

Cambodia and Vietnam

Trade union action is essential

BY MICHAEL BANDA

What we think

Workers show their voting strength

THE borough election results confirm the trend of a return to Labour by working-class voters.

Towns where the Tories lost control on Thursday's poll include Barrow, Doncaster, Darlington and Newcastle-under-Lyme. Labour increased its lead in Sheffield, which it held by only one seat in 1967.

All comparisons are with 1967, the worst results for Labour in any post-war local elections.

Traditional Labour voters had abstained on a massive scale, disillusioned with Wilson's policies of capitulation to the employers.

The swing against the Tories has nothing to do with any growth in the popularity of Wilson's policies.

It reflects the movement in the trade unions which forced the government to retreat last year on the question of anti-union legislation, and which has won substantial wage increases in an effort to keep up with rising prices since then.

The Tories claim to have held ground more successfully in marginal areas, and this may be true.

The appearance of freak groups like Scottish and Welsh Nationalists three years ago is now replaced by a clearer line-up of class forces.

The danger of the return of the Tories at a General Election—which may now be quite soon—is the question moving workers to vote Labour. But it is here that the issue of leadership and socialist policies is decisive.

We have no wish to join in the speculation about the timing or the result of a General Election.

The dangers to the workers' movement of the return of the Tories in this period of deepening world economic crisis are clear.

But the main question is the preparation of the working class for the struggles into which it is now thrust.

The rise in the Labour vote is important only as an indication of the opportunities for Marxist leadership to develop, whether Labour wins the election or not.

Those who call for workers to abstain at the polls, and those who once again ask for 'unity' behind Wilson, are equally guilty of politically disarming the working class in this situation.

We say: vote for the Labour candidates, keep out the Tories. But step up the fight for socialist policies and revolutionary leadership.

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The purpose of all pacifist protest and pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering on Vietnam—and there will be plenty of it this weekend—is to separate the problem of the deepening economic crisis, which is radicalizing millions of workers, from the problems of war and peace which have so far been monopolized by the middle class.

The obsessive fear of the middle-class protesters in Britain and the USA is that the working class will begin to see the connection between inflation and unemployment at home and militarism and colonialism abroad—and act on it.

When the working class is allowed to enter the arena of the protest movement it is allowed to do so only under the banner of the middle class.

Thus when the National Guard was used to break the mailmen's strike there were no protests and no support from the protesters.

Never then, nor during the ghetto repressions, was the demand ever raised for the disarming of the Guard or for any break with the Democratic and Republican parties which dominate state and federal legislatures in America.

During five years of protest the protest leaders have made certain that the working class remains hog-tied to the capitalist political system. There is no ground for believing that they will do otherwise today—despite their ultra-revolutionary talk about overthrowing Nixon and Agnew.

Sinister

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Sheffield students call 1-day strike

SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY students' union voted overwhelmingly at its general meeting on Thursday for a one-day strike and demonstration on Wednesday, May 13, in solidarity with American students fighting the Vietnam war.

The meeting, attended by more than 200 people, also called on the executive of the National Union of Students to organize a national day of student action against the British government's complicity in

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INDEFINITE

All insisted that they were opposed to both Nixon's Cambodian invasion and the whole strategy of US imperialism in SE Asia.

One expressed the views of many when he pointed out that despite Nixon's claim that the invasion was to last six weeks at the most, many of them would be in Cambodia indefinitely. What has begun in a small way in this platoon will spread very rapidly to other units.

FRAUD

'Vietnamization', the catchword used to placate the restless rank and file has proved to be a fraud. Thousands of US servicemen now face a new and equally bitter war in Cambodia—and possibly Laos, now threatened by Nixon's latest thrust into NE Cambodia.

Thousands of US servicemen support the anti-war demonstrators back home, and Nixon's war on the campuses will only add more fuel to the smouldering rebellion inside the Cambodian invasion force.

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The students also called on the district committees of the engineering and transport unions and the Trades and Labour Council to consider action along similar lines.

The demonstration will start from Western Bank, Sheffield, at 1 p.m. and will follow a course round the city centre.



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Several people were injured, including a 15-year-old boy taken to hospital with head injuries.

A neighbour told Workers Press that the police had punched women in the chest and indiscriminately attacked children and old people.

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He and his wife have five children, four boys and a Michelle, an eight-year-old girl who is mentally handicapped.

Michelle needs a garden to play in, but the GLC have refused to rehouse the Whitmees in a flat with a garden.

Shocked

Mr Whitmee was not available for comment yesterday as he is now under contract to the Fleet Street News Agency.

However, next-door neighbour Mrs Brenda McDonough, whose flat has become an

Lynch and Devlin oppose working-class action

THE 'gun-running' crisis in the Dublin parliament has dramatically unmasked the real role of the Lynch government in the South of Ireland—policing partition on behalf of British imperialism.

It now appears that the alleged 'plot'—for which two cabinet Ministers were sacked and a third resigned—was originally uncovered by the British secret service agencies MI5 and MI6. Scotland Yard's Special Branch was also involved.

Interpol, according to press reports, was called in to investigate arms buying on the continent.

Festering

Meanwhile, in Dublin, despite Lynch's attempts to close the ranks of the ruling Fianna Fail party, the split in Irish ruling class continues to fester.

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STAVE OFF

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But, like the television fantasy, the plan has more sinister implications. Lever has included proposals for government acquisition of a 50 per cent interest in the company which, as 'The Times' put it, 'at some stage in the future... might be put in trust for the employees or dealt with in a similar way'.

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Speed-up and an onslaught against so-called restrictive practices were quickly followed by the threat of massive sackings. This, the logic of capitalist shipbuilding, could well become the pattern at Cammell Laird's.

As Lever told the Commons on Thursday: 'We have rescued this com-

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More ports speed-up report says

CONTAINER ports will need more capital investment, more managerial skill and more efficient operation 'if Britain is not to become an offshore island', claims a National Ports Council report published yesterday.

Attempting to provide more fuel for the employers' speed-up drive, the report warns that a 10-per-cent slower rate of working in British ports compared with European ports could make direct calls here by the fast 14-day round voyage ships uneconomic.

'If delays become significant', it says, 'the cost of an additional call at the time-losing port could rise to such an extent that transshipment would be preferable.'

Italy: Union leaders prepare retreat

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These concern housing, health, taxes, social security and transport, as well as a call for curbs on important commodities.

The decision accords perfectly with the designs of the Communist Party leadership to 'recall' the employers to 'a sense of their responsibilities'.

A joint statement issued on Wednesday represents a retreat, it threatens 'an inevitable sharpening of the struggle if the government doesn't come up with "specific replies".'

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'Good will'

Having brought out the working class of the whole of Italy in the regional strikes of recent weeks, the policies of the union leaders—Stalinist, Catholic and Social Democratic—now turn on the hope of a display of 'good will' by the government.

The effect can only be to provide Rumor and the band of political confidence tricksters in his cabinet with a sorely-needed breathing space.

Yet no formula will or can be found to lift the enormous pressure of the working class from the 'political arena'.

The meeting on reforms will take place during a 24-hour national railway strike. The determination of railwaymen has forced the Minister of Transport to abandon all attempts to provide skeleton services during the stoppage.

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Government employees, post and telecommunications workers and teachers will all strike during the coming week.

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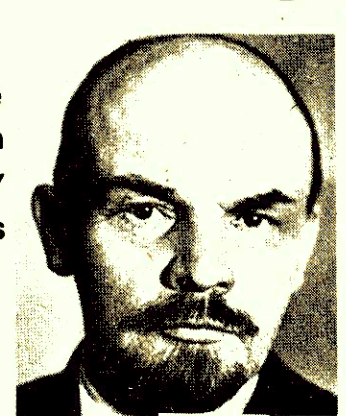
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partition is reopened, the clearer it becomes the only revolutionary action by the working class, in complete and irreconcilable hostility to imperialism.

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The more the question of imperialism and its secret police, can solve the Irish question.

Callaghan, whose troops have clamped an iron guard on northern workers, welcomed Lynch's statement that he had no intention of using force to end partition.

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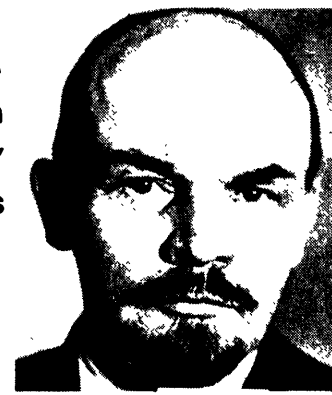
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THE TEXT of Leonid Brezhnev's speech of April 21 to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party contains an ominous warning that must be heeded and countered by Trotskyists throughout the world. Below Robert Black analyses the speech.

THE KEY passage of Brezhnev's speech, ostensibly on the theme of the Lenin centenary, reads:

venting communists from making full use of the possibilities of the revolutionary struggle.

Adventurism

"This refers to the policy of the "left" opportunists, including Trotskyists, who seek to replace the scientifically substantiated Marxist line of the revolutionary movement by adventurism... One of the

features of the present stage of the revolutionary struggle is that in many cases both a right and "left" opportunism intertwine with nationalistic trends.

"In the present epoch, when the international class struggle has grown extremely acute, the danger of right and "left" deviations and of nationalism in the communist movement

has grown more tangible than ever before. The struggle against right and "left" opportunism and nationalism cannot, therefore, be conducted as a campaign calculated only for some definite span of time. The denunciation of opportunism of all kinds has been and continues to be an immutable law for all Marxist-Leninist parties." ("Soviet News", April 28, p. 46. Emphasis added.)

These carefully measured words mean only one thing. Not only is the struggle against Trotskyism an 'immutable law' for all Stalinist parties—that has been the case for more than 40 years.

having prevented the Stalinist parties from 'making the full use of the possibilities of revolutionary struggle' is barely worth refutation.

If the French Stalinists had managed to carry through their chosen line in March and April of 1968 of walling off the working class from the revolutionary students, there would have been no May-June general strike, no wage increases and no defeat of de Gaulle in the referendum a year later.

Right up to the one-day strike of May 13, they were denouncing Trotskyist and other student militants as fascists.

It was precisely the ability of the numerically small forces of the Trotskyist movement to mobilize the youth and sections of the working class independently of the Stalinist bureaucracy in France that forced the CGT leadership's hand and compelled them, against their wishes and interests, to call a token strike in defence of those they had previously been slandering as fascists.

Alarm

It is this 'weakness' and 'difficulty', as much a product of working-class militancy as the direct work of Trotskyists, that forces Brezhnev to sound the alarm.

May-June 1968 was a close call for both French capitalism and the Soviet bureaucracy.

For after May-June came the offensive of the Czechoslovak working class against Stalinism, an offensive that could only be crushed by the use of Soviet tanks and infantry.

Trotskyism can no longer be presented as isolated from the workers' movement. Its programme now takes on real meaning and relevance for thousands of workers previously dominated by either the social-democratic or Stalinist bureaucracies.

Significantly, there has been scant reference in any of the 'Lenin centenary' meetings in Moscow to the role of the reformists.

The main fire has been directed at Trotskyism. That is both a tribute—and a warning to the Fourth International.

The claim that Trotskyists



Brezhnev

Brezhnev and company mean what they say when they slander Trotskyism. That is the one part of their speeches that we must take seriously.

Brezhnev's words to heart. Measured in terms of the success of Trotskyism, they have experienced more than their fair share of 'weaknesses and difficulties'.

Many more

We must see to it that they have many more.

Stalinism constantly proclaims its desire to co-exist peacefully with the enemies of the working class and the colonial peoples.

For the real Leninists of today, the Fourth International, they have nothing but fear and hatred.

'Difficulties'

We can be sure that despite all their internal problems and differences, the leaders of British Stalinism will take

Kremlin launches anti-Trotskyist campaign

SATURDAY TV

BBC 1	ITV	REGIONAL ITV
9.35 a.m. Square two. 10.00 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.30-11.00 Wie bitte? 12.40 p.m. Weather. 12.45 Grandstand featuring the Rugby League cup final: Castleford v. Wigan. 1.00 Amateur boxing. 1.20, 1.50, 2.25 Kempton Park racing. 1.35, 2.05, 3.45 Athletics: Oxford v. Cambridge. 2.40 Rugby League Cup final. 5.05 Results service. 5.15 Dr. Who. New adventure. 5.40 Debbie Reynolds show. 6.05 News and weather. 6.15 Dad's Army. 'Room at the Bottom'. 6.45 High adventure. 'Yellow Sky' with Gregory Peck and Richard Widmark. Outlaws on the run encounter rich prospector. 8.20 Black and white minstrel show. 9.05 A man called Ironside. 'A World of Jackals'. 9.55 News and weather. 10.00 Football champions of the world. England v. France and Portugal v. North Korea. Flash back to 1966 World Cup. 11.00 Whatever next? New series—familiar and unfamiliar—faces 'doing their thing'. 11.30 Weather.	11.05 a.m. RAC road report. 11.10 Talies in tales: North American Indians. 11.35 Casting around. 12 noon Better driving. 12.25 p.m. Thunderbirds. 1.10 News. 1.20 World of sport. 1.25 They're off! 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Chepstow racing. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Newcastle racing. 3.10 International sports special: Speedway. 3.50 Wrestling from the Royal Hall, Harrogate. 5.00 Results service. 5.15 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 6.10 News. 6.15 H.R. Pufnstuf. 'The Horse With The Golden Throat'. 6.45 Dear Mother... Love Albert. 'Hearts and Flowers'. 7.15 Des O'Connor show. 8.15 'Sea Fury'. With Stanley Baker, Victor McLaglen and Luciana Paluzzi. 10.00 News. 10.10 Saturday night theatre. 'The Family is a Vicious Circle'. 11.10 Department S. 'The Man from X'. 12.05 a.m. Ideas in print.	CHANNEL: 1.15 London. 5.15 Garrison's gorillas. 6.10 London. 6.45 Dear Mother... Love Albert. 7.15 Film: 'Gidget Goes Hawaiian' with James Darren. 9.00 Des O'Connor show. 10.00 London. 11.10 Mission impossible. 12 midnight Weather. WESTWARD: As Channel except: 12.05 a.m. Faith for life. 12.11 Weather. SOUTHERN: 12.52 Weather. 12.55 Out of town. 1.15 London. 5.15 F Troop. 5.45 News. 5.50 Garrison's gorillas. 6.45 London. 7.15 Saturday film: 'Beneath the Twelve-Mile Reef' with Robert Wagner, Terry Moore and Gilbert Roland. 9.00 Des O'Connor show. 10.00 London. 11.10 News. 11.20 Court martial. 12.15 Weather. Action '70. HARLECH: 12.10 Heading for change. 12.35 Plupp. 12.45 Skippy. 1.15 London. 5.15 Robin Hood. 5.40 Wheel of Fortune. 6.10 London. 6.15 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 7.15 Dear Mother... Love Albert. 7.45 Western: 'The Black Dakotas' with Gary Merrill. 9.00 Des O'Connor show. 10.00 London. 11.10 Cinema: 'The Key Man' with Lee Patterson. 12.20 Weather. HTV (Cymru/Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 7.15-7.45 Hyde a lled. ANGLIA: 1.10 London. 5.15 Garrison's gorillas. 6.10 London. 6.15 'Trip on a Dead Jockey' with Robert Taylor, Dorothy Malone, Gia Scala and Lee Remick. 9.00 Des O'Connor show. 10.00 London. 11.10 Court martial. 12.05 Reflection. ATY MIDLANDS: 12.45 Captain Scarlet. 1.15 London. 5.15 Julia. 5.45 News. 6.20 Name of the game. 7.45 Movie: 'The Spy Killer' with Robert Horton, Sebastian Cabot and Jill St. John. 9.00 Des O'Connor show. 10.00 London. 11.10 1 Spy. 12.05 Weather. ULSTER: 1.15 London. 6.15 Take time with Tommy. 6.45 Film: 'Alaska Seas' with Robert Ryan and Ian Sterling.
BBC 2		
3.00-4.20 p.m. Cinema. 'Jumping For Joy' with Frankie Howard and Stanley Holloway. Frankie trains a greyhound. 7.30 News, sport and weather. 7.45 Westminster. 8.05 Gardeners' world. 8.20 Yesterday's witness. 'The Battle of Cable Street'. October 4, 1936. Mosley thwarted. 9.05 Young generation. Guests include Paul Jones. 9.45 Now and then. 'Insidious Playthings'. 9.55 Thirty-minute theatre.	'Is That Your Body, Boy?' Ron Moody as strict PT teacher. 10.30 Review. Anthony Rossiter, Rebuffed Lover and Lotte Reiniger. 11.20 News. 11.25 Disco 2. 11.50 Midnight movie. 'Violent Saturday' with Victor Mature, Richard Egan, Lee Marvin and Stephen McNally. Three gunmen's lives change during bank robbery operation.	Wales: 9.15-9.35 a.m. Cadi ha. 5.40. 6.05 p.m. Disc a dawn. 11.32 Weather.
BBC 1	REGIONAL	REGIONAL ITV
9.00 a.m. Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 9.30 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.00-10.30 Wie bitte? 11.00-11.30 Seeing and believing. 11.35 Swim. 12 noon Germany 1870-1970: 'Democracy Tried'. 12.30-1.00 p.m. Decimal shop. 1.25-1.50 Farming and weather for farmers. 2.00 Education programme. 2.29 News headlines. 2.30 The Titanic, the pig and me: A survivor of the Titanic disaster talks about her memories of that voyage. 3.00 Monaco Grand Prix. 3.25 Film: 'Sunday Dinner For A Soldier'. 4.50 Monaco Grand Prix. 5.10 Going for a song. 5.35 Hobbyhorse. 5.55 Shari Lewis show. 6.05 News and weather. 6.15 Fact or fantasy? Faith-healing and miraculous cures. 6.50 Songs of praise. 7.25 Paul Temple. 'Antique Death', part one. 8.15 Sunday film. 'Away All Boats' with Jeff Chandler. Including spectacular battle scenes of Kamikazi fighters. 10.05 News and weather. 10.15 Omnibus. 'The Hollywood Image': Part 2. From the talkies to the Second World War. 11.15 Monaco Grand Prix. 11.45 Weather.	All regions as BBC 1 except: Midlands and East Anglia, North of England, N Ireland and South and West: 11.32 Weather.	CHANNEL: 11.00-12.35 London. 3.13 Weather. 2.15 Sports Arena. 2.45 World Cup preview. 3.15 Sunday matinee: 'Hue and Cry' with Alastair Sim, Jack Warner and Valerie White. 4.35 Date with Danton. 4.45 London. 7.25 Film: 'Pirates of Tortuga' with Ken Scott and Dave King. 9.10 Englebert Humperdinck show. 10.10 London. 10.25 Name of the game. 11.40 Epilogue, weather. WESTWARD: As Channel except: 1.30-1.55 All our yesterdays. 2.00 Farm and country news. 6.00 Cartoon time. 11.51 Weather. SOUTHERN: 11.00-12.05 London. 12.09 Weather. 12.12 London. 1.30 All our yesterdays. 2.00 Farm progress. 2.30 World Cup preview. 3.00 Film: 'Force of Arms' with William Holden, Nancy Olson and Frank Lovejoy. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 7.25 Picture: 'Undercurrent' with Katherine Hepburn, Robert Taylor and Robert Mitchum. 9.40 Julia. 10.10 London. 12.05 Weather. Action '70. HARLECH: 11.00-1.30 London. 2.15 London. 3.15 Court martial. 4.15 Survival. 4.45 London. 7.25 It takes a thief. 8.20 Screen: 'Strangers on a Train' with Farley Granger and Robert Walker. Directed by Alfred Hitchcock. 10.10 London. 12.20 Weather. HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 1.45-2.15 Porthri'r praidid. HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white as above except: 1.45-2.15 Porthri'r praidid. ANGLIA: 11.00 London. 1.30 Farming trends. 2.00 Weather. 2.05 Cartoon time. 2.15 Show jumping. 3.15 Department S. 4.15 Parkin's patch. 4.45 London. 6.00 Weather. 6.05 London. 7.25 'Their Secret Affair' with Kirk Douglas and Susan Hayward. 9.10 Englebert Humperdinck show. 10.10 London. 10.25 Bygones. 11.10 London. 11.55 Reflection. ATY MIDLANDS: 11.00-1.30 London. 1.45 Cannonball. 2.15 Sport from the Midlands. 3.15 'That Woman Opposite' with Phyllis Kirk, Dan O'Herlihy, Wilfred Hyde-White and Pettula Clark. 4.45 London. 5.30 Forest rangers. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'Crash Dive' with Tyrone Power, Anne Baxter and Dana Andrews. 9.10 Hawaii five-o. 10.10 London.
BBC 2		
1.50-6.30 p.m. Cricket. Player's County League—Somerset v. Essex. 7.00 News review and weather. 7.25 Music on 2. 'Idomeneo' by Mozart, an opera in three acts. Benjamin Britten conducts the	production halted by last year's destruction of the Snape Maltings. 10.15 The spoils of Poynton. 'Trial of Strength'. 11.05 News summary and cricket scoreboard. 11.15 Line-up: film night.	ULSTER: 12.10-1.30 London. 2.15 Sports arena. 2.45 Big event. 3.15 Saint. 4.15 Catweazle. 4.45 London.

SUNDAY TV

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Above: France, May 29, 1968. The Stalinist led CGT demonstrate for a popular government only a few days before they agreed to the elections which kept de Gaulle in power.

THE DEVELOPMENT of independent action by the German working class in the strikes of last September had profound significance for the building of the Fourth International.

Betrayed in 1933 by Social Democracy and Stalinism, the German workers' movement was chained down by the Nazi dictatorship.

Then, from 1945, the twin bureaucracies took control of the labour movement again. This was a key factor in the maintenance of international capitalism.

The beginnings of the break of German labour from bureaucratic control signified most clearly the revolutionary nature of the present period and the tremendous opportunities for revolutionary leadership.

The history of Germany from 1933 to 1945 is usually presented on the basis that the mass of the German nation were loyal supporters of Hitler.

The German working class, which up to 1933 voted for the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties by the million, is supposed suddenly to have been hypnotized by Hitler, and swallowed Nazi 'ideology' whole.

According to this story, resistance to Nazism was confined to the churches and a few aristocrats and generals. These sections of the ruling class are depicted as paving the way for the 'democratic' Bonn regime after 1945.

To 'explain' how an entire nation can have gone through such a process, sociological analysis of 'authoritarianism', national or racial characteristics of the Germans and psycho-analysis have all been called upon.

Marxists, of course, know this picture to be entirely false. The most highly-developed labour movement in the world was destroyed only because of the treachery of its leadership.

In the depths of the economic crisis, only workers' revolution could have resolved the contradictions of German society and, in doing so, transformed the international situation completely.

But neither of the workers' parties could or would prepare the class for power. For Social Democracy, which had been the main political prop for the German capitalist state since 1918, the question did not even arise.

Opportunism

The Stalinized Communist Party (KPD), subservient to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, had from 1929 covered up its opportunism with ultra-left attacks on the Social-Democratic workers as 'social-fascists' and savagely opposed all calls for united class action. Instead, it hailed the victory of Nazism as a step towards its own victory.

The German middle class, driven into a frenzy by the crisis, swung by default behind Nazi demagoguery and racialism, while the industrialists and bankers decided that Hitler provided the only answer to the threat from the working class.

And so, explains the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International:

"Both these parties, with millions of voters behind them, were morally paralysed before the battle and capitulated without a battle. History has recorded no parallel catastrophe. The German proletariat was not smashed by the enemy in battle. It was crushed by the cowardice, baseness, perfidy of its own parties. Small wonder that it has lost faith in everything in which it had been accustomed to believe for almost three generations."

In view of the collapse of the workers' leaderships, it is not the weakness of the opposition to Nazism which is surprising, but the fact that it did develop and was maintained right up to 1945.

Thousands of workers continued the attempt to organize under the most brutal and effective terror machine the world has seen. Each time an underground organization was broken up by the Gestapo, new layers of socialists and communists came forward to replace those arrested and murdered.

But the political and theoretical weapons with which these struggles were fought were rotten to the core. They represented the ideas of the very bureaucracies which had allowed the victory of Hitler to take place.

The book under review gives only a pale academic reflection of these struggles. However, the four essays by German historians provide some useful factual material on the movements in Germany during the 12 years of Nazi rule.

GERMAN WORKERS FOUGHT HITLER



German Socialists, Communists, trade unionists: First victims of the Nazi concentration camps.

THREE of the contributions deal with aspects of the bourgeois opposition to Hitler and only one to the labour movement.

Hermann Graml, writing on 'Resistance Thinking on Foreign Policy' and Hans Mommsen on 'Social Views and Constitutional Plans of the Resistance', whatever their intentions, succeed in demonstrating that the 'resistance' within the ruling class was hardly less reactionary than the regime it opposed.

Many of these conservative politicians had been sympathetic to or acquiesced in Hitler's policies, but later saw the dangers to German imperialism arising from them.

Barrier

The diplomat von Hassell and the civil servant Goerdeler wanted a strong German capitalism to act as the barrier to the Russian Revolution, but in co-operation with British and French imperialism.

The 'Kreisau Circle' around von Moltke, which included the former Social Democrats Leber and Haubach, dressed their policies in 'progressive' phrases about European federation and 'restructuring society'.



Von Stauffenberg

ERNST WOLF, writing about 'Political and Moral Motives behind the Resistance' somewhat reluctantly demolishes the myth of the Churches' opposition to Hitler.

As Professor F. L. Carsten says in his introduction to the book: 'On the Catholic side, the conclusion of the Concordat with the Holy See in the spring of 1933 proved an effective barrier to any opposition.'

Individual Catholics and Protestants fell foul of the regime and some were martyred for their refusal to accept Nazism. But Wolf shows how the traditional nationalism and anti-Semitism of the Lutheran churches inhibited opposition to the regime, even when they conflicted with it on church matters.

The 'Confessing Church' which arose in opposition to the Evangelical Churches' support for the regime, was never opposed to Nazism as such. Its leader, Niemoller, had been an enthusiastic Nazi and even in prison in 1939 applied for permission to rejoin the navy.

HANS-JOACHIM REICHHARDT contributes the most important essay in this book, 'Resistance in the Labour Movement'.



Von Goerdeler

Despite all the attempts to build up the legend of a bourgeois resistance, it was only in the working class that active work against Nazism took place.

Confining himself mainly to Berlin, Reichhardt has examined the court records and official reports dealing with underground working-class organizations as they were discovered by the Gestapo. He begins by describing the refusal of the leaders to mobilize workers who were waiting for the call to fight in January 1933.

Members of the Reichsbanner, the workers' defence organization, gathered at their assembly points. Mass demonstrations took place in the main cities. But the leaders

were silent and 'the will to resist slowly languished'. (p. 154.)

Retreating step by step, the Social-Democratic and trade union leaders sought by granting concession after concession to the Nazis to maintain their legality. The result was demoralization and the destruction of the workers' organizations.

Resistance groups formed, but only locally and without national guidance. Only gradually were illegal methods of work learnt, at heavy cost in arrests and murders. Even where these groups were organized by Social Democrats, they were based on an attempt to break with the past of the discredited Social-Democratic Party (SPD).

One such group described by Reichhardt was the Roter Stosstrupp (Red Shock Troop).

This had its origins in Berlin University in 1932. Like some other left-wing SPD tendencies, these students had begun to prepare for illegal work before Hitler took power.

They were therefore better prepared than the official leaders. The duplicated paper they put out circulated up to 3,000 copies. Its first issue declared in April 1933:

"We no longer bear allegiance to any party dogma, any party banners: we know only one battle flag: the red flag of socialism. We know only one goal: the proletarian revolution." (p. 169.)

Determination

How clearly this expresses the determination of the working class to fight—and the terrible effects of Stalinist degeneration. For under conditions of illegality, these workers were cut off from the theoretical conquests of the Communist International destroyed by Stalin.

To understand the defeat and build a new party on the basis of this understanding was terribly hard. The Transitional Programme says: 'A programme is verified by experience. And it is precisely experience in mass movements which is lacking in countries of totalitarian despotism.'

Only the Fourth International, basing itself on the experience of the Third International, could draw the lessons of 1933. That is why Hitler's victory made the foundation of the Fourth International vital.

By December 1933, the Gestapo had penetrated and destroyed the Roter Stosstrupp.

Meanwhile an émigré SPD had begun to operate from Prague, later moving to Paris. A section of the SPD leaders had opposed even the slightest

degree of illegal work, but now SPD literature began to be distributed.

But what effect could this have but to demoralize workers, for one of the main problems for the working class was to grasp the treachery of this Party itself.

Reichhardt reports that an illegal Berlin Regional Committee of the SPD was arrested and further committees operated until the beginning of 1936. But further opposition activity was not conducted by the SPD as such.

Turning to the Stalinists, Reichhardt remarks that 'in contrast to its repeated pronouncements, the KPD offered no more than half-hearted resistance to the events leading up to the National Socialist assumption of power'. (pp. 164-165.)

He correctly attributes this to the policy of the Soviet leaders.

'In fact Soviet official policy was characterized by a temporizing, if not a positive attitude, as is evident from the marked failure to break off the close economic and military relations then existing between the two countries.' (p. 165.)

He explains how calls for a united front with the Social Democrats could not get a response in view of the previous 'social-fascist' line. Even more important, their own members were utterly unprepared for the victory of Hitler and the persecution that began.

The arrest of Thaelmann, KPD leader, on premises that were supposed to be secret, in March 1933, showed how unprepared the Stalinists were.

The heavy losses of the KPD by murder and arrest were increased when Alfred Katner, arrested with Thaelmann, gave assistance to the Gestapo and was released. He was shot in his home by a KPD member in February 1934. (See Reichhardt's note on p. 263.)

Ulbricht took over the leadership in emigration later in 1933. The Comintern line was still that 'in spite of the fascist terror, Germany's revolutionary upsurge will continue inexorably. . . . The establishment of open fascist dictatorship which destroys all the democratic illusions of the masses and frees them from the influence of Social Democracy speeds up the process of Germany's evolution towards the proletarian revolution.' (Executive Committee of the Comintern, April 1, 1933.)

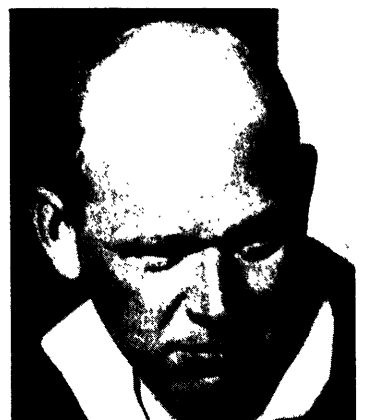
As a result of this policy, KPD members went out selling literature openly right through 1933. Thousands of Party members were rounded up in such work.

Treachery

Is it not surprising that some sections of the KPD went over to Nazism?

Reichhardt quotes an account by Gustav Regier of a meeting in the Saar between a Party official and members of the underground in 1934, which heartbreakingly illuminates the relationship between the heroism of the rank and file and the treachery of Stalinism.

'I came in just in time to hear the final remarks of a young man who had been making a report on the Reich. He took a pamphlet from his pocket and threw it down at the official's feet. "We've been distributing that for months," he said, almost revelling in his scorn. "We've put up with a lot from you people, but this is too much. What's that supposed to be for?" He indicated the despised booklet with his foot and, speaking with the utmost firmness, concluded: "None of us is going to risk the chopper for that tripe." (p. 171.)



Thaelmann

It is unlikely that this unnamed critic of Stalinism lived to read the Transitional Programme which says: 'The Moscow radio station, combining Tohermidorian lies with stupidity and insolence, has become the most powerful factor in the demoralization of workers in the totalitarian states. In this respect as in others, Stalin acts merely as Goebbels' assistant.'

However, the line of the literature sent from abroad did not change as a result of demands from workers like this. Only when Stalin's foreign policy shifted at the end of 1934 did 'Popular Frontism' become the basis for anti-fascist propaganda.

Now, it was not a matter

BOOK REVIEW

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

'THE GERMAN RESISTANCE TO HITLER' By H. Graml, H. Mommsen, H-J. Reichhardt and E. Wolf.

B. T. Batsford. London 1970. 56s.

of attacking the Social Democrats as the main enemy and demanding revolution immediately, but of abandoning all conception of revolution.

The new policy is described by the Transitional Programme as follows:

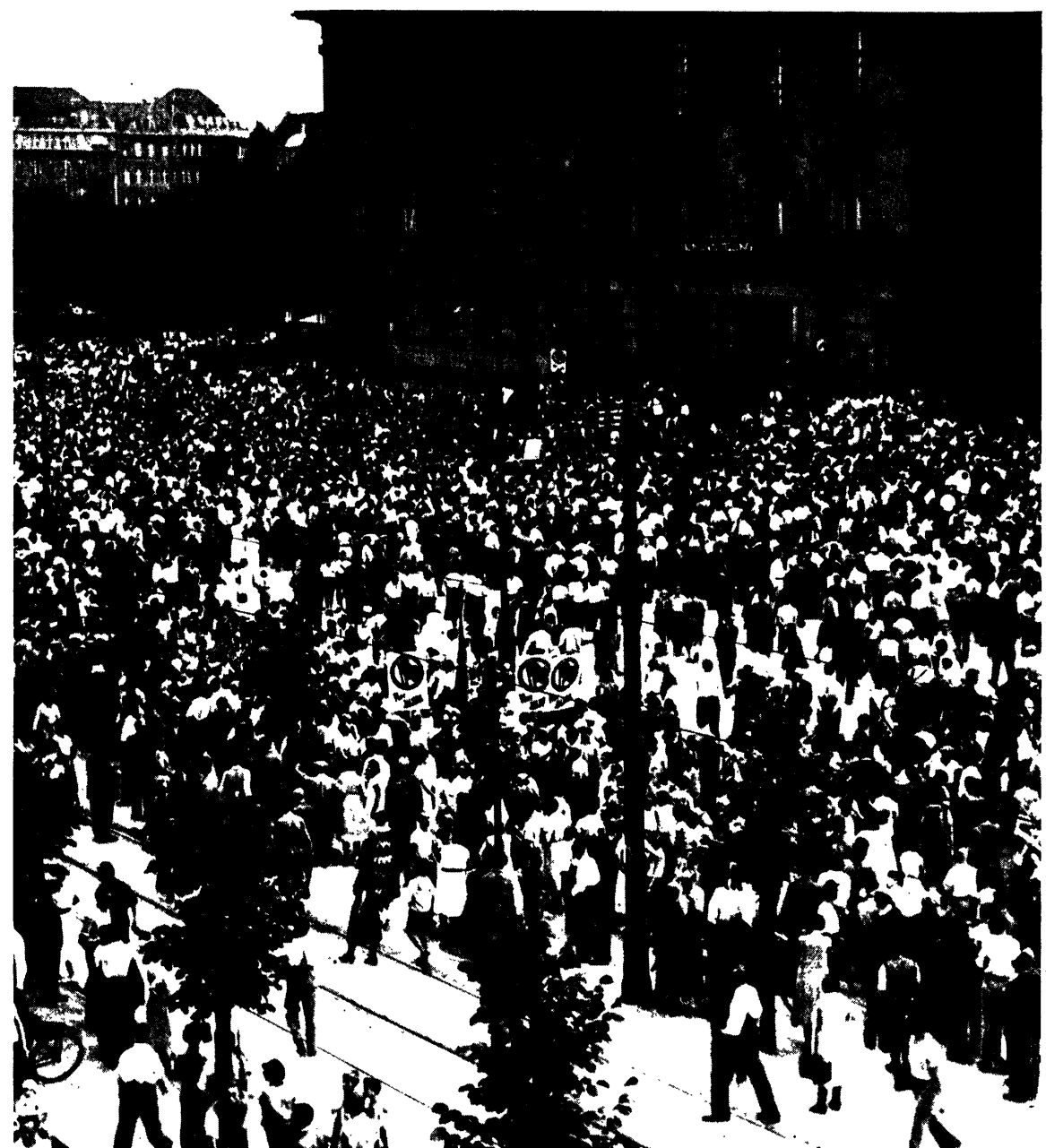
'Essentially it signifies the impatient longing for coalition with a non-existent liberal bourgeoisie.'

Reichhardt, however, sees Popular Frontism only as meaning joint action of KPD and SPD groups. He remarks: 'Even if there were occasional instances of co-operation between Social Democrats and KPD, and although the latter's instructors operating in the Reich were told to encourage it, it remained ineffectual. The Moscow Trials that began in August 1936, with their shameful spectacle of the liquidation of the old revolutionaries, followed by the Russo-German

said that over 1,000 people were involved and 400 had been sentenced to death. Even then, small groups continued to work right up to the end of the war.

According to the 'History of the German Anti-Fascist Resistance Movement' 340,000 KPD members had been sentenced to over a million years imprisonment between 1933 and 1939. Fifty-seven KPD members of Parliament were killed by the Nazis in that period.

Reichhardt does not mention the most famous of the KPD groups, the 'Rote Kapelle' (Red Orchestra). Led by Schulze-Boysen, it had strong groups in many of the important factories, carried out important espionage work, as well as propaganda activity. Over 100 of its members were tortured and executed when it was broken up in 1942.



Berlin: An anti-fascist demonstration July 1932.

non-aggression pact shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, destroyed the last hopes of a united front of Social Democrats and Communists in Germany.' (p. 173.)

Reichhardt does not mention that many leading KPD members who took refuge in Russia vanished in the purges; that some of those arrested in Moscow were handed over to the Gestapo in 1939; and that almost all the survivors were deported to Kazakhstan as 'enemy nationals' in 1941.

During the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, virtually all KPD activity ceased. Ulbricht and the Moscow members of the Central Committee naturally applauded Stalin's policy.

Decapitation

Reichhardt quotes Dengel as saying (in Moscow!) that 'the comrades working in Berlin need no longer fear decapitation since Stalin would make sure that Hitler kept the terror within certain bounds'. (p. 177.)

The official Stalinist 'History of the German Anti-Fascist Resistance Movement' has the following cynical sentences:

'After their release from concentration camps in 1939, comrades of the Communist Party joined together again to form resistance groups against Hitler's dictatorship. . . . As a result of the entry into the war of the Soviet Union, they became convinced that it was necessary to restart with their Communist work.'

And, despite every effort by the bureaucracy to disrupt this work, it did restart. Reichhardt reports the organization of Saefkow and Uhrig. By the time of their arrest in 1944, they had built a nationwide organization. The Gestapo

lead the German workers in united struggle against fascism, but saw this only as a matter of organization, not of theory.

Solidarity

IT IS only Trotskyism, the struggle to resolve this crisis, which can grasp the significance of the facts reported by Reichhardt. No other tendency maintained the struggle for international solidarity with the German workers during the 1939-1945 war.

It was German Trotskyists in exile in occupied France who published the illegal paper 'Arbeiter und Soldat' ('Worker and Soldier') and distributed it in the Wehrmacht. (They were caught by the Gestapo and killed.)

At that time, the Allied propagandists, and above all the Stalinists, were pouring out anti-German (not anti-Nazi) material that frequently reached the level of racialism. This, together with the declaration in January 1943 demanding Germany's unconditional surrender, strengthened support for Hitler.

It was intended to do so. The main factor which determined the policies of the Allied imperialist and the Stalinist bureaucracy at that time was not the desire to defeat Germany—but the fear of German workers' revolution emerging from such a defeat.

The rape of Berlin by the Soviet Army in 1945 was also quite consciously planned to combat the danger of inde-

pendent class action. When, despite this policy, 'Anti-Fascist Committees' sprang up, often organized by former KPD members, Ulbricht smashed them up.

Stalinism was the major factor in holding back the German working class when Nazism rose to power.

Then it did its utmost to destroy and demoralize the heroic fighters against the Nazi regime.

After 1945, it was responsible for preventing the development of revolutionary leadership and allowing the utterly bankrupt SPD to regain its position in the labour movement in W Germany.

But today, Trotskyism grows in strength, bringing new forces from the youth into the battle for the German workers' revolution and arming them with the theoretical and historical lessons of the past.

The struggles to organize the workers' movement against Nazism will not have been in vain.

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Brutal

FROM PAGE ONE
unofficial headquarters for the Abbey Wood Action Group formed to fight the eviction, said she had been shocked by the brutality of the police and that the Action Group would continue to fight the Whitmee's case.

CANADA: FIRMS FAIL

A TOTAL of 621 Canadian business failed during the first quarter of this year, leaving liabilities of 69.5 million dollars. The largest number occurred in Quebec—343 with liabilities of 30.6 million dollars.

'No confidence' in union leaders
2,000 hosiery workers want 20 per cent

FROM JACK GALE

WAGE CUTS of up to £10 a week have led to a 2,000-strong unofficial hosiery strike in S Yorkshire. Women from nine hosiery and knitwear factories are demanding a 20 per cent pay rise.

As the struggle grows in militancy, confidence in the union officials (National Union of Hosiery Workers) is rapidly declining.

At a mass meeting in Cudworth on Thursday some 500 workers, mainly women and young girls, denounced the union's chief officials.

They alleged that the officials went to the management before coming to the workers. A unanimous vote of no confidence in the union leadership was passed with acclamation.

They insisted that they would not return with less than 20 per cent.

One girl declared: 'We've that much faith in the union. We aren't going back—it'll be dropped like it was before.'

Officials claimed that they had not told the strikers to return to work, but many workers refused this.

The main cause of discontent is a serious drop in earnings. Workers are in many cases earning substantially less than they were some time ago.

Maureen Holdroyd and Diane Portman told the Workers Press that at one time they could earn £17 19s 11d. Now, on four-fifths time, they were earning £8 and taking home £6.

Merryl Horton said that her earnings had dropped from £18 0s 4d to £10 (take

home £8), and Yvonne Harper's wage had fallen from £20 19s 6d to £12 9s 6d.

It was pressure from workers like these that prevented the union leaders from calling for a return to work.

Instead a status quo was proposed until the union executive had met, but this meant leaving some workers on strike and others working.

This is a determined strike. These workers will not tolerate low wages any longer.

They want a 100 per cent stoppage, the strike made official and above all, they want a 20 per cent increase in basic pay.

In order to promote a realization of this fact, and to give incentive to those most concerned, I am considering where they stand on this vital demand instead of providing a working-class, trade-union veneer to a movement which is nothing more than a safety valve for the middle class.

This has been our position on the Vietnam war from its inception. The Cambodian invasion now renders it even more urgent and immediate.

US imperialism can and will be defeated in the struggle to mobilize the working class on an internationalist and revolutionary programme of struggle against our own ruling class.

We urge all workers to turn resolutely to the unions and demand that their executives launch a campaign, including demonstrations and meetings, against the war to culminate in a national one-day stoppage.

We demand, in particular, that people like Bill Jones and Lawrence Daly should state where they stand on this vital demand instead of providing a working-class, trade-union veneer to a movement which is nothing more than a safety valve for the middle class.

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U.S. agents land in Cuba

REPORTS from Miami, Florida, state that a second group of right-wing exiles landed in Cuba yesterday.

The invaders—members of the 'Christian Nationalist Movement'—are led by Captain Orlando Lorenzo, according to a statement issued by the movement's spokesman, Pablo Castellon.

This new attempt to topple the Castro regime comes three weeks after the total collapse of the invasion launched from Miami by 'Alpha 66'.

These US-financed and armed groups cannot hope to find any popular support for their ultra-reactionary policies.

The Cuban workers and peasants have no intention of going back to the dark days of the Batista terror.

As biggest class confrontation nears in United States

LESS THAN a fortnight before Nixon invaded Cambodia and brutally murdered the four Kent University students in Ohio, the US National Moratorium movement shut up shop for the last time in Washington.

A little over six months old, the movement was \$100,000 in debt and had seen its support waste away.

Its leaders summed up their own demoralization in a letter telling supporters: 'The drama and national attention that characterized the autumn [when millions marched in the Moratorium demonstration of November 15] has never returned.'

Our maximum effectiveness has been reached. Characteristically, the leaders blame the Democratic Congressmen for the decline of the Moratorium movement.

If they want a visible alternative to the radicals—some visible national leadership of a more moderate stripe—they've got to do something, says one leader quoted in 'Newsweek'.

If they look at the return of the Carwell thing, just imagine what they might be able to do.

Desperate appeal This just about sums up the philosophy of the leaders of the Moratorium, which was little more than a last desperate appeal from the US middle class to the Democratic Congressmen to 'do something' about the war.

Its leadership quite consciously opposes any development of revolutionary leadership against the Vietnam war.

The movement's basic bankruptcy was political, not financial. Like the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign in Britain, the Moratorium was a ramshackle coalition of Liberals, Socialists and protesters which was rapidly ensnared by the Democratic 'doves'.

Foreshadows Lacking any political perspective for fighting the war, beyond liberal protest, the movement's decline has been even more rapid and spectacular than the disappearance of the VSC in Britain.

The task now is to fight for class action against the Cambodian invasion, the Vietnam war and the massacres of the students. This means also a ruthless struggle against the revisionist scoundrels, who stand between the working class and the fight against the war, to build a genuine labour party separate from the two-party system.

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Profit As Marx insisted over a century ago, capitalists produce for one reason only—to make a profit.

Whether their products benefit mankind or not is of no concern to them whatsoever. And if extra profits can be made by restricting the supply and forcing up the price—so much the better.

As the commune puts it: 'Governments should exercise care in implementing the new or existing programmes of support to avoid measures which could have the effect of stimulating uneconomic production.'

'Uneconomic production' is food production for those who are hungry but cannot, because of their or their country's poverty, afford to pay the price demanded by the capitalist. So they must continue to starve.

Cynicism The depths of cynicism are reached in the report when, noting that the US, Australian and Canadian governments have already taken steps to restrict wheat production, it states that the meeting 'agreed to keep these policies under continuing review so that they could be changed if the interests of achieving a healthy international market for wheat.'

A 'healthy international market' for capitalism means starvation, malnutrition and premature death for countless millions of human beings.

But these 'wheat exporters'—in reality they are famine exporters—are not yet sure of success.

Otto Lang, the Canadian Minister for Wheat Production commented: 'It was an extremely useful meeting but we can't tell yet whether the reduction programmes will work.'

This is the reality of capitalist production. Profits must continue to be made even at the cost of hunger and death.

For these 'exporters', wheat is not something to be eaten, but simply something to be bought and sold at a profit.

Socialism, based on production for use, for the benefit of mankind, and not on the drive for private profit, remains the only answer to world poverty and starvation.

Moratorium fades away

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Its sudden demise is not a symptom that opposition to the war is waning, but foreshadows the emergence of the working class on the political scene as an independent force.

This process had already begun on the massive November Moratorium march, when—despite the frantic attempts of the Socialist Workers' Party to deny any such event—contingents of workers came out on the streets for the first time to demonstrate against the war.

The SWP, like its friends in the Communist Party, did its best to keep the movement within the bounds of liberal protest and still maintains the hopelessness of relying on the working class to defeat Nixon's war plans.

But the crisis of the Moratorium committee is the best confirmation of precisely this point; only the working class internationally and in the United States above all can halt the US ruling class in its drive towards the third world war.

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Czech army purge starts

THE STALINIST purge in Czechoslovakia rolls on into the army.

Speaking at a ceremony marking the end of the last war, Defence Minister General Dzur promised a clean-out of right-wing opportunist and anti-Soviet elements' from the Czech army.

The Czech army leadership—not noted for 'liberal' sympathies over recent years—has until now escaped unscathed from the prolonged purge begun last year under the Kremlin stooge, Gustav Husak.

No provocation The Soviet bureaucracy clearly chose not to provoke any opposition from this key sector of the state machine while it proceeded with its purge in the mass media, the universities and the trade unions.

With most centres of pro-Dubcek or other opposition groups now removed from important party and state posts, the loyalty of the army leaders and rank and file can be subjected to close scrutiny.

It was highly significant that Dzur announced his army purge on the same day that Soviet and Czech leaders signed their so-called 'Friendship Treaty', which in fact binds Husak even more closely to his protectors in the Kremlin.

The drive for this proletarian class is the rooting out of even the most timid forms of opposition to the Soviet occupation.

'Conspiracies' General Dzur's investigations will doubtless uncover a 'counter-revolutionary plot' in the Czech High Command, just as the purge has already revealed similar fictitious conspiracies in the trade union, the Party Central Committee, the universities, the press, radio and television.

£3000 rise for PIB Tory

MR Aubrey Jones, £15,000-a-year Tory chairman of the Prices and Incomes Board, will become £18,000-a-year chairman of the Commission for Industry and Manpower as soon as Mrs Barbara Castle's proposals to know on their way through the Commons—become law.

28p.c. of baby deaths 'avoidable'

A REPORT published last week on infant deaths says that on a national scale just over 6 babies died for every 1,000 live births in the period of 5 months to a year after birth.

The report—'Confidential Enquiry into Postneonatal Deaths 1964-1966'—estimates that 28 per cent of the deaths could be partly attributed to 'avoidable factors' such as bad housing and overcrowding.

WEATHER London area, SE, central southern, SW, NW and central northern England, E and W Midlands, Channel Islands, Glasgow area, N Ireland: Variable cloud with sunny spells, but showers and thunderstorms. Winds mainly East or SE, light to moderate. Warm. Max. 19C (66F).

Edinburgh and E Scotland: Cloudy. Occasional rain or drizzle. S u n n y intervals. Coastal fog patches. Winds easterly, moderate or fresh. Warm inland. Max. 16C (61F). Cold on coasts. Max. 10C (50F).

Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Little change.

Trade union action

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The United States action in Cambodia has played into the claws of the Hawks all over the world—in Peking, in Moscow, in Hanoi (1) . . . the action of the United States has greatly injured the possibility of securing a reasonable settlement.

The aim of negotiating a settlement was supported on all sides of the House and most would appreciate the diplomatic consequences of what had occurred. . . . (The Times, May 6, 1970. Emphasis added.)

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A sop The whole of Indo-China is burning and 'Tribune' suggests the sacking of Stewart!

They desire anything except the mobilizing of the working class against the war and the building of an alternative leadership to Wilson.

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The CP, which refused to oppose Wilson's visit to this same Nixon who orders the shooting of students in the US and the massacre of peasants, and which opposed the demand of the SLL for a May 1 strike against the war, now comes out enthusiastically for the well-worn routine of marches, 'demos', vigils and flower-laying which helped to disorientate previous movements and isolate the working class.

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