

## PLO Massacres Palestinians in Gaza

### Arafat's Ghetto Enforcers for Zionist Tyranny

NOVEMBER 20—The "Gaza-Jericho first" accord signed last year between Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin is now sealed with Palestinian blood. On Friday, November 18, in the impoverished wasteland that is Gaza City, police of Arafat's Palestinian Authority leveled automatic-weapons fire into hundreds of demonstrators, many of them supporters of the Muslim fundamentalist Islamic Jihad and Hamas movements. At least 15 people were killed, includ-

ing one cop. Another 240 were reported wounded and 300 arrested as running battles continued throughout the day. As news of the massacre spread, protests in the West Bank and Jerusalem were met with a brutal crackdown by Israeli security forces in which four more Palestinians were killed.

From the balconies, outside the Shifa Hospital in Gaza, enraged Palestinians shouted "Abu Ammar (Arafat's *nom de guerre*), you have betrayed your people," and "Arafat must hang for this!"

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Palestinian youth shot by PLO police in Gaza, November 18.

Judah/AP

## Yuppie Democrats Paved the Way Right-Wing, Racist Sweep in Elections



Der Spiegel



Jaffer/JB Pictures

Gingrich's army marches on Capitol to sign reactionary "Contract with America." Election '94 signals more death sentences, assault on welfare as Clinton offers partnership with Republicans. Down with the racist death penalty! Break with Republicans and Democrats—BUILD A WORKERS PARTY!

The 1994 elections were marked by a grotesque competition over which candidates would be tougher on welfare mothers, send more black youths to jail and crack down harder on "illegal" immigrants. From Austin, Texas to Albany, New York, pushing the death penalty was the ticket of entry into state houses around the country. In California, the anti-black onslaught was augmented by a hysterical racist crusade targeting all immigrants and Latinos.

The Republican sweep puts a seal on years of bipartisan social reaction rolling back the minimal gains of the 1960s civil rights movement. With Clinton's yuppie racist "New" Democrats going out of their way to spit on the party's traditional black and labor constituencies, the field was open for a rout by the more openly racist Republican right. The Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress for the first time in 40 years, captured a majority of state houses, and now dominate the once-solid Dixiecrat South.

Republican standard-bearer and soon-to-be House Speaker Newt Gingrich summed up the GOP platform: "I believe in replacing welfare. I believe in locking up criminals." So does Clinton, who vows to "end welfare as we know it"

and boasts of his draconian "anti-crime" legislation, which will send tens of thousands more minority youth to prison and vastly expand the scale of capital punishment. As one stockbroker commented, "All Republicans are is mean-spirited Democrats" (*New York Times*, 10 November).

The right wing scored a major electoral victory. Liberal Democrats are in despair. The reformist left is disoriented. But bourgeois elections are at best a distorted reflection of what is going on in society. Although the Christian fundamentalist right aggressively mobilized its voting base, it still represents a rather narrow layer of the American population. As has been the case for a couple of decades now, nearly two-thirds of the

electorate didn't even bother to vote. Especially among the most dispossessed, there is an intuitive understanding that whether a racist Democrat or racist Republican wins, their lives will change little, and certainly not for the better.

Both capitalist parties are dismissive of black people and other minorities, and even trade unionists—written off as "special interests" and declared outside the pale of what Gingrich calls "normal Americans." As anti-abortion terrorists take their toll, in an increasing number of states it is virtually impossible for women to find an abortion provider. Workers find it increasingly impossible to survive with even two incomes in the family, while blacks find themselves

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# Drop the Charges Against Black NYC Transit Worker!

## James Frazier Faces January Trial

New York City transit workers and other supporters gathered outside the Brooklyn Criminal Court on October 28 to fight the persecution of black transit worker James Frazier. In October 1993, the cops shot Frazier in the head from behind and later brutally beat him in the hospital while spitting racial epithets. He was charged with gun possession to cover up their racist crimes. The Transit Authority joined the attack, firing Frazier from his job as a track worker while he lay in his hospital bed.

Frazier lost his left eye in the assault. For over a year he has been dragged through the courts on these bogus charges. At the October 28 hearing, the judge ruled against a defense motion to suppress prosecution "evidence"—the gun the cops claim to have found in Frazier's car. Now he will face trial, with jury selection to begin on January 3. James Frazier must not stand alone! All out to demand: Drop the charges! Reinstate Frazier now!

Divisions of Frazier's union, Transport Workers Union Local 100, have passed motions demanding that the charges be dropped, that he be reinstated immediately and that the entire union be mobilized in his defense. Members of

the TWU and other unions, students and socialists have come out repeatedly to the court. They know that Frazier is being put through this ordeal because he survived. Blacks and Hispanics, even 11-year-old children, have repeatedly been shot down with impunity by the NYPD. As Mayor Giuliani slashes social services and decimates city unions, he heats up the cops and prisons to enforce racist capitalist "law and order."

The New York Labor Black League for Social Defense has been mobilizing for Frazier's defense. As the League stated in a leaflet for the October 28 hearing, "James Frazier must not become another nameless, faceless victim of bloody cop terror in this city! His ordeal is a message to the entire labor movement and all victims of racist oppression—and that's who must rally to his defense, now!" The Labor Black League is organizing to fill the courtroom in January. The mobilization in the courtroom of unionists and other supporters can be the difference between Frazier spending 15 years in jail or walking out of court a free man. To help defend brother Frazier, call us at (212) 267-1025. ■



Transit workers and other supporters turn out for James Frazier (center) at October 28 Brooklyn court hearing. WV Photo



TROTSKY

### Engels on the Fight Against Opportunism

Throughout the history of the socialist movement, there have been sharp political struggles between the revolutionaries and their opportunist detractors. Over a century ago, Friedrich Engels emphasized this point in a letter to the German Marxist August Bebel, in which he discussed the fight being waged by the revolutionary wing of French socialism against the Possibilists, represented by Malon and Brausse, who advanced



LENIN

a reformist program of gradually transferring the means of production to public ownership through parliamentary means.

The point at issue is purely one of principle: ought the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie to be waged as a class struggle, or ought it to be conceded that, in good opportunist (or Possibilist, as the socialist translation has it) fashion, the programme and the movement's class character be dropped wherever this would enable more votes or more 'supporters' to be won? Malon and Brausse have come out in favour of the latter, thereby sacrificing the proletarian class character of the movement and making a division inevitable. Well and good. The development of the proletariat takes place everywhere to the accompaniment of internal struggles, and France, which is presently forming a workers' party for the first time, is no exception. We in Germany have passed beyond the first phase of the internal struggle (with the Lassalleans) and others still lie ahead of us. Unification is perfectly all right provided it works, but there are things which take precedence over unification. And when, like Marx and me, one has spent a lifetime fighting harder against the self-styled socialists than against anyone else (for we regarded the bourgeoisie simply as a class and hardly ever took issue with individual bourgeois), one cannot feel unduly perturbed just because the inevitable struggle has broken out.

—Friedrich Engels, Letter to August Bebel (28 October 1882)

## WORKERS VANGUARD



Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers Vanguard, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint. The closing date for news in this issue is November 22.

No. 611

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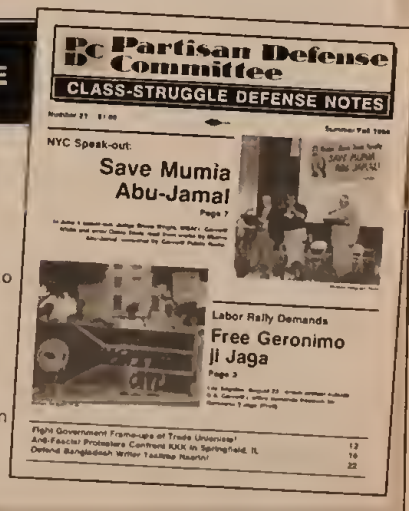
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# NATO Imperialist Air Strike in Balkans

NOVEMBER 21—Today 50 NATO warplanes carried out an air strike, the biggest ever in the history of the Western alliance, on a Serbian military airfield. While the damage was reportedly limited, the attack is part of mounting U.S. intervention and imperialist squabbling over the bloody nationalist civil war that has engulfed the former Yugoslavia. The bombed air base was at Udbina, in the Serbian region of Krajina that has declared itself independent of Croatia. The NATO strike was in retaliation for recent Serbian attacks against the Bihac pocket, currently held by the Bosnian Muslim army. On Saturday, the United Nations Security Council had voted to extend the UN/NATO area of operations beyond Bosnia.

Once again, as so often in the past, bloody nationalist conflict in the Balkans has embroiled the major imperialist powers, setting the stage for broader inter-imperialist conflict. Two days after the Republican sweep in the U.S. midterm elections, the Clinton White House, breaking openly with its West European "allies," announced it would no longer adhere to the UN-sanctioned embargo of arms shipments to the Bosnian Muslim regime in Sarajevo. Also, the U.S. would no longer share military intelligence on arms movements in the region with its NATO partners, who have thousands of troops on the ground there in the guise of UN "peacekeepers." "The United States has just taken sides," declared one ranking NATO commander.

Washington's latest move is unlikely to have an immediate impact on the Balkan war, since the arms embargo had already become pretty porous. In recent months, the Bosnian Muslim regime has managed to obtain in large quantities Russian-made rocket-propelled grenades from Germany, Chinese anti-tank weapons from Pakistan and ammunition from Iran.

The U.S.' scrapping of the Bosnia arms ban is, however, a *political challenge* to the West Europeans as well as the Russians. Clinton didn't even inform the European NATO governments in advance; they learned about it from the *New York Times*. French foreign minister Alain Juppé announced that his government is "deeply worried by this unilateral decision." The Russian parliament denounced the U.S. for "lack of respect for world opinion."

Washington's Bosnia bombshell has enormously strengthened sentiment in European ruling circles to replace NATO with a new military alliance based on the West European Union. The British head of the Union's parliamentary assembly, Dudley Smith, argued: "This proves just how much Europe needs to be autonomous where intelligence gathering, satellite reconnaissance and logistical support are concerned."

This is the first time Washington has cut off intelligence information to Britain since WW II. At a summit meeting late last week, British prime minister Major and French president Mitterrand decided to set up a "Euro-Air Corps" for surveillance and intervention outside the NATO command, to give them some independence from the U.S. This will augment the expanding French-German armored "Euro-Corps" as another step toward a German-dominated West European military force autonomous of the American connection.

During the Cold War, mutual hostility to the Soviet Union suppressed to some degree conflicts of interest between the American, West European and Japanese ruling classes. But with the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and destruction of the USSR, the Cold War system of imperialist alliances is bound to break apart. The bloodiest chapter of this counterrevolution to date—

## U.S./UN/NATO Get Out!



U.S. warplanes aboard aircraft carrier Saratoga in Adriatic. U.S./UN/NATO, hands off Balkans!

the nationalist/communist wars which ripped apart the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—has also produced ever-deepening fissures in NATO.

All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans, now! Down with the starvation blockade of Serbia!

### Imperialist Rivalries in the New Balkan Wars

Before World War I, German imperialism exercised dominance over Croatia, Bosnia and Slovenia, which then constituted the southernmost provinces of the Austro-Hungarian empire. During World War II, Hitler's Third Reich set up a clerical-fascist puppet state in Croatia, which massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Roma (Gypsies). Tito's Communist partisans fought all of the forces of genocidal nationalism—the Croatian Ustasha, Serbian royalist Chetniks and Nazi Wehrmacht—thus laying the basis for the postwar Yugoslav workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed.

When Titoist Yugoslavia was being rent by resurgent nationalism, Germany saw and seized the opportunity to regain its political overlordship of the western Balkans. In 1991, Helmut Kohl's Germany strong-armed its European allies into recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, thereby unleashing the Serbian-Croatian war and leading directly to the three-sided war between Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims in Bosnia.

Historically, Russia has been the great-power protector of the Serbs. It was tsarist Russia's military blows against the decrepit Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century which restored the Serbian and Bulgarian kingdoms in the Balkans. Today, the capitalist-restorationist regime of Boris Yeltsin dreams of recapturing Russia's imperial glory. Thus would-be tsar Boris has joined hands with his Russian nationalist opponents as lawyers for the Serbian cause in the international diplomatic arena, while working hand in hand with the German Fourth Reich to broker an imperialist deal in the Balkans.

During the interwar period of the 1920s and '30s, Yugoslavia, then ruled by the Serbian monarchy, was the principal Balkan ally of British and French imperialism. London and Paris are now open to restoring some such ties with

Serbia as a counterweight to German influence in the western Balkans. So the British and French—who have provided the bulk of the 13,000-man UN "peace-keeping" force—maneuver between the contending Balkan nationalists, trying to maintain a posture of evenhandedness.

Characteristically, U.S. imperialism wants to play power broker in the Balkans without risking the life of a single American soldier, especially after last year's Somalia debacle. Washington politicians and the American media have engaged in shrill anti-Serb war-mongering, while Bush and then Clinton conspicuously refused to provide U.S. troops for the UN contingent in Bosnia. At the same time, Washington has increasingly taken on the role of protector of the Bosnian Muslims.

### Bosnia Bloodbath Produces Rift in NATO

Having decided to continue a war they cannot win on their own, the central strategy of the Bosnian Muslim regime of Alija Izetbegovic is to *provoke* Western intervention against the militarily stronger Serbs. A few months ago, the British commander of the UN contingent, General Michael Rose, accused the Muslim army of trying "to create images of war for the world, to get us to respond with air power." The British general also

lashed out at Washington: "If someone wants to fight a war here on moral or political grounds, fine, great, but count us out."

For the time being, the Americans are continuing to count themselves out, too. Instead they've encouraged and abetted the Izetbegovic regime in beefing up its military capacity. Over the past year, the Bosnian Muslim army has doubled in size, and is now equipped with more modern weaponry despite the sham arms embargo. Paul Beaver, a military analyst for *Jane's Defence Weekly* in London, described Washington's approach to the Bosnian Muslims' "illegal" importation of arms as "not quite connivance, but almost."

Late last month, the Muslim army launched an offensive in northwestern Bosnia which at first succeeded in driving back the Serbs. The Americans' role in this was something more than that of an innocent bystander. According to the *London Independent* (12 November):

"UN military officials in Sarajevo say that the Americans are already helping the Bosnians, and provided Muslim military commanders with aerial photographs of Bosnian Serb troop dispositions around the north-western city of Bihac at about the same time as the Muslims launched their offensive two weeks ago."

But this American help proved not enough. A Serb counterattack has retaken most of the territory gained by the Bosnian government offensive. In this offensive the Serbs are aided by dissident Muslim forces who were driven out of Bihac last August for refusing allegiance to the Muslim-nationalist regime in Sarajevo.

So the Muslim leaders and military commanders went back to their old tricks of staging provocations in order to appeal to Western public opinion. On November 8, a mortar shell in Sarajevo wounded a Muslim child. Amid the usual outcry over Serbian attacks on defenseless civilians, UN military officials revealed that the mortar shell had been fired by the *Bosnian Muslim army* at its own territory. And this isn't the first time.

The *New York Times* (11 November) reports that UN military officials say there is "a secret, never-released crater analysis" that "proved that the Bosnian Government was responsible for the explosion in a Sarajevo open-air market that left 68 people dead on Feb. 5." That bombing provoked an imperialist hue and cry, providing the pretext for the first NATO air strike against Serb forces.

The cynical bombing of one's own people to gain international sympathy symbolizes the savagery of this war in which 200,000 have been killed and three-quarters of a million—Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats alike—have

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Secret UN report says Bosnian government carried out February 5 mortar attack on Sarajevo marketplace, used as pretext for NATO air strikes against Serbs.



# NYC Transit: Death on the Tracks, Bosses Blame Victims

## Drug Witchhunt Against Transport Workers

For over 7.5 million transport workers, New Year's Day 1995 will bring little cause for celebration, and every reason to fear being hauled in, tested and fired for what they did the night before. On January 1, federal regulations require the implementation of a massive new drug and alcohol testing program on "safety sensitive" occupations in the transportation industry, handing the bosses potent new weapons for terrorizing workers on the job and invading their private lives.

The intensified drug and alcohol witchhunt is mandated by the Omnibus Transportation Employee Testing Act of 1991, which requires a *tenfold* increase in the number of random drug and alcohol tests—to upwards of 5 million tests a year—currently imposed on transport workers around the country. The new rules will affect 6.6 million bus and truck drivers, 34,000 pilots, flight attendants and mechanics in the aviation industry, 200,000 mass transit workers, 120,000 pipeline workers, 80,000 rail workers and 120,000 maritime workers. Not surprisingly, almost all supervisory staff are excluded from the new provisions.

The "war on drugs," which has served as a pretext for massive cop occupations and racist assaults in the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios, is also a *war on labor*, targeting some of the most unionized, and heavily minority, workers. It is intended to regiment the working class, allowing the bosses to target union militants and minorities and abiding the capitalists of their responsibility for the maiming and death each year of thousands of workers and passengers on the railroads, subways, buses and airplanes.

In New York alone, October was a deadly month for the workers in the subway tunnels and bus barns of the city's transit system. On October 3, Ronald Elliot, a 62-year-old station cleaner with over 20 years on the job, was struck by a train in upper Manhattan. His body was found wedged between the second car and the platform. On October 21, a 37-year-old conductor, Darcy Brewster, was smashed to death by an uptown "D" train while working as a flagman. Then



New York City transit workers protest deaths of coworkers on the job, demand safe working conditions, October 1990. Government's "war on drugs" means war on labor.

nine days later, Kim Man Tseung, a bus mechanic at the Fresh Pond Depot in Queens, was crushed under a bus when an air bag under its front wheel suddenly collapsed.

After the death of any transit worker in New York City, the *first* response of the Transit Authority management is to test everyone in sight for drugs and alcohol, including the dead body. If there's one thing the TA bosses know, it's that dead workers can't talk. Then malicious rumors are spread about the victims in order to alibi the deadly work conditions. After Darcy Brewster's death, the company grapevine spread rumors that he was drunk, sleeping on the 600-volt third rail. But most loathsome of all was the story spread about the death of Kim Man Tseung, a 12-year veteran mechanic whom coworkers describe as a model safety-conscious worker.

The right-wing tabloid *New York Post* headlined, "TA: Mechanic Killed Sabotaging Bus to Collect OT," a story which management spread like wildfire but virtually no bus mechanic believes. The Transit Authority's story is a cover-

up for its feverish push to squeeze more out of its workers. The latest contract, signed in June, opens the door to one-person train operation (OPTO) and specifically targets bus mechanics in a "timed-repair" scheme.

The Fresh Pond Depot where Tseung worked was the site of an intense campaign of harassment by a slave-driving management. On October 28, Mike Schmidt, the depot's hated general superintendent, who was assigned to crack down on the mechanics, suspended union steward David Pessirilo for insisting on safe working conditions. Tseung was appointed by the union to replace Pessirilo, and two days later he was dead.

Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 is holding a memorial service for Tseung at the Fresh Pond Depot on Tuesday, November 22

### "Are You Now, or Have You Ever Been..."

The new tests announced by Clinton's Department of Transportation are ominous not only for their sheer numbers, but also because of additional alcohol testing and the draconian penalties which the law imposes. The new law requires testing *half* of all "safety sensitive" workers for drugs and another 25 percent for alcohol every year. "Safety sensitive" workers means just about everyone, from airline flight attendants to bus mechanics. Unlike previous testing, when urine samples were usually demanded at the beginning of the workday, now workers will be hauled off for tests, unannounced, at any time during their shifts.

At least four million transport workers already have to piss in a cup whenever the bosses demand it. Now, teams of mobile drug and alcohol testers will show up to have you huff and puff into a tube. Any worker found with .02 percent alcohol on their breath will be pulled from the job for up to 8 hours. If you test positive for only .04 percent, you're kicked off the job and referred to a "substance abuse" program for evaluation. In most states, that's only two-fifths the blood alcohol level (one-tenth

of 1 percent) legally required to convict a motorist!

In San Francisco, the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) management has been greasing the wheels for "zero tolerance" drug and alcohol testing for several years. A Latino train operator was fired after a fatal accident in which a 5-year-old was run over by a train. A BART official stated in the local press that the operator "followed all the rules and then some," but was sacked for violating "post-accident" drug testing rules. A black maintenance worker in his mid-fifties was forced to resign for "personal reasons" after a positive drug test, but was then denied unemployment benefits because his record showed that he was fired for drug use.

BART recently issued a new testing policy based on the new nationwide law. They prohibit even the "possession of alcohol, which shall include over the counter and prescription medication containing alcohol" at work. In other words, Rohitussin cough syrup will get you fired. Anyone who refuses to submit or "fully cooperate" with this witchhunt gets immediately suspended without pay.

Drug tests are also grossly inaccurate. False positives have been attributed to everything from Ibuprofen pain reliever to poppy seed bagels to ginseng tea. Another cause of false positives is the skin pigment melanin which shows up as marijuana—meaning the darker your skin, the higher your chances of being victimized by the drug witchhunters! In any case, the racist bosses victimize black and minority workers first and foremost. In 1992, the New York Transit Authority agreed to compensate up to 4,500 people who were fired or never hired due to false positives for marijuana.

"Random" drug testing is meant to terrorize the unionized workforce and alibi the bosses. Transport workers are killed and maimed at far higher rates than most occupations, and not only because of the inherent dangers of these industries. Rotting American capitalism has turned roads, bridges, subways and railways into deathtraps, and everybody knows it. From 1980 to 1989, 18 percent of the nation's work-related fatalities occurred in industries like trucking, shipping and aviation, where massive drug testing has already been implemented.

The talk about safety coming from the government and companies is just a pretext. If anyone has a direct, immediate interest in providing safe transportation, it is the workers whose lives are at risk every day. When a train crashes, the motorman is almost always the first to be killed. To fight for safety on the job, there must be elected union safety committees and representatives who will shut down unsafe working conditions on the spot!

The new testing program is a vicious invasion of workers' private lives—lives already straitjacketed by falling wages, rising unemployment and a "Big Brother" government which peers into every aspect of an increasingly miserable existence in decaying capitalist America. What people drink or smoke or do in private should be none of the government's damn business!

These days, the crusade against communism has been replaced with a "new morality" campaign against drugs, alcohol, smoking and sex as the refrain of the ruling class' campaign to regiment workers and youth. The new drug policy fits right in with right-wing Republican Newt Gingrich's war on the "counterculture." But it is the Democrats who have pushed the racist "war on drugs" hardest, where inner-city roundups of black and Hispanic youth have led to a 22 percent increase in the prison population since 1989. There are now 1.5 million inmates rotting in American jails.

### TWU Tops Exonerate TA for Death on the Tracks

In New York transit, the response of the union bureaucracy to the new drug policy was a limp complaint, "It certainly is overkill." But more than that, the TWU Local 100 and International



Firemen remove body of subway motorman Jesse Cole. Cole bled to death in 1981 wreck caused by faulty signals as TA bosses held press conference only feet away.



# Government Out of the Unions!

## New Directions' \$12 Million Union-Busting Suit

### NYC Transit

The 35,000 members of New York City's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 are potentially among the most powerful workers in the country. They can cripple the financial nerve center of imperialist America, and the ruling class knows it. That's one reason New York has the hated Taylor Law, which makes public sector strikes illegal from the get-go. The more powerful the union, the more critical the industry, the sooner working people come up against the whole repressive machinery the bosses can deploy: the cops, the courts, the laws.

A hard-fought, winning strike by the TWU would shred the Taylor Law like a scrap of paper, and could spark some much-needed workers' resistance right across the country. But TWU Local 100 is saddled with a bureaucratic leadership that will do just about anything to avoid a confrontation with the bosses. And to make matters worse, there is an "opposition" of wannabe bureaucrats called "New Directions" which has dragged the union into the bosses' courts, suing Local 100 for \$12 million!

Transit workers should ask themselves what kind of "opposition" looks to the courts to help out working people. Aren't these the same racist courts that are victimizing black transit worker James Frazier, while the NYPD killers who blew out his left eye go on terrorizing black and Hispanic New Yorkers? Aren't these the same capitalist courts that enforced the strikebreaking Taylor Law in 1980, imposing fines of two days' pay on TWU members for every day they stayed out?

The capitalist state is not a neutral umpire to be swayed by pleas for "justice" and "democracy." It is the bosses' weapon, and theirs alone. Inviting it to "intervene" in the unions is a criminal betrayal of labor struggle.

#### New Directions: "Nobody's Talking Strike Here!"

The New Directions (ND) lawsuit against Local 100 cites instances in

which top union officials harassed ND members leafletting and attending union meetings. The suit is also based on a confrontation during the 1992 contract negotiations, when hundreds of angry transit workers, led by New Directions, marched over the Brooklyn Bridge to union headquarters in protest against the sellout deals of then-president Sonny Hall. Hall's vice president, Herbert Jones, called out the NYC cops to throw union members out of their own hall.

The incumbent bureaucracy's use of the brutal, racist NYPD against the mem-

recently ordered Local 100 to mail out an ND leaflet with the local election ballots. This outfit runs to courts so often that the New Directions newspaper, *Hell on Wheels*, might more appropriately be called *Lawyers on Wheels*.

New Directions postures as an alternative to Sonny Hall and his hand-picked successor Damaso Seda. But the "new direction" is right up Hall's alley. In the 1992 contract meeting, the Hall/Seda bureaucracy and its house "opposition" were on the same side when it came down to the question of a strike. When

smashing Teamster power Under the cover of fighting "mob influence," TDU sued the union and collaborated with the feds in subjugating the Teamsters to government control. And TDU got a lot of help from a federal prosecutor named Rudy Giuliani, today the racist, union-busting mayor of New York.

Like the TDU, New Directions' appeals to "the law" reflect their faith in bourgeois justice and their fear of mobilizing the enormous power of the TWU against the Wall Street profiteers who have run New York City into the

**3 March 1992:  
Local 100 tops  
called on  
NYC cops to  
seal off TWU  
union hall  
against union  
membership.  
New Directions  
calls for bosses'  
courts to  
intervene in  
the union.**



bership was a genuine outrage. But the New Directions outfit demonstrated they are just the flip side of the same coin, appealing to the capitalist courts to enforce "union democracy," and trying to raid the union treasury to the tune of \$12 million. ND leaders like "socialist" Naomi Allen and Steve Downs try to sell the lie that the suit wasn't against the union, just individual officers. This is a smokescreen, and in any case the complaint by five leaders of New Directions was filed "against Local 100, TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, Defendant."

Last week, the courts found in favor of New Directions. The bureaucrats-in-waiting were awarded...one dollar each. In yet another lawsuit, a federal judge

the Committee for a Fighting TWU, a class-struggle opposition in Local 100, demanded a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden to plan a strike. New Directions leader Corine Scott declared, "Nobody's talking strike here!"

New Directions' idea of a "strike" is the "job action" by prison guards at Rikers Island in 1990. New Directions praised the vicious screws, themselves a wing of the capitalist state, when they carried out a bloody, racist rampage against black and Hispanic prisoners and union EMS workers!

The *Hell on Wheels*/New Directions gang models itself on Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). From Democrat JFK to Republican Bush, the federal government has been hell-bent on

ground, New York transit workers can lead the city's unions, minorities and poor in a fight against the Democrats and Republicans, with their cutbacks, union-busting and racist cop terror. The elementary precondition for this is working-class independence from the ruling class and its parties.

But this can never be won with the kind of "leadership" offered by pro-Democrat "alternatives" like New Directions. By urging reliance on the state, the bosses' instrument of repression, New Directions betrays the aspirations of all the oppressed, which can only be achieved by sweeping away the decaying capitalist system. For a class-struggle leadership of the trade unions! Courts and cops out of the unions! ■

leaders paved the way for the new testing. Five years ago, drug and alcohol testing of 10 percent of NYC transit workers was imposed without a peep of opposition by the Local 100 tops. In fact, the TWU bureaucrats tried to palm off the drug witchhunt as a "health benefit" they'd "won" because they asked the company to test for cholesterol at the same time!

Whenever there is death on the tracks, the TWU tops have always exonerated the TA for the murderous conditions which cause these "accidents" in the first place, often joining the bosses in blaming the workers. In 1981, when Transit Authority bosses left motorman Jesse Cole bleeding to death in his train cab after a crash caused by faulty signals, thousands of transit workers demanded a workday protest to attend his funeral. The union tops spread false rumors that Cole's family didn't want them there, then held an "official" lunch-hour protest at TA headquarters the next day

to blow off steam.

The labor tops act as the bosses' lieutenants in the war on drugs. They are in the hip pocket of the Democratic Party, which under Clinton is imposing the drug witchhunt and has carried out Wall Street's hellish austerity on the working people of New York. Today, NYC Republican mayor Rudy Giuliani is slashing city workers' jobs by the tens of thousands and making huge cuts in the city's mass transit budget.

Labor has the power and a life-and-death interest in stopping this new drug and alcohol witchhunt. Transportation and industry will never be safe in this country until the workers run it. Cities like New York must be rebuilt from the ground up—and underneath—with a massive program of public works providing jobs for all. That requires the abolition of the profit system and its replacement by a workers government which will rebuild industry through a socialist planned economy. ■

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# Defend Teamster Jobs! Total Amnesty for All Strikers!

## S.F. Press Bosses Hammer Newspaper Unions

SAN FRANCISCO, November 22—For eleven days, 2,600 newspaper workers at the San Francisco *Chronicle* and *Examiner* struck together against a union-busting assault by the Hearst/Thieriot/DeYoung media barons. In the early morning hours of November 12, the labor tops of the Conference of Newspaper Unions (CNU) sealed a deal with management under the gun of SF mayor Frank Jordan. Admitting the economic package (a paltry 3 percent wage increase) was "modest," the bureaucrats claimed that they had won "Teamster job protections" for the drivers, whom management had targeted for 150-200 layoffs.

The newspaper unions' *Free Press* (12 November) proclaimed the "dramatic early morning agreement" a "victory for unions." But in the words of the *Liberated Free Press* (18 November)—which rightly notes that the *Free Press* was no strike paper but rather a newsheet about the "rich and famous"—the question on all newspaper workers' minds now is, "Are we going to LOSE the Newspaper Strike of 1994. AFTER we supposedly WON it?"

There is a seething sense of betrayal among the union ranks, particularly the Teamsters, as management spits on even the conditions of the rotten contract deal that was supposedly sealed. Several newspaper workers have told WV that they are sure that the press unions will go back out on strike, they are just waiting to get the call from their union leadership. Don't bet on it! While the bureaucrats cry that they were hoodwinked by the bosses, it was they who opened the door for management's union-busting assault.

The ink had barely dried on this sell-out deal when the press bosses' chief negotiator, Richard Jordan, announced that it allowed management to ax hundreds of Teamster jobs by simply not calling them back to work. To date, only 150 of the 635 Teamsters have been called back—many for only a day at a time. Drivers with over 15 years' seniority are still on the street. When Teamster Local 921 secretary-treasurer Andy Cirikis went out to a newspaper warehouse in SF last week, he was surrounded by scabs and Huffmaster goons and hit in the face by a scab! Plainclothes Huffmaster strikebreakers equipped with cameras continue to patrol the lobby of *Chronicle* headquarters.

Management is going after union activists with a vengeance. Two unionists were fired (then changed to suspension pending arbitration) for "insulting" scab managers in the composing room. A member of the Newspaper Guild was suspended for a week (later changed to a day) for the same "crime." Reportedly one Teamster has been fired, and one union member said that 22 others have their necks on the line. Another Teamster was suspended with no reason given. Yesterday, the editor of the *Liberated Free Press* was fired.

The presses are running with half crews, as union members are subjected to harassment and speedup. A shop steward was sent home for using the word "scab." Even the boys and girls who deliver the papers are being fired! Some 35 strikers were arrested on the picket lines. Pressmen's Local 4 member Ed Rosario, singled out because he was a union spokesman at the Army Street

picket line, was slapped with a frame-up felony charge of throwing a brick. At least two other strikers, who were provoked and assaulted by Huffmaster thugs, are also up on felony charges.

San Francisco Newspaper Agency (SFNA) bigwig James Hale arrogantly sneers that the strike was a losing proposition for the Teamsters, who he says will lose even more jobs than had originally been threatened. But it doesn't stop with the Teamsters: management is waging an all-out war on *all* of the newspaper unions. Behind this are stories of maneuvers for a "one paper town." An

in a position to say no. In general we won a defensive battle and we prevented the company from smashing us. In that, we won. But in so many of the things we wanted, we lost... It gives the company a hunting license to get us for doing absolutely nothing."

It is stark testimony to the endless sell-outs of the union tops that workers consider it a victory to emerge from a strike with their unions still intact. But even on this score, the SF newspaper workers are now finding out that they lost.

To defend the very existence of the unions requires the kind of no-holds-barred class struggle that built them. But



*Chronicle/Examiner* Teamster strikers picket Pier 27 on October 31, successfully calling on longshoremen to "hot-cargo" scab newsprint.

article in the *Bay Guardian* (November 16) reports that in "an internal memo written by *Examiner* managing editor Phil Bronstein not long before the strike, Bronstein referred to 'the new world order' as a euphemism for a newspaper merger." The newspaper owners are out to decimate the unions so that they can reallocate the workforce *any way they want*.

### Bureaucratic Betrayal

The union tops even admit that they knew of the companies' plans to cut jobs before the ratification meetings. Northern California Newspaper Guild president Bill Wallace told the *San Jose Mercury-News* (17 November) that the companies' chief negotiator "told union officials that the newspaper agency, under the new contract, could eliminate 100 Teamster jobs by simply not calling all striking drivers back to work." Now management is driving a steamroller through contract language which they say gives them the right to determine how many workers are called back. At the same time, the bureaucrats' phony "amnesty" agreement—which outrageously excluded any striker convicted of a felony or who had "committed acts with the intent to cause bodily harm or serious property damage"—was a green light for management to set up, fire and harass union militants.

Speaking bitterly of the deal that went down in Frank Jordan's office, one union activist told the *Liberated Free Press*:

"Too many decisions were made at the Mayor's Office after it shifted into that milieu. The contract wasn't really our choice. It was a done deal and we weren't

organized labor in mass picket lines that no scab would dare to cross, to 'hot-cargo' (refuse to handle) newsprint and ink headed for the struck newspapers, to stop the printing and distribution of any scab papers."

Copies of *Workers Vanguard* were eagerly picked up by strikers. The program that we put forward for the newspaper unions laid the basis to fight back and win. In particular, the call for mass pickets intersected a felt sentiment among the strikers. Last Friday, a call was put out for strikers—and reportedly other unions as well—to mobilize at the Army Street plant on Saturday at 5 p.m. But picket lines were quickly disbanded in the early morning hours on Saturday—despite the fact that scab newspapers were still being produced and the union members had yet to vote on the settlement!

### For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

What's needed is a mass meeting of the membership of all the newspaper unions. Press workers who went out together and fought in solidarity on the picket lines understood that they were fighting to defend their unions against an assault which they knew began with the layoff of Teamster drivers. Teamster Kent Wilson died on the picket line trying to shut down the distribution of the scab papers. There are plenty of good union militants who taught the scabs a lesson or two during the strike. But militancy is not enough. To really fight back and win requires a leadership that is imbued with the understanding that Frank Jordan, the cops and courts are not any "friends of labor"; that knows that real labor solidarity means labor *action* based on the old Wobbly slogan of "an injury to one is an injury to all"; that understands that if labor is to win it must champion the rights of all the oppressed.

During the newspaper strike, a protest march of 600 largely Latino high school students demonstrating against the viciously anti-immigrant Prop. 187 joined the picket lines at 5th and Mission. This was a real act of solidarity, and it had better not be lost. The rulers whip up anti-immigrant racism in order to poison united labor struggle. Their claim that "illegals" are stealing jobs and are otherwise a "tax burden" on working people is a flat-out lie. They want to make immigrants the scapegoats for the capitalist economic crisis, which is particularly acute in California because of the collapse of "defense" production.

Many immigrant workers, who have been part of bloody battles against death squad dictatorships in their own countries, have led hard-fought battles for unionization in the United States. The bosses will no doubt try to use other, more atomized, immigrants to distribute the *Chronicle* and *Examiner*, as a club against the unions. Fight for their

*continued on page 14*

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# Young Spartacus

**L.A. SYC Speakout Against  
Racist Prop 187 Demands:**

## **Drop the Charges Against the UCLA 26!**

On November 22, protesters rallied at UCLA against the cop assault and arrests of 26 demonstrators during a sit-in at UCLA's Murphy Hall. The recent sit-in against racist Prop. 187 was attacked by UCLA riot police who dragged several activists out in handcuffs. The Spartacus Youth Club called for a speakout in the wake of the arrests, which included two members of the SYC. The earlier protest against the implementation of anti-immigrant Prop. 187 was initiated by the Human Rights Coalition, which includes MEChA, Asian Pacific Coalition and other groups. We reprint below the SYC leaflet.

On November 17, a multiracial group of 80 demonstrators staged a sit-in at UCLA's Murphy Hall against the implementation of racist Prop. 187. Acting upon Chancellor Young's orders, UCLA police in full riot gear descended on the protesters, handcuffing and arresting 26 including 2 members of the Spartacus Youth Club. Twenty-five of the UCLA 26 will stand trial at the WLA Courthouse on December 19th at 8:30 a.m. on charges of "failure to disperse." One protester is also charged with "trespassing."

**This is an outrage! The SYC demands: Drop all charges against the UCLA 26!** All opponents of anti-immigrant racism should come to this speakout to put forward their views and protest this political repression!



Justin Warren/Daily Bruin

Before and after the passage of Prop. 187, high school and college student protesters have staged militant demonstrations against this racist anti-immigrant measure which, along with the racist "Three Strikes" Prop. 184, is a threat to all workers and minorities. But to effect real change students must ally with the social power of the labor movement. The multiracial working class produces the wealth of the capitalists and makes this city and country run. It has the social power to beat back the Democrats' and Republicans' racist war on immigrants through class struggle. The SYC is calling on campus and local unions, as well as student protesters from Cal State L.A.

(some of whom were arrested in a recent protest) and other campuses to join in this speakout. A campus protest that united L.A. students with militant trade unionists would make a powerful statement.

Pleading with the administration to fight 187 is a dead end. University administrations under capitalism exist to run the campuses for the capitalist class as training grounds for the ideologues and administrators of their system. That means smashing student protest and



Steve Kim/Daily Bruin

Hundreds marched across UCLA campus November 17 to protest implementation of anti-immigrant Prop. 187. Below: After march, protesters seized Murphy Hall. Riot cops stormed sit-in, arresting 26.

increasingly making college a place for the rich and white. Remember the brutal cop attack on the Chicano studies protests in '93.

You can't wage class struggle in coalition with the racist anti-immigrant Democratic Party. From militarization of the border to South Africa-style pass law proposals, the Democrats, from Clinton to Brown and Feinstein have done their best to outdo the Republicans in immigrant bashing. The current labor misleaders are working overtime to funnel anger to keep a lid on struggle and push the dead end of electoralism as the solution. What is needed is a fight to oust the current labor leadership and build a class-struggle workers party that will mobilize labor's power in defense of all the oppressed and that will fight for a socialist revolution that can put an end to anti-immigrant racism for good.

- Hands Off Anti-187 Protesters!
- Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!
- Break with the Racist Democrats and Republicans!
- For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!
- For Socialist Revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán! ■

**Join Us!**

**"I Will Fight for  
Communist Revolution..."**

Attention comrades of the SYC:

We are in complete political agreement on the issues covered in the *Young Spartacus* section of WV 605. Furthermore, we agree on issues covered in your party line.

These are the primary reasons that I should join: The first is that I am a revolutionary communist and you are a revolutionary communist party. The question that could be posed to me, "Well comrade, there are a lot of self-proclaimed revolutionary communist parties; you could just as easily join them on the same basis that you say you should join us." But where your party is different is that you are the party of the Russian Revolution. And your party is the only one that is truly in the light of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. And unlike the SWP, your party does not rally behind reformist figures and reformist

politics. And unlike the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, you have not applauded capitalist counterrevolution in the workers states. On the contrary, the SL/ICL gives full military support to all existing workers states, though they are deformed and in need of political restructuring.

I am set on being a professional revolutionary. I will fight for communist revolution until the working class liberates itself. There is not a single thing that is more important to humanity and its future than a revolution that will put the ownership of production in the hands of those who labor for production.

Because we both agree that this is true, there seems to be no reason that I should not join. Therefore, I should.

Joaquin (student and worker)  
Los Angeles

## **Spartacist Events**

### **Spartacus Youth Club Class Series**

#### **ATLANTA**

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m.  
December 1: *Building a Revolutionary Leninist Party*; Georgia State University, University Center, Room 204  
For more information: (404) 521-9338

#### **BOSTON**

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m., December 3  
*The Fight For Women's Liberation*; December 17: *We Need an International Workers Party*; Sever Hall, Room 101, Harvard University, Harvard Yard, Cambridge  
For more information: (617) 492-3928

#### **CHICAGO**

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.  
December 1: *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 161 W. Harrison, 10th floor  
For more information: (312) 663-0715

#### **LOS ANGELES**

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m., November 29:  
*How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; Rolfe Hall, Room 3118, UCLA  
For more information: (213) 380-8239

#### **NEW YORK CITY**

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.  
December 3: *Fight for the Communism of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky!*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St.  
For more information: (212) 267-1025

#### **SAN FRANCISCO**

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.  
December 1: *Building the Revolutionary Party*; Student Union, Room B112, San Francisco State University  
For more information: (415) 777-9367

#### **WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m., December 3:  
*The Revolution Betrayed—How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; Howard University, Blackburn Center, Room 142  
For more information: (202) 872-8240

### **Spartacus Youth Club Video Showing**

#### **CHICAGO**

Tuesday, November 29, 12:30 p.m.:  
"From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal"; Circle Center, Room 324, University of Illinois at Chicago  
For more information: (312) 663-0715



# The "Bell Curve" and Genocide U.S.A.

Continued from page 16

poor. Herrnstein and Murray recycle the discredited work of racist eugenicists like Arthur Jensen, who, beginning in 1969, sought to "prove" that blacks are intellectually inferior to whites. Then, in a breathtaking attempt to claim their findings are not racist, Murray and Herrnstein write, "We cannot think of a legitimate argument why any encounter between individual whites and blacks need be affected by the knowledge that" the difference in "measured intelligence is genetic instead of environmental."

Tell that to Rodney King or the millions of black people who are victimized every day by a society that "justifies" a whole system of racist degradation and state repression with the myth that blacks are "inferior." *The Bell Curve* serves to legitimize treating an entire generation of black people as a surplus population—an ideology for a government policy that can only be described as "Genocide U.S.A."

## Follow the Money to the Third Reich

There is no "race gene." The genetic variation within any given ethnic group is as diverse as between one group and another. As R.C. Lewontin, an evolutionary geneticist and co-author of *Not in Our Genes* (Pantheon, 1984) remarked, "If the holocaust comes and a small tribe deep in the New Guinea forests are the only survivors, almost all the genetic variation now expressed among the innumerable groups of our four billion people will be preserved." Lewontin's 1972 study showed that only 6 percent of the genetic variations among human populations could be accounted for by "race," such as exist between Europeans and Asians. In other words, race is meaningless as a "scientific" category—Newt Gingrich or Jesse Helms may be genetically closer to an Australian aboriginal or a "gangsta rapper" in South-Central L.A. than to each other.

The egalitarian implications of Darwin's theory of evolution and the discovery that there is no biological basis for the supremacy of one class, nation or ethnic group over another is a powerfully dangerous idea to the capitalist rulers. Lest the producers of wealth recognize that they have a common enemy and it is not each other, the rulers strive to define the exploitative relations between people by ethnic groups and skin color. Thus ideologues for the American ruling class persist in seeking a "scientific" or "natural" reason for the ordering of capitalist society with whites on top and blacks on the bottom.

That science is not free from the taint of prejudice was most shamefully exposed in the "Piltdown Man" scandal. Some English paleoanthropologists thought the "white man's burden" of brutally colonizing vast expanses of India, Asia and Africa would be served by proving that, if man were descended from ape, at least the earliest *Englishman* was blessed with a brain remarkably larger than any other skulls unearthed in archeological research. This "scientific truth" endured for 40 years until the Piltdown skull was proved to be a hoax involving a modern human cranium attached to the jaw of an orangutan!

The sources behind Murray and Herrnstein are as tainted as the artfully stained Piltdown Man. Murray and Herrnstein conducted no original research in genetics or biology for their book—nor could they. Herrnstein was trained in psychology and Murray has a degree in political science. Their arsenal of "facts," graphs, charts and tables is



From Clinton's vow to "end welfare as we know it" to *Bell Curve*'s call for "voluntary" sterilization of welfare mothers, there is a bipartisan consensus for war on the ghetto poor.

all based on research done by others. A devastating exposé in the *New York Review of Books* (1 December) by Charles Lane reveals the nest of neo-Nazi apologists and ultrarightist crackpots who constitute the all-important sources for *The Bell Curve*.

The sources cited most frequently in *The Bell Curve* are associated with a racist fraud masquerading as an "anthropological journal" called *Mankind Quarterly* which was founded to combat "Communist" and "egalitarian" influences. *MQ*'s founder, Robert Gayre, was a champion of South African apartheid and white supremacy in Rhodesia and has publicly stated that blacks are "worthless." *MQ*'s other founders include Columbia University's Henry E. Garrett, a former pamphleteer for White Citizens' Councils, who argued for racist segregation in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* lawsuit. Corrado Gini, a leader of the eugenics movement in Mussolini's Italy, and Othmar von Verschuer, a mentor of Nazi Dr. Mengele, round out the list of *MQ*'s founder-"scholars." Today *MQ* is run by Roger Pearson—a man whose résumé includes the astonishing achievement of being elbowed out of the Moonie-infested World Anti-Communist League for being too far to the right! The luntheaded thugs of the fascist British National Front recommend *MQ* as a rattling good read.

Richard Lynn is an associate editor of *Mankind Quarterly* and is cited 24 times in *The Bell Curve*. Lynn is a mouthpiece for fascist genocide. In 1972 he wrote, "Evolutionary progress means the extinction of the less competent. To think otherwise is mere sentimentality." He also argues that the Holocaust may have improved the Jewish gene pool by providing "intermittent persecutions which the more intelligent may have been able to foresee and escape" (*Mankind Quarterly*, Fall/Winter 1990). The Canadian crackpot J. Philippe Rushton is cited eleven times in *The Bell Curve*. Rushton believes blacks are genetically predisposed to sexual excess and argues, "it's a trade-off: more brain or more penis. You can't have everything" (*Rolling Stone*, 10 November). Murray and Herrnstein have declared Rushton's work "convincing" and "plainly science."

*Mankind Quarterly* is bankrolled by

the Pioneer Fund, an ultraright New York-based foundation. The Fund's founding president, Harry Hamilton Laughlin, crusaded and convinced Congress to adopt the Immigration Restriction Act on the grounds that Jews and other immigrants were "feeble-minded." Laughlin was also instrumental in pushing for the law under which tens of thousands of "unfit" U.S. citizens (i.e., the homeless, the poor, the "insane") were sterilized. In his 1927 Supreme Court decision upholding Virginia's sterilization laws (*Buck v. Bell*), Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes thundered:

"It is better for all the world, if instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind.... Three generations of imbeciles are enough."

This law served as the model for 1933 Nazi legislation which resulted in the sterilization of more than two million people deemed subhuman *Untermenschen*. Charles Murray echoes the racist eugenicists of the Third Reich in arguing for sterilization of welfare recipients today:

"The most efficient way to raise the IQ of a society is for smarter women to have higher birth rates than dumber women.... The United States already has policies that inadvertently social-engineer who has babies, and it is encouraging the wrong women.... The technically precise description of America's fertility policy is that it subsidizes births among poor women, who are also disproportionately at the low end of the intelligence distribution."

Murray likes to portray himself as an All-American corn-fed boy straight out of a Norman Rockwell painting, but it's another Rockwell—George Lincoln Rockwell, the American Nazi Party leader—who comes to mind upon hearing tales of Murray's youth. Just for "kicks," the young Charles Murray staged a huge cross-burning in his hometown of Newton, Iowa, terrorizing the only two black families in town. Murray served as a counterinsurgency expert for U.S. imperialism in Thailand during the Vietnam War, a country that was virtually transformed into a laboratory for U.S. techniques in genocide. Now from the comfort of an armchair at the American Enterprise Institute, Murray contem-

plates sterilizing the poor and closing America's borders to immigrants who flunk racist "competency" tests.

The hereditarian rightists cited in *The Bell Curve* have received some four million dollars from the Pioneer Fund. *The Bell Curve*'s main source for its racist IQ theories is the notorious Arthur Jensen who has already received \$1.1 million from the Pioneer Fund. The Pioneer Fund's current goals include ending racial integration in America and stopping the flow of immigrants. The Pioneer Fund subsidizes the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and anti-Hispanic (and anti-Catholic) racist "English Only" groups. Bankrolling the ultraright ideologues is the Pioneer Fund's investment in an "Aryan" American future. In Charles Murray they've found a dangerous propagandist and demagogue for social engineering.

In his definitive debunking of the hereditarian theory of IQ, Stephen Jay Gould exposed how Murray's predecessors built the scaffolding for a government policy which abetted the genocide of Hitler's Third Reich. Discriminatory screening of immigrants meant:

"The quotas stood, and slowed immigration from southern and eastern Europe to a trickle. Throughout the 1930s, Jewish refugees, anticipating the holocaust, sought to emigrate, but were not admitted. The legal quotas, and continuing eugenic propaganda, barred them even in years when inflated quotas for western and northern European nations were not filled. We know what happened to many who wished to leave but had nowhere to go. The paths to destruction are often indirect, but ideas can be agents as sure as guns and bombs."

—*The Mismeasure of Man* (W.W. Norton, 1981)

## The Uses and Abuses of IQ Tests

Intelligence is not quantifiable as a single trait, nor can it be measured as a single quality. The "hard science" of hereditarians like Charles Spearman, who claimed to discover what he dubbed the "g" factor as a measure of intelligence, is as fuzzy as a cotton ball. Mostly what IQ tests measure is...how well an individual can take an IQ test and how well they are accustomed to the culture of the test givers.

The intellectual competence of immigrants arriving at New York's Ellis Island, for instance, was tested by asking them to fill in what was missing from a series of pictures. A Sicilian man, logically enough for someone from his cultural background, drew a crucifix on the roof of the house pictured on his test. Yet the only "correct" answer was a chimney! One can imagine the bewilderment of East European peasants faced with pictures of women in bowling alleys. The idiocies of intelligence testing were humorously captured by the educator and social reformer John Dewey:

"This intelligence-testing business reminds me of the way they used to weigh hogs in Texas. They would get a long plank, put it over a cross-bar, and somehow tie the hog on one end of the plank. They'd search all around till they found a stone that would balance the weight of the hog and they'd put that on the other end of the plank. Then they'd guess the weight of the stone."

The IQ test was based on the Binet scale, a series of questions designed by French psychiatrist Alfred Binet to evaluate cognitive and reasoning disabilities in children in order to design remedial programs to assist them. Binet argued against the notion that intelligence could be measured as a single quantity and showed through his work that intelligence could be improved with opportunity and instruction. Yet the Binet scale was popularized in America as a means



to limit, segregate and control perceived "threats" to the white Anglo-Saxon ruling class. Against a background of an increasingly discontented working class, the IQ test also became a method for "justifying" class boundaries.

In 1917-1919, Lewis Terman and Richard Yerkes turned the Binet scale into a multimillion-dollar test industry in the United States by convincing employers that without proper placement and training, "dumb" workers could "drift easily into the ranks of the anti-social or join the army of Bolshevik discontents." The mass testing of Army recruits in World War I served to whip up a hysteria over becoming "a nation of morons" with successive waves of immigrants. Headlines screaming, "Can Democracy Survive an Average Age of 13?" are an indication of the climate that led directly to the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924.

Biological determinism is a bogus theory to limit opportunity and justify the inequalities of the status quo. According to determinists like Murray and Herrnstein, the laboring masses were made for drudgery while the ruling class was, conveniently, born to rule. Whatever role genetics plays in intelligence, it has been shown again and again, and in opposition to the biological determinists, that environment and opportunity literally change the score.

Today, Murray and Herrnstein argue that remedial programs for inner-city children like Head Start should be scrapped because "public policy towards the disadvantaged starts from the premise that interventions can make up for genetic or environmental disadvantages, and that premise is overly optimistic." What a false but convenient "theory" for a ruling class that no longer wants to spend money educating poor black children because there are no jobs to train them for—the ruling class only invests what it can reap back in profit. The determinists' "theory" is refuted by the example of black workers during World War II. When the ruling class needed labor for the war industries, millions of blacks migrated from the rural South to the North and West, were taught to read and write in a matter of months and went on to become high-grade shipbuilders and mechanics.

Moreover, the Head Start program works! Murray and Herrnstein argue that the supposed inherent inferiority of the poor is seen in the evidence that children who benefit from these programs fail once they return to the hellholes that pass for schools in the ghettos. If anything, this is an argument that environment, not genetics, is critical to intellectual development. Indeed, it appears that the most heritable quality about IQ may be a big bank account, because if you're born rich then you will get good schooling and be better able to score well on IQ tests! Imagine a social experiment—let's call it "Head Down"—in which all the children from all the poshest private schools

## Frederick Douglass on "Scientific" Apologies for Slavery

"Pride and selfishness, combined with mental power, never want for a theory to justify them—and when men oppress their fellow-men, the oppressor ever finds, in the character of the oppressed, a full justification for his oppression. Ignorance and depravity, and the inability to rise from degradation to civilization and respectability, are the most usual allegations against the oppressed. The evils most fostered by slavery and oppression, are precisely those which slaveholders and oppressors would transfer from their system to the inherent character of their victims. Thus the very crimes of slavery become slavery's best defense. By making the enslaved a character fit only for slavery, they excuse themselves for refusing to make the slave a freeman. A wholesale method of accomplishing this result, is to overthrow the instinctive consciousness of the common brotherhood of man. For, let it be once granted that the human race are of multitudinous origin, naturally different in their moral, physical, and intellectual capacities, and at once you make plausible a demand for classes, grades and conditions, for different methods of culture, different moral, political, and religious institutions, and a chance is left for slavery, as a necessary institution."

—from "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered" (address delivered at Western Reserve College, 12 July 1854)



Frederick Douglass House

swap places with all the children crammed into crumbling classrooms in the mean cities across America. Of course, if there's any merit to the biological determinist argument, there would be no change in IQ test scores. But wanna bet which kids make it to Harvard and Yale as a result of this experiment?

Murray and Herrnstein also resurrect the Italian eugenicist Cesare Lombroso's

antebellum South as the justification for chattel slavery. The Civil War smashed the slave system, and Radical Reconstruction was about the freest and most egalitarian period in American history. But the systematic oppression of black people as a forcibly segregated race-color caste is fundamental to the American capitalist system in every sphere: in jobs, housing, education, and even personal relations. Thus the obsession

Race is a relation between people based upon the needs of capitalist exploitation. The race concept in anthropology grew out of the social relations of slavery. It was congealed by the adaptation of these obsolete social relations to the needs of capitalist production. "The concept of race has now been overthrown in biological science. But race as the keystone of exploitation remains. Race is a social relation and has only a social reality."

—"In Memoriam, Richard S. Fraser: An Appreciation and Selection of His Work," Prometheus Research Series 3 (1990)

The yawning gulf of inequalities and devastation of human life cannot be redressed with piecemeal reforms. Today the liberals try to outdo the conservatives with "get tough on crime" rhetoric—and the result was the 1994 midterm elections, a triumph of the far, far right. Yesterday the liberals pleaded to "throw money" at problems...and you can certainly ameliorate many problems with money. But the fundamental inequality of this society cannot be redressed through reforms, because you cannot have a radical redistribution of wealth in a system based on private ownership of the means of production. The vast majority who produce the wealth of society are robbed of the fruits of their labor by the capitalist ruling class.

To do away with the system of racial oppression and class exploitation requires a thoroughgoing proletarian socialist revolution. Only then will the ideal of equality held out by the French Revolution, and the promise of black freedom held out by the victory in the Civil War against slavery, be realizable. By smashing the color line once and for all through revolutionary integration into a socialist America, we can forge a society dedicated to an expansion of human freedom and potential. It is to this task that the Spartacist League is dedicated. ■



Memphis, 1968: Black sanitation strikers declared, "I Am a Man," protesting racist degradation in face of National Guard repression.

"theory" of the "born criminal" which was used to justify the death penalty in the last century. As American prisons fire up electric chairs from coast to coast, Murray and Herrnstein pop up with a theory of inherent criminality which could be used to justify "legal lynching" by the capitalist state today. They write:

"To a person of low intelligence, the threats of apprehension and prison may fade to meaninglessness.... They find it harder to understand why robbing someone is wrong...and are accordingly less inhibited from acting in ways that are hurtful to other people and to the community at large.... The people who lapse into criminal behavior are distinguishable from the population at large in their distribution of intelligence."

By these lights, the ruling class must be inherently criminal—and stupid. The millionaire WASP politicians who inhabit Capitol Hill and the halls of Congress have bilked millions through the savings and loan scandal, gutted Social Security, destroyed schools and hospitals, wrecked the industrial infrastructure of this country through their own corporate greed, and generally robbed from the poor to give to the rich any way they can. But we have a different proposal for dealing with this: break the power of the ruling class by fighting for a society where those who labor rule.

### The Legacy of Slavery

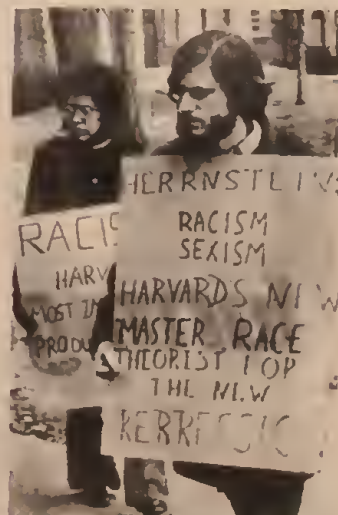
The ideology of racial inferiority and a master race originated in the American

with race and the ideology of white supremacy endured.

Just as the myth of the master race was copied by German fascism, so too did the Nazi Party and Hitler's stormtroopers find their historical antecedents in the Ku Klux Klan. The gruesome experiments of the Nazi doctors in testing for "pure Aryans" and sterilizing those labeled "genetically inferior" are known and reviled as war crimes. But what of the forced sterilization of 60,000 Americans on the pretext that they were genetically inferior? At what is now called the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, disease among black people was deliberately spread in the infamous Tuskegee experiment in which 400 sharecroppers and laborers with syphilis were watched for 40 years—and untreated for 30 years after a cure was found! These men suffered hideously and were lied to that their problem was in their genes, that they had "bad blood."

In a 1954 lecture on "Race and Capitalism," veteran American Trotskyist Richard Fraser laid bare the legacy of slavery in capitalist America as "color discrimination buttressed by segregation and race prejudice." Fraser noted:

"Race thus became a fetish of American capitalism, a system of special exploitation based upon the social relations and customs of a previous mode of production, which had itself been an abomination to society. Stripped of scientific justification, what then remains of race?"



Challenge Publication of Herrnstein's racist views prompted protests of his lectures at Harvard in 1971.

### Young Spartacus Corrections

We would like to make a few minor corrections to articles that appeared in *Workers Vanguard* No. 609.

In "Mississippi: Racist 'Desegregation' Scheme Threatens Black Colleges," striking rubber workers from Huntsville, Alabama were erroneously placed in Huntington.

In the article, "Trouble in SWP Over 'Federal Troops to Pensacola,'" we incorrectly referred to Little Rock High School; it is Central High School.

In the report from the Columbus anti-fascist conference, supporters of the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition had their ear pulled over in Illinois, not Ohio, as we had misstated.



# The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution

## Spartacist League Debates Ernest Mandel



United Secretariat spokesman Ernest Mandel (left) and Joseph Seymour of International Communist League debate before 400 people in New York City, November 11.

Some 400 people packed the auditorium of Public School 41 in New York City November 11 for a rare and important debate on revolutionary strategy featuring the International Communist League, represented by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee, and Ernest Mandel of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). This was the largest gathering here in years of those claiming adherence to Trotskyism, which was the continuation of the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin's Bolsheviks in the face of the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International.

Organized by the Spartacist League and co-chaired by representatives of the ICL and the USec, the meeting was organized in the best traditions of workers democracy. The main speakers had equal presentation and rebuttal time. Twenty speakers from the floor alternated between supporters of the USec, the ICL and other tendencies present, including the League for a Revolutionary Party, Bolshevik Tendency, Freedom Socialist Party and International Trotskyist Opposition.

From the ICL's inception as the Revolutionary Tendency, expelled from the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1963, we have insisted on the need for a political fight to the finish against the revisionist current authored by Michel Pablo and hacked up by Mandel, which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s. Reacting impressionistically to the creation of bureaucratically deformed workers states in East Europe and China and the growth of Stalinist parties in Europe following World War II, Pablo and his followers decided to dump the Trotskyist program. As international secretary of the Fourth International, Pablo directed Trotskyists to liquidate organizationally and programatically into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, with the aim of pressuring them onto a "roughly revolutionary" course. This perspective denied the very basis for the Fourth International, founded in 1938 as a Leninist vanguard to provide revolutionary leadership to the international proletariat, whose Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders had betrayed workers' struggles on behalf of "democratic" capitalism.

In our struggle to reforge an authen-

tically Trotskyist Fourth International, we welcomed this opportunity to politically confront Mandel, the foremost exponent of Pabloism today. The centrist Mandel, while making ritual genuflections toward Marxist phraseology, has in his practice moved far to the right. Speaking first in the debate, Mandel in his presentation wrote off any possibility of proletarian revolution in the coming period. "The crisis of mankind, of human civilization," he remarked, "will last for a long time." For Mandel, this is only logical, as he long since abandoned the key tenet of Trotsky's Transitional Program, which declared that "the crisis of the proletarian leadership, having become the crisis in mankind's culture, can be resolved only by the Fourth International."

Mandel objected to our statement that "The present period is marked above all by the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe" (from "Workers Struggle Across Europe," *Workers Vanguard* No. 592, 21 January 1994). "This is wrong," he said. "The principal feature of the world situation is the worldwide offensive of capital against labor," ignoring the connection between the anti-labor offensive and the collapse of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states. In his typical objectivist fashion, Mandel claimed the key was "the current long depressive wave of capitalism." As always, he writes off the role of the revolutionary party and its program.

Having taken proletarian revolution off the agenda, Mandel lapsed into pure reformism: "The strategic goal should become the one of avoiding, at all costs, a nuclear war, and suppressing all nuclear power stations." This remark reveals more than the "greening" of Ernest Mandel. Here he echoes the revisionist "Marxist" Karl Kautsky, whose pacifist

claim that imperialist war can be stopped short of the working class coming to power was powerfully refuted by Lenin.

In his presentation, comrade Seymour noted that Mandel's USec, formed in 1963 as a bloc between Pablo's tendency and the rightward-moving SWP, "has always been and only aspires to be a pressure group on various reformist, petty-bourgeois radical and bourgeois nationalist currents. In fact, over the decades Mandel has tried literally everything except building a proletarian vanguard party." In the present period, the United Secretariat "has liquidated itself into and seeks to build up international Social Democracy, which now includes the many ex-Stalinist parties."

"They long to be comrades with the heirs to the murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, who are now joined by the heirs to the murderers of Trotsky," Seymour continued. "Well, we of the International Communist League have taken a different road." He quoted from the Transitional Program, founding document of the Fourth International: "The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the bureaucracies of the Second, Third, Amsterdam and Anarchosyndicalist Internationals, as on their centrist satellites." "We aim," he summarized, "to reforge a Fourth International that will politically destroy once and for all the heirs to the murderers of Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Trotsky."

### Program Is Key

For Trotskyists, the key to the debate topic, "The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today," is *what program* can lead the working class to power. Yet one of the main themes of Mandel and his supporters was ridiculing the ICL's insistence on building a programatically firm party. In listing an "inextricable knot of contradictions" supposedly besetting the Spartacists, Mandel in-

cluded our "obsession with correct formulas."

One of his jabs echoed the old canard: if you're so smart, why aren't you rich? "If after more than half a century of revolutions and counterrevolutions, real Trotskyism, which the Spartacists claim to be the only ones to represent, is reduced to a cnupe of hundred people in the whole world, with no real implantation in the working class of any country, this would prove the basic historical failure of Trotskyism as a political movement." This "argument" is drawn straight from the Stalinists' cynical arsenal against Trotskyism.

Mandel contrasted the ICL's supposed "irrelevance" to the USec's "influence." "We have two MPs [members of parliament] elected in Europe," although, he admitted, "comrade Winnie Wolf" resigned from the USec once he was elected to the German Bundestag on the ticket of the PDS—the party that sold out the East German deformed workers state in 1990! "We have many MPs in Brazil.... We have dozens of municipal and regional councilors." What they clearly have is an appetite for the "big time" of reformist parliamentary politics.

Mandel did finally touch on some of the programmatic issues in dispute. He portrayed our defense of the deformed workers states against capitalist counterrevolution as "pro-Stalinist," denouncing in particular our support to Polish general Jaruzelski's counter-coup against Lech Walesa's Solidarność when it attempted to seize power in December 1981.

He closed by noting "a victory of truly historical dimensions": the "complete political rehabilitation" of Trotsky and his followers by the Soviet military and the newspaper *Izvestia* in 1990. The ICL argued at the time that Trotsky is in no need of a certificate of good conduct from the heirs of his Stalinist assassins, who were, moreover, at that very moment paving the way for Yeltsin's counterrevolution!

Comrade Seymour focused on key strategic issues for communists today: the popular front—a coalition tying the workers parties to the bourgeoisie—and the "Russian question," i.e., the Marxist analysis and program on the degenerated and deformed workers states. Trotsky fought for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist restoration and for workers political revolution



to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

On these and other questions, Seymour remarked, "Mandel has prostituted the moral authority of Trotskyism." The USec was founded on the basis of political support to Castro's Stalinist regime in Cuba and championing the petty-bourgeois strategy of guerrilla war exemplified by Che Guevara. The Spartacists fought the USec's abandonment of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution, which holds that only the proletariat, leading the peasantry, can carry out the democratic tasks in colonial countries through socialist revolution. We upheld the need for a Leninist vanguard party, while the USec looked to the petty-bourgeois nationalists as a substitute for the working class. While fighting for unconditional military defense of Cuba against Yankee imperialism, we called for workers political revolution from Moscow to Havana, and extension of the revolution to the imperialist centers as the only real defense of the revolution. While Mandel espoused arm-chair guerrillism, some of his comrades actually tried to put the USec's stated program into practice, and perished in Bolivia and other countries.

Following this debacle, in 1970 the USec tailed Salvador Allende's Chilean Unidad Popular, a classic popular front. Seymour noted how the USec's star French section openly hailed Allende's election, while the Spartacist League, basing itself on Trotsky's lessons of the disastrous experience of the 1930s popular fronts in France and Spain, warned against any support to this bourgeois coalition, which politically disarmed the working class. Tragically, the Chilean popular front proved even more suicidal than Guevara's guerrillism, with tens of thousands of militants killed after the 1973 Pinochet coup.

## The Russian Question, Front and Center

The ICL spokesman pointed to Mandel's support to pro-imperialist dissidents in the guise of supporting "democracy" in the Soviet bloc. This reached the point that in 1989 the USec's *International Viewpoint* uncritically published an article praising the Estonian "Forest Brothers," fascists who fought alongside Hitler's SS in World War II. Seymour noted, "During the period of Cold War II, Mandel and his cothinkers never met a non-Russian, anti-Communist nationalist in East Europe they didn't like...of course, in the name of democracy, national independence and anti-Stalinism."

In the late 1970s, the USec jumped aboard U.S. president Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" offensive, which conditioned the rise of pro-capitalist Solidarność in Poland. "Mandel and his cothinkers supported Solidarność with a fervor equal to that of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher," Seymour noted. In his quest for "influence," Mandel was swimming with the stream, getting into bed with Cold War social democrats like France's Mitterrand and the German and Swedish union bureaucracies. Seymour recalled that Mandel dubbed Waleśa & Co. "the best socialists in the world"—doubtless because they openly rejected socialism. In contrast, we said: "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" Seymour quoted from a 1981 *Workers Vanguard* article that portrayed the likely outcome of Solidarność's coming to power:

"Foreign capitalist investment would be invited in on a massive scale.... Wages would be kept low to compete on the world market. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of workers would be laid off. Certainly the mass of deflated workers at Solidarity do not want this. But the restoration of capitalism in all its ruthlessness would follow, as the night follows the day, from Solidarity's program of 'Western-style democracy'..."

—BA No. 289,

25 September 1981

"What honest and objective person would today deny that what we predicted would happen in 1981...has in fact happened," he asked.

When the fate of the deformed and degenerated workers states hung in the balance in Germany in 1989-90, Seymour continued, the ICL mobilized all the forces at its disposal, intervening with a program for the revolutionary reunification of Germany—a red Germany of workers councils. We stood unconditionally against the imperialist annexation of the East German deformed workers state, the DDR. And we initiated the call for the January 1990 united-front demonstration that brought out 250,000 against the fascist defacing of the Treptow Soviet war memorial in East Berlin and in defense of the DDR.

In contrast, the United Secretariat was totally paralyzed. An ICL speaker subsequently noted from the floor USec right-winger Matti's description of their *nvo* lines on German reunification: "One section wanted to drink champagne; the other section wanted to have Alka-Seltzer," she remarked. "But nobody wanted to have a revolutionary intervention into that nascent political revolution."

Having supported counterrevolutionary forces from Walesa to the capitalist-restorationist rahle on Yeltsin's barricades in front of the Moscow White House in August 1991, the USec now denies that capitalism has been restored in these countries. Their criteria is the social-democratic rationale that most industry is still nationalized. After noting that the USec refused to defend the Soviet Union over Afghanistan, and indeed even called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops fighting CIA-backed, woman-hating Islamic fundamentalists, an ICL speaker remarked in the discussion, "Strangely enough, the USec defends the Soviet Union when it doesn't exist as a workers state. Think about that."

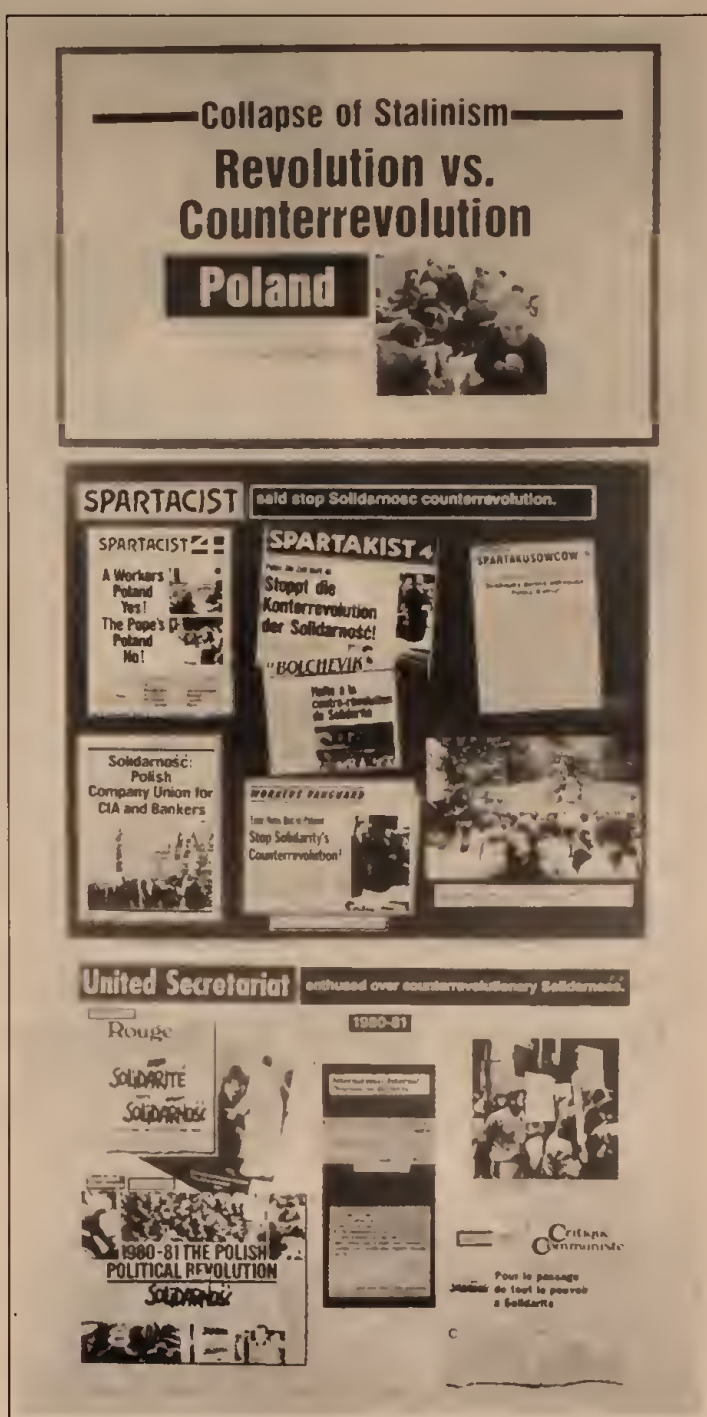
Most recently, in the former Yugoslavia, the USec has lined up with "democratic" imperialism through the "International Workers Aid to Bosnia" campaign. Marxists regard this fratricidal civil war as reactionary on all sides, while calling for defense of the Serbs against imperialist attack. However, Seymour noted, the USec's *International Viewpoint* "boasts that its supporters have run convoys of trucks into Bosnia protected by the UN imperialist forces. One report even lauds 'the genuine efforts of many of the UN staff and soldiers who helped us.' So here you have not only direct support to a bourgeois-nationalist regime, but direct appeals for military action by its imperialist sponsors."

## Trotskyism vs. USec Opportunism

Spartacist interventions from the floor fleshed out the USec's anti-Trotskyist record of capitulation and tailism. Yet none of Mandel's cothinkers, some with many decades of political experience, even attempted to argue their positions, instead protesting that these were 20-year-old questions and lecturing us for being "rude." If Mandel adopted the scholastic style of European academia, his American supporters came off as U.S.-centered parochialists, and pretty demoralized ones at that. As for their lessons in etiquette, many of the USec speakers learned their "method" in the SWP during the anti-Vietnam War movement, when the SWP led goon squads against Progressive Labor, the Spartacist League and others opposed to their popular-front coalitions with Democratic Party "doves."

Trotsky wrote, "The centrist frequently covers up his dawdling by referring to the danger of 'sectarianism,' by which he understands not abstract propagandist passivity (of the Bordighist type) but an active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, political consistency and organizational completeness." Indeed, one USec supporter after another rose to denounce the ICL's "inflexibility" and "scary uniformity"—i.e., a principled commitment to upholding a revolutionary program. Steve Bloom of

continued on page 12



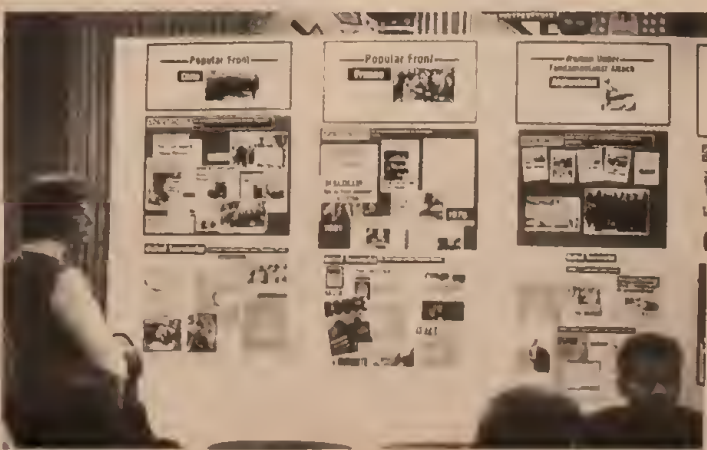
WW Photos

At the debate, displays contrasted the Trotskyist program of the International Communist League with the centrist politics of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec).

●Poland (above): USec proclaimed "Solidarity with Solidarność," describing this anti-Communist movement backed by CIA and Vatican as "one of the highest forms of proletarian activity and self-organization which the world has seen since the Russian revolution." Spartacists declared, "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution," warning that victory for Walesa & Co. would spell misery for workers, women.

●Popular Front (below): Displays show USec's zigzags over support to Allende's popular front in Chile, and its embrace of Mitterrand's Union of the Left in France. The ICL called for no political support to these class-collaborationist coalitions which shackled workers, paving the way for rightist reaction.

●Afghanistan (below, right): USec capitulated to imperialist furor, demanding, "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan." The ICL said, "Hail Red Army!" and called to extend gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples.





# Debate...

(continued from page 11)

BIDOM and Solidarity said, "I would suggest that the Spartacists' main point of pride, their steadfastness and unwaveringness on the program, is in fact the clearest indictment of their method." Next up for the Mandelites, Paul Le Blanc, who co-chaired the meeting, asked, "In terms of the kind of practical work to build a mass workers movement that can win, what are you doing?" Later, Dorothy Breitman accused the SL of "denouncing whatever activity was going on because it didn't promote a complete revolutionary program," and asked the speakers to define the "distinction between the program of the united front and that of the party."

A Freedom Socialist Party speaker echoed this theme. But she added concerning the USec, "I would have to agree with the Spartacist League speakers who have characterized the USec as becoming ever more accommodating, especially since the crack-up of the Soviet Union." Mandel's current strategy "is based on the idea that now we're going to have a century of neo-fascism." (In the 1950s, Pablo/Mandel's opponents characterized the Pabloite perspective as "centuries of deformed workers states.") Revealing her own tailist politics, she said, "We are calling on the Cubans also, and on Castro, to lend the authority of the Cuban workers state to the call for a new International." But reality is going the other way—the besieged Castro regime, which last year legalized the holding of dollars, has offered to drop



During discussion, Spartacist speaker denounced USec's bowing to imperialism over Afghanistan.

"socialism" in exchange for imperialist assent to Cuban independence.

Responding to the charge of Spartacist "abstentionism," ICL speakers pointed to our record of organizing united-front actions based on the power of the integrated labor movement against fascist terror, from Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Springfield, Illinois last January. Most recently in Berkeley, the Spartacus Youth Club initiated a protest that shut down a Nazi gathering featuring Hitlerite "historian" David Irving. A trade-union supporter of the Spartacist League asked pointedly, "Where and when has the United Secretariat ever tried to carry out Trotsky's strategy of proletarian-centered struggle against fascism?"

In his presentation, Mandel made a great deal of accusing the Spartacist League of covering up a betrayal by the French Lambertistes, who supported the Algerian nationalist MNA during the independence struggle in the 1950s. MNA leader Messali Hadj ended up embracing de Gaulle and French imperialism. The putative basis for Mandel's attack was the fact that we solidarize with the International Committee formed in 1954 by the SWP, Lambert's group and the British Healy group to oppose Pabloite revisionism. Mandel's transparent purpose was to throw up a smokescreen to obscure the Pabloites' own ardent political support to the bourgeois-nationalist Algerian FLN regime.

In fact, the Spartacist tendency has a highly critical assessment of the Lambert group over Algeria. A June 1992 public educational of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, section of the ICL, documented in detail how the Lambertistes fronted for Messali Hadj right up to the point where he openly landed in the colonialist camp. An LTF spokesman summed up, "Lambert became the lawyer, the spokesman for Messali Hadj's line, during this whole period."

During the floor discussion at the debate, an ICL speaker answered Mandel:

"As he knows, we have nothing whatever to do with Lambert's support to Messali Hadj. We in fact militarily support the forces of liberation against French imperialism.... But what was the United Secretariat position? Your organization politically backed a wing of the FLN, the bourgeois nationalists, from the mid-'50s on.... [The USec] criminally promoted the lie that the colonial national liberation movements could transform into socialist revolution, without the intervention of a revolutionary Marxist party, a working-class party leading the peasantry. And perhaps comrade Mandel fondly remembers Algeria as the case where Pablo himself got to implement the Pabloite line—as a dual member of both the Ben Bella government and the USec, running capitalist Algeria—oh, pardon me, building Algerian 'socialism,' he called it. Now, that's 'influence' for you."

Our comrade noted that the USec readmitted Pablo into its ranks last year, and that the Algerian USec group alternates between supporting the bourgeois army regime and marching with the Islamic fundamentalist FIS.

Another ICL speaker exposed the USec's tailing of popular fronts in Mexico, where the PRT supported the bourgeois populist party of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, and Brazil. When a leftist tendency opposed the formation of a popular front by Lula's Brazilian Workers Party (PT) in 1989, a leader of the USec's "Socialist Democracy" (!) current in the PT, João Machado, was sent in to purge them. Out of these militants came the Lula Metalúrgica group, which recently established fraternal relations with the International Communist League.

An interesting view into the USec was provided by a supporter of the International Trotskyist Opposition, who spoke as a neutral, even though the ITO des-

cribes itself as a tendency in the USec. For the most part she defended Mandel, who, she said, "has taken some correct positions" inside the USec, including "on the question of the popular front in Mexico around Cárdenas, on the question of the popular front in Brazil around Lula, on the question of anti-Stalinist adaptation to imperialism around Serbia, and also, he's opposed the liquidation of the USFI [USec] that's being advocated by the majority leadership into movements of Social Democracy." But, she added, "unfortunately Mandel has had a historic political problem of being able to wage those struggles consistently." You don't say.

Mandel has often polemicized against the more egregious right-wing tendencies in the USec—only to leave his own supporters hanging out on a limb to be chopped off. This is an "International" which frequently has several warring factions and even separate sections in one country, based on conflicting opportunist appetites. In the 1975 upheaval in Portugal, where the reformist Communist Party in a bloc with leftist military officers was pitted against the imperialist-supported Socialist Party, the USec split into two sections, lining up literally on opposite sides of real barricades. Elsewhere, in Iran, both USec groups, the IJKE and HKS, supported Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution," even as the mullahs' regime arrested and shot their comrades.

Mandel has politically sacrificed several generations of would-be Trotskyist militants in his quest for illusory "influence." USec sections are created and destroyed over and over again as Mandel pursues a Kautskyan program of "unity" with Maoists, Greens, social democrats, etc. And the more right-wing, the "broader" the lash-up, the better—until the inevitable splits. Within the USec, leftists have had a hapless lot. In the mid-'70s, the Mandelite Internationalist Tendency was framed up and expelled from the SWP. Although Mandel had been in factional struggle against the SWP leadership, he acquiesced to the expulsion and demanded that the ITers try to individually crawl back into the SWP. That was the end of this leftist current.

## Mandel's Provocation Fails

By the end of the discussion, Mandel must have been sensing defeat, attacking "the great majority of the people here" as "completely irrelevant, completely meaningless." After repeatedly interrupting Seymour's rebuttal, causing several warnings from the chair to desist, Mandel blustered, "Nobody has kept me quiet since 60 years.... The only thing you can do is use physical violence—go ahead, go ahead!" This blatant provocation alarmed even his own comrades, who tried to control his outbursts. Mandel capped his own rebuttal with a Kautskyite plea for disarmament.

We print below sections of Joseph Seymour's rebuttal to Mandel. We look forward to printing the full transcript of the debate in our journal *Spartacist*.

\* \* \*

The speaker from the Freedom Socialist Party says that we never participate in united fronts—and I will define a united front for sister Breitman a little later—unless we initiate and control it.... But we can indicate dozens of united fronts we participated in. For example, and this would certainly be close to your hearts, the defense of abortion clinics, which were organized by liberal feminists. Time and again, we have been there.

The speaker from the Bolshevik Tendency stated that we had a neutral position in August 1991, in the Kremlin coup and Yeltsin's countercoup. That's not true. We had a position that the workers should have organized to smash the Yeltsin harricades, because Yeltsin was the main enemy, the main

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# Origins and Honesty

As Spartacist events are wont to do, the debate between the International Communist League and Mandel brought forth a leaflet from the self-styled Bolshevik Tendency (BT). Their latest effort is titled, "Ernest Mandel vs. the Spartacist League: A Dismal Symmetry." Made up of a handful of embittered ex-members of the SL, the BT's central activity for the last decade has been the retailing of lurid tales of supposed high-living and internal bureaucracy in the "Robertson cult."

For years, the BT has been screaming that the absence of any factional struggle in the ICL was the bottom line measure of the fact that we were a "political obedience cult." As "proof," their latest leaflet remarkably points to our own frank assessment of our organization, contained in our most recent national conference document published in *Spartacist* No. 51 (Autumn 1994). That's rich. If ours is the bureaucratic charnel house the BT says it is, how do you explain our public account of recent internal disputes in the SL/U.S., to say nothing of the many international discussion bulletins devoted to the faction fight with the recently departed "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" of our Canadian section?

The BT answers that our conference document reflects nothing but the ruminations of Robertson, whom they depict as sitting around in semi-retirement dissatisfied with an organization that is supposedly "full of time servers, with limited ability to intervene in the left." The irony of distributing such a statement to 400 people who came out for our debate with Ernest Mandel is evidently lost on the BT, who go on to charge that our real problem is that the SL "divested themselves of some of their most creative and political elements." Here they are ever-so-modestly referring to none other than their own selves! What they conveniently don't mention is that they divested themselves—i.e., they quit.

Most of those who make up the BT

turned tail and ran as Ronald Reagan began arming Islamic fundamentalist reactionaries to kill Red Army soldiers in Afghanistan and pouring CIA money into Poland to back the counterrevolutionary nationalist religious bigots of Polish Solidarność. The BT now condemns our slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan," and is queasy about our tendency's forthright statements of military support to the Stalinist Polish government's 1981 attempt to spike Solidarność. Yet in 1991, they insisted that the Gorbachevite "gang of eight" coup plotters—who couldn't get it together to cut off Yeltsin's phone lines, but vowed to continue the "free market" dismantling of the collectivized Soviet economy—were a real military opposition to counterrevolution. Why? Because the defeat of the 1991 coup gave them a ready excuse to wash their hands of their hollow pretense of defending the USSR.

To alibi their cowardly departure from our organization, the BT accuses us of "Stalinophilia." Today, they continue to harp about a "laudatory in memoriam box" for Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, published in WV No. 348 (17 February 1984). It reads as follows:

"He sought to curb the worst excesses of the bureaucracy.  
"He sought to increase the productivity of the Soviet masses.  
"He made no overt betrayals on behalf of imperialism.  
"He was no friend of freedom"

Looking back a decade later, this strikes us as a pretty balanced assessment.

The documentary record of our tendency's origins in the fight against the Pabloite degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party is available in our *Marxist Bulletin* series, and our political record since is in the indexed bound volumes of *Spartacist* and *Workers Vanguard*. But the BT doesn't make the record of its own origins available, and for good reason. It would reveal them for what they are, a pusillanimous hunch of quitters. ■



# Letter to the Militant Tendency

## Response to a Provocation

The collapse of Stalinism has shaken up the left, and a number of groups have lost their moorings—sometimes in a rather spectacular way. A case in point is the French Gauche Révolutionnaire/Jeunes Communistes Révolutionnaires (GR/JCR), led by one Raymond Debord, which has lately been all over the political map. To stifle exposure of their gyrations, they have increasingly taken to strong-arm tactics against our comrades.

Debord's JCR emerged from the French USec section, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) two years ago, claiming to oppose the LCR's popular-frontism from the left. But the JCR soon lurched into bizarre and repugnant maneuvers, rubbing shoulders with fascist ideologues and Stalinist leftovers in an attempt to put together a French imitation of the "red-brown" coalition in the ex-Soviet Union (see "The JCR and the 'Idiot International,'" WV No. 583, 10 September 1993).

Stung by our denunciation of their social-democratic line that cops, the bourgeoisie's hired guns, are "workers" who can be an "ally" of the working class, Debord led an anti-Spartacist goon squad at the summer camp sponsored by the Youth Against Racism in Europe (JRE/YRE) last August (see "Mud, Thought Police and the Ghost of Willy Brandt," WV No. 607, 30 September). The JRE/YRE is run by the British Militant Labour group, whose international affiliates include Voran (Forward) in Germany and now the French JCR.

On October 11, young JCR would-be heavies attacked our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France as they distributed a leaflet at the University of Tolbiac in Paris protesting against the government's racist expulsions of young women wearing Islamic headscarves in high schools. The leaflet castigated the JCR for calling to include in the trade unions the cops who carry out racist terror against immigrants and youth of North African origin. Before the eyes of numerous students, JCRers shoved a young woman comrade of the LTF and knocked a black comrade to the ground.

In a leaflet distributed the next day, the Groupe de Jeunesse Spartaciste de Tolbiac (Tolbiac Young Spartacus Group) denounced the JCR aggression as intended to cover their liquidationist intervention at the high school protests, where they "only served as a tribune for the Islamic fundamentalists, without saying

a single word about their own formal program."

To cover up their thuggery, Debord & Co. have cynically tried to present *themselves* as the victims, while hunting at further provocations. This was the meaning of a 21 October letter from the international leadership of the Labour Militant tendency, the Committee for a Workers International. We reprint below our reply.

\* \* \*

New York  
5 November 1994

International Secretariat,  
Committee for a Workers International  
London

Dear Comrades,

We are in receipt of your letter to our French section, the Ligue Trotskyiste (LTF), purporting to be a description of the recent violent confrontations between your French section (GR/JCR) and our comrades. Your letter is a transparent effort to create a slanderous smokescreen to obscure the aggressive gangsterism unleashed by your leader in France, Raymond Debord, against our comrades, and to provide a basis for further provocations against our organization. Throwing in for good measure a claim that an LTF comrade followed a woman immigrant comrade of yours from her home—a highly inflammatory charge which is absolutely untrue—you choose to simply deny your comrades' October 11 attack on our sales team at the University of Tolbiac as an invention of ours, although the incident was witnessed by dozens of students. Moreover, the LTF immediately issued a leaflet at Tolbiac (attached), denouncing the cowardly unprovoked attack in which our comrade Pierre was hit from behind without warning and knocked to the ground by Debord's number one goon, Gérard.

Your comrades' violent assault was intended to stop us from distributing a leaflet in defense of Maghrebian women high school students being expelled from school by the Bayrou edict of the racist French government. The attack at Tolbiac was the continuation of the gangsterist vendetta begun by Raymond Debord at the summer camp of the Youth Against Racism in Europe (JRE/YRE), an organization which is politically led by your Committee for a Workers Inter-

national. What is most laughably transparent about your present letter is that you manage to say nothing whatever about the camp which was in fact largely dominated by Raymond Debord's personally instigated campaign of violence and slander against the ICL/LTF and the eventual failure of that campaign.

To refresh your memory: at the camp Raymond Debord attempted to prevent ICL comrades from selling our pamphlet on "Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State." The pamphlet (which includes the complete text of the GR/JCR's own polemic against the ICL as well as our reply exposing your organization's line of relying on the capitalist state to fight fascism) was evidently so damaging to Debord that he not only assaulted our salesmen, but even strong-armed one of the YRE's own French members when she was buying a copy. We immediately protested this attack to the JRE/YRE leadership, to other organizations present, and in a leaflet distributed to camp participants (also attached) which linked your organization's line that the racist cops are "workers in uniform" to Debord's own attempt to play thought-policeman of the left.

The camp leadership sought to alibi Debord's conduct by keeping up a steady stream of anti-Spartacist slanders, threats and "jokes" in the camp newsletter, but nonetheless Debord's conduct became such a scandal—and so unpopular among camp participants (including among some of your own members)—that the camp leadership finally backed off from its earlier threat to exclude the LTF from the camp. Your French comrades' unprovoked assault on the LTF on the Tolbiac campus was Debord's next move. It will not succeed any better.

The day after the Tolbiac attack, the LTF sought out Raymond Debord and informed him firmly that we would hold him responsible for any future assaults on our members. In response to our warning, Debord then phoned the LTF saying he wanted to discuss how the escalating violence could be stopped and offering to come to our office right away (at 11:30 at night!) to talk about it—surely a very strange suggestion to make if his earlier encounter with us had been as portrayed in your letter (and as you now describe it in your public press). The LTF replied in writing (a copy of this letter was immediately sent to you in London) that ending the violence was very simple: if your organization has ceased the gangsterism against our comrades, it's over. Subsequently we received the GR/JCR letter to which you now refer, and now your own cover-up letter.

To restate the obvious: gangsterism on the left has a long and despicable history. It is characteristic of the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucrats who have much to fear from the criticism of revolutionaries. As the GR/JCR letter itself shows, your French section does not distinguish between physical violence—which has no place in the workers movement—and the dissemination of forthright revolutionary criticism which is the right and duty of any revolutionary organization.

Your Raymond Debord has particularly strong reasons to want to prevent our voice being heard, as his recent political record is a particularly dirty trail of wild political zigzags, including his flirtation with the anti-Semitic French version of the "red"-brown coalition through the *Idiot International* (it was our article and our intervention exposing this at your public meetings in May

which prompted the lying accusations that we "disrupted" your meetings). Debord certainly finds very useful the drawing of a blood line between our organizations to keep his own members politically in line as he gyrates—from his joint venture with "intellectual" fascist ideologues to his present uncritical tailing of the anti-woman Muslim fundamentalists in France who are hypocritically defending Maghrebian high school women's right to an education, in hopes of building themselves a base among second-generation youth.

Every GR/JCR member who can be induced to participate personally in assaulting our comrades is then tied with bonds of guilt to the reformist political line that cops are "workers in uniform," which as you are aware is a source of considerable dissatisfaction within the GR/JCR and elsewhere in your international. It serves a similar purpose for you to claim that we called you "cops" because we denounce your pro-cop line, or "fascists" because we exposed Debord's *Idiot International* escapade. In the short run, you may imagine you can save yourselves embarrassment by attempting to intimidate us from exposing Debord's antics. In fact your leader in France is a loose cannon; neither we nor you can predict what this unstable poseur is likely to come up with next in the way of atrocities, political or otherwise.

Our tendency has a long and proud record of intransigent defense of workers democracy. One of our earliest campaigns in this vein was our defense of the British Union of Public Employees supporter Ernie Tate when the Healyites (to whom we actually stood closer at the time in terms of formal political positions) sought to stop him from selling a USec pamphlet, using violence and then a suit against him in the bourgeois courts. Very recently we were actively involved in the defense of supporters of Tony Cliff's British SWP (no friends of ours or of workers democracy) when they faced fascist attacks in Toronto, and we are now protesting the repressive South Korean regime's arrest of Cliff's cothinkers in that country. Our principled anti-sectarian defense of the rights of all leftist, minority and labor organizations extends equally to the GR/JCR which recently had a member arrested during the protests against the Bayrou edict. Perhaps our policy is incomprehensible to your Raymond Debord, who probably interprets it as a sign of weakness. Let you and him be in no doubt: we will be as vigorous in defense of ourselves as we are in defense of others.

Against gangsterism, in  
defense of political debate,  
International Secretariat,  
for the ICL(FI)

### Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State

This pamphlet counterposes the revolutionary politics of the International Communist League to the reformism of the Committee for a Workers International (CWI) led by the Militant Labour organization in Britain.

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English edition (32 pages):  
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Ireland/Britain £.50  
French edition (35 pages):  
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Order from/make checks payable to:  
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# Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

Some voices even taunted "Bring back Rabin!"—the architect of the Zionists' "Iron Fist" policy which has claimed more than 1,600 Palestinian lives since the heroic *Intifada* uprising began in 1987. Indeed, in terms of dead and wounded, Arafat's Gaza massacre rivals the worst of the bloody atrocities committed by Israeli troops and their fascist settler auxiliaries in their years-long effort to "pacify" the Occupied Territories.

In the aftermath, both the PLO and Hamas/Jihad have appealed for calm and suggested that the violence was provoked by "outside elements" (such as Israeli security forces). At this point and from afar, one can hardly judge such claims. Certainly the horrific bloodshed plays into the hands of hardline Zionist elements who view the "peace accord" as a sellout to the Palestinians. But in any case, *this massacre was waiting to happen* from the moment the "Gaza-Jericho" deal, brokered by Clinton and signed in Washington, was in place. As we wrote of this bogus "peace" accord last September: "It means PLO cops, armed and paid by Israel, shooting down young Palestinian rebels on behalf of the Zionist state terrorists" (WA No. 583, 10 September 1993).

The PLO leadership had already demonstrated its determination to "maintain order" on the Israelis' behalf. Following the killing of three Israeli soldiers by a Hamas suicide bomber earlier this month, Arafat's Palestinian Authority began requiring "licenses" for demonstrations and ordered the arrest of 100 fundamentalist leaders. Friday's bloodbath reportedly began when 200 Palestinian police moved on the main mosque in Gaza City during noon prayers to preempt an "unauthorized" demonstration. When angry protesters stormed police headquarters, the cops opened fire.

The International Communist League has always denounced the vicious Zionist hutchers, and defends struggle by the Pal-

estinian masses against this murderous occupation. But unlike many on the left, we have never given Arafat's bourgeois-nationalist outfit political support. The PLO now openly plays the role that Israel's puppet South Lebanese Army once played against it—mercenaries protecting the Zionist state against Palestinian militancy. At the same time, the Zionists have lost no opportunity to humiliate their PLO collaborators, blockading the Occupied Territories by sealing the Israeli border to Palestinian workers. Combined with the evaporation of billions of promised dollars in imperialist aid, the Israeli border blockade is strangling the Palestinian masses, driving them deeper into poverty and desperation.

Starved for funds, the PLO is utterly helpless even to ameliorate the hellish conditions of the Jericho and Gaza ghettos. Together with the groveling subservience of the PLO to Israeli dictates, this has allowed Hamas and Islamic Jihad to posture as the sole repositories of militant Palestinian national resistance. Yet these "militants" rarely target the Zionist state and its auxiliaries. Their preferred tactic is indefensible random terror attacks, such as the October 19 bombing of a Tel Aviv bus that left 21 innocent Israeli civilians dead. Palestinian women who defy the oppressive strictures of 7th-century Koranic law are also victimized by the Islamic fanatics. Striking at symbols of secular culture, during the Friday protests fundamentalist Muslims burned down two movie theaters in Gaza, and in Rafah they torched two cafes, a video store and the town cinema.

It is a direct consequence of the PLO's betrayal of Palestinian struggle that the sinister influence of Islamic fundamentalism is growing. It is *criminal* that the manifest dead end of PLO nationalism should now drive the cosmopolitan, historically secular Palestinian masses into the arms of such religious obscurantism, virulent anti-Semitism and anti-woman bigotry. In the interpenetrated ethnic patchwork of the Near East, national justice for the oppressed Palestinian people can and will be won only through the

joint struggle of all the toilers of the region—including the Hebrew-speaking workers—against their capitalist rulers, Zionist and Arab alike. Israel out of all the Occupied Territories! For proletarian internationalism! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

# Bosnia...

(continued from page 3)

been driven from their homes in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing." Now the deeper and more direct involvement of U.S. imperialism threatens an even greater scale of destruction. Clinton's announcement scrapping the Bosnia arms embargo, together with the Republican control of Congress, points to a more belligerent U.S. policy toward West Europe, Russia and Japan.

Eighty years ago, a German imperialist diktat in the Balkans set off the First World War. The current machinations over the Balkans are a harbinger of escalating interimperialist rivalries, whose logic points toward a nuclear third world war. While no rational person would intentionally launch a course toward nuclear war, world imperialism—tettered by the nation-state system—is *not rational*, and neither are the men who rule over us in its interest. They must be overthrown by the working people of the world under a revolutionary leadership. ■

# S.F. Strike...

(continued from page 6)

citizenship rights and bring them into the labor movement!

There are those who claim to offer a militant alternative to the labor bureaucrats. In the newspaper unions, one Fred Ferguson publishes the *Militant Printer*. During the ratification meeting of his union, he called to "Vote yes but hold your nose." And when one union militant spoke for "unconditional amnesty" and demanded that all charges be dropped,

Ferguson called him "hopeless." A few days later, Ferguson was one of those fired for "mouthing off" to a scab manager. Exactly who, then, is "hopeless"?

A supporter of the Workers World Party stood outside one of the ratification meetings, yelling, "We kicked their butts. We won." The National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) called to "Vote 'No' on Sellout Contract!" and declared that mass pickets "even one day a week would show management that WE control when the paper comes out, not them." Real mass picket lines would mean that a scab paper doesn't come out at all—and anybody who tried to cross would regret it. But that is alien to NWROC and its parent group, the Revolutionary Workers League, who have waltzed across campus workers' picket lines from Ann Arbor to Berkeley!

What the union tops hailed as a "victory" is shaping up as a rout for the newspaper unions. SFNA top dog James Hale sneers, "That's the American way." That's the *hoxses'* way. But it is the working people, the majority of this country—organized and unorganized; white, black, Latino, Asian; legal and "illegal" immigrants—who create all the wealth, while the ruling class wields state power to keep those at the bottom down and increasingly out.

For workers to win against the rule of capital requires a leadership that will champion the cause of *all* working people and *all* the oppressed. As we wrote in "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" a WV supplement that was widely distributed on the picket lines: "Every major workers' struggle becomes a political fight requiring class-struggle leadership. Labor militants must therefore link the fight to oust the die-on-your-knees union bureaucrats to building a revolutionary workers party. Such a workers party would fight for a workers government to expropriate capitalism to end once and for all the hideous social system that turns the enormous industrial wealth squeezed out of the life blood of the working class into misery, poverty and the spectre of nuclear holocaust." ■

# Debate...

(continued from page 12)

agent of the counterrevolution.

Now, Ernest Mandel, I publicly challenge you to substantiate, or as we say in our crude American way, put up or shut up! Find anything where we endorsed the Lamberisties' support to the Messali Hadj group!... Find anything where we said that socialism can be built through or after a nuclear war [laughter].... But perhaps what you mean is something else: That, of course, we did defend nuclear weapons in the hands of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states. Because if they didn't have those nuclear weapons, they would be nuked. There would be no Vietnamese Revolution, there would be no Cuban Revolution, Korea would be irradiated rubble—and anybody who doesn't think that really has enormous illusions in American imperialism.

The united front is an *action*; it is not a program, it is not a party, it is not a permanent organization, it is not a political bloc—it's an action. "Strike together and march separately."... What you guys have against us is *not* that we're not engaged in real struggle, *not* that we're not engaged in united fronts, *not* that we don't have anything to do with the labor movement. What you guys have against us is that we're *reds*, and whatever we do, we are known as *reds*!

Now, as I said before, I think that the heart of USec politics is much better expressed by Paul Le Blanc than the ohfussionist Mandel. And he said, "Well, we build a labor party." We all know that the Mensheviks and the Stalinists had a two-stage revolution for backward countries. But here we have a

two-stage revolution for an advanced capitalist country. First, we build a reformist labor party, and then we move it to the left. No.

To begin with, there's not going to be any kind of labor party in this country unless there are tumultuous class struggles—strikes, protests, an enormous radicalization. What do you think, that you can build a mass labor party in some kind of idiot linear fashion? The conditions which will allow a mass labor party will necessarily be the same conditions which will allow a revolutionary party. Where there's motion to a labor party, in a short time there will either be a revolutionary labor party or a reformist counterrevolutionary labor party....

Okay. "We have masses, influence, we have MPs in the Brazilian..." You've got nothing!... You know what you have in Brazil? You have a bunch of apparatchiks for Lula! If tomorrow Lula said, "Repudiate the Fourth International, repudiate Trotskyism, repudiate the dictatorship of the proletariat, or you're expelled," you know what would happen? Half of you would be expelled, the other half would repudiate Trotskyism, the guys who were expelled... [Mandel at this point interrupts for a period of minutes before subsiding.] The ones who will repudiate formal Trotskyism will have accused the ones who are being expelled of being ultraleft sectarians, and the ones who are expelled will accuse the other ones of being opportunists....

In the mid-1930s, a significant figure in the French Trotskyist movement split temporarily to the right. He wrote a letter to Trotsky very critical of the Trotskyist movement, and Trotsky responded: "The weightiest argument in the letter, namely, 'Why have the Bolshevik-Leninists remained weak in Germany, in France?' is nothing but an echo of the centrist

objections, 'Why were you beaten by the Stalinist bureaucracy, by the reactionary coalition in China?' For quite some time we have been explaining the reasons for these defeats, and we never promised any miracles. Our international work began only in 1929—and not on virgin territory, but on territory saturated with old and powerful organizations, and with new, confused, and often treacherous organizations that claimed adherence to our principles." Do you know who Trotsky was responding to? A man called Pierre Frank, who was an old comrade of Ernest Mandel.

Our tendency also did not begin, and

has not operated, on virgin political territories. We face powerful Stalinist, social-democratic bureaucracies, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois-nationalist movements, and most of the "Trotskyists" and "revolutionary Marxists" are treacherous opportunists, of which Ernest Mandel's tendency is a good example. Now, I genuinely believe that the tendency led by Ernest Mandel can make a contribution to the building of a revolutionary movement: Stop pretending to be Trotskyists! Stop pretending to be revolutionary Marxists! And be honest, that you are left social democrats. ■

## Spartacist

(English Edition)

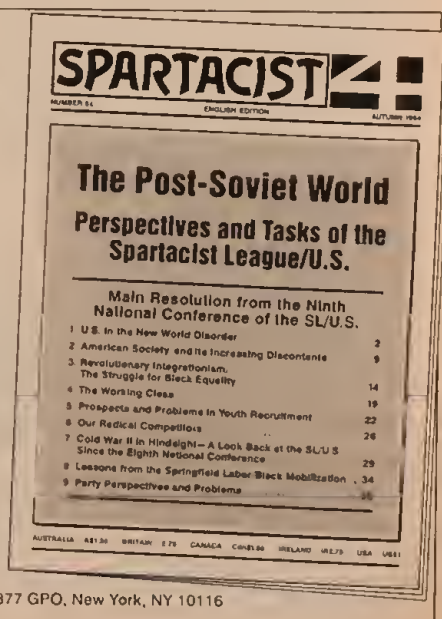
No. 51  
Autumn 1994

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(48 pages)

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# Elections...

(continued from page 1)

more and more under siege, and Latinos and Asians are targeted by the anti-immigrant hysteria. While social inequality has sharply increased, it has produced a lot of explosive social tinder at the base of society.

This was reflected in the multiracial upheaval against cop terror in Los Angeles in 1992, and the recent massive, integrated protests by students and workers against the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in California. There's also been an increased level of strike activity lately, including the nationwide Teamsters strike, Flint UAW walkout and the ongoing labor battles in central Illinois. But misleaders of blacks and the labor movement, politically beholden to the Democratic Party, are paralyzed in the face of the reactionary wave.

From Midwest union struggles to the fight against racist cop terror, the absence of fighting leadership is painfully obvious. What the black, Hispanic and working people of this country need is a class-struggle workers party defending the cause of all the oppressed in the fight to end racist capitalism through a socialist revolution.

## Republican "Contract with America"—Know-Nothing Social Reaction

Following the elections, prospective Senate Judiciary Committee leader Orrin Hatch wasted no time in denouncing as "outrageous" even the "benign neglect" policies of Clinton's civil rights division. Diehard segregationist Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms, whose reactionary credentials include his association with the fascist World Anti-Communist League, will now head two key Senate committees. With the defeat of New York Democratic governor Cuomo, the virtually certain restoration of the electric chair in New York, the last major state without capital punishment, threatens to open the sluice gates of death row even wider.

Gingrich is now pushing a "California agenda"—anti-immigrant racism. California's Prop. 187, which would deny education and health care to "illegal" immigrants, was passed overwhelmingly. Republican governor Pete Wilson's support for this racist measure was enough to win re-election, despite the Democrats' attempts to compete in immigrant-bashing, with calls for militarization of the Mexican border. While 187 is now tied up in constitutional court challenges, attendance at public health clinics has already dropped precipitously. When teachers and other state employees insisted they would refuse to become immigration cops, Wilson thundered, "they ought to be fired."

Railing about the survival of "American civilization," Gingrich invokes the New Hampshire state motto, "Live Free or Die!" to go after people on welfare. In the Republicans' reactionary "Contract with America" this translates into throwing a million and a half families off welfare, practically eliminating death sentence appeals and slashing taxes—especially for the rich—while supposedly balancing the budget. Gingrich also vows to ensure that "the Creator is once again at the center of defining being an American." Clinton, the man he vilifies as a "left-wing elitist," offers to do his "dead level best" to work with the Republicans on "welfare reform" and endorses a constitutional amendment to sanctify prayer in the public schools—a frontal assault on the Bill of Rights and the separation of church and state.

The fundamentalist Christian right has become the ideological shock troops for a broad-ranging capitalist assault on working people and minorities. A commentary in the conservative *New Republic* (31 October) noted with alarm: "This emergent post-cold war right has less to do with the Goldwater-Reagan right than

with the older American right of Father Coughlin and Gerald L.K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade," nativist fascist movements in the Depression '30s. The bourgeoisie has no need of a mass fascist movement in the U.S. today, but nativist fascism in this country—going back to the anti-immigrant Know-Nothings of a century and a half ago—certainly has a lot of ideological affinity with and feeds off of the reactionary values which permeate this "new right."

As a measure of the widespread social backwardness in America, fully 27 percent of votes in the election were cast by evangelical, or "born again," Christians. A survey in *U.S. News & World Report* (4 April) noted, "at the end of the 20th century, the wealthiest, most powerful and best educated country on Earth is still one of the most religious." Not only do 69 percent of Americans believe in angels, but 55 percent believe they intervene in daily life! (Not to mention those who think Elvis is still alive.) Throughout West Europe, only Catholic Ireland surpasses the 68 percent church membership in the U.S.; in Britain the figure is more like 15 percent.

Mainstream sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie are not particularly enamored with Gingrich and his ilk. The stock markets barely registered this month's Republican landslide, while corporate donors have thrown their money to the Democrats by a heavy margin of late. *Business Week* noted the "Republican hypocrisy" in deriding federal spending while they sink billions into farm subsidies and other pork barrels. The bourgeoisie also realizes that welfare benefits occupy a tiny portion of the federal budget, and any big cuts will have to come from "middle-class programs" such as Medicare and Social Security which will be politically much harder to slash.

## Clinton's Democrats: Enemies of Blacks, Labor

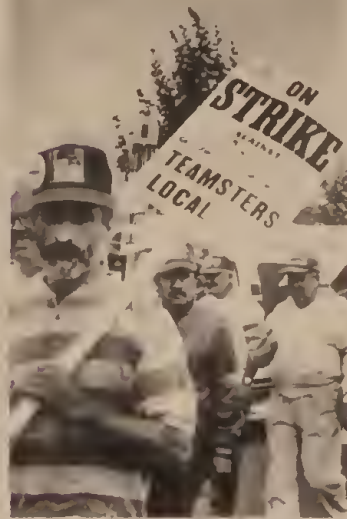
Writing in the *New York Review of Books* (17 November), liberal journalist Murray Kempton remarked: "The very best that can be said for Clinton's America is that Newt Gingrich's will likely be worse. But Clinton's America is quite bad enough and doesn't look better for next year." And if Clinton's America is bad enough for the population in general, it is hell for black people. Symptomatic is the fact that Marion Barry, who was re-elected mayor of Washington, D.C. after being framed by the feds a few years ago, is about the only black big-city mayor left in the country today. Gingrich called Barry's victory a "tragic moment for this country," and as payback to black D.C., Congress is now talking about overturning Washington's limited "home rule."

Even the *New York Times* (10 November) has had to take notice of blacks' disillusionment in the Democratic Party. A perceptive article by Isabel Wilkerson noted that "blacks appeared weary and resentful of the Democrats' recent attempts to distance themselves from black causes" and viewed the party's election defeat as a "bittersweet loss." An earlier piece in the *Times* (30 October) quoted a black iron worker: "All I hear is these Democratic candidates talking about the crime bill. But why do they talk about just building jails? Why don't they talk about building schools?"

They're not talking about it because they have no intention of doing it. The bipartisan war on working people and minorities is not simply a question of party policy, but a reflection of the dictates of capital. The poverty programs of the 1960s were a reaction to the mass upheavals of the civil rights movement and the protests against the dirty imperialist war in Indochina. They were conditioned by U.S. capitalism's need to promote itself as the leader of the "free world" against the Soviet Union. With the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the USSR, even lip service to black equality has gone out the window. As the American rulers face

increased competition in the "New World Order" from their imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan, they have shifted much industrial production to low-wage sites in Asia and Latin America (while driving up the rate of exploitation at home). As a result, there is a huge and growing army of unemployed, largely inner-city black youth, who have no prospect of ever getting a job.

The proportion of national income in the hands of the wealthiest fifth of the population has reached a new high every year since 1985, surpassing 46 percent last year. "All of the growth last year went to the top 20 percent of fami-



Teamsters in Southern California marched to protest cop attack on picket line during April 1994 strike.

lies," reported the chief economist at the Economic Policy Institute (*Business Week*, 21 November). For the squeezed "middle-class" working people, this means that the "American Dream"—particularly buying your own home—is dead and buried. For the poor, it means homelessness or jail. The U.S. prison population now tops 1.5 million—far and away the largest in the world—half of them black and Hispanic. And while Clinton wants to force single mothers off the welfare rolls and into nonexistent jobs after two years, the Republicans dispense with the fiction of "workfare" entirely. Their only argument is over whether to deny welfare to mothers under the age of 21 or 26.

Today, black people are a quarter of the Democrats' voting base—double their proportion of the population. In the last 40 years, only one Democratic presidential candidate has garnered a majority of white votes. This is the hane of Clinton's "New Democrats," who assumed they could keep black voters while pursuing a policy of "benign neglect" as an overture to racist whites. Now Clinton hopes to forge a "moderate-conservative" coalition with the Republican right. But as a *Time* (14 November) headline put it, he is apt to find himself "Alone in the Middle." Gingrich immediately put the White House on notice that there would be "no compromise," while Helms denounced Clinton as unfit to be commander in chief—tantamount to a call for impeachment. Meanwhile, stay tuned for more Whitewatergate hearings.

## For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

The Republican right's electoral success parallels similar developments in West Europe, where French rightists scored a massive victory in last year's parliamentary elections, and in Italy the right-wing Berlusconi coalition (including the heirs of Mussolini's fascists) was installed earlier this year. These forces have also pushed virulent racist chauvinism and draconian austerity measures. But only months after conservative French prime minister Balladur took office, the country was shaken by the

militant Air France strike, followed by student protests against a sub-minimum wage, and Italy has been the scene of mammoth workers' protests for months. While U.S. workers lack even the elementary political class consciousness of the West European proletariat, here too the electoral results could be challenged by social struggle.

But that will require a struggle to break workers and minorities from the "lesser evil" politics that ties them to the Democratic Party. The reformists who congenitally tail after the Democrats, having already swallowed the bourgeois lie of the "death of communism," are now even more disheartened and disoriented in the wake of the elections. Pointing to Oliver North's loss in Democratic Senator Charles Robb in Virginia, the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (21 November) ludicrously claimed "the big losers in this year's elections were the most strident rightists." In the same vein, the Communist Party, which has supported the Democrats ever since the New Deal period, headlined, "North Defeated, Dems Lose Congress" (*People's Weekly World*, 12 November).

Franklin D. Roosevelt's popular-frontist coalition of Northern liberals, segregationist Dixiecrats and the labor bureaucracy was fashioned as a response to the upsurge of militant workers' struggles in the 1930s. It represented a betrayal by the CIO union tops and the Stalinist Communist Party, who heheaded the possibility of an independent workers party and corralled the working class behind the phony "Friends of labor" Democrats. The current demise of the Democrats' New Deal coalition is directly linked to the sharp decline in trade-union power presided over by the hidebound AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Today, union members see themselves as an endangered species: even wearing a union badge in a former UAW stronghold like Caterpillar is enough to get you fired. But at the same time we have found a greater receptivity to socialist literature at picket lines around the country.

There is now likely to be more talk about an independent black party or a reformist labor party, as vehicles to pressure the Democrats. With black politicians being pushed increasingly to the back—if not off—the Democratic Party bus, there have been rumblings among mainstream politicians about a "black party." Last year, the San Francisco Labor Council passed an empty resolution for a "California Labor Party"—and then dutifully backed Democrat Kathleen Brown for governor. State AFL-CIO leader Jack Henning blustered: "We were never meant to be the lieutenants of capitalism. We were never meant to be the pall bearers of the workers of the world" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 September).

But the pro-Democratic party union tops are the labor lieutenants of capital, and they are the principal roadblock to defending the unions against the capitalist onslaught. In the present climate of virulent racism, immigrant-bashing and union-busting—which has been the norm of American capitalism—the reactionary electoral success will push bourgeois politics to the right. But among those who are most directly under attack—in the ghettos, the barrios and the unions—there will be many who seek to resist. A revolutionary workers party must be forged through intervention in the convulsive social struggles that will erupt in this country and internationally.

It is useful to recall another period of rampant social reaction, the late 1920s, when KKK lynching and union-busting was rife. At the same time, there were militant multiracial strikes led by Communists, which were harbingers of the 1930s industrial union organizing drives. Today, the raw material for explosions of militant social struggle is certainly present. What is needed is a communist vanguard to champion the cause of all the oppressed in the struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. ■



## Pseudo-Science in the Service of Racism

# The "Bell Curve" and Genocide U.S.A.

From the Egyptian pharaohs to the British monarchy to the Southern slaveholders to the German Nazis, throughout history the masters of every society of grotesque inequality have concocted ideologies to justify their rule. Today, as America sinks into an arctic chill of reaction against labor unions, immigrants, black people, and even sex, two ultraright ideologues resurrect an argument for the defense of ruling-class privilege. They want to eliminate all social programs for minorities and the poor and

### Young Spartacus

regiment the "underclass" with "democratic" police-state measures. Theories of biological determinism and the myth of the genetically superior intellect of one race or class vs. another always resurface in periods of rising reaction. Thus *The Bell Curve* by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray was an instant phenomenon; the "science" for a ruling class which promises to combat the problems of the ghettos with boot camps, prisons, capital punishment, and by gutting social services.

Authors Richard Herrnstein (who, until he dropped dead recently, was picketed for his racist views on supposed black genetic inferiority) and Charles Murray (whose crusade to end welfare has made him a darling of the Republicans) are anything but subtle in their arguments. Their 845-page tract is a pseudoscholarly version of David ("Klan in a suit") Duke-style demagoguery—a sales pitch to white America to loathe and repress black people and feel good about it. *The Bell Curve* takes the racist garbage about "dumb" workers and minorities out of the backrooms and corridors and broadcasts it from center stage as an ostensibly "legitimate" topic of public debate and public policy. Even the congenitally staid *New York Times* is so thrilled with the idea of spitting in the eye of the poor that they can't spill enough ink about *The Bell Curve* in edi-



Black student protest at Harvard University on November 4 against "America's race war" which is fueled by *The Bell Curve*.

torials, op-ed pieces and all over their Sunday book review. As Alexander Cockburn noted, "It's as though theorists of Jewish contamination of the gene pool earlier in the century were clapped on the back for their 'bravery' amid respectful shouts of relief that this 'difficult' subject had at last been addressed" (*Oakland Tribune*, 1 November).

Nearly twenty-five years ago, Daniel Patrick Moynihan was deservedly hounded for his racist pronouncements on the black family and program for "benign neglect" of the ghetto poor. Even just a decade ago, "scientists" like William Shockley who trashed welfare moms and troze his own sperm in banks for a high IQ future were denounced as racist crackpots parading prejudice as "fact." Today there is a bipartisan consensus for an all-out assault on the poor—from Clinton's electoral promise to "end welfare as we know it" to Newt Gingrich's vow to root out the last vestige of 1960s "counterculture" (a code word

for leftist protest and "race-mixing"). The bipartisan drive to dismantle social programs, schools, hospitals, jobs and welfare amounts to a policy of genocide for an entire layer of inner-city, predominantly black and Hispanic poor.

Individual differences in physical and intellectual abilities do exist. As Marxists, our aim is to fight for a society whose purpose is to maximize the potential of all its members. The expropriation of capitalism by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution struck a blow against the false division between mental and manual labor and established a material basis for equality between the many different ethnic peoples of the Soviet Union. Even after the bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the Revolution's example of a heter society for the working masses drove U.S. imperialism to seek to destroy it. Steps toward black equality were made in this country as a result of the mass struggles of the civil rights movement, and after Jim Crow segregation had

become an international embarrassment to the U.S. in its role as world policeman for "democracy." Now, with capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, the U.S. ruling class has intensified its assault on labor at home and especially the vicious rollback of black rights.

Herrnstein and Murray offer an ideological justification for this reactionary offensive. They argue to end affirmative action, curb immigration, encourage sterilization of poor women and end remedial education programs for inner-city poor children. In the U.S., with its "democratic ideology" and absence of an entrenched aristocracy, perceived inequality has long been justified with arguments for meritocracy—rule by an elite of talented achievers. But now, they see a "cognitive elite" threatened by a growing underclass of poor, allegedly dumb, darker-skinned people who necessitate social control through police-state tactics "along Latin American lines." The bankrupting of the American economy through corporate greed, decades of union-busting and a turn from social welfare to social Darwinism has created not a "bell curve," but a "U" curve with the "haves" at one end, the "have nots" at the other, and little in the middle. So, it's time for a "new" ideology and *The Bell Curve* is it.

### A Sampling of Bell Curve "Scholarship"

- *On welfare:* "Going on welfare really is a dumb idea, and that is why women who are low in cognitive ability end up there."
- *On wealth:* "People in different jobs have different average IQs. Lawyers, for example, have higher IQs on the average than bus drivers. Whatever the reason for the link between IQ and occupation, it goes deep.... Since intelligence runs in families and intelligence predicts status, status must run in families."
- *On poverty:* "The people who are left behind [in poverty] are likely to be disproportionately those who suffer not only bad luck but also a lack of energy, thrift, farsightedness, determination—and brains."

In summary, and for a society ready to definitively eradicate the meager remains of the liberals' "war on poverty" with an aggressive ultrarightist "war on the poor," Herrnstein and Murray argue that "inequality of endowments, including intelligence, is a reality.... Trying to eradicate inequality with artificially manufactured outcomes has led to disaster. It is time for America—once again to try living with inequality."

While Herrnstein and Murray argue that genetics legitimizes inequality and repression of poor whites (referred to as "white trash" by Murray), it's the black population, which is systematically discriminated against in this society, that is really caught in the cross hairs of this call for a blitzkrieg against the

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*The Bell Curve* has spurred a media campaign legitimizing "debate" of racist myth that blacks are genetically inferior.