



U.S. Navy

Down With U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!

FEBRUARY 11—Over 100,000 U.S. troops, four aircraft carriers and some 300 warplanes are already in the Persian Gulf region, while the Kitty Hawk aircraft carrier and 15,000 soldiers of the 101st Airborne are speeding to the Gulf. Half of Kuwait has been turned into a U.S. military zone, off limits to its own population. The Iraqi people, who suffered tens of thousands dead in the first Desert Slaughter and 1.5 million more from the imperialist sanctions, now face a massive bombing blitz and invasion. The Pentagon plans to unleash ten times as many precision-guided bombs and missiles in the first 48 hours of the coming war than during the first two days of the 1991 war. The war criminals in Washington are openly contemplating the use of nuclear weapons against Iraq.

Last week, Secretary of State Colin Powell presented the United Nations Security Council with a case for invasion that would have embarrassed even a Texas prosecutor: fuzzy photographs, scratchy recordings of purported phone transmissions and drawings by Pentagon “artists” depicting their vision of Iraqi “deception” in hiding supposed “weapons of mass destruction.”

With consummate chutzpah, Powell also fell back on the oft-repeated claim that Iraq’s Saddam Hussein tested chemical weapons on his own people. Beginning in the 1930s, for 40 years the U.S. government conducted the infamous “Tuskegee Experiment” in which some 400 Southern black men with syphilis were left untreated so Washington’s Dr. Mengeles could watch how the disease ravaged their bodies. As



Students at Baghdad campus demonstrate against UN weapons inspectors. UN inspections are prelude to all-out assault on Iraq by U.S. imperialists.

for Powell’s claim that Al Qaeda is operating in Iraq, according to U.S. intelligence, Al Qaeda is operating in at least 62 countries, including the U.S. Two days after Powell’s speech, it was revealed that an “intelligence dossier” on Iraq prepared by the British government was largely plagiarized from a doctoral thesis and magazine articles going back over 12 years.

When War Secretary Donald Rumsfeld arrived in Europe last week, he was greeted by huge antiwar protests. The overwhelming majority of Europeans oppose any war against Iraq. In Tony Blair’s Britain, the leaders of five of the biggest unions, including the Communication Workers and the ASLEF rail workers, announced yesterday that there

could be “massive” strikes when Iraq is attacked.

Meanwhile, tensions between the U.S. and France and Germany are intensifying. Yesterday, France, Germany and Belgium vetoed a U.S. plan to move NATO war materials to Turkey, which the U.S. intends to use as a launching pad for an invasion of Iraq from the north. But any who may hope that the UN or the U.S.’s European imperialist rivals will do anything to stop a war will be sorely disappointed. While the French government mouths opposition to an immediate war, it has dispatched an aircraft carrier to the Mediterranean and is retrofitting munitions to be compatible with U.S. weapons, fearing it will be cut out when the U.S. takes control of Iraq and its oil. France’s position was captured by a London *Financial Times* (7 February) headline: “Careful Language Leaves Paris Room to Get Off the Fence.”

The vultures are already circling over the dead bodies of the Iraqi people. Turkey has been given the green light by the U.S. to occupy northern Iraq. U.S. imperialism’s proclamations of “liberating” Iraq are more than belied by its plans to use the Turkish army—notorious for its brutal war of annihilation against Kurdish separatists in Turkey—in Iraq’s Kurdish regions. The U.S. has already outlined plans for a long-term occupation of Iraq beginning with open U.S. military rule and ending with an Iraqi puppet regime.

The Bush administration’s ceaseless attacks on workers and minorities in the U.S. make it crystal-clear that the

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The Long Arm of the Bush White House

Protest Ban on NYC Antiwar March!

The following is a statement issued by the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee on February 11.

As the rulers prepare to launch a war of annihilation of tens of thousands of

Iraqis in the name of “freedom,” a federal court has banned the right of antiwar activists to march in New York City. The court not only denied the application by the United for Peace and Justice coalition to march past the United Nations on February 15—an international day of antiwar protest—but endorsed the NYPD’s right to ban any protest march at any time in the streets of Manhattan. In issuing her decision, the judge asserted, “The Court will not

second guess or substitute its judgment for that of the NYPD.”

Making the cops the final arbiters of whether the population is allowed to exercise its constitutional rights is a perfect rationale for a police state. And that’s what the streets of New York City are already beginning to look like. With the Bush administration declaring a “code orange,” the “second highest security alert,” cops with their fingers on the triggers of machine guns have

been deployed throughout the city. In an extraordinary move, the federal government itself intervened to ensure a ban on any antiwar march in the city, threatening that if the judge ruled in favor of the protesters the government would take legal action.

Through its intimidation tactics in the courts and its armed police thugs on the streets, the government hopes to frighten people into staying at home

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Protest NYC Ban...

(continued from page 1)

with their shades drawn while U.S. bombers obliterate Iraq. And if people come out to protest, as upwards of 100,000 are expected to do, the NYPD plans to herd them into a series of tightly controlled pens surrounded by heavily armed cops. This is a setup for cop attacks and violence against the antiwar protesters.

In 1999 when the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor/black mobilization against the racist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan, these same forces attempted to stop us and the thousands of working people who had rallied to our call to "Stop the KKK!" We fought back, and on 23 October 1999 at least 8,000 people turned out to stop this provocation. The mobilization was guarded by a disciplined team of trade-union marshals representing the social power of labor, not herded into a police pen trap.

Today, the court's assault on fundamental democratic rights like freedom of speech and assembly should be met with a defiant and enormous mass protest *against the war at home and abroad!*

African immigrant Amadou Diallo was cut down by cops in a hail of 41 bullets in the name of the "war on drugs." If the NYPD can do this with handguns, imagine what they can do with machine guns. Now it's the "war on terror." First

they came to round up and incarcerate immigrants of Near Eastern and South Asian descent. Then they declared that anyone Bush determines to be an "enemy combatant" could be stripped of constitutional rights and effectively disappeared. The latest plans are to expand the USA-Patriot Act to strip citizenship from anyone Bush & Co. decree to be aiding "terrorists."

The court decision banning the New York City antiwar march invokes the "code orange" terrorism alert. This is an open declaration that any opposition to the U.S. rulers' war moves can be criminalized as potential "terrorism." As popular opposition to the impending war mounts, the government is taking a step toward outlawing *any* protest against the Iraq war. But it doesn't end there. When the longshoremen's union on the West Coast was locked in a showdown with union-busting shipping bosses, the government intervened to threaten that any strike action by the workers would be a threat to "national security" and then brought down the slave-labor Taft-Hartley law. When New York transit workers voted to go on strike, the media screamed that they were launching a "jihad" and the strikebreaking Taylor Law was invoked. Firefighters who lost over 300 of their comrades trying to save people in the World Trade Center are declared a "clear and present danger to the security of the United States" in a letter signed by Republican House majority leader Tom DeLay because they are unionized!



Nagle/NYTimes

Argentina under military rule? No, it's New York City as government invokes "code orange" terror scare to deploy heavily armed cops throughout city.

In banning the New York City march and turning the streets into police occupation zones worthy of a Latin American dictatorship, it is the government, its courts and cops who represent a "clear and present danger" to the population. On February 9 last year in Oakland, longshoremen were at the core of a labor-centered protest initiated by the Partisan

Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense in opposition to the government's anti-immigrant witchhunt and its "anti-terrorism" laws. More and larger such mobilizations, centered on the power of the working class, are needed to defend all our rights! Down with the ban on the New York City antiwar march! ■



TROTSKY

Marxism, Science and Technology

Under capitalism the mass of the world's population is forced to languish in misery and want while scientific advances are used largely to strengthen the imperialist war machine. In a 1926 radio broadcast in the Soviet Union, Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 October Revolution, noted how under proletarian rule the development of science and technology will open the door to the most far-ranging improvement of the conditions of humanity.



LENIN

Just as inside the hull of a steamship impenetrable partitions are placed so that in the event of an accident the ship will not sink all at once, so also in man's consciousness there are numberless impenetrable partitions: in one sector, or even in a dozen sectors, you can find the most revolutionary scientific thinking; but beyond the partition lies philistinism of the highest degree. This is the great significance of Marxism, as thought that generalizes all human experience: that it helps to break down these internal partitions of consciousness through the integrity of its world outlook....

Technology and science develop not in a vacuum but in human society, which consists of classes. The ruling class, the possessing class, controls technology and through it controls nature. Technology in itself cannot be called either militaristic or pacifistic. In a society in which the ruling class is militaristic, technology is in the service of militarism.

It is considered unquestionable that technology and science undermine superstition. But the class character of society sets substantial limits here too. Take America. There, church sermons are broadcast by radio, which means that the radio is serving as a means of spreading prejudices. Such things don't happen here, I think—the Society of Friends of Radio watches over this, I hope? Under the socialist system science and technology as a whole will undoubtedly be directed against religious prejudices, against superstition, which reflect the weakness of man before man or before nature. What, indeed, does a "voice from heaven" amount to when there is being broadcast all over the country a voice from the Polytechnical Museum?

—Leon Trotsky, "Radio, Science, Technology, and Society" (March 1926), printed in *Problems of Everyday Life* (Monad Press [1973])

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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The closing date for news in this issue is 11 February.

No. 797

14 February 2003

Black History Month Events

**Don't Crawl for the Democrats—
The Other Party of Racism and War
U.S. Imperialism's Legacy of Jim Crow**

Sponsored by: Labor Black League for Social Defense
Sunday, February 23, 3 p.m.

BAY AREA

1634 Telegraph, 3rd floor, Oakland
For more information: (510) 839-0851

**Down With the Attacks on Civil Liberties and the
Racist War on Immigrants and Blacks!
For Class Struggle Against Racist
U.S. Imperialist Rulers!**

Saturday, February 22, 3 p.m.

NEW YORK CITY

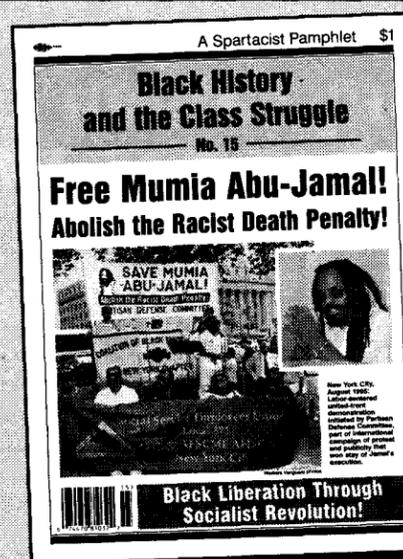
Columbia University
Hamilton Hall, Rm. 517
(Take 1 or 9 to 116th St. stop)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

**Lessons of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement
A Revolutionary Program for
Fighting Imperialist War**

Thursday, February 27, 7 p.m.

BOSTON

Boston Univ. Photonics Bldg.
8 St. Mary's Street, Room 205
For more information: (617) 666-9453



Black History No.15
\$1 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Marxist Bulletin 5

**WHAT STRATEGY
FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism
VS.
Black Nationalism**

Key documents and articles
1955-1978

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Marxist Bulletin No. 5 (revised)
\$1.50 (72 pages)

IG on ILWU and NYC Transit Worthless Pilots in Stormy Weather

James P. Cannon, the founding leader of American Trotskyism, once remarked that in debating leftist opponents who practice misrepresentation, literary forgery and outright lies, one felt more the need for hip boots and a shovel than a pen. This more than accurately describes our sentiment in having to respond to the manifestly fraudulent and dimwitted slanders that the Internationalist Group (IG) continues to hurl against our organization. But as Cannon noted, however distasteful it may be, such a task is in the line of our duty as Marxists. The fight to build a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat means struggling not only against the current misleaders in the labor bureaucracy but also against those who claim to offer a revolutionary alternative.

Ever since the tiny coterie of those who now head the IG defected from our organization, they have loudly proclaimed themselves to be the sole repository of our revolutionary heritage on the face of the planet. And this could be a point of confusion for those who are looking for a program of struggle against the depredations of capitalist imperialism.

In cyberspace, the IG issues thundering cries for the defeat of U.S. imperialism, more often than not investing forces very distant from Trotskyism, much less the proletariat, with the capacity to accomplish this task. To the unwary this could sound very enticing indeed. But as V. I. Lenin, the leader of the only successful workers revolution in history, noted in his article "The Revolutionary Phrase" (21 February 1918): "By revolutionary phrase-making we mean the repetition of revolutionary slogans irrespective of objective circumstances at a given turn in events, in the given state of affairs obtaining at the time. The slogans are superb, alluring, intoxicating, but there are no grounds for them."

Currently, the IG is making much of its intervention at a "National Labor Conference Against Taft-Hartley and Union-Busting" held on December 7 in San Francisco as against the "demoralized outlook" of the Spartacist League. In an article titled "SL: Hard to Starboard" (*The Internationalist*, January-February 2003), they take us to task for not belying up and forking over the \$25-a-head to enter this conference and intervening from the floor. Asking "Was this abstention some kind of 'ultra-left sectarianism'?" the article answers: "Far from it. In fact, the SL's line on the longshore conflict is a telling example of its rapid motion to the right."

But this conference had little to nothing to do with the conflict that saw the Bush administration come down against the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) with the slave-labor Taft-Hartley law in the name of "national security." The IG itself admits that "overall the conference was a talk shop for union bureaucrats who wanted to blow off steam but opposed any real mobilization of the power of labor against Taft-Hartley and imperialist war." Yet they go on to tout their participation in the "talk shop" as if they were in the trenches of the class struggle.

The Internationalist reprints the leaflet it put out specially for this event and the text of the remarks made by IG leader Abram Negrete. Strutting and fretting his five minutes on the stage, Negrete issued pronouncements calling on the ILWU to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) war matériel and strike against Taft-Hartley and for longshoremen to rip up the contract deal which, by the time of the conference, had been agreed to by the top union leadership (and which the membership had not even seen). It was truly a tale full of sound and fury, signifying nothing given that the instrumentalizing for implementing such demands, i.e., the ranks of the union,

were in their overwhelming majority decidedly absent from this conference.

The IG contrasts this performance with the supposed "hard" right turn of the Spartacist League, a charge they try to substantiate by citing a 17 October statement written by...themselves! Titled "Defend Iraq—Defeat U.S. Imperialism!" the 17 October IG statement boasts that its members were "present on the dock workers' picket lines in Oakland daily during the lockout" of the ILWU by the PMA shipping bosses in October. From here it goes on to declare that in contrast, "the SL was barely present at the



ILWU picket line stops attempt to move ship out of Port Hueneme near Los Angeles during lockout last fall.

picket lines and its propaganda ducked every single issue in which the dock workers' struggle intersected the war!"

This statement was such a demonstrable *lie* to anyone who had read our propaganda that the IG dared not try to peddle it in two prior leaflets they handed out on the docks, where hundreds of longshoremen bought our paper from our members on the picket lines. The IG completely dropped the statement from its "Hard to Starboard." Here, they simply cite the following, taken from their 17 October piece:

"The Spartacist League 'failed to mention the issue of war materiel, much less call to boycott it.... Nor did the front-page article in *Workers Vanguard* (4 October) utter a word of criticism of union leader Jim Spinoso, who tried to introduce flag-waving "anti-terrorist" slogans...; nor, for that matter did it call on dock workers to defy the Taft-Hartley injunction which was clearly in the works, or urge that the rest of the working class undertake strike action against the slave labor law'."

The article goes on to declare with feigned astonishment, "This silence is all the more striking because only a month beforehand, the Spartacist League had highlighted the issue of war materiel, criticizing the ILWU tops for 'cynical empty words' about the war on Iraq, because they 'have sworn in advance that they will continue to load military shipments in the event of a strike' (WV, 6 September)."

Actually we fought to mobilize the union against the government's "war on terror" months before the contract battle began. A contingent of longshoremen were at the core of our labor-centered protest in Oakland last February 9, which was called around the demands "No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt!" This protest was a real, if modest, demonstration *in action* of a class-struggle program in opposition to the class collaborationism of the union bureaucracy and the racial and ethnic hostilities it foments that are a critical barrier to class consciousness and struggle. And

as the hundreds of longshoremen who have bought our press know, this was exactly the program we put forward in issue after issue of *Workers Vanguard* throughout the contract battle.

Political Sanitation

For all its calls for militant "fightback" by the ILWU, the IG's audience has not been the membership of the union, where WV readers would be quick to see through their lies. On the contrary, the IG peddled its wares in the shadow of the union bureaucracy and the swamp of the Bay Area reformist left at the Taft-Hartley

addressed to the ILWU contract battle:

• "ILWU: Union Gains Under the Gun" (WV No. 784, 12 July 2002): "It could not be clearer that longshoremen must be mobilized in action to beat back these attacks. Instead the ILWU leadership has mobilized the rank and file to salute the flag, abjectly reassuring the capitalist rulers that the last thing they want is class struggle.... Spinoso & Co. closed ranks behind the 'war on terror' last fall, when they endorsed the call for increased security on the waterfront and proposed that longshoremen be its guardians."

• "ILWU Threatened by 'National Unity' Crusade" (WV No. 785, 9 August 2002): "At the same time that it's on its knees before the PMA, the ILWU leadership pursues the utterly futile strategy of lobbying the capitalist Democratic Party.... In the midst of an economic recession and with an aggressively hostile government, the longshoremen are indeed in a tough position. But it is false to think that if you just keep your head down, they'll leave you alone. There's no hope if the union surrenders its power in advance. Every concession won by the workers took hard struggle against the bosses and their government. A prerequisite is to remove the roadblocks to class struggle, beginning by waging a political fight against the present labor leadership, which sees the world through the same lens as the ruling class and whose purpose is to ensure the subordination of the workers to the 'national interests' of the enemy class."

• "Bush Steps Up Threats Against ILWU" (WV No. 786, 6 September 2002): "Any move to use the military to break the ILWU could very well trigger a popular backlash in support of the union. The need would be posed to mobilize the entire labor movement in defense of the longshoremen."

"But this requires a fight against the policies of the labor misleadership that has pledged loyalty to the government's 'war on terror' at home and abroad that serves as the pretext for the capitalists' attack on the ILWU.... Thus Spinoso & Co. are directly aiding the capitalists who

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Spartacus Youth Club Forums & Classes

BOSTON

Tuesday, 7 p.m.

February 18: **The Marxist Understanding of Class Society, the Family and Women's Oppression**

Boston University, George Sherman Union Smoking Lounge

Information and readings: (617) 666-9453 or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

CHICAGO

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

February 18: **On the Origins of Women's Oppression**

University of Chicago, Cobb Hall 5811 S. Ellis, Room TBA

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441 or e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.

March 1: **The Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe**

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215 (Vermont/Beverly Red Line station)

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239 or e-mail: slsycla@cs.com

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.

February 18: **U.S. Imperialism Is the World's Biggest Oppressor—Defend Iraq!**

Columbia University 306 Hamilton Hall

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025 or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, 6:30 p.m.

March 5: **Capitalism and Women's Oppression—For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

University of Toronto Sidney Smith, Room TBA

100 St. George Street Information and readings: (416) 593-4138 or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Tuesdays, 5:30 p.m.

February 25: **For Unconditional Military Defense of North Korea, China, Vietnam, Cuba!**

For Workers Political Revolution Against Stalinist Bureaucratism!

University of British Columbia Student Union Building, Room 211

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353 or e-mail: tllt@look.ca. (In the event of a UBC Teaching Assistant strike, call for location change.)

Science and the Battle Against Racism and Obscurantism

It is hardly news that racism is alive and well in America. This was amply demonstrated by the pro-segregationist accolades heaped upon the not-yet-late Strom Thurmond by former Senate Republican leader Trent Lott (see "Undead Racist Zombies of Mississippi (And Beyond)," *WV No. 794*, 3 January). And it's not just the racist ravings of bourgeois politicians. Racial oppression today can be seen in the daily life of black people—from racist cop terror to unemployment and more.

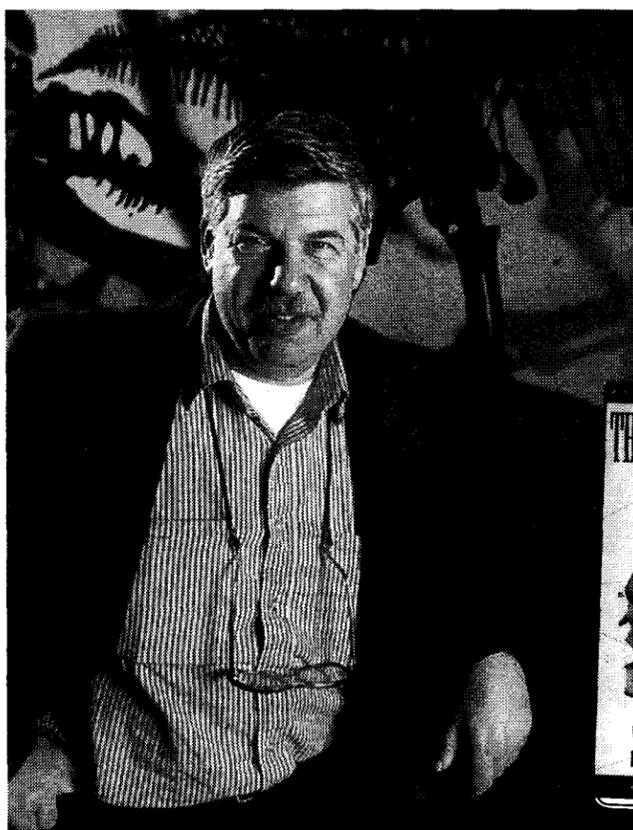
In the 18th and 19th centuries, white-supremacist ideology, with the patina of religious sanction, was used by the slave-owners to justify black chattel slavery. Today, black oppression is the legacy of the unfinished business of the Civil War, the Second American Revolution which abolished slavery. The Civil War was followed by Radical Reconstruction, which promised full equality for black people. But as codified in the Compromise of 1877, the promises of Radical Reconstruction were cast aside by the Northern bourgeoisie—the magnates of industry, transport and banking who derived their profits from the exploitation of "free labor"—in its deal with the Southern landholders.

The racist ideology of the Old South was carried over to justify the new conditions of exploitation of the black freedmen, most of whom became sharecroppers on the former plantations. With the withdrawal of Northern troops after 1877, racial oppression was literally the law under the political structure of Jim Crow segregation, enforced by the official police and the extralegal terror of the KKK. It wasn't until the struggles of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s that the legal institutions of Jim Crow were overturned in the South.

The ideology of racism also played a key role for the United States as it emerged as an imperialist power around the turn of the last century. American military interventions abroad—such as the invasion of the Philippines in the 1898 Spanish-American War—were justified on the basis of the "white man's burden," i.e., that white America had a mission to "civilize" the dark-skinned "savages" of the world. Today, the language may be a bit less crude but the same pretext is used, as evidenced by U.S. imperialism's coming bloody war to "liberate" Iraq.

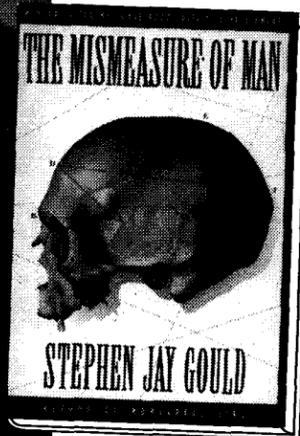
The fight against black oppression is a strategic question of the American workers revolution. Our program of revolutionary integrationism is based on the pioneering work of Richard Fraser in the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party

In Honor of Stephen Jay Gould



Terrence McCarthy

Renowned paleontologist and author Gould powerfully exposed pseudo-scientific justifications for racism.



in the 1950s. Revolutionary integrationism is counterposed to the liberal notion that black people can achieve real social equality under capitalism. Rather, it is based on the understanding that the racial oppression of black people is rooted in the American capitalist system. Fraser argued that American blacks are an oppressed race-color caste, forcibly segregated at the bottom of capitalist society. But that bottom layer includes a substantial number of black workers organized in powerful unions, from the auto industry to transport; i.e., black people are not just victims of racial oppression but, as a strategic sector of the multiracial working class, have real social power.

The ruling class will always use racial, ethnic, sexual, religious and other divisions within the working class to prevent the proletariat from uniting against its common enemy, the bourgeoisie. Overcoming the poisonous racism that divides the working class is a critical task of the multiracial vanguard party which will

lead the U.S. proletariat in a social revolution to abolish the capitalist system. The fight for black freedom in America is thus strategic for the emancipation of all of labor and the oppressed. Only the seizure of power by the workers will open the road to the construction of an egalitarian socialist society. And only then will racial oppression and the myriad other abominations of capitalism be cast into the rubbish bin of history.

Debunking "Scientific" Racism: Gould vs. Biological Determinism

The same ideology used to justify anti-black racism in the 19th century was used to justify the anti-immigrant hysteria of the early 20th century. And this was given full backing by the scientific establishment. It is therefore appropriate to honor the contributions of a man who throughout his life conscientiously opposed the "scientific" racist theories of biological determinism. That man was Stephen Jay Gould, renowned paleontologist and au-

thor who died of cancer on 20 May 2002.

Gould was a rare breed. Ignoring the disdain of assorted snobbish members of academia, he, like the late Carl Sagan, believed that a serious scientist could and also should communicate his ideas to a broad audience. Despite an earlier bout with cancer and the overwhelming demands on his time for research and teaching, Gould produced finished copy from his manual typewriter for his essay column "This View of Life" in the magazine *Natural History*—every issue for 25 years!

For us Marxists, Gould's greatest political work was *The Mismeasure of Man*, originally published in 1981. This book is a magnificent gift to anyone interested in fighting inequality. In it, Gould exposes the various historical proofs of "scientific" racism based on consciously—or worse, unconsciously—twisted data that have been used to justify existing racial prejudices and the lording of one class, race and sex over another. On the title page, Gould quotes Charles Darwin: "If the misery of our poor be caused not by the laws of nature, but by our institutions, great is our sin."

As Gould shows, the history of the IQ test is particularly revealing because Alfred Binet, its French inventor, developed the test for benevolent reasons: to identify children who needed extra attention. Transplanted to the U.S. at the turn of the 20th century, amid the rise of American imperialism, the testing of "intelligence" to obtain a single quantifiable number—an "intelligence quotient" or IQ—was used to reinforce racist and anti-immigrant governmental policies, particularly the imposition of quotas against immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. From the turn of the century through the 1920s, the eugenics movement dominated the American biological scientific mainstream, with its fear of the "Nordic" American stock being bred out through inundation by (and interbreeding with) immigrants from Italy, Poland, etc. As Jonathan Marks notes in his fascinating book *Human Biodiversity: Genes, Race, and History* (1995):

"We see in the eugenics movement how any study of human biology encodes social values, a situation that the study of clam biology or fly biology does not have to face. We see how scientists expounded on subjects they knew little about, derived results we can now see as thoroughly unjustified, and validated their own social prejudices with the 'objectivity' of science."

There is absolutely no scientific basis for racial divisions within the human species; "race" is nothing but a social construct. Any "scientific" idea that there are biologically "inferior" and "superior" races merely reflects a social consensus, backed by the force of ruling-class ideology. This logically leads to the notion that the "superior" race should be encouraged to reproduce, and the "inferior" should be eliminated. This was cast into law by Congress in the restrictive immigration bill passed in 1924, which sought to protect the "purity" of America's racial stock against the dark-skinned peoples of the world. Gould noted in *Mismeasure*, referring to the American government's refusal to allow Jewish refugees fleeing the Holocaust entry into the U.S.: "We know what happened to many who wished to leave but had nowhere to go. The paths to destruction are often indirect, but ideas can be agents as sure as guns and bombs." Indeed, the decline of the eugenics movement in the U.S. just prior to World War II was largely caused by the embarrassment of Nazi Germany carrying out its conclusions in gruesome practice.



Young Spartacus

Harvard University, 1994: Student protesters denounce *The Bell Curve*, a "scholarly" rehash of racist theories of black inferiority.

But the hoary notions of biological determinism have never been far from the surface. When in the 1960s the black ghettos exploded across the North, expressing the anger and frustration born of the unmet promises of the civil rights movement, no less an authority than the *Journal of the American Medical Association* asked: "Is there something peculiar about the violent slum dweller that differentiates him from his peaceful neighbors?" In *Mismeasure*, Gould responds:

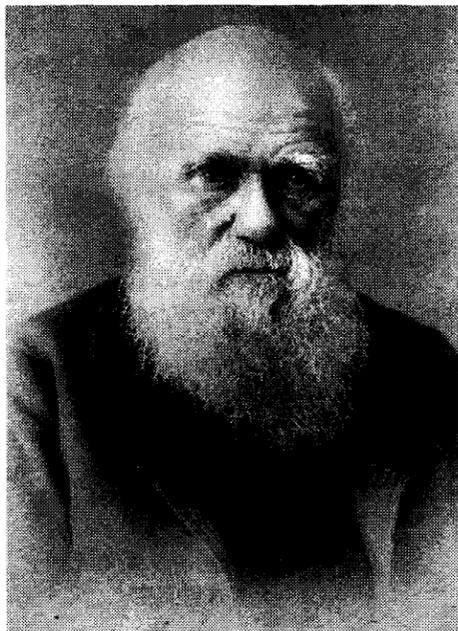
"But why should the violent behavior of some desperate and discouraged people point to a specific disorder of their brain while the corruption and violence of some congressmen and presidents provokes no similar theory?... Shall we concentrate upon an unfounded speculation for the violence of some—one that follows the determinist philosophy of blaming the victim—or shall we try to eliminate the oppression that builds ghettos and saps the spirit of their unemployed in the first place?"

In 1996 Gould re-issued an expanded version of *Mismeasure* after Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, longtime purveyors of pseudo-science in the service of racism, published *The Bell Curve*, a book which rehashed timeworn theories of the genetic inferiority of black people and resurrected long-discredited "data" in order to bolster the stripping away of all social services for blacks and the poor. Gould added a new chapter making the point that the popularity of *The Bell Curve* had less to do with any novelty of yet another set of racist arguments and more to do with the political climate in which the ruling class required ideological affirmation of social inequalities. We

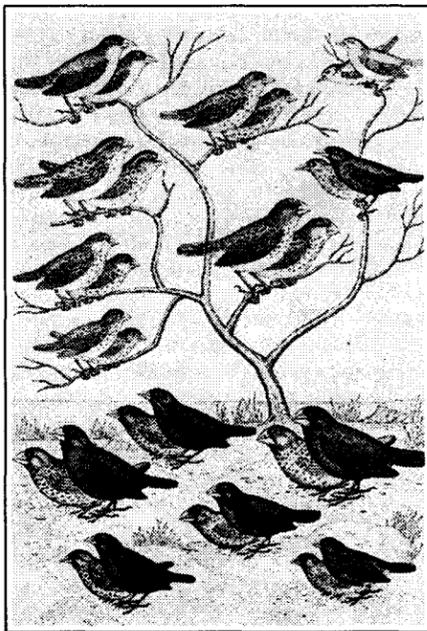
the white European/North American ruling classes. But the existing fossil record strongly supported Africa as the source. Subsequent fossil discoveries and the analysis of mitochondrial DNA from existing human populations have only reinforced that conclusion.

In 1984 Gould gave a series of lectures in Johannesburg, South Africa on the African origins of humans, and the racist bias which prevented scientists from acknowledging the overwhelming empirical evidence for years. Ironically, he spoke at the University of the Witwatersrand, historically designated as a "white only" institution by the apartheid regime. With Gould's teachings challenging the very basis of white-supremacist South Africa, it took some courage to travel there. While in Pretoria, he wrote a powerful essay, "Human Equality Is a Contingent Fact of History" (reprinted in *The Flamingo's Smile* [1985]). The essay is an ardent declaration of the basic equality of all humans and a denunciation of the history of biological categorization of humans into a hierarchy of races—a theme he returned to throughout his life. For Gould, this was not moral exhortation, but simply a statement of *biological fact*. Human evolution could have taken a rather different course: as Gould asks, what if one or some of the other twigs on the evolutionary branch containing *Homo sapiens* had survived to the present? Referring to the hominid *Australopithecus robustus*, which died out less than a million years ago, Gould states:

"It might well have survived and presented us today with all the ethical



Culver



American Museum of Natural History

Charles Darwin, author of theory of evolution through natural selection. Drawing of finches arranged by Darwin to show pattern of evolution.

wrote in "The 'Bell Curve' and Genocide U.S.A.": (WV No. 611, 25 November 1994): "Thus *The Bell Curve*...was an instant phenomenon; the 'science' for a ruling class which promises to combat the problems of the ghettos with boot camps, prisons, capital punishment, and by gutting social services."

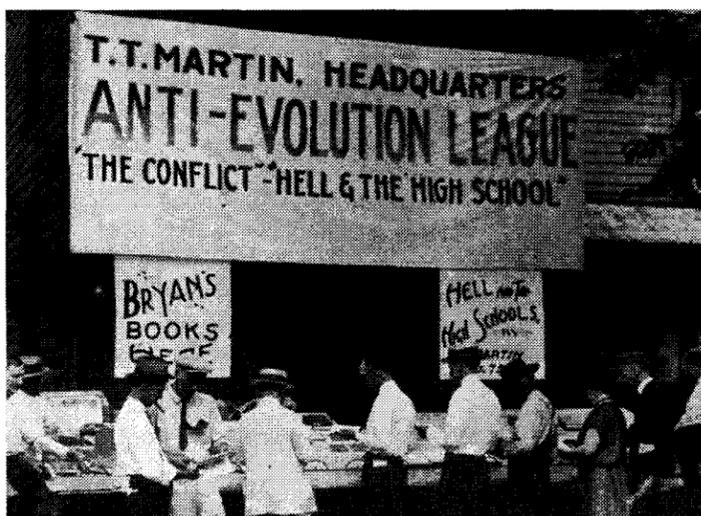
Human Origins: Contingent Equality vs. Separate Races

The scientists of the 19th century who claimed that race had any biological significance had little to go on except measurements of brain size, skull dimensions and the like. Gould demolished those "studies" in *Mismeasure*. But the 19th century also saw the development of paleontology—the study of the fossil record—as a science. The first Neanderthal bones were found in Europe in the mid 1800s. With Raymond Dart's discovery of a much older hominid fossil, the "Taung Baby," in 1924 in Africa, there was a great hunt for yet earlier hominid fossils tracing human evolution, especially outside of Africa. Roy Chapman Andrews' famous expedition to Mongolia in the 1920s—which discovered the first dinosaur eggs and illuminated the evolution of the Ceratopsian dinosaurs—was actually meant to find hominid fossils in Asia. The idea of an African origin for modern humans (accepted by Darwin as well) was something of an anathema for

dilemmas of a human species truly and markedly inferior in intelligence (with its cranial capacity only one-third our own). Would we have built zoos, established reserves, promoted slavery, committed genocide, or perhaps even practiced kindness? Human equality is a contingent fact of history."

The possibility of co-existence of ancestors, or cousins, on the branch *Homo* is not so remote—the Neanderthals died out a mere 30,000 years ago. The history of life is full of examples of new species radiating off an ancestral line without the extinction of the old stock. For modern humans, it simply didn't happen that way.

There is no scientific basis for divid-



Corbis Hulton-Deutsch

Dayton, Tennessee during 1925 trial of John Scopes for teaching evolution in school.

Hands Off Professor Dini!

The Justice Department of religious nut John Ashcroft has targeted Michael L. Dini, associate professor of biology at Texas Tech University, in an inquiry for "religious discrimination." Why? Because Dini requires biomedical students wanting a letter of recommendation from him for post-graduate studies to "truthfully and forthrightly affirm a scientific answer" to the question of how the human species originated. In a compelling defense of evolutionary science against religious "creationism," Dini wrote on his Web site:

"Whereas medicine is historically rooted first in the practice of magic and later in religion, modern medicine is an endeavor that springs from the sciences, biology first among these. The central, unifying principle of biology is the theory of evolution, which includes both micro- and macro-evolution, and which extends to ALL species. How can someone who does not accept the most important theory in biology expect to properly practice in a field that is so heavily based on biology?"

It is for this rational and reasonable statement that the sinister Liberty Legal Institute, a grouping of reactionary Christian lawyers whose other

aims include eliminating abortion rights, filed the complaint against Dini that prompted Ashcroft's investigation. With an administration that is driving ahead with the state-sponsored intrusion of religion into all aspects of life, all manner of bible-thumping reactionaries feel the wind in their sails. Evidently, these religious bigots desire a return to the days when medical problems were dealt with through bloodletting and prayer.

Increasing attempts by government authorities to force the teaching of creationism represent a challenge to one of the most basic gains of the 1776 American Revolution—separation of church and state. The fact that professors like Dini are hounded by the state demonstrates how the American bourgeoisie today rejects Enlightenment rationalism in favor of religious mysticism and anti-scientific prejudice. For the bourgeoisie, it is easier to rule over an ignorant population mired in the regimentation and servility of religious backwardness. **Defend the separation of church and state! Keep religion out of the schools! Hands off Professor Dini!**

ing humanity into biologically distinct "races." In the essay cited above, Gould pointed to the results from electrophoretic analysis of proteins produced in human cells:

"Thus, with electrophoresis we could finally ask the key question: How much genetic difference exists among human races?"

"The answer, surprising for many people, soon emerged without ambiguity: damned little. Intense studies for more than a decade have detected not a single 'race gene'—that is, a gene present in all members of one group and none of another. Frequencies vary, often considerably, among groups, but all human races are much of a muchness. We can measure so much variation among individuals *within* any race that we encounter very little new variation by adding another race to the sample. In other words, the great preponderance of human variation occurs within groups, not in the differences between them. My colleague Richard Lewontin...who did much of the original electrophoretic work on human variation, puts it dramatically: If, God forbid, the holocaust occurs and 'only the Xhosa people of the southern tip of Africa survived, the human species would still retain 80 percent of its genetic variation'."

This conclusion is reinforced by more modern molecular genetic analysis, which can detect more subtle variations invisible to electrophoresis. Jonathan Marks, in *Human Biodiversity*, points to the results from a genetic analysis called "restriction fragment length polymorphism" (RFLP)—the DNA-testing technique that has been used to exonerate quite a number of death row inmates who otherwise would have been executed. Marks notes:

"These data, at the most fundamental genetic levels—the presence of one nucleotide versus another—reinforce what was established in the 1960s from cruder genetic comparisons based on proteins: genetic polymorphism in the human species is far greater than polymorphism. In other words, most genetic variations are found in most populations,

though in varying proportions. The study of human genetic variation, then, is principally the study of diversity within populations; to focus on genetic differences *between* populations is to define a very narrow and biologically trivial question."

Genetic variation is nature's way of protecting a species from the attack of a new parasite or pathogen, or to adapt to new environmental conditions. The eugenicists' goal of preserving a supposedly "pure" Nordic stock would necessarily lead to inbreeding and a collapse of essential genetic variation. If you want that, just look at the chinless wonders of the British royal family.

Gould and Darwin: Upstart or Grandson?

Gould was grounded in Darwin and paid many tributes to his revolutionary ideas. Contrary to popular notions, Darwin did not "invent" evolution—the idea that species may change over time was acknowledged by natural scientists who also believed in divine creation. The revolutionary aspect of Darwin's idea was that the whole evolution of the natural world could be explained on a purely materialist basis—natural selection—rather than through any supernatural intervention. The motor force was survival of the fittest: all organisms produce more progeny than can possibly survive within their ecological niche—the most intense competition is *within* a species, whose members all compete for the same lifestyle and food sources. The competition *between* species is important, but on a slightly lower level. For example, lions like to eat antelopes, and antelopes, naturally, do not want to be eaten. Faster antelopes tend to survive, but they still have to compete among themselves to assure that they can mate and produce progeny inheriting their speed.

Gould and his co-thinker Niles Eldredge developed their most famous and sometimes controversial contribution to evolutionary theory: "punctuated equilibrium." Eldredge wrote in *The Pattern of Evolution* (1999) an interesting account of how the problems of gaps in the fossil record had been addressed by others, but that no one had figured out the motor force for the apparent "abrupt" changes in evolutionary development. Gould and Eldredge argued for periods of stasis punctuated by rapid leaps (within the scope of geologic time), as Gould put it in *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes* (1994) "a jerky, or episodic, rather than a smoothly gradual, pace of change"—a dialectical view which fits the current geological and paleontological evidence.

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Defend Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

multiracial working people of America and the semicolonial masses of Iraq have a common enemy in this war-crazed, labor-hating gang in the White House and the capitalist class it represents. As Bush & Co. push through massive tax cuts for Wall Street, they are taking the ax even to school lunch programs for poor kids. While the official unemployment rate has gone up by 50 percent in the last two years, House majority leader Tom DeLay denounced the unions as "a clear and present danger to the security of the United States." Having rounded up hundreds of non-citizens and hauled in thousands more for interrogation, the government now wants to assert the right to strip anyone of their citizenship if they are found to be supporting an organization the government deems terrorist.

But the reformist and liberal organizers of the antiwar protests in the U.S.—from Workers World Party's International ANSWER coalition to the more mainstream liberal United for Peace—aim not

to mobilize workers and minorities in opposition to American imperialism but to appeal to a wing of the imperialist ruling class, namely "antiwar" Democrats. To the extent the Democratic Party liberals have opposed an invasion of Iraq, it has been to argue that North Korea's nuclear weapons program makes it a more immediate threat. It is in the interest of the international proletariat to stand for the unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, including its right to nuclear arms, against the imperialists.

To build an antiwar movement with bourgeois politicians is to build an antiwar movement with the very forces in whose interest imperialist war is waged. This is crucial for today's activists to understand. We print below, in edited form, a presentation by Spartacist League comrade Helene Brosius on the Vietnam antiwar movement, when the same class-collaborationist strategy that is advocated today in the name of the "broadest unity" served to deflect enormous opportunities for genuine class-struggle opposition against the war. *Down with U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq!*

Lessons of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement A Revolutionary Program for Fighting Imperialist War

I want to start with a quote that evokes what the end of the Vietnam War was like. It's from a book called *Our Great Spring Victory*, the memoirs of Vietnamese People's Army chief of staff General Van Tien Dung. He was the commander at the time of the final offensive that liberated Saigon on 30 April 1975:

"The American evacuation was carried out from the tops of thirteen tall buildings chosen as landing pads for their helicopters. The number of these landing pads shrank gradually as tongues of fire from our advancing troops came closer. At the American embassy, the boarding point for the evacuation copters was a scene of monumental confusion, with the Americans' flunkies fighting their way in, smashing doors, climbing walls, climbing each other's backs, tussling, brawling, and trampling each other as they sought to flee...."

"They mobilized as many as six million American soldiers in rotation, dropped over 10 million tons of bombs, and spent over \$300 billion, but in the end the U.S. ambassador had to crawl up to the helicopter pad looking for a way to flee."

Despite the myth perpetrated by the American left, the antiwar movement did not end the war in Vietnam. The U.S. was defeated on the battlefield. This victory was a tremendous watershed. It was a wonderful boon for the working class and oppressed worldwide: for at least ten years, the bloody hand of U.S. imperialism was stayed by what's called the "Vietnam syndrome." That is, that the American public had had enough with seeing the body bags come back.

The Spartacist League fought for victory to the fighting forces of Vietnam, the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front (NLF) in the South. And after 1975, we were able to say, "Vietnam was a victory! 2, 3, many more defeats

for U.S. imperialism!"

The collapse of the Soviet Union, a degenerated workers state, in 1991-92 and the ascendancy of capitalist counter-revolution there, as well as the similar counterrevolutionary transformations in East Europe, were a huge setback for the world's working class, and one of the signal differences between today's period and the period of the Vietnam War that I'm going to talk about.

Seeing the hundreds of thousands of people milling around in the frigid air in Washington last Saturday was indeed reminiscent of the late 1960s and early '70s antiwar movement. Even the very words on the banners and signs were familiar: the liberal "all war is bad"-type pacifism. Another thing that was very familiar was the parade of Democrats—whether movie star Democrats, preacher Democrats, black misleader Democrats, or labor-misleader Democrats—on the platform. And the other familiar thing was the ostensible leftists, standing up there as supposed "honest center" antiwar folks, making sure everything was "peaceful and legal" and safe for their bourgeois friends on the platform.

We can really use some of the experiences from the Vietnam War period now to politically arm us as it's quite clear that Bush is barreling his way to war in Iraq. But this has to be done in a thoughtful way. The period is really quite different now. First of all, you have to start out from a Marxist position on war. We understand that war is endemic to capitalism. What's central is that you need to sweep away the whole capitalist system to get rid of imperialist war.

Imperialism has been the dominant system throughout the 20th century up



WV Photo
Spartacist-initiated contingent at January 18 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

through today. And American imperialism, whether under Democrats or Republicans, has acted like a world bully boy for the last 100 years. Especially since the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had been a counterweight to U.S. imperialism, America's rulers have felt free to stomp around the globe, brandishing their weapons of mass destruction.

Imperialists wage war on other countries basically in order to expand and conquer new markets. They have to find sources of cheap labor and cheap raw materials. And this leads, of course, to fierce competition among the different powers; very often to direct military confrontation. World War I and World War II are examples of that. Of course, a hefty military arsenal is a necessary part of this. After all, you have to enforce the worldwide capitalist drive for profits. Revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote very trenchantly on the question of war, especially in the lead-up to World War II. In his 1938 article "Lenin and Imperialist War," he explained: "A peace concluded by imperialists would only be a breathing spell before a new war. Only a revolutionary mass struggle against war and against imperialism which breeds war can secure a real peace."

That captures our view, that as long as the capitalist system exists, there will be war. And as long as there has been imperialist war, there have been pacifists and liberals running around screaming at the imperialists to "please stop." In a June 1932 letter, Trotsky wrote to his followers around the world, urging them not to let the workers' misleaders—and their pseudo-socialist tails who sound very much like Workers World and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) today—hold sway over the antiwar activists unopposed. The revolutionaries should intervene in these struggles "to pose the question of struggle against the war danger in a Marxist, Leninist manner." He went on: "If war is a continuation of politics, the struggle against war is a continuation of revolutionary politics." And this is the heart of our strategy today, as it was in the '60s and '70s Vietnam antiwar movement.

Take a Side—Defend Iraq!

Our revolutionary strategy sets us off from the rest of the so-called left. Take the current conflict, the impending war on Iraq. We blast our message: "Defend Iraq against U.S. attack!" Iraq is different from Vietnam, where the Vietnamese Stalinists were leading a social revolution, which meant that the population was fighting for something deeper than independence—a revolution to overthrow the system of capitalism. But we do take a position on the side of semicolonial Iraq—which is already the target of almost daily bombings by the British and the U.S.—against the predatory U.S. imperialists.

I heard that some of the people we met in the January 18 antiwar protest in Wash-

ington weren't clear about the difference between the slogans "Defend Iraq!" and "No to war!" I assure you, the bourgeoisie is very clear on this. "Defend Iraq" means that you don't just oppose the war, but that you have a side in it, against the Americans. And if you were a communist in Iraq, it would mean organizing for workers revolution there against the Hussein regime. We give not one iota of political support to Saddam Hussein, who, when he was a client of the U.S. before 1991, was—and still is—a butcher of Iraqi Kurds, workers, leftists, Shi'ite Muslims, students, et al.

Were the U.S. to somehow suffer defeat in this adventure, the planet would ring with the cheers of those who have been on the boot end of American imperialism—in Latin America, Africa, the Near East. Such an outcome would weaken the hand of American imperialism, while boosting the fortunes of others, such as the Palestinians in their struggle against Israeli occupation.

We call for class struggle at home against the U.S. imperialist rulers. This is the primary way to implement our revolutionary defensism of Iraq. The U.S. ruling class is the common enemy of the American and Iraqi working class and oppressed. Those warmakers are the same labor-hating gang that imposed the strike-breaking Taft-Hartley law against the longshore workers out in California last fall. They send the cops into the ghettos to kill black kids, lock up thousands of immigrants in the name of the "war on terror" and threaten the lives of all women by taking away our abortion rights. That's who the fake-left groups call on to stop the war.

We say "Down with the UN starvation blockade!" We understand that the UN is just a fig leaf for imperialist slaughter, a kind of talk shop for leaders of other countries to get up and make objections to what the U.S. is doing, and then acquiesce anyway. Our aim is to win workers, students and others provoked by the U.S.'s naked aggression to a revolutionary program of not only opposition to war but opposition to capitalist imperialism, which breeds war. And during the Vietnam War, our task was the same.

Vietnam and the War at Home

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), from which our tendency was expelled in 1963, was the main force behind the antiwar coalitions in the mid '60s and early '70s. The SWP was the master of class-collaborationist coalitions, as the Stalinist Communist Party had been in the 1930s. Those reformist groups which today speak of building the broadest movement, the most diverse movement, the most non-exclusionist movement, learned at the feet of the SWP.

As early as 1965, the SWP tried to impose a single-issue, reformist program on the lash-up that was called the New York City Fifth Avenue Peace Parade



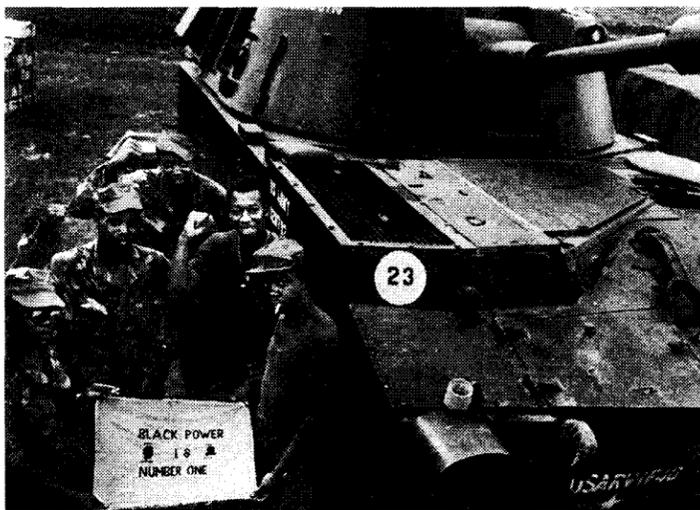
U.S. mass murderers scramble as Vietnamese Communists liberate Saigon, April 1975.

Committee. They tried to limit the slogan to "Stop the war now!" There was no way we were going to abandon our program for this kind of lowest-common-denominator politics, which was aiming to make the whole thing palatable to the preachers, the labor bureaucrats and any representative of the bourgeoisie that they hoped would soon stop by.

We were very much a minority at the time with our position of victory to the NLF, and we made a bloc in the 1965 march with a tiny group called the Committee to Aid the NLF, which proudly carried the NLF flag around, driving the SWP absolutely crazy. We carried signs saying "Victory to the NLF!" and "Unconditional, Immediate Withdrawal!" These were really very different slogans from the rest of the march.

The same year, at Cornell University we had a little group called the Young Socialist League (YSL). And we thought a really good way to concretize our slogan "Victory to the NLF!" would be to set up a table to collect money, with a big sign: "Guns for the NLF!" Within three hours, we had polarized the entire campus. It was wild—even other leftists didn't know what to make of it. The administration tried to ban us from the Student Union. We collected \$7.75 that day, which we immediately sent off in an international money order to the NLF. Just in case we all ended up in jail, we wanted to get that money out.

The furor lasted several weeks, and it was all over the press in godforsaken frozen upstate New York, and even New York City. The *New York Times* quoted a key sentence from a Student Union statement, that it's okay to gag the YSL because "funds raised may well be used to the detriment of Americans in Vietnam." Well, that, of course, was the point! The university threatened us with the Trading



Wide World

Vietnam War took place amid growing social turmoil in U.S. Black Marines in Vietnam with sign reading "Black Power Is Number One." Right: Troops called in to suppress 1967 Detroit ghetto revolt.



UPI

anti-racist whites in the South and North, including myself. I went to the South in 1964. It was really the beginning of my political education when I realized that the racism and the horrendous conditions of rural poverty that I saw in that corner of Tennessee would not be changed one bit by getting the vote. The whole system was rotten and had to be changed.

The Southern civil rights movement was a limited success. It ended legalized, Jim Crow segregation; it certainly did not end segregation in the South. But in the mid 1960s, the movement moved to the North. In the North, it was not a matter of legal segregation; it was a matter of segregated housing, lousy schools, job discrimination. In the North, the civil rights movement hit a brick wall. It was faced with challenging the racist capitalist system itself, and, of course, challenging the state that defends this system.

The move to the North led many black and white activists to rapidly outstrip

Our slogan "Vietnam, Watts—It's the same struggle!" was aimed at drawing a crucial link between the mass of enraged black youth and the left-moving antiwar protesters.

Black Troops Hated the Vietnam War

In the beginning, the Democrats and labor bureaucrats mostly didn't want to touch the antiwar movement with a ten-foot pole. The Democrats happily supported the war and their president, Lyndon B. Johnson, who was perpetrating it. And the AFL-CIO labor leaders were slavishly pro-Democratic Party and militantly hawkish on the war. Today, it's a slightly different situation, with a Republican administration and certain illusions in the Democratic Party.

There was a very rapid buildup of American forces in Vietnam. It reached 400,000 troops—though only a small percentage of those were combat troops—by the end of 1966. Bombs came down on North Vietnam on a daily basis for many years. More bomb tonnage was dropped on Vietnam than was dropped by all the combatants combined in World War II. In 1968, the NLF launched the courageous Tet Offensive. This was a coordinated military offensive of some 80-100,000 liberation fighters throughout South Vietnam. Tet showed unequivocally that this highly motivated force was determined to fight to the end. It really shook the American rulers, and it exposed the lie that victory was "just around the corner." U.S. casualties skyrocketed.

After Tet, 200,000 more men were drafted. The draft was a big deal. It got a lot of young men scared and very motivated. Many black draftees were acutely aware of the civil rights movement, the ghetto explosions, and were not too happy about going to fight for this government. This consciousness very much contributed to the state of mind of the combat troops. By this time, the U.S. fighting force was in a state of advanced decay. And I mean *advanced* decay. These troops were severely demoralized.

Garry Giannino, a comrade of ours, was a Navy medic in Vietnam just after Tet. He described the sort of barbarism that bred a combat force on the verge of mutiny in an article in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 513, 2 November 1990). This is what he said about "search and destroy" missions:

"You'd just burn a village down, destroy the grain stores and seal off all the bunkers, whether or not there were people inside. Nobody would bother going in to look, they would just take grenades and throw them in there or use a flamethrower."

Garry died in 1991 of cancer, probably brought on by exposure to Agent Orange and other chemicals used by the Americans in Vietnam.

The soldiers sent to Vietnam were kids, many were high-school dropouts. Over 30 percent of the combat troops were black. They had no idea where they were, and they were surrounded by a hostile population that was fighting for a social revolution. With casualties rising, many soldiers saw absolutely no reason for being in Vietnam, and being told to shoot young girls and old men, burn

down villages, etc. This led to even greater demoralization among the troops. There were perhaps 1,500—maybe more—American officers injured or killed by their own troops, often with fragmentation grenades, which is where the term "fraggings" comes from.

The black soldiers really knew, better than anyone else, that Vietnam was a dirty imperialist war. They got shafted in 'Nam; they got shafted when they came back to the ghetto upheavals, unemployment, discrimination and poverty. World heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali was hailed by blacks as a hero when he refused to be drafted and said, "No Viet Cong ever called me" the n-word. Last weekend, a comrade spotted a woman carrying a sign: "Saddam Hussein never called me n----r."

By 1970, it was clear that the U.S. was losing, and a section of the bourgeoisie was becoming convinced that the war was damaging the interests of American imperialism and that the U.S. should pull out. While the protests were swelling, the social-patriotism of the protests remained dominant, just as it is today. The majority of protesters were liberals, far more concerned about the thousands of body bags coming back to this country than they were about the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese. Not that they didn't care about the slaughter of the Vietnamese, but that was not their main concern.

During this period, the SWP's class-collaborationist vehicle was an organization called NPAC (National Peace Action Coalition), under the single slogan "Out Now!" NPAC was completely congruous with this kind of bourgeois pacifism. Meanwhile, a section of the movement was rapidly moving to the left and looking for a lot more answers about much broader questions. And we began to make a name for ourselves with our revolutionary program from 1968 to 1971-72.

I want to talk a little about the ISO, which has always had trouble deciding which side of the class line it's on. They view the degenerated and deformed workers states run by the Stalinists as some kind of variant of an exploitative regime and refuse to defend them. They claimed that the Soviet Union and East Europe were "state capitalist," as bad as, or even worse than, Western capitalism—a view they today hold about Cuba, China, North Korea and Vietnam, the remaining deformed workers states.

During the Vietnam War, the ISO's predecessor, the International Socialists (I.S.), at first actually refused to call for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the troops. Later they did call for withdrawal of troops, and finally, for a brief period of time, when it became popular among a growing section of the antiwar protesters, they actually adopted the slogan "Victory to the NLF!"

This position was completely at odds with their "third camp" politics of "neither Moscow nor Washington." Their argument was, "Well, this is a national liberation struggle." A bogus argument. In this period, the North Vietnamese deformed workers state was very heavily involved in the war in Vietnam, and the Vietnamese

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Spartacist

New York City, 1965: After reformist protest organizers tried to ban our call for "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution," Spartacist contingent defiantly marched with Committee to Aid the NLF.

with the Enemy Act, the Foreign Agents Registration Act (which carried a sentence of five years and \$10,000), etc. But nothing ever came of it.

Of course, three years later *thousands* of youth were running through the streets of San Francisco, New York and Washington, screaming "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh—The NLF is gonna win!" Consciousness changes very rapidly through social struggle.

There's another important factor that sets off the '60s from now. By the time that the military buildup in Vietnam really began, in 1965, the U.S. had gone through a decade of wrenching social struggle known as the Southern civil rights movement. This was a struggle to gain simple, legal equality with whites—the right to vote, the use of public facilities, basic stuff. Thousands of blacks were drawn into the movement in the South and they risked their lives. Hundreds suffered under the whips and dogs of Southern sheriffs. Some died at the hands of the KKK. Many endured beatings by enraged racists (some of whom later turned out to be working for the FBI).

The struggle also animated a layer of

Martin Luther King's "turn the other cheek" pacifism, which was so highly touted at last weekend's march in Washington by the ISO and others. And many even rejected for a time Martin Luther King's and other black leaders' allegiance to the Democratic Party. Out of this split, the militant black nationalist—though ultimately reformist—Black Panther Party was formed.

1964 was the beginning of the ghetto uprisings. The first was in Harlem. There was a demonstration against the police killing of a 15-year-old kid. The cops came in and attacked the demonstration, and the ghetto exploded. We were very involved and tried to organize garment workers to come up to Harlem and defend the ghetto. We helped organize a big demonstration in the Garment District. After Harlem, the ghettos in almost every major city—I think some 200 in all—exploded, including the Watts ghetto in Los Angeles. The streets of American cities were filled with tanks and troops.

So, going into the Vietnam period, this country was a social tinderbox. You had masses of frustrated, enraged black people, deeply distrustful of the government.

Defend Iraq...

(continued from page 7)

were not just a bunch of "liberation fighters." And not only that: behind them stood the Soviet Union, which the I.S./ISO considered to be "imperialist." But "principles" for the ISO have never been a big issue. They just follow what's popular.

Today, the "Russian question"—defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states—is very sharply posed in North Korea. We call for unconditional military defense of North Korea against imperialism, and we defend their right to develop nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the American nuclear madmen. During the Vietnam War, our slogan was "Soviet nuclear shield must cover Hanoi, Peking!" In part, that slogan was a polemic against the Soviet Stalinists, who sought to conciliate the imperialists.

In 1970, Nixon moved troops into Cambodia, a neighboring country, and we raised the slogan, "All Indochina must go Communist!" This was also a double-edged sword, challenging the Stalinists to take power. In 1975, when it looked like Saigon was finally going to be liberated, we had a banner headline, "Take Saigon!" in part because we were figuring that any minute the Stalinists might try to sell out the struggle.

Labor Struggle and the Antiwar Movement

The New Left was dismissive of the working class in general. A couple of weeks ago, there was a dramatic action by Scottish train drivers who refused to drive a load of war materials to the biggest NATO munitions depot in Europe. That's a very powerful gesture. Students cannot refuse to load arms; students do not have that kind of power because they are outside of the productive process. They are a very volatile layer of society. They can be recruited to the fascist movement or drawn to the communist movement. Our job is to intervene and try to win them to communism.

But the New Left in general, which was mostly petty-bourgeois, believed that students would make the revolution. In 1970 there was a large student strike—4.5 million students went out, half the student population in the entire country. Nixon kept sending troops into Cambodia.

Coalition builders often talk about the need to draw labor into the movement, by which they mean to get more union tops onto the platforms. Mainstream labor leaders work for two masters. On the one hand, there's that inconvenient thing that they have to be elected by the membership sometimes, and therefore have to maintain a certain measure of credibility with the workers. On the other hand, since they fundamentally uphold the system of capitalism—the system run by the very people they're supposed to be fighting, the capitalist exploiters—they also, and primarily, are beholden to the capitalists. We call them "labor lieutenants of capital," agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement, and in the antiwar movement they played that role.

Some labor leaders came into the antiwar movement around 1971. At that time they were particularly busy selling out the working class. Republican president Nixon was facing a deepening economic crisis and had just imposed wage controls. Not one of the labor leaders opposed these wage controls, from the reactionary AFL-CIO bureaucracy of George Meany to the "progressives" and "militants" of the auto workers union. They maintained their utter subservience to the Democratic Party, which had the line that Nixon should have imposed the wage controls sooner than he did.

We wrote at the time, "The 'left' bureaucrats are able to appear militant on the war, which is, of course, intimately tied up with inflation and unemployment, while selling out the real struggle around these very issues. They can mouth slogans about the war and the role it plays with-

out committing themselves to a serious struggle on any class question—including the war itself" ("Bring Working-Class Power Against the War," *Workers Action* No. 9, July-August 1971). The SWP's platform was a very convenient place for these labor bureaucrats.

The working class is not just another sector that you need to draw in to swell the numbers at pacifist antiwar demonstrations. It has social power. We saw that power in December when the New York City transit workers were threatening to walk out and the whole city gov-



Basil Blackwell, Inc.

Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky rallies Red Army troops during 1920 war against imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary regime in Poland.

ernment went nuts. Imagine the impact of workers with that kind of social power being mobilized in strike action in political opposition to war. Imagine the impact of a real proletarian opposition to imperialism based on an anti-capitalist perspective.

There were a whole bunch of economic strikes in the early '70s by workers fighting to defend their livelihoods—there was a big GM strike, a postal workers walkout in defiance of the government. We agitated during that period for an antiwar Friday—a one-day work stoppage against the war—and for labor political strikes against the war. Given the social turmoil in the country, this was a palpable possibility.

Labor struggle against the war would have linked the militancy of black workers—for example in Detroit auto, where there were subjectively revolutionary black workers—to the largely petty-bourgeois and increasingly radicalized New Left student antiwar movement. This would have been explosive. Only a multiracial revolutionary vanguard party rooted in the working class could have made that link successfully. We were then not big enough and had no roots in the proletariat.

The U.S. labor bureaucrats played a leading role in preventing such labor struggle. In 1970, there was a wildcat strike of 20,000 Teamsters in Ohio that was opposed by the Democrats, the Republicans, the Teamsters national leaders and the union's local leaders. And most of these people called for the National Guard to come in to stop the strike, including Teamsters vice president Harold Gibbons, who was an endorser of NPAC. He and all the rest got their wish. The National Guard came in and tried to smash the strike. Four hundred of those National Guardsmen were then sent off to Kent State, where they killed four students at an antiwar demonstration. How do you think that particular strikebreaking Teamsters official would have reacted to us reds raising labor strikes against the war at one of his precious NPAC conferences when he's calling to send troops against his own union membership? Well actually, we found out how they would react. And the SWP was there promising to make sure the bureaucrats were not offended by reds calling for labor action against the war.

The same year, the SWP sealed its promise in blood, namely ours and that of Progressive Labor (PL), when they viciously attacked us at an NPAC gathering. We had shouted down Democratic Senator Vance Hartke when he tried to speak at this conference. And then they put up Victor Reuther, brother of auto union leader Walter Reuther. Victor was the CIA wing of the family. He had been the CIA's man in the European labor movement after World War II. This is the guy the SWP had up there as their "labor leader." When he rose to speak, we were

actually pretty polite. We got up and we chanted, "Labor strikes against the war!" ten times and we sat down. Made a point. PL carried on a little bit longer. The SWP went nuts. They viciously attacked us. It was very, very bloody.

We agitated for "Bourgeoisie out of NPAC!" But in no way was this meant to be "for NPAC without the bourgeoisie." It was a central agitational slogan for us, but it was part of a series of interrelated demands, and together these demands constituted a revolutionary, class-struggle policy against the Vietnam War. Also, we didn't emphasize kicking out the liberal politicians and their ilk because their presence somehow magically transformed NPAC into a class-collaborationist outfit. Sometimes bourgeois politicians will choose to mount the platform of communist-organized events. That's *their* contradiction. NPAC, though, was a political vessel that was *created* for the bourgeoisie, just as the organizers of today's antiwar movement are hoping for the bourgeoisie to enter it. If the drive to exclude the bourgeoisie had succeeded in any one of these conferences, it would have exploded the whole organization; NPAC would have ceased to exist.

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War!

Some of the more sophisticated types among our opponents today on the left bandy about the term "united front" as their version of unity-mongering. So, what's a united front? The guiding principle of working-class unity in action against a common enemy is "March separately, strike together." So you march with your own banners, and you strike together against war or whatever other issue you're fighting against. United fronts are temporary actions.

But the reformists and centrists just love their ongoing coalitions because they allow them to submerge their "socialist" politics under the cover of "unity." They say to us: "We want unity and that's why we have to water down our program and exclude you, the communists." That's what they mean by "unity."

To communists, the purpose of the united front is to allow the sharpest political struggle while marching shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy. Our watchword is freedom of criticism, unity in action. We welcome opportunities for

united fronts, because they provide a terrain for us to test our revolutionary politics side by side with the reformists and the centrists. For the same reason, the reformists and centrists avoid a real united front like the plague. The reality behind all the fake left's unity-mongering is to hide an appetite for unity with the bourgeoisie.

In 1937, James Burnham, then a member of the Trotskyist movement, wrote a pamphlet called *The People's Front: The New Betrayal* (reprinted in "On the United Front," *Young Communist Bulletin* No. 3) about the Stalinist version of class-collaborationist coalition building. Burnham explained:

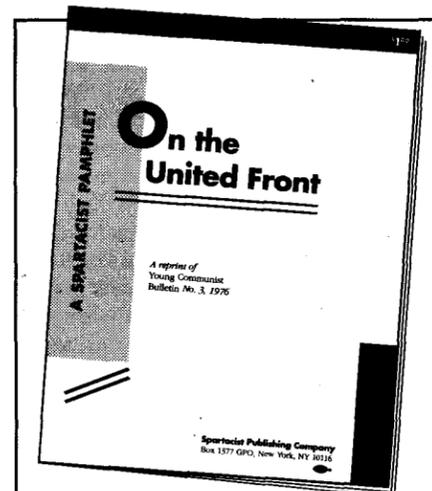
"Most significant of all is the application of the People's Front policy to 'anti-war work.' Through a multitude of pacifist organizations...the Stalinists aim at the creation of a 'broad, classless People's Front of all those opposed to war.'... They rule out in advance the Marxist analysis of war as necessarily resulting from the inner conflicts of capitalism and therefore genuinely opposed only by revolutionary class struggle against the capitalist order; and, in contrast, maintain that all persons, from whatever social class or group, whether or not opposed to capitalism, can 'unite' to stop war."

It was through this kind of class-collaborationist program that reformists and centrists channeled the widespread social discontent expressed in the radicalization of the New Left into avenues which were not only socially impotent but served to reinforce illusions in capitalism and its props, such as the labor fakers and the bourgeois politicians.

So how will the revolutionary party be built? How does consciousness change? Well, the consciousness of the working class will change fundamentally through the intervention of the revolutionary party in struggle. I want to end with a wonderful quote from Polish Marxist Isaac Deutscher. Many of the essays in his *Marxism in Our Time* were written during the Vietnam War. Here, he's writing about Lenin's understanding of the role of the revolutionary party and working-class consciousness. He's talking about Russia before the 1917 Revolution, saying that the working class

"needed the party's guidance in order to raise its revolutionary 'mission.' Consequently, the party could not merely identify itself with the workers and content itself with absorbing and expressing their moods. It had to shape their moods. It had to identify itself primarily with the advanced workers in order to be able, with them and through them, to educate politically the backward ones. The party must therefore be a 'proletarian vanguard,' a Marxist elite, lucid, self-disciplined, indomitable, and capable of providing the 'general staff' of the revolution."

That party has to instill consciousness of the common enemy among all the disparate elements in the population, weld together all the different needs and longings of the workers and oppressed internationally, and turn them into a weapon to defeat the capitalist beast. ■



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IG...

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use jingoistic anti-immigrant racism to divide the workers along ethnic and national lines. We say: **Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Labor must organize immigrant workers!**" (emphasis in original).

The IG points to our 4 October 2002 article headlined "Defeat PMA/Government Union-Busting! Victory to the ILWU!" as the smoking gun of our "capitulations." Why? Because we didn't call for defying Taft-Hartley before it had been invoked by the government! Instead, the article addressed the concrete reality then confronting longshoremen who had been locked out indefinitely by the PMA, arguing that "**the entire labor movement must mobilize in solidarity with the longshore workers to ensure that nothing moves in or out of West Coast docks**" (emphasis in original). When the Bush administration did impose Taft-Hartley, our article headlined "Labor: Defend the ILWU!" (WV No. 789, 18 October 2002) demanded: "The entire labor movement must come to the defense of the ILWU now and protest every attack on the union. **Down with the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act—Government hands off the ILWU!**" (emphasis in original).

IG Caught with Pants Down

Dropping its own lies that our propaganda addressed to the ILWU had "ducked every single issue in which the dock workers' struggle intersected the war," the IG's latest article argues, "When the showdown actually came, the SL dropped this subject like a hot potato." To argue that we raised the question of military cargo before the lockout is hardly a very effective demonstration of our lack of revolutionary fiber. And what about during the lockout?

This was a defensive battle which was brought to the workers by the shipping bosses and behind them a particularly vicious administration in the White House. Throughout the lockout, the bureaucracy flaunted its commitment to moving military goods. For the union to have been mobilized for such a political offensive as hot-cargoing military goods, in the face of a government revving up for war and bent on dismembering anything that got in its way, would have required a tremendous leap in consciousness and, above all, a leadership armed with a program of class struggle. The IG's oh-so-militant sloganeering has nothing to do with the fight to mobilize workers for a political confrontation with the forces of the capitalist enemy. Instead, the IG denigrates the fight to advance the consciousness of the proletariat and, by so doing, sows illusions in the capacity of the present labor misleaders to lead a fight against the bosses and their state.

The IG fulminates that in 1971, when Republican president Richard Nixon brought down Taft-Hartley to end a longshore walkout, we called to defy Taft-Hartley and for labor strikes against the Vietnam War. They go on to sneer, "That was then, this is now, we can already hear the SL say." OK, we'll say it: That was then, this is now. What agitational slogans are raised are not divorced from political context and social reality. In 1971, there was a longshore strike; the previous year postal workers had defied the law and staged the first strike ever against the federal government; the postal workers strike was followed by a Teamsters wildcat.

Big protests against the Vietnam War, largely by student youth, began in 1964. But we didn't put forward the call for labor action against the war until 1967, when we raised the demand for an "antiwar Friday"—a one-day political protest strike. Unlike in Europe, where one-day political strikes are common (and most often are used by the labor bureaucracy to simply let the ranks blow off steam and to corral the workers into support for the mass reformist labor parties), in this country where the working class has little even elemental class consciousness,

the call for political strikes is only a few steps short of calling for a proletarian insurrection. To have raised such a demand in the early days of the Vietnam War, when the working class overwhelmingly supported the war, would have been nothing other than phrasemongering, discrediting us among the more advanced workers who understand how serious such an action would be.

By 1967, opposition to the war was spilling over into the labor movement, and by the early 1970s there were enormous opportunities to actually mobilize class-struggle opposition to the war. It was after a number of militant economic strikes rocked the country in the early 1970s—intersecting increasing opposition to the war among workers—that we raised the call, "Labor strikes against the war!" Our calls for an antiwar Friday and for labor strikes against the war thus



WV Photo

NYC transit workers rally at MTA headquarters in Brooklyn last September.

intersected a real and growing sentiment for such labor action. In other words, we were dead serious about genuinely fighting to lead a proletarian revolutionary opposition.

Like the IG, outfits in Europe such as the right-centrists of Workers Power can come up with all sorts of bombast calling on workers in munitions factories to "sabotage imperialist war production" and so on. While mindlessly agitating for the workers to fight to the last drop of their blood, on the ground Workers Power's real program is calling to "lobby Parliament," pleading with Labour Party prime minister Tony Blair not to join "Bush's war."

The IG's "Militant" Fraud

Considerations such as the question of leadership, the balance of forces and the political consciousness of the proletariat—vital to any class battle—were evidently of little consequence to the "militant" blowhards of the IG. But such considerations were of consequence to longshoremen who were up against forces bent on the union's destruction while saddled with a leadership allied with the class enemy. And they were to us because our purpose is to arm the proletariat with the consciousness and leadership necessary for combat with the forces of the capitalist class.

Even in the face of such a monumental historic defeat as the total obliteration of the former East German deformed workers state, the DDR, the program of the IG's *líder máximo* Jan Norden, who was then editor of WV, was to agitate for a program of mass strikes by the devastated East German proletariat. As we noted following the departure of Norden and his two followers from our organization, "This posture of imminent 'mass resistance' negated the critical factor of *consciousness* which only a Leninist vanguard could introduce" ("A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism," WV No. 648, 5 July 1996). But for Norden the leadership for his program of economic "fightback" was to come from none other than the geriatric remnants of the former Sta-

linist bureaucracy who had just finished selling out the DDR to the imperialists!

Today the IG chicken-baits us for not **agitating** that the ILWU engage in a similar program of fightback in a confrontation with a conglomeration of shipping magnates and the U.S. imperialist state. No we didn't, for the elementary reason that what one advocates as a course of struggle cannot be separated from the instrumentality to carry it out. In other words, it requires taking on the class-collaborationist politics of the trade-union bureaucracy and making clear that in the course of their struggles the workers need to forge a new leadership.

The ILWU International leadership openly embraced the government's "war against terror" and eagerly collaborated with the government in writing the new Maritime Transportation Security Act. What of the "progressive" ILWU tops,

the bosses. But he never waged the political fights necessary to implement these demands as against the pro-capitalist policies of the ILWU bureaucracy. Like the IG, he called on the ranks to "vote no" on the contract deal. And then what was the membership to do? "Longshore workers should reject this contract and send our negotiating committee back," Heyman declared (*Socialist Worker*, 10 January).

Such trade-union opportunism is the real face behind the IG's verbal radicalism. No wonder they made such a big deal out of the Bay Area Taft-Hartley conference, which was nothing other than a vehicle for phonies like Heyman to try to advance their careers. The IG postures as bold class warriors urging the ranks of the ILWU to strike now, defy Taft-Hartley, hot-cargo military goods, rip up the sellout contract. Why not? It's no skin off their nose. And when it is, it is a far different picture.

Take on the capitalist state? Not when it's their neck on the line, or even if it gets in the way of their own petty advantage. Take the IG's Brazilian section for example, which it ballyhoos as the quintessence of class-struggle militancy. They ran an ex-cop as their candidate for president of a cop-infested union. They won, based on getting the votes of most of the cops in the union! Then when their positions were challenged by a crew of cut-throat opportunists—who had originally been part of their leadership slate—they went running to the capitalist courts, filing suits against the union in order to preserve their union sinecures. When that didn't work, the IG simply declared that the union had become a "court-rigged outfit." Indeed, and they helped make it that way (see "IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," WV No. 671, 11 July 1997).

In Mexico, the IG can't tell the difference between the capitalist state and the corporatist unions of the CTM, which they argue "represents the *class enemy*" (*El Internacionalista/Edición México*, May 2001). But not so the equally corporatist unions of the CTV in Venezuela, whose bureaucracy has served as a direct agency of Yankee imperialism and is currently allied with a cabal of bosses trying to bring down the Chávez regime. Here the IG, in a November 2000 Spanish-language article posted on its Web site, finds that the CTV unions "despite their sellout leaderships" are "*workers organizations*" ("Against Chávez, the Stock Market and the IMF—Venezuela: Mobilize Workers Power to Defeat the Anti-Union Referendum!"). As we wrote in "IG on Venezuela: Opportunism Makes Strange Bedfellows" (WV No. 787, 20 September 2002):

"Like gods on high, the little *caudillos* of the IG decree which unions are real on the basis of their opportunist whims of the moment. In Mexico, the targets of their affections are elements around the PRD [the bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution]. In Argentina,

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NYC NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office will not be open on Saturday, February 15 due to antiwar mobilizations on that day.

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Science...

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Gould and Eldredge proposed that the apparent gaps were real and that rapid evolutionary changes were instigated by external forces, such as sudden climatic changes, volcanic eruptions, or, for example, the asteroid impact at the end of the Cretaceous period which is generally accepted as the cause for the extinction of the dinosaurs some 65 million years ago. Living things, by their very nature, exhibit very nonlinear behavior; success tends to be exponential. Gould wrote a whole book, *Wonderful Life*, describing the spectacular profusion of body types when the first multicellular organisms arose in what is known as the Cambrian explosion, some 540 million years ago. Many of these truly weird creatures became extinct, but all major groups of modern animals inhabiting this planet today have an ancestor going back to the Cambrian creatures.

Gould's punctuated equilibrium has been portrayed by his opponents as an attack on Darwin himself. Punctuated equilibrium is solidly *within* the Darwinian tradition. In *The Origin of Species*, Darwin states:

"As species are produced and exterminated by slowly acting and still existing causes, and not by miraculous acts of creation; and as the most important of all causes of organic change is one which is almost independent of altered and perhaps suddenly altered physical conditions, namely, the mutual relation of organism to organism,—the improvement of one organism entailing the improvement or the extermination of others; it follows, that the amount of organic change in the fossils of consecutive formations probably serves as a fair measure of the relative though not actual lapse of time. A number of species, however, keeping in a body might remain for a long period unchanged, whilst within the same period several of these species by migrating into new countries and coming into competition with foreign associates, might become modified; so

that we must not overrate the accuracy of organic change as a measure of time."

Though Darwin here tends to dismiss the effect of sudden environmental changes, it is clear that the reading of the fossil record done by Gould and Eldredge was thoroughly within the Darwinian tradition.

Gould wrote that he, like Darwin, was predisposed to certain ideas reflective of the philosophies of his own times. In regard to the development of punctuated equilibrium, in 1977 he wrote: "It may also not be irrelevant to our personal preferences that one of us learned his Marxism, literally, at his daddy's knee." Gould was reviled for acknowledging his debt to German dialectical philosopher Hegel and Engels and Marx, and he had to fend off criticism from the academic establishment for this for the rest of his life. In his last book, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory* (2002), he wrote that he was alternately dismissed and attacked supposedly because, among other reasons, "I advanced punctuated equilibrium in order to foster a personal political agenda." Gould's complaint is quite accurate. While perhaps influenced by Marx's idea of dialectical materialism, Gould was never a partisan of Marxist politics.

Gould vs. Creationism

Gould and Eldredge often expressed their anger that anti-scientific zealots would cynically claim that the impact of provable physical phenomena on the course of evolution somehow opened the door to the belief that supernatural forces, i.e., god, could likewise intervene.

Gould spent a large portion of his life not only combatting pseudo-scientific racist ideas but also Christian biblical-based challenges to teaching evolution in the schools. Why in the most technologically and industrially advanced country in the world would the teaching of long-time, universally acknowledged scientific principles be a contentious issue? Why would *Scientific American*, one of the most established science magazines in

the country, have to publish a cover article last year titled: "15 Answers to Creationist Nonsense"?

The revival of reactionary attacks on the teaching of evolutionary science arose as part of a much broader rightist offensive aimed at rolling back the gains of the struggles of the 1960s, not least the right to abortion. This came amid a rise in religious reaction internationally, including as an ideological spearhead for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states—e.g., the Vatican-inspired Solidarność movement in Poland and the CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan.

In 1985, the state of Louisiana mandated that "creation science" (an oxymoron, as Gould has noted) be taught along with evolution. Gould was happy to be an expert witness to testify against teaching creationism in the Louisiana case. We revolutionary Marxists also had an interest in the outcome of this case, and we submitted an *amicus* brief to the Supreme Court appeal. We wrote in our brief that allowing the teaching of the Bible in science classes was a challenge to one of the most basic gains of the American Revolution—the separation of church and state: "The current battle poses the defense of the gains of the American Revolution, Civil War—and the Enlightenment." We raised the Civil War to lay bare the historical roots of black oppression and to make the point that all-sided social reaction, from anti-immigrant chauvinism to anti-abortion bigotry, is always linked to attacks on black people:

"Evolution, the science of man's 'descent with modification' is the particular object of the fundamentalist religious attack. The reasons for this lie in the fact that evolutionary theory deprives man of a mythical 'special' status in nature, and exposes the lack of scientific basis for the various religious and other justifications for belief in racial inferiority. The not so hidden agenda of the proponents of teaching creationism in the schools is to

enforce the destructive and dangerous dogma of racial inferiority."

That the United States has a secular public education system is largely a heritage of the period of Radical Reconstruction following the Civil War, when schools were built widely to teach ex-slaves and poor whites. Today, the proliferation of school voucher programs, the tax credits to subsidize parochial and private schools and the privatization of inner-city school districts are all attacks on the public school system and the separation of church and state, undermining the goal of providing quality education for all. It is no surprise that when the Louisiana decision was finally held to be unconstitutional, Supreme Court justices Rehnquist and Scalia dissented—both are arch supporters of the racist death penalty and opponents of abortion rights. Scalia recently proclaimed in *First Things*, a religion journal, that "government... derives its moral authority from God."

Gould and the "Death of Communism"

Gould, despite what he may have learned at his daddy's knee, was really not more than a left-liberal, one who was comfortable swimming in the stream of petty-bourgeois academics, ex-New Leftists and social democrats such as those around the journal *Rethinking Marxism*. In the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, this crowd was "rethinking Marxism" indeed—and abandoned it altogether. For his part, Gould lent his voice to the wave of bourgeois triumphalism over the "death of Communism" in a 1992 essay titled "Life in a Punctuation," where Gould stated that "Marx's economics has failed spectacularly, at least in the largest and longest experiment ever carried out in its name."

We responded with a carefully measured polemic titled "Punctured Equilibrium: Stephen Jay Gould and the Mismeasure of Marx" (WV No. 563, 13

IG...

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they adapt to the mass protests against a burgeoning economic catastrophe. And one can only wonder who or what they're chasing after in Venezuela."

"I can call spirits from the vasty deep." "...so can any man; But will they come?"

The same issue of *The Internationalist* that features its "Hard to Starboard" polemic against us reprints an IG leaflet addressed to New York transit workers on the eve of their December contract expiration. It too is full of "fightback" rhetoric—strike now, burn the injunctions, shred the Taylor Law. The IG declaims that while we "raised a series of demands on safety, health care, the Democratic Party, the Taylor Law," we did not call for a strike until after the transit workers had voted in mass meetings of thousands to take strike action. That's right. Our business is not phony agitation but fighting to arm the workers

with a political program from which class-struggle tactics and strategy derive.

The American Trotskyists whose militants led the pitched battles on the streets of Minneapolis in 1934 that laid the basis for forging the Teamsters as a powerful industrial union did so not by screaming "strike now." Rather they made a sober calculation of the forces of the capitalist class enemy and fought to build the consciousness, confidence and fighting strength of the workers to engage in battle. Three years later as the economy took another dive, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, a seasoned class-struggle militant who played a critical role in the Minneapolis strikes, cautioned trade-union supporters in auto against agitating for strike action: "Watch your policy carefully, we mustn't be too radical now with the slack season coming on. We must not holler too insistently about strikes and so on. We must direct the attention mainly to bureaucracy and reactionary policies in the union. But we must be very careful about agitating for strikes when the workers will be under such disadvantage."

But when struggle was engaged, the Trotskyists stood in the front ranks with the workers and against the bosses. And when the transit workers voted to strike, our front-page article, headlined "For a Solid NYC Transit Strike!" (WV No. 793, 13 December 2002), argued:

"Behind the hysterical threats being directed at the TWU is the recognition that the union has the power to shut NYC down cold. The city manifestly cannot arrest 34,000 strikers or otherwise run the buses and subways in the face of a solid strike. You can't run the subways with bayonets! Should the government invoke the Taylor Law, this should be met by strike actions mobilizing the power of the entire NYC labor movement. If the transit union proceeds with militancy and determination, in conjunction with other city unions, the labor movement could win a much needed victory that could put into motion a counteroffensive against the bosses."

The IG points to a motion it "put forward in a leaflet" (whatever that means) at a December 4 meeting of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) Delegates Assembly in New York City calling on the union to join transit workers' picket lines and to "help initiate an immediate citywide mobilization of all NYC workers" in solidarity with a transit strike. All well and good. Except that what passes without mention is the fact that backstabbing UFT president Randi Weingarten had *openly denounced a possible transit strike*, declaring that it "would effectively cripple our economy." To be sure, that doesn't mean that one doesn't fight to mobilize the union. But to successfully prosecute such a struggle means fighting against the obstacles that stand in the road, foremost among them the labor bureaucrats whose class-collaborationist policies shackle the power of the unions.

As we have noted elsewhere of the IG's phony agitational rhetoric: "One could posit that Norden and his sidekick Negrete have been so overcome by megalomaniacal delusions of their own grandeur that they actually believe that if

they call for the workers to act they will. In fact, it is pure cynicism in the service not of combatting the current misleaders of the proletariat but of accommodating to them" (see "IG: Simple-Minded Lies and Simple-Minded Liars," WV No. 785, 9 August 2002). And the more we expose their political accommodation to forces ranging from Latino nationalism to the Stalinist bureaucracy to "leftists" who stood on the side of capitalist counterrevolution, the more the IG invents new lies.

Thus, the IG now claims that we caved in to the union-busting offensive led by then-mayor Rudolph Giuliani against the transit workers union in 1999, which outlawed even the right to talk about strike action. "The SL followed the rules," the IG declares, arguing that we dropped any call for strike action like a "hot potato." In fact our 14 December 1999 leaflet, which the IG points to as its evidence, very clearly stated: "The TWU and the rest of the NYC labor movement have the power to roll back this assault on the unions through massive strike action."

The IG's slanders are merely a demonstration of its own political bankruptcy, witnessed in its inability to answer an ever-growing number of our recent polemics against them (see "IG Disappears Red Army Fight Against Islamic Reaction in Afghanistan," WV No. 772, 11 January 2002; "IG: Simple-Minded Lies and Simple-Minded Liars" and "IG on Venezuela: Opportunism Makes Strange Bedfellows," both cited above; "Cynics and Demagogues: An IG Provocation," WV No. 789, 18 October 2002). Their current chicken-baiting of us over the showdown on the docks and the New York City transit workers union battle recalls nothing so much as the knight in the movie *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* who, having had both his arms and legs cut off, screams, "Come back here you coward!" To say that such a crew is hardly a force for even passing consideration as any kind of leadership for the proletariat is a vast understatement. ■

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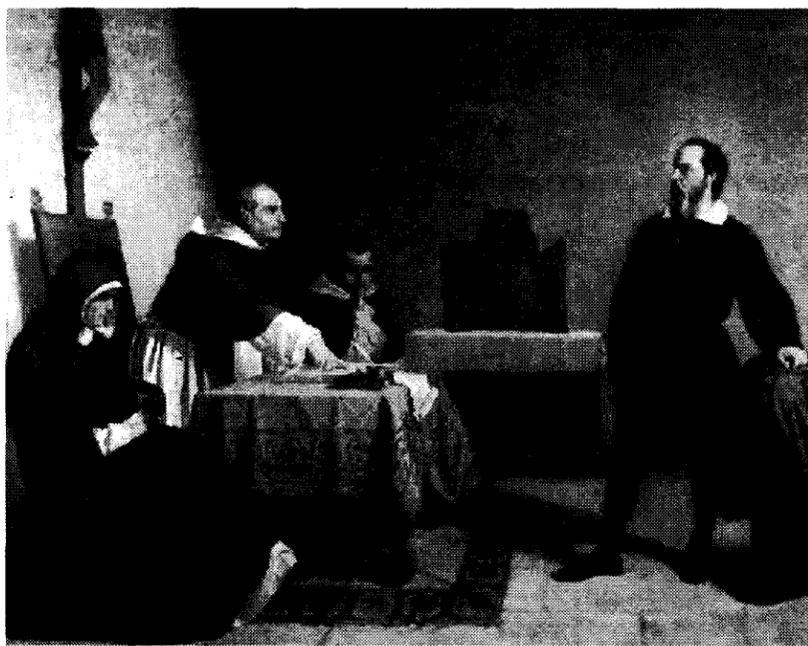
November 1992). In that article, we explained that it was not Marxism but its antithesis *Stalinism* which had failed, a point predicted by Leon Trotsky in his classic 1936 book *The Revolution Betrayed*. Gould's impressionistic pronouncement on the failure of Marxism was less apostasy than a reflection of American liberal academic opinion—always a weathervane whipped about by prevailing ruling-class ideology. As Gould himself had explained in *The Mismeasure of Man*, science is not at all some rarified exercise of pure reason; rather it is bound up with the prevailing material and cultural circumstances of the times in which the scientist lives, particularly when the subject is human biology, behavior and history.

Pseudo-socialists associated with journals or organizations such as *Against the Current*, Socialist Action and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) wrote paeans to Gould on the occasion of his death while at the same time disappearing his repudiation of Marxism. Why is that? In the case of the ISO, they have always embraced “democratic” imperialism and opposed defense of the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution, hailing the capitalist counterrevolution in Russia. As for *Against the Current* and Socialist Action, they hailed every reactionary, priest-riddled, nationalist anti-Soviet opposition nurtured by Western imperialism that arose in East Europe, most notably Polish Solidarność. The capitulation of these renegades to bourgeois anti-Sovietism was and is a conscious betrayal of their stated adherence to socialism and working-class liberation.

Rocks of Ages: Gould Returns to God

In 1999 Gould compiled an entire volume devoted to the reconciliation of science and religion, a perfectly logical extension of his disillusioned political world outlook. Gould argued that science and religion did not conflict, and he coined a phrase, “non-overlapping magisteria” or “NOMA,” to describe this relationship. He claimed that science covers the empirical realm and religion addresses “ultimate meaning and moral value.” Gould may have never claimed to be an atheist in his earlier days, but he never particularly campaigned for religion either. In his 1999 book *Rocks of Ages*, Gould uses his usual witty anecdotal style, but this time he presents a philosophical justification for religion in general. He goes so far as to present an apologia for the Catholic church's persecution of Galileo. Galileo's observations of the planets (and particularly the moons of Jupiter) did indeed challenge the long-held view of an earth-centered universe. At one point in the book, Gould acknowledges:

“The basic facts cannot be gainsaid: Galileo was cruelly treated (forced to recant on his knees, and then placed under the equivalent of house arrest for the remainder of his life), and he was right; his conflict with the Pope did, to cite the best modern work on the subject (*Galileo*,



Cristiano Banti

Galileo was convicted by the Inquisition for maintaining that the earth goes around the sun.

Courtier, by Mario Biagioli, University of Chicago Press, 1993), represent ‘the clash between two incompatible world-views,’ and [Pope] Urban did defend the traditional geocentric universe as established dogma.”

But on the facing page (page 73), Gould puts the onus on Galileo!

“But Galileo moved too fast and too far in an unnecessarily provocative manner. He had lived his life in necessary pursuit of courtly patronage, but now he fell from grace and into a common role of his time and place. In Biagioli's words: ‘Galileo's career was propelled and then undone by...patronage dynamics.’”

Contrast this to the earlier Gould, who wrote in *The Mismeasure of Man*:

“Galileo was not shown the instruments of torture in an abstract debate about lunar motion. He had threatened the Church's conventional argument for social and doctrinal stability: the static world order with planets circling about a central earth, priests subordinate to the Pope and serfs to their lord.”

Science and religion are bitter enemies. Religion arose in the most primitive times out of ignorance and helplessness in the face of a world of unknown forces. Lightning, thunder, fire and flood—the seemingly implacable forces of nature were deified. Rituals and sacrifices were carried out to placate the gods and appeal for succor in the here and now. With the invention of agriculture—allowing for the creation of surplus wealth—and the advent of class society, religion took on a social function, legitimizing the rule of the oppressing class as part of “divine will.” Since then, religion has served as an ideological mainstay for the oppression of women, centrally through the institution of the family, instilling patriarchal submission and dictating that women be chained to hearth and home.

Although the spectacular advances in science in the epoch of capitalism should undermine and narrow the basis for spirituality, the ruling class perpetuates religious mystification to obscure the roots of

capitalist exploitation and oppression and to reconcile the masses to their “fate.” And, as Marx observed at the advent of industrial capitalism, for the dispossessed and exploited masses, religion serves as solace, “the opium of the people.” The faithful may still pray for divine help in case of disease, but all hopes for an end to the misery of daily life is put off until death and the supposed afterlife. How very convenient for those that lord it over us in this life! In the Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S., we note:

“When it was an ascending class, the bourgeoisie embraced the Enlightenment in its struggle against the old feudal order and its ideological bulwark, the church. Yet soon after the capitalists triumphed, they turned about and encouraged organized religion as one more means to prop up their class rule. Today, late in the epoch of imperialist decay, the bourgeois ideologues of the most powerful capitalist countries on the planet explicitly reject Enlightenment rationalism, embracing irrationality as a weapon against the proletarian revolution.”

In his later years, Gould declared that morality and “ultimate meaning” can only come from religion. Whose morality? Concepts like morality and ultimate meaning have always been defined by and served the class interests of those in power. What is moral for one class may be immoral for another, as each class has its own interests. Engels writes in the 1888 book *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of*

Classical German Philosophy: “In reality every class, even every profession, has its own morality, and even this it violates whenever it can do so with impunity.”

The ABC of Communism (1919), a primer of basic communist ideology based on the program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), states:

“Man has been extremely successful in the struggle with nature. He influences nature in his own interests, and controls natural forces, achieving these conquests, not thanks to his faith in God and in divine assistance, but in spite of this faith. He achieves his conquests thanks to the fact that in practical life and in all serious matters he invariably conducts himself as an atheist.”

Gould never claimed to be a Marxist, or an atheist for that matter. His accommodation to religion at the end of his life is not really a negation of his worldview but something of a cop-out. We are left with a bitter taste: Darwin freed the study of biology from the clasp of religion by providing a materialist explanation for the evolution of life on this planet. Gould devoted the better part of his career to defense of Darwin and opposition to the creationists whose interpretation of “NOMA” is “no more evolution.” Carl Sagan, Gould's contemporary, also succumbed to malignant disease, but near his end he never wrote anything so wretched as *Rocks of Ages*. Sagan's last book was *The Demon-Haunted World: Science as a Candle in the Dark*, a forthright defense of science against religious superstitions. We also appreciate the comments of physicist Steven Weinberg, who candidly stated:

“I am all in favor of a dialogue between science and religion, but not a constructive dialogue. One of the great achievements of science has been, if not to make it impossible for intelligent people to be religious, then at least to make it possible for them to not be religious.”

—“A Designer Universe?”
New York Review of Books,
21 October 1999

The full liberation of humanity from religion and all its attendant backwardness and superstition will never occur under capitalism, with its grotesque class divisions and adulation of religious mythology. When all the bishops, bankers and bosses are swept aside by a victorious proletarian revolution, the material basis will be laid for a truly liberated humanity. Then, and only then, will the limits to each individual man and woman be set by their own creative powers, freed at last from the shackles of class divisions, poverty and religion. ■

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

Today, with Bush poised to name the next Supreme Court appointee, the feminists wait prostrate for the ax to fall. Desperately seeking to appease the enemies of women's rights, the lobbying group originally called the National Abortion Rights Action League has changed its name four times, most recently removing the “a” word completely by renaming themselves “NARAL Pro-Choice America.” In a 23 January *New York Times* op-ed piece authored jointly by leaders of NARAL and Right to Life of Michigan, they commit themselves to finding a “number of important issues on which we agree.”

The feminists' strategy of appealing to the Democrats has left abortion rights activists disarmed in the face of Bush's assaults. Even before the midterm elections, the Bush administration had already been packing the federal departments that oversee social programs and make medical policy with appointees whose only credentials are their belief in Christian biblical literalism. David Hager, now head of the FDA Reproductive Health Drugs Advisory Committee, opposes all forms of birth control, has written a book on how Jesus healed women and advises sufferers from PMS to pray! The head of the AIDS advisory committee is one Tom Coburn, who opposes condom use and advocates abstinence. And the history of Charles

Pickering, nominee to the U.S. Court of Appeals, includes opposition to interracial marriage.

The government's withholding of federal funding for embryonic stem-cell research has set back this promising area of medical research for years. Bush aide Karl Rove has been conjuring up ignorant and fantastic human cloning scenarios that have nothing to do with this vital research, which may lead to cures for Alzheimer's, Parkinson's and many other currently incurable diseases. Even right-wing stalwarts like Department of Health and Human Services head Tommy Thompson and Nancy Reagan, fearing for their own mortal selves and their families, are breaking ranks over opposition to this medical breakthrough.

The deep-seated oppression of women is rooted in the institution of the family which, along with religion, serves the capitalist class as a bedrock of social conservatism, bourgeois morality and submission to authority. And in racist, capitalist America, working-class, black and immigrant women are daily denied the right to basic health care, access to contraception and the means to adequately feed, house and educate their children. The fight to defend women's rights, including the right to abortion, must be generalized and broadened into a struggle against the entire capitalist system. Only socialist revolution can begin to lay the material basis for the full liberation of women from economic dependence and for their complete social integration. ■

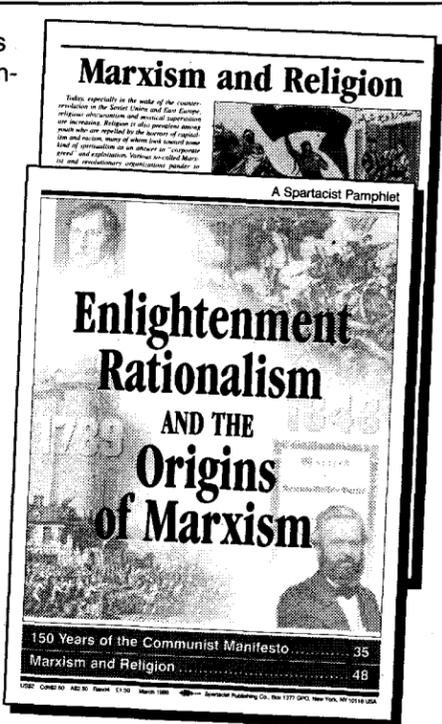
This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism.

Also included are “150 Years of the Communist Manifesto” and “Marxism and Religion.”

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

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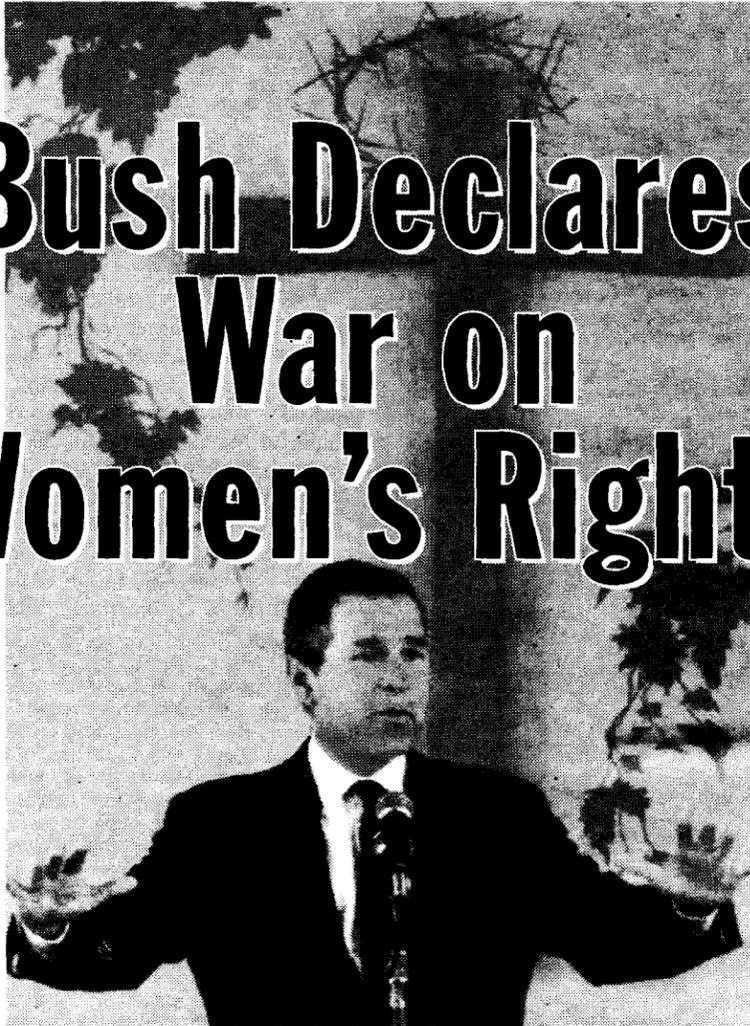
For Free Abortion on Demand!

With the Republicans gaining control of both houses of Congress as well as the White House, the Bush administration is stepping up its campaign to end abortion rights and limit availability of contraceptives. Days before the 30th anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion, Bush took the opportunity to ominously re-consecrate his crusade by proclaiming a "National Sanctity of Human Life Day." The "human life" referred to herein excludes poor mothers who have been thrown off welfare and are supposed to find nonexistent jobs with little or no health care or childcare; it excludes frightened teenagers who desperately seek freedom from unwanted pregnancies or who are simply trying to get some accurate information about sex at school; it excludes thousands of people on death row; and it certainly excludes the countless Iraqis whose deaths the Bush gang is currently planning.

Bush's proclamation cited his efforts to create "compassionate alternatives to abortion," summed up by two options: lifetime heterosexual monogamous marriage (sex being for procreation only), and for all others—abstinence. Reversing the right to abortion would mean a return to the days when women risked being maimed in back-alley abortions or died attempting to self-abort.

The massive assault against abortion rights is a culmination of years of attacks by both the Democrats and Republicans against poor and minority women in particular. Clinton and the "pro-choice" Democrats had no problem axing welfare benefits that dated back to the 1930s while pontificating on "family values." Since the legal right to abortion is still supported by the majority of the population, the anti-abortion zealots' strategy from day one has been to trim around the edges to undermine any possibility of real access to an abortion in a timely manner. The banning of late-term abortions has been one of the favored battlefronts of the anti-abortion forces, who have dubbed the procedure "partial birth" abortion. The attacks on abortion rights embolden fascist terrorists who bomb abortion clinics and murder abortion providers. In Buffalo, New York, blood-thirsty anti-abortion zealots staged a demonstration on the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade* hailing the 1998 shooting death of Dr. Barnett Slepian, an abortion provider.

Bush Declares War on Women's Rights



AP

That such outright terror has decreased in recent years is largely because the anti-abortionists' agenda is becoming the law of the land.

Planned Parenthood reports that as a result of a 1992 U.S. Supreme Court decision allowing states to pass laws to curtail abortions, 335 anti-abortion laws have been passed over the last seven years. According to the Guttmacher Institute, the number of abortion providers has declined in 38 states and 87 percent of American counties have no abortion clinics. And if you make it to a clinic and endure the waiting period, then you have to run the gauntlet of the "right-to-life" fanatics who line the sidewalks. For teenagers, the restrictions are far worse, including often being forced to get their parents' permission. Nevertheless, the U.S. has one of the highest rates of abor-

tions in industrialized countries due primarily to strictures on access to contraceptives, particularly for poor women.

In the tradition of the Fugitive Slave Law, which mandated that escaped slaves be returned to bondage even if found in a free state, the House recently passed the Child Custody Protection Act, which would make it a federal crime for anyone other than the parent to take a minor across state lines to obtain an abortion. In August, Bush signed the Born-Alive Infants Protection Act, requiring that an aborted fetus showing signs of life be considered a person under federal law. In September, the House passed the "Abortion Non-Discrimination Act," which guarantees that hospitals refusing to perform abortions won't be penalized.

While shredding the rights of the population, the Bush White House has waged

a crusade for the supposed rights of the "unborn." This is not simply an ideological assault: the so-called rights of fetuses are used to criminalize poor women. In May 2001, Regina McKnight, a homeless black woman in South Carolina, was sentenced to 12 years in prison without parole for giving birth to a stillborn child because she supposedly used drugs.

The Bush administration's war on women's rights extends to impoverished women across the globe, where nearly 150,000 women die each year from unwanted pregnancies. At the December 2002 United Nations regional family planning conference in Bangkok, the U.S. delegation stalled the conference by attempting to force their anti-birth control program on the delegates. In a grotesque display of imperialist arrogance, delegates from impoverished countries such as India, Indonesia and Pakistan were forced to listen to an American delegate lecture on how women should use thermometers to check ovulation! Three years ago, the U.S. banned aid to all international family planning organizations that counsel women on abortion. This has meant increased unwanted pregnancies resulting in illegal, unsafe and deadly abortions as well as the spread of HIV/AIDS. For example, the U.S. has discontinued supplying condoms to the Philippines, where HIV/AIDS is on the rise (see "Church and State vs. Women in the Philippines," WV No. 790, 1 November 2002).

Sarah Weddington, the brave Texas lawyer for "Jane Roe," recently remarked in an interview that she was taken by surprise at the current threats to reverse the 1973 court decision. She thought they had won an ironclad right, but now "it looks like sandstone" (*Newsday*, 15 January). Under capitalism, democratic rights are always limited, temporary and reversible. The *Roe v. Wade* ruling came out of massive social upheavals around the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements in the 1960s and '70s. At the time, the reformists who dominated the women's rights protests sought out capitalist politicians as allies and limited their demands to the single issue of legalizing abortion, which could not in itself meet the needs of working-class and poor women who could not afford the procedure. The Spartacist League counterposed the slogans "Free abortion on demand!" and "Free quality health care for all!" and raised the call for a revolutionary party which would fight for the liberation of women as part of the struggle for working-class revolution.

The Spartacist League has fought for mass mobilizations, backed by the power of labor, to defend the abortion clinics against the "pro-life" bigots. In joining in defense of the clinics, we have always emphasized that the Democrats are no friends of women or any of the oppressed. The fragility of abortion rights today is a perfect example of the consequences of liberals and reformists demobilizing mass struggle in the belief that the capitalist state can be a guarantor of democratic rights.

In the 1980s, many feminists joined the "moral majority" conservatives in calling for censorship of pornography and fed into the witchhunt against day-care workers by echoing the reactionaries' bogus "Satanic ritual abuse" charges.

continued on page 11



WV Photo

SL sign at October 1998 NYC protest honors Dr. Barnett Slepian, murdered by anti-abortion terrorist. Right: Women's clinic in Texas after 1985 firebombing.

Ellen Nepris

