

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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DECEMBER 15, 1969

TEN CENTS

GERMANY 1930-1933

THE RETREAT  
OF THE  
SOCIAL  
DEMOCRACY



## CHICAGO PANTHERS SHOT IN COLD BLOOD



BRITISH DOCKERS  
SHOW THE WAY-  
WON'T MOVE  
CONTAINERS

*WELFARE  
WORKERS  
FIGHT  
LINDSAY  
SPEED UP*

**nixon's maritime policy  
and the future for seamen**

## EDITORIAL

# Nixon Whitewashes Criminal Terror Against Vietnamese People

U.S. imperialism has absolutely no intention of taking responsibility for the crimes of Songmy. The President stated clearly at his November 8th press conference that he would find a scapegoat in order to whitewash the atrocities. Forced to admit that "What appears was certainly a massacre and under no circumstances was it justified," Nixon promised to get all the "facts" and make sure that the guilty are punished. Nixon said he was concerned that "these men" (allegedly the guilty) would "smear the decent men that have gone to Vietnam in a very...important cause."

We say the criminals are not the men fighting in Vietnam--but the spokesmen and perpetrators of the "very important cause"--the capitalist class. It is "these men" that should be smeared with the blood of women and children. It is Nixon himself as chief spokesman for U.S. imperialism who should be put on trial. Songmy is no isolated incident--it is the direct result of the international strategy of imperialism to subjugate the working class. This "cause" lies behind the mass murder in Songmy as well as the recent murder in cold blood of the Panthers, and the brutality of the police against

the G.E. strikes in the U.S.

Nixon can very well dismiss Songmy with his search for a scapegoat, but he has every intention of stepping up the very policies that led to Songmy. This he also made clear in his remarks to the press. The strategic aims of U.S. imperialism are not going to be sacrificed despite the "polarization in the country." As Nixon put it-- "There can be no compromise."

Nothing short of a military victory is what U.S. imperialism is demanding in Vietnam. Nixon openly admitted he did not see any possibility of a negotiated peace: "I do not anticipate any progress on the negotiating front at this time." Rather Nixon poses the "Vietnamization" of the war-- or the defeat of the workers and peasants in

Vietnam and their deliverance up to the military clique which rules South Vietnam. Mr. Thieu, Nixon contends, is a "much harder individual to negotiate with"-- a man who prefers to deny Songmy rather than recognize it with a scapegoat.

## NO COMPROMISE

In conjunction with his "no compromise" position on Vietnam, Nixon praised Agnew's recent remarks as a "public service" and took up Agnew's "very dignified" polemics by denouncing his critics as "a bunch of intellectual eunuchs." Agnew's attacks on militants have found full expression in the Cambridge police frameup of the Weathermen and the murder of the Panthers by Chicago police. Nixon's defense

of Agnew must be seen as a threat to the working class and the students and black militants. The ruling class is preparing to take on any opposition to its plans to save the rotting capitalist system.

## LINE

These warnings go hand in hand with Nixon's statements in relation to economic concessions to the U.S. working class. He gave a flat "NO" when asked if he would sign the tax reform bill pending in Congress which would provide an increased \$800 exemption provision and a 15% increase in Social Security. He has made it clear that any end to the war in Vietnam "is not going to release substantial amounts of fresh funds" for tackling the problems of housing and the decay in the cities.

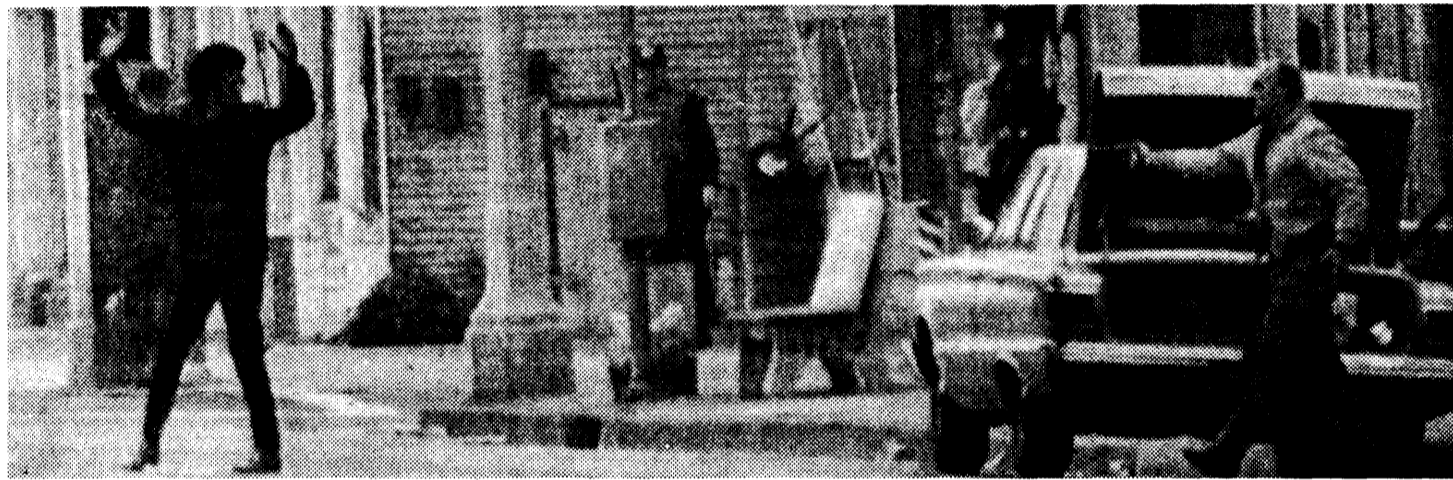
Nixon said at his press conference that "sometimes it is necessary to draw the line clearly." Nixon is quite right but this line must be drawn by the U.S. working class right now in the struggle to create a powerful organization, a labor party, to take on Nixon and the entire capitalist class, to throw out every single last one of these criminals and fight for the interests of the working class all over the world.

## Chicago Cops Murder Two Black Panthers

BY THE EDITORS

Following close on the heels of the revelations of mass murder in Songmy, Vietnam comes the police raid and cold blooded murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in a West Side Chicago tenement. This marks 28 Panthers dead from police attacks since 1968, and many hundreds in jail on various charges.

The Black Panthers are conducting tours of the tenement showing the bullet holes which indicate, contrary to police reports, a concentration of shots directly at the two victims and little if any evidence of bullets passing the other direction. Furthermore



LOS ANGELES COP AIMS GUN AT A MAN OUTSIDE OF BLACK PANTHER HEADQUARTERS IN RAID FOLLOWING CHICAGO MURDERS

they have conducted their own autopsy which reveals that the angle of entry of the bullets into Hampton's body could only be explained by his being shot in cold blood while asleep in his bed.

There is every indication that the police simply broke down the door, entered with a submachine gun and

gunned the inhabitants down.

We charge that what is involved is unprovoked murder. This murder is part of a wholesale campaign aimed at eradicating the entire organization, coordinated by police departments across the nation. Such coordination is an indication that the FBI and the Department of Justice are the master-

minds of the whole pogrom.

Why is it that at this time the Panthers come under such a vicious attack from the state? We can only view it as a prelude to similar attacks on the working class as a whole. It must be seen in the light of police actions at G.E. plants across the nation to protect white collar scabs entering the plants, and the use of court injunctions against the unions.

There can be no massacres in Songmy and democracy here at home. There can be no pogroms against militant blacks while the trade unions go unscathed.

This is why all sections of the labor movement here and internationally must rally to the defense of the Panthers and fight back against these attacks. We must see these attacks the way we see the Songmy massacre. These are blows against all workers. All must fight back.

There will be no peace internationally or at home as long as the bosses rule. The working class therefore must prepare to defend itself in WAR, the class war now erupting here, everywhere.

## *g.e. reveals strikebreaking plans at cicero plants*

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

Despite the continuing negotiations between General Electric and the two leading unions, the G.E. strike remains deadlocked at the bargaining table.

But outside, the battle goes on in earnest. The main weapon of the 13 striking unions and the AFL-CIO is the campaign to boycott General Electric products. As could be expected, the boycott, despite claims by union officials, does not appear to be having much effect on the company. Whatever drop in sales has occurred, it has not even begun to soften G.E.'s stand.

G.E. has made preparations to withstand a long, long strike. More important to these arrogant G.E. bosses than any short term drop in sales, is their intention to smash the power of the unions and enforce a virtual wage freeze on the workers. This is their common policy with Nixon and the dominant corporations in the U.S. They are ready to back this policy up with the old fashioned union busting technique of bringing in scabs to replace striking workers.

That is why the G.E. bosses have kept their plants open and continued to bring in scab "supervisory personnel." That is why they have

placed full page ads in major newspapers glorifying the "benefits" of General Electric, deploring the strike and urging strikers to return to work. One example is the full page ad placed in the Chicago Sun-Times by G.E.'s Hotpoint Division after the fourth week of the strike. The ad is headlined "Hotpoint Plants are Open and Work is Available" and proposes "an alternative to this pay-losing strike is for Hotpoint employees to CONTINUE TO WORK, and for the Company and unions to continue contract talks..." The ad ends with an open appeal for strike-breaking: "Meanwhile, Hotpoint's plants are open and work is available for those employees who wish to exercise their right to report for work."

The Hotpoint plant at Cicero, Illinois was the scene of violent clashes between pickets and cops who escorted scab supervisors into the plant during the first week of the strike. Evidently the workers who G.E. says enjoyed such a wonderful life on the Company "plantation" didn't take lightly to strike-breaking. After the first four days of the strike, the Company sued 22 officers and negotiators of the Sheet Metal Workers Union local 571 at

Cicero for \$750,000, charging that pickets attacked strikebreakers' autos, made threatening calls to scabs and that company officials "found nails" in the company parking lot.

At the time, a company spokesman admitted that they had stationed "dozens" of 3 man teams, equipped with cameras, around the plant "to search out incidents." The union denied the allegations and charged that company officials were responsible for smashing a window at the local union headquarters.

The G.E. workers need more than a consumer boycott to bring G.E. and the other corporations behind them to their knees in this strike. That is why the Workers League has raised the demand for labor to organize mass rallies across the country which pose the threat of a general strike if necessary to win the strike demands, and to demand the building of an independent labor party in answer to Nixon and G.E.'s strikebreaking supporters in Congress. Along with the demand for these rallies, the Workers League has called for a campaign for the nationalization of General Electric and its operation under control of the G.E. workers.

### Bulletin

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# us-ussr, brandt, ally against workers

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

As the Helsinki talks proceed little farther than the cocktail party--and cocktails have definitely not been neglected--new initiatives by Willy Brandt and the Warsaw Pact countries have brought the whole question of an East-West detente forward forcefully in another form. Right at this moment representatives of the West German government are in Moscow to negotiate a sort of non-aggression pact.

Behind Brandt's moves lies new efforts both on the part of the United States rulers and the Kremlin bosses to bring about some sort of "stability" in Europe. These big power moves follow almost immediately on the heels of the Italian General Strike which brought out some 20 million workers in one of the most massive class actions of the postwar period. At the same time the Czech regime, with Russian prodding, has marked the week with a deepening of the purge of dissidents on all levels in the country.

It becomes clear that behind the talks of arms limitations, collaboration on banning nuclear weapons on the ocean floor, new signatories to the non-proliferation treaty, the proposed Soviet-Bonn pact on renunciation of force, and talk of broader guarantees of the existing state of things in Europe, stands the growing desire of the capitalist rulers to collaborate with the Soviet bureaucrats AGAINST the interests of the rebellious working class in both East and West Europe.

BRANDT

There is very good reason why Herr Brandt emerges as a central figure in all these maneuvers, with Bonn rather than Helsinki becoming the axis of East-West relations. The emergence of Brandt together with the eclipse of DeGaulle marks the end of an era in which a section of the European bourgeoisie sought to open up a road independent of the United States. Brandt and his Social Democratic party are the open agents of the American ruling class and made this clear by ratifying the non-proliferation treaty which Kissinger had sat on for so long.

Moscow recognizes this, and it is this, rather than any "socialist" character of his regime, which is behind Moscow's positive reaction to Brandt's initiative. Moscow has know for some time that nothing of any meaning could be negotiated with Kissinger or DeGaulle who might talk independently but were incapable of doing anything in Europe without United States approval and support. So Moscow seeks a deal with the United States through Herr Brandt.

It is one thing to want a deal and it is quite another thing to achieve it. The very same force which makes such a deal urgent--the working class--is constantly upsetting the efforts to bring it about. At the same time while the current governments in Paris and Bonn--and in London as well--are openly subservient to U.S. interests, the underlying world economic crisis tends to pit America against Europe and vice versa. Thus the negotiations become highly complex and the process of detente very slow indeed.

VIETNAM

For instance, we have the Vietnam war which is the most intense manifestation of the worldwide class struggle--class pitted against class, arms in hand. The United States is in this war up to its bloody neck, as Songmy underlines, and the Soviet



BRANDT AND SCHILLER (LEFT) MANEUVER WITH SOVIETS WHILE SMITH AND SEMYONOV CLINK GLASSES IN HELSINKI

Union must support North Vietnam and the NLF. But how can any serious arrangement between the Kremlin and the U.S. be worked out in Europe while Asia is torn asunder by bloody war? It is no simple matter to end the Vietnam war because this war involves the movement of masses of workers and peasants.

Then there is the, on the surface, curious business about England's entry into the Common Market. For a decade the United States has supported British entry, only to be blocked by DeGaulle. Now, with DeGaulle out of the picture and good friend Brandt in the driver's seat, the first moves towards British en-



try go through like a hot knife through butter.

But is there cheering in the White House? Only a very embarrassing silence followed by lukewarm statements of agreement. It seems the United States is now worried that British entry will cut off the British market as far as American agricultural exports are concerned, right at a time when the international agricultural market is weak and the U.S. balance of trade figures miserable.

Then there is the contrast between the warm reaction of NATO to the Warsaw Pact's reaction to Brandt's initiative. This contrasts sharply with Secretary of State Rogers' cold

water statements in Brussels warning about "unrealistic and premature" negotiations over a "nebulous and imprecise" agenda.

HORSE

So we get a picture of Nixon riding the German horse which has the bit between its teeth and is tearing across the pea patch towards the Russian barn more interested in its own hay than in its rider. The Europeans are interested in securing the region against the workers as much as it is possible with Soviet aid and at the same time getting perhaps a little economic advantage with East European trade and with the British even at the expense of the U.S. The United States wants Europe secure for its own investments and against the Soviet countries and the workers, but it must also look after its own interests in Asia with the Vietnam war, and its shaky economy, even at the expense of Europe.

The working class has nothing to gain whatsoever from any of these maneuvers with Eastern Europe or over the Common Market. Whether the thieves fall in or they fall out is a tactical matter for us. We would rather have them fall out. What is a matter of principle is the continued and deepened struggle of workers throughout Europe against capitalism and the bureaucracies in the workers states which serve capitalism. To lead this struggle is the task of the Fourth International.

## U.S. PLANS VICIOUS TRADE WAR

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The economic crisis of capitalism continues to deepen.

Even the most optimistic forecasts for the U.S. anticipate the development of complete economic stagnation with an overall real growth for 1970 of very close to zero.

The next year will see the addition to the labor force of nearly a quarter of a million men cut from the armed forces' strength as well as 1.7 million high school and college graduates. Thus even accepting the "rosiest" predictions of the capitalist economists and not counting the hundreds of thousands slated to be laid off in industries such as defense, the next year will see at least 2 million new workers pounding the pavements for jobs in a situation in which not a single new job will be created.

All of this takes place within a context of a shrinking trade surplus and the most catastrophic balance of payments deficit since World War II with inflation approaching 6%. The declining ability of the U.S. to compete in international markets is reflected in actual trade deficits in the first two quarters of 1969 and a miniscule surplus in the third quarter. Compare this to the trade surpluses of \$7 billion in 1964 and about \$5 billion in 1965 and 1966.

DEFICIT

Indeed the cost of the war, soaring interest rates in Europe and U.S. investment abroad will bring the balance of payments for 1969 to over \$9 billion. The highest previous deficit never went over \$4 billion. All of this makes it crystal clear that present policies of deflation, high interest rates, tax surcharges and preparations for mass unemployment and war on the unions are not temporary aberrations.

These same economic realities mean that all the talk of free trade and expansion of international com-

merce is just a smokescreen behind which the U.S. prepares for a vicious trade war with its European and Japanese rivals. Nixon's recent message to Congress on trade, for all its liberal rhetoric, reveals the beginning of a major shift in U.S. policy towards its competitors. Nixon said: "By nature and definition, trade is a two way street. We must make every effort to ensure that American products are allowed to compete in world markets on equitable terms. These efforts will be more successful if we have the means to take effective action."

The meaning of these ominous words was made very concrete in a request for the power to raise tariffs, impose import quotas or retaliate as he sees fit against any nation that imposes what U.S. capitalism sees as unjustifiable restrictions on its exports. Nixon also demanded the right to deal as he sees fit with tariffs against any nation which subsidizes its exports to third countries thus injuring U.S. sales.

In addition the administration plans the introduction of a whole series of measures designed to put real teeth into its turn towards trade war. Loans of the Export-Import bank to banks for financing loans to exporters are to be tripled. The Treasury is preparing measures to aid exports through tax incentives and deferred taxation to enable corporations to plow back profits into promotion of exports without being taxed until the distribution of dividends. Also being contemplated is a value-added tax on the model of the Common Market to directly subsidize exports by increasing taxes on imports and allowing tax rebates on exports.

RIVALRY

The trend toward international rivalry and dog eat dog trade wars is clear. These measures come at a time when the European bourgeoisie

is faced with a major offensive by its own working class. There is no way out for them short of the most brutal suppression of the working class, in an effort to defend themselves from U.S. economic pressure. These measures can only deepen the crisis of the Japanese already engaged in a cutthroat war with the U.S. for European markets and at the same time dependent on the U.S. for over 30% of their export market.

Rather than solving anything the recent revaluations and devaluations in Europe represent only a ferocious jockeying for position for the coming period of international revolutionary explosions.

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# SSEU RANKS FIGHT WELFARE REORGANIZATION

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK-- The SSEU-371 Committee for a New Leadership is now moving into high gear in its campaign against the City and the Morgestern leadership for a contract reopener in order to throw out the City's vicious reorganization schemes.

At the last Delegates Assembly, members of the Committee put a motion on the floor demanding the reopening of the 1969 contract backed by a January 12th strike deadline around demands for a sixty case-load limit, immediate rehiring, an end to earmarking and the harassing "self-audit" procedures. This program, the Committee contended, was the only way to fight the very heart of the problems in the Department--reorganization.

Between 15-20 rank and filers from Fulton Center, where a motion had been passed supporting these demands, attended the meeting, fighting to force the leadership to take up the struggle. When the motion was defeated the delegates proved themselves to be miles behind the rank and file in both militancy and understanding of the real meaning of the term "attrition."

## OVERWORK

The motion that did pass was the motion put forward by the Morgestern leadership for a recommendation to the membership of a strike referendum for demands within the confines of the current contract. This means posing the fight in the context of obtaining certain easements regarding harassment and new procedures, hiring sufficiently to maintain the 75 caseload and a bigger overwork pay bonus to compensate for overwork only until such time as the City goes ahead with full reorganization plans.

These demands do not touch the question of caseload limitation. The fact of the matter is, that as more cases are piled on the worker, the cheaper each case is for the City to finance. Within the confines of the 1969 contract, Morgestern cannot demand pay commensurate to the work being gotten out of staff. Morgestern hopes that he will be able to satisfy the militancy of staff with a call for strike, but proposes no serious demands for a solution to the problems in the Department. Once a strike is called, and the City gives in on a few tertiary issues, he will try to call staff back into the center, telling them that they have won a great victory.

Members of this union should not be fooled! The only answer to the overwork and harassment in Welfare is a fair caseload limitation, rehiring, and the reinstatement of promotional opportunities. These are precisely the issues which Morgestern will not raise because he does not want to repudiate the rotten contract he negotiated. He refuses to really



CASEWORKERS (BERGEN CENTER SHOWN HERE) FACE REAL ATTACKS

fight Goldberg's cynical reorganization schemes.

PL

Standing even to the right of the union bureaucracy on this question is the Progressive Labor supported Worker - Client Alliance. These phoney militants not only voted against the proposals of the Committee for a New Leadership for a contract reopener, but voted against the Executive Board's recommendation for a strike referendum. At a meeting of union militants in Brooklyn the Monday before, representatives of this group argued for "militant demonstrations" in the centers, and the possible closing down of one center for a day. Proposals for guerilla warfare, at a time when the whole fate of the union is at stake, are nothing less than disastrous. The City would want nothing better than an excuse to pick off the militants in one center at a time. Isolated actions under these conditions serve to demoralize workers by dissipating energies which could be sharply thrust against the City.

The representative of the Worker-Client Alliance who spoke at the Delegates' Assembly tried to bolster his anti-labor stance with the rationale that the rising caseload is not important, and that the major factor in the work problems is the harassment which derives solely from the City's desire to tighten up on the clients. In other words, they want to turn the whole thing into a client issue, to fit their own opportunistic alliance with the client groups. Their analysis misses the whole point of the City's reorganization scheme. Reorganization was instituted for the major purpose of cutting down on labor costs. It is undeniable that the government wants to cut down on welfare allotments, and that this, too, must be fought. However, this factor must not be used as an excuse to refuse to take up the fight for the workers.

## "THEORY"

A demonstration of workers and clients for their respective demands is fine, but anything short of an all out fight against reorganization and the 1969 contract which legitimized that reorganization is detrimental to both workers and clients. The Worker-Client Alliance holds at the heart of their program the theory that, since the welfare system is a very reactionary part of the capitalist system, welfare workers' consciousness is raised by convincing the workers how reactionary their job is. This theory leads them to such dangerous positions as supporting the 1969 contract and reorganization, and refusing to vote for strike proposals when the workers are being attacked.

Despite all of the Worker-Client Alliance's "left" propaganda, its perspective is absolutely reactionary

and poses a grave danger to the workers and the clients. Behind all its talk of guerrilla warfare is its refusal to take on the fight against the attacks on wages and working conditions, the fight against the leadership in the unions, and above all the fight against the City. It proposes isolated actions as diversions whose purpose it is to advance the interests of the Worker-Client Alliance and Progressive Labor and not the interests of the working class. We say the ranks must repudiate

## Bosses Introduce Time Study At Beth Israel Hospital

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK-- Hospital workers face a new and dangerous attack with the introduction of time studies at Beth Israel Hospital. It is probable that other hospitals such as Mount Sinai, Bronx Lebanon and Brooklyn Jewish which claim huge financial deficits are also planning if not already using such studies.



LEON DAVIS

At Beth Israel, a meeting was called in November of the entire Housekeeping staff to "introduce" the efficiency experts hired by the administration. Workers were asked to cooperate with the men who would be observing them at work to "make their job easier." This is a complete lie. The time study is the beginning of a reorganization of the staff in order to save the bosses money by speed up and lay offs.

Workers began to understand what the time study really meant when weeks later housekeeping workers who previously had been assigned one floor to clean were given two whole floors. The nursing aides were also given double work which means running up and down between two floors trying to take care of about 70 patients.

When the job freeze began at the hospitals, the 1199 leadership told workers there was nothing to worry about--"Just do your 8 hours work." The leadership never fought the job freeze which has left the door open for these productivity schemes and speed up. Neither does it reassure workers to be told by the union leaders that "there will be no lay offs" when they are under constant harassment every day.

While the bosses may not take the workers on immediately in a headon

clash in the form of mass lay offs, they are attacking the workers by continuing the attrition and overwork to force the workers into a position where they either resign or are fired for insubordination. Under these conditions the leadership's pat assurances about working an 8 hour day becomes an excuse for the Administration to get rid of rebellious workers. Just who determines what an 8 hour day consists of? The time studies are aimed at eliminating all kinds of "non-essential" labor, that is, increasing the amount of actual labor a worker does and increasing the pace at which he works. What this all means is the bosses will attempt to gain complete control over working conditions.

## PROGRAM

The SSEU-371 membership must take a firm stand on the question of clear-cut, spelled-out demands at the next membership meeting. They must be demands which clearly challenge the City's desire to cut down on labor costs. The program outlined by the CNL is the only one which really poses a solution to the present crisis in the Welfare department.

We urge the ranks to vote with the CNL on a motion demanding the reopening of the 1969 contract backed by a Jan.13th strike deadline around the following demands: No Separation, Hiring Now, No Earmarking, Reopening of Promotions, No Elimination of Titles, A 1970 Penalty Clause of \$150 for each case over 60, Immediate Payment of All Money Owed Staff, Return to 60 Caseload, No Implementation of Accountability, and Reinstatement of Field Days.

clash in the form of mass lay offs, they are attacking the workers by continuing the attrition and overwork to force the workers into a position where they either resign or are fired for insubordination. Under these conditions the leadership's pat assurances about working an 8 hour day becomes an excuse for the Administration to get rid of rebellious workers. Just who determines what an 8 hour day consists of? The time studies are aimed at eliminating all kinds of "non-essential" labor, that is, increasing the amount of actual labor a worker does and increasing the pace at which he works. What this all means is the bosses will attempt to gain complete control over working conditions.

## CLASSIFICATIONS

In line with this the bosses are trying to break down job classifications and titles wherever they exist and to create a pool of labor within each department. At Beth Israel the maintenance workers have been deadlocked with the Administration for months over this question. Although supposedly hired for a specific job they are asked to take any piece of work that comes along.

Hospital workers must demand that the 1199 leadership fight these attacks now. The union's claim that job security was not seriously threatened has left the workers defenseless. A situation is developing where workers must fight back with work stoppages and job actions. The union ban on any kind of work stoppage under conditions of speed up helps the bosses to keep workers in line.

A motion must be made at the delegates meetings and chapter meetings that city wide noon hour demonstrations to be held to demand: Immediate rehiring--End the Job Freeze and No Cooperation with any Time Study. Unless the fight is taken up against the job freeze working conditions will continue to decline and lay offs are inevitable. Specific job titles must be one of the demands for the next contract which means union control over working conditions.

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# FASCISM AND THE

# GERMAN WORKING CLASS 1930-1933

## PART TWO--THE RETREAT OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

**IN MAY 1930, Hitler had already risked a split within his Party from those who took the 'socialist' parts of the Nazi programme seriously. To these members (such as Gregor Strasser) Hitler made clear where his class sympathies lay:**

**'The capitalists have worked their way to the top through their capacity, and on the basis of this selection, which again only proves their higher race, they have a right to lead.'**

Asked by Strasser if the Party would challenge the Krupp's empire when it came to power, Hitler replied:

**'Of course I would leave it alone. Do you think that I should be so mad as to destroy Germany's economy?'**

**'Eased of the burden borne by true revolutionaries,' commented Strasser, 'Hitler crowded on sail and made in the direction of the old-school reactionaries. Nothing more stood in the way of a close alliance with capitalism and heavy industry.'**

The ensuing election results of September 1930 should therefore have been a clear warning to both the workers' parties as well as the trade unions (the ADGB) that big business was on the offensive.

Only a few days before the election, Hitler made a sensational appearance at the trial of three junior army officers, charged with circulating Nazi propaganda inside the armed forces. Hitler used the speech as a defence witness to openly bid for support from the Junker officer corps:

**'We shall see to it that when we have come to power, out of the**

**present Reichswehr a great German People's Army shall arise. . . . I can assure you that when the National Socialist movement's struggle is successful, then there will be a Nazi Court of Justice. The 1918 November Revolution will be avenged, and heads will roll.'**

Far from the trial blocking the growth of Nazi influence, it boosted Hitler's standing enormously amongst the national middle class and the army leaders.

Only days later came the election. Now the Nazi vote soared from its previous level of under a million to over six million.

Just as significantly, the Social-Democrats, in an increased poll of four millions, lost over half a million voters—many of them to the Communist Party. At a time when fresh millions should have been rallied in a struggle against capitalism, the Party that claimed to represent German socialism began to decline.

How did the leaders of this Party react to the sharp turn in the political situation?

Far from alerting its members (still over a million) and supporters to the new dangers implicit in the Nazi vote, it continued to provide the 'left' prop of the Brüning Presidential regime. But in clutching at Brüning it was also clutching at a rotting rope, for the parties on which the coalition depended were losing voters in their millions—either to the left, to the Communist Party, or to the Nazis.

### **Forces gather**

The apparent stability of the Brüning regime was an illusion. As yet, neither the left nor the right had mustered sufficient forces to overthrow it.

From September 1930 Germany therefore moved into a two-and-a-half-

**A series of six articles**

**by ROBERT BLACK**



*The next step after the September 1930 elections was the ending of Brüning's government. Von Papen, a Junker who married into a heavy industrialist's family, agreed with Hitler to head an interim Cabinet after Brüning was removed.*

*Papen is seen on Hitler's right, Goering on his left and in spiked hat heading their procession Hindenburg, behind whom the Social-Democrats lined up in the March 1932 presidential elections as the 'lesser evil'.*

year period of Bonapartist regimes, under which the Nazis were finally able to gather their forces for the final overturn. Thanks to the tactics of the Social-Democrats, their job was made easy.

Already real power was being applied directly through the state apparatus. Emergency bills to deal with the economic crisis were railroaded through, backed by Presidential decree. And even more menacingly, on the streets now appeared the Nazi private armies, well armed, clothed and fed. The funds from big business, mobilized by von Thyssen and Keppler, were being well spent. Workers' meetings and demonstrations were broken up, their premises raided and wrecked, and printing presses destroyed.

In the storm troopers was being moulded a core of anti-communist thugs that would systematically demoralize and finally smash the German labour movement. Not votes, but brute force, was going to settle things in Germany.

The policy of 'toleration' of Brüning



Gregor Strasser (a 'left' Nazi wiped out in the 'Night of the Long Knives'), seen at left with hand in pocket, was told that capitalists like Krupp, above in bowler hat, would not be challenged.



followed by the Social-Democrats without doubt helped to swell the ranks of the SA. By throwing its weight behind support for a dying republic, they were at once identified in the eyes of millions of middle-class people with the system that was driving them to ruin. Politically immature and backward, these middle strata could see only one thing: the Social-Democrats were for the decaying, crisis-racked Republic; the Nazis were against it. Nazi agitators were not slow to capitalize on the loyalty of the reformists to the Weimar system:

'This Party (the SPD) once made so great by the burning brain of a Bebel (one of its founders in 1863) and by the sacrifice and renunciation of thousands and thousands of ardent hearts, has now become the party of Bauer, of Heilmann, of Richter and of Leinert . . .' (Gregor Strasser).

The Social-Democratic Party and the unions were seen by millions (whose objective class position was not in conflict with the working class) as the corruption and bureaucratic backbone of a doomed system. In that judgement, they were not far out. But in plumping for the Nazis, they backed a party that was to usher in a regime far worse even than that presided over by Social-Democracy.

The reformist Fritz Tarnow summed up this contradictory and fatalistic position of the Social-Democratic Party in 1931, when he asked:

'Are we sitting at the sickbed of capitalism, not only as doctors who want to cure the patient, but also as cheerful heirs . . .? Our entire position is expressed in this image. We are condemned, I think, to be doctors who seriously desire a cure, and yet we also maintain the feeling

that we are heirs who wish to receive the entire legacy of capitalism. . . . This double role, doctor and heir, is a damned difficult task.'

Small wonder that in times of great crisis, the middle classes never rally to Social-Democracy. They look for a way out, a decisive lead.

The SPD was too busy reviving the sick patient of German capitalism to notice the millions who now rose up in blind anger against it. They ignored them at their peril.

After the Nazi party's dazzling success at the September polls, important new sections of business, previously linked to the more moderate parties of the right, now turned to Hitler. It was clear that their supporters were about to be swallowed up by the Nazi tide.

Among these new converts to fascism were Voegler, of the United Steel Trust, von Schnitzler of I.G. Farben, Rosterg and Diehm from the Potash Trusts, Cuno of the Hamburg-Amerika shipping line, Wolff and Baron Kurt

Democrats for support, was unable to mount the attacks on the working class that big business and the military had agreed were necessary.

## 'Powerful state'

Von Papen, a Junker who had married into a heavy industrialist's family, agreed with Hitler to head an interim Cabinet after the removal of Brüning. Brüning retaliated by imposing a ban on all activities of the Nazi private armies.

Hitler decided to measure his strength against the left and centre by contesting the Presidential elections in the March of 1932. In preparation for his campaign, Thyssen introduced him to a meeting of the Dusseldorf Industrialists' club (January 27, 1932), where he laid out his strategy for the next year:

'In the economic sphere communism is analogous to democracy in the political sphere. . . . Communism is more than just a mob storming about in our German streets. It is taking over the entire Asian world. Unemployment is driving millions of Germans to look on communism as the logical theoretical counterpart of their actual economic situation. We cannot cure this state of affairs by emergency decrees. There can be only one basic solution—the realization that a flourishing economic life must be protected by a flourishing, powerful state. Behind this economic life must stand the determined will of the nation ready to strike, and strike hard.'

All his millionaire audience knew who it was the state had to strike against—the left parties, and, above all, the trade unions. They still stood between the German ruling class and Hitler's 'flourishing economic life'.

## Hindenburg backed

This was a significant turning point for it involved a clash with President Hindenburg, who had not the least intention of retiring after his seven years of office. To back Hitler against the leader of the traditional Nationalist Right marked a decisive turn from the compromises of the Weimar Republic. The end was in sight.

Again we have to ask: How did the Social-Democrats rally their supporters against this challenge from the Nazis? **They did not even dare to run their own candidate!**

Instead, they swung their voters in behind, of all people, President Field Marshal Hindenburg, life-long enemy of socialism, the working class and even the mildest forms of republicanism. Of course, the Social-Democrats supported Hindenburg reluctantly, on the basis of the 'lesser evil', but support him they did.

Otto Braun, the Social-Democratic President of the Prussian State administration, spoke up for the Field Marshal, calling on workers to vote for him against Hitler (Ernst Thaelman, the Communist leader, was also standing):

'I have got to know the President as a man upon whose word one can rely.'

Within four months, Braun was to find out how much that word was really worth. And in a letter to Karl Kautsky, Braun boasted that he 'had been working for months to ensure his candidature, recognizing that it was the only way to prevent a Nazi being elected President'. True to form, the Social-Democrats viewed everything, even the struggle against the anti-parliamentary Nazis, through the parliamentary prism.

Hitler, though not beating Hindenburg, now pushed his vote up to a fantastic 13½ million. Papen's plan now came into operation. Brüning was dismissed by the Field Marshal and von

Papen (with Hitler's tacit support) appointed in his stead.

## Article 48 used

At once, von Papen's 'Cabinet of Barons' (all but two of its members were from the aristocracy) lifted the ban on the storm troopers. It mattered little if Papen could command only 50 or so votes in the Reichstag. Far more than Brüning's, his Cabinet rested on the right, on the mass Nazi terror in the streets. In the few months that von Papen held power, hundreds were killed and thousands injured in bitter street battles between the forces of the left and the Nazis. Germany now hovered on the brink of civil war.

But Papen was not a Nazi. He leaned on their terror gangs as a counterweight to the working class, but he drew back from their extremist solutions. Instead, he fought the Social-Democrats with their own weapons. On July 20, 1932 **five policemen**, armed with nothing more lethal than a Presidential writ of dismissal, ejected Braun and company from their offices in the Prussian State buildings in Berlin. Their 13-year tenure of office was brought to an end through the use of the constitution which brought them to power after their betrayal of the November 1918 Revolution. They could hardly complain—it was **their Article 48**.

If they went meekly, the Prussian workers did not. Especially in Berlin, the workers took to the streets (now full of armed police) many making for their party and trade union headquarters. In the Alexander Platz, mounted police under Social-Democratic command (the Prussian Minister of the Interior was the reformist, Carl Severing) charged the workers. A spontaneous strike broke out at the giant Siemens' works in Berlin. Thousands of workers grouped together, awaiting advice from their 'leaders' as the next step.

The advice came the next morning. After an all-night joint meeting of trade union and SPD leaders, next morning's reformist press carried its decision to the millions of workers threatened by military dictatorship:

'Everyone to the polls on the 31st of July! (The date of the elections to the new Reichstag.) Thus will the politically conscious working class

Having lost half a million votes in the September 1930 elections, the Social-Democrats continued to prop up Brüning, below



of Germany put an end to the regime of the Barons.'

## Street battles

Such was the 'reply' of the SPD and trade union leaders. Small wonder that millions of waverers, including many thousands of state officials at all levels, made up their minds that Hitler was going to win.

Goebbels, beside himself with joy at the rout of the Prussian Social-Democrats and trade unions, noted in his diary on July 21:

'The Reds have missed their great hour. It will never return.'

Every night now, expeditions of Nazi thugs drove into working-class districts, killing, beating up, looting and wrecking.

Between June 1 and 20, there were 461 pitched battles in the streets of Prussia alone, with 82 killed and 400 seriously wounded. On Sunday, July 17, three days before von Papen's coup, the Nazis marched into Altona, a communist-dominated suburb of Hamburg, with full police protection (these were Carl Severing's men). The Nazis needed their protection.

In the ensuing battle, 19 were shot dead and 285 wounded on both sides. Despite treachery at the top, the German working class fought on.

At the elections which the SPD said were to be their reply to the extreme right, the Nazis pushed up their vote to its highest level under the Weimar Republic: 13½ million. Despairing of salvation from the left, a big section of the unemployed workers (some having been without work for three or more years) swung over to the Nazis.

Inevitably, their passive acceptance of the Papen coup hit the SPD. Its vote fell by 600,000, most of which was transferred to the Communist Party. The once dominant party of the 'grand coalition' was now visibly disintegrating—without a fight.

But still the elections had not brought a solution. The Nazis, it was clear, would never secure a parliamentary majority on their own. And if forced into a coalition with any one of the centre parties, their own extremist solutions to the crisis could not begin. The Nazis were an indispensable counterweight to the left parties and the trade unions, but the leaders of the centre parties still balked at a 100 per cent Nazi dictatorship.

The Bonapartist formula having been played out (but not before Papen issued a Presidential decree authorizing employers to slash wages by as much as 50 per cent), fresh pressure was brought to bear on the President to appoint Hitler as the head of a Nationalist-Nazi coalition. New elections were called, this time for November 6, 1932.

Filling the gap between von Papen and Hitler was the two-month interregnum of Kurt von Schleicher, who three years previously had begun the conspiracy to bring down the Weimar republic.

But before he took office, the election revealed a crisis in the Nazi ranks. Hitler's vote had dropped away by two million, many of them middle-class voters swinging back to their old par-

*Backed by big business, aristocracy and the military, Hitler makes his first speech in the Reichstag, which was soon to pass an enabling act giving total powers to him*

ties, while still others, mainly unemployed workers (unemployment was now seven million), plumped for the Communist Party, whose vote reached almost six million.

## Industrialists move

The old split between the 'radicals' and the pro-capitalists broke out once more in the Nazi party. Gregor Strasser, sensing that the party's identification with big business was losing it support, joined with von Schleicher in attempts to form a coalition with representatives of the army and the . . . trade unions!

These talks, which we will examine in the next part of the article, broke down when heavy industry and the bankers declared their hostility to any concessions to the working class.

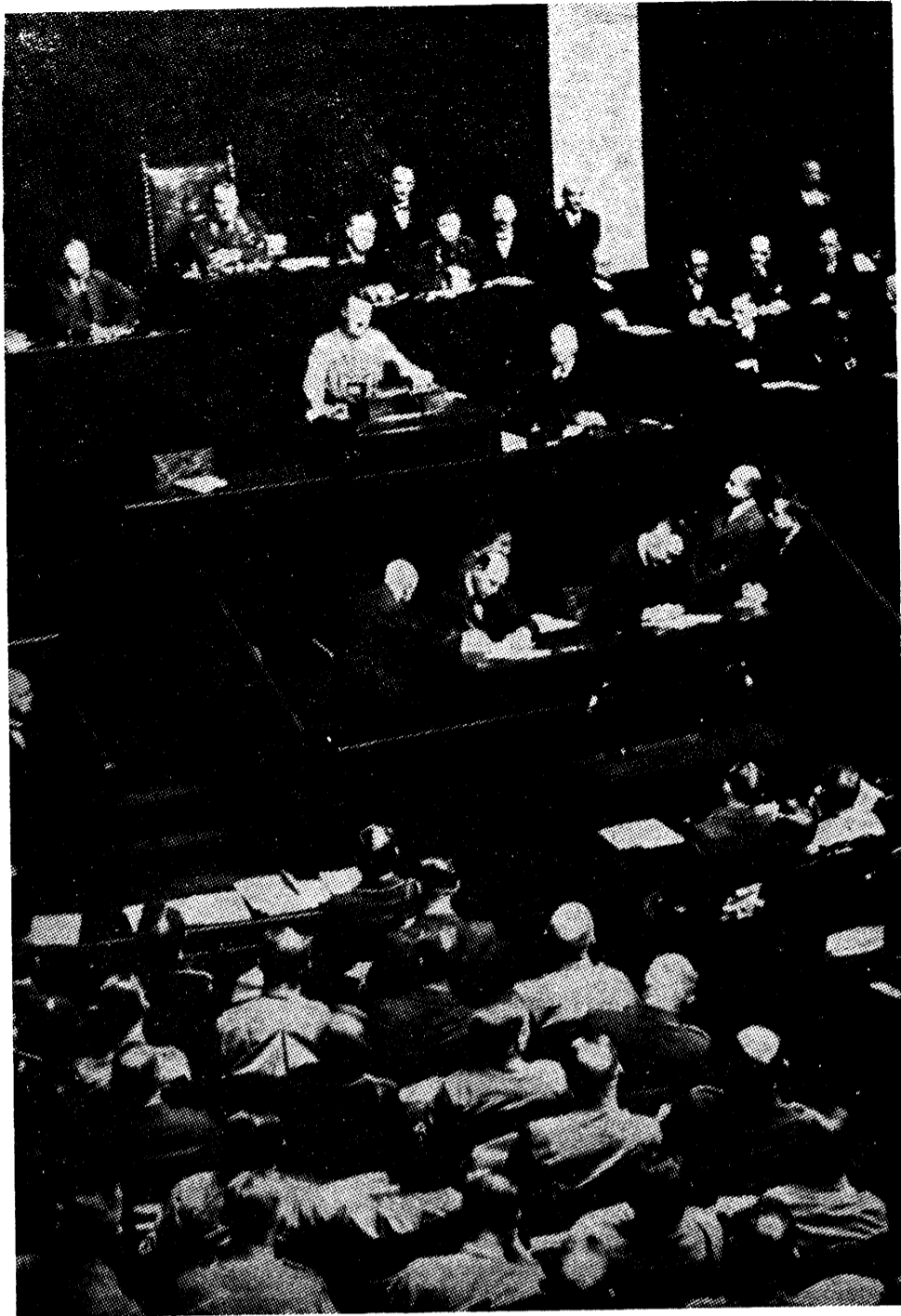
Despite, or rather because of, the decline in the Nazi vote (it was now or never), the ruling class moved at last. A petition, signed by 38 leading industrialists and bankers, was forwarded to the President, calling on Hindenburg (for whom the SPD had voted only nine months previously) to appoint Hitler as Chancellor:

'By entrusting the leader of the largest national group with the responsible leadership of a Presidential cabinet . . . the blemishes and errors which afflict any mass movement will perforce be eliminated.'

With this new initiative by industry, von Schleicher was doomed. The final plans for the new, Hitler-led cabinet were drawn up on January 4, 1933, at the house of the Cologne banker, Baron von Schroeder. Present at this fateful meeting, besides Hitler and Schroeder, von Papen (to become Vice-Chancellor), Himmler (head of the SS, the elite terror squad that was soon to replace the 'socialist' infected SA), Hess and Keppler (the Nazi contact man in industry).

What Schroeder says of this meeting is important:

'On November 6, 1932, when the Nazis suffered their first setback, the support of German industry was particularly urgent. The feeling common to the whole of industry was the fear of Bolshevism and the hope that, once the Nazis were in power, it would provide Germany with solid political and economic foundations. There was another point in common: the desire for realizing Hitler's industrial programme. (Re-armament).



This programme was well known to industrial circles and was well received.'

Meanwhile, the reformist press chattered away as if the Nazis were already finished:

'It is ten years ago that we foretold the bankruptcy of National Socialism' bragged the SPD daily, 'Vorwärts'. 'It is there in black and white in our paper.'

And thus the 'Leipziger Volkszeitung' on January 21:

'We cannot escape from the smell of the rotting carcass. Fascism is definitely beaten: it will not rise again.'

These cowardly bureaucrats, who fought Hitler's armed bands with ballot slips and back copies of the party's journals, still could not see destruction staring them in their faces. The smell was not that of the Nazis—it emanated from the carcass of Social-Democracy.

Money, previously hard to come by, rolled into the Nazi coffers. Goebbels could now write after the meeting with von Schroeder that 'the financial situation has now improved all of a sudden'.

The deadline for the formation of a new cabinet, January 30, 1933, approached. No other formula was possible except a government dominated by the Nazis. Their loss of votes meant nothing to big business. They were all sworn enemies of even bourgeois democracy anyway.

## 'Constitutional'

In accordance with the Weimar constitution, Hitler was asked by the President (the man whose word Braun felt he could trust and for whom his party had voted the previous spring, 'against' Hitler) to form a 'government of national concentration'.

Once again, the workers readied themselves for strike action. But the leader of the SPD Reichstag deputies, Rudolf Breitscheid, still shrank from class action against the Nazis.

'So long as Hitler keeps to the path of the Constitution, he would be leading a lawful government, which we must and can oppose, but which is still a lawful constitutional [sacred word] government.'

The Party press echoed the cowardice of its leaders:

'In the face of this government and its threats of a coup d'état, the Social-Democrats . . . stand foursquare on the ground of the Constitution and of legality. It will not be the first to forsake them.'

The next day, February 1, the Party warned the seething working class not to undertake 'undisciplined acts by individual organizations or groups that might cause grave damage to the whole working class'.

If there were such 'undisciplined acts', the whole responsibility for such isolated, leaderless struggles fell on the shoulders of the SPD and trade union bureaucracy.

On July 20, 1932, and again on



A 'Yes-button' is pinned on Vice-Chancellor Franz Von Papen during the German plebiscite on leaving the League of Nations in November 1933

Uniformed SA men handing out leaflet for the 1933 election after wh the Nazis quickly moved into act against the trade unic Communist Pe and, of course, the Social Democr



January 30, millions of workers had waited for the call. Loyal to the last to the organizations they had built up over 70 years, they could only fight effectively as members of their parties and unions.

The treachery of their leaders now delivered the working class up to the Nazi regime. Under the terror, they could now only hope to save themselves as individuals. Struggle without organization was suicidal.

To make the point even clearer to Hitler that the bureaucracy was loyal to the new regime, the huge Transport Union, which had deposited its funds (15 million marks) in Holland during

the period of Papen's rule, now brought them back to Germany.

On May 2, 1933, this cash was to find its way into the Nazi treasury. Hitler had long before decided to smash the unions. Cringing gestures such as this only made him more certain that there would be no opposition.

### S.P.D. epitaph

Let Otto Wels sum up in his own craven words the essence of the SPD strategy in the rise to power of the Nazis. After the March 5 elections, staged in an atmosphere of anti-com-

munist terror and hysteria, Hitler at last achieved the result he had been working for. Together with the Nationalists, he commanded a majority in the Reichstag (the communist deputies had either been banned from taking their seats or arrested). Already killings and deportations to the labour camps had begun. Yet this 'Marxist' (for the SPD leaders still claimed to be the true bearers of the Marxist heritage) spoke these words before a newly assembled Reichstag that had just voted Hitler unlimited powers:

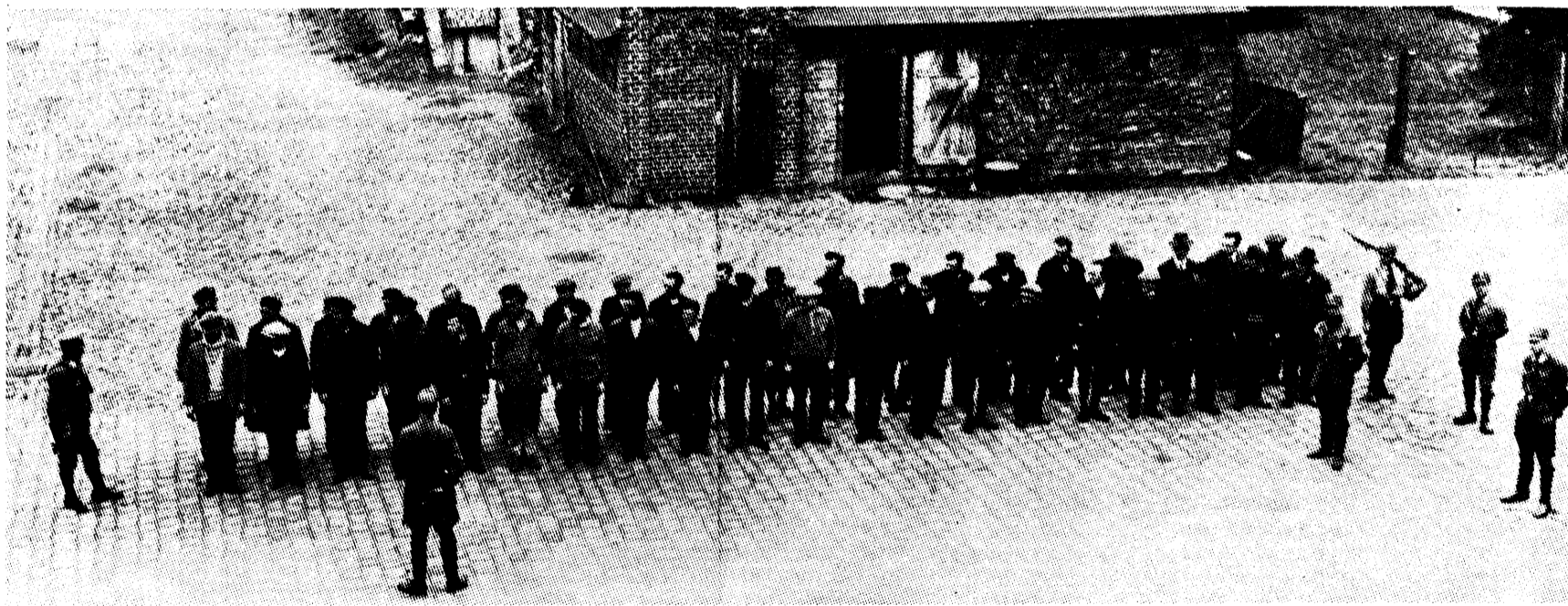
"The election of March 5 has given a majority to the government parties and thereby given them a chance to govern according to the text and the

spirit of the constitution. We accept there present rule as a fact. However, the people's sense of justice is also a political force, and we shall not cease to appeal to this sense of justice.'

Hitler's scornful reply is an apt epitaph for the SPD of the Weimar Republic:

"You come late, but yet you come. But you are no longer needed. . . . Your death knell has sounded!"

Part Three of the Robert Black series, "The Betrayal of the Trade Unions", will appear in next week's issue of the BULLETIN.



Oranienburg concentration camp 1933 --its first inmates were communists and trade union militants

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# CAMBRIDGE COPS FRAME SDS ACTIVISTS

BY OUR CAMBRIDGE CORRESPONDENT  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.-- The outcome of an incident on November 8th in which Eric Mann and 23 other Weathermen were accused of firing two bullets through a window of the Cambridge police station, further exposes the crass hypocrisy of the capitalists who will permit their

'venerable' courts and police forces to carry through with the fabrication of accusations and bribes--virtually ANY charges in order to oppose militant action.

Charges against Mann and the 23 other Weathermen of conspiracy to commit murder were dismissed Saturday by Judge M. Edward Viola of

the East Cambridge District Court, who closed the hearing with the way off-key remark that "These men and women have gained their freedom by the same system they are trying to destroy."

As revealed in Court, the Cambridge police bribed James W. Paradise, a 16-year-old ninth grade drop-out with \$10 to testify against the Weathermen. Paradise was picked up by the police on Nov. 17th as a runaway, and then was forced to sign a false statement that he had witnessed the Weathermen planning and executing the shooting. "Four policemen had me against a wall, slapping me around. What else could I do?" he said.

## ARRESTED

Paradise testified that Assistant District Attorney of Middlesex County, Richard A. Gargiulo, "prepared the statement and I forcibly put my name to it." On the night of the 17th, once Paradise had signed the false statement, the police arrested 23 Weathermen in three separate raids on houses in Cambridge.

All workers and other radical student movement groups as well, best beware of such disgusting frame-ups. This is merely a minor example of what the ruling class is capable of. If it means thwarting militant tendencies, the capitalists are never above devising the most corrupt schemes and slurring all the very scruples they're supposedly in business to protect.

But there's more to understand in connection with this incident. Although Viola did drop charges against Mann and the others of assault with intent to murder, last Wednesday he sentenced Mann and two other Weathermen to a year in jail on three counts of assault and battery result-

ing from disruption on September 25th of Harvard's Center for International Affairs (CFIA). In addition, five Weathermen bide their time before another trial, again this Wednesday in East Cambridge court, in connection with an incident on November 19th in which Weathermen and police clashed outside the Cambridge police station. Every confused and tantrum-like activity these 'radicals' conduct results in severe police attacks.

For as long as the Weathermen keep their "politics" within the confines of campus/community disruption, and student power antics, and continue their hostility to the working class, they will, in fact, hold back the struggle of the youth and achieve nothing for themselves beyond reprimands, heavy court fines, and jail sentences.

Merely demonstrating on the campus and provoking shoving matches with the local police has nothing whatsoever to do with smashing the imperialism that Weathermen slogan and chant about.

## DEFEAT

The vicious attacks on the Weathermen represent the brutality which the ruling class is prepared to use against the working class and the student movement in order to stifle any mobilization against its system. The central task posed to workers and students is the building of a disciplined Marxist party which can take on the state on its grounds and defeat it.

It is time NOW when strike waves persist in Italy and France, and while Nixon prepares for continued blows against the working class all over the world for students to recognize the absolute urgency of this task.

## attack montreal workers

BY MARTY JONAS

MONTREAL-- The attacks upon the Canadian working class continue in Montreal. Chairman of the Executive Committee of the city of Montreal,



LUCIEN SAULNIER

Lucien Saulnier, has followed up the City's bill against demonstrations with a sweeping red scare. He opened up a witch hunt on Thursday, Nov. 27th against the Company of Young Canadians, branding them the channel for funds to organizations promoting revolution in Quebec. The CYC is a government funded social welfare organization, much like the United States' VISTA.

Saulnier is doing his best, along with chief city attorney, Michel Cote, to whip up an atmosphere of witch hunt in which to firm up the current by-laws against demonstrations in Montreal.

Make no mistake, these laws and this witch hunt are aimed straight at the working class. The CYC is a convenient scapegoat right now for the purpose of opening the door for more and stronger measures against Canadian workers.

## BANS

Montreal is showing that it means business with the anti-demonstration laws. Last Friday evening, 162 women demonstrators--most of them separatists--were arrested while peacefully protesting the by-laws as a violation of the Canadian bill of rights.

At the massive Grey Cup parade (an annual Canadian Sports Day) this reporter witnessed two youths escorted away by helmeted police only minutes after unfurling a banner which read: "Welcome to Montreal--Highest Taxes in North America--Free Assembly Illegal."

The Canadian trade union movement must answer these attacks through labor action and through a fight by its own party, the NDP.

## Campus Worker-Student Alliance ; How It 'Works' At Stony Brook

BY MARK ROSENZWEIG

STONY BROOK, N.Y.-- SDS on this campus prides itself on its new "working class orientation." They claim to have gone beyond last year's student power "struggles" and moral crusades, and have advanced towards "correct politics." Their new line, however, as embodied in the Campus Worker-Student Alliance is nothing more than moralism and reformism.

CWSA's purported aim is to "raise consciousness" among students and fight their "anti-working class attitudes." The starting point of their work is the students and their consciousness, never the class struggle. In order to cover up their lack of any sort of consistent class analysis they make grandiose attempts to show the "material links" between students and workers. They claim they since "83% of the students will become workers" there is an identity of interests between them.

The CWSA utilizes such metaphysics and "facts" in order to give their student power activities a working class cover. Whether or not some students will become workers is not the basis upon which to determine their class position now. Students as students are not workers but are part of the middle class. As such their interests are not identical with the interests of the working class.

## PREACHING

SDS/CWSA is totally preoccupied with the establishment of an alliance with campus cafeteria workers. In an attempt to reconcile the conflict of interests inherent in this two class alliance, SDS relies on the power of preaching ("be nice to the workers; they have a tough time of it") and on absurd endeavors to show common interest ("the tuna fish bowl will always be filled if you ally with the workers").

While their approach to "consciousness" leads to moralizing among students, it leads to economism in their dealings with the workers. As one Stony Brook WSA member said, "We are not a party and we cannot lead the workers. The role of students is to unite behind workers in their struggles." Since both CWSA and its "parent" organization, Progressive Labor, can offer no program--can only speak abstractly about raising consciousness--they vacillate continually with the current level of consciousness in a most opportunist manner. In their "struggles" with campus workers the CWSA first assumed the role of union organizers, posing the trade unions as a necessary first step but lacking any program to go beyond that first step. According to one SDS'er: "We raise consciousness by talking about surplus value."

Abstracting Marxist economic theory from the class struggle and the class struggle from the objective conditions of capitalism, they inevitably lead the workers to reformism. There is no program for the indep-



CSWA IS COVER FOR STUDENT POWER AS AT YALE ABOVE

endent mobilization of the working class for the seizure of state power.

## BASE-BUILDING

CWSA claims they are "building a base in the working class" by taking jobs in cafeterias and talking to the workers. They pragmatically focus their attention on any available or active sector of the "oppressed." Their scope is delimited by the practical possibilities of student work on campus. They isolate the campus workers to an even greater extent through their incapability of linking them with the more essential sections of the working class.

The CWSA justifies its position on the basis that students "learn" from the workers, as if the working class exists solely for the purpose of schooling future PL members.

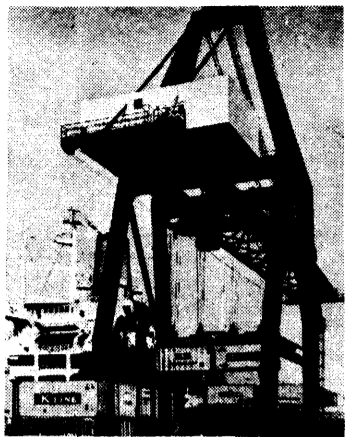
What has the CWSA done at Stony Brook? In their self-criticism, one CWSA member stated, "We made a mistake at first. We became trade union organizers." At the same meeting a cafeteria worker declared, "We can't do anything without student support." "Consciousness" has clearly been "lowered" if anything. The anti-ideologists of SDS/CWSA clearly present a danger with their poison spreading to the campus workers, who are being told that simply an alliance with students is the way to advance their struggles.

## REVOLUTION

We pose to Stony Brook SDS that it is only through the revolutionary party that students enter the workers' struggles. It is as revolutionaries, not as students, revolutionaries with a program and a perspective for seizing state power in this period of crisis, that we go to the workers.

By fighting us part of a revolutionary party, by fighting for a program for the victory of the working class on the basis of demands for big wage increases, for a four day week, for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, for the nationalization of basic industry under workers control and for a labor party, students can play an important role in the struggle not to reform capitalism but to smash it.

## CRISIS IN MARITIME



### PART ONE

BY TOM GORDON

President Nixon and Congress are engaged in a war against the American workers in an attempt to make them pay for the capitalists' deepening economic crisis. The Administration's maritime proposals sent to Congress on October 23rd are the opening gun of this attack in relation to maritime workers. The Nixon Plan is designed for one purpose and one purpose only--to aid the maritime bosses in making the U.S. maritime industry more competitive. Central in this strategy are the plans to lower labor costs, cutting out jobs, increasing productivity, and slashing wages. The proposed subsidies to the owners are tied to the ability of the employers to attack the wages and working conditions of maritime workers. As more and more the ranks of the maritime industry resist these attacks, the government together with the employers seek as their chief target the unions. An essential plank of Nixon's program is the hamstringing of the maritime unions.

Joe Curran of the National Maritime Union and Paul Hall of the Maritime Trades Department and the Seafarer's International Union bear special responsibility for promoting the plans of Nixon. These two bureaucrats are also guilty of ramming down the throats of their membership the 1969 NMU and SIU contracts, which open the way for further job and pay cuts.

The implementation of the Nixon Plan combined with the measures already underway will mean a showdown between the workers and the employers together with the government. The ranks must begin to prepare a strategy now to fight the complicity of their leaders with these plans and to launch a struggle to defend their wages, jobs and working conditions.

#### RUSTBUCKETS

Three fourths of American merchant vessels, compared to less than one fourth of the world fleet, is over twenty years old. These outmoded rustbuckets must be scrapped and replaced within the next few years or there will be almost no American fleet at all. Hence the Nixon plan announces that the government and the industry "must begin immediately to rebuild our merchant fleet and make it more competitive." The key word here is "competitive."

Unless American ships can be made to compete with foreign-flag shipping internationally in terms of reduced manning scales, low wages, and hence competitive freight rates, Nixon's plans to reduce the dollar drain now going to foreign shippers, while preserving profits for U.S. shipyards and steamship companies, will come to naught.

Nixon says he plans to "challenge American ship operators and seamen to move towards less dependence on government subsidy... Our ship-building program is designed to meet

# nixon's maritime policy is blow against seamen

both of the problems which lie behind the recent decline in this field: low production rates and high production costs...For only as we plan a major long range building program can we encourage builders to standardize ship design and introduce mass production techniques...Only if our builders are able to improve their efficiency and cut their costs can we afford to replace our obsolescent merchant fleet with American-built vessels." These plans call for the investment of "several billion dollars over the next ten years."

#### SUBSIDIES

Despite anything the maritime union piecards may say to the contrary, it is the need of the bosses to enlist government support to protect these huge investments, not any desire to protect the American seaman that is behind Nixon's plan.

One of the announced goals of the new plan is to "make it possible for industry to build more ships over the next 10 years, moving from the present subsidy level of about 10 ships a year to a new level of 30 ships a year." The owners are getting the expansion they wanted.

The main incentive to the owners is the proposal to reduce construction subsidies on each ship built and operated under the program while at the same time increasing the overall total of subsidies for construction and operation from \$2.8 billion to \$3.8 billion over the next ten years. The companies that are most able to become efficient through attacking their employees will be in a position to earn still

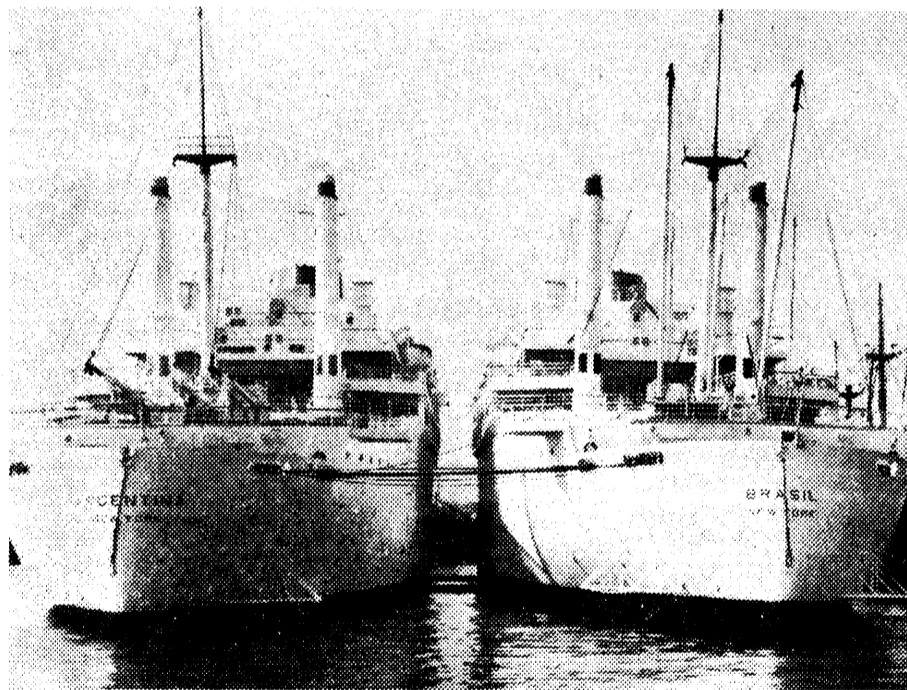
Lancer class, displacing 32,000 tons, employs 35-40 men, and can be turned around in fifteen hours or less. The most mammoth tankers--over one thousand feet long--employ under 30 men each and some automated ships employ only 14 men each.

But this is only part of the story--one of the containerships now in operation can carry as much cargo in one year as nine or more break-bulk cargo liners, due to its higher speed, larger size, and quicker turnaround. This means that each man employed on one of the ships to be built under the Nixon plan can replace ten men now employed. Even tripling the number of cargo ships built--the maximum goal in the Nixon plan--would require throwing two thirds of seamen out of work.

Men lucky enough to still be employed would face the loss of port time through quicker turnaround and also the worsening safety conditions on containerships. Poorly constructed containers have been known to break open, spilling cargo onto the deck below. Passageways are often blocked by containers, and crewmen have to crawl about, twenty-five or more feet above deck, on stacked containers with no safety railings.

Even larger containerships, with three times the capacity of the largest now afloat, are planned. These would be as large as the supertankers and would require no more crew than present containerships.

If the plan proposed by Nixon does not do its job of protecting profits, then the owners are still free to lay ships up or put them under foreign flags.



ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL ARE AMONG LARGE NUMBER OF LAYED UP AMERICAN SHIPS

larger profits.

All ships in foreign trade, not just subsidized ones as at present, will be allowed to defer income taxes on funds set aside for construction purposes. These tax-deferred funds will, however, be allowed only for "well-defined ship replacement programs" which fit into the programs for streamlined shipyards and automated ships needed by the companies.

This expansion in the number of ships constructed combined with the plan to "standardize ship design" as outlined by Nixon and the employers holds no benefits for maritime workers. One C-3 cargo ship displacing 9,600 deadweight tons employs 45-50 men and takes about seven days to be fully unloaded and loaded at the end of each voyage. This gives the crew a brief vacation and reduces the amount of cargo the ship can carry in a year, increasing the demand for ships and men. One of the new containerships of the

Nixon's plans for subsidizing new construction are directly tied to the plan of eliminating jobs. The employers are to get all the benefits. A second prong of the government's attacks on the workers relates to Nixon's new proposals for computing differential subsidies which pay for a large share of seamen's wages. Nixon is recommending the following:

"Instead of paying the difference between the wages of foreign seamen and actual wages on American ships, however, the government should compare foreign wages with prevailing wages in several comparable sectors of the American economy. A policy which ties subsidies to this wage index will reduce subsidy costs and provide incentive for further efficiencies."

While seamen's wages are below those of most unionized workers (skilled NMU men average about \$2.16 an hour compared to about \$5.20 for unskilled construction workers in New

York City), the Maritime Administration (headed by an ex-President of Grace Lines) plans to shop around the country until it finds workers who are paid even less than seamen and use their wages as the level of wages the government will subsidize. The low wages of nonunion shoreside plumbers, machinists, and laborers will become the basis for lowering seamen's pay.

Shipping lines which manage to cut their wages bill below the subsidized rates will be doubly rewarded, since "the operator would no longer lose in subsidies what he saves in costs. Nor would he continue to be reimbursed through subsidies when his wage costs rise to higher levels." Hence the lower figures for subsidies for each ship and the "incentive to further efficiencies" will mean speedup, pay cuts, and destruction of divisions between crafts and departments aboard ship so that any man can be required to do any job.

Furthermore, the Nixon proposal states "it is appropriate that we eliminate the 'recapture' provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. These provisions require subsidized lines to pay back to the government a portion of profits," in return for the subsidy.

It is clear from these proposals that while the workers will have to pay with low wages, the employers are given all the room to maintain and increase their profits.

#### UNIONS

Nixon, however, plans much more than the gravy of increased subsidies to shipowners and shipyard operators. He is also laying the foundations for boxing in the unions in a fight against the plan: "Past government policies and industry attitudes have not been conducive to cooperation between labor and management. Our program will help improve this situation by ending the uncertainty that has characterized our past maritime policy. Labor and management must now use this opportunity to find ways of resolving their differences without halting operations. If the desired expansion of merchant shipping is to be achieved, the disruptive work stoppages of the past must not be repeated."

The organized strength of the rank and file in maritime stands in the way of Nixon's plans. The increased seetime demanded by Curran and the loss of rank and file control in the SIU proposed by Hall are now exposed. The shippers need men willing to put up with deteriorating working conditions and also need machinery in the unions to prevent the rank and file from doing anything about it.

Nixon is serving notice that even the brief contract strike by the Masters, Mates and Pilots in June, and the brief NMU work stoppage last year, are intolerable.

The "ways of resolving...differences" are not spelled out, but the long struggle over the elimination of jobs on the railroads gives a hint as to what they will be: compulsory arbitration laws, special presidential boards and emergency laws passed by Congress, extended litigation in the courts while the companies introduce bit by bit job cuts and wage cuts.

This is the first in a series of articles on the "Crisis In Maritime." Next week's article will deal with how this crisis affects longshoremen all over the world.

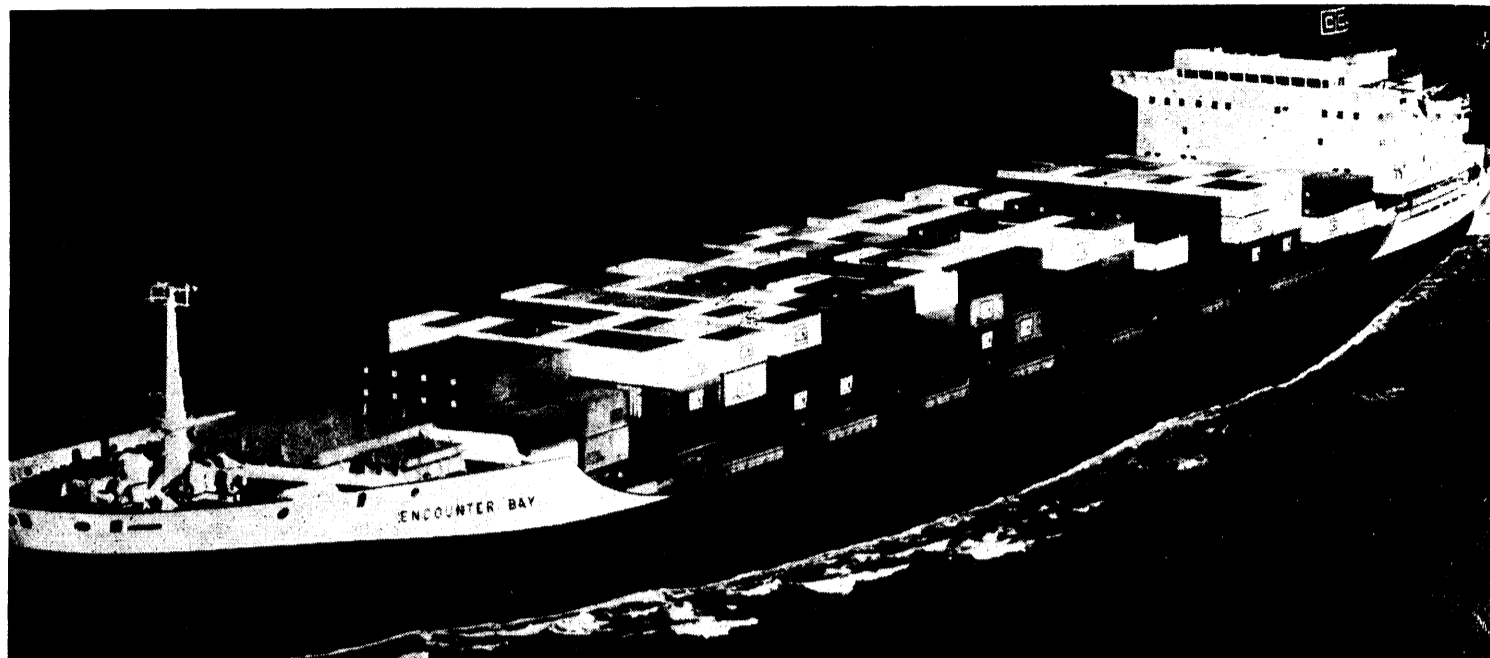
# BRITISH DOCKERS WON'T MOVE CONTAINERS

BY DAN FRIED

With a magnificent display of militancy and unity, British dockers have shown the way forward in the struggles of American longshoremen for the preservation of their jobs and working conditions.

Defying the combined pressure of shipping bosses, government agencies, the capitalist press of Fleet Street and their own union officials, more than 2,000 British dockers in the Port of London voted on Nov. 26th to continue their ban on working the new "modernized" container terminal at Tilbury. British shipping magnates have a \$12 million investment in these new container berths which have now been banned by the dockworkers for nearly two years as part of the Transport and General Workers Union's effort to put pressure on the employers for a favorable wage agreement for the entire port of London.

The employers are tying their efforts to open up these berths to forcing through the implementation of "phase two" of the so-called Devlin "modernization" scheme. Devlin--phase two provides for "rationalization" of dock labor along with the widespread introduction of containerization. This would only be the first step in a process which



TYPICAL OF THE NEW CONTAINER SHIPS IS THE ENCOUNTER (ABOVE) WHICH SAILS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AUSTRALIA.

TILBURY (BELOW) WAS PLANNED AS LARGE CONTAINER FACILITY TO PUT DOCKERS IN OTHER PORTS OUT OF WORK

would eliminate 90% of the dock labor force in Britain. Specifically, Devlin--phase two means stronger discipline against dockers to enforce "flexibility" of labor, speed up and unemployment.

The vote to continue the Tilbury ban followed closely the vote by London dockers to reject Devlin--phase two, by a margin of 3,090 to 2,442. They rejected phase two as spelling the virtual end of union organization on the docks.

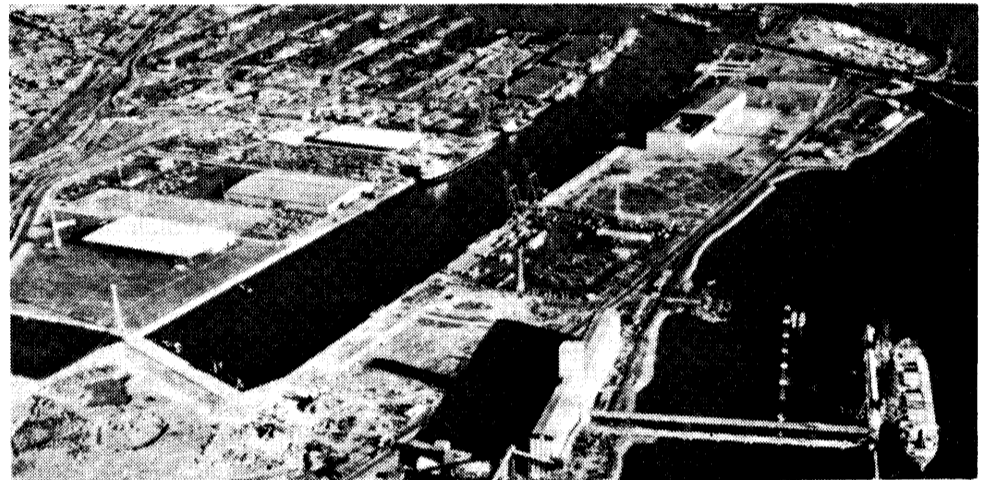
The vote to reject phase two threw the employers into turmoil. After hasty consultation with government officials they decided to counter-attack. Container boss Sir Andrew Chrichton, President of the OCL-ACT container shipping consortium (Overseas Containers Limited-Associated Container Transportation consortium) led the attack, threatening to "let Tilbury die" by pulling the OCL-ACT out of its 6 million dollar berth at Tilbury and transferring its business to ports in Holland and Belgium unless the Tilbury ban was lifted. Mr. Chrichton called for "action by the government."

Immediately the press and mass media joined the raucous chorus, all singing one tune: if the ban is not ended, not only would Tilbury be ruined--probably even turned into a fishing town--but London would go down, and worse yet the entire British economy would be ruined! Meanwhile, all the lackys of the employers were hysterically scrambling to avoid, at all costs, calling Mr. Chrichton's bluff. Officials of the Transport and General Workers Union and top government bureaucrats including "laborite" Minister of Labor, Mrs. Barbara Castle, hurriedly put their heads together. The aim of all the consultations and "emergency meetings" was of course to somehow get the dockers to break the ban.

#### BLUFF

The only ones who called the employers bluff, thumbing their nose at the bosses threats of a "run away port" and voted to continue the ban were the dockers themselves. The decision of the men was taken in opposition to the recommendations of the T & GWU stewards who wanted the men to "go it alone" at Tilbury. The men threw a wrench in the employer's plans and decided to maintain a united front of the dockers throughout the Port of London.

As part of their effort to get the Tilbury men to end the ban, the employers announced a 10% surcharge on all cargo leaving Britain for Australia. At the same time they made plans to move their operations to Belgium. But once again, they were



not counting on the resistance of the working class. In a tremendous display of international working class solidarity, the leaders of the Belgian and Dutch dockers unions pledged that their members would resist any permanent transfer of the Tilbury container terminal from Britain to the continent. In Britain, the Socialist Labour League is taking the lead in the struggle to unite all of Britain's dockers behind the Tilbury men.

#### NATIONALIZATION

The position of the SLL as put forward in its newspaper, Workers Press, is one of "no co-operation with new methods of cargo handling until full nationalization of the docks under the control of those who work in them." This is hardly the same as the present government's plans to "nationalize" the Port of London and operate it under the direction of the employers on the basis of phase two of the Devlin plan. It is even rumored that Mr. Chrichton himself will preside over the new "nationalized" docks, a nationalization which will give the bosses full compensation and which is being hailed in the capitalist press. The nationalization that the Workers Press is campaigning for is fundamentally different: it is in the framework of the struggle for socialism which will use advanced technology and containerization to benefit the working class and not to grind them down and throw them out of work.

The fight by the British dockers against the bosses' containerized "modernization" is the same in all countries, just as the "container revolution" is leaping ahead all over the world. New plans for super modern container fleets and new berths to accommodate them are under way in Europe and American and will be discussed in greater detail in future issues of the Bulletin. Even though containerization has perhaps gone further on the West Coast of the United States and in the Port of New York, this is only the beginning. In New York, plans to put 85% of all

general cargo into containers by the mid 1970s are under way. An investment of 175 million dollars for new container berths is planned for New York.

Longshoremen in the U.S.A. face the same attack as their brothers in Britain and the tactics of the shippers to eliminate jobs and destroy working conditions are the same all over the world. As in Britain, the U.S. employers try to pit port against port and section against section within ports. U.S. longshoremen can take a page out of the book of their British brothers and stand together to refuse to work the new container facilities until they are nationalized under control of the men who work them on the basis of jobs for all and the four day week.

## BUS DRIVERS STRIKE IN DULUTH

BY MICHAEL ROSS

DULUTH, MINN.--One hundred and eleven bus drivers in twin ports (Duluth, Minnesota and Superior, Wisconsin), represented by Teamsters 346, struck the Duluth-Superior Bus Company December 1st.

A situation prevails here similar to that in the Twin Cities, with the bus company putting its profits everywhere except back into their operation, pleading "bankruptcy" and calling on the city of Duluth to buy them out.

The city is moving to do just this. This means sticking workers with additional taxes to subsidize bus fares and pay compensation to the company's present owners. But these people do not deserve a penny for a bus line they have run into the ground.

Duluth area labor--the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters Joint Council #32--must give more than verbal support to the striking drivers. This time there must be an all-out mobilization to provide, at the very least, full financial support for the striking drivers to keep them from being starved out.

## Critical Auto Strike Continues At Flint

BY OUR DETROIT CORRESPONDENT

FLINT, MICH.-- GM Fisher Body workers here are still on strike. They have been out for two months. The issue is speed-up. GM wants more work with less workers. They argue that the 1970 models are smaller therefore requiring fewer workers. The workers say no.

In order to break the deadlock, G.M. has proposed to set up a pilot line and that the jobs be time studied. The workers say no. This GM offer appears to be a concession. It is and it is not. By conceding, GM expects to gain; therefore they concede.

The local union wants work loads to be determined on the basis of comparison. That is, they want old standards to prevail on the new models where the work is comparable. GM wants a new time study. Herein is the nub.

Because of their past militancy workers were able to establish reasonable work loads. This they want to keep intact. Because of unfavorable market conditions, GM has decided to force the issue.

#### CONFLICT

Which way the conflict will be resolved is difficult to predict. The workers are still adamant. The International Union not quite so. For one thing they don't like paying out strike benefits, especially since they have been recently increased. For another, it is Reuther's philosophy to let let the corporations establish and enforce work standards. In return he hopes to win higher wages.

The struggle against speed-up is the oldest struggle of the auto workers. It even precedes the struggle over wages. It was out of the speed-up that the UAW arose. It is the issue that has wracked the union ever since. It will continue to do so. It will not cease until the workers fight and gain control over production. The battle cry, in auto, should be: out with time study; workers' control over production and ultimately nationalization of the auto industry.



ABOVE: REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH MEET,  
RIGHT: COALITION GOVERNMENT INCLUDED LSSP LEADERS



## ON THE ORIGINS OF TROTSKYISM IN CEYLON

In 1938 Dr. Perera, leader of the LSSP, had this advice on education: "a religious atmosphere for Buddhist children is not a Roman Catholic atmosphere. Their religious atmosphere is a Buddhist atmosphere... We have been very slack in providing all the necessary Buddhist schools..."

In 1939 Dr. Perera urged all employers: "An appeal...to all private employers to get rid of their non-Ceylonese and employ the Ceylonese...the culture which is peculiar to the Ceylonese should be unparted to the Ceylonese by the Ceylonese..."

### CONCILIATE

One of the bourgeois members of the State Council correctly answered Dr. Perera when he stated: "Ceylonese culture...is one of the most hybrid things in the earth." One could very well say the same of black culture, Chicano culture, and the other cultural hodge podges in the U.S. which are used to try to divert the working class from the class struggle. Dr. Perera's LSSP had no perspective other than eventually getting 51% of the vote. To do that, of course, it is necessary to conciliate all possible retrogressive and nationalistic movements.

In very much the same way, the Socialist Workers Party today is carrying out a similar line in the "Peace" movement in which it conciliates with pacifists and liberals because this "unity" is needed to stop the war in Vietnam, it says. The SWP ignores the fact that there will be no "peace" until there is a socialist revolution in the U.S.

This is not to deny that the SWP has been successful in organizing peace demonstrations and that the LSSP was also successful in achieving certain reforms needed by workers.

But the LSSP's reforms were obtained without carrying out a struggle for them among the working class. In fact, in 1938 when the British attempted to remove some of the powers of the State Council by introducing a Cabinet, Dr. Perera threatened: "If the Cabinet is introduced, I make bold to say that the struggles that we now have in this parliamentary council will be shifted outside of it, to the streets, to the factories and to the fields..."

### PREVENT

Rather than just threatening to do this, if Dr. Perera had been a Marxist, the struggle would have been in the streets, factories and fields all along.

There is no qualitative difference between this approach and the SWP which struggles for other reforms, except that the SWP pressures the bourgeoisie through marches rather than parliamentary debate. Both are unconnected to the real class struggle. Within itself the SWP has all the same incipient elements as the LSSP, except there is still time to prevent the betrayal of American workers.

Mr. Lerski's book, which is torn between personal sympathy for the traitors in the LSSP and the realization that they have sold out, fails to provide any analysis. Mr. Lerski rejects Marxism and therefore fails to understand his own field of expertise.

ORIGINS OF TROTSKYISM IN CEYLON by Lerski. Hoover Institution Publications, paperback, \$2.85, hardcover \$7.50.

In 1964 the majority of the LSSP (Lanka Sama Samaja Party) of Ceylon entered a bourgeois coalition government. This party had claimed in the past to be Trotskyist. In joining in a coalition with the native bourgeoisie, the LSSP had crossed class lines. Trotskyists all over the world condemned this action. But the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., though condemning the LSSP, refused to discuss the action within the membership! For demanding such a discussion, those who were later to form the Workers League, were expelled from the Socialist Workers Party.

The year before (1963) the Socialist Workers Party had entered into an alliance with the LSSP and several other groups to form the "United Secretariat" which they claimed was the Fourth International. This "United Secretariat" had nothing in common with the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky, and instead has become a "friends of Cuba" club. In the United States, the Socialist Workers Party has become an exponent of black nationalism,

peace coalitions, and student power.

### ASSISTANCE

Mr. Lerski's book was written with the assistance of James P. Cannon and Tom Kerry, who are leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Though this book is about Trotskyism, the author has not the slightest idea what Trotskyism is. (Mr. Lerski's advisers in the S.W.P. apparently had little effect on him, or more likely, they themselves have forgotten.)

Mr. Lerski sees the leaders of the LSSP as a bunch of warm hearted humanitarians. In the Ceylon State Council during the 1930s, they became better parliamentarians than their bourgeois opponents! In fact, about three quarters of this book which is supposed to tell us something about the "origins of Trotskyism in Ceylon" deals with parliamentary debates.

But there is an interesting parallel between the LSSP of the 1930s and the SWP today. (The book ends in 1942, otherwise the author might have had to deal with real questions.) The LSSP anticipated the SWP's line on Black Nationalism by at least 30 years! The only difference is that the LSSP defended Buddhist nationalism.

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