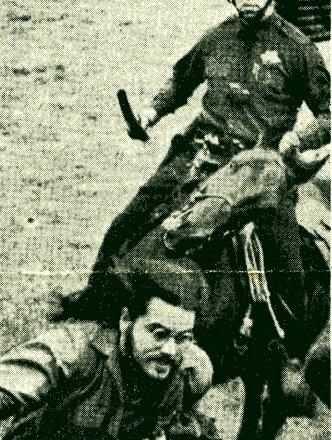
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Young Socialists

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SHARES in the giant British Petroleum group

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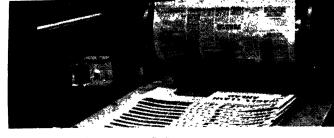
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SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGH

# WITHOUT THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

BY **JACK GALE** 

PRIOR TO LABOUR'S election victory in 1964, there had been two important attacks on the trades unions through the courts-Rookes v. Barnard and Stratford v. Lindley.

Rookes was a draughtsman employed by BOAC. He resigned from the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen. The union threatened action and BOAC dismissed him.

Rookes then sued the union for damages and—after a long battle in the courts he won his case in the House of Lords.

Stratford's were a firm of barge hirers and repairers. They sued the Watermen's Union which had blacked Stratford's and obtained a High Court injunction restraining the union from carrying out its ban.

The Labour leaders promised the unions that they would take action to restore their legal position. But the Trades Disputes Bill—given its second reading in February 1965—far from legalizing the closed shop, led to the proposal for a Royal Commission to examine the trades unions'

This followed shortly after George Brown's famous 'Declaration of Intent'. In December 1964 Brown got employers and union leaders to agree on the outlines of an incomes policy which involved increased productivity, mobility of labour and a reduction of 'restrictive' practices.

The government then announced its intention to hold down wage increases to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

#### HYSTERICAL

As 1965 went on, there came increasingly hysterical attacks on the unions from Tories and Labour rightwingers such as Desmond Donnelly, accompanied by threats from Wilson and Brown of legal action against the unions to impose a wage freeze.

Instead of fighting back, the TUC proposed to introduce its own 'early warning system' to hold back wage increases. At the Labour Party Conference in September 1965. an emergency resolution to reject legislation against the unions was defeated by 3,635,000 to 2,540,000 votes.

The campaign against antiunion laws was not begun in those quarters, but by the Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League. We demanded a fight back against the constant press attacks on 'selfish workers'.

The Queen's speech in November 1965 made it clear that anti-union laws were on their way and it was after this that the Lambeth Trades Council called a lobby for January 26, 1966.



George Brown: Got employers and union leaders to agree on incomes policy.

Lobbies of parliament were changing.

During the booming 1950s lobbies had been commonplace. They were always very sedate, polite affairs.

But 1963 saw the first dose of unemployment since the war. March 1963 saw a mass lobby in response to a call from the North East Region of Trades Councils.

Trade unionists and Young Socialists turned out in force. There were clashes with the police, a red flag was hung over the entrance to parliament, and respectable MPs were frightened out of their

wits. here was another Now. lobby.

LABOUR GOWERNME ATTACKSTEE Labour Party Conference. Wilson outlined his programme The government's Bill had reflected both the confidence because they MacNamara of the working class and the

not yet been published. Yet something had to be done, for the strength of the working class had pushed up wages by 8½ per cent in 1965.

hoped Wilson would tame the unions.

Many of these people were filled with fear of striking workers by press witch-hunts

> mentary majority. The fight against anti-trade union legislation was the main question at both the Young Socialists' 6th Annual Conference at Morecambe and at the May Day demonstration in

hopes of the middle class for

firm action against the unions.

cuse of Labour's 'lefts' that

they could not oppose Wilson

because of his small parlia-

But it also removed the ex-

London.

The YS then called for a demonstration and lobby of parliament against anti-union laws and the Devlin Report on May 25.

This was supported by Merseyside dockers; 7,000 struck work and made 63 ships idle.

1,100 people marched through London, despite the splitting tactics of the Communist Party, which worked night and day to stop dockers in other ports from joining the Merseyside men.

#### **REJECTED**

Then, in May 1966, the seamen struck work for a 40-hour week. They rejected the Pearson inquiry which proposed reducing hours from 56 to 48, with a 40-hour week to come later.

The Labour government saw this as a test case for their entire incomes policy and brought in Emergency Powers against the seamen. Not a single 'left' MP voted against these powers.

Meanwhile the Communist Party had issued a call for a lobby on June 22. This came a few days after the call for May 25 and was clearly intended only as a diversion.

Needless to say, it was supported by the anti-Marxist state capitalist' group.

After May 25 the Commun-

ist Party did practically nothing towards a campaign for June 22.

The SLL and the Young Socialists offered a united campaign to the Communist Party rank and file and brought 1,000 people to the lobby under the slogans: 'Victory to the Seamen', 'Against the Devlin Report', 'Against anti-trade union legislation'.

This time the Communist Party was unable to repeat the strategy of its March 1 demonstration when they had tried to force the Young Socialists off the march for bringing in political questions.

After the June 22 lobby, the Socialist Labour League called for a mass action on July 20 the date of the second reading of the anti-trade union billand the YS announced a mass demonstration at Brighton on October 2, the eve of the

Throughout all this activity we campaigned for the independence of the trades unions from the capitalist

We said the purpose of trades unions was to improve wages. If they gave up this right to the capitalist state, what was the purpose of trade unionism?

Voting to accept Wilson's proposals amounted to voting the trades unions out of existence—and we pointed to the grim warning of the German trade union leaders who had accepted similar measures prior to Hitler.

For this reason we strongly opposed the 'left' Frank Cousins (then general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union), who advocated that unions should give up their bargaining powers to the TUC.

We were consistently opposed on these question by the Communist Party, which was determined to keep revolution-ary politics out of the struggle in the unions.

The Stalinists strove might and main to prevent workers drawing political conclusions from their industrial struggles since this would have meant a political conflict with the trade union bureaucracy, especially the 'lefts'.

In class actions, like the long-drawn-out dispute at the Barbican building site in London, the Communist Party — supported by the 'state capitalists' — limited the workers to industrial questions and thus paved the way for

At the Trades Union Congress in September 1966

for a six month wage freeze, followed by 'severe restraint' and strict enforcement of the

ship and power.

Despite the TUC's voluntary wage freeze, the militancy of the working class over wages was such that the government could not rely on these leaders and wanted to have powers in

The Socialist Labour League to place a motion before the Parliamentary Labour Party demanding the resignation of Wilson and his Cabinet.

against Wilson. The Beaver Hall Conference

of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trades Unions (led by the Communist Party) met on December 3 and called for a February 21 lobby. In January 1967 the Socialist

Labour League issued a Central Committee statement calling for left unity against Wilson's policies, urging the 'left' MPs to fight and promising them

prices and incomes policy.

The TUC voted to support

the Prices and Incomes Acteven though Part 4 gave the government compulsory powers over wage negotiations. Therefore struggles over wages posed political questions of leader-

1,200 people took part in our October 2 demonstration at the Labour Party Conference which endorsed the government's right to take legal powers to enforce the Prices and Incomes Act.

reserve.

called on the 'left' Labour MPs This was issued at a special

congress of the League in November 1966, when we also announced a national demonstration and lobby for February 21, 1967 for a fight to the finish

support from the factories and

The Lambeth Trades Council, supported by the Young Socialists

and the Socialist Labour League, called the first lobby against the anti-union laws proposed in the Queen's speech of November 1965.

The General Council of the TUC responded by withdrawing recognition from the Lambeth Trades Council, but still 1,500 joined the march on January 26, 1966.

the ranks of the unions if they

Once again, the Communist Party pulled back on the lobby because they were opposed to our demand that pressure should be put on the 'left' MPs to make them fight Wilson.

N.U.S.

The Socialist Labour League d the Young Socialists cam paigned all over the country and workers responded. For example, the joint shop stewards' committee of Lucas/ CAV, Fazakerley, Liverpool, issued a statement saying 'Fight the Freeze, Don't Freeze the Fight'.

In March 1967 the government published its 'Statement on Prices and Incomes' which was its strategy for holding down wages after July when Part 4 of the Prices and Incomes Bill lapsed and the 12 months of 'severe restraint' was due to end.

Part 2 was to be activated, which involved the TUC vetting wage claims — that is. doing the dirty work on behalf of the government.

#### **ELECTIONS**

In April and May the local elections showed a big swing against Labour, which we said showed that the 'left' MPs had to fight Wilson in order to save

the Labour Party. This was the theme of the SLL/YS May Day demonstration in London: 'Halt government action against the unions: make "left" MPs fight Wilson'.

The 'Tribune' lefts said 'Stick to Wilson'.

But when 'Tribune' called for a special Labour Party Conference, 'The Newsletter' supported that call.

'Tribune', however, only wanted a conference to discuss the Common Market and they never campaigned behind their own call. We said the conference should be about all Wilson's anti - working - class

policies. The 9th Annual Congress of the SLL in May 1967 issued this call: 'Make the "left" MPs fight; build local liaison committees for the defence of trade unions; convene local conferences to fight Wilson's antiworking - class policies; nationalize the basic industries; for a Labour government with socialist policies; against wage freezing, anti-union legislation and unemployment; repeal the Prices and Incomes

Act'. The end of 'severe restraint' led to big pressure on wages and the Oxford Committee for the Defence of Trades Unions called a conference on Septem-

The main resolution at this conference demanded: Repeal the Prices and Incomes Act;

ber 2.

World News and Reaction. 4.00 The Watching World: Apollo 12. 4.20 Play School. 4.50 Latest News From 'Intrepid'. 4.55 The Singing, Ringing Tree. 5.15 Wild World. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 National News and Weather.

6.00 London.6.15 Moon Walk Special.

For Mary'.
8.50 The Main News.
9.15 The Wednesday Play. 10.15 24 Hours.

Report. 12.30 a.m. Weather.

All regions as BBC-1 except at the

Wales: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Wales Today. 6.45-7.15 Heddiw. 7.15-7.30 Autumn Kircaig. 10.50-11.20 Springboks in Wales.
Scotland: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Reporting Scotland. 11.05-11.30 Sportsreel. 11.30-12 midnight International

Tennis.
Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Scene
Around Six. 12.32 a.m. Northern
Ireland News Headlines, Weather.
South and West: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Points
West, South Today, Spotlight South
West, Weather. 12.32 a.m. South and
West News Headlines, Weather.

**B.B.C.-2** 

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. p.m. Expecting A Baby. Newsroom and Weather. Man Alive. 8.55 Know Your Onions.
9.15 Show of the Week. My World . . . And Wel-

Thurber's cartoons.

come To It: series based on a selection of James

News Summary and 10.55 Line-Up. I.T.V.

**Doubts and Certainties** 

Special Branch. 10.00 News At Ten. Sez Les. 11.00 11.45 The Papers.
12.00 midnight Music From Malinee Peris.

All independent channels as London ITV except at the following times: CHANNEL: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 Apollo 12. 3.40-3.55 p.m. States Of Jersey Lottery Results. 4.50 Puffin's Birthday Greetings. 6.00 Channel News and Weather. 6.10 The Pursuers. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure Hunt. 11.45 Epilogue, News and Weather In French, Weather. WESTWARD: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.01 Hatty Town. 4.13 Westward News Headlines. 4.15 Open House. 4.40 The Gus Honeybun Show. 6.00 Westward Diary. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure Hunt. 11.45 Faith For Life. 11.51 Weather.

The Labour government saw the seamen's strike in May 1966 as a test case for their entire incomes policy

and enacted the emergency powers against the seamen. The Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League participated in all the seamen's demonstrations and offered a united campaign with the Communist Party rank and file which brought 1,000 people on a lobby under the slogans, 'Victory to the Seamen',

'Against the Devlin Report' and 'Against the anti-union legislation'.

ANGLIA: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 10.58 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.05 Katie Stewart Cooks. 4.30 Anglia Newsroom. 4.35 The Romper Room. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 11.45 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.00 News Headlines. 4.02 Houseparty. 4.15 Halls Of Ivy. 4.40 The Tingha and Tucker Club. 6.00 Midlands News. 6.10 ATV Today including Police Five. 6.35 Crossroads. 11.45 Pulse, Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 Apollo 12.

GRANADA: 6.00-9.00 a.m. The Moon Landing: minute by minute account of the lunar touch down. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 Apollo 12. 3.45 p.m. University Challenge. 4.25 The Short Story. 6.00 The Beverley Hillbillies. 6.25 Newsview, It's Trueman. TYNE TEES: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.09 North East Newsroom. 4.11 News Headlines. 4.13 Torchy. 4.30 Freud On Food. 4.53 North East Newsroom. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Police Call. 6.35 Castle Haven. 10.30 Face The Press. 11.45 Late News Extra. 12 midnight Jesus Loves Me.

4.00 p.m. Houseparty. 4.15 Paulus. 4.30 Survival. 4.55 Lift Off. 5.20 Sexton Blake. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar, Weather. 6.30 Hogan's Heroes. 11.45 Late Weather.

SCOTTISH: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12, 11.00 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12, 4.20 Scotland Early. 6.00 Scotland New followed by Police Call. 6.35 The Legend Of Jesse James. 10.30 Scotsport. 11.45 Late Call.

GRAMPIAN: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 10.58 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.30 Castle Haven. 6.00 Grampian News. 6.10 Grampian Week. 6.35 Crossroads. 11.45 Police News.



Election

like the famous 'Noose Trial'

hoax—a fantastic press smear

about threats and violence at

BMC, Cowley, following two

one-day strikes on February

approached, the Socialist

Labour League called for a

Labour victory in order to keep

out the Tories and to expose

Labour's landslide victory

24 and March 3.

the right wing.

As the General

In March 1963, 30,000 trade unionists, Young Socialists and unemployed turn out in force to lobby the Houses of Parliament. Clashes took place for the first time since the Second World War

between workers and police. The Lambeth Trades Council played

a large part in the preparation of this lobby, organizing meals for workers who had travelled from all parts of the country.

Already it was clear that

the TUC would not defend the

working class — on December

22 its General Council

voted by 23-12 to accept legis-

lation to restrict wage claims.

It followed this up by with-

drawing recognition from the

Lambeth Trades Council.

Despite this, and despite a boy-

cott by the Labour 'lefts' and

the Communist Party, 1,500

ment's White Paper-threaten-

ing heavy fines for trade union-

ists fighting for wage increases

and imprisonment if they

couldn't pay—was given its

first formal reading.
On February 26 the Socialist

Labour League called for a

one-day strike and lobby of

parliament, and published a

pamphlet 'No Laws against the

gave the government power to

demand notification of any

wage claim or any wage settle-

given powers to forbid imple-

mentation of any increase for

The government was also

Failure to comply meant

This was a step towards cor-

Wilson had, in fact, made an

porate state control over wages

appeal to many middle-class

voters who feared the unions

in the Hull by-election in

Labour candidate Kevin

Many of them voted for

ment or price increase.

up to four months.

and the unions.

January 1966.

fines of £50 to £500.

Trade Unions' by G. Healy. The Prices and Incomes Bill

On February 24 the govern-

people went on the march.

7.00 a.m. Men On The Moon: Apollo 12, 9.00 The Moon and Man. 11.30 Moon Walk. 3.30 p.m.

6.45 The Doctors.
7.30 The Laugh Parade: 'All

10.50 Grandstand Special. 12 midnight Apollo Midnight

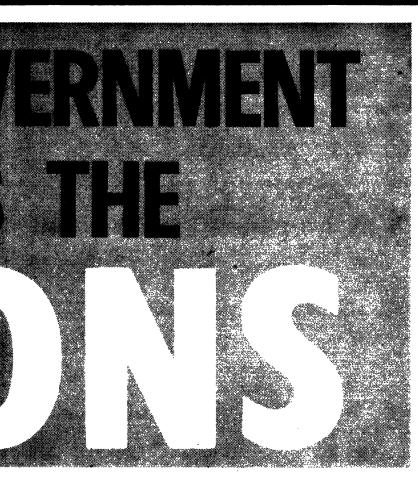
All regions as BBC-1 except at the following times:
Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather. 12.32 a.m. News Summary, Weather.
Northern England: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Look North, Weather. 12.32 a.m. Northern News Headlines, Weather.

11.00-11.57 a.m. Schools. 1.40-2.55 p.m. Schools. (Due to Apollo 12 the above programmes may not be transmitted.) 4.15 New Headlines. 4.17 The Tingha and Tucker Club. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Lift Off. 5.20 Sexton Blake. 5.50 News.

6.03 Today.6.30 The Ghost and Mrs Muir. This Is Your Life. 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.00 The Benny Hill Sho The Benny Hill Show.

Professional Wrestling.

# LEADERSHIP OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL THE INDEPENDENCE OF TRADE UNIONS



Labour Party Conference.

Throughout all this activity we campaigned for the independence of the trades unions from the capitalist state.

We said the purpose of trades unions was to improve wages. If they gave up this right to the capitalist state, what was the purpose of trade unionism?

Voting to accept Wilson's proposals amounted to voting the trades unions out of existence—and we pointed to the grim warning of the German trade union leaders who had accepted similar measures prior to Hitler.

For this reason we strongly opposed the 'left' Frank Cousins (then general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union), who advocated that unions should give up their bargaining powers to the TUC.

We were consistently opposed on these question by the Communist Party, which was determined to keep revolutionary politics out of the struggle in the unions.

The Stalinists strove might and main to prevent workers drawing political conclusions from their industrial struggles since this would have meant a political conflict with the trade union bureaucracy.

especially the 'lefts'. In class actions, like the long-drawn-out dispute at the Barbican building site in London, the Communist Party - supported by the 'state capitalists' - limited the workers to industrial questions

and thus paved the way for At the Trades Union Con-

gress

p-ist

in September 1966

Wilson outlined his programme for a six month wage freeze, followed by 'severe restraint' and strict enforcement of the prices and incomes policy.

The TUC voted to support the Prices and Incomes Acteven though Part 4 gave the government compulsory powers over wage negotiations. Therefore struggles over wages posed political questions of leadership and power.

1,200 people took part in our October 2 demonstration at the Labour Party Conference which endorsed the government's right to take legal powers to enforce the Prices and Incomes Act.

Despite the TUC's voluntary wage freeze, the militancy of the working class over wages was such that the government could not rely on these leaders and wanted to have powers in reserve.

The Socialist Labour League called on the 'left' Labour MPs to place a motion before the Parliamentary Labour Party demanding the resignation of Wilson and his Cabinet.

This was issued at a special congress of the League in November 1966, when we also announced a national demonstration and lobby for February 21, 1967 for a fight to the finish against Wilson.

The Beaver Hall Conference of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trades Unions (led by the Communist Party) met on December 3 and called for a February 21 lobby.

In January 1967 the Socialist Labour League issued a Central Committee statement calling for left unity against Wilson's policies, urging the 'left' MPs to fight and promising them support from the factories and



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Once again, the Communist Party pulled back on the lobby because they were opposed to our demand that pressure should be put on the 'left' MPs to make them fight Wilson.

and workers responded. For stewards' committee of Lucas CAV, Fazakerley, Liverpool, 'Fight the Freeze, Don't Freeze

ment published its 'Statement on Prices and Incomes' which was its strategy for holding down wages after July when Part 4 of the Prices and Incomes Bill lapsed and the 12 months of 'severe restraint'

which involved the TUC vetting wage claims - that is. doing the dirty work on behalf of the government.

#### **ELECTIONS**

In April and May the local elections showed a big swing against Labour, which we said showed that the 'left' MPs had to fight Wilson in order to save the Labour Party.

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'Tribune', however, only wanted a conference to discuss the Common Market and they never campaigned behind their own call. We said the conference should be about all Wilson's anti-working-class

policies. The 9th Annual Congress of the SLL in May 1967 issued this call: 'Make the "left" MPs fight; build local liaison committees for the defence of trade unions; convene local conferences to fight Wilson's antiworking - class policies; nationalize the basic industries; for a Labour government with socialist policies; against wage freezing, anti-union legislation and unemployment;

The end of 'severe restraint' led to big pressure on wages the Defence of Trades Unions

and the Oxford Committee for called a conference on September 2.

the Prices and Incomes Act;

restore full employment; implement a policy of paying full wages whilst working short time; nationalize the basic industries, including the motor

industry. It was also decided to reconvene the conference in the event of attacks by the government on any section of workers on questions of mass sackings implementation of the Devlin Report or wages policy.

On September 19 the Tyneside and Blythe Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions called for a December 12 lobby of parliament on unemployment.

The Labour Party Conference in October endorsed Labour's economic policies.

conference was recalled at the request of the striking Merseyside dockers. Links were forged between

On October 21 the Oxford

car workers and dockers at a conference attended by 368 delegates.

A joint fight was undertaken against speed-up, unemployment, prices and incomes legislation, Measured-Day Work and Devlin.

Meanwhile the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists supported the call for the December lobby but said it would achieve nothing unless it demanded that the 'left' MPs quit stalling and fight Wilson.

On December 2, 1967, we printed our 'Socialist Policy for the Crisis' demanding: 'Independence of the trade unions from the state; a sliding scale of wages; no sackings; workers' supervision and control; nationalization of the banks; suspension of interest payments on housing; nationalization of steel; repeal of the Immigration Act; scrapping of Labour's foreign policy; sack the Wilson leadership.'
By contrast, the TUC and

the National Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions banned the December 12 lobby and it was immediately sabotaged by the Communist Party, which would not oppose the official trade union leadership.

#### **LOBBY**

The Young Socialists worked for a mass lobby, but the Communist Party strove to turn it into a mere token.

Following the lobby, the Oxford Liaison Committee called a national conference of trade unionists for February 3, 1968, to centre on the effects of devaluation and the economic crisis in the USA. At the beginning of 1968

the government increased health charges and intensified its efforts to hold back wages. The busmen's £1 increase was frozen and the Transport and General Workers' leader,

the 'left' Cousins, failed completely to lead any fight, despite mass meetings all over the country demanding strike The 'left' MPs restricted their fight to a call for a

special meeting of the Labour Party NEC. We demanded a special conference of the Labour Party and said that no cuts should be implemented until it was held. It was at this time that the

government provided a cheap loan of £25 million for the BMH-Leyland merger. The Communist Party called

Defence of Trades Unions on February 17. This conference was sup-

national conference of its Liaison Committee for the

ported by the 'state capitalist' Its aim was to canalize

workers' dissatisfaction with the Labour government behind the union bureaucracies. At their previous conference on December 3, 1967, they had refused to consider a resolution from Lucas/CAV for the 'left' MPs to fight Wilson.

'Tribune' was taking a similar line.

When the economy cuts were announced, this paper of the 'left' gave prominence to an article by Jennie Lee calling on the left to rally behind Wilson in order to keep out the right wing.

The February 17 lobby called for the TUC to implement its policy—though the had already demonstrated clearly that it was not prepared to fight the govern-

The February 3, 1968, conference called by the Oxford Liaison Committee was banned by Woodcock, then general secretary of the TUC, but was attended by 550 delegates.

By contrast with the Stalinist conference a real fighting organization was launched the All Trades Unions Alliance.

(The Stalinist conference even barred delegates on strike at Linton and Hirst, Swindon, and Lucas/CAV, Liverpool, on the grounds that strike comwere not mittees bodies!)

Meanwhile, the struggle was

hotting up.
The Confederation of British Industries demanded an 18 month wage freeze and the engineers held a one-day national stoppage in support of their £2 wage demand. The May Day rally of the

Young Socialists called for support for the engineers and the implementation of the official policy of the AEF.

The AEF leaders, however, saw a one-day token strike as a substitute for a fight, not a prelude to one.
In June 1968, the Royal

Commission on Trades Unions (Donovan) presented its report to parliament. The idea of making un-

strikes illegal was official shelved for the time being. The employers were still cautious.

Instead the Report attacked shop stewards' factory negotiating rights and said wages should be negotiated with the employers by national officials on a factory-to-factory basis, in line with the government's

prices and incomes policy. Its aim was to eliminate shop stewards' power prior to an attack on wages.

#### **AUTHORITY**

It was at this time that Mrs Castle appointed Mr Cattell, the employers' main authority Measured-Day Work, to advise the government on

A further conference of the Communist Party's Liaison Committee, again supported by the 'state capitalists', attracted only 120 delegates to Beaver Hall.

The right-wing leaders were doing their best to put a brake on wages and to drive through productivity deals - for example, when the railwaymen's militancy had broken through the prices and incomes restrictions, the NUR leaders accepted a deal which included massive speed-ups and redundancies.

The workers were still militant, however, and a lobby of the AEF National Com-



On May 1, 1969, throughout Brita for a General Strike.

mittee on August 30 forced through a resolution to strike on October 21 for the £2 claim.

But there was a warning signal at the end of September when Scanlon accepted Measured - Day Work at Rootes, Linwood, Scotland.

The mood in the ranks was for a fight.

The 100th TUC Congress in October 1968 voted overwhelmingly (seven million votes) against the government's incomes policy and demanded the repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act.

The General Council got only a tiny majority for its own wage-vetting proposals.

The employers were also preparing, and the end of September 1968 saw the biggest merger in British industrial history—GEC/English Electric.

The Labour Party Conference also demanded the repeal of the Prices and Incomes Actby a four million majority.

The very threat of strike action forced the engineering employers to make concessions and as the strike date approached the Socialist Labour League proposed to bring out 'The Newsletter' three times a week. But Scanlon began to make concessions on productivity, failed to get equal pay for women, and called off the

The All Trades Unions Alliance held a national conference on October 26, issued the pamphlet 'Your Wages in Danger' and called for a mass

lobby of the AEF National Committee on November 22. On December 7, under the leadership of the Young Socialists. 150 apprentices and junior workers attended a conference in Manchester and called a

mass demonstration and lobby in London for February 23, 1969. In December the building

union leaders agreed to a wage-cut for their members.

By Brian Moore

ing scars out of soft green landscapes, smoke hanging in the air like a yellow shroud. Coal dust blackens the faces, penetrates the lungs, darkens the squat houses.

historical placing of the film by electric guitars.

But the violation still remains. And it is this violation of

**Passionate** 

# anthems

of the novel 'Women in Love' is possibly the last great

The son of a Nottinghamshire miner, his books are passionate anthems against the stuntedness of life. Much of his work is haunted by the blackened images of industrial rape, the tearing apart and encroachment by the machine of all that is natural.

Men are divided from men,

of D.H. Lawrence bonds of alienation, to find a way through the humiliation of industrialization, to fight for a rebirth from the ashes of deprivation and puritanism to

His whole life was a striving towards a oneness with a physical and natural world that has been lost.

a highly personal and physical

authenticity through the love

of one woman.

He paid dearly for it. Ostracised by society, he had to take the path of exile and wandering with the woman he loved.

True to form the English

bourgeoisie hounded him. banned his boks, sent him packing. The catalogue of such treat-

ment is long; Byron, Keats and Browning are a few English writers who fen foul of the bourgeoisie's vindictiveness.

#### Blunt weapons

And it is a heritage of puritanism that is deeply

scored into English culture

become aware of.

Pale carbon copy

Its roots are deep and the bloom is Philistinism, suspicion, guilt, which the ruling class have wielded as a blunt

roots and institutions, its barbarism and its repression. That is the great task of the workers' revolution.

him to openly reactionary views; he substituted privilege and aristocracy for an aristocracy of the blood, as he called it.

His involvement with individual salvation made him suspicious of the institution infinite richness of the relationships between men and men and women and women and men and women.

His books speak as constant and nagging reminders of what life could be, of what the future can hold. It is the voice that all great artists remind us with, the struggle for something else, a higher quality of experience.

#### More alienated

What Lawrence could not see, but paradoxically seemed only to be aware of, is that struggle for interpersonal relationships is not separated from the struggle against the imprisoning social system that

In his fight against alienation, he himself became more alienated, forced into exile from the society that he hated, but could never relinquish a passionate concern for.

He was compelled into isolation.

As Marxists we fight in



nent saw the seamen's strike in May 1966 as a test case for their entire incomes policy and enacted the emergency powers against the seamen. The Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League participated in all the seamen's demonstrations and offered a united campaign with the Communist Party rank and file which brought 1,000 people on a lobby under the slogans, 'Victory to the Seamen',

10.50 News Summary and Weather. 10.55 Line-Up.

#### I.T.V.

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12.00 midnight Music From

Malinee Peris.

All independent channels as London ITV except at the following times: CHANNEL: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 Apollo 12. 3.40-3.55 p.m. States Of Jersey Lottery Results. 4.50 Puffin's Birthday Greetings. 6.00 Channel News and Weather. 6.10 The Pursuers. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure Hunt. 11.45 Epilogue, News and Weather In French, Weather.

WESTWARD: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.01 Hatty Town. 4.13 Westward News Headlines. 4.15 Open House. 4.40 The Gus Honeybun Show. 6.00 Westward Diary. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure Hunt. 11.45 Faith For Life. 11.51 Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 Apollo 12.

GRANADA: 6.00-9.00 a.m. The Moon Landing: minute by minute account of the lunar touch down. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 Apollo 12. 3.45 p.m. University Challenge. 4.25 The Short Story. 6.00 The Beverley Hillbillies. 6.25 Newsview, It's Trueman.

TYNE TEES: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.09 North East Newsroom. 4.11 News Headlines. 4.13 Torchy. 4.30 Freud On Food. 4.53 North East Newsroom. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Police Call. 6.35 Castle Haven. 10.30 Face The Press. 11.45 Late News Extra. 12 midnight Jesus Loves Me.

GRAMPIAN: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 10.58 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.30 Castle Haven. 6.00 Grampian News. 6.10 Grampian Week. 6.35 Crossroads. 11.45 Police News.

The Socialist Labour League paigned all over the country example, the joint shop a statement saying

In March 1967 the govern-

was due to end. Part 2 was to be activated,

This was the theme of the SLL/YS May Day demonstration in London: 'Halt government action against the unions: make "left" MPs fight Wilson'.

supported that call.

repeal the Prices and Incomes

The main resolution at this conference demanded: Repeal

BROODING in the background of 'Women in Love' (Prince Charles Theatre, Director Ken Russel) are the pits.

They erupt like smoulder-

Nature is violated and men are violated by the plunder. Some 50 years on from the

perhaps the miners' faces are less grimed in coal dust or the showers wash away what the bowels of the earth release; the formal black suits and white collars of Sunday best have given way to jackets and terylene; the brass bands have been replaced

# man that underlies this film.

D. H. Lawrence, the author English novelist.

women reduced to objects, and Lawrence is the individual voice struggling to break the that as Marxists we must

weapons for generations. When we smash capitalism, we tear out all its tentacular

But for Lawrence there seemed no such way. He had a suspicion and a hostility to socialism. Much of his passion led

and the mass.

But aspects of his work do not invalidate the central core. What burns behind every word on the page is the constant striving for man to achieve his own humanity, to grasp the

ensnares them.

'Against the Devlin Report' and 'Against the anti-union legislation'. 10.25 Doubts and Certainties

ANGLIA: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 10.58 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.05 Katie Stewart Cooks. 4.30 Anglia Newsroom. 4.35 The Romper Room. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 11.45 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.00 News Headlines. 4.02 Houseparty. 4.15 Halls Of Ivy. 4.40 The Tingha and Tucker Club. 6.00 Midlands News. 6.10 ATV Today including Police Five. 6.35 Crossroads. 11.45 Pulse, Weather.

4.00 p.m. Houseparty. 4.15 Paulus. 4.30 Survival. 4.55 Lift Off. 5.20 Sexton Blake. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar, Weather. 6.30 Hogan's Heroes. 11.45 Late Weather.

SCOTTISH: 6.00-9.00 a.m. Apollo 12. 11.00 Schools. 11.40 a.m.-3.40 p.m. Apollo 12. 4.20 Scotland Early. 6.00 Scotland New followed by Police Call. 6.35 The Legend Of Jesse James. 10.30 Scotsport. 11.45 Late Call.

the Fight'.

mittee on August 30 forced

through a resolution to strike

on October 21 for the £2 claim.

signal at the end of September

when Scanlon accepted Measured - Day Work at

The mood in the ranks was

The 100th TUC Congress

in October 1968 voted over-

whelmingly (seven million

votes) against the govern-

ment's incomes policy and

demanded the repeal of the

only a tiny majority for its

preparing, and the end of September 1968 saw the big-

gest merger in British in-

dustrial history—GEC/English

also demanded the repeal of

the Prices and Incomes Act—

The very threat of strike

action forced the engineering

employers to make concessions

and as the strike date ap-

proached the Socialist Labour

League proposed to bring out

'The Newsletter' three times a

week. But Scanlon began to

make concessions on produc-

tivity, failed to get equal pay

for women, and called off the

Alliance held a national con-

ference on October 26, issued

the pamphlet 'Your Wages in

Danger' and called for a mass

lobby of the AEF National

Committee on November 22.

leadership of the Young Social-

ists, 150 apprentices and junior

workers attended a conference

in Manchester and called a

mass demonstration and lobby

in London for February 23,

union leaders agreed to a

wage-cut for their members.

In December the building

On December 7, under the

Trades Unions

strike.

1969.

By Brian Moore

by a four million majority.

The Labour Party Conference

own wage-vetting proposals.

The General Council got

The employers were also

Prices and Incomes Act.

Rootes, Linwood, Scotland.

for a fight.

But there was a warning

# NAL THE INDEPENDENCE OF TRADE UNIONS IS IMPOSSIBLE'—TROTSKY



restore full employment; implement a policy of paying full wages whilst working short time; nationalize the basic industries, including the motor industry.

It was also decided to reconvene the conference in the event of attacks by the government on any section of workers on questions of mass sackings, implementation of the Devlin Report or wages policy.

On September 19 the Tyneside and Blythe Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions called for a December 12 lobby of parliament on

unemployment. The Labour Party Conference in October endorsed Labour's economic policies.

On October 21 the Oxford conference was recalled at the request of the striking Mersey-

Links were forged between car workers and dockers at a conference attended by 368

A joint fight was undertaken against speed-up, unemployment, prices and incomes legislation. Measured-Day Work

Meanwhile the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists supported the call for the December lobby but said it would achieve nothing unless it demanded that the 'left' MPs quit stalling and fight Wilson.

On December 2, 1967, we printed our 'Socialist Policy for the Crisis' demanding: 'Independence of the trade unions from the state; a sliding scale of wages; no sackings; workers' supervision and control; nationalization of the banks; suspension of interest payments on housing; nationalization of steel; repeal of the Immigration Act; scrapping of Labour's foreign policy; sack the Wilson leadership.'
By contrast, the TUC and

the National Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions banned the December ately sabotaged by the Communist Party, which would not oppose the official trade union

#### **LOBBY**

The Young Socialists worked for a mass lobby, but the Communist Party strove to turn it into a mere token. Following the lobby, the Oxford Liaison Committee

called a national conference of trade unionists for February 3, 1968, to centre on the effects of devaluation and the economic crisis in the USA.

At the beginning of 1968 he government increased government health charges and intensified its efforts to hold back wages. The busmen's £1 increase

was frozen and the Transport and General Workers' leader, the 'left' Cousins, failed completely to lead any fight, despite mass meetings all over the country demanding strike

'left' MPs restricted their fight to a call for a special meeting of the Labour Party NEC. We demanded a conference of the Labour Party and said that no cuts should be implemented until it was held.

It was at this time that the government provided a cheap loan of £25 million for the BMH-Leyland merger.

The Communist Party called a national conference of its Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trades Unions on February 17.

This conference was supported by the 'state capitalist'

Its aim was to canalize workers' dissatisfaction with the Labour government behind the union bureaucracies. At their previous conference on December 3, 1967, they had refused to consider a resolution from Lucas/CAV for the 'left' MPs to fight Wilson.

'Tribune' was taking a similar line.

When the economy cuts were announced, this paper of the 'left' gave prominence to an article by Jennie Lee calling on the left to rally behind Wilson in order to keep out the right wing.

The February 17 lobby called for the TUC to implement its policy—though the had already demonstrated clearly that it was not prepared to fight the govern-

The February 3, 1968, conference called by the Oxford Liaison Committee was banned by Woodcock, then general secretary of the TUC, but was attended by 550 delegates. By contrast with the Stalin-

ist conference a real fighting organization was launched the All Trades Unions Alliance.

(The Stalinist conference even barred delegates on strike at Linton and Hirst, Swindon, and Lucas/CAV, Liverpool, on the grounds that strike committees were not official Meanwhile, the struggle was

hotting up. The Confederation of British Industries demanded an 18 month wage freeze and the engineers held a one-day national stoppage in support

of their £2 wage demand. The May Day rally of the Young Socialists called for support for the engineers and the implementation of the official policy of the AEF.

The AEF leaders, however, saw a one-day token strike as a substitute for a fight, not a prelude to one.
In June 1968, the Royal

Commission on Trades Unions (Donovan) presented its report to parliament.

The idea of making unstrikes illegal was shelved for the time being. The employers were still

Instead the Report attacked shop stewards' factory negotiating rights and said wages should be negotiated with the employers by national officials on a factory-to-factory basis, in line with the government's prices and incomes policy.

Its aim was to eliminate shop stewards' power prior to an attack on wages.

#### **AUTHORITY**

It was at this time that Mrs Castle appointed Mr Cattell, the employers' main authority on Measured-Day Work, to advise the government on

A further conference of the Communist Party's Liaison Committee, again supported by the 'state capitalists', attracted only 120 delegates to the Beaver Hall.

The right-wing leaders were doing their best to put a brake on wages and to drive through productivity deals — for example, when the railwaymen's militancy had broken through the prices and incomes restric-tions, the NUR leaders accepted a deal which included massive speed-ups and

redundancies. The workers were still militant, however, and a lobby of the AEF National Com-

In January 1969, the All Trades Unions Alliance issued a statement warning of the employers' determination to force through legislation to make unofficial strikes illegal and to virtually destroy the

On May 1, 1969, throughout Britain, tens of thousands of workers struck demanding the withdrawal of anti-union legislation. In Liverpool, workers from all sections of industry voted in favour of a call for a General Strike.

unions. The statement called for restoration of full wage bargaining rights to the unions and their independence from the state, repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act, nationalization as the answer to mergers. and the removal of trade union leaders who refused to fight.

We warned that the TUC's opposition was worthless.

In February this year the Socialist Labour League issued a call to Communist Party members for unity in action to smash anti-union laws

#### **STOPPAGE**

We proposed a joint campaign for a national stoppage and suggested April 21 1969 as a date. The urgency was underlined by the action of Powellite councillors who went strike-breaking against the Lambeth dustmen.

On February 23, over 3,000 trade unionists, youth and students demonstrated against Wilson's attacks on the unions. For the first time all Ford plants in Britain were involved in a strike.

And Will Paynter joined the Commission on Industrial Relations, at £6,500 a year!

In March, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists called for a national strike on May 1 in defence of trade unionism and against the attacks on wages and conditions that were accompanying re-organizations like that taking place at British-Leyland. Also in March, the engineer-

ing leaders reached a settlement at Ford.

The Communist Party hailed this as a victory but, in return for small wage increases, these leaders accepted the right of the employers to withdraw bonuses for interrupted or disrupted production—and to relate bonuses to 'good behaviour'.

We said these union leaders would not fight against antiunion laws. The 'left' MPs also had

shown that they would not fight.

Only a general strike could stop Wilson.
'Left' trade union leaders

were also exposed. Scanlon had refused to submit a new wage claim, refused to take any action for equal pay for women; defended the 1968 productivity deal and said the strings must be honoured: refused to support even token strikes against Mrs Castle's White Paper, and handed all responsibility to the TUC.

We warned that the TUC would betray, and when a special congress of the TUC was called at Croydon on June 5, we called for a one-day strike and lobby. Tens of thousands had struck

on May 1 and 2,500 marched with the YS May Day 'Hands off the Unions' demonstration. But the TUC, by offering to control the workers itself, was half-way to Wilson's position.

Our call for a strike on June 5 was part of a campaign for a general strike to defend the unions.

The Communist Party also issued a call for a strike and lobby—but in order to support the 'lefts' and to keep the movement in 'official' channels. Since the 'lefts' went along

with the TUC's 'self-discipline' proposals, the Communist Party was placing those workers who followed it in a position where they could not fight the right wing.

To struggle against this, the All Trades Unions Alliance called a conference in Birmingham for July 5.

Just before this, Mr Dan McGarvey, the Boilermakers' leader, agreed to a wage-cut for shipbuilders.

At the end of June the government decided not to proceed immediately with antiunion laws.

The strength of the working class made Wilson hesitate.

We called this 'an unstable class truce'. The Prices and Incomes Act

had been broken through by a powerful wages movement. The Tories and the em-

ployers were not confident. But complacency would give them time to prepare. The breathing space gained had to be used to build up a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Over 600 people attended the July 5 All Trades Unions Alliance Conference in Birmingham and declared their total opposition to the TUC decision to accept the principle of disciplining workers on behalf of the employers.

The conference called for a socialist policy to hit big business, defend the unions, stop rises in the cost of living, introduce nationalization under workers' control and without compensation, stop anti-union laws, and for an emergency Labour Party conference and a Labour government with a socialist policy.

In July 1,000 men were sacked on the Clyde.

The TUC last September demanded the repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act in its entirety, but it was clear by now that mass action by the working class was necessary to make such decisions mean anything.

#### **MILITANCY**

Working-class militancy was shown by the wage increases won by the strike of 1,300 blastfurnacemen at Port Talbot—but the union leaders accepted a productivity deal which could mean future redundancies. It was shown by the struggle

of the GEC-English Electric workers against redundancies -but the lack of a revolutionary leadership enabled the right wing to make a comeback and destroy the plans to occupy the factories. It was shown again and

again by the strikes of dustmen, bakers, miners.

Meanwhile the growing militancy in the working class and the mounting economic crisis produced a swing to the right in the Tory Party, which resulted in the real victor at the Conservative Party Conference being Enoch Powell.

But the September 28 1,500strong rally at Brighton on the eve of the Labour Party Conference heralded the greatest weapon yet forged in the working-class movement — the first daily Trotskyist paper, the Workers Press.

This paper came just at the right time. The agreement with the CBI

signed by trade union leaders including the 'left' Jack Jones-bore early fruit when Vic Feather intervened to end the miners' strike. The record is clear.

The Labour leaders are sticking to their prices and

incomes policy.

The TUC is lining up openly against strikes, preparing for an even more blatant betrayal

than in 1926. The 'left' MPs refused to fight.

The 'left' trade union leaders have been exposed one after the other - Cousins, Scanlon. McGarvey, Jones and now Daly. The Communist Party covers up for these 'lefts'. who in turn trail behind the TUC. which backs Wilson who carries out the wishes of the international bankers.

At each step along this road the revisionist 'state capitalist' and Pabloite group supported the Stalinists.

The issue facing the unions is that posed by Trotsky in 'Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay':

'In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution. . . .

'The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.'



The Communist Party has consistently covered up for the 'lefts' Cousins, Scanlon, McGarvey, Jones and Daly who have at each stage betrayed the fight against the anti-union legislation.

An examination of the record of all political tendencies on the question of the independence of the trade unions since the Labour government came to power has shown that all of them—with the single exception of the Socialist Labour League—have taken the path that would tie the unions to the capitalist state and turn them into instruments for controlling the working class.

This bears out Trotsky's conclusion:

'Without the political leadership of the Fourth Inter-national the independence of the trade unions is impossible.'

BROODING in the background of 'Women in Love' (Prince Charles Theatre, Director Ken Russel) are the pits.

They erupt like smouldering scars out of soft green landscapes, smoke hanging in the air like a yellow shroud. Coal dust blackens the faces, penetrates the lungs, darkens the squat houses. Nature is violated and men

are violated by the plunder. Some 50 years on from the historical placing of the film perhaps the miners' faces are less grimed in coal dust or the showers wash away what the bowels of the earth release; the formal black suits and white collars of Sunday best have given way to jackets and terylene; the brass bands have been replaced

by electric guitars. But the violation still remains. And it is this violation of

man that underlies this film.

#### **Passionate** anthems

D. H. Lawrence, the author of the novel 'Women in Love' possibly the last great

English novelist. The son of a Nottinghamshire miner, his books are passionate anthems against the stuntedness of life. Much of his work is haunted by the blackened images of industrial rape, the tearing apart and encroachment by the machine of all that is natural.

Men are divided from men, women reduced to objects, and Lawrence is the individual voice struggling to break the

Pale carbon copy of D.H. Lawrence

bonds of alienation, to find a way through the humiliation of industrialization, to fight for a rebirth from the ashes of deprivation and puritanism to a highly personal and physical authenticity through the love of one woman.

His whole life was a striving towards a oneness with a physical and natural world that has been lost. He paid dearly for it. Ostracised by society, he had

wandering with the woman he True to form the English bourgeoisie hounded him, banned his boks, sent him

to take the path of exile and

packing. The catalogue of such treatment is long; Byron, Keats and Browning are a few English writers who fen foul of the bourgeoisie's vindictiveness.

#### Blunt weapons

And it is a heritage of puritanism that is deeply scored into English culture

that as Marxists we must become aware of. Its roots are deep and the bloom is Philistinism, sus-

picion, guilt, which the ruling

class have wielded as a blunt weapons for generations. When we smash capitalism, we tear out all its tentacular roots and institutions, its barbarism and its repression. That is the great task of the

workers' revolution. But for Lawrence there seemed no such way. He had a suspicion and a hostility to

Much of his passion led him to openly reactionary views; he substituted privilege and aristocracy for an aristocracy of the blood, as he called it.

His involvement with individual salvation made him suspicious of the institution and the mass. But aspects of his work do not invalidate the central core. What burns behind every word

on the page is the constant

striving for man to achieve his

own humanity, to grasp the

infinite richness of the relationships between men and men and women and women and men and women.

His books speak as constant and nagging reminders of what life could be, of what the future can hold. It is the voice that all great artists remind us with, the struggle for something else, a higher quality of experience.

#### More alienated

What Lawrence could not see, but paradoxically seemed only to be aware of, is that struggle for interpersonal relationships is not separated from the struggle against the imprisoning social system that ensnares them.

In his fight against alienation, he himself became more alienated, forced into exile from the society that he hated, but could never relinquish a passionate concern for.

As Marxists we fight in

He was compelled into

isolation.

another way, but that fight does not seal us off from the vision of his experience and 'He surveyed the rind of the

world; houses, factories, trams, the discarded rind; people scurrying about, work going on, all on the discarded surface. An earthquake had burst it all from inside. It was as if the surface of the world had been broken away entire: Ilkeston, streets, church, people, work, rule-of-the-day, all intact; and yet peeled away into unreality, leaving here exposed the inside, the reality; one's own being, strange feelings and passions and yearnings and beliefs and aspirasuddenly becom**e** present, revealed, the permanent bedrock, knitted one rock with the woman one loved. It was confounding. Things are not what they seem. When was a child, he had thought a woman was a woman merely by virtue of her skirts and petticoats. And now, lo, the whole world could be divested of its garment, the garment could lie there shed away intact, and one could stand in a new world, a new earth, naked in a new naked universe. It was too astounding and miraculous.

'This then was marriage!' 'The Rainbow'.

#### Carbon copy

The film of 'Women in Love' is inevitably a pale carbon copy of the novel.

I say this not to demean the film as art form, as though there were some hierarchy operating, but simply that Lawrence's very style of writing, whereby he captures all the turns and changes of moods, feelings, sensations of an experience, describes what



Ken Russel's direction brings out a feeling for the original book by D. H. Lawrence, and is matched by performances of Oliver Reed as Gerald and Glenda Jackson as Gudrun.

is going on inside his character, and internal life, is extremely difficult to translate to the screen, which relies on a more external form of expression.

The physical aspects of the book are beautifully realized. The wrestling match where the two central male characters, Birkin and Gerald, strip, has a marvellous sense of contact and release that Lawrence strives for in the book.

Throughout the film there is a delicacy and feel for the

original in Ken Russel's

direction, matched by the

performances, particularly of Oliver Reed as Gerald and Glenda Jackson as Gudrun, though Alan Bates' Birkin is too lightweight to convey the brooding and restless character of the novel.

And it is this last quality which is missing from the film and ultimately reduces it. Birkin's outrage is lacking.

The conflict within himself is concealed by the too charming smiles of the actor; his recoil from the barbarism and oppressiveness of English society never transcends a mild irony.

## Conflict

For Birkin is at war with himself, wrestling for a meaning to his relationships and experiences. This is the centre of the conflict of the novel which is echoed in the striv-

ings of the other characters. The violence and the passion in the book somehow appear as mere incidents, set pieces held within the frame, but not really integrated into the total struggle of conflicting opposites, of love and hate, creation and destruction, ardour and coldness.

It is rather like watching a facsimile; the ingredients appear to be there and they are present with skill, respect and artistry, but the living pulse has been removed, the ragged edges smoothed, it is all too resolved.

For without the anguish we

have merely a reproduction. And Lawrence's anguish still has a meeting. And the roots of his

anguish are still there. The pits still puncture the

earth, the plunder continues, grinding wheels of exploitation violate us all.

By Workers Press reporters

**ITALY** 

of strength

for improved housing conditions.

social services, housing is and peasants.

Together with low wages, minimum

one of the main problems

A CRUCIAL stage has been reached in the

current Italian strike wave. A general strike has

been called for today in support of the demand

unemployment and poor of the Italian working class

# Miners eight-hour day ballot

# New leadership vital strike a trial in Kent coalfield

-Wage cuts ahead for question of power. S. Yorks Miners went back to pits

A COMBINATION of outside contractors and the third day-wage structure must mean future wage cuts for miners in Doncaster area.

As forecast in the Workers ress, miners at Bentley colliery have again rejected the management's request to allow outside contractors to do development work in the pit and to tender for work.

Many Bentley men are convinced, however, that the management will bring in these tenders, probably shortly before Christmas, which is the most difficult time for a

The most significant statement at the meeting, however, came from Mr Bill Kellher, NUM, area agent, who said that, in view of the third day-wage structure, he could not recommend the branch to admit outside contractors.

#### Three grades

The new wage structure includes three grades: in Yorkshire this is Grade A at 89s 2d a shift; Grade B 76s.; and Grade C 68s 6d.

Men employed by outside contractors get substantially more than this.

At Bentley this would mean a development road for 89s 2d and outside contractors doing identical work at the other end for at least twice as

Morever, as we pointed out in Workers Press on November 15, many miners fear they would be pushed down to Grade B once outside contractors were in.

But why this change of heart by Mr Kellher who has been in favour of outside contractors in the past? Several pits in the Doncaster area already have

#### Persuaded

In at least two pits-Highgate / Goldthorpe Rossington-there were short strikes against outside contractors, but the men were persuaded to accept them in return for favourable con-

In many pits with outside contractors, the miners are on higher contract rates than they would get under the third day-wage structure.

The new structure, however, means that these higher contracts can no longer be negotiated.

Moreover, under the new scheme, men on contract rates stand on those rates until the contract ends, or it can be extended for a limited time—then they come back to the third day-wage

This means, therefore, that outside contractors are admitted to more pits, the men there cannot get the higher rates previously awarded.

It also means that eventually men who accepted outside contractors in return for high contracts will be dropped to 89s. 2d., if not 76s.

1,500 workers from the CAV

and Lucas Industrial factories

at Fazakerley, Liverpool, were

planning to stop work for an hour yesterday afternoon.
They planned to demonstrate and block the busy road

which runs alongside the site

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

There is clearly more trouble ahead in the Yorkshire coalfield.

TODAY'S ballot in the pits will decide whether the National Executive will be forced to call strike action over the surfacemen's claim for an eight-hour day. All miners know that

the recent national strike was only a prelude to an all-out conflict with the government and union leadership over pit closures which, as in the 1926 General Strike, raises the

work after the recent strike because they very quickly recognised that, at this stage, there was not the leadership prepared to fight it to its conclusion.

Even though there was a great desire to stay out and fight it out, the 'left' NUM secretary, Lawrence Daly, and the Stalinist leadership of the mmunist Party that covered up for him, were exposed within a few days.

There has for many years been an unholy division of labour in the NUM between the right wing and the Communist Party.

#### Betrayal

At local level this division has also operated. Indeed in the Kent pits it is not so much a division of betrayal as a monopoly by the Communist

The closure of Chislet pit earlier this year was engineered by the NCB and Wilson's government, but it could never have been imposed without the Communist Party's connivance in supporting the management's demand for maximum pro-

First out

Tilmanstone was the first pit to strike in support of the Yorkshire miners.

Betteshanger miners were

recommended by the union executive, which includes a number of Communist Party

During the week the men walked out despite the leader-

feares above all is the emer-

in the coalfields around the All Trades Unions Alliance

and the daily Workers Press.

council that was given by the

union leaders at the Tilmanstone pit during the first week of the strike contained at the centre an attack on the ATUA and Workers Press, which day-by-day had analyzed the course

day had analysed the course

of the strike and fought for

was no place for Trotskyists in the pits' and that force

those distributing ATUA leaflets and Workers Press.

A number of miners pro-tested against this—but were

100 per cent

One young miner said later

that what union officials feared was that, although many miners didn't yet sup-

port Trotskyism all down the line, nevertheless the ATUA

was the only organization that

on which the two factories

In the past year three workers have been fatally injured while crossing this

operator in Lucas Industrial,

was run over last Friday at

the end of the late shift.

pedestrian crossings adequate traffic control

protect workers' lives.

third worker, an

demonstrators want

or to

Miners were told that 'there

be used to remove

leadership in it.

would

Road danger walk-out

at Lucas-C.A.V.

The

The report from the area

What the NUM leadership

members, to stay in.

#### Kent miners leaving the face. Betrayed for years by the

This fear was also exposed at Betteshanger where the miners were pulled away by union officials from speaking

to Workers Press sellers.
The 'East Kent Times' ran front-page article headed 'Are the Communists Brainwashing Our Chilren?' washing Our Chilren?' attacking the Ramsgate Young

The conflict for political leadership is extremely sharp Miners know that the last stoppage solved absolutely nothing.

The decisive task now is the building of the ATUA and YS in the coalfields of Britain, and sections of the Socialist Labour League.

Secretary Michael Stewart

State and Justice Departments' oppostion to the deal.

treatment for BP, as US oil

companies have been free to

invest and expand in the

British oil market on a very large scale and also to bid for

the North Sea Gas develop-

The Labour government's

request raised the whole ques-

tion of the relation between the

US and European economies

have seen a vast influx of US

capital into Europe, with the

incoming US firms usually

very large and powerful in relation to their European

Similar

ICI were reported to have been watching the deal closely

because of similar plans for

The hesitations over the

BP-Standard Oil merger make

it clear that the door for European capital to enter the

US will soon be closed as the

US economic crisis continues

Arms talks

That is why the Stalinist plan of an all European 'security' pact threatens to disarm the workers' states, just as Stalin's pact with Hitler opened the gates to the facciet armies in June 1941

fascist armies in June 1941.

Imperialism has not changed.

Only when it has been over-

thrown can disarmament be-

come a practical reality. The

talks in Helsinki will solve

FROM PAGE ONE

expansion in the US.

to deepen.

Other British firms such as

The last 10 to 15 years

ment contracts.

asked for

#### Wall Street

FROM PAGE ONE

companies taking measures to preserve 'a competitive retail situation in Ohio and Western Pennsyl-

For example, in western Pennsylvania, where the two companies' retail outlets overlap, it is estimated that 100 to 125 petrol stations will have to be sold or exchanged to comply with the Justice Department's requirements.

The merger has only taken place after some anxious exchanges between the US and British governments.

#### Concern

(The Labour government is directly involved through its holding of just under 50 per cent of BP's share capital.) In October, British Foreign

## Lucas in £8 million E.E. deal

THE Industrial Re-organization Corporation is lending £3 million to Joseph Lucas Ltd to assist the purchase of the English Electric Company's special projects group.

Lucas is paying a total of £8 million for the group, which will then belong to its Rotax subsidiary.

The IRC claims the deal will open new opportunities abroad and ensure the full use of research and develop-English Electric factories at

Luton, Bradford and Netherton, near Liverpool, are affected by the deal. The special projects group

produces generating and de-icing systems and other air-craft components. It has links with the French firm Auxilec SA, and has been working with them on

projects such as the Anglo-French Concorde and Jaguar aircraft. Its net profits averaged £516,000 over the past five years, and are expected to increase in 1970 and 1971.

English Electric, part of the Weinstock empire, has already carried out a large-scale programme of sackings in its 'rationalization' efforts since the merger with GEC.

The present deal could well be the prelude to a further round of attacks.

## THE DEVELOPMENT of capitalism in western Europe since the end of

By our science correspondent

Even though Germany cur- has five nuclear stations rently has less than 900 megawatts of nuclear generating capacity actually in operation—as against Britain's 4.100 megawatts—the UK's attempt to win a dominant position in Europe's nuclear

markets is now threatened. Kraftwerk Union has near monopoly of commercial nuclear power stations in

With its latest order—a station near Hamburg—it now

## Japan govt. consider motors link

THE JAPANESE government is still considering the proposed link between Mitsubishi US motor giant

Chrysler. Ranking third behind General Motors and Ford, Chrysler are struggling desperately to combat a sudden

fall in their profit rate.

If successful in acquiring a 35 per cent holding in Mitsubishi, Chrysler hope to break into what has been a highly - protected Japanese

## Mrs Gandhi to lead minority coalition

both houses of the Indian parliament, Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi will now in a coalition between her own Congress Party sup-porters and Stalinists, in-dependents and various left-

wing splinter groups.
This tactic has been forced
on Mrs Gandhi after 111

She now commands a maximum of 210 seats out of

tinued attacks on the working class and peasantry, the Stalinists consciously work against a socialist solution to the problems of the Indian

# U.S. Vice-President raises McCarthy witch-hunt spectre THE RECENT attacks by the US vice-president

Spiro Agnew on the presentation of television news programmes has caused great concern in broadcasting and legal circles.

Agnew alleged that news programmes were biased against government policy and reflected the opinions of radicals.

of Senator McCarthy, was answered by the Deans of eleven leading law schools.

They insisted that the First
Amendment to the US constitution guarantees all per-sons the right to express their political opinions.

Agnew, noted for his ex-

This attack, which re-

vived for many the memory

The three main trade unions which have called today's general strike rejected the government's plan as 'a weak and fragmented attempt to face a situation which calls for an organic policy'.

The strike is the third nation-wide stoppage this year on questions of social

On the eve of today's

emergency

working - class

strike, the Italian cabinet

measures costing £786

million for the improve-

approved

ment of

accomodation.

But while this massive power of the working class remains tied to the policies of the Stalinists and the reformists, it will continue to dissipate itself in strike without a clear political goal.

constant influx of workers into the main cities has aggravated a problem that was already acute.

The demand in Italy must now be for a workers' gov-ernment on a socialist programme, embracing not only the social services and housing, but the nationalization of all basic industries and the banks.

Pressure on the ruling Christian-Democrats may force very small and temporary concessions, but it will resolve none of the basic problems that have brought 20 million workers into action over the last three months.

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Agnew's McCarthyite attacks are no accident.

They coincide with the stiffening of the employers' resistance to wage demands at home, and the decision of the Nixon government to fight it out in Vietnam.

Witch-hunts often begin with attacks on intellectuals, but unless checked by the united action of the working class, they end up with a full-scale offensive against the movement and socialist tendencies.

Nixon's attempt to revive

the tactics of Senator Joseph McCarthy must be given a decisive rebuff.



tremist views, was not speaking for himself alone. White House spokesmen stated at the time of Agnew's attack that these were the views of the whole adminis-

NO ACCIDENT Another ominous sign is the appointment of Dean Burch as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. Burch was a senior adviser to Barry Goldwater during his 1964 election campaign.

# B.S.R.

stated:

'If there is any attempt to coerce employees into joining the AEF, this will be interpreted as victimization.'

M. William Donald, Mid-Mr William Donald, Mid-Lanark AEF district secretary,

'We have won the main object of the dispute-to have the right to represent our members recognised.

'Our next object is to make the plan efficient because only in this way will we win good wages.'
This raises the question of

whether some tacit agreement has already been made with the BSR regarding some future productivity deal.
Letters which have been

sent to employees telling them to start work say that they should report at the normal starting time for their normal

shifts. They will then be told in detail of the re-allocation of

This indicates there is no guarantee of resuming their former jobs.

# Canadian

THE STRIKE at the Sudbury, Ontario plant of International Nickel, which lasted 128 days and crippled world nickel production, ended over the weekend when the strikers agreed to accept substantial wage and fringe benefit increases.

The settlement works out at an average increase of 1.45 dollars (about 12s.) a hour a rise of about a third on previous rates.

settlement accepted by a narrow majority of the 15,600 workers at the Sudbury plant, but rejected by the 1,600 workers at Inco's Port Colborne refinery.

The Sudbury plant can produce nickel oxide and sinter—the form in which nickel is used by steelmakers. But it could be seriously hit if the strike at Port Colborne is further prolonged.

#### Swansea dispute

Inco is involved in another prolonged dispute at its Clydach, Swansea, refinery, where 800 workers have been on strike for six weeks against a 'penal clause' productivity

It is estimated that as a result of the Canadian settlement, the price of nickel charged by producers will rise from £980 to £1,250 a

The price of nickel on the free market has risen to £7,000 a ton since the strike began.

It is expected to remain high for some time, as the shortage of nickel is likely to continue.



Post to: Circulation Organizer, Workers' Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. (Tel: 01-720-2000)

# Angry nurses march for higher pay ONE thousand angry Scottish

nurses blocked traffic and fought with police in Edinburgh on Monday night as Street chanting 'More pay for nurses!".

They were the overflow from a crowded meeting on nurses' pay held in a George Street hall. Three thousand had already packed into the meeting, but a large number were unable to

Dozens of police were called in as the march got under way. A banner was snatched

from one demonstrator and

thrown into a police car.

Scotland between now and Christmas, but it is clear that petitions to the government nurses want.

They must fight to link

Meanwhile, inside the hall, the meeting agreed un-animously to send a resolution to the Secretary of State for Scotland and Social Services Minister Richard Crossman, calling on the government to

substantial wage increases. Four similar meetings are held throughout will not produce what the

their struggle with the struggles of other workers, and call on the organized working class to support their claim.

# **WEST GERMANY**

# Nuclear challenge

the Second World War has been inextricably linked with that of US

particularly for Germany. The German 'economic miracle' was only possible with the beheading of the proletariat by Hitler's fascist

This has been the case

dictatorship, the betrayals of Stalinism and Social Demo-cracy and a massive injection Despite the enormous speed with which technological development has surged forward, it has lagged behind the US and other European countries in two vital areas: computers

and nuclear power stations. The giant American corporation, International Business Machines (IBM), gained a stranglehold on the market at an early stage, but Siemens is now spending vast sums on research and development of a range of machines aimed at the process control market, as this promises the easiest path into computers from the point of view of winning markets.

#### Under licence

This challenge to the United States is strongly reflected in German programme for nuclear power stations.

These are at present being manufactured by Siemens and AEG under licence from Westinghouse and General Electric. However the German com-

panies are now successfully undercutting the US companies. Siemens and AEG have united their power station construction interests in a new company, Kraftwerk Union, which is now building up a position of immense strength in all aspects of the nuclear power industry.

HAVING lost her majority in lead a minority government

Congress MPs defected to the right-wing parties.

a total of 523 in the Lower By providing Mrs Gandhi with a left cover for con-

#### various stages of construction at home and two more abroad, in Holland and Argentina, worth a total of £250 million. The only challenge to Kraft-werk Union's monopoly on its home territory comes from the gas-cooled line of reactors developed in Britain. Brown Boveri, the Swiss-owned electrical engineering group, have put in bids for four nuclear tenders in Germany costing about £180 If successful they will be constructing four stations having three-quarters of the

capacity of all the stations working in Britain today and

using gas-cooled reactors, under licence from British Nuclear Design and Construc-

consortia in the nuclear sector.

If none of the four bids

succeed, Britain's export pros-

pects for the current genera-tion of Mark II gas-cooled

In one major area — the supply and processing of nuclear fuel — the Atomic Energy Authority has gained a strong international position.

But this cannot last without

Even after its belated re-

the selling and licensing of British reactor designs.

organization, the British nuclear industry has nothing

to match the massive com-mercial strength of Kraftwerk Union and faces big problems

in the struggle for markets.
The United States is the

only country in the west with

larger, economically-working uranium - enrichment plants

and it is calculated that by

1980 the cost to Europe will rise to £162 million a year.

The enrichment process

accounts for about a third of

the cost of nuclear fuel per kilowatt hour of electricity

Discussions

With the projected growth by 1980 of European generat-ing capacity to between 70,000 and 90,000 megawatts, the Common Market countries will need 15 million kilograms

of enriched uranium a year by this date.

In order to combat the US,

discussions are now taking place between the UK, the

Netherlands and Germany to

construct a £625 million

The development of the

economic conflict between the

United States and western

Europe now means that West German capitalism will hold

position.

The current developments

in the German proletariat, after 20 years of boom, can therefore hold the key to the

increasingly dominant

European uranium-enrichment

reactors look dim.