



Keating/Newsday



Chauvel/Sygma

New imperialist chief Clinton celebrates at inaugural ball. Desperate Haitian refugees risk their lives in small boats seeking to escape terror and starvation.

Clinton Dances As Haitians Drown, Iraqis Die

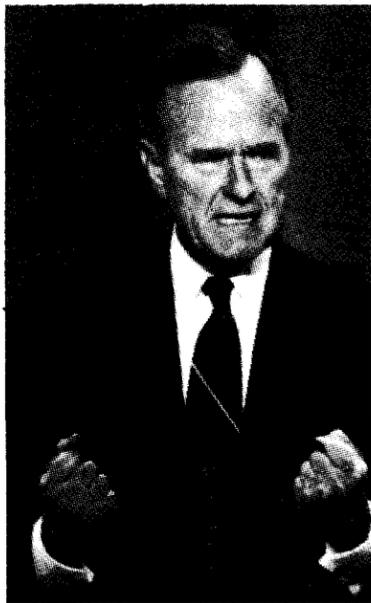
While president-elect Bill Clinton and his yuppie clique were carousing under pre-inaugural fireworks displays in Washington, George Bush lit up the skies over Baghdad with his own counter-inaugural, raining death down on the Iraqi people. It was "the mother of all unfinished business," quipped one newspaper cartoon, as the Republican sore loser with state power ordered three bombing raids against Iraq in his last week in office. A bogus Iraq "crisis" was manufactured to lend plausible implausibility for what everybody knew was Bush lashing out at the Iraqi strongman for outlasting him. In the streets of Baghdad, demonstrating schoolgirls taunted, "Bush is gone but Saddam remains."

But Clinton had no qualms about picking up where Bush left off, as American fighter planes blasted Iraqi facilities three times in as many days after he took office. Speaking amid the grotesque splendor of a \$30 million inauguration rite, Clinton's thankfully brief incoming address was an uninterrupted exhortation for "sacrifice"—to working people and minorities already reeling from two decades of plummeting living standards. Desperate Haitians had their illusions of imminent salvation crushed even before the new president was sworn in—Clinton not only continued Bush's racist exclusion of Haitian refugees, but ordered a naval blockade of the island country to keep them imprisoned in their police-state hellhole.

Bush: The Mother of All Sore Losers

If Nixon used the IRS and *gusano* Watergate "plumbers" to go after his "enemies list," one-time CIA chief Bush relied on more formidable means, seizing his last chance to "bloody the nose" of Saddam Hussein—and anybody else who'd crossed him. But despite Penta-

Mad Bomber Bush's Parting Shot



Reuters



Khaiber/Reuters

Sore loser Bush bombs Iraq. Grieving woman holds photo of her sister, killed in Al Rashid Hotel by U.S. missile.

gon claims of a "pinpoint strike" in the first attack on January 13, over a hundred jets armed with high-tech "smart bombs" hit only one of four missile batteries targeted. They did succeed in killing 19 people and bombing a residential area in the southern province of Basra.

A second attack four days later did achieve a "pinpoint strike," as a Tomahawk cruise missile exploded right at the entrance of Baghdad's Al Rashid Hotel (which happened to be hosting an Islamic conference at the time), killing two women, and bloodying a German journalist. The nominal target—eight miles away—was also destroyed, another of those supposedly ubiquitous Iraqi nuclear facilities (this one turned out to be a tool and die factory, which,

like all the others, had been visited umpteen times by United Nations "inspectors"). Pentagon flacks first claimed the hotel had been hit by Iraqi anti-aircraft fire, then allowed that some of the missiles might have passed near the hotel, and finally admitted that all 45 of the low-flying cruise missiles had been programmed to fly over the city.

So now the bombing of the hotel is deemed an "accident." We remember a similar "accident" two years ago, when laser-guided "smart bombs" pierced the roof of Baghdad's Amiriya air raid shelter with surgical precision, incinerating hundreds of sleeping women and children. We also recall how the Pentagon threatened to target the Al Rashid at the time, labeling it a secret military com-

munications center. The hotel has been on Bush's hit list ever since it served as the base for journalists like CNN's Peter Arnett, whose factual reports about American atrocities like Amiriya or the bombing of a baby formula factory during the Gulf slaughter exposed Pentagon lies, and earned him wrathful denunciations as a "dupe of Saddam Hussein."

White House spokesmen conceded that it was "unique" for a lame duck president to be bombing other countries days before leaving the Oval Office. Then again, Bush never did seem too reconciled to last November's "popular mandate." All Republican appointees were ordered to quit before Clinton was sworn in—leaving key government positions vacant—and those who hesitated were denounced by Bush aide Kevin Moley as "disloyal" and "traitorous." Explaining the White House action, Moley railed, "That's what the American people voted for Nov. 3. Now the consequences will come home to roost" (*New York Times*, 16 January). Indeed, when former secretary of state James Baker gloated in self-congratulation about a "peaceful" transition of power after Clinton's inauguration, it made you wonder just what else the Bush/Quayle team might have been thinking about.

The outgoing administration openly defied two court orders against erasing White House computer files. They finally promised to hand over copies of everything they erased, but who would notice if, in the end, they copied only 98.2 percent of the files—or perhaps 92.8 percent? Bush also handed over a personal diary of the Iran/contra scandal kept hidden from investigators for five years. Predictably, the diary as released, was hardly competition for *True Confessions*. But where the *Washington Post* (16 January) reported, "Diary Says Bush Had 'Details' of Iran Arms Deal," the ever "responsible" *New York Times* ran a cover-up of the cover-up, headlining, "Entries Suggest He Did Not Know Details of Scandal." Before exiting, Bush freely dispensed presidential pardons to

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Clinton...

(continued from page 1)

Caspar Weinberger and five others who faced Contragate criminal charges. The question, asked Daniel Schorr in the *New York Times* (29 December 1992), was "Will Bush Pardon Himself?"

If Bush didn't, it was only because he could be damn sure the Democrats had no intention of going after him. Leading Congressional Democrats endorsed the Weinberger pardon, and a House panel investigating the "October Surprise" issued a whitewash report exonerating Reagan/Bush of charges that they stole the 1980 elections by cutting a deal with Khomeini to delay the release of American hostages until after Reagan came to power. The hostages were released as Reagan took the oath of office, and arms shipments started flowing to Iran via Israel. But Democrat Lee Hamilton intoned there was "no credible evidence."

Election Promises Are Made to Be Broken

The Democrats never went after Reagan/Bush, because they fully share the ambition of imposing a "New World Order" of U.S. imperialist hegemony around the world. Clinton's new war secretary Les Aspin is a diehard Democratic hawk who counsels *more* military adventures as a way to ward off pressure to cut the defense budget: "It may be that to maintain a military for the extreme contingencies, it will be necessary to show that it is useful in lesser contingencies" (*Financial Times* [London],

7 January). Secretary of State Warren Christopher presided over army spying on left and antiwar groups when he served under Lyndon Johnson during the Vietnam War. New CIA chief Jim Woolsey is "the Republicans' favorite Democrat" (*New York Times*, 11 January), while Zoë Baird, Clinton's nominee for top cop who was shot down for hiring undocumented workers, was hailed by the *Wall Street Journal* (13 January) as "An Attorney General Quayle Could Love."

The Clinton team came in vowing to keep the death row assembly line running at full speed and to slash "entitlement" programs like Medicaid and Medicare. And aside from his lukewarm support to liberalizing Bush's draconian anti-abortion policies, Clinton pulled back on most of his other campaign promises even before taking office. The middle-class tax cut and promised investment in public works and infrastructure were zapped. The "commitment" to issue an immediate executive order banning discrimination against homosexuals in the armed forces has turned into an evanescent rumor of undefined action at an indefinite time. Meanwhile, the scale of officially sanctioned bigotry in the military was indicated by the killing of gay sailor Allen Schindler, who was found bludgeoned to death after reportedly being subjected to continual harassment aboard his ship based in Japan.

Desperate Haitians Face Racist Blockade

But what has met with the greatest outrage is Clinton's 180-degree turn-

around on admitting Haitian refugees. Denouncing Bush's policy as "inhuman" and "appalling" during the campaign, Clinton promised that even those Haitians who were not deemed "political refugees" would be given "temporary asylum" until deposed president Jean-Bertrand Aristide was restored to power. When it became clear that upwards of 150,000 Haitians were preparing a desperate exodus in time for the inauguration, Clinton began furiously backpedaling, asserting that Bush's racist interdiction policy had to be maintained "for the time being" to assure a "smooth transition." Then he went Bush one further, mounting a full-scale Coast Guard blockade, "Operation Able Manner," of Haiti's northern coast and the Windward Passage.

For all of Clinton's "humanitarian" rhetoric, this brazenly racist act has nothing to do with saving Haitian lives. Over 40,000 Haitians have fled since Aristide's overthrow in 1991, and they will continue to seek refuge from abject poverty and the terror of the military regime. Last December 21, 392 people drowned when the 70-foot *Vierge Miracle* sank off the Bahamas (a Cuban ship rescued the handful of survivors). Hundreds of HIV-positive Haitians—who have qualified as political refugees—remain imprisoned in dangerously unsanitary conditions on the U.S. Guantánamo base in Cuba. Those who do make it to the U.S. are thrown into dungeons like Miami's notorious Krome Avenue Detention Center, where Haitians are imprisoned, many for more than a year. Yet when a Cuban pilot hijacked a plane loaded with 47 (white) passengers on December 29 and landed in Miami, they spent all of one night at Krome and were released without charges. Infuriated, the Haitian prisoners started a hunger strike demanding asylum, which was suppressed by prison guards.

Haitian-born basketball star Olden Polynice pointedly asked: "A Cuban guy hijacked a plane, and he's a hero.... How about the people who risk their lives on 50-foot boats?" The U.S. ruling class couldn't care less about black people ground down by a brutal military dictatorship, despite Aristide's fulsome support for Clinton. And no less than the Republicans, the Democrats are dead set on strangling the Cuban deformed workers state. Clinton strongly backed last October's Democrat-sponsored "Cuban Democracy Act," aimed at tightening the economic embargo around Castro's Cuba. But the Cuban people are prepared to fight to the death to resist U.S.-inspired counterrevolution. Defend

Cuba! Down with the racist blockade of Haiti!

Fight for a Workers Party!

While Clinton has gone out of his way to snub labor and minorities, the fake-left is gaga over the Democrats, seeking to be the new administration's "socialist" conscience. A pacifist rally in Washington against the bombing of Iraq on January 13 pleaded outside Democratic Party headquarters: "Bill, Gore—Stop the War!" The rad-lib *Nation* (1 February) carried a front-page "Memos to Bill," which begged him to listen to "some different voices" than "hordes of policy wonks, bureaucrats, office seekers, pundits, economists, corporate lobbyists," etc.—as though Clinton were a well-meaning innocent being misled by his advisers! The social-democratic *In These Times* enthused in a January 11 article, "It's been a long time since anyone in power spoke our language."

Gus Hall's Communist Party longingly harked back to the heady popular-front days of Roosevelt's "New Deal," advising that "With enough 'street heat' Clinton can be forced down the path taken by FDR" (*People's Weekly World*, 9 January)—does Gus want to declare World War II again? Meanwhile the CP's more overtly social-democratic splitoff, the Committees of Correspondence, hailed "a milestone defeat for the right wing" (*Corresponder*, January 1993). Right in there with the pack was veteran Stalinoid Sam Marcy, whose Movement for a Peoples Assembly solemnly advised Clinton that he "has the power" to issue an executive order "that this country's corporations stop laying off and start rehiring." Sure, and while he's at it, he might as well raise the red flag over the White House!

Twelve years of Reaganism and bourgeois hoopla over the "death of Communism" have driven the fake-left to such desperation and disorientation that even an outspoken advocate of the racist death penalty and untrammeled imperialist aggrandizement like Clinton looks good to them as a "lesser evil." Bush may have tried to rain on Clinton's parade, but politically this really is a "smooth transition." *Capitalist politics is a shell game*, and never more so than today when, as Gore Vidal put it, there's one "property party" with two right wings. Only when a fighting workers movement, leading the class-conscious proletariat along with the black and Hispanic poor, seizes power from the capitalist rulers will there be a prospect of salvation from oppression and poverty. Break with the Democrats—Fight for a workers party! ■



TROTSKY

The Haitian Revolution and the Struggle for Black Freedom

The Haitian people today live under a neocolonial regime of dire poverty and terror. But at one time Haiti was a beacon of liberation to black slaves in the U.S. The Haitian Revolution of 1791-1804 led by Toussaint L'Ouverture created the first black republic and had a profound impact on the struggle for emancipation. On the occasion of Black History Month, we present these remarks by the great American abolitionist Frederick



LENIN

Douglass from a January 1893 speech. Appointed U.S. emissary to Santo Domingo in 1889, Douglass resigned in protest after two years, exposing and denouncing America's colonialist actions.

From the beginning of our century until now, Haiti and its inhabitants, under one aspect or another, have, for various reasons, been very much in the thoughts of the American people. While slavery existed amongst us, her example was a sharp thorn in our side and a source of alarm and terror. She came into the sisterhood of nations through blood....

We should not forget that the freedom you and I enjoy to-day; that the freedom that eight hundred thousand colored people enjoy in the British West Indies; the freedom that has come to the colored race the world over, is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti ninety years ago. When they struck for freedom, they builded better than they knew. Their swords were not drawn and could not be drawn simply for themselves alone. They were linked and interlinked with their race, and striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world....

Until Haiti struck for freedom, the conscience of the Christian world slept profoundly over slavery. It was scarcely troubled even by a dream of this crime against justice and liberty. The Negro was in its estimation a sheep-like creature, having no rights which white men were bound to respect, a docile animal, a kind of ass, capable of bearing burdens, and receiving stripes from a white master without resentment, and without resistance. The mission of Haiti was to dispel this degradation and dangerous delusion, and to give to the world a new and true revelation of the black man's character. This mission she has performed and performed it well.

—Frederick Douglass, "Lecture on Haiti" (January 1893)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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29 January 1993

Yuppie Baird Sets Up Former Servants for Deportation

Perhaps best personifying the yuppie arrogance of the New Age Clinton gang was his failed nominee for attorney general, Zoë Baird, a high-flying insurance executive whose posh New Haven neighborhood recently excluded a foster home for black and Hispanic disabled children. Baird withdrew her nomination when revelations that she had hired two foreign-born undocumented workers as chauffeur and babysitter provoked a scandal. The bourgeois media anxiously fretted over whether the incident would affect her \$507,000-a-year job at Aetna Life and Casualty (it won't), and she had to shell out a trifling (for her) \$14,900 in fines and back taxes. But the real victims of this Clinton "transition" fiasco are Victor and Lillian Cordero, the Peruvian couple who worked for her for wages of \$1,000 a month. Now the INS says the Corderos face possible deportation proceedings—when all they've

done is usefully work for various families—unless they "voluntarily" leave the country.

Fostering racist protectionism, the bourgeois media calls undocumented workers like the Corderos "illegal aliens," as if they were some kind of criminals. Caught in the spotlight by Baird's ambition to be top cop, the Corderos have already had their lives grievously disrupted. Just before the nomination, Baird fired Lillian Cordero after more than two years on the job, hoping (vainly) to head off embarrassing questions. And Cordero's estranged husband Victor was forced to leave his present employer last week after journalists tracked him down; he left a note saying that he was returning to Peru.

Whatever the idiosyncrasies of the bourgeoisie's inherently racist immigration laws, the Corderos made it to the U.S. and they should be allowed to stay! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!

Big Al and the Feds

Brooklyn, NY
10 December 1992

Dear Comrades,

Your review of *Malcolm X* echoed my own thoughts as I left the theatre.

However, I object [to] your characterization of Al Sharpton as a "fat fink." Sharpton's bulk is not the issue. At best, this epithet insults all people of obesity.

You have alluded a number of times to Sharpton's role as a stooge for the FBI, assuming that it is common knowledge. It isn't. You might reach more of Sharpton's growing following—he finished third in the Democratic senatorial primary—by reiterating the details.

Might I also suggest that you address Sharpton's relationship to the New Alliance Party, as well as do an analysis of the latter, whose social-dem politics have had appeal for many would-be Marxists. A debate between the Spartacists and Lenora Fulani/Fred Newman would be enlightening. Branding Sharpton a fink and NAP a cult—as you have done in the past—with no explanation, simply echoes the rad-lib press.

Comradely greetings,
Jerry E.

WV replies: True enough, finks come in all shapes and sizes...and Al Sharpton

is one of the biggest. Sharpton finked for the feds when the NYPD red squad was reborn under the racist Koch administration as Police Commissioner Ward's "black desk" for the systematic surveillance and harassment of black activists in New York City.

As a service for the FBI, Sharpton carried a concealed microphone, escorted "wired" agents to meetings, and had an FBI tap installed on his phone to record conversations with other prominent blacks. Sharpton has never denied his service to the FBI, the government agency responsible for the COINTELPRO frame-ups and murders of leftists, especially the Black Panther Party. These outrageous and undisputed facts were exposed in a January 1988 bombshell in *Newsday*.

Sharpton has also been named as a contract agent for the CIA, involved in destabilizing the Manley regime in Jamaica. Sharpton also gave his services to the dubious Roy Innis, a recruiter for the racist South African army's UNITA forces in Angola. In 1986, while stumping for Senator Alfonse D'Amato, a man who called black people "animals," Sharpton launched a campaign against Arab shopkeepers as part of the racist "war on drugs."

As to the New Alliance Party, we see



Finks come in all shapes and sizes.

no purpose that would be served by a debate with this political aberration. Despite occasional left-liberal posturing, the NAP has no political principles. Founder/leader/shrink Fred Newman runs the NAP as a front for his psychobabble "therapy" cult. What the New Alliance Party and Al Sharpton have in common is that they are both *always* on the prowl for a hustle—any anti-working-class scam that gains them cold cash or hot limelight will do.

Drawn together over the dubious Tawana Brawley case, they used and promoted each other. While fawning over "Hitler was a great man" Farrakhan, the NAP "recruited" Sharpton and gave him a column in their paper. Now that Sharpton has gone "respectable" and his appetites have grown bigger than the Newman/Fulani cult, relations seem to have cooled. Today the NAP and Sharpton are rivals in the filthy back alleys of Democratic Party politics.

Describing themselves as the "spare tire" to Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, Lenora Fulani's supporters rallied outside the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta in 1984 and gave their platform over to stooges for Frank Lorenzo's union-busting campaign at Continental airlines. In 1990, while also running in Democratic Party primaries, Fulani and the NAP sued the Socialist Workers Party over their ballot placement (the NAP lost) and used the capitalist state to knock independent black candidates off the ballot.

Fighting dirty against other leftists is nothing new for the NAP. They fused with the mad Lyndon LaRouchites before LaRouche's "Operation Mop Up"—a campaign of physical violence against members of the Communist Party—and never disavowed that gangsterism. As we've said before, "with the New Alliance Party, hold on to your wallet, and watch your back."

A Dual Union for Drywaleros?

Nashville, Tennessee
12/12/92

To the Editor:

Your recent article [WV No. 565, 11 December 1992] on the settlement of the drywallers' strike in Southern California examines the role of the AFL-CIO craft union misleaders in the strike. In partially subverting the strike, these labor bureaucrats acted pretty much true to form.

You also point out that this area, as well as the construction industry in this area, is one in which the union movement is weak. Correspondingly, it is an area and an industry where the Latino proletariat is at once concentrated and militant.

In an abstract sense, the presence (or absence) of all the foregoing elements raises the question of a call for a "dual union" in this industry and area:

I would greatly appreciate any effort by you to address and to clarify this question.

Comradely greetings,
Bill Francis

WV replies: The six-month-long strike by Southern California drywall workers



Striking San Diego drywallers protest police repression at rally on January 23.

was noteworthy for the militancy of the Latino strikers, whose roving pickets and courage in the face of Orange County sheriffs, *la migra* immigration cops and the LAPD was an example for all labor. They refused to play by the bosses' rules.

But the cynical AFL-CIO bureaucrats made a virtue out of their own sabotage of solidarity *action* in defense of the drywallers, cynically claiming the strikers were better off "organizing alone."

To call for a "dual union" here would

play into the hands of the craft union tops. It would make it easier for the piecemeal to isolate the combative drywallers, not only from the rest of the Carpenters and building trades unionists, but from the combative sections of the heavily minority proletariat of Los Angeles as well. And the rest of L.A. labor could learn from some of the *drywaleros'* hardball tactics.

In the early years of this century, the revolutionaries of the Industrial Workers of the World—the Wobblies—were able, with small numbers, to lead some key battles which taught a generation of labor militants some of the lessons which paved the way for the mass struggles that forged the industrial unions of the CIO. But the Wobblies' refusal on principle to work within the larger AFL unions because they were dominated by a pro-capitalist bureaucracy, and the IWW's rejection of the necessary political struggle to construct a revolutionary workers party, made them, in James Cannon's words, "neither a union nor a party...but something of both, with some parts missing. It was an uncompleted anticipation of a Bolshevik party, lacking its rounded-out theory, and a projection of the revolutionary industrial unions of the future, minus the necessary mass membership" ("The I.W.W.—The Great Anticipation").

More on Gould's Mismeasure of Marx

11 December 1992

Dear comrades:

I really liked the article in answer to Stephen J. Gould ("Punctured Equilibrium: Stephen Jay Gould and the Mismeasure of Marx," WV No. 563, 13 November 1992). I have always been struck by the extent to which scientists of rather good calibre seem to be quite capable at one and the same time of determinedly refusing any *deus ex machina* in their own understanding of particular physical or biological questions, while at the same time being active

religious men of whatever particular faith. In contrast, Gould always seemed particularly aware of his surroundings and quite conscious of applying strict scientific standards and scholarship, not just to the snails of his immediate professional interest but to matters of everyday life, witness his wonderful contributions on the flight dynamics of baseballs and on the sociology of the game.

It was therefore particularly disappointing to see his essay in *Natural History* (October 1992). Gould now seems bent to apply "modern views of

punctuational change"—whose lineage is directly traceable to the study of natural selection and speciation—to "the vagaries of human history." Gould should know better, in fact *Gould used to know better* than this. In the essay "Shades of Lamarck" (reprinted in *The Panda's Thumb* [1982]), Gould makes a very powerful argument for the role of directedness as opposed to randomness in human cultural evolution.

As Gould explains it the difference between human cultural evolution and natural evolution is also the crucial difference between Darwinism and Lamarckism, two alternative mechanisms for the appearance of adaptations within a homogeneous population.

Darwin's contribution, and his great insight, was a mechanism based on two steps: first, the appearance within a homogeneous population of "random"

variation—"random" in the sense of undirected or unbiased towards adaptive solutions to a changing environment; second, natural selection of those with greater reproductive success for a given environment from this substratum of pre-existing variants.

J.B. Lamarck, French biologist and early evolutionist, believed that in evolution nature climbs a ladder of complexity motivated by a "force" which operates through the creative response of organisms to their "felt needs." Lamarck's mechanism, later bastardized by reduction to the passive "inheritance of acquired characteristics," proposed a direct adaptation to the changing environment: an organism perceives changes, responds in the "right" way and passes the information directly to its offspring. As Gould notes: "this is the essential difference

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Young Spartacus

NYC Curriculum Battle Flashpoint for Anti-Gay Bigotry

"Children of the Rainbow," a multicultural public school curriculum, is the focus of a white-hot anti-gay backlash in New York City. The curriculum, championed by NYC schools chancellor Joseph Fernandez, aims to instill respect for different races, nationalities and ethnic groups. It also aims to promote awareness and sensitivity about families headed by adults of the same sex—suggested readings for kids include *Heather Has Two Mommies* and *Daddy's Roommate*—and tolerance of gays and lesbians generally. School district meetings in Queens have combusted in shrieks of "faggot" and "lezzie." In Brooklyn's Sunset Park neighborhood, posters appeared stating, "If you want to wipe out AIDS, wipe out the gays," and parents marched on their school board to force the removal of references to homosexuality from the curriculum.

The opening shots of this anti-gay witchhunt were fired in November by District 24 school board member Ninfa Segarra and school board president Mary Cummins, who formed the "Family Defense Council" to mobilize parents against gays. Big guns and big money back these big-mouthed bigots. Organizing from the pulpit of St. Patrick's Cathedral, the reactionary Cardinal John O'Connor praised Segarra's "courage." The Family Defense Council receives "materials and logistical support" from ultraright televangelist Pat Robertson's "Christian Coalition." Pat Robertson's unholy bigots plan to help finance and organize elections for anti-gay candidates in all 32 city public school districts this May.

This battle also intersects city politics, in that key opponents of the Rainbow Curriculum are supporters of Rudolph Giuliani, the mayoral candidate for the racist "law and order" backlash. Meanwhile, Mayor Dinkins' close ally Carl McCall, president of the NYC Board of Education, attacked Fernandez for introducing the curriculum in grade schools. Dinkins is backing way off out of fear of losing black and Hispanic votes in the '93 elections.

Though the drive against the curriculum has been spearheaded by an all-white Queens school board (many of whom send their children to parochial schools!), many black and Hispanic parents have been suckered by the bigots' campaign. Cummins rails: "I will not demean our legitimate minorities, such as blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, by lumping them together with homosexuals in that curriculum" (*Village Voice*, 22 December 1992). Using the Big Lie tactic that met with success in Colorado, where an anti-gay rights amendment to that state's constitution passed last November, New York's anti-gay bigots appeal to the economic resentments of struggling working-class and minority families by portraying gays as a privileged elite who already wield too much power. Akin to the anti-Semitic portrayal of Jews as "privileged" moneylenders, this poison leads to pogroms—and violent gay-bashing has dramatically increased in New York.

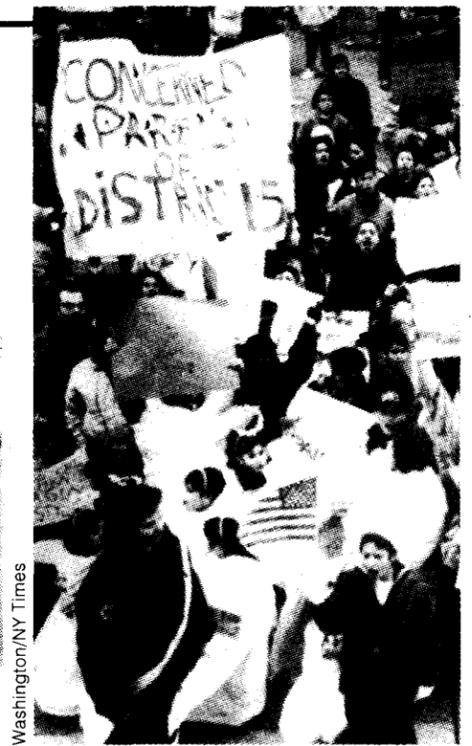
Schools chancellor Fernandez has refused to back down in the face of the bible thumpers. He suspended the anti-gay Queens District 24 school board, but



October rally (left) in support of multicultural curriculum. Anti-gay bigots in Brooklyn District 15 (right).



HEATHER HAS TWO MOMMIES



was overruled by the citywide Board of Education, which is seeking to compromise. Meanwhile, only eight of the city's school districts have approved the Rainbow Curriculum as proposed; many have postponed references to gays until the fifth or sixth grade. And surveys show that very few teachers are using this optional curriculum. Yet, according to a just-released poll, 94 percent of New Yorkers polled favor AIDS education in public schools, 65 percent support the distribution of condoms in schools (another focus of right-wing opposition to Fernandez), and 72 percent favor teaching about gay and lesbian families.

One needn't agree with the liberal premises of the curriculum's proponents to understand the need to defend it against the bigots' assault. In this society

the supposedly "natural" gender roles are drilled into children relentlessly. Those who don't conform are made to feel like outcasts, fearing rejection and violence. Gays and lesbians who grow up in working-class, black and Hispanic communities often have the hardest time of all. A 1989 federal study found that 30 percent of teenage suicides are lesbian or gay youth. And outrageously, the Department of Human Services refused to officially release this report because it was deemed an affront to "family values." Certainly this curriculum is an attempt to address a real need.

But liberal attempts to use public education to eliminate bigotry against homosexuals, or racism, or sexism, are based on the fallacy that these evils are caused by mere ignorance. In fact, it is not ignorance that causes gay-bashing,

but hatreds fueled by economic insecurity and manipulated by reactionaries in targeting scapegoats. Liberal politicians who preach "tolerance" while imposing budget cuts and austerity in the interests of the capitalist class (like Dinkins and Fernandez) are part of the problem, not the solution, no matter how personally sincere their "pro-gay" views.

Socialists see the fight for gay rights as part of the class struggle. We not only demand full democratic rights for homosexuals, we put forward a broad social program that addresses the needs of all the oppressed: for jobs, education and housing; for an end to material want through a planned economy. A revolutionary perspective for a socialist future of equality and abundance is key to defeating the anti-gay witchhunters who prey on insecurity. ■

Berkeley, Columbia Protests Against Imperialist Attack on Iraq

"U.S. Hands Off the World!"

Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) members opened the new semester at UC Berkeley and Columbia University with protests against the terror bombing of Iraq and racist neocolonial intervention in Somalia. At Columbia on January 21 student protesters chanted, "U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! U.S. Out of Africa!"...while a few "Democratic Socialists" who stumped for new imperialist commander in chief Clinton sheepishly cowered at a lit table. An SYC spokesman nailed the Democrats as a "party of war, from the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the colonial war which slaughtered two million Vietnamese, to the Bay of Pigs!"

The next day, the Berkeley SYC held a lively rally on Sproul Plaza. Recalling that the beating of Rodney King occurred just days after the Gulf slaughter over two years ago, SYC member Karen Lawrence said, "This is the domestic side of Bush and Clinton's New World Order...gunning down blacks in the streets all over the country, just as they rain bombs down in Iraq in order to establish themselves as cops of the world."

Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■



Spartacus Youth Club rally at Columbia University, January 21.

No Reprisals Against Audubon Ballroom Protesters

Columbia University: Hands Off Harlem!

Student protest erupted at Columbia University last month over the university's plan to build a biotechnology lab on the site of Harlem's Audubon Ballroom, where Malcolm X frequently spoke and where he was assassinated. On December 14, an integrated group of 150 students chanting "Malcolm X!" seized and occupied Hamilton Hall, which houses the office of the dean of students. Spartacus Youth Club supporters participated in this sit-in. Now, using police videotapes, the arrogant and vindictive university administration has fingered black and leftist protesters and threatens star chamber "hearings" that could result in suspensions and expulsions. We demand: *Drop the charges! No reprisals against the Audubon Ballroom protesters!*

Up on a hill, behind iron gates, Columbia University has always been a privileged bastion of racism and an arrogant bully of neighboring black Harlem. In 1968, the militant student revolt at Columbia was sparked by the university's refusal to allow the black community access to a gymnasium Columbia planned to build in Morningside Park. Columbia continues this tradition to this day as slumlord of Morningside Heights, routinely evicting black and Hispanic tenants. A black high school honors student, Edmund Perry, was gunned down outside Columbia's gates in 1985 by a New York City cop patrolling the "border"—effectively a color line—between Columbia University and Harlem.

The "Barnard/Columbia Save the Audubon Coalition" is dominated by leaders of the Black Student Organization, with the fake-socialist International Socialist Organization (ISO) playing the role of cringing water boys. When police surrounded the dean's office during the occupation of Hamilton Hall, the ISO hilariously waffled between spouting "anti-pig" rhetoric, and repeatedly calling for (and losing) votes to end the occupation so as not to "alienate" right-wing students who were trying to bust

into the occupied building to get to classes! Meanwhile, Dean of Students Jack Greenberg, a liberal who litigated the landmark 1954 *Brown* desegregation case, today relishes his role as "Big

Brother" at Columbia. Refusing the students' demand for amnesty, Greenberg pompously lectured that Martin Luther King taught him that "protesters should always accept their punishment." (Right,

Jack, that's why *we honor Malcolm X* and reject all that "turn the other cheek" crap!)

In a meeting the next day, Coalition leader Peter Wilson turned on the ISO with gross redbaiting and threats "to kick them out personally." The ISO, which has a history of submerging themselves in liberal feminist (e.g., WAC) and pacifist coalitions—only to end up the butt of anti-communist exclusions—predictably sat on their hands. In contrast, Spartacus Youth Club members denounced this junior McCarthyism, and openly fought to win students to a socialist perspective. We think a worthwhile monument to Malcolm X would be a fighting youth movement for black equality. Wilson threatened to throw us out too, but was forced to back down.

The Audubon has stood abandoned and decaying for 20 years, more a symbol of urban blight than the legacy of Malcolm X or the Puerto Rican *independentistas* who spoke there in its heyday. Still, the protests have forced the university to pledge that they will incorporate some memorial to Malcolm X and open a public health clinic on the site. The value of this promise remains to be seen, coming from the racist slumlord Columbia administration.

The racist hell Malcolm X so eloquently denounced will not be eliminated without uprooting the capitalist system. Today, blacks in Harlem and Dominicans in Washington Heights face rampant cop terror, like the police execution of José García last year, and prison-like educational facilities, while conditions of mass unemployment and nonexistent health care have caused diseases of poverty like tuberculosis to reach epidemic proportions. Anti-racist students need to link up with the power of the working class in a fight for socialist revolution. Capitalist Columbia should be nationalized and put under student/campus worker/faculty control, with open admissions and free tuition! *No reprisals against the Audubon Ballroom protesters!* ■



Demonstrators honor Malcolm X at February 1990 protest to save Audubon Ballroom (above). Protests against Columbia's plans to build a gym in Morningside Park (below) fueled 1968 student strike.

Peter Essick

Liberation News Service



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Black History and the Class Struggle

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

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For more information: (212) 267-1025

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Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
Douglas Fir Room,
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UC Berkeley
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Imperialist America's "New World Order" Starves Africa

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Chair: Mary Vaughn, Spartacist League
For more information: (312) 663-0715

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U.S. Bloody Hands Off the World!

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Speaker: Cindy Nicholas, Spartacus Youth Club, Spartacist League
Thursday, February 4, 12 Noon
Student Union, Room B112
San Francisco State University

For more information: (415) 777-9367

SAN FRANCISCO

The following article is adapted from Spartakist No. 100 (January 1993), published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League. On January 12, a constitutional court in Berlin ordered the charges dropped against the cancer-stricken 80-year-old Honecker, on the grounds that a continuation of the trial would constitute a violation of "human dignity." Honecker is now in Chile with his family. The show trial of Honecker's codefendants is continuing. We demand their immediate release!

PART ONE OF TWO

It was billed as "the trial of the century," or at least the most spectacular one in Germany since the Nuremberg Trials of former Nazi leaders in the late 1940s. Only this time Communism would be put on trial and declared a criminal system. Instead, it has turned into a spectacle of victor's justice, meted out by the masters of reunited Germany; of capitalist class justice, against the leaders of the former East German deformed workers state; of revenge justice of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, still smarting over the defeat of the Third at the hands of the Soviet Red Army in 1945. And, as predicted even by the accomplished witchhunters of *Der Spiegel*, it has turned into a "judicial farce."

The long-awaited trial was supposed to serve as a morality play, as a "reckoning" with the DDR and a "reappraisal" and "overcoming" of its history. In the dock, as the proceedings opened on November 12, were five leaders of the former German Democratic Republic (DDR), led off by Erich Honecker, former chairman of the DDR Council of State, the National Defense Council and the Socialist Unity Party (SED); Erich Mielke, former minister of state security; and Heinz Kessler, former minister of defense. The bigwigs were hauled into court in order to open the way for going after all "the little Erichs." Just to make sure, already half a dozen DDR border guards have been sentenced to lengthy prison terms for supposedly carrying out an "order to shoot" supposedly issued by the big Erichs.

But the "state of law" has been reduced to a laughingstock. As Honecker's lawyer Friedrich Wolff ironically remarked, "Agenda point 1: Carry in the Politburo. Agenda point 2: Turn on the pacemakers." Honecker, terminally ill with liver cancer, threw back at the court: "The sentence that you obviously intend for me will never touch me." In a race with death, the "trial" grows more macabre from day to day. Repeatedly, judge and prosecutor discuss the growing size of Honecker's tumor, only to repeatedly declare the 80-year-old man fit for trial. On the first day, former DDR chief of government Willi Stoph had to be dropped from the case because of a heart

THE SHOW TRIAL OF ERICH HONECKER



Former East German leader Erich Honecker being arrested by vindictive West German bourgeoisie in 1991. Guardian [London]

Defending the DDR Was No Crime, Selling It Out Was

attack. As "Stasi" chief Mielke sat slumped in the courtroom, his case was separated so he could be tried on 60-year-old charges against him first raised in a Nazi court. In this political show trial, the courtroom has become a public torture chamber.

On the first day of the trial, the Spartakist Workers Party demonstrated outside the court, where we were eventually joined by supporters of the Erich Honecker Solidarity Committee. Our chants of "Down with the anti-Communist witchhunt! Nazis out! Freedom for Honecker and Mielke!" were widely reported by the media, and heard inside the courtroom. The SpAD carried signs declaring "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime" and "Stalinism Is Dead, Communism Lives." Our press release linked this persecution-trial with the Nazi pogroms in Rostock and the scheduled mass deportation of Roma (Gypsies) as the hideous face of counterrevolution, the product of capitalist reunification led by Kohl together with the Social Democrats:

"For the 'crime' of defending the DDR, SPD justice minister Jutta Limbach has thrown Honecker into Moabit prison, where he was previously jailed as a resistance fighter by the Gestapo...."

"The revolutionary working class in power will have its own score to settle with the Stalinists for their crimes against the working class, including selling out the DDR. But that isn't the concern of the bourgeoisie and their Social Democratic flunkies."

Today, more level-headed elements of the bourgeoisie like *Der Spiegel*, and reformists like the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism—successor to the SED, former ruling party of the DDR), want to call off the Honecker trial before the "state of law" is further discredited. The "alternative" red baiters of *taz* suggested bringing in a parade of experts in order to "cultivate this still necessary trial." The defendants are accused of homicide in 13 cases of individuals killed while trying to cross the border to the West. They're supposed to be "desktop criminals," the masterminds who ordered the killings. But after two years of ransacking DDR archives, the prosecution has not come up with an order to shoot, much less a shoot-to-kill order.

Worried that they couldn't make this charge stick, on December 21 the prosecutors handed Honecker a new charge sheet accusing him of diverting \$3.3 million for luxurious living quarters for the SED leadership. With true German thoroughness, the authorities evidently aim to keep the Honecker trial going even after he is dead! Yet despite all the media hoopla, a large part of the population is opposed to the trial. Today East Germans, as the London *Guardian* (11 November 1992) noted, "are more concerned about their lost jobs and rising rents, and many consider Chancellor Kohl and other western politicians to be the 'real criminals'."

Honecker Indicts His Persecutors

In the face of his persecutors, Honecker has shown dignity and defiance. On December 3, after giving a clenched-

first salute as he entered Room 700 of the Moabit Courthouse where this show is being played, he read out an hourlong statement before the court. Honecker noted that "I and my comrades...are led before the public just as the Roman Caesars once paraded their captured adversaries." John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon were not tried for sending U.S. troops to Vietnam, he pointed out, nor Ronald Reagan for seizing Grenada and bombing Libya, nor George Bush for invading Panama. "The persecution of tens of thousands and possibly hundreds of thousands of DDR citizens, of which the prosecution has already spoken, is the purpose of this trial," noted Prisoner 244/92.

This "court of the victors over the vanquished," said the former East German leader, hopes to "totally discredit the DDR" and criminalize Communists. "Socialism, already pronounced dead, is to be killed again." "The victory of the market economy (as capitalism is today euphemistically called) and the defeat of socialism are to be total. They want to say, as Hitler once did before Stalingrad, that 'this enemy will not arise again.' The German capitalists always had a tendency toward the total." "The trial is to lay the basis for branding the DDR as a 'state of injustice,'" he went on. "A state that was ruled by such 'criminals' as ourselves, by 'killers,' can only be a 'state of injustice.' Whoever stood by it, whoever was a dutiful citizen of the DDR, is to be branded with this mark of Cain."

The capitalist rulers are not brought before courts for producing joblessness and homelessness, Honecker noted, citing the victorious bourgeoisie's attacks on day-care centers, working conditions,

health care and equality for women. Today, while he and his comrades, longtime anti-fascists, are on trial, and Jews are arrested for protesting the pogrom in Rostock, Nazi mobs are running wild in the streets, attacking and killing immigrants, as in Mölln. "I lived for the DDR," Honecker summed up. "It signaled that socialism was possible and can be better than capitalism. It was an experiment that failed." After finishing his indictment of his persecutors, the prisoner said to those who sit in judgment over him: "Do what you feel you have to do."

Furious that the former DDR leader was allowed to attack their state, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (4 December 1992), mouthpiece for the Frankfurt bankers, complained that "the head of the court at least should have kept him to the straight and narrow."

Erich Honecker was not the only defendant to stand up to the black-robed capitalist inquisitors. Former defense minister Heinz Kessler declared, "I never ordered the shooting of defectors," and "I have not committed any of the crimes listed by the prosecution." While the charges speak of the Wall as an "inner-German barrier," Kessler noted that this was the front line of the Soviet bloc (Warsaw Pact) against NATO. "All measures were carried out according to our responsibilities to the alliance," he said, adding: "As long as my strength holds, I will defend the dignity and honor of being a citizen of the former DDR." The rulers of the Fourth Reich have a special hatred for Kessler, because he fought with the Red Army against Hitler's Wehrmacht. To us that is a mark of honor.

But while Honecker refused to bow to the judges, and told home truths about the capitalist system they represent, this unrepentant Stalinist showed that, like the Bourbons, he had "forgotten nothing



Pergamon Press

Gestapo mug shots of Erich Honecker in December 1935. Honecker was imprisoned for ten years by the Nazis.

and learned nothing" from the collapse of Stalinist rule. Socialism is not an "experiment," but the outcome of the class struggle. And the DDR was not socialism, but a workers state bureaucratically ruled by a privileged caste which sought, not to extend the revolution internationally, but to achieve "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. What failed was not the "socialist experiment"; the nationalist lie of building "socialism in one country," all the more so in a third of a country, was a perversion of internationalist Marxism and doomed to failure—or to a political revolutionary upheaval of the proletariat. For the capitalists, any kind of workers state is a mortal threat.

Honecker is so blinded by peaceful coexistence that the only time he referred to the class struggle in his defense speech for "the ideas of socialism" was to accuse the bourgeoisie of reverting to "the old class struggle strategy of the '30s"! This conception comes to a head over the question of the Berlin Wall. While Honecker devoted much of his courtroom statement to defending the Wall, his basic line was that it made détente possible, by preventing the Cold Warriors from touching off nuclear world war. For all his complaints about his Politburo colleagues who stabbed

Honecker clinks glasses with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in 1987, pursuing Stalinist pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence."



linism, as Trotsky said long ago, is the gravedigger of the revolution.

Tried by the Wrong Class for the Wrong Crimes

We have noted before that in the case of Honecker & Co., "The Stalinists are being tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes" (*Spartakist* No. 94, March-April 1992). While the Springer

used'." This is also the central "proof" in the trial charges. But in the minutes *there is no such statement*. What the prosecutors have is some private notes, which have no official standing, were not distributed and are denied by both Honecker and Kessler. Beyond that, what the investigators have "turned up" are nothing but the normal regulations for use of arms by border guards, which are hardly different than those of any country in the world, including West Germany.

Moreover, Przybylski himself notes that the border law in force from 1982 on required that when weapons were used, "the life of persons is to be spared as far as possible!"

The second set of charges, for "embezzlement" and enrichment from state property, are no less absurd. In the first place, as with the deaths on the border, Honecker et al. are being tried under the DDR law then in force. (This fundamental legal principle is respected in Germany, if only because otherwise, present federal laws could also be applied to the bloody Nazi judges who were taken over wholesale from the Third Reich to staff the courts of the federal republic.) But since Honecker didn't steal anything, all they could do was accuse him of breaking the law concerning "breach of trust" by officials who appropriate state property for their own use. However, in order to pave the way for privatization, that law was abrogated by the DDR the day before the currency union with West Germany came into force.

In order to get around this little problem, the Volkskammer (East German parliament) passed a special "Lex Honecker" declaring that the old law was still applicable for crimes committed before that date. This law, which was specially written into the unification treaty, contradicts both the DDR and federal German constitutions. But the "state of law" doesn't let such legal niceties

stand in the way of a good witchhunt!

As for the amounts supposedly "embezzled," this is downright laughable. The big uproar during 1989-90 was over Wandlitz in the Brandenburg forest, where the SED tops lived. Przybylski reports that, according to investigations by the DDR state attorneys, approximately six to eight million hard-currency marks yearly were spent on Wandlitz. Yet this was to cover the needs of at least 280 people! In contrast, in the United States last year, 278 heads of the top thousand companies "earned" more than \$1 million *apiece* (*Business Week*, 12 October 1992). Turncoat Przybylski sneeringly refers to the "milk-and-honey estate," overflowing with Western stereos, TVs and VCRs, noting that the elite could buy them at the exchange rate of 1 DDR mark for 1 deutschmark. But they paid for these consumer goods. *And at the rate of one to one Helmut Kohl bought a whole country!*

Perhaps the lowest blow in this smear job is the attack on Honecker's reputation as an anti-fascist resistance fighter. For *Tatort Politbüro* is a vile character assassination in the style of *Bild-Zeitung*, using Gestapo reports to slander its victim. Basing himself on documents found in a "red suitcase" among Mielke's holdings in the cellar of the Stasi headquarters in Normannenstrasse, Przybylski accuses Honecker of "betrayal to the Gestapo." Similarly, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (16 November 1990) declared that the contents of the red suitcase "shatter the 'anti-fascist legitimization' of the former DDR," and show that Honecker, far from being an anti-fascist hero, "did everything to save his skin," including "incriminating fellow prisoners."

Przybylski alleges that during interrogation by the Gestapo after he was arrested in December 1935, "Honecker incriminated his chief," Bruno Baum, and also his Czech courier, Sarah Fodorová, who had passed him a suitcase with clandestine materials. But Bruno Baum was held in the same Brandenburg prison as Honecker, where there was a Communist resistance in which they were both active. And after the war, Baum was a leading Berlin official of the SED. If there had been any indication that Honecker was a traitor, Baum was in a position to ensure that he would have been executed, before or after liberation.

As for Sarah Fodorová, Przybylski says the "trail of the Czech woman was lost," suggesting she was executed. But in fact the Jewish courier was freed for lack of proof, and is living today in Israel. In an interview last fall she told the ADN news agency, "I thank Honecker for my life. He exonerated me before the People's Court." In fact, said Fodorová, when she was freed, a

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Spartakists at Tegel Airport, Berlin, July 1992, as Honecker is brought back for trial. Sign reads: "Fourth Reich: Hands Off Erich Honecker!"

him in the back, this ultimately leads Honecker to backhandedly support capitalist reunification, saying at the trial:

"In my view, there would never have been either the Helsinki Treaty or German unity if the Wall wasn't built then, or if it had been torn down before the end of the Cold War."

Elsewhere, in his 1992 booklet *Zu dramatischen Ereignissen (On Dramatic Events)*, Honecker writes: "The attempt to achieve the inner unity of Germany must not be burdened with the campaign of the 'victors' over the 'defeated'."

In contrast, we Trotskyists have noted that the Wall was a bureaucratic measure to defend the socialized gains of the deformed workers state. That's why the bourgeoisie hated it, and why the Spartakists defended it against imperialism, while supporting its opening as the product of a nascent political revolution in the DDR in 1989. And since we fought for a revolutionary reunification of Germany, for a "red Germany of workers councils" in the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe, we fought tooth and nail against capitalist reunification. Today we stand on the same communist principles, fighting to mobilize the working class and oppressed against the ravages of counterrevolution.

In bowing before the imperialist drive for *Anschluss*, Honecker's successors Krenz, Gysi and Modrow only took their predecessor's Stalinist program to its counterrevolutionary conclusions. Sta-

press prattles about "Wall murderers," what they are accused of is defending the borders of a workers state against economic sabotage by imperialism, which threatened to bleed dry the East German economy. This defense is no crime from the standpoint of the working class. And it is positively obscene for the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, which is guilty of the murder of six million Jews, of millions of communists, Slavs, Roma and Sinti, and of more than 20 million Soviet citizens, to try to wipe off the bloodstains of its *genocide* by putting the leaders of the DDR on trial for allegedly issuing orders that led to the death of 187 people over 28 years!

That is an average of *seven people per year*. Meanwhile, in the United States, in 1990 alone, the racist Los Angeles police and sheriff's deputies routinely gunned down 120 people, according to a recent Amnesty International report. And the trigger-happy *Bundesgrenzschutz* (German federal border police) killed 59 people at the border in the period up to 1968.

And the "order to shoot"? The widely publicized 1991 book by Peter Przybylski, *Tatort Politbüro: Die Akte Honecker (The Politburo Case: The Honecker File)*, claims: "The minutes of the 45th meeting of the National Defense Council of 3 May 1974 show that the chairman Honecker literally stated: 'As before, with attempts to break through the border, weapons must be ruthlessly



Nazi skinheads in Halle, November 1991. For worker/immigrant defense against fascist terror!

Honecker...

(continued from page 7)

Gestapo man reviled her, "You can thank Honecker and his whole Communist mob that you came out of here alive" (*Neues Deutschland*, 20 October 1992).

Meanwhile, Erich Honecker's monthly pension as an anti-fascist resistance fighter has been canceled by the legal successor state to Hitler's Third Reich.

The Real Crimes of Stalinism

While Honecker was sitting in Hitler's jails in the late 1930s, Walter Ulbricht was living in the Hotel Lux in Moscow, handing over German Communists to Stalin's executioners, and even to the Gestapo. These are some of the real crimes of Stalinism *against the revolution*.

Hermann Weber, a leading historian of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), brought together the available information on the KPD victims of Stalin's purges in his 1989 book "*Weisse Flecken*" in *der Geschichte* ("Blank Spaces" in History). Among those "liquidated" were seven Politburo members: Hugo Eberlein, Leo Flieg, Heinz Neumann, Hermann Remmele, Hermann Schubert, Fritz Schulte and Heinrich Süsskind. Also killed were the leader of the Rotfrontkämpferbund (Red Front Struggle League), Willi Leow; the leader of Rote Hilfe, Willi Koska; the editor of *Rote Fahne*, Werner Hirsch. Among the estimated 1,000 Germans turned over to Nazi Germany during the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact was Heinz Neumann's wife, Margarete Buber-Neumann. Of 68 leaders of the KPD living in the Soviet Union in the late 1930s, only 18 remained free, while 41 were killed. Altogether Weber lists some 350 KPDers victimized by Stalin's purge.

While they were accused of aiding the "Trotskyite-Zinovievite criminals," they were not just former "deviationists" (the actual Trotskyists were long gone). Rather, except for Ulbricht and Wilhelm



Racist cops of capitalism gunned down 120 people in Los Angeles in 1990 alone.

Pieck, virtually the *entire* KPD leadership (two-thirds of the CC) was destroyed, just as Stalin murdered not only Lenin's comrade-in-arms Leon Trotsky but every remaining member of the Bolshevik Central Committee of 1917 (the general staff of the October Revolution) save one (Alexandra Kollontai), and decimated the general staff of the Red Army under Marshal Tukhachevsky. Stalin also executed almost all the leaders of the Polish CP and dissolved the party; over 800 Yugoslav Communists were "liquidated," and more than 100 Italian CP officials. It is important to understand why these Communists were purged.

Stalin's bureaucratic rule was threatened by the living memory of the Bolshevik Revolution, and by the possibility of workers revolution elsewhere. Just as the GPU/NKVD beheaded the Spanish proletariat in order to head off revolution in the name of the Popular Front, the Moscow purges were a blood offering to the bourgeoisie, proof of Stalin's "sincerity" in denouncing the "export of revolution." That is why, far from denouncing Stalin's Russia as a "state of injustice," by and large the capi-

talists supported the purges. In 1943 Stalin finally liquidated the Comintern, founded on the program of world socialist revolution which was its reason for existence. And he desperately tried to keep the national-Stalinists Tito and Mao from overthrowing capitalism in Yugoslavia and China. The corollary of building "socialism in one country" at home was opposition to revolution abroad.

That was particularly true for Germany, the key to Europe. And while Erich Honecker was not personally responsible for the purges, he did help carry out Stalin's policy of preventing a socialist rising by the German proletariat upon the defeat of Hitler. In his official autobiography, *From My Life* (a title presumptuously copied from August Bebel), Honecker notes that after meeting Ulbricht in Berlin in May 1945, "I started building a united antifascist democratic youth movement," comprising young people "from all classes" and "all political and ideological persuasions." He also praised the KPD Central Committee manifesto of 11 June 1945, which "pointed the way for all antifascist democratic forces...to overcome the rule of monopoly capital."

Actually, the June 1945 manifesto called for a "parliamentary-democratic republic." And what Honecker doesn't say is that this had to be rammed through by the Moscow émigré leadership against resistance from the underground KPD cadres in Germany. In a 14 May 1945 letter to Pieck, Ulbricht reported that "the majority of the comrades have sectarian inclinations," and "clarifying disputes were necessary, because many still hung on to conceptions from the time before 1933. The red workers and peasants army stood in the country—didn't that mean that the establishment of soviet power and the construction of socialism was on the order of the day?"

Ulbricht put out the watchword, "We will do without a Communist youth group, because we want a unitary, free youth movement to arise." As Ulbricht's protégé, Honecker pushed for what became the FDJ (Free German Youth). He was initially opposed by the Saxon party youth secretary Robert Bialek, who argued for a proletarian youth organization of the KPD and SPD. "Naturally I would prefer a socialist youth organization, but that doesn't correspond to the present requirements," Honecker is quoted as saying. Those "traditionalists" who set up KJVD (Communist Youth League) groups were labeled left sectarians, ultralefts and Trotskyists. Thus the Free German Youth were founded, and later the German Democratic Republic.

Stalin and his satrap Ulbricht did not intend to build up the DDR as a workers state, but the imperialists' Cold War intransigence forced their hand, and capitalism was expropriated from above. As their pipe dreams of a "neutral, peace-loving Germany" dissipated, the Stalinist tops enforced their bureaucratic rule, against the working class and against opposition inside the SED. Honecker nearly went down with "the Goatee" Ulbricht in the wake of the 1953 workers revolt, and his road to the top was as hatchet man against pro-socialist oppositionists and dissidents.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Vancouver...

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minorities in Vancouver. The race-terrorists have firebombed the homes of East Indian and Chinese Canadian families and burned a cross outside the house of Iranian immigrants. A Jewish synagogue and a cemetery were defaced with Nazi slogans and swastikas, and a gay bookstore was bombed. Metzger's "White Aryan Resistance" skinheads brutally murdered an Ethiopian man in Oregon in 1988. Now the fascists announced a provocation at the Art Gallery, the traditional site for leftist and labor demonstrations in this city.

In response, the PDC, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League, issued an urgent appeal on January 11 to labor and minority organizations, calling for a "massive, disciplined display of labor power mobilizing minorities and all the fascists' intended victims—when and where the fascists say they intend to be.... Stopping this Nazi provocation is a matter of basic survival." This struck a real chord in Vancouver—a solid union town, with tens of thousands of East Indian and other Asian workers.

Two days later, the British Columbia Organization to Fight Racism (BCOFR) put out a press release calling for an "Anti-Racism Rally" at the Art Gallery to "Say no to W.A.R." The BCOFR rally, endorsed by the Vancouver and District Labour Council tops, was *not* called to stop the Nazi terrorists, but billed only as an "alternative to the advertised visit" by Metzger.

Intent on assuring that outrage against fascist terror was not diverted into an impotent talkfest, TL and PDC supporters distributed 30,000 copies of a mobilizing leaflet, addressing trade-union meetings and immigrant communities across the city. "All Out to Stop the Fascists!" said the TL leaflet, insisting:

"Official union contingents, under their union banners, together with East Indians, Chinese, Japanese, blacks, Native Indians, Jews, gays and socialists, can see to it that this Nazi 'rally' never happens, and that these scum are swept off the streets."

East Indian shopkeepers posted the leaflet in their windows. Students at the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University and Langara Community College took stacks to distribute.

The Vancouver local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers voted unanimously to endorse the TL/PDC call, issuing a leaflet calling for labor/minority mobilization, and sent a capable squad of union members to the demonstration. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 500 put out their own leaflet as well, which was posted all over the waterfront, calling on longshoremen to go "All Out to



Hodge/Vancouver Sun

Militant protesters routed Nazi thugs who tried to stage "secret meeting" at Century Plaza Hotel.

Stop the Fascists" and "Join the Trotskyist League/Partisan Defense Committee Contingent!" (while repeating the Labour Council tops' plea that the government stop Metzger). A solid crew of longshoremen turned out, as did truckers and tugboat workers from two locals of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Union. Saying they came "to make a point here," one union official expressed the widespread determination to make short shrift of the Nazis: "We'll stop them if they show."

Other labor contingents came from International Woodworkers of America-Canada Local 1-357, Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 391, Telecommunications Workers Union Local 1 and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Some of these workers joined the TL/PDC contingent, supplying the main body of our marshals squad.

Official trade-union banners were everywhere to be seen outside the Art Gallery on Friday night. People from the city's Japanese, Chinese, black, Iranian and other communities were there, as well as women's groups and gays, and a Jewish peace group carried a sign in Hebrew, Arabic and English. The prospect of having to face a united front of organized labor, minorities and other anti-fascists sent the Nazis scurrying to find a new meeting site at a planetarium a couple of miles away. Tony McAleer, the would-be führer of Canadian Liberty Net, and a few skinheads strutted around for the bourgeois media and bragged about how they were going ahead with their "secret meeting."

At the Art Gallery, the BCOFR and others wanted to contain opposition to the fascists by trying to lull the crowd with music and insipid "love thy neighbor" speechifying—including in their roster a Tory MP who spoke as the representative of the racist, labor-hating federal Conservative government! The New Democratic Party loyalists of the BCOFR *never* intended to mobilize the battalions of labor to crush the fascists. They refused to call for union contingents, and at a January 19 Labour Council meeting BCOFR spokesman Paul Gill explicitly opposed going after the Nazis

if they dared show their faces in the vicinity of the Art Gallery.

Although the BCOFR rally was designed to head off any genuine mobilization to stop the fascists, militant and serious unionists representative of the powerful B.C. labor movement meant business, and they kept the fascists out. Trotskyist League spokesman Oliver Stephens was widely applauded when he said from the rally podium:

"The fascists want to destroy us and ours! They want to split us apart, to open us up for attack, to poison any kind of integrated struggle, like winning strikes. They are the shock troops of the racist ruling class. They can and must be stopped, and the organized working class has the power."

There were two *counterposed* political programs on how to respond to the fascist threat in Vancouver. The policy of the reformists and labor bureaucrats, which comes straight from the ministerial offices of the social-democratic NDP, was to preach reliance on the capitalist state and its police. In practice, this meant allowing the fascist provocation to go ahead. Against this the TL leaflet argued:

"Reformists believe that the capitalist state is 'neutral' and can be pressured to 'ban' the fascists. As Marxists we understand that this state enforces the rule of capital and that the fight against fascism is the road of class struggle leading to the forging of a revolutionary workers party and socialist revolution."

At a BCOFR marshals meeting on January 20, spokesman Alan Dutton made perfectly clear their intention that any Nazis outside the perimeter of the rally would be left alone to spew their racist filth. A representative of the Coalition United to Fight Oppression (CUFO), a rad-lib sandbox which includes the Freedom Socialist Party and the International Socialists, argued that if the skinheads showed up and tried to march through the rally they should just be "ignored"! A speaker for the I.S. advised the marshals not to remove known fascist provocateurs from the demonstration but just "keep an eye" on them!

These reformists tried to put their wimpy program into action at the demo. As marchers headed off for the Century Plaza Hotel to get the skinhead thugs, CUFO marshals first tried to slow the protesters down and then they (including the I.S.) linked arms in front of the hotel to bolster the line of cops who were shoving the crowd back.

Last March, a gang of half a dozen skinheads waving swastika flags

marched right through a "Rally Against Racism" that was held at the Art Gallery. TL supporters sought to mobilize demonstrators to defend themselves against these fascist thugs. But the rally organizers—the I.S. and CUFO—*let the Nazis parade with impunity!* The social-democratic I.S. is not guided by such Gandhian pacifism when it comes to anti-communist exclusions, launching a savage physical assault to keep Trotskyist League members out of a "public debate" in Toronto last August.

The Cold War "socialists" of the I.S. urged solidarity with every imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary force aimed at destroying the former workers states in East Europe and the Soviet Union. The result has been a tidal wave of reactionary nationalism and fascist terror which is the cutting edge of capitalist restoration. Those who cheered these forces in East Europe and the ex-USSR are hypocrites when they claim to want to "fight fascism" at home. The class-collaborationist appetites that underpinned the reformists' virulent anti-Sovietism can be seen in their supine response to the fascist terrorists here.

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

After 16 years of union-busting rule under the ultraright racist yahoos of the Social Credit Party, the powerful B.C. labor movement thought it would get a break under an NDP government. But since their election in 1991, the NDP social democrats have imposed even further austerity, jacking up taxes and slashing social services, while alibiing racist cop terror against minorities. This is hardly new—the last NDP government in 1975 launched the most massive strikebreaking assault in the province's history. The social democrats serve as the labor lieutenants of capitalist class rule—"left" guardians of the decaying system that breeds fascist terrorists. In the course of class struggle, the NDP must be split, its working-class base won to a revolutionary party.

While small in numbers now, the fascists are the mortal enemies of all working people and must be crushed in the egg before they grow. When the capitalists feel their rule is being threatened by the working class—as in Germany and Italy in the 1920s and '30s—the bourgeoisie will finance the fascist killers and grease their rise to power in order to smash the workers organizations. Without revolutionary leadership the working class of Europe paid a terrible price, as the Nazi Holocaust devoured tens of millions of Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, leftists and others. As the TL leaflet concluded:

"Unionists, minorities and a lot of others who oppose everything the fascists stand for are looking for a way to fight back against a system that has condemned them to poverty, degradation, homelessness, broken unions and broken lives. A genuine class-struggle mobilization to stop the fascists of 'Canadian Liberty Net' would give a taste of the power that must be brought to bear in the fight for a socialist revolution to overthrow the decrepit rule of the capitalist bosses which finds its degenerate expression in Metzger's Nazi-lovers, and bring to power the working people who built all the wealth of this country." ■

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Spartakists on Trial...

(continued from page 12)

other minorities, of communists and anti-fascists." This is the murderous flag of the cowardly Nazi bands from Mölln to Rostock and Berlin.

But as of 4:30 on the afternoon of June 23 there was no longer a swastika near the Brandenburg Gate. Courageous anti-fascists seized this bloody symbol of genocide and burned it. Immediately afterward a Spartakist banner with the words, "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime," was unfurled from the roof of the gallery.

A representative of the gallery called the police, and the four Spartakists were briefly arrested. But after the energetic protest of many supportive onlookers and passers-by from different countries, including supporters of the Kurdish PKK, they were released. Now, following the racist pogrom in Rostock and the Nazi murders in Mölln, the four anti-fascists are being brought up on charges for their act of hygiene: Werner Brand, Ronald Krüger (photographer for the newspaper *Spartakist*), Renate Dahlhaus and Toralf Endruweit (both Spartakist spokesmen at the mammoth anti-fascist rally in Treptow in January of 1990, and candidates in the last Bundestag elections).

According to the bourgeoisie's penal code, the swastika is banned. But who would expect the self-proclaimed successor state to the Third Reich to take action against Nazi symbols? In reality its police protect the Nazis in their assaults on refugee hostels, while the victims of the Nazis are either deported or made out to be criminals. Behind the outcry against "violence" and "extremism of the right and the left" stands the racist persecution of refugees and immigrants as well as expanded police repression against anti-fascists. This is why the call for "more police" and for banning the fascists by the PDS (Party of



30 April 1945: Red flag raised over the Reichstag as Soviet troops vanquished Nazi Third Reich.

Democratic Socialism) reformists and their ilk, through which they link up with the racist all-party coalition in Bonn, is so dangerous. And our case demonstrates this yet again. Capitalist reunification, welcomed by the SPD (Social Democratic Party) and PDS and their "left" tails, prepared the soil for the fascists. Now the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats are acceding to the murderous "Foreigners Out" slogans, by closing the borders and carrying out mass deportations.

The true face of the ruling class was recently revealed by Karl Dersch (executive board member of the aviation and space firm Deutsche Aerospace, on the presidium of the Federal Association of German Industry, etc., etc.), when he said that he flew his own "private" Reich war flag. In SPD-governed Nordrhein-Westfalen, with its large proportion of immigrant workers, the courts are so heavily infiltrated with Nazi judges, among them the notorious NPD leader Peter Markert, that the public employees

union ÖTV organized the occupation of a courtroom. From Augsburg to Halle, massive cop assaults supplement the Nazi terror.

The workers movement must defend the right to asylum. The present situation cries out for massive workers united-front mobilization, to demonstrate the social power of workers and immigrants against the Nazis and to defend the refugees. This is the program Leon Trotsky fought for at the beginning of the '30s, while the Social Democrats and Stalinists allowed Hitler to march unhindered to power.

The Fourth Reich wants to rehabilitate the Third Reich: this was the aim of Kohl and Reagan's obscene obeisance in Bitburg to SS graves. The bourgeoisie of Auschwitz is again stretching out its hands to rule over Europe. Their henchmen from the SPD stand in the vanguard of the anti-communist witch-hunt—whose high point is the present show trial of Erich Honecker, which is taking place in the Tiergarten state

court, in the same complex of buildings—so as to take vengeance for the victory of the Red Army. And the PDS cooperates in the witchhunt in which it is itself being devoured. Freedom for Erich Honecker and all the representatives of the DDR deformed workers state, where the system of the swastika was destroyed!

Toralf Endruweit said: "We are proud to have ripped down the Nazi flag. We will show in this trial what the swastika means, in the Third and in the Fourth Reich. We will show what this flag of murder means to anti-fascist survivors of the Third Reich, to Jews, Roma, communists, gays, to the heroic Germans who fought in the Red Army against the barbarism of their own bourgeoisie, as well as to the Vietnamese workers from Rostock who nearly fell victim to a new holocaust, to the friends, family members and colleagues of those slain in the past few years, from Amadeu Antonio to Silvio Meier and the Arslan family, all victims of the brownshirt rabble. Their deaths spur us on, and we will avenge them, as we will all the victims of the Nazis and, before them, of the Freikorps that murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg under the sign of the swastika. To eliminate the fascists once and for all we need a workers revolution that will avenge the victims of the Nazi Holocaust. That is what the Spartakist Workers Party is fighting for."

Let's turn the trial of the anti-fascists into a trial of the flag of Nazi genocide and the racist state that incites and protects its fascist bands! Support the campaign, mobilize among your friends, in your trade unions, in your schools and organizations. Send your anti-swastika statements to the Tiergarten District Court, Turmstrasse 91, W-1000 Berlin 21, fax: (030) 39 79 20 10. Send copies to and ask for additional information from the PDC. Send donations to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, New York 10013, earmarked "No Nazi Flag." ■

Statements of Solidarity with Anti-Nazi Four

Never Again Fascism! Down with Swastikas!

Karl Kielhorn is a member of the PDS who, with Gerhard Bögelein, was put on trial last year on charges that in 1947 they executed a Nazi military judge who had sent hundreds to their deaths under the Third Reich. Kielhorn was released, but Bögelein was sentenced to life imprisonment.

The order for my arrest, dated 4 June 1940 (IVc2 Haft Nr. 2503/1273/40g.), signed by Heydrich, bears the seal of the Gestapo with the cursed swastika eagle.

My via dolorosa through concentration camp and penal battalion was accompanied by swastika flags.

And then in the midst of Berlin, where 60 years ago the brown SA columns

marched with torches and swastika flags through the Brandenburg Gate, a gigantic swastika flag is hung up.

I understand the righteous anger of the four young people who pulled down and burned this flag. Toralf Endruweit and his three comrades are now supposed to answer for this as defendants in February 1993 at the Tiergarten District Court.

With this statement I raise my protest!

The only swastika that I like is the one crushed beneath the boots of the Soviet soldier with a child on his arm, which stands atop the memorial for the fallen Soviet heroes in Treptow Park.

Karl Kielhorn, PDS
Member of the Presidium of the Dachau Camp Association
Berlin, 7 January 1993

Are Victims Again to Be Seen as Criminals?

Eva Brück is a writer and representative of the East Berlin Jewish Women's Group who fled the Nazi Holocaust with her parents.

Four Germans from the East and West are to be condemned because they "illegally" destroyed... "art objects."

What were these "art objects"?

What they were was a large swastika flag exhibited in a flag installation at Pariser Platz in the summer of this year.

Not only the people who are now being brought up on charges but also many passers-by were outraged at this "shocking diversion into history" (see *Berliner Zeitung*, 29 May 1992).

One asks himself, who should really be standing trial: those who have bitter memories of the time 50 years ago, when they themselves and many others were unjustly hauled into court, when they were chased from house and home, and murdered—or those who placed the swastika as symbol of their inhuman tyranny on their insignia and flags?

This is just the way things started a half century ago: anyone who courageously expressed an opinion displeasing to the Nazis or acted against their wishes was ostracized, fired from his job, robbed of his property and often murdered. Then the condemned were called "kikes, red swine, vandals," etc.; today undesirable elements are stamped "former Stasi agents"—whether they in fact were or not (see Prof. Fink, Stolpe...) and then discriminated against; exposed, without any rights, to "justice" that is neither "based on the rule of law" nor—much less—"democratic."

Then a Senator Ehrhard simply asserts that the witnesses exonerating Prof. Fink were "not believable"—and his dismissal as rector of Humboldt University, Berlin, already repeatedly proved to be unlawful, had to proceed, without argument. Just like that. And swastika flags may be publicly exhibited as "art objects" in the center of Berlin, but outraged democrats and opponents of the Nazis that remove them are to be placed on trial!

Fifty years ago the public kept silent. They kept silent as the Nazis worked human beings to death, insulted them, beat them up before everyone's eyes.

They kept silent as six million Jews were driven into the ovens in Auschwitz. They kept silent when the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto rose up in their last, unequal battle.

And today, 50 years after the Holocaust, opponents of the Nazis are to be condemned by a German court, while a swastika flag is declared to be an "art object."

Is history going to repeat itself?

Eva Brück
Berlin, 30 December 1992

What Happened to Justice?

Atiye Eksi is the mother of a Turkish youth whose murder by fascists a year ago sparked mass protests.

Displaying a swastika flag is not permitted; in another sense, it cannot be allowed to wave as a work of art.

All Nazi flags are an expression of inhumanity. They are a violation of the dignity of humanity. They serve to incite racial hate.

My son Mete Eksi was slain a year ago by racist youths. They have not yet been placed on trial. They were set at liberty.

But those who on 23 June 1992 destroyed the Nazi flag are to be hauled into court on 17 February 1993. Are we still living in the Third Reich? Has Germany not yet overcome that period? Every day foreigners, hostels for asylum-seekers, apartment houses for immigrants are set on fire. People of different skin color are injured and killed. But the murderers are either not

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"For Us Who Live in Exile, the Vietnam War Is Not Over"

Exiled Antiwar Activist Calls for Amnesty

Letter to Clinton

We print below a letter sent to President Clinton by Bob Malecki, an anti-Vietnam War activist who has been living in exile in Sweden. The letter has received widespread attention in Europe, and was printed in almost every daily newspaper in Sweden. Malecki was not a supporter of the Spartacist League at the time of the actions he took against military and war contractors like Dow Chemical. He subsequently became a longstanding supporter and remains a friend who has suffered more than two decades of exile because he fought against the crimes of U.S. imperialism.

January 20, 1993

To: Bill Clinton
President, U.S.A.

From: Robert Malecki
Robertsfors, Sweden

Dear Bill,

First I should say congratulations on being elected to the presidency and now taking office.

However I would like to come to the point of my letter.

It has been reported here in the media that one of the last things the Bush administration did before leaving town was to pardon some people in the so-called "Iran Contras Affair." These people, all close friends or with contacts with the Bush administration, have been pardoned and are free.

Now I cannot argue all the points either for or against this last goodwill gesture by the Bush administration to these people. But the point is that these people are free!

Now if the Bush administration can draw a line over the Iran Contras Affair, I think that your administration certainly can take up the question of amnesty for all of those people who still are in exile or underground because of the Vietnam War.

I have been living in exile for over twenty years and still wanted by Federal authorities and state authorities for crimes against the government. I personally do not regret anything that I did during this period. *Still today* I can say that I take responsibility for the

destruction of tons, yes hundreds of thousands of files for people facing the draft during that period. I take still responsibility for the destruction of Dow Chemical's data banks in Washington D.C. These actions led to both the end of the draft and that Dow Chemical stopped its production of napalm and Agent Orange used against the Vietnamese people.

These actions however I am not accused of; what I have been accused of is *conspiracy* to bomb public buildings in Ohio, *conspiracy* to take out B-52s on Guam in the Pacific, among other conspiracies.

The funny thing about these above mentioned crimes is that they never took place! Conspiracy was the way the state and Federal authorities tried to make us look like terrorists or maniacs. They accused us of planning to do something that was never done. They never accused us of doing things that we said we were responsible for.

Bill, I think it's time that we draw a line over this period. None of us, especially myself, will ever forgive or forget what happened, nor should we. However

an amnesty for all those who are in exile or underground is morally justified. All of my actions I did in the interest of the American and Vietnamese peoples. To Vietnam I can go whenever I please however to the United States my birthplace I cannot return.

Today I have a little farm in the northern part of Sweden quite near the polar circle. I live in a little village along with 12 families. I raise vegetables, sheep, and bulls and work part time with retarded children and grownups. I certainly like the life I have now and will never go back to the states to live. However I have a daughter who goes to college in the U.S. and will become a lawyer and another daughter who is a typical teenager. I certainly would like to be able to visit them in my older days.

I know, Bill, that the question of Vietnam is still extremely a question that a lot of people have feelings about. One of the biggest questions during your election campaign was, what was Bill Clinton doing? However you handled it pretty well. Now I think that the question of amnesty should be handled in the same way.

The war is over in Vietnam. However for us who still live in exile it is not! Hoping to hear from you soon.

Warm regards to you and family
Robert Malecki

Letters...

(continued from page 3)

between Lamarckism and Darwinism—for Lamarckism is, fundamentally, a theory of *directed* variation.... Lamarckism holds that genetic variation originates preferentially in adaptive directions" (Gould's emphasis).

Until the beginning of this century, Lamarckism was indeed considered a potential explanation for some, if not all, phenomena of natural selection. It was not until the decade of the '30s, with the "modern synthesis" of natural history and Mendelian genetics, that Darwin's mechanism won the day and random genetic mutation was recognized as the mechanism for the appearance of unbiased variation within a population. In "Shades of Lamarck" Gould noted:

"Thus Lamarckism, so far as we can judge, is false in the domain it has always occupied—as a biological theory of genetic inheritance. Yet, by analogy only, it is the mode of 'inheritance' for another and very different kind of 'evolution'—human cultural evolution. *Homo sapiens* arose at least 50,000 years ago, and we have not a shred of evidence for any genetic improvement since then.... All that we have accomplished, for better or for worse, is a result of cultural evolution.

"Cultural evolution has progressed at rates Darwinian processes cannot begin to approach. Darwinian evolution continues in *Homo sapiens*, but at rates so slow that it no longer has much impact on our history. This crux in the Earth's history has been reached because Lamarckian processes have finally been unleashed upon it. Human cultural evolution, in strong opposition to our biological history, is Lamarckian in character. What we learn in one generation we transmit directly by teaching and writing. Acquired characters are inherited in technology."

The bourgeoisie attempts to ensure its survival through the use of its massive control of society, its technology, its academic think tanks, etc.; ultimately, the massive use of force by armed bodies of men. Against the bourgeoisie the proletariat can count on two major weapons, socialist theory and organization—the fusion of these two in the consciousness of the proletariat and in its vanguard, the revolutionary party, are the means for the victory of the proletariat, ushering in a new dawn for humanity as a whole.

In the 1982 essay quoted above, Gould bemoans the bum rap that Lamarck has gotten from many evolutionists who "reread Lamarck, cast aside the guts of it and elevated one aspect of the mechanics—inherited of acquired characters—to a central focus it never had

for Lamarck himself. Moreover, many of these self-styled 'neo-Lamarckians' abandoned Lamarck's cardinal idea that evolution is an active, creative response by organisms to their felt needs. They preserved the inheritance of acquired characters but viewed the acquisitions as direct impositions by impressing environments upon passive organisms."

Yet in his October 1992 essay Gould rereads his own work, elevates one aspect of its mechanics—contingency—and abandons the cardinal idea that (in cultural evolution) punctuation (revolution or counterrevolution) is an active, creative response by man (organized in classes) to felt needs. Instead, he simply reduces it to the passive expectancy that "perhaps we will punctuate to a better place."

He allows the power of "contemporary events and personalities to shape and direct the actual path taken among myriad possibilities," while noting that "modern punctationalism" as it is applied to human cultural evolution "emphasizes contingency." But he gives the "last word about modern Russia" to Tolstoy, who said: "Why did it happen in this and not some other way? Because it happened so!" Thus contingency is reduced to random, unknowable and unpredictable luck. To this one can only quote back to

him his own rendition of Pasteur's quip about the role of luck in the creative process: "fortune favors the prepared [conscious] mind."

Gould faults Marx for holding to the "conviction that directions of change are progressive, predictable, and well-nigh inevitable."

Against this he raises the all-powerful bugaboo of contingency: "the unpredictability of the nature of future stability." Having thus reduced Marx to a "neo-Lamarckian" caricature of himself, he reduces in the concrete instance of modern Russia the unimpeachable statement that "accidents happen in history" into "history is an accident." Yet compare the quote you reproduce from Marx and Engels about class struggles ending "either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes," with Gould's own words at the end of the paragraph on cultural evolution quoted above:

"Lamarckian evolution is rapid and accumulative. It explains the cardinal difference between our past, purely biological mode of change, and our current, maddening acceleration toward something new and liberating—or toward the abyss."

Comradely,
Jorge Ramirez

punished or get very mild punishments. I ask you, where is justice!!!

The mother of Mete Eksi,
Atiye Eksi
6 January 1993

The Undigested Past of Fascism Is the Present of the Fourth Reich

As a German soldier in World War II, Ernst Duschinski went over to the side of the Red Army to fight against the Nazi scourge. In the late 1950s, he was imprisoned by the West German state for being a member of the banned Communist Party.

To the KfsV
Dear Friends:

This morning I gratefully received your letter with the flyer, "Defend the Anti-Fascists of the Brandenburg Gate: We Ripped Down the Nazi Flag!"

My agreement in our phone conversation yesterday evening has thus been overtaken by events. I couldn't have written anything different from what was in the flyer.

Only this much: my sympathy and

concern for the four anti-fascists who put an end to the base provocation!

One is, after all, used to a fair bit of megalomania and perversion of justice by West Berlin (in)justice and it would be good to chase these people away as quickly as possible! But the arguments they dragged in to haul the four anti-fascists into court really fill the cup to overflowing!

And this much more: I was born in 1921 and I well recall what disasters fascism and German monopoly capital caused: from the raucous brownshirt hordes who passed through the Brandenburg Gate on 30 January 1933 (almost 60 years ago!) down to the end of the Second World War with 50 million dead. The Soviet Union bore the main burden of this war, and Soviet Sergeant Kontariya and his comrades were able to place the Red Flag of victory atop the Berlin Reichstag not far from the Brandenburg Gate. In doing so, they freed the German people from fascism and extended their hands to us for a new beginning! What the top dogs in the later Federal Republic of Germany made of this is well known: the undigested past of fascism is the present of the Fourth

Reich. This is also demonstrated by the provocation with the swastika flag in West Berlin!

Note as well: people of our generation bore the main burden of the fascist war. We survivors were used up in the factories by the West German "economic miracle." Hence the great number of people on early retirement! I know whereof I

speak: so never again fascism, no matter what forms it assumes! Never again war! Let us ward it off jointly, there's not much more time!

I wish all of you a good 1993, that won't give us anything for nothing!

With socialist greetings!

Ernst Duschinski
Kiel, 30 December 1992

Swastikas stand for anti-Semitic genocide: 1935 banner in German town square says, "The Jews Are Our Misfortune."



WORKERS VANGUARD

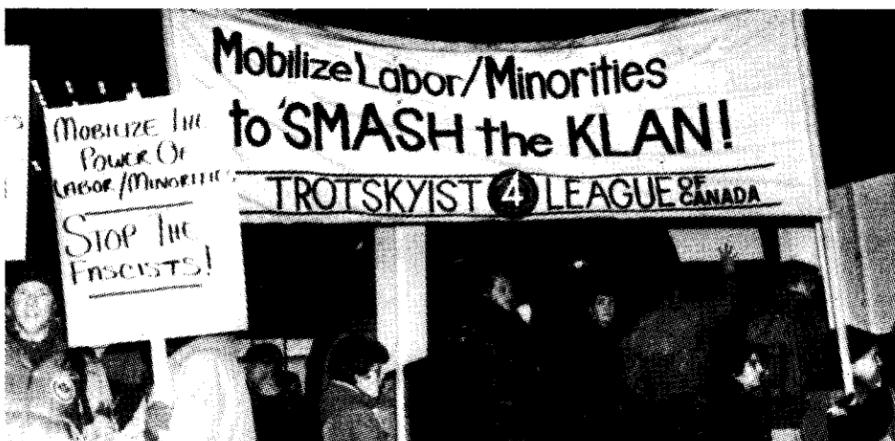
Vancouver Labor/Minority Mobilization

3,000 Drive Off Fascist Skinheads



VANCOUVER—The Nazis of “Canadian Liberty Net” and their gang of skinhead punks were put on the run here Friday night, January 22. The Hitler-lovers had boasted they were going to rally in front of the Vancouver Art Gallery at 7 p.m., and organize a “secret meeting” to “welcome” infamous American Nazi Tom Metzger. What happened instead was no secret. The Nazis’ intended site was occupied by 3,000 anti-racist protesters—organized contingents of trade unionists, youth, minorities, gays and other opponents of fascist terror.

When word ran through the crowd, as the rally was winding down, that skinheads had been sighted at the Century Plaza Hotel, hundreds took to the streets, joining with the Trotskyist League of Canada and Partisan Defense Committee in chanting, “Stop the Nazis, this is the hour! Labor, minorities have the power!” As the 500 marchers neared the hotel,



Unionists, minorities, students massed at Vancouver Art Gallery. Spartacists had called for massive labor-based mobilization to stop the fascists.

the handful of fascists covered in a side alley. Pursued by the demonstrators, the Nazis jumped walls, scrambled over fences and fled into the darkness.

“This was a victory,” PDC spokesman Miriam Scribner declared. “What happened tonight was a vindication of our call for a mass union-centered mobiliza-

tion to sweep the fascists from the streets.” After the two-bit Hitlers fled, the TL led part of the crowd downtown to a victory party, chanting “Off with the hoods! Off with the sheets! We drove the fascists from the streets!”

The *Vancouver Sun* headlined “White Supremacist Skinheads Flee Hotel,” reporting: “As thousands of anti-racists demonstrated outside the Century Plaza Hotel, a small group of white supremacist skinheads escaped like terrified prey out a side entrance.” The cops took their revenge by arresting two anti-fascist protesters, threatening them with charges including “weapons” possession and wearing a mask! *Drop all charges against the anti-fascist demonstrators!*

“All Out to Stop the Fascists”

The attempted “Liberty Net” rally was a deadly threat aimed at all labor and

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Witchhunt Scandal in Germany

Spartakists on Trial for Tearing Down Nazi Flag

The following article is translated from Spartakist No. 100 (January 1993), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

On February 17, four supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV) are to be put on trial at the Berlin-Tiergarten district court for “trespassing.” Their “crime”? On 23 June 1992 they removed a gigantic swastika flag that had been hanging since May near the Brandenburg Gate at the Galerie Pariser Platz [see

“German Spartakists Tear Down Nazi Flag,” WV No. 555, 10 July 1992]. By this act they put an end to an outrageous provocation that horrified thousands and constituted a direct slap in the face to the survivors of Nazi terror and all decent human beings.

The swastika is no “art object,” as it is described in the indictment of the four anti-fascists. As KfsV spokesman Werner Brand stated, “We won’t tolerate this! The swastika stands for the gruesome murder of six million Jews, of Roma and Sinti [Gypsies], homosexuals and

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23 June 1992: Our comrades rip down swastika flag near Berlin’s Brandenburg Gate.