

Open Letter to SNCC -- The Road to Black Liberation

APR 3 1967
INSTITUTION

The development of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee since its inception in the spring of 1960 reflects better than any other organization the tremendous radicalization of the Negro movement, and the great pressures and changes which have been felt by the entire movement.

You have broken from the pacifism of Rev. King and the SCLC. Your position on self-defense is now close to that of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, the same as that upheld only by Robert Williams and a handful of militants and socialists a few years ago. More than any other civil rights

organization you have begun to project an orientation to the black masses in the North as well as the South.

You have broken definitively with the capitalist parties in the South. You have gone a long way toward breaking completely with capitalist politics, in your sharp break with the liberals and the Johnson Administration over both domestic and foreign policy. The development of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama and of the Black Panther groups and sympathizers in the North reflect the movement toward ideological and political independence from the liberals and

the ruling class on the part of SNCC and those who look to you for leadership.

A look at the current activity of SNCC will give us an accurate picture of what the program of Black Power means concretely--at least to you. It means a break on the part of the Negro people with the political parties of the ruling class--the Democratic and Republican Parties. It means the assertion that Negroes will lead their own movement, will build their own independent parties.

It also means Negroes will struggle for control
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OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 3, No. 3 - 45

Oct. 10, 1966

Ten Cents

Welfare Workers Dump Caseloads In Lap of City

by a welfare worker

Two years ago the Social Service Employees Union (SSEU) struck for 28 days to win a contract guaranteeing, among other things, a maximum caseload of sixty. The department of Welfare has violated the agreement at every opportunity.

While this article is being written, caseworkers all over the city are showing the Welfare Department how to enforce a contract. Hundreds of caseworkers, many of whom have caseloads over 80, have tied their extra case records into neat bundles and deposited them on their administrator's desks. It is only justice that the Welfare bureaucrats drown in their own paper. So far no one has heeded their screams despite threats to hold up paychecks and individual harassment of workers.

At present, there are tens of thousands of cases with no workers to cover them. The city has saved millions by not hiring sufficient people. Within a week of this dramatic union action hundreds have been hired and hundreds more are promised. Force is the language understood by the city administration. The force of a united rank and file. The pressure must be piled on!

hypocrisy

This crisis was created by the Lindsay labor busting administration and the administration must pay for it. The new workers hired will take months to train and are too few to handle the overload. Any attempt to force workers to handle more than 50 cases amounts to speedup and a violation of contract.

In reality, the pittance doled out to welfare clients

serve as a subsidy to slumlords and slum merchants. Suddenly the hypocrites that direct the welfare bureaucracy are concerned with the poor. The same administration that will allow a family to remain without gas and lights while a worker is told to investigate a suspected father before the bill is paid is now deeply concerned that clients won't be visited and emergencies won't be met.

Nothing of the kind! What they fear is that if visits to clients are not made they will lose federal reimbursements. In addition they are terrified by the growing client organization and the possibility that they might support the workers. The SSEU must expose this and seek their support.

Welfare workers must not cut themselves off from the clients. We are really concerned that emergencies are met. We must demand that the city eliminate all complicated procedures for the handling of the crisis and allow workers to handle emergencies in minutes rather than hours. As for visits, clients needs can be determined by mail until
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FASCIST AT RECENT PEACE MARCH IN SAN FRANCISCO. SEE STORY PAGE 4.

new york state elections

Socialist, Independent Candidates Offer Workers Opportunity to Protest War, Racism, Inflation

(Statement of the Coordinating Committee of the American Committee for the Fourth International)

The 1966 elections in New York State offer an opportunity for workers to take a step in the direction of the creation of a party of their own. The Democratic and Republican parties have brought us only war, racial oppression, growing inflation and unemployment. The great task of the day is for working people to create a new party, a party based

on the trade unions, just as we created the CIO in the 1930s. Only by organizing ourselves politically, as we by and large have economically, can we expect to make any real progress.

This year there are a number of independent and socialist campaigns in New York State and New York City which have declared themselves for the creation of a third party of the working class. We urge workers, Negro and Puerto Rican militants, opponents of the criminal war in Vietnam, to vote for:

Committee for Independent Political Action: James Weinstein--U.S. Congress, Manhattan, 19th CD.

Progressive Labor Party: Wendy Nakashima -- State Assembly, Manhattan, 69th AD.

All these candidates have broken from the Democratic and Republican parties and have taken a strong stand against the criminal war of the United States in Vietnam. They also, to one degree or another, seek to express the interests of the working people.

weakness

The central weakness of the Socialist Workers Party campaign is that it is directed towards the middle class anti-war protest movement rather than to the working class. While its platform has correct working class demands in it these are subordinated to a more abstract and classless Vietnam agitation. Even on the Vietnam issue the SWP platform nowhere comes out
(Continued on page 2)

candidates

Socialist Workers Party: Judy White -- Governor; Richard Garza--Lieutenant Governor; Ralph Levitt--Comptroller; Paul Boutelle --Attorney General; Hedda Garza -- State Assembly, Manhattan, 17th AD.

Independent Party: Hal Levin -- U. S. Congress, Brooklyn, 12th CD; Leslie Silberman--U. S. Congress, Queens, 7th CD.

For Cost of Living Wage Hikes!

Inflation is wiping out the wage gains of workers and reducing our standard of living. Every trade unionist must demand that his union fight not simply for a cost of living "adjustment" but for an "escalator clause" to guarantee that wages go up automatically whenever prices rise.

Build a Labor Party Now!

The Democratic Party is the party of the bosses just as much as the Republican Party. Every gain we make at the bargaining table will be taken away from us by the government unless we organize a party of our own based on the trade unions.

IS "CURLY" A FINK?

a book review

by Earl Owens

"Is Curly Jewish?" by Paul Jacobs states on its jacket that it is "A political self-portrait illuminating three turbulent decades of social revolt -- 1935-1965." Political this book may be, but illuminating it is not.

fat legs

Paul Jacobs joined the Spartacus Youth League, the Trotskyist youth group, in 1935, his principal interest being Betty. (The Stalinist girls, he says, all had fat legs.) He likes the people he enjoys making speeches on street corners, but the classes in Marxism for him are "boring." To escape his parents he goes to Minneapolis, but the discipline in the Trotskyist movement there is far stricter than in New York; he ends up spending the winter in bed. He is finally asked by the organizer to leave Minneapolis.

He ends up next in Rochester: "Finding girls are generally a good deal easier in Rochester than it had been in Minneapolis." His father becomes sick and he has to return to New York. He substitutes for his father as a toilet seat salesman. He joins the Fieldites, one of the first Stalinophobe groups to splinter from the Trotskyist movement.

paid

When they fall apart, he gets a job with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. It's as much fun as being a Trotskyist and he gets paid for it, too. Then the Air Force, and when World War II ends he gets a job with the American Jewish Committee.

As a labor expert for A. J. C. he attends union conventions, carrying around an exhibit of anti-discrimination resolutions passed, and during the summer he teaches a course in fighting preju-

dice at labor schools.

expert

But there are communists in the Jewish community. "People like Zane and myself were the 'experts' in anti-communism, and the knowledge we had of Communist activities was essential to the expulsion of the JPFO or the investigation of the Jewish centers staff. We could go, for example, through all the programs of the centers and pick out those which represented the viewpoints of Communist or Communist-front groups. And we knew the people involved who made speeches or participated in forums and were in Communist groups.... Both Zane and I were uncomfortable in our role as the expert advisors but not enough to stop, because we honestly believed the Communists were a threat although we never really discussed what it was they were threatening.

Next he gets a job with the Oil Workers International Union. He is assigned by Arthur Goldberg, then general counsel of the CIO and now head of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, to get the goods on Harry Bridges' ILWU. Jacobs digs in libraries for old Communist newspapers, into back issues of ILWU publications in order to prove that Bridges and the ILWU had followed the Communist party line. At the trial Jacobs is one of the two CIO officials backing the prosecutor; the judges are all CIO presidents; their verdict, however, had been decided months before. The ILWU is kicked out of the CIO.

His next job is research for the Fund for the Republic: he does a study on blacklisting in the entertainment industry. Through

connections with the Israeli government he gets a free trip to Israel. His circle of friends consists of people like himself: radical ex-radicals like Bayard Rustin and Michael Harrington and liberals like Clark Kerr and Robert M. Hutchins. He makes trips to the Philippines and Hawaii for the Peace Corps; at the same time he considers himself a radical and urges resistance to U.S. policy in Vietnam.

good guys

Throughout his life Paul Jacobs tried hard to be on the side of the good guys and against the bad guys. He has never learned, though, that there is a class struggle which exists apart from the particular morality of the individuals involved. He never found out there are often bad guys on the good side and good guys on the bad side. Thus Paul has spent his life shifting sides, looking for the side with the good guys.

In a recent book "The New Radicals" coauthored by Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau one of the authors, maybe our hero, states: "Within the Movement there is a crisis of ideology, of where to go.... There is confusion about tactics and strategy and often an inability to distinguish between them.... There is radical activity on many issues, but as yet no coherent intellectual force has replaced the moral obligation to put one's body and mind on the line...."

The new radicals can learn something from Paul Jacobs. They can learn that the empiricism Paul Jacobs has practiced throughout his life is intrinsically subjective and therefore ultimately immoral. The new radicals can learn from him how not to do it.

supermarket--as long as he only struggles as a customer. But the workers have tremendous power if they struggle as producers, as workers in the factories and services of New York City. Without the work of the workers the city stops. This great power can be and must be used to struggle for wage increases in line with price increases.

power

These election campaigns should be aimed primarily at the trade union movement of New York City--not its leadership, but its rank and file membership. The membership should be encouraged to struggle against the deterioration of their standard of living. The candidates should explain to these trade union members how they are being milked so that the bosses can wage a dirty war against the people of Vietnam. The candidates must expose the trade union leadership for their rotten role in supporting this war

and in supporting the two parties of the bosses.

It is only in his role as producer that the worker, be he white, Negro, or Puerto Rican, has the power to carry on an effective struggle against all forms of oppression--poor housing, inferior schools, brutal cops, racial discrimination, etc. It is the responsibility of these candidates to aid the workers in realizing the fullest extent of this power by contributing to the development of a new party of the American working class.

It is with this political outlook that the American Committee for the Fourth International gives critical support to these candidates. We urge all militants and socialists to help these candidates reach the electorate despite the virtual monopoly of mass communications of the two boss parties. We urge all workers and supporters of the working class movement to vote for these candidates in November.

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SPARTACIST SCHOOL OF POLITICS

The Spartacist, having broken in an unprincipled fashion from the Fourth International, continues to deepen its break with Leninist politics. Above all Spartacist is incapable of facing up precisely to its unprincipled conduct at the April Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Specifically James Robertson, leader of the Spartacist delegation at the Congress, continues to perpetuate mythology about his own role there. In the September-October issue of Spartacist it is asserted that Spartacist was excluded from the Congress because of "the refusal of a Spartacist delegate to state that his coming late to a Conference session constituted an admission of the petty bourgeois nature of his organization." This is nothing more nor less than a LIE.

As if in support of this fabrication, Spartacist quotes Cliff Slaughter, secretary of the International Committee as stating: "Robertson was, of course, not asked to denounce himself as a petty bourgeois, or anything of the sort. Such is not the politics of Bolshevik organizations." And then, as if Slaughter contradicts this statement, it further quotes: "His very rejection of this, his insistence on personal prestige against this discipline, confirms our characterization of this group as petty bourgeois...."

On the one hand Slaughter is making clear that Robertson was never asked to characterize himself or his organization as "petty bourgeois" as a requirement for remaining at the conference and on the other hand Slaughter himself is characterizing Robertson's conduct as "petty bourgeois."

Since the record has been set straight several times now, we can only conclude that Robertson cannot defend his actions at the Congress except by lying as to what those actions were.

In the same article, the Spartacist editors express their elation over the publication by the Socialist Workers Party of Spartacist documents denouncing the International Committee together with an introduction by Joseph Hansen. Spartacist found Hansen's introduction "amusing." They are very impressed with how little Hansen is able to dig up on Spartacist. As far as the attack on the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee goes, Spartacist answers this by attacking the SLL for its response to this attack.

What a rotten business! Robertson and Spartacist get involved in a battle with the International Committee. Hansen suddenly jumps into the fray in order to utilize for his own purposes Spartacist's attacks on the IC. What is the reaction of Robertson, the "principled Leninist," the man who never, never compromises with revisionism? He is amused; he is pleased his own group is not harshly attacked; he is indignant over the SLL's response to the attack. The one thing that never occurs to this man is to close ranks with the International Committee against this attempt of the revisionists to utilize Spartacist for their own purposes.

Now Spartacist is engaged in peddling this revisionist garbage not only in this country but internationally. Such is the Robertson school of unprincipled politics.

"Any independent comparison of our positions," Spartacist informs us, "with Slaughter's intentional misrepresentation of them makes it unnecessary for us to detail the many discrepancies. For example: our emphasis on the importance of black working class youth in the U.S. is not a denial of the working class as a whole...."

For example, we flip a page in the very same issue of Spartacist and find ourselves in the middle of an article on the elections. "As an immediate description of reality," writer D. H. states, "the image of an apathetic white work-

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NY STATE ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 1) clearly for the military victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam which is fighting a just war against a foreign oppressor--the United States Government.

The Independent Party, CIPA and Progressive Labor Party campaigns are all basically similar in character. Each of these campaigns is more directly concerned with the issues affecting the working people of New York City and each campaign has involved a good deal of actual work within the working class neighborhoods--something the SWP does not bother with.

producers

However all these campaigns seek to reach the worker as a consumer rather than as a producer--that is at his weakest rather than his strongest point. There is little the worker and his family can do when confronted with high prices in the

Fourth International and Spartacist

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OPEN LETTER TO SNCC ON BLACK LIBERATION



CIVIL RIGHTS MILITANTS DEMONSTRATE -- WHAT DIRECTION NOW?

(Continued from page 1)

--control of the ghetto. This is the significance of the controversy over Intermediate School 201 in Harlem. Is this school to be controlled by the community it is supposed to serve or is it rather to be dominated by forces outside the community?

Then there is Stokely Carmichael's leadership in Atlanta of the protests of the Negro masses against police terror. Once again the same elements are there--control, independence, rebellion against racist domination.

distortions

What a far cry the real aims and activities of your organization are from the distortions of them in the press and in the popular mind! Rather than seeking to "dominate" or "oppress" anyone you are struggling and struggling seriously against domination, against oppression.

This is precisely the reason why your views are distorted and your actions slandered by every major paper in this country be it "liberal" or "conservative". It is the seriousness of your struggle, the determination to win, the support of you from the black masses which frightens the ruling class. The ruling class can and will grant minor concessions. Negro bank clerks, yes; but Negro liberation, no.

So they answer your demands with slander, slander consciously aimed at creating a "white backlash". Of course the more polite and respectable publically disown their own creation. Disown it or not, they did create it, and they do utilize it. Civil rights legislation this year? No, the white backlash won't let us do it. Should Negroes demonstrate more forcefully for their rights? No, your demonstrations produced the white backlash. The logic they expect Negroes to believe is if Negroes only do nothing then the good-intentioned white liberal will be able to grant him concessions! A hundred years of slavery since slavery was formally abolished gives the lie to this.

excrecence

Rev. King did not create fascism any more than the Negroes of Watts created Reagan and his supporters. Racism and fascism are the filthy excrecence of a sick society, of the capitalist system. This sickness has been consciously whipped up by the press precisely because the ruling class cannot and will not voluntarily allow the Negro to rise to the level of the white man. Rather the ruling class is determined to keep both white and Negro worker in place by pitting one against the other.

self determination

Black Power as you fight for it appears to us to be a form of self-determination. At least at this stage in his development the concept of a nation does not appear meaningful to the Negro. But control of his own ghetto, control of his own political party, leadership of himself--these are the natural and correct demands of the Negro in this period. You are playing a wholly progressive role in not only supporting these demands but giving leadership in the struggle for these demands.

Trotsky wrote the following in 1933 on Negro nationalism: "We do, of course, not obligate the Negroes to become a nation; if they are, then that is a question of their consciousness, that is, what they desire and what they strive for. We say: if the Negroes want that then we must fight against imperialism to the last drop of blood, so that they

gain the right, wherever and how they please, to separate a piece of land for themselves."

We share this view and stand by it not only today but as far as the future socialist society we are struggling for goes as well. The question of separation into a special state or control over the institutions in the ghetto areas where the Negro lives today, is a question for the Negro to decide. Our task is to "fight against imperialism to the last drop of blood" so as to help you realize your demands.

Trotsky on Black Workers

When ten intellectuals of Paris, Berlin or New York, who have been in various organizations, address themselves to us with a request to be taken into our midst I would give the following advice: Put them through a number of tests on all the questions of program; wet them under the rain, dry them in the sun and then after a new careful examination, accept one or two.

It is quite a different matter when we are approached by a group of Negro workers. Here I am ready to consider beforehand that we are achieving agreement with them, even though this is not yet obvious; because of their whole position they do not strive and cannot strive to degrade anybody, oppress anybody or deprive anybody of his rights. They do not seek privileges and cannot rise to the top except on the road of international revolution.

We can and we should find a way to the consciousness of the Negro workers, of the Chinese workers, of the Hindu workers, all these oppressed colored races of the human ocean to whom belongs the decisive word in the development of humanity.

--Leon Trotsky. From "Closer to the Proletarians of the 'Colored' Races!", Militant, July 2, 1932.

real power

At the same time we must tell you now what you will soon realize from out of your own experiences. This struggle for self-determination, for control of the ghetto, will bring with it neither real power nor liberation of the black masses. It is wholly progressive and justified; it is a struggle which must be fought; it will weaken our common enemy; but it will not bring victory.

The problem is that you will have captured only your own misery. You will control schools but they will remain inferior as long as the ghetto is depressed. You may control the ghetto but it remains a ghetto. Negroes will remain unemployed. Those that work will have inferior jobs and have their wages taken from them through high prices.

This is because of the very nature of power in capitalist society, and it is certainly power that we are after, and power that we need. Power comes from only one source -- from the productive forces, from the factories, plants and businesses which produce the material wealth of the country. The American rulers rule only because of their ownership of these productive forces and for no other reason. They will continue to rule and the Negro will continue to be oppressed as long as they are

able to maintain their ownership of the factories, the plants, the banks -- and through these of the very government itself.

While the ruling class rules through its ownership of the productive forces the masses of people are not powerless to struggle against the rulers. The power of the masses also lies precisely in their relation to production. Without workers, factories don't produce and the country stops. This is the real power that the Negro also has. The Negro can only liberate himself if he utilizes this fundamental power.

class struggle

The problem here is that the Negro does not stand in the productive process simply as a Negro. This is not South Africa and the working class is not made up almost totally of one race. In relation to his boss the Negro worker must struggle together with non-Negroes: white workers, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, etc. This struggle can only be a class struggle.

Thus the unity of Negro and white is demanded by the very productive process itself. It is not a matter of moral preaching of doctrine. It is a matter of the every day work of all Americans. The only alternative open is to give up this fundamental struggle entirely. But this means to agree to defeat for liberation without power is impossible and real power is economic power, is control of the means of production. That power can only be obtained through a class struggle which unites black and white (whether or not either likes it).

We are sick and tired of arguments about how the white working class is apathetic and dead. In the first place it is not a matter of white working class for it is just as impossible to separate out the whites as it is the blacks when it comes to most industrial situations. What is really meant here is that the working class as a whole -- black and white -- is not struggling at the point of production, while the Negro does struggle, but in the ghetto.

The former is not true. The class struggle not only goes on but the current signs show it is heightening. This was particularly expressed in the New York City subway strike last winter and the airlines strike this summer. Need we note that both these unions have a large Negro membership?

empty sympathy

We are also forced to reject this concept that we socialists should go out and "explain" black power to white workers while you will take care of Negroes. It isn't a matter of "explaining" and sympathy. You have recently found out how meaningless liberal white sympathy was once you started to struggle in earnest. Middle class college youth no longer go South for the summer and you find yourselves not that worse off for it. We can tell you right now that "radical" sympathy won't mean much either.

The problem with this neat division of labor is precisely that it is not a matter of black and white when it comes to the class struggle. Somebody or other has got to get around to the job of building a class conscious movement in this country. We must struggle within the unions for a deepening of the struggle on the economic plane, for a break with capitalist politics, on the political plane, for the building of a labor party that will struggle for both Negro and white working class emancipation by seizing the real power in this country.

This is what we intend to struggle for. We also intend to support you in your wholly just struggle for self-determination. We feel you should join us in the class struggle which is not "ours" but both or ours as it poses the only way out for the liberation of the Negro and of the working class as a whole.

Yours fraternally,

Tim Wohlforth, editor
Bulletin of International
Socialism

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the lessons of cicero

Does Fascism Have a Real Future in the United States?

by Tim Wohlforth

An important feature of the recent series of demonstrations in the Chicago area was the emergence of fascism with --if only momentarily-- a popular base. George Lincoln Rockwell and his American Nazi Party were shown to be more than a bunch of oddball cranks. Posters with Swastikas and the words "White Power" were seen almost everywhere the civil rights marchers went. At his high point, Rockwell was able to draw a crowd of 5,000 people to a rally in Marquette Park.

This important, if sporadic, outburst of fascism did not leave Rockwell with any serious base among the second generation working class and petty bourgeois youths who followed him during those demonstrations. When it came to marching into Negro areas, his following has dissipated. It is doubtful if Rockwell emerged from all the publicity with any appreciable organizational growth.

It would therefore be a mistake to see too much in this fascist outburst. The economic, political and social conditions are not yet ripe for the serious growth of a fascist movement, let alone the triumph of fascism. But at the same time the Chicago events mark a beginning, a crude beginning for fascism in our time.

trotsky

Trotsky, in the last article he ever wrote, had the following to say about fascism with specific reference to the United States:

"Both theoretical analysis as well as the rich historical experience of the last quarter of a century have demonstrated with equal force that fascism is each time the final link of a specific political

WORKERS OF NEW YORK! Stop the Fascists!

PICKET MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, MON., FEB. 20, 6 P. M. !

The fascists are mobilizing at Madison Square Garden Monday night.

Hitler's German-American Bund gangsters, Pelley's Silver Shirt scum and Coughlin's mob of labor-haters have hurled a brazen challenge at the workers of New York.

Wrapping themselves in the cloak of patriotism and "Americanism", the fascists prepare to spew their anti-labor and anti-Jewish poison throughout New York City.

These gangs have already gone too far. They must be stopped.

What are you going to do to stop this murderous crew?

We must not let this filthy, creeping slime get a foothold in New York.

Gather in front of Madison Square Garden Monday by the thousands!

Be there at 6:00 P. M. sharp!

Let the fascists feel the anger and the might of the working class-- Get out and picket!

Don't wait for the concentration camps-- Act now!

On to Madison Square Garden Monday Night!

Issued by the
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (Fourth International)
116 University Place, New York City

50,000 WORKERS ANSWERED THIS SUMMONS IN 1939.

cycle composed of the following: the gravest crisis of capitalist society; the growth of the radicalization of the working class; the growth of sympathy toward the working class and a yearning for change on the part of the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie; the extreme confusion of the big bourgeoisie; its cowardly and treacherous maneuvers aimed at avoiding the revolutionary climax; the exhaustion of the proletariat, growing confusion and indifference; the aggravation of the social crisis; the despair of the petty bourgeoisie, its yearning for change, the collective neurosis of the petty bourgeoisie, its readiness to believe in miracles; its

readiness for violent measures; the growth of hostility towards the proletariat which has deceived its expectations. These are the premises for a swift formation of a Fascist party and its victory."

crisis

Obviously this is not the kind of period we are presently going through. At the same time some of these factors are beginning to be felt on the American scene.

In particular a social crisis is developing within the United States brought about by inherent economic weaknesses. This crisis not only impels forward the Negro masses whose economic conditions are actually de-

teriorating in relation to the rest of the population, but is also having its impact upon white workers and the lower middle class--especially the youth. The white youth of Cicero also face economic insecurity and they are certainly ready for "violent measures."

Working Class leadership is also lacking from the situation -- not because the workers have been exhausted or defeated--but rather because they are only beginning to assert themselves in struggles at the point of production. This is an extremely important difference from a pre-fascist situation for it means that in the future the positive role of the proletariat will grow rather than shrink.

race

Another important feature of Rockwell's temporary success was his demagogic use of race hatred as a method to channel the anxieties and frustrations of white youth in a reactionary rather than revolutionary direction. Here, while anti-semitism was clearly present, the dynamite was provided by Negro-baiting. The poor white is demagogically told that his insecurity is the fault of the competition of Negroes, not of the system itself which has the technical might to provide security for all--black and white. The fascism of the future could well be based primarily on the race issue rather than anti-semitism.

the press

We must also understand the interrelationship between Rockwell and the American ruling class. True all "respectable" forces repudiated Rockwell and his fascist goons. But in their own subtle way the American rulers encour-

aged his development. Prior to the King marchers the American press, including the New York Times, were filled with distorted and slanderous accounts of "Black Power." The Negro was pictured as demanding supremacy over whites, seeking to dominate whites, being racists in reverse, etc., etc. Thus the exploited one, the slave was pictured as seeking to exploit, to oppress. This fed the "white backlash" feeling that the white worker was threatened by the Negro. Now that they have carefully whipped up this "backlash", the politicians in Congress use it as an excuse for not enacting civil rights legislation.

future

We can expect to see more and more outbursts of fascist and reactionary forces as the crisis deepens in the United States. Always in their own way the rulers of this country will encourage this development quietly. At the same time the American working class will play a greater and greater role in struggles which challenge these rulers. This in turn will attract the best elements among the lower middle classes and workers as well as create panic in others.

At each step along the way race will be brought into the picture to sow disunity within the class, to pit worker against worker, to turn the anger of the people away from those responsible -- the bosses and the bosses' government.

The only answer to fascism is the independent struggle of the working class. This requires a constant and ceaseless struggle for class unity and against race divisions and hatreds. In this and in only this way can we destroy this "filthy, creeping slime" of fascism.

WELFARE WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)
there are enough workers to visit excess cases. Demands such as these will show who really stands in the way of meeting the needs of the poor.

negotiations

The leadership of the SSEU while carrying out a magnificent action has failed to

connect this struggle to other struggles. Every action the union engages in, every crisis the union undergoes is treated as separate and unrelated. The current action against contract violation of caseloads is directly related to the city's attempt this summer to cut wages by lengthening hours and is part of the same process which produced the Lindsay Tri-Partite bill.

This action will have direct bearing on the ability of the SSEU to win the bargaining elections for the union's strength will strongly influence the city in the coming negotiations for a new contract. The membership must understand completely what it is facing.

An administration which considers it a matter of course to violate contracts will not take very kindly to the demands in the SSEU bargaining proposals. Much of the cost of these demands would be returned to the city through federal reimbursement but what they really fear is the big push such

gains could give to the other unions in the city.

The union must put heavy emphasis on those demands which could win other workers and clients groups to support it in the negotiations with the city. Central to this is the demand for the 30 hour work week and a demand for regular cost of living increases. The union must stress that a shorter work week will create more jobs and benefit all workers. It must publicize the fact that a cost of living escalator clause will protect living standards from inflationary price rises and it must clearly state that such regular increases are desperately needed by welfare clients and unemployed workers. The government claims it will hold down prices. If so, it has nothing to fear from such guarantees. With demands like this that would benefit all workers, the SSEU can gain allies among the client groups and unionists who are increasingly expressing the need for these gains.

SPARTACIST

(Continued from page 2)

ing class is not entirely incorrect... " But it is entirely incorrect and it does reflect a tendency to deny a role for the working class as a whole in our time, today. We have no doubt that the Spartacist like the SWP "believes" in the future of the working class. But it is only a pious religious belief if not related to the working class as it is today.

What these revisionists mean when they talk about "apathetic white working class" is that the working class -- black and white -- at the point of production is either not struggling or these struggles are unimportant to socialists.

We maintain that the working class is struggling at the point of production and that, as witness the airlines strike, these struggles are being forced more and more in the direction of a political confrontation with the American ruling class. This struggle, if less conscious than ghetto based Negro struggles or middle class peace demonstrations, is more fundamental. It is precisely this struggle which can give leadership to these other struggles and can bring about the possibility of victory.

Considering the Spartacist's unprincipled school of politics and its distance from and lack of understanding of the class struggle in the United States, the character of the recent graduates of this school is not surprising -- shocking but not surprising. At the Socialist Scholar's Conference graduate Shane Mage denounced the working class in favor of -- psychedelics. At the door of the conference graduates Friedlander and Aarons distributed a call for a somewhat more exotic mixture of free love, "the acid revolution" and psychotherapy. The latter they no doubt could use.

We prefer Lenin's school.

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