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## TALK IS NOT ENOUGH FORCE 'LEFTS' TO FIGHT CUTS

The purpose of the Labour government's proposals for savage and sweeping cuts in public spending could not be more plain: the gains made by the working class in social services provided through the state should be sacrificed in the interests of capitalist profits. Healey's White Paper says nothing essentially different from the Tory Party pamphlet published a day earlier.

The only difference is that, where the Tories talk about increasing profits, Healey talks of an effort 'to maintain or improve our industrial capability and give us a better chance of success as the economy picks up'.

The document is an exact fulfilment of the commitment made to the United States-dominated International Monetary Fund in November in exchange for £1 billion loan.

In 1931, Ramsey Macdonald and Philip Snowden, the Labour Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, were expelled from the Labour Party after splitting the party through their insistence on implementing public spending cuts. Those cuts were relatively much smaller than the ones the Labour leadership now proposes!

But MacDonal's expulsion did not solve the problems of the working class in the capitalist crisis, the 'lefts' in the Labour movement and Labour Party offered no alternative leadership.

### ALTERNATIVE

The issues are now the same. The complete class collaboration of the Labour Party leadership poses the stark alternative for the working class: the pious laments and snivelling compromises of the 'lefts' or a real fight against the present Labour government and its policies, based on a revolutionary programme.

The extent of Healey's proposed cuts is devastating. Comparing planned spending in 1978-79 with previous plans (which already implied reductions in many programmes), the sectors most hit would be education (cut 9%) health (cut 3%) roads and transport (cut 21%) and housing (cut 8%).

Spending on trade and

industry, largely grants and subsidies to capitalists, would on the other hand go up by 30%!

The total cut would be 6% - at a time when the needs of the working class can only be met by the opposite - a programme of increased spending on public works to end unemployment.



Healey

The reductions in spending would, if they were implemented, cut workers' living standards in three different ways:

- \* the cuts in spending on the social services (health, education and welfare) would cause a major reduction in the quality of these services, which have already been deteriorating for years and so damage the living standards of all those who now benefit from them;

- \* the social services cuts along with all the other reductions in real government spending would produce a huge boost to unemployment, already approaching 1½ million;

- \* the reduction in food and housing subsidies, which are to be almost totally abolished, would raise the cost of living by something like £1 a week for the average working class family.

These three methods of eroding living standards and slashing jobs would, of course, be combined with the continuation of rigid legal control of wages and rapid inflation.

The government's figures published last week prove that in the last year those two things alone have had the effect of reducing real earnings before tax by about 6%, and real take-home pay by something like 8%.

### 1930s

Not even in the 1930s were real earnings of those who still had jobs cut by so much. In fact there is no parallel in recorded history in Britain, the previous largest reduction in one year being about 5% in the economic crisis of 1857!

The new spending cuts also expose the fraudulence of the statements made by Denis Healey over the last three weeks in his attempt to secure another year of wage restrictions.

On February 12th he introduced a series of measures supposedly designed to reduce unemployment. These would involve, he claimed, extra government spending of about £215 million. It is now clear from the White Paper that this "increase" is really designed to be a decrease.

Again on February 13th Healey hinted that there was no reason why he should not reduce taxes to encourage trade unions to accept another period of wage restriction.

### BURDEN

But it is made quite explicit in the White Paper that, in spite of the cuts in spending, the burden of taxes will continue to rise. At present a good deal of government spending is financed by borrowing or printing money; the White Paper contains a pledge to move as rapidly as possible towards a balanced budget.

The spending cuts alone cannot

continued on back page, column 1



MacDonald - expelled in 1931



Wilson - bigger cuts

## TROOPS TO BACK RACISTS ?

The Labour Government has plans in hand for British troops to go to the aid of Ian Smith's racist regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and wage war on the liberation forces of African nationalists in their homeland.

These plans have been prepared in the closest collaboration with Henry Kissinger and the American State Department, now desperately looking for the military and political means of stemming the threat of revolutionary war in southern Africa after the rout of their agents in Angola.

### OFFICIAL LINE

The official line of Foreign Secretary Callaghan and the Wilson Cabinet has been that they are using the sharpening of the Rhodesian struggle to put pressure on Smith to step down, withdraw his 'unilateral declaration of independence' and make way for a front-man who would open the way for a 'long-term' process of gradually granting political rights to the 95 per cent of blacks in Rhodesia's population.

On these conditions, said Foreign Office Minister of State David Ennals in a policy speech at the end of last week, 'Britain could become involved in policing operations, after a return to legality (i.e. the token withdrawal of UDI) and while an agreed settlement was being put into effect.'

This statement was the cover for a fortnight of sinister clandestine dealings. They richly confirm that the joint war plans of the Labour government and US imperialism are only the extension of their diplomacy 'by other means'.

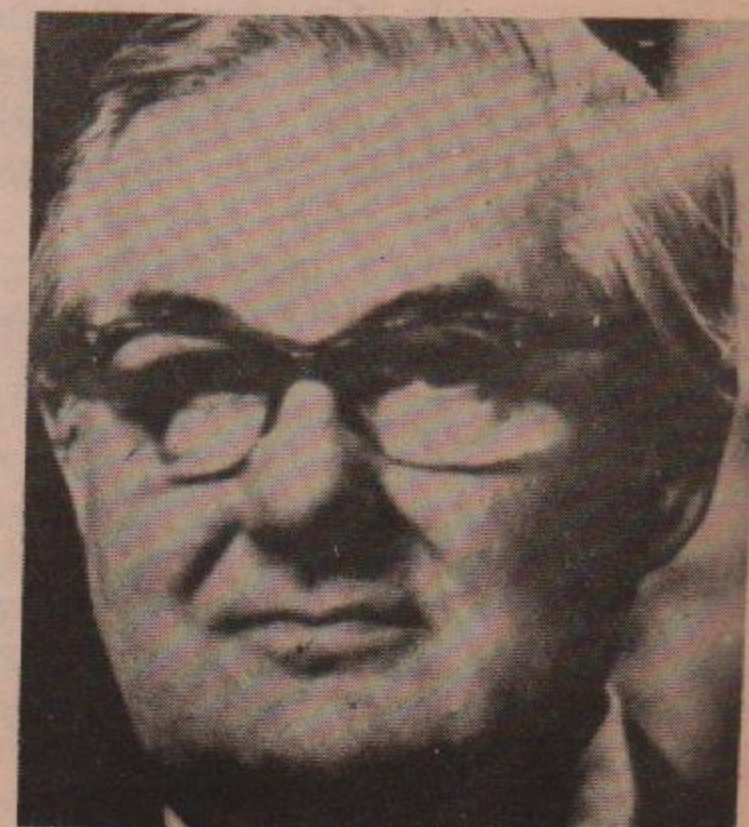
A fortnight ago, as it became

clear that the US-backed fronts - FNLA and UNITA - opposing the MPLA in Angola were doomed, a high-ranking British Foreign office official (later named as Sir Anthony Duff) travelled secretly to negotiate with the Smith regime and with South Africa's Vorster in Cape Town (the FO denied only that he had actually entered Rhodesia - since it is still, in the theories of international law, a British colony, the Smith regime's only recognised diplomatic mission abroad is in Cape Town).

From South Africa the (still anonymous) Sir Anthony returned to London to brief Callaghan, then flew immediately to Washington for discussions with the State Department - it was later confirmed that he discussed with Mr. Cisco - Kissinger's chief advisor.

'Passing through' Washington at about the same moment there also happened to be senior representatives of the two African regimes which gave direct support to the US-backed war on Angola - Mobutu's new Foreign Minister of Zaire, Mr. Nguza, and the

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Callaghan - backing Smith



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## PORTUGAL

Ever since the alleged left wing insurrection of 25th November, Portuguese workers in town and country have been beset with an increasing range of attacks on their wages, conditions and democratic rights.

All illusion in the 'progressive' character of the Armed Forces Movement has been shattered in the weeks of repression since 25th November.

Many thousands of workers who marched through the streets of Lisbon last summer shouting slogans always on the side of the 'people' have been faced in recent weeks with the reduction of their wages, the dissolution of the committees they had set up to control the factories, shops and banks, and the enforced changes of editorial control in the newspapers that supported them.

The very Sixth Provisional Government that came to power at the end of last August with headlines about 'Men of the Revolution' in the Lisbon press, has now turned sharply and decisively against all manifestations of the independence and strength of the working class.

Thus early this month it was reported that the same commandos who had been used to repress the 'rising' of 25th November were now raiding the homes of workers involved in the

## REPRESSION SINCE NOVEMBER

occupation of agricultural land in the Alentejo.

They were surrounding agricultural properties with helicopters near Beja, searching, they said, for 'foreign revolutionaries'.

Elsewhere in the country, at Mirandella in the North-East, the now familiar reactionary gangs were out on 3rd February raiding the offices of the Communist Party, burning documents and office furniture.

In the same town, a fortnight later, it was reported that striking print workers were dislodged by bombs, one of which killed a ten year old girl. Eight other people were injured.

This acceleration of counter-revolutionary activity throughout Portugal is accompanied by a whole range of methods by which the political power of the ruling class, which seemed weak almost to vanishing point a few short months ago, is being re-asserted.

Thus all the Lisbon daily papers have been handed back to editors and boards close to the Socialist Party or the bourgeois PPD.

However bureaucratic the control of the Stalinists over the media in the past, the new masters of the means of communication are in no sense democratic or subject to popular control of any sort.

At the same time, Radio Renascença, which was under the control of its leftist workers, has been returned to the Catholic Church.

The paper *Republica* which reflected the views of workers commissions and various left wing political organisations, has been handed back to its former masters, the anti working class Socialist Party leadership.

The capitalist class in Portugal and its agents in the military and the Sixth Provisional Government have been carefully preparing ground so that political parties and ideological currents on the left no longer receive the same hearing that they did at the time of the fraudulent Constituent Assembly elections in 1975.

Thus the pro-capitalist PPD, the only bourgeois party to obtain substantial support in that election has been claiming that the military has now agreed to repudiate the political power it demanded last year and to hand over the right to rule to the political parties.

The PPD has been combining such hypocritically 'democratic' sentiments with attacks on the 'third world military dictatorship' of the right-wing foreign minister and on the 'social Marxism' of the Socialist Party.

### RIGHT WING

Another indication of this trend is the emergence of new right wing parties such as the PDC, (Party of Democratic Christians) which held a conference in Lisbon over the weekend of 14th-15th February.

There is also increased activity on the part of the CDS, a party consisting of various ex-fascists and associates of British Tories, who

secured a derisory vote in the Constituent Assembly elections of last year, and have been able to appear openly on the streets of Lisbon this month for the first time for nearly a year.

There are real dangers to the living standards and organisational gains of the Portuguese workers as these political worms begin to crawl out of the woodwork.

Not only are strikes and occupations being attacked by bombs. At the same time wages are being kept down and the formerly "expropriated" owners brought back from across the Spanish border.

Thus at the textile factory owned by Manuel Goncalves at Fimalicao near Oporto, the 4000 workers were represented on an administrative commission set up last July.

This factory is part of one of the most important textile firms in the country, with other smaller units, and a large export market.

In the first week of February, the workers, who were never offered any serious step to take control into their own hands by their leaders, were deceived into voting for the return of the capitalist.

Such events are reported more and more widely.

### SPAIN

Meantime, Melo Antunes has been 'normalising' relations with the crumbling fascist regime in Spain.

This long series of attacks on the social conditions and democratic rights of the Portuguese workers have taken place not because of their lack of militancy.

The real cause of the problems facing the Portuguese working class has been the rotten degenerate leadership of their 'traditional' organisations.

First and foremost must come the cringing Stalinists of the Communist Party. They simply content themselves to hanging on with ever-diminishing strength to the most minor posts in a dis-

credited anti-working class government.

Thus Portuguese Socialist Party leader Soares has been speaking in recent weeks of the need for a class collaborationist 'social contract for progress' in order to get the nation out of its economic difficulties.

### CP-SP UNITY

At his mid-February press conference, CP leader Cunhal said that it was time for an alliance between his organisation and the Socialist Party.

All the officers arrested since 25th November must be immediately released and allowed to put forward their political views in the same way as before.

The fight for policies such as these in the Portuguese working class is essential to forge the unity in action which alone can break them from their capitalist rulers and from all those leaders in their own ranks who aim to maintain and defend the power and authority of capitalist repression.

### DEFENCE

Such a call should be welcomed by Portuguese workers though *not* on the terms that Cunhal or Soares would want it.

The crying need of the Portuguese workers is for class unity on the basis of the defence of the gains of their revolution.

They must demand democratic rights for all workers organisations, free from the bureaucratic manipulations of Stalinist or social democratic intrigue.

They must unite to smash the wage freeze and 'austerity programme' of the Azevedo government, and increase all wages in line with the rising cost of living.

All the workers committees must be reestablished. The soldiers committees must be allowed to meet publicly and elect those who will command them.



Stalinist Foreign Policy - Mao with Kissinger

## CHINA CP SPLITS

"The Central Committee is split in two" declared the Chinese Communist Party paper 'Red Flag'. Once more the delicate balancing between various factions of the leadership is breaking up under the pressure of the working class at home and internationally.

The appointment of Hua Kuo-feng as "interim" Prime Minister brought the split out into the open. The arch mediator and compromiser Chou En-lai is really being exposed now as the controversy grows.

Hua has been picked by the Political Committee as the least compromised with the factions condemned since the Cultural Revolution. He is not regarded as a 'leftist' and himself came under attack during the Cultural Revolution and again in the summer of 1974.

He was made Minister of Public Security in January 1975. How long he keeps his present job depends on how the factional struggle develops.

The obvious candidate for Chou's job was Teng Xiaoping who had been carrying out Chou's policies since his illness, especially regard to Chinese foreign policy. It is Teng who is the main architect of the ludicrous spectacle of President Nixon's visit now taking place and of Chinese support for the pro-imperialist FNLA forces in Angola.

However, it is for his views on internal politics that Teng is now the centre of a poster campaign

capitalist road".

A real attack on China's foreign policy would entail criticising the Stalinist policy of peaceful co-existence which no-one in the leadership has any intention of doing.

The first signs of tension were in March and April last year when articles appeared by the so-called "radicals" Chang Chun-chiao and Xao Wen-yuan from the Shanghai group of the Party leadership who began the attack on "pragmatism" especially in the field of education where a reversion to pre-cultural revolution selection and elitism was in progress.

Now there is an open campaign against Teng, once a close associate of Liu Shao-chi and his "rightist" supporters. The extent of the attack has recently broadened to include education, science, culture, agriculture, economics and the army.

Teng, "the second Chinese Khrushchev" is accused of trying to minimise the role of the Party and of the class struggle in favour of more specialisation in technical fields, stability, unity and development.

Within its Stalinist limits, the Chinese bureaucracy is incapable of breaking out of the restrictions of the politics of 'peaceful co-existence' and 'socialism in one country'.

Sections of the leadership may feel the workers of Shanghai or the militant youth of Peking breathing down their necks, but it is only when these groups are mobilised independently of the bureaucracy on democratic socialist demands

## USA NEED FOR LABOUR PARTY

In a hard-hitting speech at the end of last month, former Vice-Presidential candidate Edmund Muskie set out his programme for solving the country's problems. "Don't knock America", he sneered at imaginary opponents of US chauvinism. "Be proud of your country".

New "business-like methods", including cuts to public spending, would solve the crisis, coupled with an aggressive campaign for "law and order".

The fact that Muskie's "reply" to Ford was more of an echo than a rebuttal reflected the identical class character of the two main American political parties: *both* are bossess' parties, and the primary aim of *both* is to restore capitalist profits to their former heights.

Their differences arise mostly over *how* this is best done, and one important tactical problem is finding a strong enough electoral base on which to rest in attacking jobs and conditions of the working class.

Among Republicans the sharpest differences in approach are represented by Reagan and Rockefeller. Reagan, who makes his bid largely to the disorientated middle classes, poses as an opponent of "big government".

He talks (though vaguely) about "devolution of power" from federal to state level, which appeals to those layers who, without understanding why, sense that they are blown about by forces out of their control.

He is also a supreme advocate of "law and order", which in times of depression and industrial unrest means violent attacks on trade union rights.

Rockefeller, the most direct spokesman for big capital, would still seek class collaboration from the trade unions in keeping workers' militancy under control.

survival, has adapted to the extreme right at every turn.

That is the meaning of his veto of the bill to expand the rights of building pickets (5 January) and of the "domestic squabble" with his wife over the abortion issue (3 February).

### MIRE

But each wriggle has sunk him deeper into the mire: his stand on abortion brought criticism from all sides, and his incompetence in dealing with the bribery case of an ex-Senator has placed his Florida primary campaign (where delegates to the national party nominating convention are selected) in serious trouble.

Rockefeller is waiting in the wings. Having stated that he would not be a candidate for re-election as Vice-President, he now admits that, he would consider trying for the Presidential nomination if Reagan were to defeat Ford.

A recent Supreme Court decision to weaken federal controls on campaign spending and to abolish the limit on what a candidate might spend in his own behalf gives added room for manoeuvre to the super-rich Rockefeller.

With the approach of the first primary in New Hampshire (24th February) the sparring between Ford and Reagan, though still polite, has intensified. The American capitalist press expect them to split the vote about equally. The New Hampshire contest and that in Florida will probably decide Ford's fate, with a struggle between Rockefeller and Reagan a likely outcome.

### CONFUSED

Among the Democrats things are yet more confused, with a rough dozen candidates stumbling over each others' feet in a race to find a path to the petty bourgeoisie and

The "populist" candidates George Wallace and Fred Harris represent the extremes of the political spectrum. Wallace, whose racist record as governor of Alabama gives him a strong following among Southern whites, shares many of Reagan's attitudes.

Harris, ex-senator from the farm state of Oklahoma, makes an appeal to the poor with 'left' talk of "exploitation" and "class struggle", disconnected from any programme of real struggle.

In between are such figures as Jimmy Carter, a "civilised" version of Wallace whose success in the Maine precinct caucuses (what some states hold instead of primary elections) makes him a strong runner, and Birch Bayh, who is particularly concerned to court the union bureaucracy.

Trade union bureaucrats sat out the last election, but will play a major role in the Democrats' campaign this time. They will seek a candidate who can help them consolidate their own power base, and who at the same time has a reasonable chance of winning.

The fact that the aristocracy of labour is returning to national electoral politics offers no satisfaction to the mass of workers whose jobs are threatened or who are already on the dole. When leaders of the AFL-CIO (nearest equivalent to the British TUC) can support such a capitalist stooge as Lloyd Bentsen, (wealthiest of the Democratic contenders), who actually voted against the building picket law, conscious workers know they must turn elsewhere for a solution to their problems.

But where? There is no party of the working class in the United States, and its construction, on socialist policies, is an urgent task. The high degree of confusion and disillusionment which all the "public opinion" polls now show, the prognosis of mass abstentionism in the coming elections, point to the need for American workers to free themselves from the dead-end

# ZIMBABWE

## REPERCUSSIONS OF ANGOLA

The impact of the MPLA victory in Angola continues to ripple across the continent of Africa. Nowhere is this more clearly shown than in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) where Nkomo, leader of the right wing faction that broke away from the main body of the nationalist movement last October to do a deal with Smith, has been forced to pull back.

Nkomo is now desperately trying to rescue what credibility he still has with the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe and Zambia.

### ENCOURAGED

He has been overtaken by events. Encouraged by the victory in Angola that section of the nationalist movement which understood the necessity for guerrilla warfare to destroy Smith's settler regime has decisively broken from the policy of "Guerrilla war only if all else fails" forced on it by the leaders of the Black African states (notably president Kaunda of Zambia) as part of the 'detente' moves with South Africa.

Vorster has in any case had little noticeable effect in putting pressure on Smith to reach some sort of settlement with the nationalists.

The guerrilla movement has now consolidated itself in a new Zimbabwe Military High Command under the leadership of James Mugabe and it appears that not

only Nkomo, but also Bishop Muzorewa and the Rev. Sithole the 'radicals' from whom Nkomo split in October have also been excluded from the new military organisation.

As we emphasised in *Socialist Press* last October, Nkomo's split with the rest of the Nationalist leadership in Zimbabwe was aimed purely and simply at pulling off a compromise with Smith. By the middle of this month Nkomo had travelled a considerable distance down that road, conceding key points:

1. Nkomo was prepared to see the Rhodesian Civil Service remain under White control for the foreseeable future;

2. He gave considerable ground on the question of land tenure. This is vital to Smith since the whole economic basis of his settler regime is White control of the land and the forced exclusion of Africans from the rich agricultural land at present in the hands of Smith's gang of tobacco farmers.

3. But most important, Nkomo has reneged on the basic Nationalist demand of 'One man, One vote. He had put forward a system of separate voters' rolls with varying degrees of income level, education and 'good employment' record as the criteria for being allowed to vote.

While it is true that under Nkomo's scheme Blacks would have a majority in the Parliament this would only be the case if the Black vote did not split on any issue. Such a situation would automatically increase the political power of the conservative



Vorster

African elements; the tribal chiefs, with whom Smith has been going out of his way over the last few months to secure an alliance against 'the menace of communism'.

The regime of Kenneth Kaunda Zambia has given every assistance to Nkomo in devising this betrayal of the African masses in Zimbabwe. Kaunda has supplied all Nkomo's legal advisers and negotiators.

More important Kaunda silenced the 'left' elements in the Zimbabwe

intervene against the MPLA. What he ignored was the totally different balance of class forces on a world scale.

The forward movement of the working class, and not least in the USA itself made it impossible for US imperialism to risk anything resembling Vietnam and the US had to restrict itself to undercover arms supplies to the FNLA through Zaire.

Vorster was caught on a limb in Angola and has now been forced to pull back. This considerably weakens his ability to intervene on the side of Smith in the coming liberation war for Zimbabwe.

### WEAKER

But Vorster is now in a much weaker position than he was a year ago. When he first started talking to Kaunda at the end of 1974, Angola was hardly mentioned. Vorster thought that if he could force Smith to a compromise then South Africa could get on with the business of cultivating good relations with regimes like those in Zambia, Botswana and Malawi.

Mozambique, Vorster felt, did not provide much of a problem. The FRELIMO regime, he calculated, would have to come to an 'understanding' with South Africa because of its heavy dependence on the South African gold mines to solve Mozambique's unemployment problem through migrant labour.

Now things have changed. Vorster made the disastrous mistake of getting involved in Angola. This was originally at the instigation of Kaunda who had thrown his support behind UNITA because of the latter's control of the Benguela railway, a vital Zambian route to the coast.

### SLUMP

At a meeting of the Zambian state owned conglomerate 'Indeco' last October, government officials told managers that South African imports were definitely to be encouraged. With a world slump in



Smith

nationalist leadership: Muzorewa Sithole, refugees in Zambia from Smith's police, refusing to even let them hold press conferences.

This is all part of Kaunda's deal with the South African Vorster regime. Vorster has since 1974 cultivated relations with African leaders like Kaunda to capture their countries as export markets for South African capitalism in the worsening world capitalist crisis.

South Africa over the last year, it is reported, has arranged up to £71 million in export credit for Zambia. It is even rumored that South Africa is paying direct to the Shah of Persia to cover Zambia's oil deficit!

But Vorster felt that it was only a matter of time before other western powers were forced to

the price of copper - for which Zambia is dependent for over 90% of its export earnings - Kaunda is literally driven into the arms of the South African bankers.

At the same time Vorster's pressure on Smith has not met with success. Smith is miles away even from Nkomo's proposals. His current position would delay African majority rule in Zimbabwe for twenty years at least.

### VORSTER

This is not simply because Vorster burnt his fingers militarily in Angola (though some hawks among the South African General Staff are arguing for a decisive battle with the Cuban/MPLA forces on the Angola/Namibia border to boost the flagging morale of the South African Army). More important, the situation is now that Vorster has to make peace not just with one 'left' regime - Mozambique; but now with two - the new one being Angola. If he does not come to a settlement with the MPLA then of course he will lose the battle in Namibia - the clatter of dominoes can almost be heard - as Angola provides a natural base for the SWAPO guerrillas fighting for Namibian independence from South Africa.

The MPLA is willing, it seems, to come to a compromise with Vorster in return for South African recognition of the MPLA government.

All this drives the wedge between Smith and Vorster deeper and deeper. It is inevitable that the South African bourgeoisie becomes less and less preoccupied with the 'kith and kin' north of the Limpopo river and more concerned with the vital investment opportunities that lie in Angola - one of the richest states in the African continent.

While the MPLA victory destroys Smith's ability to look to South Africa for support, it at the same time weakens the position of Kaunda in Zambia and his stooge Nkomo.

Over the last few weeks the working class in Zambia has been demonstrating and striking against not only twenty five per cent inflation, and massive unemployment in the copper industry but also against FNLA, UNITA and in support of the MPLA.

The success of the MPLA as a military victory has in the context of Nkomo's antics in Salisbury (Rhodesia) vastly increased the support of the Zambian masses for the Zimbabwe guerilla struggle and has forced Kaunda and his fellow petty bourgeois leaders in the Organisation for African Unity to admit the inevitability of the coming war for the liberation in Zimbabwe.

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## THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The Workers Socialist League was formed in December 1974 to struggle for the continuity of the principles of Trotskyism in Britain and towards the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

In the daily struggle to take the demands and principles of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* into the trade unions, the WSL has been at the forefront of the fight for the sliding scale of wages, and work sharing on full pay - demands which at the T&GWU Conference were the only alternative to Jones' treacherous £6 pay plan and the wholesale acceptance of redundancies by the bureaucracy.

In the Health Service, WSL comrades have led the struggle for the sliding scale of NHS spending and for trade union committees to open the books of the Authorities, along with the fight to end all private practice - policies adopted by ASTMS National Conference.

In local disputes also, WSL comrades have tested and developed the demands of the *Transitional Programme*, putting forward in every case, the only real opposition to the Stalinists and the right-wing. Our struggle for the "open the books" demand in the motor industry has won a mass response.

At the same time we have put forward a policy to fight unemployment, calling for unity of employed and unemployed through the fight to mobilise the trade union movement.

The WSL is the only movement that fights consistently for transitional demands, going beyond mere trade union militancy to pose the political issues to workers.

While these practical interventions have developed the League's grasp of Trotsky's *Programme*, there has been a consistent drive to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Fourth International, as an essential part of any serious initiative towards its reconstruction.

We urge all readers who agree on the need for revolutionary leadership and the demands we put forward to find out more about the WSL.

## SPAIN

Spanish Interior Minister Fraga's policy of limited concessions is being met not, as he hoped, with a deferential vote of thanks from the Spanish workers but with the contemptuous rejection it deserves.

The strike wave which began in Madrid in December has now spread throughout Spain. Virtually no town or city has been free from strike activity or protest demonstrations in the last two weeks.

But the centre of events in the last two weeks has undoubtedly been Barcelona, Spain's second largest city and the birthplace of Spain's workers' movement. On at least three occasions in the last three weeks the centre of the city has been completely out of the control of the authorities for several hours as up to 100,000 demonstrators, demanding a complete political amnesty and autonomy for Catalonia, have taken over the streets.

King Juan Carlos, the new smiling face of Spanish fascism, spent last week touring Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia. He was met not with a royal welcome but a general strike of all Barcelona's municipal workers, including the armed municipal police who opened

## BRITISH BUREAUCRATS OBSTRUCT STRUGGLE

(which was attempted by the national police) but demonstrating in support of their own wage demands and occupying the City Hall!

The government's reaction to this situation is an expression of its desperation. As in the case of the Madrid postal workers a month earlier it drafted the striking police and firemen into the army which means that anyone continuing the strike is liable to summary court martial.

The difficulty of maintaining the rigid fascist wage policy has been increased by an 11 per cent devaluation of the peseta forced on the regime by the worsening balance of payments situation. The devaluation will cause an immediate rise in the cost of living and can only provoke stronger resistance to the wage laws.

### BRUTALITY

Fraga and Arias' only answers to the growing political crisis are police brutality, the militarisation of strikers and, most recently, sending the army to break up strikes.

They can only be overthrown by revolutionary methods - a lesson which the organisers of a trade union delegate conference in London on February 14th were anxious to suppress. A meeting of

Councils and 50 shop steward committees) heard leaders of Spain's two class collaborationist fronts (the CP dominated Democratic Junta and Socialist Party dominated Democratic Platform) call for the implementation of a programme of bourgeois democratic rights.

After listening to profuse expressions of "solidarity" from Jack Jones and Michael Foot (who was represented at Franco's funeral by a fellow member of the Labour cabinet), delegates were presented with two pious and toothless resolutions calling for a amnesty and trade union and democratic rights.

When amendments were put calling for a black on all Spanish trade and a fight to force the Labour government to break diplomatic links with Spain, the chairman, Ray Buckton of ASLEF refused to allow them to be discussed.

Jack Jones and Ray Buckton are in as strong a position as possible to put flesh on even the flimsy bones of the resolutions of this conference by calling for a ban on Spanish goods by dock, transport and rail workers.

Their refusal to do so at such a crucial moment in the Spanish political struggle shows them to be as treacherous to the workers of Spain as they are to the workers



# THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

## 1914: War Splits The International



Rosa Luxemburg - German internationalist, addressing mass meeting

The years from 1910 saw a slow but sustained rebirth of the revolutionary movement of the Russian working class. Revolutionary newspapers began to be published within Russia; broad political agitation was developed; the strike movement steadily drew in larger sections of workers; by 1914 the leadership of many working class bodies had been won to the Bolsheviks.

This whole process of revolutionary mobilisation was, however, cut short in August 1914 with the opening of the First World War. The principled revolutionary guard in the working class was swamped by the 'war fever' and patriotism which gripped the masses.

In our next article we will look at the response of the different classes in Russia to the war and at the struggle of the Bolsheviks against chauvinism in the workers' movement. In this article we must look at the origins of the war and its impact on the parties and leadership of the working class internationally.

### OCTOBER

For the October revolution did not grow from purely Russian soil, it was a first product of the social passage reached by capitalism in all the major imperialist countries. Only in this international context can the true significance of the struggle of the Bolshevik party be covered.

The war itself dealt an immediate blow to the workers' movements in every country. In each of the belligerent countries, the ruling class whipped up a reactionary mood of patriotism and jingoism and mounted an offensive against the economic and political liberties won by the working class.

### "OWN" BOURGEOISIE

But far greater was the blow dealt to the international unity of the working class by the leadership of the Second International who overwhelmingly lined up with the policies of their "own" bourgeois governments.

At International Congresses, in resolutions and manifestos, the Second International had affirmed its opposition to war and pledged itself "to exert every effort in order to prevent the outbreak of war by any means they consider most

might well break out despite the efforts of the International, the Stuttgart Resolution of 1907 went on to call on the parties of the working class:

"to intervene in favour of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilise the economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule".

Though in the weeks and months following the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo, meetings and demonstrations against war were held by Social Democracy throughout Europe, as soon as war broke out this resolution was brushed aside.

### WAR CREDITS

On August 4th 1914, two days after a massive working class demonstration against the war in Berlin, the German Social Democratic fraction in the Reichstag voted for the war credits needed by German militarism. So profound was this betrayal of principle that when newspaper reports reached Lenin in Galicia he refused to believe that they could be anything other than a forgery produced by the Prussian police to disorient the working class.

In the first days of August 1914, in country after country, the Social Democratic leaders voted almost to a man for support for their "own" bourgeoisie in the war. In many countries they declared an industrial 'truce' for the duration of the war.

Elaborate justifications were produced for this desertion to the side of the ruling class - that their participation in the war was "defensive", that it was "a war against Tsarism", "in defence of democracy". The Social Democrats of each warring country vied with each other in the invention of magnificent phrases to cover their own tracks, casting the blame for the imperialist holocaust onto the aggressive policies of the bourgeoisie of some other nation.

To the cynical sophistries of the social-chauvinists, Lenin replied as early as September 1914:

"The struggle for markets and for plundering foreign lands, the eagerness to head off the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and to crush democracy within each country, the urge to deceive, divide and crush the proletarians of all countries, to incite the wage slaves of one nation against the wage slaves of another nation for the profits of the bourgeoisie - that is the real content and meaning of the war".

The war was not the result of the aggressive policies of one nation alone, nor even of the policies of all

inevitable outcome of the development of capitalism in its final phase, imperialism.

Rapid concentration of production into ever larger enterprises is one of the characteristic features of capitalism. In this way by the early twentieth century in the major European countries free competition had been definitely transformed into monopoly. In place of a variety of small enterprises competing with each other on the market, there were a handful of great cartels and trusts in the major branches of industry which divided up the market between themselves.

### ADVANCE

This development indicates the great advance in the socialisation and organisation of production had been achieved by capitalism. But at the same time, as Lenin points out, this development is full of contradictions:

"Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private. The social means of production remain the private property of the few. The general framework of formally recognised free competition remains, and the yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable". (*Selected Works page 184*).

### MONOPOLY

Moreover, the monopoly created in certain branches of industry, far from leading to a stable and rational development of production, in fact increases and intensifies the anarchy inherent in capitalist production as a whole. Competition within national industries largely disappears to be replaced by an even sharper struggle between monopolist associations for the domination of the world market.

Parallel to the economic division of the world between the capitalist trusts who each demand their share of the super-profits to be obtained from monopoly, a territorial division of the world between states each possessing its own colonies, "spheres of influence", etc., was created.

By the beginning of the twentieth century this division of the world between the imperialist powers was largely completed. By 1914, Britain, France, Russia and Germany ruled over territories of over 64 million square kilometres, while they themselves only occupied 6.7 million square kilometres.



Plekhanov - defencist.

But this completion of the division of the world does not imply an end to the struggle for colonies, but that future struggles would be for the re-division of these conquests.

Thus Germany whose capitalist

but more vigorously than that of Britain and France was driven to challenge simultaneously the domination of British goods on the international market and Britain's privileged position in the size and wealth of its colonies.

The only way for these antagonisms to be resolved was through war.

It would be pure deception to place the label of aggressor on any one of the warring camps.

"For decades", wrote Lenin,



Lenin - internationalist

"three bandits (the bourgeoisie and governments of England, Russia and France) armed themselves to despoil Germany. Is it surprising that the two bandits (Germany and Austria-Hungary) launched an attack before the three bandits had succeeded in obtaining the new knives they had ordered?"

The war indicated the impossibility of further progressive and peaceful development of capitalism; at the same time it showed that the historical usefulness of capitalism as an agent for developing the productive forces was entirely exhausted, that it had entered its final phase of stagnation and decline.

"Monopoly", Lenin argued "is the transition from capitalism to a higher system". When the growth of monopoly has organised and planned the production and distribution of goods on a vast scale "then it becomes evident that we have socialisation of production... that private economic and private property relations constitute a shell which no longer fits its contents, a shell which may remain in a state of decay for a fairly long period (if, at worst, the cure of the opportunist abscess is protracted), but which will inevitably be removed." (*Selected Works, p262*).

This 'opportunist abscess' on the labour movement was the reactionary leadership of the Second International, which praised socialism in words, but defended imperialism by its deeds. Its betrayal of internationalism in 1914 did not fall from the skies, but was an inevitable continuation of its reformist adaptation to capitalism.

### DOCTRINE

Though the International had revolutionary Marxism as its doctrine, it had in practice limited itself and adapted to a struggle for reforms within bourgeois society.

This opportunist tendency had been strengthened in the period of capitalist prosperity by the growth of a labour aristocracy. The super-profits earned by the plunder of vast colonies made it economically possible for capitalism to bribe an upper strata of the working class, to grant this minority such crumbs as led them to identify their interests with imperialism. It was in this labour aristocracy and the union bureaucracy that opportunism



Three Internationalists - Trotsky, M

But the conclusions Lenin drew from his analysis of the labour aristocracy were not pessimistic ones. The war had confirmed that further progressive development under capitalism was excluded; just as surely it increased the irreconcilability between the opportunist upper layer of the working class and the vital interests of the masses.

### WHOLE LEADERSHIP

With the whole leadership of the working class treacherously allying with its "own" bourgeoisie no mass response could be expected at once; but gradually month by month disillusionment with the war spread, the old leaders began to be discredited and the ranks of the working class began to form up again, now under new leaders.



Troops fraternise at the Front

The war in this respect proved of enormous educational significance. Not only did it thrust a gun into the workers' hand, but through the course of the war the mask of hypocrisy with which the bourgeoisie disguised its class rule began to fall away. Trotsky, in a pamphlet distributed illegally in Germany in 1915, sums up this process:

"Even though the vanguard of the working class knew in theory that Might is mother of Rights, still their political thinking was completely permeated by the spirit of opportunism, of adaptation of bourgeois legalism. Now they are learning from the teaching of facts to despise this legalism and tear it down... Monarchs walk about in public places calling each other liars in the language of market women; governments repudiate their solemnly acknowledged obligations; and the national church ties it God to the national cannon like a criminal condemned to hard labour.

Is it not clear that all these circumstances must bring about a profound change in the mental attitude of the working class, curing them radically of the hypnosis of legality in which a period of political stagnation expresses itself". (*War and the International p72-3*).



...hring and Liebknecht

The Zimmerwald Conference held in Switzerland in September 1915 was the first clear sign of the revitalisation of working class internationalism. Though only 38 delegates attended, Zimmerwald became the rallying point of the forces who rejected social-chauvinism.

The main questions facing the conference were - how to re-establish the international unity of the working class and what policy to adopt on the struggle against the war.

From the first days of the war, the position taken by Lenin and the leading Bolsheviks had been uncompromising. The Second International had entirely deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie. There could be no unity of any sort with the social-chauvinists. A Third International had to be created unswayed by the betrayals of the Second.

difficulties of their own imperialist governments to turn the imperialist war into a civil war.

Lenin did not flinch from the consequences of this policy. It might well mean the military defeat of that country:

"from the point of view of the working class and of the toiling masses of all the people in Russia, the defeat of the Tsarist monarchy and its armies would be the least evil".

**'REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM'**

On this policy of 'revolutionary defeatism' and on the need for a complete break from the Second International, the Bolsheviks at this point were in a minority. The centrists, wavering between reform and revolution, who had been forced by the pressure of the



The basis for reconstituting the international unity of the working class had to be a principled position

masses to voice opposition to the war, did so only in a pacifist way and hoped for reconciliation with the social-chauvinists.

They tried to brand Lenin's principled position as an 'anarchist' one, unsuitable for the mass organisations of the working class. But behind their pacifist illusions in the possibility of a democratic peace without the overthrow of imperialism lay a refusal to mobilise the working class independent of the bourgeoisie and independent of the social-chauvinists.

Though the Left remained a minority within the Zimmerwald movement, the October revolution in Russia was to prove the correctness of Lenin's policies and lay the basis for the re-establishment of the unity of the working class through the Third International.

Only the uncompromising struggle by the Bolsheviks for a complete break from social-chauvinism and centrism was to make this possible.

by Steve Murray

# A BLOW TO TROTSKYISM

THE COLLAPSE OF WORKERS PRESS

STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The announcement that publication of 'Workers Press' is to cease, with no political perspective for a publication in future is the latest in a series of savage blows struck at the struggle for a Trotskyist party in Britain.

The leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party, in a completely non-political 'explanation', blame the problems of *Workers Press* on failing circulation and rising costs. But neither of these are 'technical' problems - they go right to the heart of the political relationship between the party and the organised working class.

The production and distribution of a revolutionary paper cannot be based on gimmicks - they require a cadre politically prepared to root them in the life of the working class.

When the daily *Workers Press* was launched in September 1969, it brought together all the political and material strengths built by the movement over years of previous work. For the five years before 1969 the main energies of the Socialist Labour League (forerunner of the Workers Revolutionary Party) were directed to laying the foundations for the daily paper.

The day it started with four pages, five editions a week, was for us a proud-victory. As the chief instrument of our party work, *Workers Press* immediately became a vital weapon in the struggles of the workers movement, giving leadership in the trade unions, defending workers in struggle, replying every day to the lies of the capitalist press, challenging and answering the Stalinists and the right-wing, showing the centrists and revisionists that it is possible to build parties of the Fourth International to lead the struggle for power.

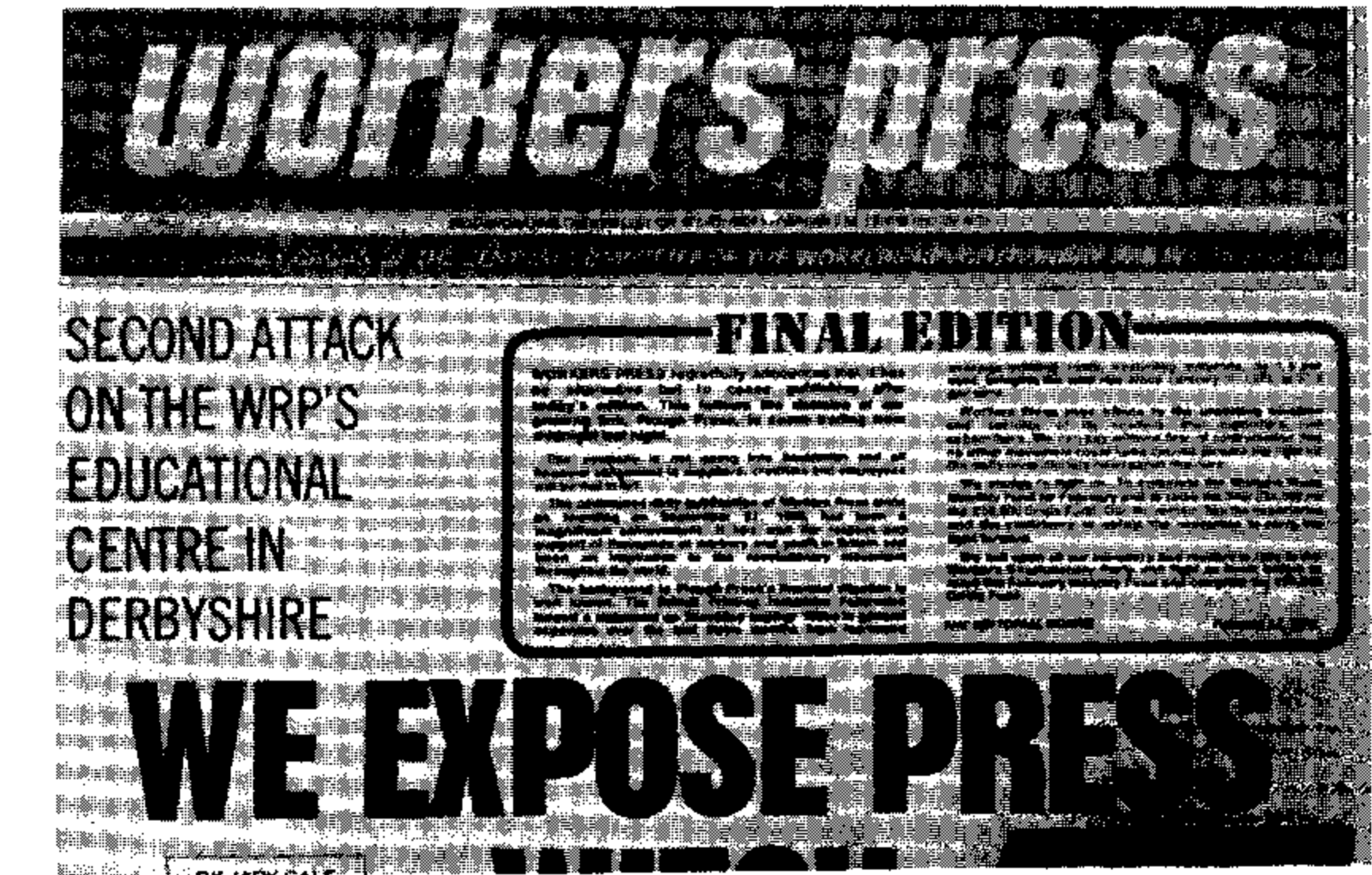
**YEARS OF WORK**

Out of years of work came a qualitative leap, prepared and integrated into the development of the party cadre. For the first time since the Third International was politically destroyed by Stalinism - almost half a century ago - the international workers movement possessed a voice which spoke every day for the politics of revolutionary Marxism.

This achievement is now in chaos. It is said that 'those whom the gods wish to destroy they first drive mad'. In the language of revolutionary politics this means - that the physical liquidation of revolutionary parties begins when they turn away from the continuous study of the real development of the workers movement, when they abandon the struggle continuously to defend the body of knowledge of Marxism and its programme, and to carry these into the day-to-day battle for leadership within the class struggle itself.

In the WRP a turning point was passed in November 1974 when the leadership of Gerry Healy bureaucratically expelled Comrade Alan Thornett and over 200 members on the eve of the First Annual Conference.

The two documents which Comrade Thornett put forward for internal discussion both sought to correct the positions of the party, to convince the party that the method and demands of the Transitional Programme had to be fought for, day-to-day in the spontaneous struggles of the working class. They showed how the Healy leadership was liquidating the party



cadre by 'recruitment' which involved no agreement with the party's programme or even knowledge of it.

The true history of the Trotskyist movement, of the struggle against Pablo's drive to liquidate the small cadres into the Stalinist apparatus, was falsified and submerged in the WRP leadership's fraudulent 'history' *Trotskyism v. Revisionism*. The WRP cadres in the unions and in the factories were hamstrung by the maximum, all-purpose formula "nationalise the means of production without compensation under workers' control".

The leadership held them back from fighting on the central demands of the Transitional Programme - for a sliding scale of wages; to open the books of the employers to elected committees of workers; for work sharing on full pay administered by elected committees and for nationalisation under workers management of bankrupt firms.

The WRP opposition raised these questions out of living experience, out of the need for a programme on which the working class can fight which will be a bridge from today's consciousness to the tasks of social revolution.

Healy bureaucratically and unconstitutionally gagged and expelled them.

Whilst the leading working class cadres were driven out of the party as "reformists", less than a year later a WRP Central Committee member - Tom White - was sitting on a Ryder committee in British Leyland Cowley, whose sole purpose is class collaboration, speed-up and sacking!

With his expulsions, Healy cut off the roots that had been with such difficulty sunk in the workers movement, roots that promised, with the aid of a regular daily press and a tested party cadre, to give leadership as the working class pressed forward on the offensive, driven by the economic crisis and the craven class-collaboration of their leaders.

**HAMMER BLOW**

In cutting these off, Healy placed the daily press and the party in danger and dealt a hammer blow at the working class itself. As we warned, the obverse of sectarianism was opportunism and liquidation.

All parties face set-backs and defeats. They can be overcome - provided the lessons are learned. But the WRP leadership treat the closing of *Workers Press* without a word of politics! They blame cost and circulation problems, and simply cease publishing, giving not an atom of perspective for the future of the party press, not even a weekly paper!

For the WRP members who have fought to build the party and raise the huge sums needed for a daily paper - this is betrayal, a step in the liquidation of the party itself. This is what allows the capitalist press to gloat.

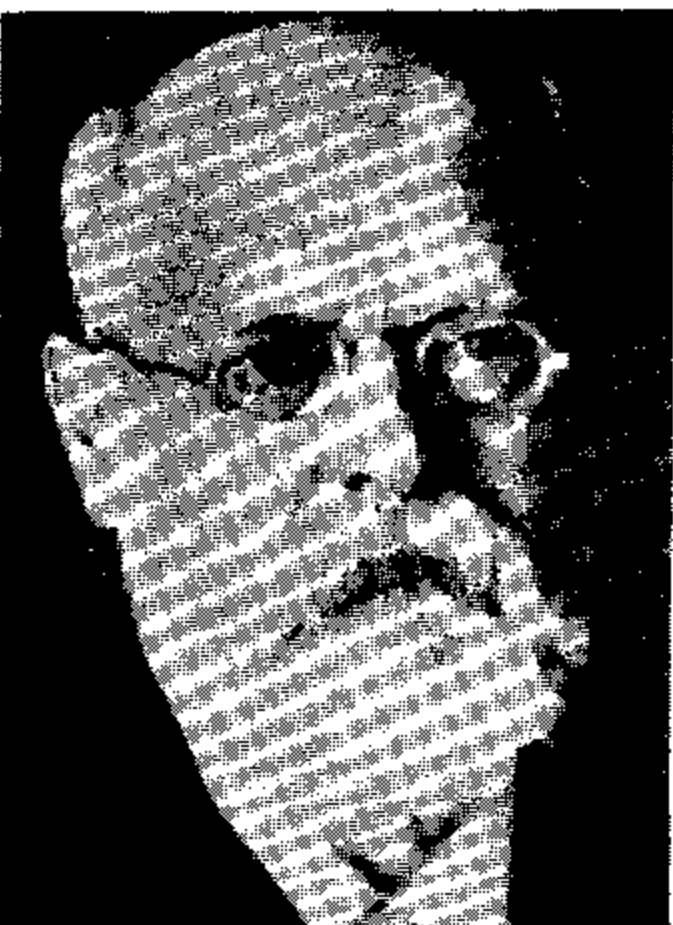
The struggle for *Workers Press* is part of our history. The WRP expulsions and the loss of *Workers Press* is a blow to the workers movement internationally. But defeat in a battle is not the end of the war.

We do not intend to capitulate. The *Workers Socialist League* takes up the struggle for a revolutionary party to lead the British working class to power, and to rebuild the Fourth International on a principled basis. We shall build *Socialist Press*, with the perspective of establishing a firmly based daily revolutionary paper.

We appeal to members and supporters of the WRP to read *Socialist Press* and to study and discuss the positions of the WRP opposition and the WSL - not the falsified and slanderous accounts put out by the WRP leadership. The record of the WSL is there for all to see. It is the continuity of the struggle for Trotskyism in Britain.



Liquidating WRP - Healy (top) and accomplice Banda.



Kautsky - defencist.

on the struggle against the war. The war had been an inevitable product of imperialism. There could be no hope of a lasting peace established by any of the imperialist powers, such a peace could only be an interlude between one war and the next. Only the revolutionary mass action of the working class to overthrow imperialism could bring a democratic peace.

The genuine internationalists would be those who utilised the



The ITV documentary 'Death of an Informer' which appeared on February 17th, dealt with the career of Kenneth Lennon - a police informer and provocateur in a Republican group.. It raised essential issues for the labour movement.

Lennon was threatened by a Special Branch officer over his alleged involvement in fighting in Belfast.

Under pressure, then in return for money, he participated, according to his later statement to the National Council for Civil Liberties, in planning a wages robbery and a jail-break with Republican supporters in Luton.

Those whom he encouraged in these plans were arrested on his information, and got heavy jail sentences.

When Lennon appeared in court his 'cover' was blown. A few days later - after exposing the pressure put on him by the Special Branch - he was found shot in a Surrey ditch. Who shot him remains to be explained.

Viewers who stayed to watch the police public relations job which followed the documentary drama may have been expecting a serious discussion of the questions raised in the film.



Lennon

True, Luton's Labour MP Brian Edgemoor wondered why the Special Branch observes nurses' demonstrations, and went so far as to point out that the trial of one of his constituents had been proved to be a farce. He also mentioned that there was a secret police in Britain.

This was just too much. Tory MP Stephen Hastings was there to tell him that he *couldn't* say a British trial was a farce, and complained that the film had shown the police in a bad light.

"It looks like putting the police on a trial" he complained.

The former Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police is also there, no doubt to help viewers form an impartial view of police behaviour.

He didn't like the term "secret police". But conspicuously there was *nobody* on the programme who said they didn't like the secret police!

The Labour MP thought there should be an investigation (he didn't say by whom) to lay down the "rules of procedure" for the Special Branch.

This was also Geoff Robertson's position: a practicing barrister, he wants the law to be changed to protect the victims of *agents provocateurs*.

His concern with the legal aspects of the Lennon case is the main focus of his newly published book *Reluctant Judas*.

Even so, he was able to correct some of the misleading statements of the former Assistant Commissioner and his book contains the most important information on the workings of the Special Branch.

# PUT POLICE ON TRIAL

Review of: *Death of an Informer* - by Bernie Cooper and Francis Magoby, ITV, February 17th. *Reluctant Judas: The Life and Death of the Special Branch Informer, Kenneth Lennon* - by Geoff Robertson (Maurice Temple Smith Ltd, 1976, £2.25.)

By Danny MacIntosh

thought to be at least 1000 strong. Nobody can say for sure - as the Tory Home Secretary Henry Brook observed "The Security Service is, after all, a secret service. That is part of its essence."

Robertson quotes an article which appeared in the *TV Times* in 1969 on *Britain's Secret Police*: "There are thousands of files on communists, fascists, the IRA and protest organisations right down to tenants associations. Any of the people named in these files would be startled if he could see the Special Branch files. They give a detailed picture of him - his favourite pub, where he takes his holidays and his wife's family history."

## FASCISTS

(Robertson points out, however, that the Special Branch's record on the surveillance of fascists is less than enthusiastic).

He then reports that:

"Over two million of these files exist on politically suspect individuals, most of whom have never committed a criminal offence".

In 1966 Wilson agreed to end the tapping of MP's telephones by the police - a tiny fraction of the 12,000 taps which were then said to be in operation, before the expansion of Special Branch activities accompanying British Army intervention in Ireland.

Another important aspect of Special Branch activities is the close connection with the crime correspondents of the national press. This connection allows the secret police to plant false stories which the press then presents as 'scoops' under banner headlines.

For example, after the trial and imprisonment of three men who planned a robbery with the encouragement of Kenneth Lennon, Detective Chief Superintendent Grant told Colin Pratt of the *Daily Express*: "...we think it was one of the wives who turned them in".

The publication of this statement - a deliberate police lie - was bound to endanger the lives of those women. Indeed, a common secret police technique is to threaten to 'finger' someone as an informer unless he agrees to work for them.

Robertson's complaint in the Lennon affair is not against the use of police informers, but the use by the police of agents provocateurs. He writes:

"Punishing men for crimes they would never have contemplated without the enticement of police agents has startling constitutional implications for the rule of law. It means that the guardians of law are free to promote crime".

Under English law, that's the way it is.

## EXAMPLES

In fact, the promotion of crime by the police is now well documented. Some recent examples make the context of the Lennon affair clear. In 1969, for example, they assisted in the robbery of a post office to such an extent that the postmaster himself was part of the police set-up!

The three who were convicted appealed when they discovered that the fourth member of their gang was a police provocateur.

The case of Kenneth Littlejohn is now well-known. Apart from bank robberies, he let off bombs in Dublin, to ease the passage of

All the time, he was working for the British secret police.

The extent of Special Branch files, and police crime, is illustrated again by the Hackney arms trial - which was stopped, mid-way, by the Attorney General "to protect the identity of certain persons".

The "certain person" was a police provocateur, John Parker, a former army sergeant.

Before the trial could begin, six of the jurors were objected to by the prosecution. The defending counsel cross-examined a Special Branch officer about his objections:

*Officer:* There was written information from records against a number of the jurors. Information from Special Branch and other police records.

*Platts Mills:* Do they include such things as belonging to the Labour Party?.....(to the officer) Your objection had nothing to do with politics?

*Officer:* I didn't say "nothing to do with politics". The word "object" that I put against these jurors signified doubt about their political activities and their criminal activities.

*Platts Mills:* It is the right of the defence to have a jury that is not picked by the Special Branch.

*Officer:* I was asked to take these steps, sir.

The origin of the three pistols which Parker had offered to the defendants was discovered. They had last been seen at Birmingham Law Courts - in police custody!

£500

Clearly they had been supplied to the defendants by the Special Branch! Parker, by the way, had been paid £500 by the police.

Of course, an official investigation was held. Two policemen held it in secret, the report was never published - but it recommended that no criminal charges should be brought against the police or their agents!

The police have tried to argue that they did not want to use Lennon as an agent provocateur.

All the evidence available belies this claim, and is well documented in Robertson's book.

Dwyer (with Ron Wickens, one of Lennon's Special Branch contacts) claimed: "Lennon's reasons for contacting the police [to offer information] are purely selfish. He is unemployed and needs money desperately to take his wife on holiday when she leaves hospital...."

But Lennon was given only £20 a month, a sum that would barely cover fares and expenses for his weekly meetings with Wickens.

There can be no doubt that the police had a more sinister hold on Lennon than mere money. Robertson's book documents further proof of this.

The police claim that Lennon was only an informer - not an agent provocateur - also sounds very hollow.

As Robertson points out: "...a man whom the police knew at the outset needed 'money desperately' was promised payment on the results he achieved. What greater inducement to provide results could there be?"

As in the Hackney arms trial, the police were happy to help the people they were setting up to get arms. The youth that Lennon encouraged to participate in an attempted prison break got a gun - and a licence for it Robertson

"The issue of the firearms certificate is powerful evidence that the police were prepared to use Lennon as an agent provocateur. There can be no other explanation for arming a youth they knew to be an Irish extremist involved with the Luton Three".

Robertson produces other evidence to support the case that the police wanted Lennon to be a provocateur, and examines carefully other police statements. Just one example will have to suffice here.

## STARRITT

The investigation of police involvement with Lennon was entrusted to Deputy Commissioner James Starrit. The son of an RUC constable, he has two brothers who are officers in the RUC.

Earlier in his career he had been exonerated by an enquiry into public criticisms of his conduct (he had been head of West End Police Station at the time when Detective Harry Challenor was regularly manufacturing false evidence against innocent defendants).

His report, Robertson writes, has the tone of a police public relations exercise. It is, in effect, a Special Branch press release.



Lord Carrington - Tory Minister responsible for backing Littlejohn

None of the individuals concerned in the Lennon case, outside the senior ranks of the police, was seen by Starrit. The report was commissioned by Home Secretary Roy Jenkins.

The worthlessness of such reports is well known - but this is the only investigation into the Special Branch's role in this case which has been made.

## "INACCURACIES"

It is riddled with "inaccuracies". At one point Robertson exclaims indignantly, after quoting part of it: "That makes four incorrect assertions in the space of seven lines of a report presented to Parliament and the public as an accurate account of the Lennon affair!"

He is forced to conclude: "Lennon remains a mystery, and it would be idle to pretend that this book offers a definitive insight into his life or his death."

It would be quite wrong, however, to imagine that the part of the secret police force originally called the 'Special Irish Branch of the Metropolitan Police' is concerned only with Irish affairs.

The chairman of Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Nationalist Party)

Branch agent provocateurs were infiltrating party branches and offering young members a supply of guns and explosives.

In early 1974 a Bristol Trades Council inquiry heard evidence that a Special Branch agent provocateur had infiltrated a demonstration against the crumbling Portuguese fascist regime and had urged demonstrators to knock down police barricades.

There have been allegations that the Special Branch has prepared a blacklist of 'political dissidents' for construction industry employers, and there is evidence, uncovered by the *Sunday Times Business News* in 1974, that a Special Branch officer had been 'infiltrated' into Strachans (a Ford engineering contractor), in the guise of a commercial traveller, to collect information on leaders of a 'sit-in' that had prevented the factory from closing down.

## FORDS

Apparently, Robertson notes, the Special Branch was operating to assist the management of Ford's to cope with their own internal problems. But this is just the tip of the iceberg. How many other cases are there?

Robertson's concern with the reform of English law overshadows the political questions which arise from the operations of the Special Branch.

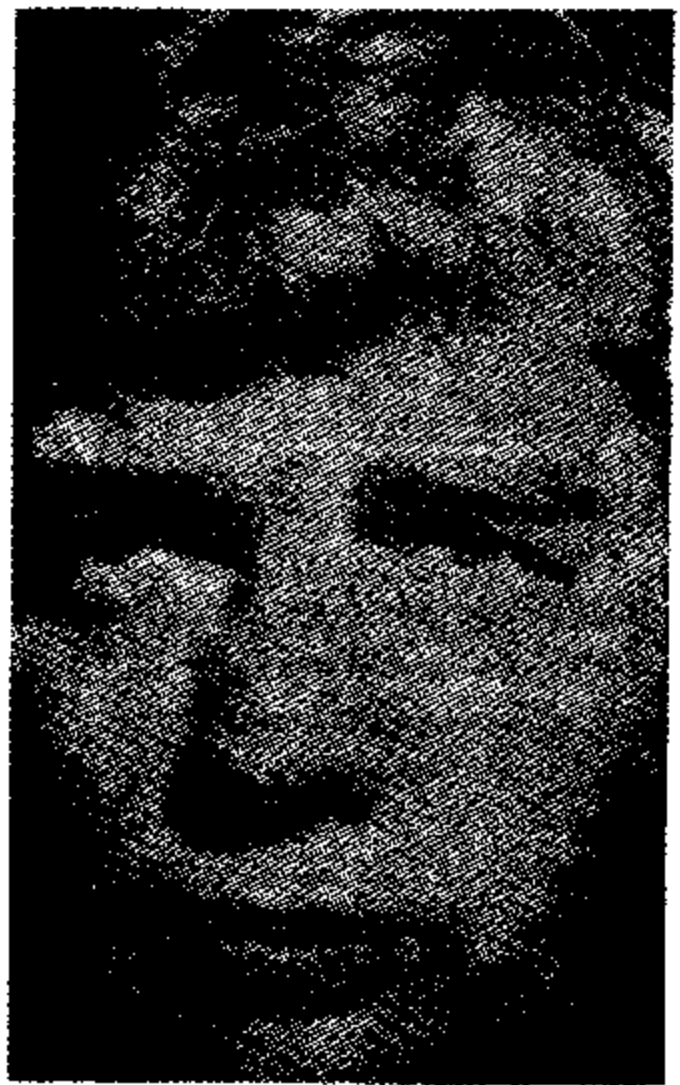
It is clear, however, that the labour movement cannot tolerate the existence of a secret political police.

Yet in the Lennon affair we see a Labour government presiding over a cover-up of one of the most blatant operations of the Special Branch.

This is in line with the consistently reactionary position of the Wilson government on "law and order" - strengthening at each point the powers and the repressions of imperialism and the state both in the North of Ireland and in Britain - with the so-called "Prevention of Terrorism Act", the continued jail-



Jenkins



Littlejohn

ing of the Shrewsbury Two pickets, the trial of the Iranian 21 and a host of similar cases.

The police force is an armed body of men representing directly the requirements of capitalism to repress the workers' movement. The Special Branch is one of its most insidious wings.

The workers' movement must prepare a full workers inquiry into the Special Branch, alongside demands for the removal of Home Secretary Jenkins and Special Branch supporters from the Labour leadership.

In the struggle to take power and establish socialism the police force and its entire corrupt apparatus must be disbanded and replaced by detachments of workers' militia. Only in this way



Stoke Plant



AUEW Convenor Simpson.

# CHRYSLER: FIGHT BACK NOW

The Select Committee of the House of Commons looking into public spending in Chrysler International held a public hearing at the Stoke plant in Coventry on 12th February.

In the course of the hearing both management and union leaders had to answer the questions of the MPs on the running of the plant.

The management, for their part, were greatly embarrassed when they were asked about the document *Chrysler Crisis - The Workers Answer* produced by shop stewards at the Whitley plant.

Only one of the four representatives had read the document and he had failed to pass it on to his colleagues.

This document raises numerous questions about the running of the plant since the Chrysler takeover. For example, in seven years Chrysler invested only £802,000 in the Stoke plant which also lost 509,963 hours out of a total of 3,843,100 through break-down of the archaic machinery.

## LIMITED

As a result of these questions it emerged that the power and influence of the managers at plant level is so severely limited that they weren't even consulted in the negotiations for the rescue plan!

There were also several searching questions on the value given to machinery when moved from plant to plant within the company, to which the answers were confused. The answers given by the trade unionists present on the other hand were clear and unambiguous. Not one of them could see the problem in anything other than capitalist terms. The cause of the present problem was in their eyes simply "lack of investment" on the part of Chrysler International. There were repeated references to the "change" that came over the company when Rootes was taken over.

The company changed from being a "family business", where apparently "you knew where you stood" to the large corporation now in crisis.

Small wonder with these

bankrupt conceptions these "leaders" had been unable to challenge a single move on the part of Chrysler and the Labour government!

The union leaders went to great pains to emphasise that "given the money" they would make the company viable again - in other words re-establish the flow of profits to Chrysler shareholders.

This when, on their own admittance, they don't know the full details of the 'rescue' plan and have yet to be consulted!

## "FUTURE"

They repeatedly assured the committee that they would do everything in their power to maintain industrial relations and work to give the government-backed private company a future.

This can mean only one thing, that trade unionists like TGWU convenor Eddie McClusky (a member of the Communist Party) and AUEW convenor Duncan Simpson will lead the attack on the workers at the Stoke plant.

This was made most clear in the discussion around the decision of Chrysler to buy 300,000 engines from Volkswagon - engines that could be made at Stoke. McClusky said that if they got the money from Parliament they could make the engines as cheaply as Germany, opening the door for lay-offs, speed-up and every form of attack on the workforce to increase productivity and make it pay for the crisis.

What else can this mean, except that these trade unionists will collaborate with the management to streamline production in an attempt to keep the Stoke plant open. 'Left' reformists like local MP Audrey Wise (who sat in on the hearing) must also take the blame for the savage attacks now taking place against the workers at Chrysler.

## NOTHING

For all the fine words and speeches the 'lefts' have done nothing to defend jobs.

Within the plant itself, the night shift is being given only two nights

work every other week, while the day shift is forced to spend most of the time sweeping the floors and keeping the machines clean.

The "Job Centre" set up inside the plant is offering workers jobs that pay from £14 to £30 a week! This, when as everyone knows in June, the next round of redundancies will be compulsory.

It is within this context that the fight to defend jobs in Chrysler must be seen.

As the recent successful strike at Linwood shows, management will not respect existing agreements but it is far more concerned to prevent the real strength of the shop floor from rejecting the 'rescue' plan.



Audrey Wise

The fight to defend jobs can only be successfully carried through under a leadership that fights around a programme similar to that which has been highlighted in the recent witch-hunt of trade unionists at British Leyland, Cowley.

It must demand that the books of Chrysler International be opened to an elected trade union committee. Only such a committee would be able to show the extent of the run-down of Chrysler in Britain, and expose how profits made at plants within Britain have been channelled into subsidiaries of Chrysler in Switzerland. It would then draw up a real plan for Chrysler that would include nationalisation and a programme of state contracts to ensure no reduction in the workforce, while plans are agreed for an integrated nationalised car industry.

# NO ANSWER TO BALLOT COMPLAINTS

We carried in the previous edition of *Socialist Press* a detailed account of the struggle for an inquiry into elections for Regional Committee, National Committee and General Executive Council of the Midlands Region of the Transport and General Workers Union. We were convinced then and are convinced now that serious questions of democracy had arisen in that election.

The calls for an inquiry into what were claimed to be "impossibly high votes" were side stepped by the bureaucracy who called a fresh ballot while refusing to reveal any figures or documents from the previous vote.

They claimed that the new ballot had been called not because there was anything wrong but because of a slight 'technical infringement'. This turned out to be the destruction of the evidence, after the complaints were made, by the right wing in the branch concerned - British Leyland Cowley Body Plant.

In the reballoon the bureaucracy have acted in an even more high handed and blatant way than the first time.

Again the results were seemingly impossible. The scrutineers, having been selected by those subject to question in the previous ballot (while the Branch Officers adamantly refused to allow an election for the positions) claimed a 67% poll. Workers in the plant collected evidence to show that the poll was in fact substantially lower.

The clearest example is Jack Adams from MG Abingdon. In the first poll he was claimed to have received 6,134 votes.

## FEW HUNDRED

Yet it was conclusively established that only a few hundred workers took part in the Body Plant vote.

The bureaucracy argued that his votes came from the rest of the Region, which seemed very unlikely since he was completely unknown.

In the second ballot Adams "polled" 2,798 in the Body Plant - a seemingly impossibly high figure.

But this meant that since his total vote was 3,198 he had only received 400 from the rest of the region!

This result clearly shows that between the two ballots there are over 5,000 completely unaccountable votes.

But the matter doesn't end

there. After the Body Plant result was announced the T&GWU 5/293 Assembly Plant branch representing 3,500 members sent an urgent resolution to the Regional scrutineers again asking for an inquiry into the impossibly high votes.

In support of this request the branch pointed out very questionable aspects of balloting in the Body Plant.

Firstly the officials had refused requests that a system to introduced to check the number of people voting.

Secondly the 5/293 branch complained that for the 2 days which elapsed between the ballot and the count, the uncounted ballot papers together with the unused ballot papers were locked in the private office of the candidate Bill Roche - while Roche himself held the key!

Not only was this resolution ignored by the Regional scrutineers who went ahead with the count and declared the result. The resolution and letters sent by individual members have not to this day been acknowledged.

We say that a full inquiry must be initiated by the National Executive of the TGWU into both of these ballots and into the handling of the issue by the Regional Committee.

## USED

The T&GWU is being used by Jones as the main lever, through wage control, for attacks by the Labour Government upon the working class. Whilst vague speeches are being made against unemployment the reality is that the T&GWU leadership acquiesces with it.

None of these attacks can be fought or the strength of the TGWU used to defend the working class without a constant fight to break the grip of the non-elected bureaucracy and the manipulation through which they retain control.

We therefore repeat our call for the following policies to be fought for within the T&GWU:

End secret ballots - open to all kinds of manipulation by the full time bureaucracy. For elections by show of hands at branch meetings where candidates have equal right to speak.

Where ballots do take place, we demand the election of scrutineers from the rank and file membership, and for voting figures and procedures to be open for inspection by workers at any time.

New rules for the automatic removal from all office of any scrutineer involved in a corrupt ballot must be adopted.

To Be Published Mid March

# THE BATTLE FOR TROTSKYISM

As the first of a series of publications to be produced by the WSL over the next few months *The Battle For Trotskyism* represents an important development for our movement.

This 170 page book contains the two documents - *Correct the Wrong Positions of the Party: Return to the Transitional Programme*, and the *Second Document on Party Policy and Perspective* - submitted by Alan Thornett for discussion in the WRP prior to his expulsion, along with 200 other comrades, by the Healy leadership.

The book also contains, published for the first time, a detailed political account of the struggle within the WRP. It sets out to draw the political conclusions from Healy's sectarianism and subjective method, particularly as applied in the Cowley factories and his trade union work.

In addition, carried as appendices, are all the relevant documents and letters relating to the struggle and the expulsions including the WRP Control Commission Report through which the expulsions were carried out.

The price will be £1.00 plus 20p postage. Advance orders can be placed for delivery on publication. Orders should be sent to WSL, Dartmouth Park Hill, London,

# Healy's Greek Expulsions

News has reached us of the expulsion, organised by Gerry Healy General Secretary of the Workers Revolutionary Party, of the majority of the Workers International League - Greek section of Healy's International Committee of the Fourth International. The expulsions include the WIL secretary Dimitris Toubanis and were carried out under conditions similar to the mass expulsions from the WRP in December 1974.

*Socialist Press* will carry more details of this development in later editions when information of the political issues involved become available.

It is already clear that the expulsions are part of the break up

crisis in the WRP and the collapse of *Workers Press*.

In our struggle in the WRP, we as an opposition stressed consistently that the sectarian politics and maximum programme of Healy would not only liquidate the WRP itself but that it threatened the very existence of the International Committee as an international movement.

## SAME FORCES

We argued that the forces which had brought the crisis in the WRP to a head (the developments in the crisis of capitalism internationally coupled with the powerful forward movement of the working class on a world scale, which made possible the development of Trotskyist parties based deep in the working class) would affect every section of the IC. This crisis was intensified by the decline in the WRP in this objectively favourable period.

throughout the past 18 months within the IC - involving the Workers League of the USA, the Socialist Labour League in Australia and in the LCPR in Portugal.

The WIL is a section which has grown rapidly since the ending of the dictatorship in 1974, and was one of the strongest remaining sections of the IC.

The purge of the WIL majority appears to have been carried through in the style now identified with Healy expulsions. Indeed the WIL newspaper *Socialist Change* which is clearly still in the hands of the Healyite minority, reports quite openly how Healy supporters called in the police against a meeting of the majority tendency.

This, together with the now routine Healyite insinuations of 'police agent' against those expelled is a remarkable parallel with Healy's use of the police against the WRP.





Results of MacDonald's betrayal - women queueing for a single job

**FORCE LEFTS contd from page 1**

produce that objective.

Healey's "promise" to reduce taxes on wages is a complete fraud. This becomes all the plainer when it is seen that one item of government spending not included in the overall freeze is the interest the government pays out on the national debt.

This is predicted to go up 50% over the next three years, reflecting the huge volume of government borrowing to finance its present expenditure. Even with the planned reduction in government programmes the burden of taxes on workers will have to rise simply to pay out interests to those capitalists who hold their wealth in the form of government bonds.

**WEIGHHELL**

There has been no shortage of verbal opposition to these cuts since they were announced. NUR leader Sid Weighell promises a 'last ditch' stand against them. The Tribune Group called the White Paper 'a document of shame'.

At a 3,000-strong demonstration organised by the Midlands area TUC on February 21st Eric Heffer said:

"The cuts, if they are allowed to go through, will be absolutely disastrous for the people of this country".

We agree with him. But we ask him and other 'left' MPs and union leaders - what will they do to prevent the cuts being allowed to go through?

Will the union leaderships withdraw union sponsorship from any Labour MP who does not vote against the cuts - or is that too 'last ditch' for Sid Weighell, who a few months ago meekly withdrew the same threat?

Will they organise demonstrations and strike action to oppose the cuts?

Will the 'left' MPs vote against the cuts in the House of Commons, or will they, like Joan Lester who resigned from the government in protest, merely call for a 'discussion' of the cuts in the

**Labour Party?**

We say that if they refuse to take these actions they are as guilty of the consequences as the totally anti-working class leadership of Wilson and Healey.

Eric Heffer has already shown where he stands on this. "If anyone says bring down the Labour government you will have Maggie Thatcher". This statement is a complete abrogation of the responsibility of leadership by the 'lefts'.

The policies of the Labour government are totally indefensible. They will be reversed only by an all out struggle for an alternative leadership in the working class.

One step towards that would be for the Labour 'lefts' to fight for the ousting of the treacherous Wilson-Healey leadership. Yet Eric Heffer rushes to defend the continuation of that leadership, whatever it does.

We support the call for a recalled Labour Party conference now being made throughout the party. At this conference the cuts and the rest of the Labour government's policies must be rejected.

**REMOVED**

But also Wilson, Healey and all those in the leadership who support their policies must be removed from their leading positions and expelled from the party - on the same grounds that MacDonald and Snowden were expelled 45 years ago.

We support also the call made from the Greater London Confed, backed by many other labour movement bodies for a National Assembly against unemployment.

But a recalled Labour Party conference or an assembly will be useless if they are restricted to the debates and discussions which the Labour 'lefts' and CP leaders want.

They must adopt a plan of action in support of a programme of demands capable of answering the problems of the working class in the face of the world capitalist

more cash for rehabilitation.

The Secretary of the Tenants' Associations and the Secretary of the Trades Council, both members of the Communist Party, felt that the answer to the cuts lay in the sending of delegations, one to the Department of the Environment, and one to Len Murray.

All these suggestions, especially the last, were received sceptically by the working class audience. A WSL member speaking on behalf of the Islington Campaign Against the Cuts stressed that opposition to the cuts lay in a mass mobilisation of the workers of Islington, not in sending delegations to lobby trade union bureaucrats, civil servants and MPs.

If the Councillors' opposition to the cuts was serious they would start by voting against the proposed budget at the meetings of the Labour Group and the full Council meeting.

**£500 MONTHLY FUND**  
Please send all donations to:  
31, Dartmouth Park Hill,  
London NW5 1HR.

# VICTORY AT BLACKWELLS!

On January 27th a strike began when Ted Heslin was sacked by Blackwells booksellers in Oxford, a major anti-union employer in the town, for demanding trade union representation on a job change.

Yesterday he walked back in, not only reinstated but as an elected shop steward after management conceded union recognition.

This near unprecedented achievement is a great tribute to the 70 young workers who fought through three weeks of bitter dispute.

The strike as soon as it began was faced with the withdrawal of

official union support, with the T&GWU officials agreeing with the employer to take the sacking to an industrial tribunal.

**SUB-ZERO**

Fighting this betrayal in sub-zero temperatures and icy winds on the picket line with 500 working and 70 of the 115 union members on strike, only a clear perspective and determined leadership could carry the struggle forward.

The struggle directed both at a solid picket and right into the local labour movement. The response was so widespread that the officials were eventually forced to give support.

The strike, once made official, rapidly resulted in the employer conceding all the strikers' demands - reinstatement of Ted Heslin, the signing of an acceptable procedure agreement and the establishment of shop stewards.

Support, particularly from the university and Polytechnic, Ruskin College and from Dillons Bookshop in London, together with the UPW and many other union branches, was of great importance.

In the next edition of *Socialist Press* we will carry a more detailed article drawing the political conclusions from this important struggle.

crisis.

This means not the divisive and bankrupt nationalism of import controls advocated by the Communist Party and the Tribune Group; nor the 1974 Labour manifesto on which Heffer and the 'left' MPs pin their hopes.

**CAPITALISM**

In the present crisis a fight against the cuts, let alone a fight for further reforms, depends on challenging the continued existence of capitalism which, in its desperate thirst for profit, attacks the working class, through the agency of the Labour government.

The necessary demands remain the ones which the WSL has consistently fought for in the labour movement, flowing from the method of the transitional programme of the Fourth International.

- \* Oppose all cuts!
- \* Recall the Labour Party Conference!
- \* Expel the Wilson-Healey leadership!
- \* Force left MPs to oppose cuts!
- \* No redundancies; work sharing with no loss of pay!
- \* For a sliding scale of wages and a sliding scale of public expenditure!
- \* A programme of public works to end unemployment.

We call on trade union committees and branches, shop stewards committees, constituency Labour Parties and General Management Committees to demand a recall Labour Party Conference and to fight for the conference to discuss and adopt this programme.

**WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETING****OXFORD**

Wednesday, March 3rd, 8.0  
Lake St. Community Centre  
"Defend Education!"  
Programme to fight the cuts.

**COVENTRY****"CHRYSLER - ORGANISE THE FIGHT BACK NOW"**

THE SIR COLIN CAMPBELL,  
GOSFORD ST

THURSDAY FEB 26th, 8pm

**WSL EDUCATION CLASSES****LIVERPOOL**

Wednesday, March 3rd,  
AUEW Hall,  
Mount Pleasant, 8.00.

**"IMPERIALISM"****OXFORD**

Every Sunday, 8.00pm,  
Lake St Community Centre  
Next topics:

"War-Time Trotskyism"  
and:  
"Post-War Reconstruction"

# MINERS BAN

The decision of the NUM Executive to call off the overtime ban against the closure of Langwith Colliery (previously initiated by an 11 - 10 majority) is another clear example of capitalist press interference in the internal affairs of trade unions.

The right wing have again used the press where they failed to get their way through the democratic procedures of the union.

The question is not the closure of this one pit, but the decimation of the mining industry by pit closures, all of which have been allowed by the NUM leadership.

And even in the case of Langwith, the 'left' in the NUM leadership are not arguing for defence of all jobs through the

fight for work-sharing throughout the industry in cases where coal seams run out.

Thus the majority of miners were offered no perspective for the overtime ban. This then opened the door to the press intervention - which played also on the abstention in the first vote of Stalinist Vice-President McGahey.

The role of the press in this dispute must strengthen the campaign by militant workers to defend trade union democracy. At the same time the crisis of leadership exposed in the NUM demands the fight within the union for the programme outlined in our lead article.

# Publication Fund

14 months after our formation the Workers Socialist League has reached a crucial stage of its development. With historically unprecedented attacks being launched against the working class by the Labour Government through the public spending cuts and with the 'lefts' of the LP and TUC making meaningless speeches whilst accepting the cuts.

At the same time, with the crisis of leadership raised to new heights, the *Workers Press* goes out of production and Healy's International Committee of the Fourth International begins to break up on a world scale.

The WSL, in our view has developed the political strength, and established a record in the workers movement, which opens the possibility of considerable expansion in this situation, both in Britain and internationally.

To facilitate this we are launching immediately a programme of publications, beginning in a few weeks time with our first book - *The Battle For Trotskyism*. But in the short history of our movement we have not yet accumulated all the resources we need to do this.

We are therefore appealing urgently to our members, readers and supporters to raise a £500 publication fund by May Day. This would give us the initial cash required to begin publication of a series of theoretical books and pamphlets.

**TROOPS ... contd from page 1**

personal envoy of President Kaunda, Mr. Chona.

And last week, as these details emerged, Tory MP's in London began demanding British troops to be sent to Rhodesia, Zaire and Zambia, to counter 'Soviet imperialism' and the problem of Cuban troops in Mozambique.

Thus, at the end of last week, the contours of the conspiracy became clear. Ford and Kissinger are unable - especially in view of the suppurating internal crisis of the administration, and bribery revelations putting the skids under capitalist politicians from Amsterdam to Tokyo - to intervene directly to 'stabilise' southern Africa.

But they must at all costs try to guarantee the survival of South Africa and Rhodesia as the direct bulwarks of imperialist rule on the sub-continent. British imperialism retains a 'legal' claim on Rhodesia, so what more suitable than for the Labour Government to act as Kissinger's agent, and all in the name of applying 'pressures' for the 'democratic rights' of Africans?

The British labour and trade union movement has a direct internationalist responsibility in the situation in southern Africa. Trade union bodies must demand

that the government cease their secret negotiations to intervene in Smith's support, and recognise the full rights of the African nationalist organisations of Zimbabwe to govern their own country.

Trades unionists and socialists must recognise that what is being prepared by British imperialism in southern Africa is a savage war of repression against the black majority, along the lines of the brutal "policing" operations of the Malayan "emergency" and the suppression of the Kenyan nationalists in the 1950s, but this time on an even larger scale, and directed against liberation forces in half a continent.

The events unrolling in Africa underline the reality of the permanent revolution. The struggles which leapt forward with the collapse of Portuguese imperialism, and the defeat of the US in Angola can no longer be held within individual states, or limited to purely 'democratic' demands.

Behind the nationalist programme of the MPLA in Angola, or of both the factions of the African National Congress on the borders of Rhodesia are masses of African peasants and workers on the move.

# LONDON HOUSING CUTS

The London Borough of Islington has been told that it cannot continue its programme of rehabilitating slum housing beyond April 1st.

As part of the Government's social spending cuts, the amount of money available for councils to rehabilitate both their own decrepit housing, and that acquired from private landlords, has been slashed.

This means that tenants still living in these conditions now have no hopes of getting bathrooms or side lavatories, nor of having their falling ceilings and damp wall repaired. And since Islington in particular relies on rehabilitation to provide a substantial proportion of its housing, 1,600 families expected to be rehoused this year, will now be homeless.

At a meeting called jointly by the Trades Council, the Federation of Tenants Associations, and Labour Councillors, a packed hall, and overflow meeting heard the chairman of the Housing Committee, Margaret Watson, say she hoped that by the simple expedient of inviting the housing minister to see some of the worst slums, the government could be persuaded to provide at least some