

Young Socialist leader denounces

'A FORGED LETTER'

By Ann Gray

MR. DAVID ASHBY, the national chairman of the Young Socialists, stated at a press conference on Wednesday, August 26, that a forged letter bearing his name and that of five other members of the Young Socialists' National Committee was being circulated inside the Labour Party.

'This letter is a fabrication from beginning to end and I repudiate it completely,' said Mr. Ashby. The first intimation that he had about such a letter being circulated came from the Wigan Labour Party where it was read out at a meeting of the Trades and Labour Council on Tuesday, 25th.

The purpose behind the letter was to secure the expulsion of at least six members of the National Committee from the Labour Party.

Allen trial drags on

THE trial of Leeds University lecturer Dr. Victor Leonard Allen, aged 41, who was arrested in Nigeria a few months ago, is still being dragged on.

Dr. Allen is charged along with three Nigerians—Sidi Khayam, Jonas Kiomasekenagh and Olu-shogun Adebayo—with conspiring to do an act with a seditious intention, drawing up a plan to overthrow the government by subversive means and having in their possession a seditious publication setting out a scheme to overthrow the government.

At the trial in Ikeja Allen's defence claimed that the Nigerian power was interested in the case and that the defendants were being used as a 'sacrifice'. This was denied by the prosecution. The trial of Dr. Allen and the other three Nigerians is significant in that it follows on closely from the highly successful national strike in June this year when the workers won demands for higher wages from the Nigerian government.

STRIKES

Now the Joint Action Committee of the Nigerian Trade Unions has stated that it will call on workers employed by private firms to go on strike if back pay—due to them following the settlement after the national strike—is not paid.

There have been a number of strikes and the dock workers have set themselves up into a Dockers' Action Committee.

It is clear that feeling amongst workers in Nigeria is running high, hence the action taken by the government in attempting to suppress Dr. Allen and the three Nigerians.

These four are obviously being used by the Nigerian government to set an example to other militant trade unionists in the country. With growing unrest over wages and conditions Prime Minister Sir Abubakar, no doubt, wants this to serve as a warning to any others who are against the government's policies.

JUDGMENTS SCARE UNION CHIEFS

LEADERS of the Trades Union Congress have become worried about the effects of the recent legal decisions may have on the right to strike.

However, it would be a mistake to take this somewhat belated anxiety at its face value. The judgments in the House of Lords on the cases of Rookes v. Barnard and Stratford v. Lindley make it uncertain when, or even whether it is possible to call men out on strike then be sued by the employer. Sections of the Contracts of Employment Bill are more dangerous in their implications.

Of course, the union leaders want to protect the organisations on which their positions in society rest—not to mention their salaries.

By attacking the so-called unofficial rank and file leaders, by co-operating in the National Economic Development Council and by accepting committees of inquiry to set out recent struggles, they have paved the way for the present dangerous situation.

Woodcock pleads in vain for

(Cont. page 4, col. 1)

Word change

'The Guardian' reporter on August 27, said:

'Whoever wrote the letter has used in it a phrase almost exactly the same as the one used by Mr. Ashby in a letter to "Tribune" last week. In "Tribune", Mr. Ashby wrote that the Labour Party was carrying out "a systematic campaign to dismember and dismantle the Young Socialists". The letter he disowns substitutes "deliberate" for "systematic". This Mr. Ashby said, was clearly an attempt to lend authenticity to the forged letter. He first heard of it when copies were received on Tuesday by members of Wigan Labour Party.'

The 'Daily Worker' of the same date reported that:

'Miss Sheila Torrance, 22, vice-chairman of the National Committee, said in London that Right Wing Socialists had put out the document, and she believed that she was about to be expelled. She and Mr. Ashby, both of whose branches have been suspended by Transport House, said they were campaigning for the policies passed at the Young Socialists' national conference.'

False allegation

This paper also reports that Mr. David Ashby at his press conference said that the letter 'alleged that Mr. John Robertson, his predecessor, intended to stand as a Young Marxist candidate at Huyton in opposition to Mr. Harold Wilson. This was completely false.'

Recently it was announced that a right-wing group was being set up in Birmingham to fight against the overwhelming majority of Young Socialists who supported the decisions of their Brighton conference last Easter.

It is known that this group has contacts in London which probably accounts for the fact that one of the envelopes containing the letter was post-marked 'Clapham' under date of August 24.

There was a West London address on the top of the letter.

It should not be very difficult for the Young Socialists themselves to find out who is responsible for this provocation and prove once more to the adult members of the Labour Party that it is the right wing and their allies who are really wrecking the labour movement and in particular the Young Socialists.

SWP suspensions

See Editorial p.2



Leon Trotsky and his wife, Natalia, in Mexico in 1937

Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism vindicated

by Jean Kerrigan

AUGUST 20 marks the anniversary of the assassination in Mexico by Stalinist agents of Leon Trotsky. Twenty-four years after this event there is more interest than ever in the life and writings of Trotsky.

After his expulsion from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist International, and finally in 1928 from the Soviet Union, Stalin intensified his campaign against Lenin's comrade. The slanders, falsifications and re-writing of history, begun in the period of the struggle with the Left Opposition inside the Soviet Union and the Comintern after the death of Lenin in 1924, continued.

In 1956, at the 20th Congress of the CPSU Khrushchev revealed to the international working class that Stalin had abused his powers and had done 'grave harm to the cause of the Communist Party, to Soviet society' as the result of what the Central Committee of the CPSU describes as the cult of the individual.

Stalin, it was said, had done many things wrong. He had destroyed large cadres of the Bolshevik party. The Moscow Trials of 1936 and 1937 were a frame-up. The Kirov assassination, on which they were based, was suspect. The men murdered on the basis of this trial by Stalin were 'rehabilitated'.

These revelations led to questioning in the international working-class movement. If the Trials were a frame-up, what about the reasons for the Trials? The Stalinist bureaucracy 'proved' in Moscow in 1936-37 at these Trials that Trotsky, the leader of the Red Army in 1917, was a fascist agent working for the reinstatement of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Trotsky's position

If the Trials were a frame-up surely we must look again at the position Trotsky held in the years preceding the Trials. What were the differences between Stalin and the Left Opposition? Why could Stalin only defeat the ideas of the Left Opposition by such falsifications as the Moscow Trials?

These questions were raised by the revelations of 1956 and after and yet the leaders of the Communist parties have failed to answer them.

The 20th Congress opened a fraction of the door of falsification behind which the writings of Trotsky have been suppressed. At the same time Khrushchev maintained that Stalin was faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Yet at the 22nd Congress in 1961, Ilychov, describing the effect of Stalinism, said: 'It was not accidental that for decades we had no works on political economy, philosophy or history of any worthwhile significance.'

I would ask all Communist Party and YCL members, is this compatible with the statement that Stalin was faithful to Marxism-Leninism, the communist philosophy of building a revolutionary party?

The effect of the Khrushchev revelations on the Communist parties of the world has been

enormous; the uprising of the Hungarian workers against the bureaucracy, in 1956; the questioning by students in the Soviet Union anxious to discover what in reality happened in history, not what Stalin said happened.

Marx showed clearly that to understand the present situation we must look at the reality of the past, the concrete events and the conscious actions of men. These must be understood if the present is to be understood.

Realistic analysis

To understand why the leaders of the Communist parties, whether supporters of the Soviet Union or China, condemn Trotskyism, the writings of Trotsky must be read. Only Trotsky has made a realistic analysis of the cause and development of Stalinism.

To provide a real leadership for the international working class history must be understood, and its lessons learned.

Today world imperialism is in crisis. Monopoly capitalism is forced to turn to automation to solve its problems. Automation under capitalism will mean mass redundancy and will raise the question of the disciplining of the working class.

Already with the Rookes v. Barnard case and the Contract of Employment Act, the capitalist class has begun to restrict the rights of the working class.

In this period a real working-class leadership must be built if the working class is to win power. Twenty-four years after the death of Trotsky, the examination of his writings and the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin is vital to the construction of such a working-class leadership.

Hoffa jail sentences an attack on rank & file

JAIL sentences totalling 13 years have been passed on James Hoffa, president of the one-and-a-half million strong International Brotherhood of Teamsters for allegedly mis-using union funds and bribing the son of a juror.

This decision comes after a long legal battle in which the American bosses, backed by the United States government, have done their best to witch-hunt the leader of the extremely militant Teamsters' Union.

Hoffa is claiming that Robert Kennedy, the Attorney-General, framed the charges against him. At the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City members of the Teamsters' Union have picketed the delegates on behalf of their leader.

The ten years of spying and political hounding carried out by the American Federal Bureau

PORT employers made their final offer to the wage claim by Britain's 60,000 registered dockers on Friday.

Two weeks ago, they amended their original offer of a 10s. rise to 10s. 10d. (!), together with a 3 per cent increase in piecework rates.

This offer was rejected by delegates to the Transport and General Workers' Union special conference. Officials were instructed to make one more approach to the employers and, if a satisfactory offer is not made, 'should take whatever steps are necessary to secure a substantial increase.'

I understand that several meetings held since then have not produced a satisfactory offer.

In a trade gap crisis, it is highly unlikely that the employers will make any concessions. This crisis, along with the growing urgency for re-organisation of the docks industry, was behind the miserly 10d. offer.

The increasing possibilities now of a national dock strike is causing alarm in ruling class circles. 'The Times' editorial last Monday offered union leaders advice on how to avoid such a strike.

No concessions

After stating that the employers 'can be in no mood to make excessive wage concessions two months after conceding the 40-hour week', 'The Times' says:

'Shrewd trade unionists would be well aware of that. Obvious tactics would be to squeeze what they can out of the employers just now and try again next year, when the employers have had time to absorb their new burdens. They may be able to squeeze fractionally more... But whether or not they achieve these minor improvements, it is common sense for them to settle now—for the time being.'

If union leaders accept this 'advice' it will be a complete betrayal of the interests of the dockworker.

Why should the docker wait till next year? He has been kept waiting for too long. While productivity and profits in the industry have risen phenomenally over the last few years, the labour force has been slashed by a third and the basic wage has fallen rapidly behind the rise in the cost of living.

Crash programme

Talk of waiting has more significance than 'The Times' wishes to reveal. The trade figures announced last week reveals strikingly the weakness of British capitalism's competitive ability in the markets of the world.

This weakness can only be overcome by the rapid extension of automation and reorganisation. Both political parties face the election knowing they have to carry through a crash programme that must lead to unemployment, wage freeze and high speed, exhausting working conditions.

All the indications are that the

by REG PERRY

port employers, pushed on by the monopolies, intend to re-organise the docks soon.

What better time could they choose than in a period of economic crisis, falling trade and thousands of dockers signing on.

The 'burdens' of the port employers, which 'The Times' talks about will not be less than next year, but a large pool of unemployed would greatly improve their chance of re-organising the industry.

Wilson and the Labour Party should place the industry on the agenda for nationalization along with road and rail trans-

port. Their failure to plan this should be a warning that a Labour government under Wilson will follow the same road of the Attlee government of 1945-51 in savage attacks on working conditions.

Dockers can halt these attacks of the employers and the right-wing by uniting in a fight for £15 basic wage.

Despite all the screams of the national press it is the rank and file of the TGWU and the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union who have the responsibility of taking leadership in the fight for the dockworkers' charter they have presented.

Grave crisis faces Ceylon trade unions

A SHARP division has arisen amongst the 14 trade union organisations in Ceylon on whether the 21 demands unanimously agreed to earlier this year should be presented immediately or not.

The Lanka Sama Samaja (Reformist) sponsored unions, together with the Public Services

League, have tried to sabotage the struggle for the 21 demands in order not to embarrass the coalition government whose Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, is also president of the Ceylon Federation of Labour.

On the other hand at least nine out of the 14 trade union organisations comprising the Joint Committee have threatened to break away and campaign independently if the LSSP unions do not do so.

New jobless add to Indian food crisis

ATTEMPTS by the Indian government to solve the serious food crisis have merely landed the country in a more chaotic situation.

At the week-end it was announced that a six-man committee had been set up to review the problem but so far there have been no productive results.

Employees at bakeries are now threatened with unemployment following a government order that white bread is to go out of circulation. The reason given for this action is that the production of white bread involves a lot of wastage of wheat.

During demonstrations organised by the Indian Communist Party 3,700 people were arrested at the beginning of the week. In Lucknow, capital of Uttar Pradesh State demonstrators tried to enter the Legislative Assembly building.

Prime Minister Shastri and his government are still endeavouring to solve the present crisis by applying short-term measures such as cutting off white bread and limiting the number of guests allowed at parties.

However, these actions have been put into practice only to cause a further crisis. Bakery workers now face unemployment and the starving millions of India are still without food.

As The Newsletter pointed out last week, Shastri and his ministers can only bring about a stable food situation amongst the country's enormous population by the nationalization of the banks and credit firms, the mills where the food is produced and a revision of the antiquated land system.

De Silva had argued that the attitude of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party to the 21 demands, which was one of hostility, has changed since the coalition and therefore a new look should be taken at the 21 demands.

The change, if any, is more apparent than real. The government is sitting tight on the wages demands of the unions as part of its fight against inflation and in order to finance its phoney plan of development.

De Silva blurted out the truth unknowingly in the Budget debate when he stated that no kind of development could be seriously undertaken if inflation got out of hand!

This windy exponent of government policy hopes to deceive the trade union policy by dangling before them the carrot of political rights to public servants and teachers while reserving the stick of wage freeze and increased discipline for the manual workers.

There must be no compromise with the capitalist coalition government on the 21 demands.

Traitors like de Silva should be expelled from the Joint Committee and an immediate struggle launched for the securing of the 21 demands, leading to an island-wide strike of the trade unions.

The coalition of Perera and Bandaranaike is the coalition of hunger and misery for workers and peasants of Ceylon. These 'leaders' must be defeated and thrown out before it is too late.

*Colvin de Silva still retains his membership in the Unified Secretariat of Germain, Frank and Pablo despite demands from the LSSP (Revolutionary) that he be expelled.

Release Christie and Carballo!

A 'Christie-Carballo Defence Committee' has been set up in London by members of the labour movement to demand the release of 18-year-old Scot, Stuart Christie and Fernando Carballo, recently arrested in Madrid, Spain, and charged with carrying explosives.

The Socialist Labour League and the Editorial Board of The Newsletter protest against this crude frame-up and demand the immediate release of Christie and Carballo.

International labour, whose protests effectively prevented the deportation of Francisco Abarca, must not fail to act to secure the release of these men who, if not saved, will surely go the way of Granado and Delgado, who were garroted.

On this Sunday (August 30) a meeting will be held at Marble Arch at 3.30 followed by a March to the Spanish Embassy where a petition will be delivered to the Ambassador.

How NOT to fight Goldwaterism

A criticism of the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates' statement

by Mike Banda

THE emergence of Goldwater as Republican presidential candidate is, without doubt, one of the most important symptoms of the increasing polarization of class forces in the United States.

Behind Goldwater stands the most reactionary coalition of forces that America has ever seen. It includes everybody from the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils and the John Birch Society on the far right, to all those who are opposed to any form of Federal intervention, whether it be on the question of civil rights, tidelands oil or medical care.

Goldwaterism is the collective expression of the frustrated, dispossessed petty-bourgeoisie, small businessmen and farmers—not to mention backward workers—who see the dream of the all-white, all-American century being shattered by the growth of anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and anti-segregationist forces at home and abroad.

Faced on the one side by the resurgence of working class and Negro struggle and on the other by the overwhelming economic and political power of the big corporations, the middle class try to seek salvation in a Messiah who is all things to all men. Thus Goldwater.

Positive reaction

Goldwaterism is sustained not merely or only by the fear of the Negro and trade union movement, but also by the growing monopolisation of every sector of the American economy. It is a positive, though crude, reaction from a section of the ruling class.

To ignore this aspect of Goldwaterism is to belittle it and pave the way for future blunders and betrayals.

This, of course, is exactly what is missing in the SWP's argument against Goldwater. In its statement on 'How to Fight Goldwaterism' it states:

'Before everything else, Goldwaterism is racism. As such it is a by-product of yet another and increasingly powerful force that is impelling the country toward social change in a progressive direction.' ('Militant', July 27, 1964. Our emphasis.)

Reducing Goldwaterism to racism and considering it as a by-product (!) of a social force makes nonsense of the Marxist method of analysis.

Such an argument would be more applicable to Governor Wallace of Alabama since he expressed very forcefully the interests of the Dixiecrats in the South.

But Goldwater, while exploiting racialist sentiments, tries to conjure up the image of an incorruptible defender of the 'small man' against the pervasive bureaucracy of a centralised administration, dominated by big business.

Whereas McCarthy concentrated his fire on 'treason' within the Federal government and the organs of state, Goldwater shrewdly attacks the very concept of Federal government.

Consistent

Where McCarthy was effective, if not primitive, Goldwater is consistent, if not logical.

The background to the rise of Goldwaterism was recently spelled out in economic terms by the Senate Select Committee on Small Business.

According to the committee,

small business, for the first time in post-war history, is unable to take advantage of the immense expansion of the U.S. economy, which has been going on for the last 41 months.

In the past, small businesses (there are 4,600,000 which employ under 250 employees each) accounted for more than half the turnover of all the business done in the U.S.

Today, however, they account for little more than 40 per cent of the one hundred billion dollars gain in gross national product and no more than 25 per cent of the one hundred and thirty billion dollars spent on business expansion. The profits of small retailers and manufacturers are growing at less than half the pace of their big brothers; the number of small manufacturing firms has been declining since 1957. ('Time', July 25, 1964.)

The chief economist of the Chase Manhattan Bank summed up the desperate position of the small businessman when he commented:

'This time small business is slower to catch up because of industry's extra capacity. As the boom goes on, small business will feel it more and more.'

'Lesser evil'

All this is lost on the SWP leaders who have one eye permanently fixed on Malcolm X and the other on Castro. While correctly criticising the U.S. Communist Party and Social-Democrats for their support of the Democratic Party as the 'lesser evil' the SWP, however, by its refusal to participate in the struggles of the Negro workers in Harlem and the miners in Kentucky and by supporting the despatch of Federal troops to Mississippi and other areas, also helps to foster the idea of 'lesser evil' in the minds of Negro and trade union militants.

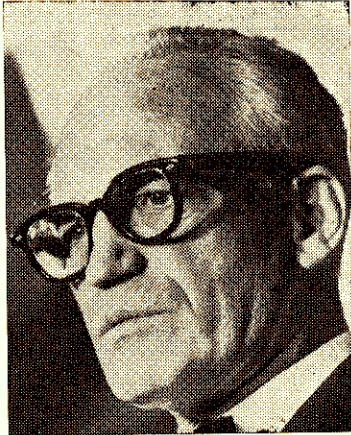
More Sabotage Trials to be staged in South Africa

FOLLOWING the vicious life sentences meted out by Verwoerd's apartheid regime to Nelson Mandela and other defendants at the Rivonia Trial, comes news that a series of sabotage trials may soon be held throughout South Africa.

Last Sunday's 'Observer' quotes other sources as saying that one big trial linking various acts of sabotage may be held. Most of the defendants will be white university lecturers.

Seven men and four women who were arrested in July 1963 and sentenced in February this year may appeal to the Bloemfontein Supreme Court against the charge of sabotage.

The accused were Dr. Neville Alexander, a doctor of philosophy and high school teacher; his sister Dorothy; Marcus Solomons, a schoolteacher, Elizabeth van der Heyden, her brother Leslie and sister Doris; Fikele Bam, a law student; Lionel Davis, a clerk, Gordon Hendriks; Don Davies, a mini-



By uncritically supporting the formation of the Freedom Now Party (a petty-bourgeois Negro party), it helps to foster illusions in the minds of Negroes that a separate Negro party will win equality for Negroes.

Instead of emphasising class politics, the SWP stresses race politics. This is the blind ally of petty-bourgeois politics which provides no answer at all to Goldwaterism.

It is also significant that the statement of the SWP does not outline any kind of programme upon which Negroes and white workers could be mobilised to defeat Goldwaterism. Thus a vote for the SWP candidates is meaningless since they are not mandated to do anything.

The bankruptcy of the SWP on Goldwaterism as on all other questions is obvious.

Policy

American Marxists must set out now to give leadership to the struggles of the Negro people on a class struggle programme which should include three major policies:

- An energetic campaign to defend the Negro people against racist and police violence in the North and South.
- A national congress of all Labour and Negro organisations to work out ways and means how civil rights, job equality and full employment can be secured and Goldwaterism defeated.
- A sustained drive in the unions for the idea of a Labour Party based on the trade unions and an end to bi-partisanship in the Congress and Senate.

Such a programme is bound to stimulate Negro and white workers to a renewed struggle against capitalism and Jim Crow in the United States.

Let us not forget that Goldwaterism unleashed is Goldwaterism unleashed.

ster; and Dulcie September, a teacher.

Their sentences ranged between five and ten years.

Ever since their arrest these people, like so many arrested under the most repressive Acts of Parliament, have been subjected to brutal tortures and beatings.

As early as his arrest Marcus Solomons claims that in one interrogation he was 'hit in the face five times, kneed in the stomach and then sat on by detective-sergeant van Wyk of the Cape Security Police'.

Now comes news from Robben Island, the former leper colony seven miles off the coast from Cape Town where over 1,000 of its 1,500 inmates are political prisoners, that Dr. Alexander was assaulted by warders for objecting to the degrading manner in which prisoners are searched.

Dr. Alexander's eardrum was damaged as a result of this attack between June 22-27. Others have been assaulted and placed in solitary confinement.

Both 'The Observer' and 'The Guardian' have carried articles about this island's concentration camp where, as in Hitler's camps, criminal prisoners are used to discipline the political prisoners.

This nightmare world exists and is encouraged by a regime to which other oppressors are turning.

Tshombe of the Congo seeks military aid from South Africa to smash the Lumumbist rebels, while Ian Smith seems determined to break away from Britain, declare an independent Southern Rhodesia and possibly seek political support from Verwoerd.

Wohlforth group suspended

Socialist Workers Party (USA) resolution suspending the Wohlforthites

Motion by Secretariat:

Under date of June 30, 1964, a circular 'demanding' that a general internal party discussion be opened was submitted to the Political Committee by nine members of the Wohlforth group. The nine who signed the document are: Jack Arnold, Danny F., Neil M., Fred M., Sylvia M., Earl Owens, Dave Van Ronk, Martha Wells and Tim Wohlforth.

As a pretext for their 'demand' the Wohlforthites cite the betrayal of Trotskyist principles by the Perera wing of the LSSP which has entered a bourgeois coalition government in Ceylon. Staunchly blaming the SWP and its co-thinkers for Perera's unprincipled conduct, the Wohlforthites set out to reopen a whole series of policy questions which were decided by the July 1963 party convention. These questions range from the re-unification of the world movement to the Negro struggle in the United States, and on every one of them the Wohlforthite positions were decisively rejected by the convention.

Concurrent with the issuance of the Wohlforthite document, readers of The Newsletter in this country are being circulated with a letter calling for the reopening of discussion within the SWP. The fraudulent political attack on the SWP

in Healy's material closely parallels the Wohlforthite line and is the obvious source from which the latter derives. It is plain for all to see that the Wohlforthites are acting as direct factional agents for Healy within the SWP.

The disruptive intent of the Wohlforthites is clearly shown by the manner in which they have proceeded. Simultaneous with the submission of their June 30 circular to the Political Committee, they sent copies of it to party branches. A covering letter, also dated June 30, signed by the nine Wohlforthites and addressed to the branch organizer, asked that the circular be read at the next branch meeting. Copies of the material were also mailed to some individual party members. A general distribution of the document was made to the New York membership as the comrades arrived at the party headquarters for the July 2 branch meeting. In short, the Wohlforthites have sought to open an internal party discussion without waiting a split second for the Political Committee to act on the matter.

Their conduct is in flagrant violation of the 1938 party resolution, 'On the Internal

Situation and the Character of the Party', which specifically states: 'The decisions of the national party convention are binding on all party members without exception and they conclude the discussion on all these disputed questions upon which a decision has been taken. Any party member violating the decisions of the convention, or attempting to revive discussion in regard to them without formal authorization of the party, puts himself thereby in opposition to the party and forfeits his right to membership. All party organizations are authorized and instructed to take any measures necessary to enforce this rule.' (See, Internal Information Bulletin, January 1964—1.)

It would be the height of insolence for the Wohlforthites to claim ignorance of the foregoing provisions concerning the regulation of internal party discussion. For more than a year the above and all other provisions basic to the party's organizational principles have been forcibly called to the attention of all comrades because of violations committed by the disloyal Robertsonites. Plainly the Wohlforthites knew exactly what they were doing;

they deliberately and wilfully violated party discipline.

Because of their flagrant, deliberate and wilful violation of party discipline the Political Committee hereby suspends from party membership Jack Arnold, Danny F., Neil M., Fred M., Sylvia M., Earl Owens, Dave Van Ronk, Martha Wells and Tim Wohlforth. Those suspended are barred from internal party meetings. They are denied access to internal party material. They are excluded from participation in any and all forms of internal party life and activity.

The Political Committee refers to the next plenum of the National Committee the question of further disciplinary action against the Wohlforthites.

Although the Wohlforth group has held divergent political views within the party, we emphasize that their opinions have nothing to do with the suspension of the signers of this document. Others who have held similar or identical positions as the signers have not joined them in their flagrant violation of discipline. These comrades, having continued to abide by convention decisions, are not in any way affected by the Political Committee action.

Adopted by the Political Committee July 10, 1964.

EDITORIAL

Suspensions prove SWP leadership as corrupt as N. M. Perera

AS we anticipated, the responsibility for the Ceylon betrayal by the overwhelming majority of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party is being evaded by the Pabloite Secretariat in Paris and its Socialist Workers Party allies in the United States.

Apart from a few short statements formally disassociating themselves from what happened they remain silent. This is typical of all opportunists, as soon as they begin to see the unprincipled fruits of their own opportunism.

In the United States, the SWP gave considerable publicity to the LSSP as late as last May when it extolled it as the largest Trotskyist party in the world. Now, when it enters the coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike, there is silence.

The policy of the United Left Front with the pro-Khrushchev Stalinists and the MEP (Philip Gunawardene) was hailed as a masterpiece of strategy although it was well known that both of these organisations were in favour of a coalition and had, in fact, been engaged in coalition discussions with the Bandaranaike government at various times since 1956.

To this date, the National Committee of the SWP and the editorial board of 'The Militant' refuse to comment on what has happened.

When members of their party raised this very important issue for discussion they were immediately suspended in the terms of the resolution which we reproduce on this page. The decision to suspend them was taken initially by a three-man secretariat and later endorsed by their so-called Political Committee in New York.

The members concerned were refused the elementary right of attending their own branch meeting when their suspension was discussed. No charges were placed against them in writing,

and they were refused the most elementary democratic rights.

The paragraph of the resolution justifying the expulsion is taken from a resolution adopted by the SWP Convention in 1940 which expelled the Schachtmanites, who have since degenerated into an ultra right social-democratic sect in the United States.

The text of this resolution was first presented to the National Convention of the SWP meeting in December 1937 and January 1938.

During the period of 1938 and 1940 when more and more controversy over the Russian question was beginning to emerge inside the SWP the resolution was not acted upon, chiefly because Trotsky wanted to have a very full discussion before organisational measures were invoked.

The resolution only became operative after the Schachtmanites refused to accept the Special Convention decisions of April 15, 1940, and headed for a split. This resolution on organisation has nothing to do with the present situation inside the SWP.

It was devised solely to meet the situation which had developed as a result of the long controversy over the Soviet Union in the period which it covered. The full text is contained in the documents dealing with the struggles between Schachtman and Trotsky at that time.

The first sentence of the paragraph which says 'the decisions of the National Party Convention are binding on all party members without exception and they include the discussion on all these disputed questions on which a decision has been taken', refers to the dispute on the Russian question and not to the present situation in Ceylon which has never been discussed at any time within the SWP.

The Convention referred to in the paragraph was the Convention of April 1940 and not the Convention of the SWP which met in the summer of 1963.

In other words, the terms of the arbitrary suspension are a fraud. When Trotsky sup-

ported this resolution he had in mind the need to permit the SWP to have some period for practical work after a preliminary discussion.

Under no circumstances did he envisage ruling out further discussion on the Russian question. He simply wanted to hold it back until further evidence had come to light which could be discussed anew.

The developments in Ceylon are quite different. It is not possible for a movement seriously claiming to be internationalist to avoid a discussion on what has taken place there. How else could the comrades concerned raise the question than in the manner in which they did?

They were asking for a discussion to be opened on a matter that had not previously been discussed in the SWP, especially since the events behind the Ceylon betrayal were part

of a long process of development.

Their suspension in the most brutal fashion is, in fact, a declaration that no discussion on Ceylon or anything else can take place in the SWP unless the leadership agrees. The political reasons are obvious.

The SWP can no longer be considered as a Trotskyist organisation. Its leadership is, in fact, just as politically corrupt as that of N. M. Perera and his friends who have now become supporters of imperialism.

This could well be the end of the SWP as a Trotskyist organisation in the United States, unless its membership act immediately against those who are destroying their party.

This matter is of international importance. We appeal to Trotskyists all over the world to protest immediately to the SWP of the USA against this act and demand that the suspension be lifted.

LETTER

THE article in The Newsletter 'Bankrupt Middle Class Programme leads Castro into U.S. Hands' is an admirable exposure of the class character of the Castro regime. It is becoming clear that though the initial impetus of the Cuban Revolution was provided by a proletarianised agrarian core, the Thermidor has now set in thanks to the service rendered by the Stalinists to the cause of counter-revolution by effectively immobilising the urban proletariat.

You analyse clearly the objective reasons why the bureaucratically-led USSR has played the despicable role of peacemaker between the imperialists and the Cuban Revolution.

However, I must point out a serious omission on your part, which is the analysis of the Chinese position with regard to the Cuban Revolution.

Trotskyists have no alternative but to take into account the dynamics of the inexorable class forces at play in all their connections and inter-connections. The stand that China has taken with regard to the Cuban revolution is, at face value, contrary to that taken by the USSR.

If it is admitted that both countries are degenerate workers' states, though in different stages of degeneracy, then in the final analysis it would be found that there is a similarity of interests between them with regard to all revolutions in general and the Cuban Revolution in particular.

The phenomenon of the Chinese tenaciously upholding Stalin in spite of the overwhelming evidence to prove that all the serious mistakes of Khrushchevism can be placed square on the shoulders of the USSR bureaucracy of which Stalin was only the supreme figurehead, is an unmistakable symptom of the existence of a Thermidorian bureaucracy in China itself, in spite of all the revolutionary demagoguery that ushers from its mouth.

If that be so, it becomes very important for Trotskyists not to forget to mention China's role whenever American imperialism and the revolutions in its periphery are dealt with, especially because China claims to be U.S. imperialism's chief adversary.

Sarath Kumar, Colombo, Ceylon.

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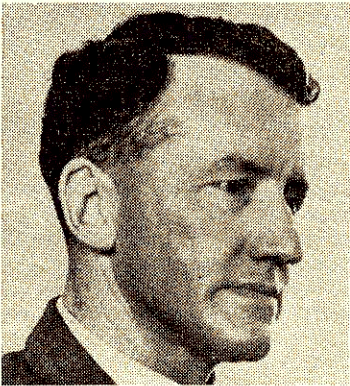
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Smith planning coup in Southern Rhodesia

Could lead to civil war

AN explosive situation is developing in Southern Rhodesia with the British press forecasting a possible coup by the present Prime Minister, Ian Smith, either just before, or just after, the October general election in Britain.



Smith: Verwoerd as ally?

The latest move by Smith to remove any kind of opposition is to appoint Mr. Clifford Dupont, recently made deputy Prime Minister, as a candidate in the Arundel constituency by-election where Sir Roy Welensky, former premier of the disbanded Federation of Rhodesia, is making a bid to return to parliament.

Welensky hopes by winning the election to return to politics as leader of the broad front Rhodesia Party, which embraces Sir Edgar Whitehead's Rhodesia National Party.

If he is defeated, then Smith will say this is an acceptance by the white minority electorate of his plans to break away from Britain and declare independence.

Talks

But first he has to visit London to discuss with Prime Minister Home. The question of independence will almost certainly remain undecided.

This will strengthen the views of Smith—and many of the country's 200,000 whites—that, to preserve their way of life, they must break with Britain and form a close alliance with Verwoerd in South Africa and with the Portuguese premier, Dr. Salazar, whose country has colonies on either side of Rhodesia.

As Colin Legum wrote in last Sunday's 'Observer' under the headline 'The Men Who Are Plotting Rebellion', Smith has the support of whites in the Rhodesian army rank and file and the police.

The officers who would support the 'Queen and country' line of Commander-in-Chief

(Old Etonian), Sir Humphrey Gibbs, could easily be replaced.

Legum states: 'If there were any signs of local resistance, its leaders would be arrested. Half a dozen detention camps for Africans and Europeans are in readiness in different parts of the country.'

Hope

There are many whites though, who, mainly for business reasons back Welensky—he, too, is campaigning for independence with a white minority government, but within the framework of the Commonwealth and all the trade protections that go with it.

The main hope of these people—the Press, professional classes, church hierarchy and the judiciary—lies in the power of a Welensky victory preventing Smith from declaring independence.

But this split amongst the whites and the tremendous effect of the actions of the Verwoerd regime on the Africans could lead, during an attempted coup, to civil war.

By that time, Home will have postponed a decision on Southern Rhodesia long enough for a new Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, who has been assuring British bosses they will be safe under a Labour government, to safeguard capitalist interests in Southern Rhodesia.

A declaration of independence or a civil war would force Wilson to send British troops to protect these interests and give strength to those who are calling for the re-introduction of conscription.

Powerful US car workers shake Wall Street

SHAREHOLDERS on Wall Street took fright over the week-end after the United Automobile Workers in the United States voted overwhelmingly to reject a wage offer made to them by General Motors, Ford and Chrysler.

On Friday, August 21, the trading volume totalled 3.48 million shares which was 320,000 less than the day before. Panicky businessmen spent much time speculating on which car factory would be hit by a strike which is expected at the end of August.

A special meeting of the Automobile workers' union executive will meet to decide which factory—General Motors, Ford or Chrysler—is to be selected for the strike.

UNREASONABLE OFFER

A wage offer made by the three firms was described by the union's president, Walter Reuther as 'unreasonable and unrealistic'.

According to the 'Financial Times' (Friday, August 21) the chances of a large stoppage were heightened since the car workers' union decided to wait until the very end of August before

planning strike action. This will leave only five days before the existing contract expires and there will be little time for negotiation.

The drop in Wall Street's car shares figures represents the fear of the car monopolists who, because of the present intense competition in the car industry internationally, would much prefer a docile working class force than one that is in conflict.

RUTHLESS BOSSES

At the same time, however, car workers can expect that the bosses in America will be extremely ruthless and it will not be a case of just a fight with the automobile bosses.

The steel employers, who were also hit by the unsettlement on Wall Street last week-end, sell a large amount of their commodities to the car industry. They can be expected to join with the car bosses in an onslaught on the American automobile workers.

The employers internationally are intent on driving down the conditions of the working class and the stand taken by the American car workers constitutes a stand against the whole of U.S. imperialism.

TSHOMBE RECRUITS WHITE SOLDIERS

CONGOLESE army agents are reported to be working in many African countries—including South Africa—recruiting white mercenaries to fight the Lumumbist rebels in the Congo.

Although Prime Minister Tshombe has denied this, a British ex-army officer confirmed in London men are being recruited for the Congolese army.

Two of the 'independent' states of Africa have called for an emergency meeting of all 'independent' African states to discuss the situation.

This follows the recalling by the country's new premier Moise Tshombe of his former Katanga gendarmerie—a tough, experienced army—the use of U.S. aircraft and now, military aid from South Africa.

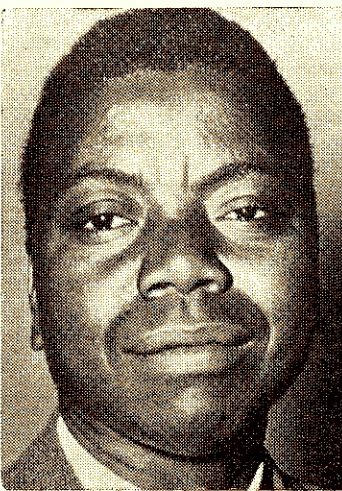
Sunday's newspapers reported that a South African air force transport aircraft landed at Leopoldville airport with 10 officers and large cases containing 'medical supplies'. A BBC correspondent said he saw machine guns in the cases.

NEED

The South Africans were welcomed by Major Gerry Puren, himself a South African, and formerly air force chief of Tshombe's Katangan air force!

The need for mercenaries, it was reported in Monday's 'Times', is because African soldiers tend to desert their white officers in a tough battle.

So, in his attempt to crush the rebels, who still hold a large



Tshombe: seeks aid from S. Africa

portion of the Kivu province, Tshombe, friend of imperialism, especially Belgian big business, turns to foreign sources.

Last week the rebel forces were able to take over Bukavu, the main eastern city of the Congo near Lake Kivu, but they were finally routed when Katangan gendarmerie reinforcements were sent in. Two American fighters, flown by anti-Castro Cubans, also attacked the rebels. Three American transport planes were also used.

Tshombe, it will be remembered, moved back into the Congo in mid-July after the United Nations troops, who had occupied the country for four years, moved out.

They left the country in turmoil with Lumumbist groups pressing the then premier, Cyrille Adoula very hard.

Tshombe has been able to take over with the aid of those people who backed him in his secessionist days and whose mineral interests he now protects by completely crushing the workers and peasants of the Congo and their movement for freedom.

Apartheid Strike

DOCKERS in Melbourne, Australia, walked off their ships on Tuesday as a protest against the country's trade with South Africa. Renewing their protest against the 'vicious apartheid policies of the Verwoerd government' 28,000 dockers took part in the stoppage which involved 37 ships after they were threatened with disciplinary action for previous strikes against apartheid.

PALMIRO TOGLIATTI, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party died at Yalta in the Crimea last week. He was the most important of the Stalinist leaders outside the Soviet Union and the conscious executor of some of Stalin's foulest crimes, such as the destruction of the Italian Communist Party in the late Twenties which led to the strengthening of fascism.

From 1936 onwards he actively participated in strangling the Spanish revolution. During the Second World War, under Stalin's guidance, he betrayed the socialist aspirations of the resistance movement in Italy, which led to the consolidation of capitalism in that country after the war.

All these acts he carried out with extraordinary skill, without a murmur of protest, although, according to his own testimony, he was conscious of what was occurring throughout.

Born on Palm Sunday, 1893, of a middle-class family, Togliatti was a brilliant student, both at school and at University—invariably standing at the top of his class. Whilst at school, he met Antonio Gramsci (who came sixth in the same class), who was to become the first leader of the Italian Communist Party.

At the founding of the Italian Communist Party, at the Livorno Congress of 1921, Togliatti played only a minor role, not being elected onto the Central Committee of the Party until 1923. In 1923, however, leadership of the Party was suddenly thrust upon him when a fascist sloop placed Bordiga under arrest, and drove Terracini into hiding, while Gramsci himself was in Moscow.

On Gramsci's return, Togliatti was put in charge of organising the party centre in exile. In 1925, he also became Italian delegate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In this capacity, he attended all Comintern congresses and Executive plenums, thus becoming very well aware of the inner party struggle in the USSR.

The conditions then prevailing inside Italy, on the other hand, meant that the illegal Communist Party was almost completely out of touch with the struggle of the Left Opposition within the Soviet Union, except for what they could glean from the fascist press and from the reports of Togliatti himself.

It was this situation which enabled Togliatti to exert the influence that he did, on Stalin's behalf, inside the Party.

Suppression of the Gramsci letter to the 15th Congress of the CPSU

In October 1926, the Political Committee of the Italian Communist Party (CPI) wrote to Togliatti, who was then attending the 15th Congress of the Soviet Party, a very confused letter expressing concern at the inner party struggle in the Russian party, demanding unity in the party and an end to the attacks on Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev, 'who have greatly contributed towards our revolutionary education'.

Togliatti's reply evaded the issue. He quite correctly pointed out that 'unity' as such was not necessarily desirable and that there were real and fundamental issues at stake that had to be fought out. But he did not say what the issues were, thus making it impossible for the Italian party to reach any sort of clarity on the question.

Togliatti, on the advice of Bukharin, suppressed this letter from the Congress, although Gramsci, one of the authors, had intended that it should be discussed there. (Togliatti subsequently published it only in 1964, less than three months before his death.)

In 1926, Gramsci was gaoled by the fascists, and was to die in prison a few years later. Ignazio Silone then took over the organisational work inside Italy.

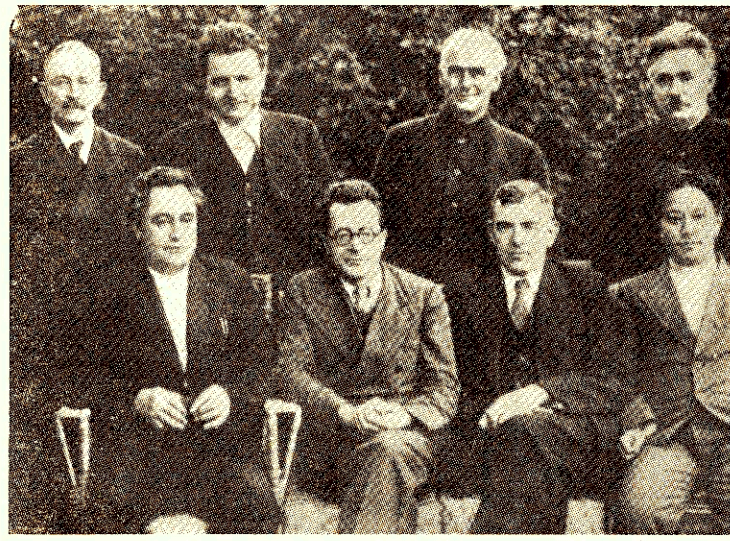
The Eighth Plenum of ECCI

In May 1927, Silone and Togliatti attended the Eighth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Third Communist International. At a meeting of selected delegates to prepare the plenary session, Thaelmann, the leader of the German Communist Party and chairman, read out a proposed resolution condemning Trotsky as an enemy of the working class, because of a document he had written criticising party policy.

Silone, thinking that he had arrived late for the meeting, asked if he could read the document so that he could be in the same position as the others, able to criticise the document. Thaelmann then replied that no one outside the Soviet delegation had read it.

But, because of Silone's objection, the session was postponed for 24 hours to enable the Italian delegation to understand the issues.

In the interval before the next session, great pressure was put on the two Italians to get them to change their minds. Neither of them would: their point being that they could not condemn a docu-



At the 7th Congress of the Comintern, Summer 1935. Front row, l. to r.: Dimitrov, Togliatti, Florin, Chen Shao-yu (Wang Ming). Back row, l. to r.: Kuusinen, Gottwald, Pieck, Manuilsky.

Togliatti (1893-1964) Stalin's servant

By Peter Arnold

ment they had not seen.

In the next session, they maintained the position, and their lead was followed by the French, Swiss and Spanish delegates. Stalin then stated that as there was no unanimity on the resolution, it would not be put to the plenary session.

The rest of the preparatory meeting was given over to invectives against the Italian party by Kuusinen and Rakosi, while Thaelmann stated that it would appear that the maintenance of power by the fascists in Italy must be because the Communist Party's policy was bankrupt as it had just revealed itself!

In the plenary session that followed, Togliatti unsuccessfully intervened to gain admittance for Zinoviev, who had been excluded on the grounds that he had resigned his membership.

Both Togliatti and Silone also took up a position sympathetic to Trotsky. Like Stalin, his master, Togliatti was forced to proceed very cautiously with his Italian comrades.

Before leaving Moscow, after the Congress he suggested drawing up a letter to the Russian Politburo in which he stated that although no communist questioned the historical predominance of the Russian party in the Comintern, this imposed special responsibilities on the Russians, who should not apply their rights in a mechanical and authoritarian way. But, once again, on Bukharin's advice, the letter was not presented.

On their return journey, Silone stopped in Berlin to find the newspapers full of the resolution 'passed' by the Executive Committee of the Communist International condemning Trotsky for his critical document (this was subsequently published in Trotsky's 'Problems of the Chinese Revolution').

Silone confronted Thaelmann with this lie, to be told that the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International had the right to act in the name of that body in cases of emergency, and Thaelmann had simply done that.

Togliatti's refusal to carry discussion into the party . . .

In an article in 'Unita' of January 6, 1950, Togliatti confirmed Silone's account, '... the matter did take place as Silone narrates . . . but I do not understand how this meeting can be produced as evidence that the 'Russian leadership was riddled with intrigues and manoeuvres against any independent expression from other affiliated parties' . . . for when some delegations objected . . . the resolution was withdrawn.'

No mention of the method involved—the condemnation of political positions unexamined and the 'passing' of the resolution that was 'withdrawn' in the interests of unanimity.

These are minor details to Togliatti in his covering up for Stalin for, as he continues in the same article, 'As to who was right, history has decided: the line that Stalin defended on the Chinese revolution has carried Mao Tse-tung to the victories that we all know about. Trotsky is besmirched with treachery. . . The lies follow one another at ever-increasing pace.'

On his return to Italy, Silone was so demoralised by the experience that he was incapable of providing any real leadership in the Party and was soon in semi-retirement, keeping only formal membership of the Party.

In these circumstances, Togliatti alone had both the abilities and the information necessary to carry the Comintern discussion into the CPI and fight for theoretical clarity in its ranks. **But this is just what he did not do.**

In discussions with Silone after their return, he reaffirmed the position he had taken up in Moscow, but refused to inform the Party. A Comintern directive had been issued for an investigation into the activities of the Italian Party, and Togliatti expressed the fear that they would meet the fate of the Spanish Communist Party.

(This had been dissolved the previous year after the majority had opposed the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the reconstruction of a new party entrusted to the Salinist minority. Togliatti saw a similar threat to his position from the Longo-Secchia group.)

To avoid any more involvement, Togliatti turned over his position as Comintern representative to Antonio Tasca, whom he detested and regarded as a rival, in the hope that the threatened investigation would centre on him.

. . . leads to its collapse

In 1929, with the initiation of the 'Third Period', Tasca returned from Moscow to demand that the Communist Party take a stand against the liquidation of the Allies, by revealing once again the threat of the Italian working class.

This line did not correspond at all to the conditions in fascist Italy and could only lead to demoralisation and confusion in the party. **But once again, Togliatti refused to carry the discussion into the Party.**

His association with Bukharin staved off the investigation by the Executive Committee of the Communist International until 1930, when the Stalinist faction turned on the right wing of the party after having defeated the left. In that year, it was announced that the Executive Committee of the Communist International condemned all the work of the Italian party since 1924 as based on completely erroneous theory and practice.

The clandestine party was completely unprepared theoretically to deal with the demoralisation that followed this announcement. Three leading members of the Party, Alfonso Leonetti, who was responsible for the illegal press, Paolo Ravazzoli, responsible for the Party's trade union work and Pietro Tresso, in charge of Party organisation, set up an opposition group, in support of Trotsky's position.

But the basic issues had never been clarified either by the leadership or by the rank and file. As a result, the opposition was unable to save the party from confusion and demoralisation. It did not recover from this blow. The opposition, together with Tasca, was expelled, was not able to establish its own party, and fascism emerged stronger.

With great dexterity, Togliatti used this disaster for his own personal advancement.

The opposition grouping were offered to Stalin as responsible for the 'Bukharinist errors' in the Italian Party (although the opposition was, in fact, Trotskyist by declaration). They were blamed for the collapse of the Party. Togliatti (or Ercoli as he was known) himself then rose to become secretary of the Comintern in 1935, together with Manuilsky, Dimitrov and Kuusinen.

Murders in Spain and USSR

In 1936, at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, he was sent to Spain to take up the leadership of the Spanish Party.

According to Jesus Hernandez, who was on the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party throughout this period, all the major decisions of the Party were taken by Togliatti and, if necessary, imposed on the Spanish Central Committee, as was, for example, the initiation of the attack on Largo Caballero and the covering up of the murder of Andres Nin.

Togliatti remained in control of the Spanish Party throughout, only leaving Madrid by plane three hours before the fascists entered the city. Thus all the Stalinist murders of the civil war were not only known to him, but carried out under his orders.

In 1937, Togliatti maintained his, by now, traditional silence on Stalin's policies when he watched the entire colony of Italian refugees in Moscow disappear into the Soviet concentration camps—including his own brother-in-law. (His silence in this case was maintained even when the brother-in-

law reappeared a few years later with his teeth missing and a back injury.)

He watched all those with whom he had worked on the Comintern disappear, or face false charges, without uttering a single word. Yet if any one knew the falsity of the charges and the scale of the murders, he did.

In 1942, he continued this work logically, when he assisted at the meeting that wound up the Communist International, appending his signature to the document.

From Ercoli to Mario Correnti

In the same year he began a series of broadcasts on Radio Moscow directed towards Italy, under the name of Mario Correnti. The main theme of these broadcasts was an appeal to all sections of the community to oppose fascism and a free pardon was promised to all fascists who joined the anti-fascist front.

One such broadcast, reproduced in 'World News' for May 22, 1943, says 'among officers in the army and navy, monarchist circles, industrialists and intelligentsia, and in the fascist party, there is a growing number of those who realise the necessity for Italy to break with Germany before it is too late. . . .'

This broadcast contains within it all the features of Togliatti's future role in re-establishing Italian capitalism after the Mussolini.

By 1943, with the break-up of fascism, the Italian working class was taking up the fight once again. March 1943 had seen mass strikes in the North followed by great unrest. In July of the same year, the King dismissed Mussolini and appointed Badoglio to head a government of technicians. On September 8, the King signed an armistice with the Allies.

It was clear that the Italian ruling class realised that its only chance of survival lay with agreement with the American ruling class. The strikes of March 1943 accelerated the move towards the Allies, by revealing once again the threat of the Italian working class.

Yet this policy of the Italian ruling class to prove itself 'anti-fascist' was precisely what Togliatti was plugging in his broadcasts from Moscow.

Once again the Italian working class rises . . .

On March 1, 1944, a strike call was issued to all workers in the North, which by then was under the direct rule of the Gestapo. The call was followed by a general strike, which lasted a week, despite all the measures the Nazi's could devise to drive the workers back to work.

The local communist leaders launched a manifesto stating that the old ruling class had failed and that the resistance had to carry out a revolutionary task.

In the same month, the 'Action Party', a centrist party founded in 1942, issued a statement to the effect that the resistance partisans were a revolutionary army, that the Councils of Liberation were the only government of Italy, and that the war was not solely to defend Italian soil, but the armed vanguard to make a new free Italy.

On March 13, 1944, six days after the end of the general strike in the North, during which the workers had affirmed their support for revolutionary action, the Soviet government recognised Badoglio as the legal government of Italy. The British and American governments had not dared to do this until then for fear of provoking a revolution.

. . . to be betrayed again

A few days later, Togliatti returned to Italy and immediately joined Badoglio's government, before any member of any bourgeois party had done so. On April 21, the bourgeois parties followed his lead, enabling Badoglio to form his 'government of six parties'.

On April 11, the new line was imposed on the Communist Party in the Naples speech, where Togliatti stated that there could be no question of opposing the monarchy until the war was over and again invited all classes to join in the united front.

According to 'The Times' report of the speech: 'He read out with telling effect a list of names of persons recently executed and sentenced by fascists in Turin as leaders of the movement of liberation. They included generals, colonels, a university professor, and a bookseller, as well as artisans and clerks. "There," he said, "you see the picture of a united Italy for which we are working."

'The speech,' continues 'The Times,' 'which was most moderate in tone, might have gone down well at a meeting of any of the democratic parties.' Yet nowhere is there a mention of the revolutionary fight in the North, or of the general strike which had taken place just a month before the speech.

More murders of militants, but pardon for fascists

This line was not accepted by all the party, but those who did oppose it were dealt with by the

Craftsmen accept SCOW pay offer

PROJECTILES SELL OUT TO GKN

WHEN Projectiles (Battersea, London) engineering company announced earlier this year that it was going to recognise its responsibilities and move to an area of large unemployment, no one was fooled by these hand over heart statements.

Now, only six months after, Projectiles have allowed themselves to be bought out for £1,750,000 by the steel giant, Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds.

Of course no one was fooled by the talk about 'responsibilities'. It is a well-known fact that firms moving up North into unemployment areas are awarded substantial grants by the government. Could it be that Projectiles has now found a better proposition than just a grant?

Union officials met to discuss the future situation with the management. The workers' main fear now is that immediate redundancies will follow the take-over—13,000 engineering workers have been sacked from 25 London factories in the last two years.

TUC

From page 1

the Tories to bring in legislation which will 'clarify' the position.

Instead, yet another inquiry into the whole position of the unions is threatened. This will, of course, undermine the unions and put pressure on their leaders. Meanwhile, as on every other issue of importance, Wilson remains silent.

The legal rights of the trade unions were won in bitter struggles. In the last resort they can only be defended by political and industrial power of organised labour.

Woodcock and company hate and fear that power as much as the ruling class does. Their aim is to adapt the movement to the needs of capital.

In the coming period of transition to automated industry, monopolies need a docile, disciplined working class. That is why the union bosses and the Labour Party leaders witch-hunt left-wingers, militant shop stewards and Young Socialists and so weaken the ability of the union to withstand the employers' attack.

Only by organising a Marxist leadership prepared to unite all sections of the working class against the power of the monopolies can the future of the unions be defended.

Bosses attempt to weaken Lanarkshire steelworkers

SIXTY craftsmen struck work at the Gartcosh, Lanarkshire steel mill owned by Colville's Ltd. last week. The management claimed that the stoppage forced them to close down the Gartcosh mill and lay off 500 workers. Any prolonged strike, they said, would endanger the jobs of 2,000 workers at their Ravenscraig works which supplies steel plate for use in the cold rolling process at Gartcosh.

The craftsmen were previously on strike in June this year over the sacking of a machine operator who refused to do work outside his normal duties.

TROUBLE

Last week's strike was caused by the use of one of the slingers to do work normally done by the riggers, who are members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. The men claim that this action is only one example of deliberate stirring up of trouble by lower management.

There is no doubt that the management's action at Gartcosh was yet another attempt to weaken the organisation of

Management demand 'free hand' to reorganise plant

By Eric Neilson

PORT TALBOT, MONDAY

UNION leaders are dragging workers at the Steel Company of Wales along a road that can only end in defeat.

A mass meeting of 1,300 Amalgamated Engineering Union fitters at the Abbey Works decided on Saturday to accept in principle SCOW's latest pay offer. This offer allows for a £2 a week pay rise payable in three stages: an immediate 10s. per week rise backdated to February, and another £1 rise next February followed by the outstanding 10s. at a date yet to be agreed.

But let no one imagine that this means a softening in the attitude of the SCOW management towards their workers. Quite the opposite, for behind their 'generosity' lies the big catch.

In return for the wage rise they are demanding complete surrender by the unions on the vital questions now facing SCOW workers.

They are demanding a 'free hand' in the reorganisation of the firm and the re-deployment of labour.

This is why Saturday's decision is so serious. The most shameful aspect is that the union leaders, who must be held responsible for that acceptance, are fully aware of what is at stake.

The 'Daily Worker' on Monday shamelessly announced that the fitters had rejected the offer. Once again they completely cloak an impending sell-out by 'left-wing' leaders like Will Paynter (CP secretary of the National Union of Mine-workers), who has completely capitulated to the NCB on the question of wages, speed-up, redundancy and automation.

Negotiations

It was Tal Lloyd, self-styled left-winger and the AEU's Divisional Organiser, who gave the news of the acceptance to pressmen after the meeting.

He announced that they had decided to accept in order to allow further negotiations to take place with the company. But he knows quite well that the company's mind is already made up. If not, how can he explain these, his own words:

'The company are seeking greater mobility among craft so that their skills may be exploited to the maximum advantage; flexibility of craft, and that is a very deep problem, and thirdly, re-

organisation of mates.'

Could this be any clearer? He goes on:

'We are not directly affected from the membership angle on the question of mates. The fact is that there will be a change of practice in the sense that where as now a mate is allied to a craftsman, mates will only be available as and when required, depending on the type of job.'

Rumours

Port Talbot is full of rumours that as many as 60 per cent of the mates may be laid off in the near future.

'While our members are not averse to change,' Lloyd went on, 'they are watching closely the consequences of change. There must be no involvement as far as the displacement of people is concerned, and the company have given an assurance that there will be only painless redundancy.'

But just what is painless redundancy?

For workers in Port Talbot, the sack would be a painful experience. Knowing this, all Tal Lloyd can do is give the company some advice about how much anaesthetic to use in order to carry out the operation as 'painlessly' as possible.

This is how he puts it: 'But I can say categorically that the amount the company has offered is totally inadequate if they are expecting from us the reorganisation they have documented.'

In other words, increase the bribe and maybe it can be done.

If they are to fight effectively against redundancy, SCOW workers must rid themselves of this 'leadership' which is showing its eagerness to collaborate with the company in the fulfilment of its plans.

● A pay rise—Yes! But without strings attached!

● No concessions in an all-out fight against redundancy!

Industrial Newsletter

Denby's announce gigantic profits

Reasons for union-breaking clear by Geoff Penn

REASONS behind the union-busting at Denby's dyeworks, near Bradford, became even clearer with the announcement last week of a £60,000 rise in profits and an increase in dividend of 25 per cent for the year ended June 30.

The trading profit for the year was £166,546 compared with £106,161 for the previous year. The precise meaning of these figures is as yet difficult to assess as the balance sheet has not been published.

But there is no doubt that the company must have saved a lot through the substantial cut in the wages bill following the sacking of all 250 employees and the employment of scab labour since October 30 last year.

EARNINGS

Wright, the managing director, claims to be paying 50 per cent over union rates to the blacklegs, but as one of the union pickets explained:

'That means nothing. No dye men are paid simply a basic wage. We have all worked on piece rates for years. Our weekly earnings must have averaged at somewhere around 100 per cent above the basic union wage.'

If production is being maintained at the same level with half the labour force and taking into account the new machinery which has been installed, then, as a locked-out worker put it: 'Those blacklegs in there must be running around like madmen to make him that sort of profit. No wonder they need cars and vans to take them home.'

'BOAST'

When told of the increase in profits Leonard Sharpe, general secretary of the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile workers commented:

'There doesn't seem much to boast about here. They may think it is clever to increase their profits by 70 per cent but there is something more in life than profits—there are the lives of the men and women they sacked last October and their families.'

Speaking of the way in which the strike started Sharpe added:

'No reasonable employer would have acted in this way. If the management had some problem, then they could have had the co-operation of the union officer if they had sought it.'

Last week Denby's announced a 70 per cent rise in profits for the year ending June 30. They also declared a final dividend of 25 per cent (making 30 per cent for the year) compared with five per cent last year. Commented manager Wright: 'We are satisfied. We have no further plans for meeting the unions. With results like these, why should we?'

Sharpe's remarks are an insult to the workers who have manned the picket line outside Denby's for 10 months.

To suggest that the management could ever be 'reasonable' is ridiculous. Sharpe merely regards the unions as a machine for co-operating with, rather than fighting the bosses for better conditions.

The Denby case cannot be seen as an isolated case in an otherwise peaceful industry. Wright's announcement will act as an incentive to other employers in the textile and allied trades to smash all trade union organisation.

Sharpe's pious statement will give the employers confidence for their union smashing tactics.

The lesson of Denby's is that without a fight to establish their own leadership the union rank and file cannot win its struggles. No union leadership can be removed without the determination to carry a dispute through to the end.

This is the task that now faces the 120 men now locked out at Denby's.

HELD PIT MEETING—SENT HOME

ON Tuesday 100 miners at Polkemet pit, Whitburn, were sent home after holding a pithead meeting to discuss the downgrading of four men. At the end of the meeting they went to the pithead to go underground, but because they were not already down the pit when the starting hooter sounded, they were turned away as latecomers.

Togliatti

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bureaucratic methods that Togliatti had perfected in Spain.

Temistocle Vaccarella, leader of the 'Red Star' group was found murdered in June 1944, not long after the Communist Party had issued a warning that 'the small fry adventurers belonging to "Red Star" will be unmasked as agents-provocateurs of the Trotsky faction and will be treated as such.'

The same fate met Mario Acquaviva, leader of the International Communist Party, which had broken from the Communist Party in 1940, after indicting the Italian Party for opportunism.

Whilst supervising the murder of those working class militants who opposed his policies, Togliatti carried out the good work of re-uniting the ruling class from his new position as Minister of Justice. This enabled him to grant liberal pardons to all those fascists who jumped on the bandwagon, as he had promised in his Moscow broadcasts.

After the elections of 1946, the bourgeoisie in Italy was still not strong enough to rule, although the immediate threat of civil war was now averted. It was only through a coalition of the Christian-Democrats, the Republicans, the Socialists and the Communists that the capitalist class could continue.

Accordingly, Togliatti led the 104 Communist MPs into the government benches, accepting a ministry for himself.

Agreement with the church and strike breaking

It was as minister in this government of de Gasperi, that he signed and approved the incorporation into the constitution of the Lateran Treaties, drawn up by Mussolini and Pope Pius XII before the war.

These stated that 'The state and the Catholic Church are, each in its own sphere, independent and sovereign.' This treaty, was of great importance to the ruling class, as a failure to reach any agreement with the Vatican had been a major source of weakness before the fascist regime.

The task of reconsolidating capitalism completed, the Stalinists withdrew their support in 1947 moving into loyal 'opposition'. Togliatti's main role became that of strike breaker, whenever any working class activity threatened to unleash class battles that had been so bitter in the past.

In 1947, he called off the general strike and rioting that followed the arbitrary dismissal by the government of the socialist mayor of Milan. In 1948, he did the same in the strikes and riots that followed the right-wing attempts to assassinate Togliatti himself; in 1960, once again when riots followed Tambroni's step of bringing the fascist party back into the government alliance.

The verdict of the authoritative right-wing paper 'Corriere della Sera' on the events of 1947 is 'it is not true to say that Bartali saved the situation. It was Togliatti who, once again, imposed the Togliatti line, which, in its turn, was Stalin's line.'

On Stalin's death in March 1953, Togliatti said: 'We know just how

Workers to strike on September 30 at Remington

PAISLEY District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union decided last week-end to call a strike of the 630 engineering workers at Remington Rand typewriter factory, Hillington, Scotland, on September 30, in support of the demand for the reinstatement of their convenor, Calum McKay who was dismissed from his job five months ago.

At that time the Remington workers came out solidly in support of McKay and insisted that his dismissal was an act of victimisation by the firm. For five weeks they remained on strike, finally returning to work on the advice of AEU national officials, to allow negotiations to take place.

Although the Paisley District Committee declared its support for the strike, no attempt was made to bring out other engineering workers in the area in support of the Remington workers. That this support could have been won, had it been fought for by determined leadership, was indicated by the fact that a half-day token stoppage in solidarity with the Remington strikers received wide support by engineering workers from factories throughout the Clyde area.

The matter was referred to a procedure conference in York in July, but the Remington employers refused to budge.

Leics. Hosiery Workers Strike For New Rate

INDIAN, Pakistan and local workers at the Mansfield Hosiery Mills, Loughborough in Leicestershire struck on Monday, August 17, over a rate for a special operation—fixed by the Loughborough district secretary of the National Union of Hosiery Workers, L. Gascoigne.

The strikers refused to return, despite persuasion from Gascoigne, until the firm, in an attempt to intimidate them, sent them their insurance cards through the post saying they assumed they had left.

After meeting with Gascoigne and George Deering, president of the Hosiery Workers' Union the workers decided to return. The two officials and four strikers will discuss the dispute with the management.

Toilet Trouble—1

ON Thursday 50 workers at Rutherglen Burgh Cleansing Department walked out claiming that one of their workmates is being victimised. The worker concerned is employed on a dustcart and states that because he used an outside toilet the foreman accused him of wasting time and threatened to put him on work sweeping the streets. The matter has been referred for discussion with union officials.

Toilet Trouble—2

AT a bakery in Rutherglen 50 women and girls held a one-day strike, also on the question of the right to use toilet facilities.

These workers, employed by J. Paterson, oatcake manufacturers, claim that they are permitted to use the toilet only during their mid-morning break of ten minutes. To use the toilet at any other time they have to get permission and produce a medical certificate. There is no tea break in the afternoon.

The girls returned to work so that negotiations could take place between the Scottish Union of Bakers and Confectioners and the employers.

Factory too Cold—Girls Walk Out

TWENTY of the 120 girls employed at Port Glasgow by the tentmaking firm of Thomas Black Sons (Greenock) Ltd., walked out of the factory last Wednesday complaining that they were too cold and remained off work for the rest of the day. An official of the firm admitted that the girls were within their rights since the temperature where they were working was below the required temperature of 60° F.

grave and irreparable the loss of Stalin is for the people of the USSR for us and for all humanity. . . . The legacy which he left in doctrine and in political activity, the mark which he made on the minds and hearts of mankind are too deep to be erased by this loss.'

Yet just three years later, after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he gave an interview to the paper 'Nuovi Argomenti' which proved once again that he had been conscious throughout of the degeneration that Stalinism represented.

Admission of guilt

In this interview, he spoke of 'the accumulation of the phenomena of bureaucracy, of violation of the law, of stagnation and, partially, degeneration in different parts of the social organism'.

And again, 'Above all we recall that Lenin in his last speeches and writings, emphasised the danger of bureaucracy which was threatening the new society. It seems unquestionable that Stalin's errors were linked with an excessive increase in the weight of the bureaucratic apparatus of the economic life and political system and above all in the life of the party.'

He even analyses the conditions for the rise of the bureaucracy: 'the first years after the revolution, then, were terrible years, tough and of super-human objective difficulty, of foreign intervention, of war and civil war. . . . In this period it was inevitable that things should happen as in war. . . . But Lenin, as we can see from a letter addressed to Dzerzhinsky, and now made public, foresaw that a change should be made when the counter-revolution and foreign in-

tervention had been completely defeated.'

Then in this period, he continues 'there broke out a struggle between groups which held different views concerning the building of the socialist economy.'

Here is the old, agile Togliatti, surviving yet another change. His analysis of the bureaucracy is striking, but he fails to mention both that it is very similar to Trotsky's, or that he, Togliatti was conscious of it at the time, and did not have to wait for the publication of the letter to Dzerzhinsky.

Neither does he mention the content of the struggle between the two groups in the party, nor what his role was at the time.

In fact he goes on to say that Stalin made a positive contribution at this time, thus denying all that he had said before.

This interview, like his whole life, reveals a conscious cynic, fighting to retain power in the party.

After his death, Togliatti had achieved the taming of the Italian working class and the conversion of the Italian Communist Party, which was born out of the seizure of the factories by the Italian workers in 1920, into a tame version of the British Labour Party.

Yet the problems for the Italian working class remain and his death opens new prospects for the creation of a new revolutionary party in Italy to carry forward the work of the workers who seized the factories in 1920 and who carried out a general strike under Nazi rule in 1944, to proclaim their support for revolution: the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers' power.