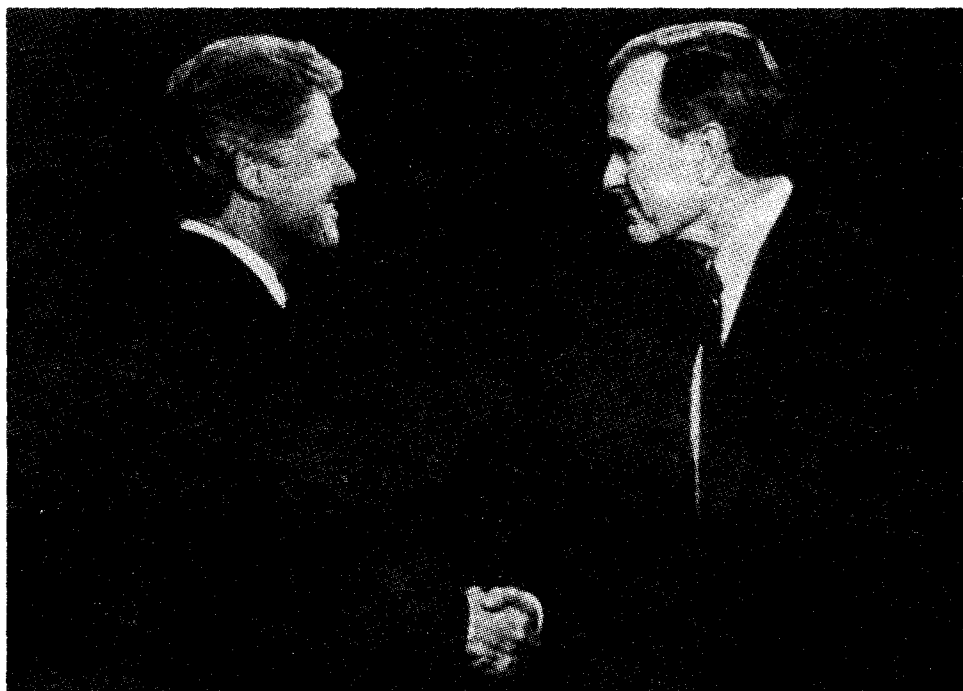


Yuppie Democrats Scorn Blacks, Labor

Wall Street Replaces Bush with Clinton



Sipa



Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Clinton and Bush: partner parties of American capitalism in election shell game, as unemployment lines grow.

Reagan/Bush's corporate-yuppie coalition which presided over the '80s "decade of greed" has given way to the yuppie "new" Democrats. Little over a year ago George Bush was basking in the highest-ever poll ratings as the victor of the Cold War and the Persian Gulf War. But the manifest decay of American capitalism dragged him down, as the longest-lasting recession since the 1930s dragged on and on. For months it has been clear that the vast majority of the U.S. population and key sections of the ruling class wanted anyone but Bush in the White House. "Governor Not-Bush" was elected with a minority vote, but combined with the protest vote for the billionaire demagogue Perot, Clinton was put in office with a vague but overwhelming mandate for "change."

But nothing fundamental is going to change in this society short of socialist revolution. The true face of racist American capitalism was shown two days after the election when Detroit cops staged a brutal replay of the vicious LAPD beating of Rodney King, dragging another black man, Malice Green, from his car and beating him to death with their metal flashlights. During the campaign both parties attacked welfare, while Clinton went out of his way to distance himself from black people, who had been the hard core of Democratic support in recent decades. Significantly, while overall voter turnout rose sharply, among blacks it dropped by 13 percent since the last presidential election. The elections showed once

Trade War and "Law and Order" Racism

again what many realized over the cop acquittal in the Rodney King beating: the problem is the system.

The solution is socialist revolution. The capitalist system's relentless drive for profits means exploitation of the working people, racist terror and war. To achieve real change that does away with the root causes of unemployment and homelessness, and provides health care and a decent life for all, requires a struggle for power by the working class at the head of all the oppressed.

"It's the Economy, Stupid"

For the Republicans, the chickens finally came home to roost. In response to Reagan's 1980 question—"Are you

better off now than you were four years ago?"—the electorate's answer was an emphatic "No!" As unemployment mounted, Federal Reserve Board chairman Alan Greenspan admitted that the U.S. was in "an economic downturn of a kind unseen since 1945 which could prove more protracted than previous recessions this century" (*Financial Times*, 15 October). Conveniently timed headlines about the re-indictment of Reagan defense secretary Weinberger in the Iran/contra scandal, and reports of special investigations into an administration coverup of pre-Gulf War aid to Saddam Hussein in the "Iraqgate" story, helped spike a last-minute revival of Bush's chances in the polls. "The Econ-

omy Falter, A President Falls" was the summation by the *New York Times* (4 November). Or, as a sign in the Clinton campaign's Little Rock headquarters put it, "It's the economy, stupid."

It's a familiar cycle in American bourgeois politics: the Republicans' "Roaring Twenties" of strikebreaking, Ku Klux Klan lynchings and rich man's partying was followed by the '29 Crash and the Great Depression. As Herbert Hoover intoned "prosperity is just around the corner," the stage was set for FDR's Democratic electoral upset. But it was only World War II which "solved" the Depression crisis for FDR. JFK pledged to "get the country moving again" after eight years of Eisenhower "do-nothing" Republicanism, and led the bipartisan "crusade against Communism" to the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs and defeat in the swamps of Vietnam. Today Clinton backs the recently passed Torricelli bill to tighten the economic noose on Cuba, while warning foes of "the essential continuity of American foreign policy." But

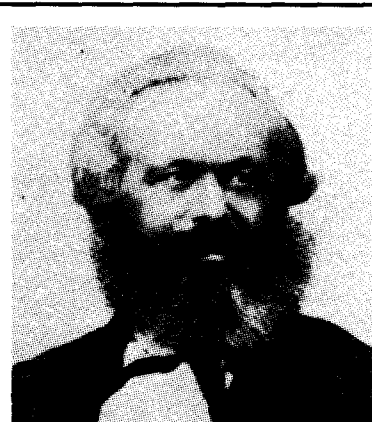
continued on page 4



Steve Liss

Punctured Equilibrium Stephen Jay Gould and the Mismeasure of Marx

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Progress Publishers

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

When Nat King Cole crooned about "Chestnuts roasting on an open fire, Jack Frost nipping at your nose," it wasn't intended to describe holiday dinner for millions of homeless families huddled around trash cans across the U.S. With American capitalism gripped in the worst recession in 50 years, working people have become poorer, the poor have become homeless, and to preserve the vastly growing wealth of the rich few, cop terror and state repression continue to rise to new heights.

The bosses' looting of basic industry has left millions jobless, while drastically driving down the living standards of those left with jobs and decimating the inner cities. But once again it's that time of year—the nation's greedy capitalist rulers trot out their street-corner Santas, "holiday cheer" and tax-deductible donations to the various charities for the poor, whom they spit on all year round. We follow a different tradi-

tion, that initiated by the International Labor Defense of James P. Cannon, of raising funds for the class-war prisoners and their families, "of transforming the hypocritical spirit of Christmas into the spirit of solidarity with the class-war fighters behind bars."

Seven years ago the Partisan Defense Committee revived the ILD's tradition of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners, and extra gifts for them and their families during the holidays. Last year we raised over \$9,700 for the prisoners and their families. These funds give us a solid financial basis for sending monthly stipends, and meeting requests for books, magazines and special items of clothing, as well as the holiday gifts. These modest gifts and messages of solidarity are a reminder to these brothers and sisters that they are not forgotten, and that we are dedicated in every season to waging the fight for a powerful movement of legal and social defense in sup-



TROTSKY

Imperialism and Trade War

With the collapse and breakup of the Soviet Union, we are witnessing sharpened economic conflicts among the major capitalist powers. Japan is presented to the American people as a new "evil empire," while a trade war over agricultural products has broken out between the U.S. and the German-dominated European Common Market. Leon Trotsky explained that the fundamental cause of the Second World War, coming after a decade of intense global protectionism, was the drive

of the imperialist states to redivide the world market into spheres of exploitation.

Imperialism has actually shattered the world market, breaking it up into spheres dominated by powerful individual countries. With the considerable increase in the population of the earth, the world trade of 109 states on our planet dropped almost one-fourth in the single decade prior to the present war. The turnover in foreign trade of some countries has been cut to one-half, one-third, and one-fourth....

With the present level of technology and skill of the workers, it is quite possible to create adequate conditions for the material and spiritual development of all mankind. It would be necessary only to organize the economic life within each country and over our entire planet correctly, scientifically, and rationally, according to a general plan. So long, however, as the main productive forces of society are held by trusts, i.e., isolated capitalist cliques, and so long as the national state remains a pliant tool in the hands of these cliques, the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for domination of the world, must inevitably assume a more and more destructive character. State power and domination of the economy can be torn from the hands of these rapacious imperialist cliques only by the revolutionary working class. That is the meaning of Lenin's warning that without "a series of successful revolutions" a new imperialist war would inevitably follow. The different predictions and promises which were made have been submitted to the test of events. The fairy tale of the "war to end all wars" has been proved a lie. Lenin's prediction has become tragic truth.

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (May 1940)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD



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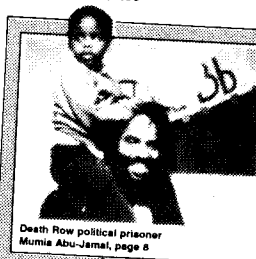
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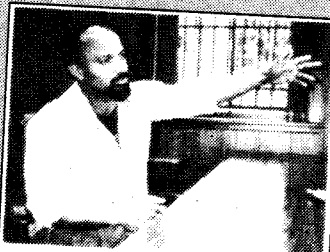
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Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

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With your contribution of \$5 or more, receive a subscription to **Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.

port of their battles against the racist frame-up system.

As Cannon wrote: "The men in prison are still a part of the living class movement. The Christmas Fund drive of the International Labor Defense is a means of informing them that the workers of America have not forgotten their duty toward the men to whom we are all linked by bonds of solidarity. It is the Christmas drive of Labor and must have its generous support!"

We proudly stand with these 17 prisoners—their cause is ours: Death row political prisoner **Mumia Abu-Jamal** is fighting for his life. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and prominent Philadelphia journalist known

as the "Voice of the Voiceless," Jamal was framed up and sentenced to die for his political beliefs and struggle against racist oppression. Locked in a tiny Huntingdon, Pennsylvania prison cell 22 hours a day, Jamal still fights the battles he's fought for the past 25 years, in columns appearing in newspapers across the country.

Jamal and his attorneys are preparing a legal challenge to expose the frame-up. But Mumia Abu-Jamal will not be saved by courtroom battles alone. It will take a mass campaign of protest and publicity. Join the campaign now. Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is America's foremost class-war prisoner. A former

continued on page 8

Remember the Greensboro Martyrs

Thirteen years have passed since the Greensboro Massacre. In broad daylight, the KKK/Nazi death squad drove up to a black housing project in Greensboro, North Carolina, where an anti-Klan rally was gathering. With cool deliberation, the killers took their weapons out of the trunk, aimed, fired, and drove off. Five leftists, civil rights activists and union organizers lay dying in pools of blood, others were wounded or maimed for life. These were the opening shots, carried out under the Democratic Carter administration, of the Reagan years' war on labor and blacks.

Greensboro was a conspiracy of the fascists and their patrons in the capitalist state. From the outset, the KKK and Nazis were aided and abetted by the government, from the G-man who helped train the killers and plot the assassinations to the "former" FBI informer who rode shotgun in the motorcade of death and the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. Two successive all-white juries acquitted the killers of all charges, affirming once again the meaning of "justice" in this racist capitalist state.

"Greensboro"—the name cries out for justice, for vengeance. When the liberals claim it was a "shootout" and say to ignore the fascists, when the lynchers say they want to parade in their white sheets in our neighborhoods, we remember Greensboro by mobilizing to stop them. Immediately after the massacre, when the fascists



Greensboro Daily News

Nelson Johnson, a survivor of the Greensboro Massacre, kneels by slain comrade.

sought to march in black Detroit, we organized a labor/black mobilization to stop them, as we have done from Washington and Philadelphia to Chicago and San Francisco.

We honor the Greensboro martyrs—Cesar Cauce, Michael Nathan, Bill Sampson, Sandi Smith, James Waller—and rededicate ourselves to the fight against fascist terror. The working class in power, the third American revolution, will ensure there shall be *No More Greensboros!*

3 November 1979

Germany: Mass Outrage Over Fascist Terror

BERLIN—Four days after a militant anti-racist protest by 20,000 leftist youth and immigrants, Germany's political bigwigs put themselves at the head of a mass demonstration "for human dignity" of more than 300,000 on November 8. These were the same Christian Democrats (CDU), Free Democrats (FDP) and Social Democrats (SPD) whose diatribes about a "flood of asylum seekers" sparked the racist pogroms in Rostock last August and fanned a wave of Nazi attacks on refugees throughout Germany. The politicians sought to clean up the image of the "ugly German," but their image-polishing operation flopped. Federal president Richard von Weizsäcker had his microphone cut off and was booed down by thousands of leftist youth vehemently protesting against the racist line-up on the podium. He was protected by a cordon of federal border police and the umbrellas of his fellow politicians from a hail of eggs, tomatoes, stones and plastic bags filled with paint.

CDU chancellor Helmut Kohl joined the march at the Brandenburg Gate, but then retreated under the barrage amid cries of "hypocrite!" Not only is Kohl's government seeking to amend Article 16 of the constitution to "modify" (eliminate) the right to asylum, and threatening to resort to emergency powers if the SPD doesn't go along, a few weeks ago federal interior minister Seiters signed an agreement with the Bucharest government to deport tens of thousands of Roma (Gypsies) to Romania, in exchange for some millions of D-marks in blood money. During the march, one banner proclaimed, "Racist Politicians Demonstrate for German Exports." SPD chief Björn Engholm was greeted in Karl Liebknecht Street with cries of "murderer, murderer," recalling the Social Democrats' role as bloodhounds in the 1919 assassination of Communist lead-



Berlin, November 4—Spartakist Workers Party contingent at leftist demonstration against fascism and racist state terror.

ers Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Today the SPD is spearheading the anti-communist witchhunt trial of former East German leader Erich Honecker, set to open November 12.

While Kohl & Co. worry about Germany's image abroad, the wave of fascist terror that has swept through Germany as a by-product of capitalist reunification has provoked a groundswell of opposition from leftward-moving youth. Earlier in the week, on November 4 some 20,000 leftists from East and West Berlin joined in August-Bebel-Platz demanding an end to the "Racist Asylum Debate" and defending Article 16. Among the sponsors were various "antifa" groups, trade-union youth, the ex-Stalinist Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) and Jusos (Young Socialists, the SPD youth). An indication of the pressure to the left is that the demonstration demanded "Full

Citizenship Rights for Everyone Who Lives Here," a call that has previously been raised only by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD). The SpAD carried a red banner calling as well to "Stop the Nazis with Workers United Front Action."

Many of the immigrant and youth groups that demonstrated on November 4 called for a boycott of the November 8 "alibi-demo" by the racist all-party coalition of Bonn politicians. The would-be social democrats of the PDS tried to have their cake and eat it too by endorsing both demonstrations. Having sold out the former East German deformed workers state, the reformists led by Gregor Gysi are worried about the "democratic" packaging of the Fourth Reich rather than protecting refugees. Thus the PDS calls for more police, who every week assault

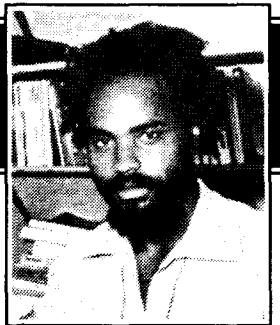
and terrorize immigrants. And now the PDS' *Neues Deutschland* (9 November) answered the outburst against the politicians with a call to "talk with a cool head about an immigration law that takes account of practical problems"! This cynical call means carrying out the demands of the Nazi rabble for mass deportations.

The Trotskyists of the SpAD, German section of the International Communist League, fought tooth and nail against capitalist reunification, warning that it would bring mass unemployment and racist terror, as indeed it has. The Spartakists have fought for united workers defense to protect the dormitories housing refugees and immigrant workers. On several occasions the SpAD and its supporters have organized and participated in such defense actions, as well as in protests against anti-Semitic attacks, notably against Jewish cemeteries. Our revolutionary politics find an echo among radicalizing youth who are fed up with the hypocrisy of the racist "popular front" stretching from the CDU to the SPD-PDS. Close to 1,000 copies of *Spartakist* were sold at the two demonstrations this week.

After swallowing the DDR, the German bourgeoisie is having trouble digesting its conquests. The million-strong strike by the ÖTV public employees union last May-June showed the power of the German proletariat, with its key component of immigrant workers. Combined with tens of thousands of youth taking to the streets, this is the social power that can be mobilized to smash the fascist bands. The SpAD is fighting to win workers, immigrants, youth to build a Bolshevik party in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, a tribune of the people championing all the oppressed, to lead a socialist revolution that will crush the Nazi menace once and for all. ■

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Outrage in Rostock



It's been a year since the racist outrages of Hoyerswerda, the little East German town where red-necks and skinheads torched refugee shelters, while police stood by, and neighbors applauded. A year later, and the whole of Germany, East and West, is gripped in a growing age of *Ausländerfeindlichkeit*: political exploitation of hostility against foreigners, called "auslanders," in German.

The images from the harbor town of Rostock, of crowds of neo-fascist youths torching the homes of Vietnamese families, again while cops stand by and neighbors clap approval, proves that Hoyerswerda was nothing but an ugly beginning to a national campaign of nakedly racist and anti-refugee repression.

Politicians, eager to expand their constituencies, have almost totally refused to condemn the carnage, terrorism and arson, opting instead to echo anti-refugee concerns, thereby fueling a fireball of anti-foreigner hatred. Their only concerns were for Germany's "image abroad," not the human concerns of safety, of personal integrity, of families terrorized by fires in the night.

One district politician justified the pogrom by demeaning the refugees as "too loud, too dirty

and too lazy."

Others have campaigned for the repeal of Section 16 of the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] Constitution, the guarantee of asylum clause.

In some respects, the burning of Rostock is a psychic descendant of Bitburg, where the U.S. Commander in Chief, then President Reagan, saluted the Nazi/SS dead, and by so doing gave imperial legitimacy to the neo-Nazi movement in Germany. His visit was a precursor to the celebrations of the Waffen-SS at the war cemetery in Halbe, south of Berlin, in November 1991. The official government said they were going to prevent the gathering, but, in the end, did nothing, just as in Hoyerswerda, and in Rostock.

In Rostock, not only did the cops stand idly by, while fascistic mobs firebombed a Vietnamese shelter, but firefighters did little better as they were unable to quell the flames of destruction.

The state's inability or unwillingness to act, however, did not carry over to German anti-fascists, who, days later, as they staged a counterdemo in Rostock, were met by 4,000 cops who held up over 5,000 anti-fascist demonstrators for seven hours at police checkpoints on the highways.

The delay, however, seemed to work in their favor as over 20,000 people, from anti-fascist and autonomous groups, trade unionists, the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), the Greens, immigrant groups, and other organizations, staged a demo on August 29 to denounce the Rostock outrages.

This, despite the slanted press coverage that painted the antis as "violent leftist mobs," the police intimidation and attempted obstruction, the political denunciations that fell only on those who dared stand against the terrorism, not the terrorists themselves.

As the "antifa" movement grows, so too does the reign of state-supported hatred that struck in the village of Kretzin, Brandenburg state, where another shelter was molotoved, and burned down.

In the streets and alleys of reunited Germany the future of Europe and much of the world is being forged.

Time will tell whether it will be a future of promise, or of pogroms.

24 September 1992

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Clinton...

(continued from page 1)

Saddam Hussein wasn't impressed: he's still around, while Bush is history.

So today the much-analyzed "Reagan Democrats" have "come home" to Clinton's party. Suburban and young voters went Democratic. In the face of the Republicans' virulent anti-abortion stand and tub-thumping rhetoric about family values, women went solidly for Clinton. So did three-quarters of those blacks who voted, having nowhere else to go in the American two-party electoral prison. (Bush got a plurality of the white vote.) The megalomaniac technocrat Perot "won" the presidential debates with folksy lines about getting "under the hood" to "fix the problem," and took 19 percent of the vote. While this translates into zero votes in the electoral college, Perot's petty-bourgeois base of white small businessmen is waiting to be mobilized by him or other right-wing would-be bonapartes.

It was not so much a Democratic triumph as a Republican collapse. In the last few months the Bush administration was visibly coming apart, as longtime Reaganite loyalists scrambled to abandon a ship which had run out of steam. Columnist and former Nixon flack William Safire, for instance, was wringing his hands about the possibility of defecting to Clinton out of frustration over the developing disaster, particularly the takeover of the August Republican convention by far-right Christian fundamentalist crazies. Safire described conservatives like himself as "Bushed Republicans":

"...conservative women turned off in droves by the party platform's unequivocal anti-abortion stand; hawkish males tired of a spent Administration; hard hats with hard feelings about comparatively hard times; young suburbanites put off by the tooting of an uncertain domestic trumpet, and right-wingers of all feathers troubled by a candidate who presents himself as Mr. Nice Guy clanking about in far-right armor."

—"Bush's Gamble," *New York Times Magazine*, 18 October

A whole slew of hard-line militarists who were an important core of Reagan's anti-Soviet Cold War II general staff switched to Clinton's "new" Democratic Party. There was the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, William Crowe, who endorsed Clinton at a September 19 press conference. Other defectors include Paul Nitze, who masterminded Reagan's anti-Soviet strategy, and Lt. General William Odom, director of the super-secret National Security Agency from 1985 to 1988. The Clinton campaign made public a list of 21 retired generals and admirals who endorsed the Democratic ticket. Meanwhile, Clinton was endorsed by several hundred top business executives including the head of Hewlett-Packard, CEOs of numerous Silicon Valley companies, and financiers like Felix Rohatyn (Lazard Frères), Roger Altman (Blackstone Group) and Robert Rubin (Goldman Sachs).



Habib/Concord Monitor

Media-smooth Clinton checks his image.

While Clinton was being endorsed by militarists and capitalists, and pursued the white suburbanite vote by spitting on labor and blacks, fake-leftists still jumped on the bandwagon in the name of "fighting the right." While the ultra-reformist Communist Party USA headlined, "Keep Up the Heat to Dump Bush-Quayle" (*People's Weekly World*, 24 October), the split-off "Committees of Correspondence" took a virtually identical line. "Clinton is clearly no friend of the left," social Democratic apologist Manning Marable wrote in the *Corresponder* (September/October 1992), but a Clinton domestic program, being implemented by "African Americans, Latinos and white liberals... would greatly expand the potential social space for the rise of new democratic social movements." Shades of the New Left's quickly forgotten 1964 slogan, "Part of the way with LBJ," which disappeared as soon as their "peace" candidate got elected and promptly escalated the Vietnam War.

For the last 12 years, the American government has been stuck in gridlock between a Republican White House and a Democratic Congress. Some muddle-headed liberals may think that a unified Democratic government will unleash a flurry of social programs. Actually the governmental paralysis served to forestall some truly horrendous measures, such as the draconian Democratic-sponsored "omnibus anti-crime" bill, which has been held up by Bush's opposition to gun control.

Clinton's domestic program will be no "New Deal" or "Great Society." These were responses, first of all, to mass social protest. Today, facing a mountain of debt and an economy spiraling into a bottomless pit, the American ruling class is not about to dish out social programs or even play around with social demagoguery. Now the word "abortion" may be permitted to be uttered at federally funded clinics, and AIDS patients may get some verbal sympathy from the "PC" Democrats, but there'll be no big bucks forthcoming for national health care or

any other social concern. Don't forget Clinton's vow to put "an end to welfare as we know it," forcing people off the welfare rolls to get jobs which don't exist.

Clinton's corporate backers want him to slash Social Security, welfare and other programs. *Business Week* (16 November), which sees Clinton's election as an opportunity to implement its "industrial policy" for "Reinventing

Baker/Sipa



Pro-Democratic Party union bureaucrats spearhead flag-waving protectionism.

America," writes that "only a Democratic leader can get a handle on medicare, medicaid, and other so-called entitlement programs." Or *Newsweek*: "Only a Democratic president could plunge the knife deep into entitlement programs and the bloated federal bureaucracy." Clinton represents a wing of the ruling class whose difference with Reagan is that they believe in a more activist government to boost corporate profits. They're not talking about handouts for the hungry and homeless, they're talking about tax breaks for high-tech industries. "To simplify," wrote Martin Walker in the *London Guardian* (2 October), "Clinton is conventionally hawkish on foreign policy, liberal on lifestyles, fiscally cautious and opposed to the traditional liberality of the welfare state."

First Shots of New Trade War

To listen to a lot of liberals, you'd think that all that's wrong with the American economy can be traced back to "Reaganomics" and the exaltation of greed. Clinton is pledging to turn the U.S. into a "domestic economic giant." But it's not just a question of governmental policy. The U.S. economy has been structurally decaying—literally as well as figuratively—since the 1974-75 world depression. Responding to the heavy losses suffered at that time, U.S. corporations massively shifted their manufacturing operations to low-wage Third World countries. This began the transformation of the

Midwest into a rust belt.

On top of this, Reaganomics brought unprecedented financial parasitism as the huge military buildup against the Soviet Union was paid with IOUs to Wall Street, Frankfurt and Tokyo banks. Today, interest payments on the federal debt dwarf every other outlay by the U.S. Treasury except the Pentagon budget. For the first time in history, U.S. banks hold more government securities than industrial and commercial loans.

The deterioration of the economy has gone hand in hand with increasing pressures for trade protectionism. "Japan-bashing" is already the rhetoric-of-choice for politicians and labor bureaucrats alike. The U.S. has never been a paragon of "free trade," despite much rhetoric to the contrary. Some 3,600 commodities—from milk products to minivans—are subject to tariffs, quotas and other import restrictions. Nonetheless, the American market has been relatively more open to capitalist competitors than that of West Europe and Japan. This was the price the U.S. rulers were willing to pay to hold together the global imperialist alliance against the Soviet Union. But they were less and less willing to pay even before the collapse of Stalinist rule and the breakup of the USSR.

Agriculture is one of the few sectors in which the American economy has a strong competitive advantage interna-

tionally, and U.S. ruling circles have been especially nettled that West Europe is a protected market for French farmers. Since France was an important component of NATO Europe, Washington grudgingly tolerated the agricultural protectionism of the Common Market. But with America's man Boris Yeltsin now in the Kremlin, there is no longer any reason for Washington to placate France, whose ranking in the "New World Order" is very low indeed.

On November 5, the lame-duck Bush administration announced that a 200 percent punitive tax would be imposed on \$300 million in European exports, mainly French wines, unless the Common Market capitulated to Washington's demands to eliminate subsidies for vegetable oils. And it threatened to extend the punitive taxes to another \$700 million in exports from West Europe. A *New York Times* (6 November) editorial begins: "War with Europe: an inconceivable thought that suddenly isn't so inconceivable." Of course, they assure the reader they're only talking about trade war, not the other kind. But one prepares the other.

Arguing for a compromise settlement in the latest U.S./European Community trade clash, German economics minister Jurgen Moller states: "We are in the situation that unless there are new impulses for the economy, we will enter a global recession." In reality, the capitalist world is in a global recession regardless of decisions that are made or



Grieving mother holds picture of Malice Green, black man beaten to death by Detroit cops two days after election.

Rome's Jewish Community Routs Fascists

Italy: Thousands March Against Racist Terror

Two hundred thousand people—overwhelmingly youth—in 31 cities across Italy took to the streets November 9 to mark the anniversary of the Nazis' 1938 *Kristallnacht* pogrom and to protest the rising tide of racist terror in the country. Capitalist reunification of Germany and the collapse of Stalinism throughout East Europe and the former Soviet Union have plunged Italy into deep economic and political turmoil. "Polarized" is an understatement; the country is bursting at the seams.

Emboldened by startling electoral support for the fascistic Lombard League headed by Umberto Bossi, fascists have escalated racist violence against Jews and immigrants all over the country. The police have turned a blind eye. In Rome last June, as angry Jewish demonstrators confronted a fascist mob, one cop yelled, "They didn't make enough soap out of the Jews."

Meanwhile, without any leadership—indeed, *against* their existing reformist leaderships—the industrial working class and high school youth have been in full-scale revolt for nearly two months now, shutting down city after city in general strikes against the government's savage austerity program dictated by the Maastricht treaty (i.e., German bankers). On October 10, Torino was shut down by workers and students who filled the streets and marched on the town hall chanting, "Here we are with our red banners! Go fuck yourself Umberto Bossi!"

After 50,000 fascists marched unimpeded through the streets of Rome last month, the ancient Jewish ghetto and African quarter were plastered with racist graffiti and yellow Stars of David. In response, rejecting "responsible" appeals to "ignore the Nazis," several hundred Jewish youth and concentration camp survivors, armed with iron bars and chains, carried out a successful lightning raid on the headquarters of the fascist "Movimento Politico Occidentale" (Western Political Movement) on November 5. One fascist wound up in the hospital and one cop emerged from the fray with a black eye.

The fascist flag was ripped down off the wall and carried back to the Jewish quarter as a war trophy. Death camp survivors, their children and grandchildren stayed in the streets until dawn celebrating their victory over the fascists. An

Auschwitz survivor was triumphantly hoisted in the air and carried through the neighborhood atop the captured fascist flag. As one youth who participated in the action said, "It was the most beautiful moment of my life. If he has to die, let's hope not for a hundred years, at least he'll go knowing that something has changed" (*Corriere della Sera*, 7 November).

This dramatic and militant self-defense action electrified anti-racist fighters all over Italy. On November 9, some 25,000 high school students bobbed up and down through the streets of Milano yelling "Jump if you're not a fascist!" and showered the headquarters of Bossi's Lombard League with ball bearings and coins. Sixty thousand anti-fascists poured through the streets of Rome.

Young leftists in Palestinian *keffiyeh* scarves linked arms with Jewish youth in *yarmulkes* and slapped the number 174517 on their jackets—the number the Nazis tattooed on Primo Levi in Auschwitz. In tribute to this remarkable man, a noted Italian author, concentration camp survivor and anti-fascist fighter, young leftists chanted, "Primo Levi taught us! We won't forget the Holocaust!" and "It is not a crime to kill a fascist!" Leaders of the Italian student movement are demanding that Primo Levi's books be assigned reading in the public schools.

Our comrades from the Lega Trotskista d'Italia participated in the demonstrations in Rome and Milano, carrying placards reading, "Proletarian Revolution Will Avenge the Holocaust!" "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant Workers!" and "Smash Anti-Semitic, Anti-Immigrant Terror!" Youth eagerly snapped up copies of *Spartaco*, newspaper of the LTd'I, and picked up our chants.

There is militant proletarian opposition to fascism and capitalist rollbacks in Italy today—with *no leadership*. Jews and immigrants have been left to face the fascists alone, as the reformist parties and trade-union tops have done everything possible to keep their working-class base away from confrontation with the fascists. It is urgently necessary to construct a genuine Bolshevik party to serve as a *tribune of the people* and direct these struggles to victory. ■



Jewish students among the 30,000 union workers and youth who protested anti-Semitism in Rome, November 9 (above). Italian fascists (below) whose Rome headquarters were trashed by Jewish youth after Jewish-owned stores were plastered with yellow stars and threatening graffiti.



not made at economic summits. And the drive toward new trade wars will certainly accelerate under the new man in the White House. Reports are that Clinton wants to add to the National Security Council an Economic Security Council

to create what one might call an Imperialist War Council. This could become the first shot in the Clinton "plan" for economic revival...through war.

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party

In his 1920 exposé of the sham of bourgeois democracy, the great Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky quoted Marxist Paul Lafargue, who wrote:

"Parliamentarism is a system of government in which the people acquires the illusion that it is controlling the forces of the country itself, when, in reality, the actual power is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie—and not even of the whole bourgeoisie, but only of certain sections of that class."

—Trotsky, *Terrorism and Communism*, 1920

In the United States, the capitalist rulers use the rigged parliamentary system to siphon off social discontent by offering the "choice" of two capitalist parties (or

this time three, counting Perot). The reformist left plays its role in this shell game by peddling illusions in the Democrats as the "lesser evil."

But they don't succeed in fooling all of the victims of this system of exploitation and oppression all of the time. In a 1964 speech in Cleveland which he titled "The Ballot or the Bullet," Malcolm X lucidly remarked:

"I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy....

"They get all the Negro vote, and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. All they did when they got to Washington was give a few big Negroes big jobs.... That's camouflage, that's trickery, that's treachery, window-dressing...you put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last."

—Malcolm X Speaks (1965)

Malcolm X saw clearly the fraudulent character of capitalist "democracy." But

how to fight it and *defeat* it? While at the time he was murdered, he was drawing away from narrow black nationalism, he did not recognize that in the multiracial working class there is the power to sweep away this system of exploitation and oppression.

With its hands on the levers of the economy and the mechanisms of state terror, particularly the army and police, the bourgeoisie bends elections to its will. Vote or no vote, this is the dictatorship of capital. What the exploited and oppressed need in order to impose their own liberating rule is a revolutionary workers party, forged in class struggle, a multiracial party uniting the most conscious fighters against capitalism and imperialism, an international party to lead the international proletariat—whether Japanese, Mexican, European, African or American—in struggle for socialist revolution worldwide. ■

Correction

In "Combined and Uneven Developments in the U.Sec" (WV No. 562, 30 October), we listed Franco Grisolia and his associate Marco Ferrando as members of the central committee of Rifondazione Comunista in Italy. It has been brought to our attention that Ferrando is a member of the National Political Committee of Rifondazione Comunista, while Grisolia is a "permanent invitee" to the committee.

Punctured Equilibrium

Stephen Jay Gould

and the

Mismeasure of Marx



Stephen Jay Gould describes himself as a teacher of biology, geology and the history of science. He is a rare commodity in the contemporary scientific world: one who is both an original thinker in his field and a facile communicator of science to the general public. He brings to mind another great popularizer of science, the late Isaac Asimov, who combined an academic career as a biochemist with a prodigious literary output (nearly 500 books), especially of science fiction, which attracted an entire generation of future scientists. Gould has dealt with science fact rather than fiction. His writings on natural history, which we Spartacists have found thought-provoking, are perhaps best known in his collections of essays (e.g., *Ever Since Darwin*, *The Panda's Thumb*) and books including *The Mismeasure of Man* and *Wonderful Life*.

Gould is also quite unusual in contemporary American science for forthrightly acknowledging that Marx and Engels had prescient insights on human biological and sociological evolution—a question which fascinates both Gould and ourselves. We were struck, therefore, by how far Gould strays from a scientific approach in his October 1992 column in *Natural History*, where he writes that the “Soviet collapse” signifies that “Marx’s economics has failed spectacularly, at least in the largest and longest experiment ever carried out in its name.”

Gould’s column, “Life in a Punctuation,” extensively quotes from an article by David Warsh, “Redeeming Karl Marx” (*Boston Globe*, 3 May). Warsh begins with the statement, “So much for communism, Russian-style.” But then he asks, “what has happened to Karl Marx?... Does that mean that Marx will be consigned to the intellectual scrap heap? Probably not. As a symbol, he’ll be around as long as people hunger for justice—a tarnished but evocative figure, in whose name great crimes have been committed, not unlike other great religious figures, Jesus and Mohammed.” It’s hardly “redemption” to reduce Marx, the dialectical materialist and revolutionary, to the role of a religious figure. But Warsh acknowledges

the enduring power of Marx’s ideas, adding that “you don’t need even a smattering of recondite economics to understand Marx’s enduring place in the modern world. His memorial is the word revolution....”

Warsh in his article cites Marx as the father of the “idea of punctuated equi-

librium last summer, he arrives at his conclusion about the “failed experiment” of Marxist economics. Gould’s wrong-headed conclusion is based on a misunderstanding of what Marxism represents, and ignores the whole historical development which led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The 1917 October Revolu-

a mortal blow. We find it remarkable that in his remarks on the Soviet Union he never mentions the name Leon Trotsky. Even conservative bourgeois historians recognize the need to address Trotsky’s analysis of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, if only in an attempt to refute it. And in a broader methodological sense, Gould accepts the Stalinist caricature of Marxism as a kind of mechanistic determinism. “He was still a child of his mechanistic age,” writes Gould, and “embodied a related conviction that directions of change are progressive, predictable and well-nigh inevitable.” Marx “hoped for a predictive theory of history, with progressive stages proceeding in a punctuational manner from primitive communism to slavery to feudalism to capitalism and finally to true communism.”

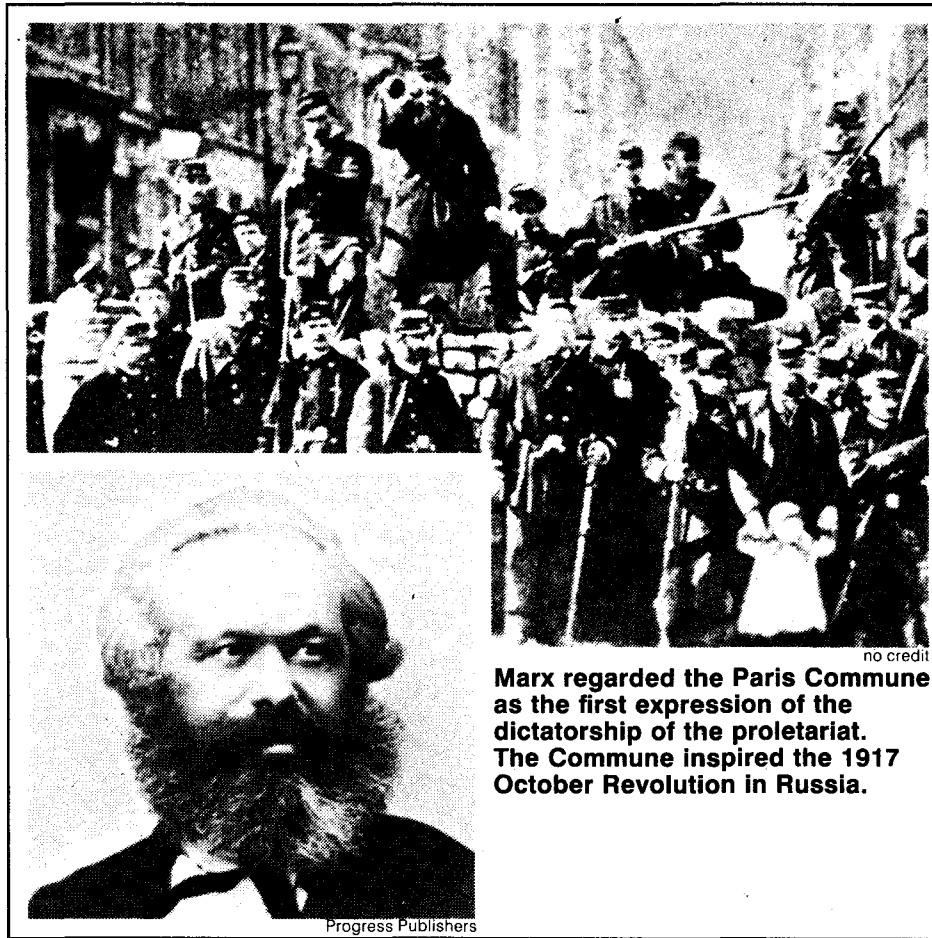
This comes not from Marx but from Stalin’s primer on *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, 1938 edition, or one of those unreadable Soviet “diamat” manuals that present a mechanical and deterministic distortion of dialectical materialism. Marx, in his 1857-58 manuscripts on pre-capitalist economic formations, the *Grundrisse*, also wrote of an “Asiatic mode of production” in ancient Mesopotamia, India, China and elsewhere. Yet these writings were suppressed by the Kremlin for decades, because they didn’t fit into Stalin’s simplistic schema, which reduced Marxism to a pseudo-materialist catechism. In contrast, Trotsky wrote, in his speech on “Radio, Science, Technology, and Society” (March 1926):

“Liberal scholars—now they are no more—commonly used to depict the whole of the history of mankind as a continuous line of progress. This was wrong. The line of progress is curved, broken, zigzagging. Culture now advances, now declines. There was the culture of ancient Asia, there was the culture of antiquity, of Greece and Rome, then European culture began to develop, and now American culture is rising in skyscrapers.”

Or consider Rosa Luxemburg’s poignant phrase from World War I, that mankind faces the stark alternatives: socialism or barbarism.

In fact, even in the first lines of the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels noted that class struggles ended “either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.” This is a theme which echoes throughout their later writings. Engels’ 1891 introduction to Marx’s *The Civil War in France* warned of the dangers of a European war involving tens of millions of men at arms. This was written over two decades before the cataclysm of World War I. Marx and Engels’ dialectical outlook showed how existing and developing economic forces pave the way for social change but don’t automatically “determine” that this or that political leadership will accomplish a particular historically possible task.

Gould acknowledges his intellectual debt to Marx—and to Engels—whose dialectical and materialist analysis unlocked an understanding of historical forces, and has been clearly shown to



Marx regarded the Paris Commune as the first expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Commune inspired the 1917 October Revolution in Russia.

librium,” which was developed by Gould and his associate Niles Eldredge in the early 1970s in the field of evolutionary biology. This is an application in the field of natural science of Marx’s refutation of gradualism and his understanding that the development of history proceeds through revolutionary leaps. Gould describes the counterrevolutionary transformation taking place in the former Soviet Union also as a “punctuation.” Drawing on observations gleaned during a brief trip to Moscow and Len-

ingrad last summer, he arrives at his conclusion about the “failed experiment” of Marxist economics. Gould’s wrong-headed conclusion is based on a misunderstanding of what Marxism represents, and ignores the whole historical development which led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The 1917 October Revolu-

tion and its subsequent development was no isolated lab test in a Petri dish! Any evaluation of what happened in the former USSR that leaves out the historic context, the tremendous external pressures upon it and its impact on the rest of the world, cannot be scientific, and will certainly be wrong. Gould does not pretend to be a political theorist per se, but when he addresses such questions, we can ask that he do so with the rigor that he would apply in his own field. We doubt that he would make such sweeping statements about scientific opponents without a careful study of their works. Gould’s view of the Soviet collapse reminds us a bit of a would-be biologist coming upon a mass of drowned caribou at a river crossing and, upon viewing the evidence before his eyes, pronouncing the species not viable. Gould has trenchantly pointed to the influence of political bias in shaping scientific views. In a 1978 workshop on dialectics at Harvard, he remarked that “it’s not irrelevant that my daddy raised me a Marxist” (*Science and Nature* No. 2, 1979). But what did he learn as Marxism?

And why does Gould, a member of the advisory board of the journal *Rethinking Marxism*, lend credence to the current bourgeois brouhaha over the “death of communism”? Let us put forward our own hypothesis: that Gould confuses Marxism with its falsification, Stalinism, which has indeed been struck



Swersey/NY Times

Results of capitalist counterrevolution: no money, no lines. Price-gouging petty entrepreneur in Moscow fruit market.

apply equally well to the natural sciences. Lenin, in his 1913 biographical sketch of Marx, quoted from Engels, with his own bracketed notes:

"Marx and I were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics [from the destruction of idealism, including Hegelianism] and apply it in the materialist conception of Nature....
 "Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished extremely rich [this was written before the discovery of radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements, etc.!] and daily increasing materials for this test, and has thus proved that in the last analysis Nature's process is dialectical and not metaphysical."

This has been proved in virtually every field of science, from quantum mechanics to mathematics to recent developments in the understanding of how consciousness and perception occur in the human brain, and to Gould's own area of biology.

Consciousness and Contingency

The basic premise of Gould's theory of "punctuated equilibrium" is that species are stable for long periods, on the multimillion-year scale of geological time, until some geographical isolation separates a formerly genetically "homogeneous" population, or some climatic change or catastrophic event opens up new niches into which new species rapidly evolve. This "punctuation" is then followed by a new stasis. The nature of the changes during the "punctuation" are governed by what Gould calls "contingency"—i.e., along the rocky road of evolution, genetic change is essentially random and nature's path unpredictable, subject to the impact of powerful environmental events.

This is fine, so far as natural history is concerned. But when Gould considers a complex social question such as the USSR, his concept of "punctuation" guts Marxism of its key factor: the "contingent" factor is not nature's random choice but rather the presence or absence of conscious leadership. Take the work Gould cites, Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Marx describes in great detail how at many key points in the period 1848-51, the faction-ridden French bourgeoisie could have moved to prevent Bonaparte's coup d'état. Marx lays bare that the fundamental question was a clash of class forces: the proletariat lacked the strength and leadership to take power in its own name, while the bourgeoisie, in fear of the ghosts of 1789 (and the proletarian masses of 1848), dawdled and surrendered political power to Bonaparte in order to preserve its economic class interests. And the bourgeoisie's response was no accidental fluke of "contingency"—the big financiers made a conscious choice that their sacred property was better defended by the empire than by the republic.

One might ask Gould, if Marx and Engels were such mechanical determinists, convinced that communism inevitably follows from capitalism as night from day, why then did they devote so much time to organizing a revolutionary political party, from the Communist League to the First and Second Internationals?

What does it mean, as Gould claims, that "Marx's economics has failed"? The economic system which issued out of the October Revolution proved the power of centralized planning. In describing his visit to Russia, Gould describes the Moscow subway system as "the world's best," and applauds "the wonderful paleontological museum in Moscow...one of the world's best both in content and display." How does Gould account for these achievements? Is it "Marx's economics" or capitalist market forces that are responsible for the fact that the museum is now closed indefinitely? Central planning performed wonders in transforming the Soviet Union from a backward peasant country to a



Peter Newark's Historical Pictures

Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky (center) looked forward to worldwide socialist revolution. Workers councils (above) were base of soviet government.



Wide World

modern industrial and military power that was capable of defeating the Nazi juggernaut in World War II and was the first to launch satellites into space. As American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said in 1939:

"The Russian revolution showed in practice, by example, how the workers' revolution is to be made.... By its victory, and its reorganization of the social system, the Russian revolution has proved for all time the superiority of nationalized property and planned economy over capitalist private property, and planless competition and anarchy in production."

—*The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*

So what *did* happen in the USSR? Where Gould claims that the Soviet collapse proved Marxism wrong, Trotsky long ago predicted that the continued domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy would necessarily lead to capitalist restoration. In his article, "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933), he wrote: "The further unhindered development of bureaucratism must lead inevitably to the cessation of economic and cultural growth, to a terrible social crisis and to the downward plunge of the entire society. But this would imply not only the collapse of the proletarian dictatorship but also the end of bureaucratic domination. In place of the workers' state would come not 'social bureaucratic' but capitalist relations."

Trotsky pounded away at this theme, warning in his article "The Workers' State, Thermidor, and Bonapartism" (February 1935) that: "The inevitable collapse of the Stalinist political regime will lead to the establishment of Soviet democracy only in the event that the removal of Bonapartism comes as the conscious act of the proletarian vanguard. In all other cases, in place of Stalinism there could only come the fascist-capitalist counterrevolution." And again in his comprehensive analysis of the Stalinist degeneration, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), he sharply posed the two alternatives: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the

working class clean up the bureaucrat?" How Gould missed this and other writings by Trotsky is a mystery to us, particularly since Trotsky's archives are located in Harvard's Houghton Library, just a short walk from the buildings in which Gould works.

Stalinism vs. Marxism

The program of Marxism is *world proletarian revolution*. Marx insisted that the construction of socialism would occur on the basis of an international division of labor and on the highest level of development of the productive forces, "because without it only *want* is made general, and with *destitution* the struggle for necessities begins again and all the old crap must revive" (*The German Ideology* [1846]). Only with the "universal development of productive forces is a *universal* intercourse between men established," he wrote, for without this "each extension of intercourse would abolish local communism." Lenin and Trotsky stood for this internationalist perspective; they looked on the Russian Revolution as the first step in a European-wide revolution. In fact, none of the Bolshevik cadres thought that the Russian Revolution could survive without international extension, above all to Germany.

The idea that "socialism" could be built in a single country (and a backward one at that), surrounded by imperialist enemies, is a nationalist perversion of Marxism. One of the early exponents of

such a "theory" was the revisionist German Social Democrat Georg Vollmar; at least he was honest about his revision of Marxism and sought to apply it to advanced capitalist Germany, not backward Russia. Even Stalin himself repudiated the very idea in his pamphlet "Foundations of Leninism" issued in the spring of 1924:

"The principal task of socialism—the organization of socialist production—has still to be fulfilled. Can this task be fulfilled, can the final victory of socialism be achieved in one country, without the joint efforts of the proletarians in several advanced countries? No, it cannot. To overthrow the bourgeoisie the efforts of one country are sufficient; this is proved by the history of our revolution. For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of a peasant country like Russia, are insufficient; for that the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are required."

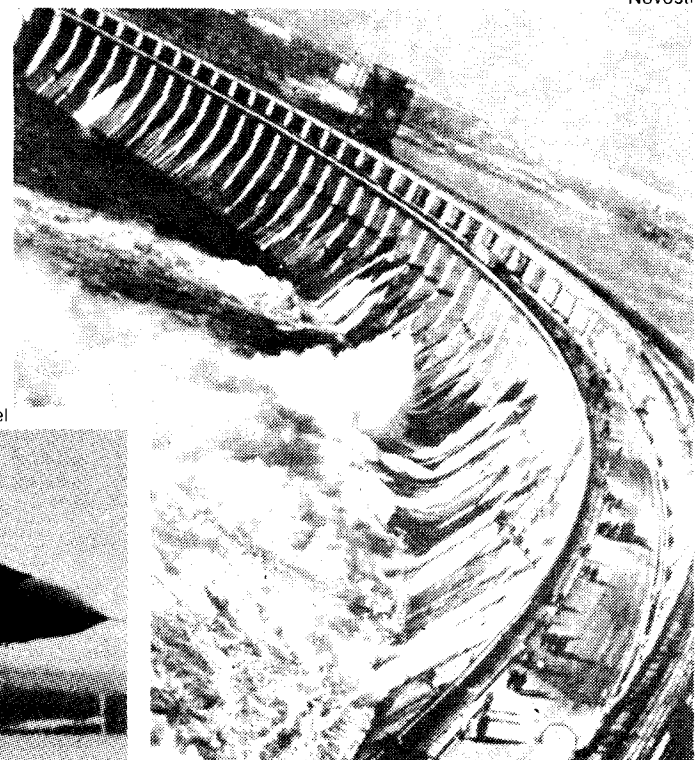
Several months later, Stalin reversed himself and the first edition of his pamphlet was withdrawn. Now Stalin declared that the Soviet Union "can and must build a socialist society" within the confines of a single country.

Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" was the ideological afterbirth of a political counterrevolution which defeated Leninist internationalism and brought to power a nationalist bureaucratic caste. The failure of the German Revolution of 1923 greatly assisted the

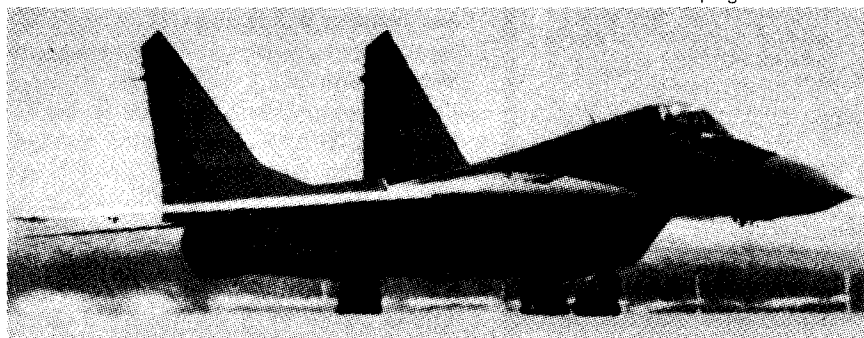
continued on page 11

Novosti

From Dnieperstroy hydroelectric station to MIG-29s: achievements of planned socialist economy—despite Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement—which transformed USSR into modern industrial society.



Der Spiegel

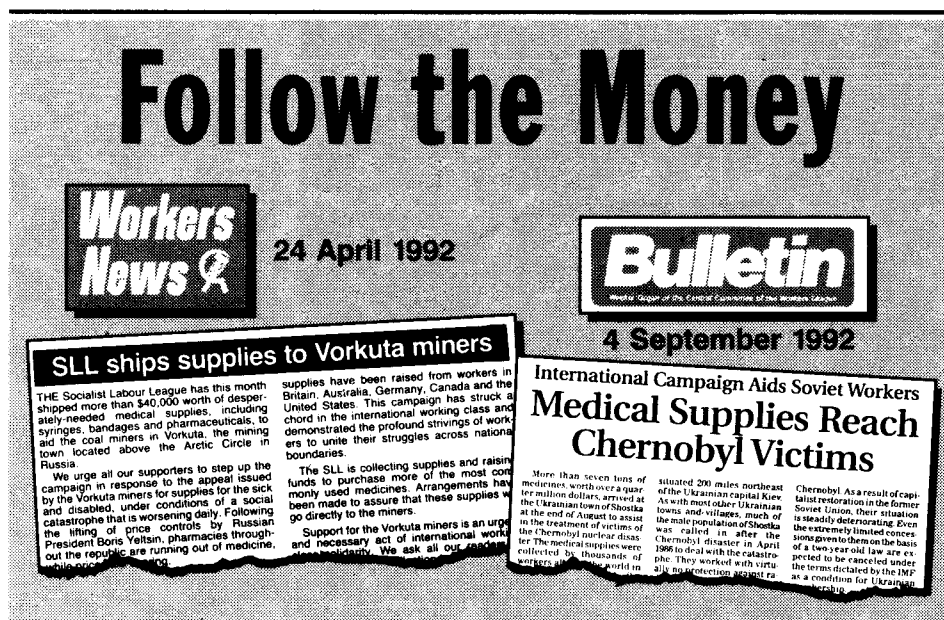


Workers League's "Vorkuta" Fund

With great fanfare, David North's Workers League and its bogus "International Committee" launched a "Vorkuta Miners Relief Fund" last year, ostensibly in response to an appeal by Soviet workers in the northern Russian coal fields "for desperately needed medical and pharmaceutical supplies." This was announced as "one of the principal decisions" of the Northites' November 1991 Berlin "World Conference of Workers against Imperialist War and Colonialism," and the opening shot of the WL's new "International Labor Defense." The fund drive was scheduled to "run until February 29," supposedly aimed at helping the Vorkuta miners overcome the brutal winter in the face of the ravages of capitalist restoration. Yet right through May, week after week, the WL's *Bulletin* and North's Australian and English acolytes carried impassioned appeals exhorting workers to "come to the aid of their brothers and sisters in the Vorkuta mining region."

In "Workers League Vile Provocation" (WV No. 549, 17 April), we raised some questions about this dubious "aid campaign." We noted that the Vorkuta miners "are not presently engaged in any particular struggle," and that the Northites had not published the appeal on which the fund drive was supposedly based. We asked, "Could this be related to the fact that a few months earlier the AFL-CIO set up a 'relief fund' for Soviet miners?" The pro-Yeltsin leadership of the Vorkuta miners in the "Independent Miners Union" had well-documented links to the CIA, through the notorious National Endowment for Democracy and the AFL-CIO's "International Department." Two of these "Vorkuta miners" toured Britain in June 1990—where they addressed a conference of the scab "Union of Democratic Miners"—under the auspices of the Russian fascist NTS, which has been financed for decades by Western intelligence agencies.

The Northites, who are wont to write voluminous multipart "exposés" on the Spartacist League at the drop of a hat, never replied to these questions. However, a month after our article appeared, the *Bulletin* mysteriously stopped running its Vorkuta appeal box, without further explanation. Nothing more was heard for months, until a front-page article in the 4 September issue of the *Bulletin* trumpeted "International Campaign Aids Soviet Workers," claiming that



David North's sleight of hand: Four months after Australian SLL claimed money raised for medical supplies went to Vorkuta, *Bulletin* claimed aid went to Chernobyl instead.

"seven tons of medicines, worth over a quarter million dollars" had been sent to one "Doctor Alexander Apenko" in...the Ukrainian town of Shostka. This was supposedly in response to a personal appeal to a visiting IC delegation by the "Chernobyl Union of Shostka" in the summer of 1991. As far as we could tell, this Chernobyl "appeal" had hitherto gone unmentioned in the Northite press.

Whatever happened to Vorkuta? At the conclusion of the article the reader discovers those were the supplies that the WL had earlier "assured" would go "directly to the miners": "Originally it was planned that the bulk of the medical supplies collected would go to the miners of Vorkuta," but because of problems with "transportation," "corruption" and "security," the IC "could not obtain any reasonable assurance that its shipments would arrive safely in Vorkuta." Yet in April, the Australian Northite Socialist Labour League declared in *Workers News* (24 April) that it had "this month shipped more than \$40,000 worth of desperately-needed medical supplies" to Vorkuta.

Curiouser and curiouser, as Alice would have said. In reporting on its fund drive efforts, the *Bulletin* cited the fears of Detroit union auto workers at a plant gate collection: "Expressing their distrust of the trade union officialdom, workers wanted to make sure that their

contributions really reached the miners and would not be pocketed by either the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in the United States or the Stalinist mafia in the Soviet Union." Concerns about what happens to money donated to the WL are certainly in order. Indeed, we wonder if the shift of focus in the Northites' philanthropic efforts from Russia to the Ukraine has anything to do with the fact that an AFL-CIO delegation traveled to the Ukraine this past summer.

Even a cursory reading of the Northite press raises myriad questions. On February 28, the day before the (first) announced end of the campaign, the Australian SLL's *Workers News* lists a total collection of \$631.45 in the U.S. and £700 in Britain. Two weeks later they added \$1,400 Australian. In a few weeks this becomes \$40,000 Australian, and after it is "shipped," the next issue of *Workers News* announces a \$60,000 "Party Development Fund." After a few months, during which the campaign never again appears in their press, the Northites' international collection mysteriously grew to \$250,000 "worth" of supplies. Perhaps cynical political bandits like North have been lying so long they think no one notices.

The financial chicanery and deceptions displayed in the Workers League campaign is not surprising to anyone who knows the WL's history of political

prostitution in the service of anti-communist reaction. In the "Vorkuta" campaign, the Northites, with consummate cynicism, denounce British National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) president Arthur Scargill as a Stalinist, while condemning "the state orchestrated campaign against Scargill" (*International Worker*, 18 January) over the aid that Soviet trade unions sent to striking British miners.

Just who kicked off that campaign? On the eve of the 1984-85 British miners strike, when Thatcher and the ruling class were preparing all-out war on the NUM, the "International Committee" (then run by North's mentor Gerry Healy) publicly crucified Scargill for opposing Solidarność—Reagan and Thatcher's favorite union—as "anti-socialist." Their rebaiting crusade was picked up, as Healy intended, by the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress traitors and the Conservative bourgeois press, and used as a battering ram against the miners. It was Healy/North who supplied the ammunition the bourgeoisie used to go after Scargill and the NUM.

We have noted before that the WL's relationship to the class line is that of a man in a revolving door. Presently, the Workers League is engaged on several fronts in acts of profound hostility to the interests of the working class—from being junior G-men for the prosecution in the case of imprisoned Socialist Workers Party activist and unionist Mark Curtis, to blocking with racist scum against black schoolchildren in Detroit.

Revolutionaries gag at the mercenary "IC" trying to appropriate the honorable name of the early American Communist Party's International Labor Defense, led by James P. Cannon. In founding the Partisan Defense Committee, the Spartacist League has emulated the ILD's strict accounting of funds through publishing in the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* a full list of numbered receipts for all in the workers movement to see. If the Healyite "IC" listed its receipts over the years, it would have to include the names of various Near East sheiks and bonapartist butchers who paid at least two million dollars for services rendered by the Healy gang as press agents, spies and provocateurs during the 1970s and '80s (see "Northite Blood Money," WV No. 523, 29 March 1991). Now that the money from anti-communist bourgeois regimes has dried up... ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

Los Angeles Black Panther leader, Geronimo has spent 22 years in prison, framed under the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO program of harassment,

disruption and murder against the Black Panther Party. The racist courts have repeatedly refused to hear the overwhelming evidence of Geronimo's innocence—including FBI wiretap logs showing he was in Oakland, 400 miles away from the Santa Monica killing with which he was framed. In December

Geronimo is scheduled to appear before the Parole Board, which has turned him down ten times before.

Robert Buck, a popular member of Steelworkers Local 5668 at Ravenswood, West Virginia, has been in prison since last January, railroaded by the federal government for defending his union from the scabs and thugs brought in by Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation during the long strike battle there. Bob Buck courageously refused to wear a wire for the feds and went to jail rather than spy on his union brothers.

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin Six behind bars. Militant anti-racist, a leader of the prisoners' rights movement, along with slain Black Panther spokesman George Jackson, Pinell has been in prison over 27 years, currently serving a life sentence at Crescent City, California.

Eleven members of the radical, back-to-nature MOVE organization remain scattered in jails across Pennsylvania. Nine of them are serving 30 to 100 years for the death of a policeman who was shot in the back by his own during the massive cop siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home on 8 August 1978. Two

other MOVE members, although eligible for parole, are condemned to serve every single day of their prison terms by the vindictive prison authorities. **Carlos** and **Consuewella Africa** have repeatedly been denied parole unless they agree to the patently unconstitutional requirement that on release they not associate with other MOVE members—i.e., family, friends and comrades.

Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice) and **Ed Poindexter**, former leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism and supporters of the Black Panther Party, are in the 22nd year of life sentences, victims of a COINTELPRO frame-up. Mondo and Poindexter were convicted on perjured testimony in the 1970 killing of a cop in a bomb explosion. Despite volumes of records confirming they were COINTELPRO targets and recent disclosures that the government concealed evidence from the defense, Mondo and Poindexter remain behind bars. In August, Poindexter was again denied parole.

Send your contributions for the **Holiday Appeal to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.** ■

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Race and Class...

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and Central American immigrants. The deindustrialization of the U.S. by junk bond capitalists like Milken and other corporate looters has driven an entire generation of youth into total desperation. About 200,000 jobs disappeared in the Los Angeles economy between 1978 and 1989.

In the face of bloody state repression we fought to mobilize the power of the L.A. integrated labor movement, especially the longshoremen, to launch militant work stoppages and demonstrations in solidarity with and defense of the besieged Latino and black population. A big show of labor solidarity here could have beat back the murderous police attacks and provided the necessary consciousness and organization not to seize articles of consumption, but to lead the fight for the working-class seizure of the means of production, for state power. We energetically agitated for this class-struggle program, which was very well received in the labor movement. McDonnell Douglas workers, longshore workers, postal workers, many others took our supplements and distributed them.

The capitalist politicians from Bush to Clinton to Jesse Jackson were united in defense of racist state repression and murder, which resulted in over 50 deaths. Around the country, black Democrats—from New York black Democratic Party mayor Dinkins to Maynard Jackson in Atlanta—unleashed their cops against black people and other anti-racist protesters. This politically bankrupt layer of elected officials who counsel non-violence played their appointed role as the black overseers on Bush's plantation.

The majority of those arrested were Latinos, Salvadorans, Mexicans. The L.A. cops handed over 1,500 people to the INS for deportation. It is urgent that labor mobilize in defense of those who have fled bloody U.S.-backed military dictatorships for a better life, only to find themselves slaving at the bottom of this racist capitalist hell. We say, if they made it here, they have a right to be here. We demand an end to the racist deportations. We fight for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families. This is urgent here right now, with the five-month-old battle between Latino, overwhelmingly Mexican, dry-wall construction workers, and scabs backed up by the brutal cops and contractors, at a critical stage. We say that these workers must not stand alone, that the integrated L.A. labor movement has to mobilize to win this battle.

The reformist left, from the shattered Communist Party to the Freedom Socialist Party, have begged the ex-cop Democrat Bradley to pressure Bush to defend the oppressed. Stalinists like Progressive Labor Party talk on the one hand about fascism in Los Angeles, which of course strikes a certain chord among minority

SL spokesman Don Alexander, at forum in Berkeley on September 19.



youth. But on the other hand, they mobilize to gather petitions to pressure Bradley to give jobs, to rebuild L.A. The Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party are turning somersaults in praise of the wonderful spontaneous character of this rebellion. For these militant liberals, the vicious beating of white truck driver Reginald Denny was no big deal, they treated it like it's just some indignant folks getting carried away. This is an outrage. These petty-bourgeois radicals can't distinguish between criminal thuggery and self-defense.

We call for labor/black/Latino defense against racist terror. The reformists push the pernicious, deadly illusion that you can have community control of the police. This is a reformist pipe dream. There is no way in a class-divided capitalist society that the state and its cops are neutral. The state is an instrument of class oppression.

Was the FBI neutral during the civil rights movement? Hell, no. In 1969, were the Chicago cops neutral when they blew away Black Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton as they slept in their beds? How about black Democrat Wilson Goode's cops, and their racist massacre of the Philly MOVE commune, bombing and burning to death eleven black men, women and children?

And don't forget about the FBI/COINTELPRO/LAPD frame-up of former Panther Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner, who has been in prison for 20 years for a crime he could not and did not commit. Or black journalist, former Panther and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal, sitting on death row after a racist frame-up. They let that fascist in Idaho sit up in the mountains for 20 months before they hauled him in, right? The police are the hired guns, the armed fist of the capitalist class, who protect capitalist private property.

For Militant, Integrated Class Struggle

The criminal silence of the racist, anti-communist trade-union bureaucracy was the main reason for the absence of any

significant working-class mobilization against the killer cops. Working people and oppressed minorities mobilizing independently in defense of their common interests could have sent a powerful message to the racist rulers. There was sentiment for militant struggle here during the upheaval. Latino janitors held a march near their union hall against cop repression. But the labor traitors and the reformists who tail behind them want to channel the outrage into the Democratic Party of imperialist war and racism. This is particularly criminal at a time when millions of people are fed up with the two-party shell game.

The black pseudo-nationalists who share the bosses' program of maintaining racial divisions want to exploit the black masses, and like their capitalist masters, they push black capitalism and racist scapegoats. Black nationalists and businessmen have been mobilizing blacks against Latinos and Asians. They are trying to drive Hispanic workers out of the jobs in the reconstruction sites.

We need to fight for jobs for all, for public works at union wage, free child and health care. But it will take a revolutionary leadership rooted in labor to mobilize all of the working people and youth to challenge the bosses' private property system, which is the source of all forms of special oppression. This is the program of militant integrated class struggle, of class against class, that points immediately toward building a fighting class-struggle workers party. Not a parliamentary machine to administer capitalism like the British Labour Party, not a bourgeois third party, but a revolutionary workers party fighting to lead the working class and the oppressed in a struggle for state power, a workers government and for a planned socialist economy. It wouldn't beg Congress to reorder its "priorities," but would mobilize and organize the labor movement in militant struggle for a shorter workweek without loss in pay, for union hiring halls with union-run job training and skills upgrading to enroll minority youth, for organizing the unorganized, for labor/black/Latino defense against racist terror.

We have to challenge every step of the way the sectoralist schemes, the divide-and-conquer schemes, that play into the hands of the class enemy—that is, the program that only blacks can liberate blacks, only Latinos can liberate Latinos, only gays can liberate gays, only women can liberate women. We have to challenge and defeat that sectoralist program, because we need a revolutionary combat party like the one Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks built, a party that's a tribune of the people, of all the oppressed and exploited.

During the upheaval here the cops clearly wanted to inflame interracial hostility and violence, especially between blacks and Asians. They stayed out of South Central during the early hours as it burned. For years the wage-gouging sweatshop bosses here and the parasitic real estate developers have pushed to play off the vast multi-ethnic population against one another. With their anti-immigration hysteria and virulent Japanese-bashing, they fan the flames of racist reaction.

There's been a lot of talk in the papers about Asians being so-called "model minorities." Now, look, some of them are able to become businessmen and women, they work 17 hours a day, the whole family works. But what's the reality in this country? A sizable proportion of these workers are miserably exploited in the sweatshops and face deportations and worse. There's a long history of anti-Asian racism, particularly in this state—from the anti-Asian exclusion acts to the internment of Japanese Americans by the Democratic Roosevelt government in World War II—a long history here. So you have to particularly fight this.

There's been a lot of talk in the aftermath of the upheaval that maybe now the bourgeoisie has seen the light and acquired a conscience, and maybe they will reorder their priorities. But the reality is, it's the same old racist terror. Bush has unleashed the FBI in implementing what he calls "weed and seed." Blacks and Hispanics are "weeds" to be pulled up and thrown in jail. And the "seeds," well, the "seeds" are the so-called retraining programs for nonexistent jobs. One of the proposals that Bush was cynically floating around, at the Detroit Economic Club about a month ago, was one of his job-creating proposals: putting headlights on police vehicles.

The Hoax of Black Capitalism

Now there are those who push the cruel hoax of black capitalism as the answer. The Crips and the Bloods were recently up in Oakland pushing the slogan, "Give us the hammer and nails, and we will rebuild the city." They want \$3.7 million to get rid of the drug dealing and the gang warfare and they'll bring the schools and the hospitals to South Central. In exchange for this, they're going to offer themselves up as a new force to police the area. Because they want to cash in on the L.A. riots. They want to be able to establish their own businesses, sell their gangs' T-shirts.

This is a far cry from the former gang members of the 1960s who set up the Panthers in L.A. The radical nationalist Black Panthers had a gut hatred of the system. And they initially fought to remain independent of the bourgeois establishment, as opposed to the cultural nationalists who pimped off the War on Poverty programs. Like the New Left as a whole, though, the Panthers were unable to find their way to the integrated working class, which is the only social force capable of bringing about genuine black freedom.

The Crips talk about a renaissance of black capitalism out of the ashes of Korean businesses. And they look to Louis Farrakhan. This is the same Farrakhan who wanted Malcolm X dead, who praised Hitler as a great man, and who had the Klansman Metzger at his meeting in 1985 in this city, and accepted money from the Ku Klux Klan. This goes back a long way, to the Garvey

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Nationalist demagogues pit blacks against Korean storeowners in Brooklyn (left); Louis Farrakhan pushes black capitalism scam, peddles "Power" soap (right).



Race and Class...

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movement in the '20s, because the KKK and black nationalists have a symmetrical program of maintaining hard racial lines, in order to be able to exploit the working masses. This black capitalist program is in the tradition of Booker T. Washington.

All this "empowerment" rhetoric matches that of the Reaganite right, from black businesses to anti-drug repression. They blame the black masses for the racist rulers' genocidal policies. Now the Nation of Islam just received a contract from the Bush administration, from the city here, to operate a security force in several housing projects, as they earlier did in D.C. They really are on a weird tangent. This is a recent issue of their newspaper, "UFOs and the New World Order" [*The Final Call*, 8 September]. Farrakhan went up into outer space into this space vehicle and visited Elijah Muhammad, in a vision. And these people put themselves forward as leaders of the black masses!

But there is more dangerous stuff that I'd like to talk about. Lately a section of the black intelligentsia has denounced anti-Semitism. Black liberal professor Henry Gates' article in the *New York Times* ["Black Demagogues and Pseudo-Scholars," 20 July] on black anti-Semitism caused quite a stir. Because he points to contemporary black nationalists' use of anti-Semitism as a battering ram and a factional club against the old-line civil rights leadership like the NAACP types. This anti-Semitism is directed mainly at young black intellectuals, to isolate them from social struggle by instilling in them a defeatist, pessimistic perspective which accepts racist segregation and strives to rip off black people. Reportedly, black students at UCLA were circulating the infamous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which is a tsarist forgery used historically to "prove" a worldwide Jewish conspiracy.

Anybody who knows anything about the ruling class in this country knows that it is an Anglo-Saxon, Protestant ruling class. Want to know who controls Hollywood? You want to know who the stockholders are? The same Anglo-Saxon Protestants. That's who controls the stocks. Now Gates is a liberal, and he glosses over the fact that since 1967 there has been a rightward motion of the Jewish population. Some of the Zionists have linked hands with rabid racists against black rights, denouncing our anti-fascist mobilizations. Moreover, people like Koch, the ex-mayor of New York, and the Sulzbergers, owners of the *New York Times*, have more than their mouths. They have command of the NYPD and access to the highest circles of the ruling class. And they regard black and Latino youth as some kind of terrorists to be treated similar to West Bank Palestinians.

But the reality of black anti-Semitism has been demonstrated in blood. In

Sit-In Victory Against Racist Frats

Georgia State University

ATLANTA—Georgia State University (GSU) has been rocked by 'round the clock protests against the racist white fraternity "brotherhood." Last summer, white frats partied in black face. All fall, gay students have been harassed by this Klan-inspired lot. Finally, the campus boiled over when racial slurs were painted outside the entrance of Kappa Sigma, a historically white fraternity now pledging a black student. Efforts by the administration to bury the episode by suspending one lone frat rat blew up in their faces when 60 students marched out of a campus "dialogue" and occupied the president's office on Friday, November 6.

On Monday, November 9, the sit-ins mushroomed with over a hundred protesters sealing off Sparks Hall from the inside while another 75 shut down the

cafeteria and classrooms. The administration was forced to cancel many evening classes and meet several of the protesters' demands, including the immediate padlocking shut of the Sigma Nu and "Pikes" fraternities. Despite the Black Student Association's attempt to mire the protests in "go it alone" black nationalism and homophobia, *united action* by blacks, gays and anti-racist whites scored a victory at GSU and struck a blow against the perpetrators of racist, sexist violence.

The Atlanta Spartacus Youth Club has actively intervened in the protests at GSU. In contrast to the protesters' narrow demands (appealing to the administration for more black studies and schemes to "sensitize" racist fraternity punks), the Spartacus Youth Club is pushing for a citywide demonstration against racist terror. School bus drivers—who recently went toe to toe with the plantation bosses of the Atlanta School Board—and unionized transit, health care and city workers are a powerful force that must be

mobilized to battle racist attacks.

Against illusions in appealing to the sellouts down at Atlanta City Hall, we pointed out that it is precisely these black Democratic front men for Coca-Cola capitalism who unleashed the cops in the racist "war on drugs" and four years ago mobilized an army to defend the Klan against anti-racist protesters in the streets of Atlanta. Last spring they ordered the cops to invade Atlanta University, where black students were tear-gassed and beaten back into their dormitories for protesting the Rodney King verdict.

In January 1989, many GSU students participated in an exemplary display of labor/black power when they responded to the Partisan Defense Committee's call to stop the KKK from parading in downtown Atlanta. A citywide action, linking students, blacks, gays and immigrants to the social power of labor, would have an electrifying impact in combatting the racist climate at GSU and beyond. *Students: Ally with labor to smash racist attacks!*

Crown Heights last year, black youth led by rabid anti-Semitic black nationalists like Sonny Carson and Reverend Sharp-ton were obscenely chanting "Heil Hitler!" in the aftermath of the accidental death of a five-year-old black child, run over by a Hasidic Jew. In retaliation, a Jewish student was killed. The reformists, those who cheered the counter-revolutionary Yeltsin in the Soviet Union, anti-Communists like the International Socialist Organization, they capitulated to this. It's no accident, because if you surrender to imperialism abroad, you won't stand up for the working people and the oppressed here at home.

The Communist Party declared that anti-Semitism among blacks is a myth, it just doesn't exist. This is not surprising. Look at them—they defend the "red-brown" bloc in the Soviet Union, i.e., the bloc between the so-called Stalinist "patriots" and the Russian nationalist anti-Semites. Again, if you don't fight imperialism abroad, you can't wage class struggle here at home.

As the German socialist August Bebel said at the turn of the century, "anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools." It's poison, moreover. It helps the class enemy, and we energetically combat it. Nationalism is a form of bourgeois ideology. And black nationalism in this country is reactionary. It's utopian. It's a consolation prize. A form of psychological solace, a withdrawal from the struggle against the racist status quo.

Link Up with Fellow Workers from Japan to Mexico

Blacks are a race-color caste, and there is no separate road to equality for the oppressed black masses in the U.S. apart from an integrated class-struggle fight to bring down this capitalist system. A lot of the ghetto youth can't conceptualize this. It sounds bizarre. That's not surprising, because they haven't seen any mass social struggle. And the racist pro-capitalist trade-union misleadership has not only ignored them, it has presided over the destruction of unionized manufacturing plants, which has devastated millions of workers' lives. And they have repeatedly stabbed in the back several hard-fought strikes.

But this bureaucracy is very brittle and it's widely despised. And it is not identical with the union movement, which is based on millions of working men and women. There have been several militant strikes in the past decade—the PATCO air controllers, Greyhound bus drivers, Hormel meatpackers, Pittston miners,

and recently also the Teamsters at the *Pittsburgh Press* used their power through mass picketing to stop the scabs from taking their jobs. What we need to fight for in this country is a class-struggle anti-capitalist leadership of labor, to link the factories with the ghettos and the barrios, to build a fighting revolutionary party, to provide revolutionary leadership for the present and the coming class battles.

Now there's been a lot of talk about

national corporations, because after all, "they steal American jobs." This is racist poison, we say outright. It led to the murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin in Detroit, in 1983, by a white foreman and his stepson, who mistook him for a Japanese and beat him to death with a baseball bat, saying that he was the reason why they were out of work. We fight for a socialist future in which there is an international exchange of goods and services to the



Ana Venegas/Orange County Reporter

Striking Latino drywall workers in Southern California: immigrant workers are a human bridge uniting Mexican proletariat with U.S. workers.

the North American Free Trade Pact—NAFTA. Both Bush and Clinton support this fraud. NAFTA has nothing to do with free trade, but rather it represents sharpening interimperialist rivalries. What it furthers is sharpened competition on the part of various imperialist powers, the U.S. imperialists particularly against their Japanese and German imperialist rivals. So now we have rival trading blocs which really presage, prefigure, a third imperialist world war. Moreover, it will mean massive U.S. investment and super-exploitation in Mexico. The arrogant Yankee imperialists are planning to step up their violation of Mexico's sovereignty. They already assert and exercise their "right" to kidnap. And the Customs Service has said that it will enter Mexico to search for illegally labeled goods.

The UAW (United Auto Workers) bureaucracy opposed this agreement on racist, protectionist grounds. For these job-trusting, chauvinist agents of capital, it's all right that Mexican workers remain objects of the most vicious exploitation by U.S. and Mexican multi-

plest extent possible. This is one of the reasons why the bourgeois nation-state is obsolete.

There have been opportunities to organize joint revolutionary struggle with our class brothers and sisters in Mexico against the U.S. and Mexican bourgeoisies. The recent Volkswagen strike in Mexico is a good example. There's a 1,600-mile common border between the U.S. and Mexico. That's also why the strike of the Mexican drywall workers in Southern California is so important. They form a human bridge with the proletarians in Mexico, and they could be the spark for working-class struggle.

What's needed is common class struggle, to raise the wages and working conditions of Mexicans, Canadians and U.S. workers. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats hate international struggle like the plague, because they fear for their comfortable do-nothing positions. They worry about the U.S. capitalists' "competitiveness," and they enlist the workers into the drive for interimperialist war. The "AFL-CIA" can get it up to funnel money to counterrevolutionary "unions"

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Gould...

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consolidation of this conservative stratum. The fact that Stalin had to ruthlessly purge and murder all the Bolshevik cadres who had led the October Revolution should be sufficiently sanguinary evidence of the gulf between the bureaucracy and Marxism. Trotsky characterized the Soviet Union under Stalinist rule as a degenerated workers state and called for a proletarian political revolution to restore soviet democracy.

The October Revolution was an enormous leap forward for mankind—the first time that the proletariat took state power in its own name. Such a conquest had to be defended; Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought the degeneration of the revolution, and they fought to unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against counterrevolution, despite and against Stalin. The Soviet system hardly developed in a bell jar. The Civil War of 1918-20, in which 14 foreign armies invaded the young Soviet republic, devastated the country. A generation later the Nazi invaders killed 27 million Soviet citizens and turned much of Russia into scorched earth. Twice the economy was rebuilt on socialized property forms, despite the constant capitalist economic pressure, most recently manifested in a colossal arms race designed to bankrupt the Soviet economy.

In the absence of soviet workers democracy, the planned economy could only go so far. As Trotsky predicted, when the period of extensive growth under Stalin gave way to the need for intensive development, for qualitative improvements in productivity, the bureaucratic "command" economy began to founder. Congenitally hostile to promoting the spread of revolution internationally, the Stalinist bureaucracy finally saw no way out but the introduction of market relations. Under Gorbachev the bureaucracy scuttled central planning as a conscious choice. The result of *abandoning planning in a planned economy*, however bureaucratically distorted, was economic chaos that spurred the drive for power by emerging capitalist forces. Compounding that problem are the consequences of the fragmenting of the USSR: the economy had been organized on an all-Union basis.

Today various Stalinist remnants are arguing that the Soviet Union was a "failed model of socialism," the result

of the proletariat seizing power in backward Russia. This completely abstracts the question from its historical context. Amid the carnage of the First World War, the imperialist chain broke at its "weakest link," in Lenin's words. The key to the Russian Revolution was the conscious factor: the Bolshevik Party, rooted in the working class and with a program for proletarian power. In contrast, that very "contingent" factor was lacking in Germany—the Communist Party there

that must soon resolve itself in one way or another—into some form of promise or prosperity, or some species of chaos and dissolution." In his own way, Gould sees something that we have insisted on since Yeltsinite counter-revolution gained the ascendancy in August 1991: that this ushered in an *unstable* interregnum. From our statement then that Moscow workers should have torn down Yeltsin's barricades, to our call for workers committees to seize

in the scientific literature, noting that scientists are influenced by the dominant ideologies of the societies in which they live. In *The Mismeasure of Man* he states:

"Scientists needn't become explicit apologists for their class or culture in order to reflect these pervasive aspects of life.... I believe that science must be understood as a social phenomenon, a gutsy, human enterprise, not the work of robots programmed to collect pure information."

Yet when considering the situation in Russia, Gould himself is held in thrall by the triumphalism of bourgeois anti-communism. He takes the "pure information" of the Soviet collapse to assert the failure of Marxism.

Gould applies contingency to human society in a mechanistic fashion, downplaying the role of consciousness, historically and materially conditioned. Human beings are not snails. In the October Revolution, accident played its role, yet it was the greatest achievement of human consciousness playing itself out on the stage of history. We Trotskyists seek the revival of the liberating goals of the October Revolution, not only in the former USSR, but across the planet. Socialism will make modern technique, science, culture and education available to all, with a corresponding explosion in creative human achievement.

In the end, Gould offers what amounts to a pious hope, "Perhaps we will punctuate to a better place." Or maybe not. Rejecting the mechanistic determinism which he falsely ascribes to Marx, Gould opts for what is essentially a religious outlook, hoping that "accident" will be beneficial. But the "punctuation" could be very negative: instead of evolution, there could be involution, or a cataclysmic descent into barbarism. It is upon the resolution of the crisis of proletarian leadership that the future of humanity depends.

We have enjoyed Gould's articles in the past and we look forward to more. Regarding Marx and the Soviet developments, his conclusions are impressionistic. Can he apply to those questions the scientific approach he applies in his own field? As Plekhanov said of the misconceptions of Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Labriola: "We should be very glad if it were so; it is pleasant to have intelligent people agree with you. And if he did not agree with us, regretfully we would repeat that this intelligent man is mistaken." ■

Moscow, 7 November 1991: Trotskyists protest closing of Lenin Museum. ICL sign calls for "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky."



was only constituted in December 1918, and it proved inadequate in the 1923 revolutionary crisis. Had the German proletariat made its October, subsequent history would have been very different. The isolation of the Soviet Union would have been broken and the way opened for socialist revolutions throughout Europe, cutting off the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy. And a certain Austrian-born corporal would have spent the rest of his days hanging out in Munich beer halls.

But that's not the way it worked out, and mankind has suffered greatly with the outcome. Gould's essay cites Marx's aphorism from *The Eighteenth Brumaire* that "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please." He might also have included the rest of the sentence: "they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."

"Punctuating to a Better Place"

Gould astutely observes that "Russia is presently in the midst of a punctuation

control over food supplies last winter, we have called for workers political revolution to sweep away the capitalist-restorationist regimes and place the proletariat in power.

Gould reports on the economic and social disintegration in the rush to capitalist counterrevolution; this is apparent even in his anecdotal observations from July 1992. Institutes and museums are closed for lack of rubles to pay the staff; people meet in impromptu market areas desperately seeking otherwise unobtainable items. The cataclysmic descent into the "free market" has already provided such capitalist virtues as homelessness, unemployment, street crime and the collapse of medical care. The *New York Times* (4 October) reports that 60 percent of Soviet children now have rickets. According to the bourgeois sages, these and other ills are related to the previous Communist (Stalinist) regime's environmental crimes; but rickets is not due to mercury or PCBs—it is due to *malnutrition*: the lack of vitamin D.

Gould has done great service in his voluminous writings debunking wrong-headed and outright racist ideas found

like Solidarność, loved by the Vatican and Reagan. They are specialists in busting up left-led unions in Europe and Latin America. But as rabid defenders of American imperialism, they turn their backs on the working class abroad just like they do here at home. To carry out our urgent task requires building a class-struggle leadership, to link up with our fellow workers from Japan to Mexico to Canada, against the common class enemy.

Return to the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

Unlike the rest of the left, we were not in a hurry to declare the Soviet Union dead. We have called on the multinational Soviet working class to form authentic soviets and sweep away the counterrevolutionary Yeltsin regime and reforge the Soviet Union on Leninist principles. Against the Yeltsinites, the Russian nationalist anti-Semites and the Stalinist patriots who are in a "red-brown" bloc with them, we fight for the return to the communism of Lenin and Trotsky, co-leaders of the Bolshevik Party and founders of the Soviet workers state. The reformist left internationally capitulated to the capitalist counterrevolutionaries. At the time of the Yeltsin counter-coup, we called on the Moscow working class to clean out the black marketer scum and the yuppies and the fascist rabble and the priests on those barricades.

In Germany, we were the only organization in the international workers movement to oppose capitalist reunification. We fought for a revolutionary program and we continue to fight the effects of counterrevolution. Fascist mobs have been firebombing immigrant hostels, murdering and maiming with the sanction of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. The pogrom assaults today in Germany against the immigrants are reminiscent of the pogrom assaults against Jews. Now the Roma and the Sinti—the Gypsies—are to be deported. The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany has fought for labor/immigrant mobilizations to smash the rampaging skinhead terrorists.

In the U.S., the struggle of the black masses historically has been to enter society on an egalitarian basis; to smash the racist barriers fostered by the white capitalist ruling class in this country. To further their black capitalist ambitions, nationalists have endorsed sexually and racially segregated schools for black people and other minorities, under the guise of promoting self-esteem and empowerment. And guess what? Bush endorses this. For separate is never equal. The racist rulers have no use for this generation of working-class and minority youth. Increasingly education is a class privilege.

There definitely is an alternative to the bankrupt program of pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic Party liberalism and

dead-end black separatism which have led to countless defeats. That program is revolutionary integrationism, the class-struggle road to black freedom and working-class emancipation. As we wage the fight for an egalitarian socialist order, we must defeat all attempts of the

exploiters and their lackeys to block the road of mobilizing the integrated labor movement under the leadership of the integrated revolutionary party on behalf of all of the oppressed. Proletarians of all countries, unite—you have nothing to lose but your chains! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Race and Class in the “New World Order”

The following speech by Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander, given in Los Angeles on October 9, is condensed and edited for publication.

In the course of Clinton's presidential campaign, he took off on one occasion to sign a death warrant to put to death a brain-damaged black man. He showed up at one of Jesse Jackson's meetings to denounce the nationalist demagogue Souljah, which was a bombshell for Jackson, because he was caught off guard. This election, they've taken away Jesse Jackson's perks, they won't let him even at the back of the bus. And you can be sure that he's not going to be running around giving "I am somebody" speeches anytime soon, no matter how loyal he was to his racist, capitalist masters. This is all he gets. He chose his class loyalties a long time ago.

Now the reformists and so-called progressive black Democrats like Jackson or Ron Dellums up in the Bay Area, they talk about a "New Deal." But it's a raw deal, and it has always been, for the masses of black people and oppressed in this country. The anti-Bush pro-Democratic Party popular front they seek to create is the same old class-collaborationist trap which is designed to chain the working people and the black masses to the political parties and state of their most murderous enemies. It's designed to prevent the building of an integrated revolutionary party in this country that could bring down capitalism.



Labor/black mobilization initiated by Spartacist League stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982. WV Photo

The capitalists and their executive committee, the government, are haunted by the spectre of integrated class struggle. That's the meaning of the multiracial revolt here last May which blew a gaping hole in their so-called "New World Order." The explosion of mass discontent and outrage at the racist acquittal of

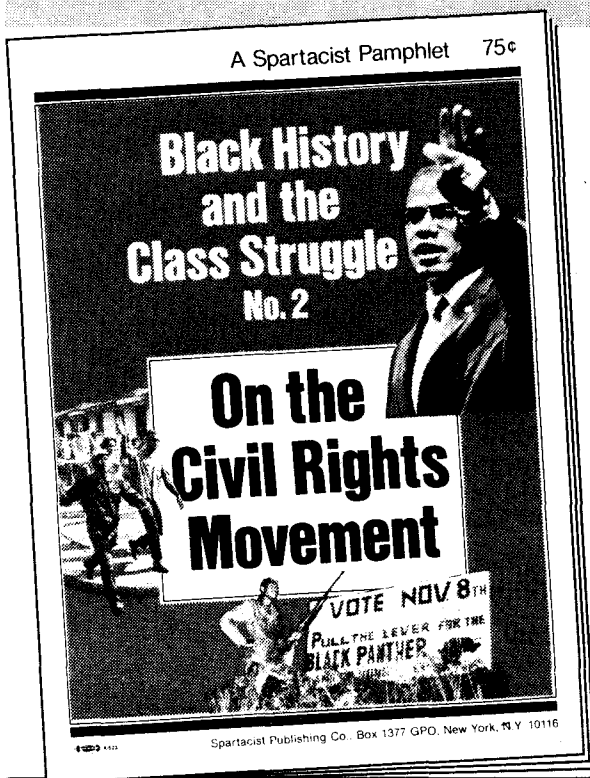
the cops who beat Rodney King within an inch of his life shook this country. And it scared the racist rulers who know damn well that they're guilty for the intolerable oppression of millions of people.

This explosion in the "New World Order" comes after over a decade and a

half of unrestrained capitalist greed. Over 25 years after the Watts explosion, conditions are even worse now. Here in this city, which is supposedly the capital of the Pacific Rim, minimum-wage, non-union jobs and terrible living conditions are the lot for the superexploited Asian

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