

U.S. Spy Plane Provocation



AP



Xinhua

Provocation by U.S. spy plane, still on Hainan military base, is part of calculated escalation by American imperialism against Chinese deformed workers state.

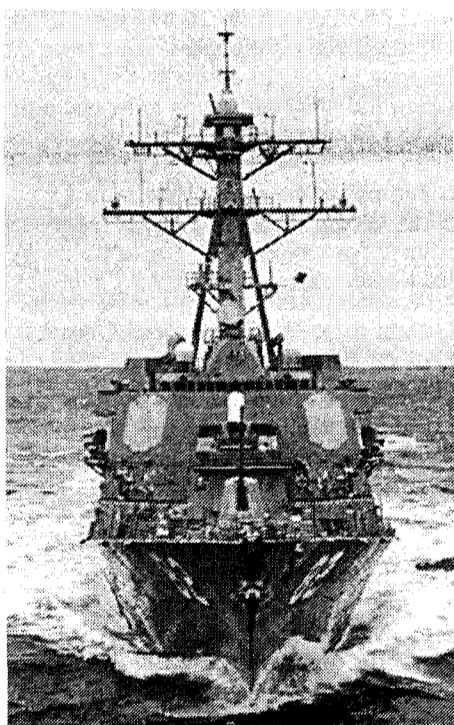
Defend China!

APRIL 10—Whatever happened in the skies above China's Hainan Island last week—and Beijing's account is a lot more plausible than Washington's—the U.S. spy plane provocation was no accident. It was part of a deliberate, calculated escalation of U.S. military pressure against the People's Republic of China, aimed at furthering the capitalists' goal of smashing the 1949 Chinese Revolution and reimposing the yoke of imperialist exploitation on China's working masses. As proletarian internationalists in the heartland of world imperialism, the Spartacist League/U.S. declares its class solidarity with the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese workers state, however bureaucratically deformed. We salute Wang Wei, the pilot who is presumed dead after defending his country against imperialist espionage and provocation.

With all the arrogance that comes of being the self-proclaimed "world's only superpower," U.S. imperialism thought it could dictate terms of submission to China. President Bush imperiously demanded the immediate return of the EP-3E plane and its crew, while the chauvinist American media smeared the downed Chinese pilot as a "cowboy" who didn't know what he was doing and got what was coming. But unlike the small, defenseless countries over which America's rulers regularly ride roughshod, China does not fall into the category of a "rogue state"—because it has nuclear weapons.

When Beijing refused to simply kowtow to the diktat of "Xiao Bushi" (Little Bush) and his power-crazed foreign policy wonks, Washington changed its tune, expressing "regret" for the downing of the Chinese pilot and seeking to negotiate an end to the crisis. The U.S. has acquiesced to the fact that the Chinese military has been carefully examining the EP-3E, the most advanced spy plane in the Navy's arsenal. This is an intelligence bonanza for China, which it should share with the Vietnamese, North Korean and Cuban deformed workers states.

Invoking "international law," Washington initially thundered that the EP-3E sitting on a Hainan runway was sovereign



Matters Marine

U.S. threat to supply Aegis guided missile destroyers to Taiwan targets China's missile systems.

U.S. territory off-limits to Chinese military personnel and proclaimed its inalienable "right" to carry out intrusive military/espionage missions right off China's coastline. Puncturing this imperialist hypocrisy, Chinese ambassador Yang Jiechi said on the PBS-TV *Lehrer News Hour* (4 April): "If America had witnessed such kinds of reconnaissance flights up and down its coast, so close to

its airspace...if you lose your airman, and you lose your aircraft, I think the response would be very different." "International law" notwithstanding, when the U.S. got hold of a Soviet MIG-25 in 1976; it picked the plane apart and sent it back two months later in shipping crates.

The backdrop to the spy plane provocation is a shift in U.S. policy toward "an era of direct confrontation with China," as outlined in a policy review by Bush defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld. China has now been declared Enemy No. 1. Reporting on the Pentagon review, which has been virtually covered up in the American press, the London *Guardian* (24 March) wrote of "Washington's decision to turn more of its guns and missiles towards China," now deemed to be "the principal threat to American global dominance." In the last years of the Clinton administration, the U.S. began a significant shift of its military forces to the Asia-Pacific region.

Immediately before the U.S. provocation over the South China Sea, a Pentagon team visited Taiwan to put together a list of weaponry for this U.S.-sponsored capitalist state, including advanced Aegis-equipped destroyers which could take out Chinese missile systems. Taiwan has been a dagger aimed at the People's Republic from the time Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces fled there in 1949.

The U.S. has over 100,000 military personnel in the Asia-Pacific region, including 47,000 troops in Japan and 37,000 in South Korea. The U.S. has

increased spy flights against China and North Korea. U.S. plans for a "theater missile defense" system in Asia are aimed squarely against China's missile capacity and target North Korea as well. Last year, the U.S. conducted more than 50 joint military exercises with Japan, Australia, South Korea, the Philippines and others, a number unequalled since the fall of the Soviet Union. The U.S. recently sealed a deal with Singapore for use of a deep-draft navy pier, the second such facility open to U.S. aircraft carriers in South-East Asia since the close of the American naval base at Subic Bay in the Philippines in 1992. The new pier is located at the mouth of the strategically important Malacca Strait, through which Persian Gulf oil shipments pass to Japan.

A domestic reflection of increased American belligerence toward China was the racist frame-up of Los Alamos scientist Wen Ho Lee. As we wrote in "Chinese Spy Hysteria Whips Up Anti-Asian Racism" (WV No. 719, 17 September 1999):

"Even if Lee had, with purpose or not, given military secrets to the People's Republic of China, this is no crime from the standpoint of the international working class.... Our unconditional military defense of China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution necessarily includes defense of the right of these states to amass and test nuclear weapons and to obtain them by whatever means necessary."

China last month announced an increase of 18 percent in military expenditures for this year, although its military budget is still only a fraction of the Pentagon's. China has purchased from

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Women Enslaved by
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15 Months Without a Contract Chicago Transit Workers at a Boil

CHICAGO—Over the past several months, meetings of the powerful Chicago Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 and 308 have been the largest and most raucous in years. Workers who have been chained to the job without a contract for well over a year are demanding answers from the bureaucrats who have kept the membership completely in the dark about contract talks. The union tops nearly lost control of the January meeting of Local 241 bus drivers and mechanics as workers pumped their fists, chanting "Strike! Strike!"

For months, Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bosses and the bourgeois press have been running a smear campaign vilifying transit workers as reckless drivers, implying that they are responsible for the cutbacks in service to black and Latino neighborhoods. Last fall, when a black motorman was literally mobbed by enraged passengers after a faulty public address system caused them to miss their stops, the transit bosses responded by trying to fire him. In 1985, black Chicago bus driver David Johnson was framed up for "reckless homicide" after his bus had unavoidably hit a car that swerved in

front of him, tragically killing seven white youths. Hundreds of Chicago transit workers responded by marching on police headquarters to demand that the charges be dropped, and they were.

Today the ATU misleaders have hog-tied the union to a binding arbitration scheme that makes it "illegal" to strike. Putting the union's fate in the hands of arbitrators, claiming nothing can be done that violates the dictates of the capitalist state, the bureaucrats use the threat of an arbitration ruling as a club to ram through whatever deal they can get from the CTA bosses. The union tops want the membership to vote up a partial contract which leaves key contract issues to be "resolved" in the future. After being stonewalled by the bureaucrats through more than a year of bargaining, transit workers rightly fear that some of the worst givebacks in decades and provisions which challenge the existence of the union itself will be announced *after* the contract is ratified.

Binding arbitration has long been a crucial weapon in the union-busting arsenal of the bosses, designed to *stop* strikes from happening and to gut the

very purpose of unions. The trade-union bureaucrats' embrace of this class collaboration, which ties labor to the exploiters, goes hand in hand with their longstanding allegiance to the Democratic Party. The labor bureaucracy and black Democratic Party politicians have served to channel the anger of the working class and the ghetto into cynical electoral politics which have secured the rule of the Democrats in Chicago for over half a century. They have made Chicago "the city that works" for Boss Daley's racist Democratic machine, and that means no strikes to upset the apple cart.

The contradictions of race and class that define capitalist America are played out in the raw in Chicago, the metropolis at the center of the industrial Midwest known as "Segregation City." The overwhelmingly black and Latino ATU locals have the social power to bring the city to a grinding halt, a power which can be linked to the anger of the increasingly impoverished and brutalized ghettos and barrios. A hard core of Chicago transit workers played a central role in stopping the Klan from rallying in Gary, Indiana on January 20 as part of the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. While the numbers that came out were diminished by threats of mass arrest by the city's Democratic Party administration, the Klan didn't dare show, and the city backed off from its arrest threats in the face of protests by labor officials nationally. We prevailed because we fought on the basis of mobilizing the power of labor independently of and in opposition to the cops, courts and all the parties and agencies of the capitalist class enemy. Here was a concrete, albeit modest, demonstration of what labor can do if it doesn't play by the bosses' rules.

Government, Cops and Courts Out of the Unions!

Would-be "opposition" cliques like Local 308's dubious "Union Watchdog" have seized on the rank-and-file discontent for their own purposes of ugly internecine feuding backed by the threat of state intervention. It is a testament to how discredited the local leadership is in the eyes of the membership that the "Union Watchdog," which makes appeals to racist sentiment against the local's black president, Jerry Williams, has been able to get a hearing. While making demeaning references to Williams' grammar, the "Watchdog" finks have turned union material over to the attorney general and advocate dragging the union into the capitalist courts.

The FBI has launched an "investigation" of alleged corruption by Local 308

officials. In Local 241, an anonymous phone call brought the cops rushing into a union meeting this February. All sides in this bureaucratic mudslinging are equally committed to subordinating the labor movement to the bosses and their state. In Local 241, one bureaucrat is challenging the fact that many contract issues are unresolved. But his bottom line is to send the contract back to the bargaining table or to arbitration.

Far from being "neutral," the capitalist state represents the organized machinery of violence and repression against the working class and oppressed on behalf of those who live off the exploitation of labor. The state has repeatedly intervened in the labor movement, not to uphold union democracy but to take over and crush the unions. It was the Justice Department that first installed Ron Carey to run the Teamsters union in 1991, then launched their own vendetta against him following the successful 1997 Teamsters strike against UPS. It was the FBI that launched the deadly war on black radicals in the late 1960s, leading to the assassination of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by a Chicago police death squad. The same Chicago cops who break up picket lines use racist terror to enforce the status quo in "Segregation City," from the vicious beating and attempted frame-up of black CTA driver Cassandra Seay in 1987 to the 1999 cold-blooded killings of black motorists Robert Russ and LaTanya Haggerty. Labor must clean its own house: *Government, cops and courts out of the unions!*

Labor/Black Power Is the Key

To ward off strike sentiment, the ATU tops claim that the union's last strike in 1979 was a "disaster" that cost the ATU its cost-of-living allowance (COLA), which had made Chicago transit workers the highest paid in the country in the '70s. The reality is that the four-day walkout *prevented* Mayor Jane Byrne's drive to eliminate COLA. ATU contracts continued to include a cost-of-living raise until 1983, when the Illinois legislature passed House Bill (HB) 1805, a law infamous among veteran Chicago transit workers because it outlawed the COLA, looted their pension fund and imposed the part-time system.

The "friend of labor" who pushed through this union-busting law was Chicago's first black mayor, Democrat Harold Washington, who twisted arms and called in his markers to get the bill passed in Springfield. It's hard to imagine a closer tie than the one labor had with the "progressive" Harold Washington. But when Washington tried to justify his anti-union attacks at a Local 241 meeting in



Revolutionary Internationalism and Defense of the Workers States

The U.S. spy plane provocation has touched off widespread outrage in the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, where many look back to Mao Zedong as a stronger guardian of national sovereignty than his successors in the Stalinist regime. But as Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky pointed out in polemicizing against the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country,"



TROTSKY

defense of the workers state against the class enemy must be part of a program for international workers revolution. Proletarian revolution in the imperialist centers, not least the U.S., is crucial to the defense and extension of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Revolutionary patriotism can only have a class character. It begins as patriotism to the party organization, to the trade union, and rises to state patriotism when the proletariat seizes power. Whenever the power is in the hands of the workers, patriotism is a revolutionary duty. But this patriotism must be an inseparable part of revolutionary internationalism. Marxism has always taught the workers that even their struggle for higher wages and shorter hours cannot be successful unless waged as an international struggle....

The invincible conviction that the fundamental class aim, even more so than the partial objectives, cannot be realized by national means or within national boundaries, constitutes the very heart of revolutionary internationalism. If, however, the ultimate aim is realizable within national boundaries through the efforts of a national proletariat, then the backbone of internationalism has been broken. The theory of the possibility of realizing socialism in one country destroys the inner connection between the patriotism of the victorious proletariat and the defeatism of the proletariat of the bourgeois countries. The proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries is still traveling on the road to power. How and in what manner it marches towards it depends entirely upon whether it considers the task of building the socialist society a national or an international task.

—Leon Trotsky, "Critique of the Draft Program of the Communist International" (1928), reprinted in *The Third International After Lenin* (1970)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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With support from transit workers and other trade unionists, January 20 anti-Klan mobilization in Gary, Indiana backed Democratic mayor off of threat of mass arrests.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hawaii: Victory to Teachers, Faculty Strikes!

Pickets Shut Down Schools Statewide

APRIL 10—Hawaii's nearly 13,000 public schoolteachers and 3,100 state university faculty members went out on strike on April 5, the first time in U.S. history that an entire state's public education system—all the way from kindergartens to high schools to universities—has been shut down. The Hawaii State Teachers Association (HSTA), which represents public schoolteachers, and the University of Hawaii Professional Assembly (UHPA), the faculty union at the ten University of Hawaii (UH) campuses, both went on strike within hours of each other after Democratic Party governor Ben Cayetano called off negotiations.

The memberships of both unions—who have been working without a contract for over a year—had voted overwhelmingly to strike, and picket lines went up immediately at schools and UH campuses. The HSTA picket lines have been especially large and militant, with many students and parents participating. Moving to take advantage of the strike's popularity, lieutenant governor Mazie Hirono, who plans to run for governor next year, broke ranks with her boss Cayetano and joined several picket lines. But workers should have no illusions in capitalist parties, Democrat or Republican; both are enemies of working-class struggle.

The teachers and UH faculty are

directly up against the capitalist state in Hawaii, where the schools are under state control. Cayetano has a long history of vicious attacks on all the public employees unions. When the state's extremely high cost of living is factored in, Hawaii teacher salaries are the lowest in the country. The HSTA asked for a 22 percent raise over four years, but were insultingly offered less than 14 percent, with no retroactive pay for the time worked without a contract. Cayetano outraged UHPA members by initially proposing to cut off their health benefits over the summer, then offering only a 9 percent raise, plus 2 percent union-busting "merit pay," over two years and no raises at all for the 300 non-tenure track lecturers. Attempting to break the public schoolteachers strike, Cayetano vindictively issued an executive order cutting off the HSTA's health benefits; even the UH administration rejected as illegal his attempt to do the same to the university faculty.

A Department of Education spokesman conceded, "The schools will remain closed.... And that's not really surprising, when we see the strength of the numbers reporting to the picket lines" (*Honolulu Advertiser*, 7 April). Less than 1 percent of HSTA members have crossed the lines, and so far nearly all classes have been canceled at UH, despite the administration's threats of



Elementary school teachers picket, April 6, as strike shuts down Hawaii's public school system. AP

"disciplinary action" against graduate assistants (GAs) who refuse to cross picket lines. Students and all GAs: Join the UHPA strikers in shutting down the campuses!

HSTA executive director Joan Husted noted that "labor unions have been stopping at the picket lines and unloading their loads at the gate" (*Honolulu Advertiser*, 6 April), while Teamsters bus drivers have changed their routes to avoid crossing picket lines. All Hawaii's

trade unions must not only honor the UHPA and HSTA picket lines, refusing to make *any* deliveries, but unions such as the municipal workers, Teamsters and especially the ILWU dock workers and sugar refinery workers should carry out real solidarity, reinforcing picket lines and using their great power to help make sure the schools and campuses stay shut down until all the strikers' demands are met. Victory to the Hawaii teacher and faculty strikes!

January 1984, he was hooted off the stage by angry black bus drivers and forced to flee by the back door! Washington's attack on ATU members was part of a national campaign of racist austerity that heavily relied on black Democratic mayors to impose cutbacks while keeping the urban centers from exploding in protest. As black New York City mayor David Dinkins promised the racist rulers when he took office, "They'll take it from me."

Washington's election was seen by the black population of Chicago as a chance to finally be able to get some of their share of housing, jobs and schools through the Democratic Party patronage machine. Today, the conditions faced by the increasing numbers of black and Hispanic youth hired as part-time transit workers are bitter testimony to the betrayal of these aspirations. Brought in under the conditions of Washington's anti-union HB 1805, these workers face a future of 20-hour workweeks on starvation wages with no seniority and minimal benefits. They are even prevented from taking a second job because they are "on call" all the time.

Full-time transit workers can't make ends meet without working heavy overtime. One giveback contract after another has shifted health care costs onto union members while cutting hundreds of jobs and forcing those remaining to pick up the extra workload. The transit unions are already divided between rail and bus workers as well as along craft lines. Now the CTA bosses are wielding the club of hiring more part-time workers against the union while eliminating seniority in job picks. Against the bosses' divide-and-rule strategy of pitting one section of the transit workforce against another, there needs to be *one industrial union of all transit workers* which fights for full-time jobs with full benefits and seniority rights for the entire membership.

Transit workers take the heat for a company that is widely seen, particularly by the black and minority poor, as inefficient and callous. But the overwhelmingly black union membership provides a living link between the social power of



L.A. transit workers shout down back-to-work ploy during month-long strike last year. City rulers brought in Jesse Jackson to help end strike.

labor and the masses of the inner city. A key union demand representing the interest of transit workers and the masses of working people and unemployed would be to *rip out the turnstiles—for free, quality mass transit from the Loop to the suburbs!*

Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!

The ATU tops falsify their own union's history in order to bolster their program of support to the black Democrats who uphold Harold Washington as an icon of the "progress" that can be achieved for the working people and blacks under their rule. Today, Jesse Jackson is the first and foremost of those who seek to quell the anger of the working class and ghetto poor by pushing the shell game that the Democrats are the allies of labor and blacks. Last year, Jackson—who has never missed an opportunity to try to douse the flames of militant social struggle—was called into Los Angeles to end a militant and powerful transit strike. Leading prayers and preaching the virtues of "reconciliation" with management, Jackson tried to refurbish the image of local Democratic Party politicians who had led a strikebreaking charge against the transit workers. Last month in New



AP photos

York City, Transport Workers Local 100 president Roger Toussaint attempted to head off anger in the ranks over attacks on the union's health benefits fund by organizing a rally for Democratic Party politicians, with Jackson as the central featured speaker.

The task of class-struggle militants in the unions is to fight to win the most advanced elements to the need to *break*

with the Democrats and forge a workers party. That entails a struggle against all wings of the labor bureaucracy—a fight to oust capital's labor lieutenants who help maintain capitalist "order" and class peace. An insightful, disciplined revolutionary party with a committed base of black trade unionists—mobilizing organized labor, appealing to and seeking to lead the ghetto masses—could galvanize labor/black Chicago and the country.

Going beyond simple contract concerns and actively championing the cause of black liberation and the defense of the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed, battalions from the ATU and other heavily minority industrial unions have the potential to lead tens of thousands in powerful social struggle against racist capitalism. By doing so, the working class will open up the possibility of creating a new power in society, a workers government that will expropriate the bosses and return the wealth of this country to those who produced it, under a centralized plan based on the needs of the many, not the profits of the few. Oust the bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government! ■

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Young Spartacus

Taliban: Bitter Fruit of U.S. Imperialism's Anti-Soviet War

We print below a forum given recently in San Francisco, Vancouver and Chicago by comrade Kathy Ibsen, slightly edited for publication.

It's Afghanistan in 1988: 15,000 women serve as soldiers and commanders in the army; there are 245,000 women workers. Women are 40 percent of the doctors and 60 percent of the teachers at the University of Kabul; 440,000 female students are enrolled in educational institutions and 80,000 more participate in literacy programs. The All-Afghanistan Women's Council has 150,000 members. Western dress is common in the cities and women enjoy some real measure of freedom from the veil and subjugation, for the first time in Afghanistan's history.

What made this possible? It was the Soviet Union sending 100,000 troops, mainly from Soviet Central Asia, into Afghanistan, which bordered the USSR, in December 1979 in order to stem a *mujahedin* insurgency against the left-nationalist, pro-Soviet government. Our party, uniquely on the left, forthrightly declared, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" This expressed our recognition that, despite its degeneration under a Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the Soviet Union remained a workers state and continued to embody historic gains of the October 1917 Russian workers revolution, not least for women and the historically Islamic peoples of Soviet Central Asia. Within weeks of the Soviet troops going in, the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) held demonstrations internationally calling for defense of the USSR and victory to the Red Army.

When the Soviet forces completed their pullout from Afghanistan in early 1989, paving the way for a bloody onslaught against Afghan workers, women and leftists, we bitterly denounced this betrayal. In an attempt to placate U.S. imperialism, the Kremlin Stalinists handed over hundreds of thousands of Afghans to be tortured, flayed alive, beheaded and dismembered as "infidels" by the CIA-funded mullahs, tribal khans and feudal landlords. In solidarity with the Afghan masses, who were waging a bitter struggle for survival in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, we formally proposed to the Afghan government, in a letter dated 7 February 1989, the following: "To organize an international brigade to fight to the death" to defend "the right of women to read, freedom from the veil, freedom from the tyranny of the mullahs and the landlords, the introduction of medical care and the right of all to an education."

Though this offer was declined, at the request of the government, the Partisan Defense Committee (the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the SL/U.S.) and the PDC's fraternal organizations around the world raised over \$44,000 in two months. The money went to aid the civilian victims of the all-out *mujahedin* offensive that year against Jalalabad, the Afghan

Afghanistan:



Women beg on streets of Kabul. Since 1996 capture of city by Taliban, women have been required to cover even their eyes. AP

Women Enslaved by Islamic Reaction

city closest to the CIA's guerrilla bases in Pakistan. The attack was soundly defeated for a time. At our literature table at the back are photos and articles from our ICL correspondent in Afghanistan at the time.

In 1996, after four years of the horrific rule of a shifting "coalition" of warring factions of the reactionary Islamic *mujahedin*, who had already brought Kabul to the point of famine and devastation, the capital of Afghanistan fell to the Taliban, a fundamentalist Islamic militia. One of the Taliban's first acts was to grab the former president and Soviet ally, Najibullah. He was castrated and then hanged from a lamppost in downtown Kabul for three days. The Taliban killers proceeded to wreak bloody vengeance against any remaining vestige of social progress,

adding the finishing touches to the program of social reaction implemented by the U.S.-sponsored, CIA-funded *mujahedin* cutthroats who took power in 1992. Anti-Communism was the bond between U.S. imperialism and the mullahs in Afghanistan.

Enslavement of Women

Today, under the Taliban's savage and backward regime, women are not allowed out of their homes unless escorted by a male relative. They must wear a head to toe covering, called the *burqa*. A dense, mesh-covered, three-inch square opening around the eyes provides the only means to see. In 1979, prior to the Soviet intervention, we said that "the sun never shines on Afghan women." This is literally true—veiled women don't see the

sun, they breathe the dust that swirls underneath the *burqa*'s 30 yards of opaque muslin, which will again lead, as then, to a high level of tuberculosis.

There is nothing progressive or "anti-imperialist" about being shrouded in the veil. Nor is it, as some liberals would maintain, a quaint cultural attribute. You wouldn't think you would have to be a communist to see that wrapping a woman in a veil and secluding her in the home is a hideous oppression crying out to be wiped from the face of the earth! The veil is a physical symbol of the submission of women to men and the imposed affirmation of their inferior status. The bride price and the veil are concrete manifestations of the material oppression of women. In Afghanistan today, women are property economically, socially and legally. They occupy a subordinate status rooted in the oppressive institution of the family.

As part of the total seclusion of women, known as *purdah*, the windows of their homes have been painted black so they can't be seen. They must wear silent shoes, so they aren't heard. They must speak quietly and are not supposed to laugh. Women are prohibited from attending school and have been forced to leave their jobs since the Taliban issued edicts forbidding women to work outside the home. This is a matter of life and death for the 30,000 widows in Kabul and elsewhere in the country, who are the sole providers for their families. Medical services are essentially unavailable to women, since only a small number of women medical workers are allowed to practice and male doctors are prohibited from touching women. This has led, and will continue to lead to countless unnecessary deaths.

The teenage thugs in the Taliban's "Department for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice" roam the streets meting out regular, brutal beatings—using broken-off car antennas and metal cables—for such offenses as baring an ankle or wrist. Depression is widespread and the suicide rate among women has increased significantly. Though women are the main recipients of the Taliban's savagery, they are not the only ones. In Kabul's soccer stadium, thousands of men cheer as thieves' hands and feet are surgically amputated, as women are flogged or stoned to death. The most grotesquely bizarre method of execution is used against homosexuals sentenced to death by the Taliban. First they are partially buried in the ground and then a brick wall is pushed over them by a bulldozer.

For three years running, drought has destroyed the possibility of even subsisting off the land. More than 700,000 people (4 percent of the population) are desperately fleeing to the cities in search of food and shelter. Even by UN figures, more than 1 million people are at risk of starving to death this year. The Taliban is also destroying every statue in the country, using a combination of U.S.-provided hand-held missiles and stone hammers. Foremost among the treasures being destroyed are two 1,000-year-old Buddha statues carved into the stone cliffs in

Bamiyan, on the Silk Road from China to the Middle East. Numerous articles in the bourgeois press decry the destruction of the statues but barely mention the devastation of the country and its women.

Defense of the Soviet Union and Cold War II

So what happened in Afghanistan that has resulted in unspeakably hellish conditions for women? Why did almost every leftist and feminist group oppose the Soviet intervention which alone raised the *possibility* of social liberation in this wretchedly backward country? Uniquely in modern history, the rights of women were a *central issue* in the civil war which raged in Afghanistan from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. Some of the blood of every unveiled woman butchered by the Afghan fundamentalists is on the hands of every leftist and feminist organization internationally that lined up behind U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet dirty war in Afghanistan. They did their small part to contribute to the horror which is today being inflicted upon Afghan women.

To see what sparked the Soviet intervention in 1979, you have to go back to the "April revolution" in 1978 when the Soviet-backed left-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan—the PDPA—came to power. The PDPA's base consisted overwhelmingly of the educated petty bourgeoisie, schoolteachers, students and Soviet-trained army officers. Many of them were educated in the Soviet Union, where they saw the advances of their ethnic cousins in Soviet Central Asia. With this direct comparative experience to show them how truly backward their own country was, many in these petty-bourgeois strata began to push for significant modernization. When the PDPA came to power, the Western press raised cries of a "Communist coup." In fact, this was a left-wing officers' coup, based mainly on the army.

At the time, Afghanistan was one of the most primitive, tradition-bound countries on earth. In 1978, only 35,000 people were employed in manufacturing—out of a population of 17 to 20 million. Their numbers were dwarfed by the Islamic clergy. There were *a quarter of a million mullahs*, an enormous parasitic caste sucking the blood from a desperately poor people. There was virtually no industry—no railroad tracks, very few highways, primitive sanitation and widespread malnutrition. The average life expectancy was 40 years, infant mortality was at least 25 percent and half of all children died before age five. The rate of illiteracy was more than 90 percent for men and 98 percent for women. Almost all women, save members of a tiny Westernized urban middle class, were imprisoned in the veil and sold like chattel under the bride price system. Most people lived in



Northern Neighbors
Literacy classes, held as result of Soviet intervention. Members of Afghan women's militia at rally in Kabul just before Soviet pullout in 1989 (right); women were in forefront of battle to defend their social emancipation.

nomadic tribes or as impoverished farmers in mud villages. There were a multitude of tribes over which no previous government had ever completely established its authority. Life was scarcely different from many centuries earlier.

While not repudiating Islam, the PDPA regime sought to give the country a secular, progressive image. One of the more popular measures was to cancel the debt that poor and landless peasants owed to the powerful moneylenders. The landlords and tribal khans held the power of life and death over the mass of peasants, controlling 42 percent of cultivable land and the associated irrigation systems. Though the PDPA government proposed a sweeping land reform program, they were stopped in their tracks by landlord economic sabotage and terror combined with a mass reactionary insurgency.

But what drove the mullahs into a frenzy and to take up arms were the limited measures of equality for women introduced by the government—reducing the traditional bride price to a nominal sum and introducing compulsory education for girls and voluntary literacy programs for adult women. Even the *New York Times* in February 1980 admitted: "It was the Kabul revolutionary Government's granting of new rights to women that pushed Orthodox Moslem men in the Pashtoon villages of eastern Afghanistan into picking up their guns." With social development somewhere between tribalism and feudalism, there was no *internal* social base for the relatively minimal reforms pursued by the PDPA, much less for proletarian revolution.

The institution of the family takes different forms according to the demands of the social system—a point that was perhaps most eloquently captured in a state-

ment by the utopian socialist Fourier, which Marx often liked to quote. That is that the status of women in any given society reflects the general level of human emancipation and human freedom. In areas such as Central Asia, there was a strategic relationship between the bride price and polygamy, primitive agricultural production, sheep-herding, land and water rights.

Women were their fathers' means of exchange and their husbands' chattel; the right to control and inherit property rested on men. Most variants of local law gave a man access to land and water rights only if he married; more than one wife meant more land and water. On the other hand, marriage was so expensive (because of the bride price) that many poor men never married at all—and others turned to abduction and rape to get a wife.

There was a lot going on in the world and in the region in 1978-79. The Soviet high command watched as Iran slipped into near-total chaos after the U.S.-supported Shah was overthrown; as U.S. aircraft carriers lined up in the Arabian Sea; as the Soviet-allied Kabul government was threatened by a reactionary Islamic *jihad* (holy war). Seeing the U.S. at an impasse in Iran, the Kremlin bureaucrats seized the time to quell the uprising by the Afghan mullahs and khans, deployed thousands of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, and in the process extended their defense perimeter by several hundred miles around the eastern flank of Iran. The USSR was rightly worried about hostile Islamic fundamentalist governments on their border. As we wrote in *Spartacist* in the summer of 1980: "Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates the real contours of the world political landscape. It has exploded the last illusions of détente to reveal the implacable hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet degenerated workers state."

Lashing out against so-called "Soviet expansionism," Democratic Party president and born-again Christian Jimmy Carter launched Cold War II against the Soviet Union. Like Cold War I in the 1950s, this anti-Soviet war drive was accompanied by a massive increase in military spending, in this case a five-year, trillion-dollar program. At the same time, millions of U.S. dollars began flowing to the reactionary Islamic fundamentalists via the CIA.

The lengthy civil war was a decisive event in the history of the region. When opponents of the Soviet intervention cried crocodile tears about the so-called "Afghan right to self-determination" and the "trampled rights" of the Afghan nation, we pointed out that in fact there is no Afghan nation. We didn't discover this. As historian Louis Dupree observed in his book *Afghanistan* in 1980: "Afghanistan is an artificial country, created out of tribal kingdoms as a buffer state by the British and Russians in the nineteenth century." There was no common language or nationality. Afghanistan



Reuters

was composed of many different nationalities, tribal and ethnic groupings and languages—Pushtuns, Tadjiks, Uzbeks, Turkomans, Baluchis and others.

In the 1920s, the British sought to foster Afghanistan as an anti-Soviet force in the area after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. As colonialists, the British had long cultivated backward layers in the administration of their empire, backed up by their army, of course. Leon Trotsky, in a speech to the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow in April 1924, said:

"Afghanistan is at present the scene of truly dramatic events: the Great Britain of Ramsay MacDonald is fighting there against the left national-bourgeois wing, which aims at the Europeanization of an independent Afghanistan. It endeavors to place in power in that country the most unenlightened and reactionary elements, imbued with the worst prejudices of pan-Islamism, of the caliphate."

If you substitute the U.S. for Britain in this quote, this could have been written in 1979.

The Russian Revolution inspired the only attempt at significant social reforms in Afghanistan prior to 1978. The "national-bourgeois wing" referred to by Trotsky was led by Amir Amanullah Khan, who took the throne in 1919 and attempted to implement a broad range of reforms like Kemal Atatürk did in Turkey. The British continued to bolster the power of the Islamic clergy and sanctioned the *shariat* courts that ruled on questions of family, sex, inheritance and so on, as supports for their colonial rule. They supplied arms to the rebels and infested the area with their agents and spies. In 1929, Khan was overthrown and tribal and clerical "traditionalism" was restored to its position of power. Had the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky been in a position to go into Afghanistan in 1921, Afghanistan could have been incorporated into Soviet Central Asia, which would have brought Afghanistan rapidly into the 20th century.

As the leading imperialist power after World War II, the U.S., following in Britain's footsteps, consciously manipulated and cynically reinforced religious fundamentalism and pre-feudal reaction as an organized force for counterrevolution. Cold Warrior John Foster Dulles wrote in 1950: "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us."

When the Soviet Red Army entered Kabul in 1979, U.S. imperialism was still smarting from its defeat by the heroic Vietnamese four years earlier. While the U.S. was bogged down in that losing war, the USSR gained nuclear parity with the U.S. Seeking to bury the "Vietnam syndrome"—the mass perception among working people and youth that the U.S. government and military tops were a

continued on page 6

Soviet tanks in Afghanistan. Uniquely on left, SL called for victory of Red Army, which fought on side of social progress, and defense of USSR.

Der Spiegel



Afghanistan...

(continued from page 5)

bunch of liars and baby-killers—Jimmy Carter launched a hypocritical “human rights” campaign against the Soviet Union. The U.S. imposed a grain embargo so the people of the USSR could suffer for “human rights” and boycotted the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics. Part of this anti-Soviet war drive was the biggest military buildup in human history, including a massive increase in nuclear weaponry aimed at the Soviet Union. The goal: the destruction of the Soviet workers state itself. Afghanistan, where American-supplied weapons were being used to kill Red Army soldiers, was the hottest hot spot of Cold War II.

The U.S. government’s Afghan war was totally *bipartisan*. In 1984, under Republican president Ronald Reagan, the Democratic Congress *tripled* Reagan’s proposed appropriations for the Afghan reactionaries. One House Democrat from Texas said: “There were 58,000 [American] dead in Vietnam and we owe the Russians one.” By the time the Soviets left Afghanistan, the CIA’s Afghan “freedom fighters” (as Reagan fondly called them) had received, by official estimates, more than \$2 billion in military hardware, a figure reportedly matched by Saudi Arabia and supplemented by other U.S. allies like Egypt. At the height of the U.S.

From the beginning of the war, the *mujahedin* reserved its worst treatment for Soviet soldiers. The U.S. government had confirmed reports that the mullahs had drugged and tortured 50 to 200 Soviet soldiers, imprisoning them like animals in cages, where they lived lives of indescribable horror. Another account, by a reporter from the conservative *Far Eastern Economic Review* in 1984, said: “One [Soviet] group was killed, skinned and hung up in a butcher’s shop. One captive found himself the centre of attraction in a game of *buzkashi*, that rough and tumble form of Afghan polo in which a headless goat is usually the ball. The captive was used instead. Alive. He was literally torn to pieces.” For those who have never witnessed the game of *buzkashi*, I’d recommend the 1975 movie starring Sean Connery, *The Man Who Would Be King*, based on a story by Rudyard Kipling, the well-known propounder of British colonial rule.

Leftist Opponents of Revolutionary Marxism

All organizations claiming to stand for revolutionary Marxism were put to the test over Afghanistan: For or against the defense of the Soviet Union? For or against imperialist-sponsored counterrevolution? For or against the fight for women’s liberation from the veil, isolation and illiteracy? For revolutionary Marxists, there is nothing tricky or ambiguous about the war. The Soviet



SL contingent in April 1989 abortion rights demo in D.C., where we launched international campaign to aid embattled city of Jalalabad against *mujahedin* cutthroats following Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

nearly 100 percent literacy rate; the average life expectancy was 70 years. 45 percent of legislators and 18 percent of judges were women (as compared to 3 percent in the U.S.). There was one doctor for every 380 people, compared to one doctor for every 20,000 in Afghanistan.

A number of the left groups from the time no longer exist, particularly the various Maoist groups who, along with

gains won by the Afghan masses—that finally forced the Soviet Union to respond.” It didn’t take them long to figure out that their line would alienate the bourgeois liberal milieu with which these “respectable socialists” have sought to ingratiate themselves since the Vietnam antiwar movement, as they and Socialist Action continue to do to this day. They made an about-face and called for Soviet withdrawal. Even if it meant disagreeing with Fidel Castro, these social democrats couldn’t resist the pressure of the U.S. imperialists’ anti-Soviet propaganda/military campaign.

The Cliffites—the International Socialist Organization in the U.S. and the British Socialist Workers Party (who have recently split)—both known for their anti-Communism, eagerly joined the imperialist chorus calling for Soviet troops out and whitewashed the *mujahedin*. The British Cliffites made a real contribution to the imperialists’ anti-Soviet war drive by making common cause with the right-wing Tories. In 1980, SWP leader Paul Foot, writing in his column in the bourgeois *Daily Mirror*, attacked the virulently anti-communist Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher *from the right*, decrying the possibility that British meat exports to the Soviet Union might be going to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

When the Soviet bureaucracy said they were pulling out in 1988, the ISO wrote in *Socialist Worker* (May 1988): “Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin’s heirs.” How disgusting to compare the U.S. genocidal war to smash the Vietnamese social revolution with the USSR fighting on the side of social progress! In lockstep with imperialism, the Cliffites openly called for capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and East Europe. Indeed, the essence of the Cliffite tendency had always been to ally with their own imperialist rulers against the Soviet Union.

When the Taliban came to power in 1996, the ISO wrote: “But Taliban’s success comes from popular disenchantment with the leaders who oppose it—the forces guarding Kabul melted away last week. Tragically, the Taliban has no answer to the terrible crisis of the country either.” Would you say that Hitler had “no answer” for the crisis in Germany either, except for the destruction of all workers organizations and the extermination of the Jews? Today the Cliffites insist that Islamic fundamentalism plays a progressive “anti-imperialist” role around the world. The SWP proclaimed (*International Socialism*, August 1994): “Islamists have now replaced socialists and the left in terms of being in the frontline against the state in many countries.”

Socialist Worker



12 January 1980
(British SWP)

Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin’s heirs.
But this does not mean giving

May 1988
(U.S. ISO)

But Taliban’s success comes from popular disenchantment with the leaders who oppose it—the forces guarding Kabul melted away last week.
Tragically, the Taliban has no answer to the terrible crisis of the country either.
It reaches a return to the

5 October 1996
(British SWP)

Cliffites of British SWP and U.S. ISO embraced imperialist anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan, “welcomed” victory of anti-woman Islamic fundamentalists.

proxy war against the USSR, the *mujahedin* were receiving up to 65,000 tons of war materiel annually. This was to become the biggest CIA operation in history! Various estimates indicate that anywhere from 25 to 75 percent of the CIA’s military aid was skimmed off by the rebel leaders and Pakistani officials and sold for huge profits.

To give you an idea of the ferocity of the CIA’s “freedom fighters,” according to *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*: “A ‘favorite tactic’ of the Afghan freedom fighters was ‘to torture victims [often Russians] by first cutting off their noses, ears, and genitals, then removing one slice of skin after another,’ producing ‘a slow, very painful death.’” Flinging acid in the faces of unveiled women and flaying alive Communist schoolteachers for teaching girls to read were also “favorite tactics.”

army and its left-nationalist allies were fighting a CIA-backed, anti-communist, anti-democratic *mélange* of landlords, moneylenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs committed to mass illiteracy and the subjugation of women. The gut-level response of every radical leftist should have been fullest solidarity with the Soviet Red Army. Not so.

Only those leftists poisoned by anti-Communism and bourgeois nationalism could deny that a social revolution such as the transformation of Soviet Central Asia after the Bolshevik Revolution, although imposed from without and bureaucratically deformed from the outset, would have an enormously liberating effect for the Afghan masses. The difference in social progress and economic development between Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan was measured not in decades but in centuries. For example, neighboring Soviet Uzbekistan had a

China, supported the *mujahedin* as part of an anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism originally consummated in 1972. We warned then that China—a deformed workers state—would be the next target on the imperialists’ hit list after the Soviet Union. Since the destruction of the Soviet workers state through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the U.S. imperialists aim to reconquer and exploit China, the most populous country on earth. We fight for unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal attempts at counterrevolution.

Socialist Action did not yet exist; its members were still in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Initially, the SWP tried to pretend that the Russian question was not posed in Afghanistan, declaring in February 1980: “So the issue is not Soviet intervention, but a growing U.S. intervention—aimed at taking back the



Spartacist/SYC Regional Educationals—Saturday, April 28

East Coast—New York City

2 p.m.

Eyewitness Reporter from Quebec Anti-FTAA Protests
Beware the Fraud of “Human Rights” Imperialism!
From Seattle to Quebec: Anti-Globalization Protests Push Illusions in Rapacious U.S. Imperialism

West Coast—Berkeley

12 noon

Eyewitness Report
Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution!
Castro Bureaucracy Undermines Gains of Cuban Revolution—
For Proletarian Political Revolution!
For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

East Coast—6 p.m.

For a Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!
For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!
Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
For Women’s Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

West Coast—3:30 p.m.

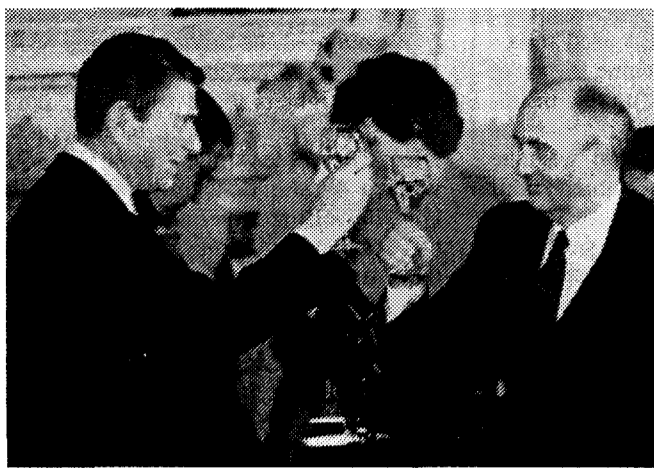
Center for Worker Education of CUNY
99 Hudson Street, 6th Floor (north of Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

University of California at Berkeley, 60 Evans
For more information: (510) 839-0851 • (415) 395-9520
(213) 360-8239 • (604) 687-0353

In Britain, during the uproar over Afghanistan in 1979, a grouping called Workers Power that had split from the Cliffites made a step to the left. They formally adopted the Trotskyist position that the Soviet Union was a bureaucratically degenerated workers state—but on the ground, faced with a virulent anti-Soviet war drive, they denounced the Soviet intervention as “counterrevolutionary.” (A decade later, ever-willing to denounce the USSR, they condemned the withdrawal of the Soviet troops as “counterrevolutionary.”)

Of all the groups that laid claim to Trotskyism at the time, the Bolshevik Faction (BF) of Nahuel Moreno had the most grotesque position. In addition to demanding the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops, they called for extending Khomeini-brand Islamic counterrevolution into the Soviet Union itself. In this country today, remnants of the BF are ensconced in the reformist Socialist Alternative.

The Bolshevik Tendency (BT), a motley group of embittered ex-members of the SL who found our Soviet defensism too hot to handle, fled during Cold War II. After insisting that they agreed with our line on Afghanistan, they showed their true colors by capitulating to the anti-Soviet hysteria. Disappearing the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy, a leading member of the BT declared, “Trotskyists never hail Stalinist traitors or their state.... The slogan ‘Hail Red Army’ is not a Trotskyist slogan.” As a matter of fact, Trotskyists did hail the Red Army when they intervened on the side of progress—for example, in World War II when the Red Army smashed German fascism, freed Jews from concentration camps and took Berlin.



Helkes/U.S. News & World Report

Rabid Cold Warrior Ronald Reagan toasted by Gorbachev, who pursued policy of all-around retreat before U.S. imperialism.

In 1996, at a time when the U.S. had declared an anti-Islamic holy war against terrorism, the Feminist Majority Foundation started circulating a petition calling for sanctions against the Taliban to be imposed by the same U.S. imperialists that armed the Islamic reactionaries in the first place! In February at Madison Square Garden, a benefit performance aiming to call attention to violence against women was organized by playwright Eve Ensler around readings from her *Vagina Monologues*. Featuring dozens of stars like Jane Fonda and Oprah Winfrey, the show was sponsored by Hearst Magazines and Liz Claiborne, among others, with ticket prices topped out at \$1,000 a seat.

Winfrey performed “Under the *Burqa*,” which according to my daughter who saw it performed in San Francisco is a powerful description of the life of misery for veiled women. Thousands signed petitions for the Feminist Majority’s Campaign to Stop Gender Apartheid in Afghanistan and wore “*burqa* swatches” as a symbol of remembrance for Afghan

azine interview with Sima Wali, a self-described Afghan “human rights activist” and anti-communist, proclaimed (May/June 1997):

“When the Communists took over, Afghan women were jailed, they were subjected to torture, especially the women who had ties to the Afghan resistance that took root in Pakistan. This was unheard of in Afghan history.... The Afghan Communists basically had a laissez-faire attitude toward Afghan women. The schools were not closed, they did not institute the veil, and they did introduce reforms. But they focused so much on the war that they did not actively upgrade the status of women.”

Wali fled to Pakistan as soon as the Soviet Army entered Kabul. The “Afghan resistance” she’s referring to is the CIA-backed mullahs. In the same interview, Wali called on former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to “take on the issue as a woman.” Our youth comrades at UC Berkeley did the right thing last spring when they shouted down Albright as the “Butcher of the Balkans.” Albright represents the capitalist class; she is not our ally in the fight for women’s liberation.

found them liberal and farsighted and open” (*Washington Post*, 18 February 1967).

Bourgeois feminists were perfectly aware of the social changes that were benefiting women in Afghanistan during the ten years of the Soviet intervention. When we kicked off our Jalalabad campaign on April 4, 1989 at the huge NOW-sponsored abortion rights demo in Washington, D.C., NOW goons tried to shut down *all* socialist literature tables and unleashed the park cops on militants, like ourselves, who declined to be segregated from the main rally in NOW’s demeaning penned-in “ghetto” for left groups. Despite these attempts to censor communists, we distributed more than 25,000 leaflets for Jalalabad, as we marched with our banner proclaiming “No to the Veil! Defend Afghan Women! Support Jalalabad Victims of CIA Cutthroats!”

There were exceptions. One bourgeois feminist, Mary Williams Walsh, who was the *Wall Street Journal*’s principal correspondent covering Afghanistan and Pakistan, managed to slip some truth into her column in January 1989. In spite of her support of the *mujahedin*, she suggested that women’s liberation was involved when she said:

“The plight of Kabul’s women is a poignant reminder that the West’s vicarious victory over communist expansion here isn’t without its ambiguities. In a backward country where the female peasantry still toils like medieval serfs, Kabuli women have managed to hold on to many 20th-century freedoms.... Instead of staying at home behind purdah walls, they emerge each day and work in offices, hospitals and schools.”

But in 1990, when Walsh attempted to break the story that Dan Rather and CBS had broadcast fake TV footage about Afghanistan, the *Journal* refused to publish her article. Soon vicious, slanderous rumors began circulating to undermine her credibility, including that she was “sleeping with communist generals” in Afghanistan. In a rare show of journalistic integrity, Walsh resigned.

No Illusions in Bloody U.S. Imperialism!

Besides showering the *mujahedin* with millions of dollars of military equipment, the CIA’s disinformation machine at Langley, Virginia cranked out the most blatant lies about Afghanistan. Dutifully, the U.S. mass media snapped to attention, churning out government-sponsored, imperialist war propaganda. Bloodthirsty tribesmen who skinned Communist teachers alive for the “crime” of teaching little girls to read and write were passed off as “freedom fighters.”

Shots purportedly showing a Soviet jet bombing an Afghan village turned out to be of a Pakistani jet. And a shiny red “toy bomb” supposedly planted by the evil Soviets to lure Afghan children to their deaths was created by the same freelance photographer who had earlier provided faked battle scenes that Dan Rather aired. Ronald Reagan made numerous speeches accusing the Soviets of spraying “yellow rain” over Afghanistan, Laos and Cambodia, causing over ten thousand deaths. Dutifully, reams of press copy

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AFP

1996: Taliban launch missile near Kabul; reactionary Islamic fundamentalist censors burn videos in front of cinema.



Reuters

In a sense Carter’s “human rights” propaganda campaign worked, since most of the self-described left and almost all liberals supported the U.S. against the Soviet Union. And in the case of Afghanistan, this meant support for U.S.-armed, CIA-supported Islamic fundamentalists. *All these self-styled “socialists” contributed to bringing about the horror which is today being inflicted on Afghan women!*

Marxism vs. Feminism

There is a wide historical gulf between Marxism and feminism. However, I do want to address the differences because various feminist organizations and campus women’s groups now profess concern over the plight of Afghan women. The Marxist understanding of women’s oppression as rooted materially in class society is diametrically opposed to the outlook of feminism, which is fundamentally a variant of bourgeois ideology, positing the main social division as one of sex and not class. Feminists see women’s oppression as a set of bad ideas and policies stemming from male supremacy, not as something integral to class-divided society. Most feminists supported U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union no matter what the consequences were for Afghan women.

women and girls. One group speaking at the event and sharing in the funds raised was the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) which toured the U.S. last summer. The CIA-supported “Voice of America” broadcast reports from their demonstrations and interviews with RAWA members in Pakistan and the U.S.

Founded in 1977, this well-connected group is fiercely anti-communist, though even they admit that “the present conditions are even worse than those of the Soviet occupation period.” RAWA also calls for UN intervention and hopes for the return of the king who was overthrown in 1973. They advocate education and employment for women, while remaining in the Islamic fold. Though they don’t insist on women wearing the *burqa*, they do expect women to conform to an appropriately decorous form of dress.

Though Feminist Majority propaganda lists the gains for women in Afghanistan prior to the rule of the Taliban, there isn’t one word about how this came about—which was through the extension of social reforms by the Soviet-backed government. In fact, some feminists grossly claim that communism was actually responsible for women’s oppression in Afghanistan. For example, a *Ms.* mag-

But how dare these bourgeois feminists, who regularly sponsor FBI and military tables at NOW conferences, posture as allies of the women of Afghanistan! Their appointed goddess and founder of *Ms.* magazine, Gloria Steinem, knowingly took CIA money as director of the “Independent Research Service,” which actively recruited and paid hundreds of young Americans to attend and harass leftists at the communist-leaning World Youth Festivals in Vienna in 1959 and in Helsinki in 1962. Steinem said of the CIA agents with whom she collaborated: “I

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
April 17: *The Bourgeois State*
University of California, Berkeley
179 Dwinelle Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON

Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.
April 16: *State and Revolution—The Vanguard Party and the Fight for Communism*
Harvard University, Loker Commons
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
April 17: *Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed*
Univ. of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 106
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
April 17: *We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution*
Columbia University
Hamilton Hall, Room 609
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 7)

were produced asserting that the USSR was using chemical warfare—this was later revealed to be pollen-laden bee excrement which, of course, had caused no deaths!

Like many other CIA clients, the Afghan rebels were financed as well by drug trafficking. In 1995, the estimated output provided one-third to one-half of the heroin used in the U.S. and three-quarters of that used in Western Europe. Profits from heroin have provided one of the largest sources of income for the Taliban. Despite the thoroughly unsavory image of the Taliban, last October Dan Rather, up to his old tricks, ran a special report for CBS called "Inside Afghanistan," in which the Taliban "freedom fighters" are depicted as heroically trying to rebuild their country. The report whitewashes the Taliban's vicious treatment of women as necessary to "protect women" and offer them "peace and security."

The Feminist Majority recently claimed a victory when the U.S. imposed sanctions against the Taliban. In reality, the ongoing sanctions by the U.S. are aimed at pressuring the Taliban to hand over Saudi fundamentalist Osama bin Laden. Four of his alleged associates are currently on trial in a federal courtroom in Manhattan, where they face the death penalty or life imprisonment for an alleged terrorist conspiracy over the last ten years, including the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. Washington responded to these acts by carrying out missile strikes against Afghanistan and devastating a pharmaceutical factory in Sudan. It's notable that the terrorism charges against bin Laden only go back ten years. That's because his "network" was armed, trained and financed by the CIA as part of the proxy war in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union.

In an article entitled "Bin Laden Comes Home to Roost," from the MSNBC Web site in 1998, bin Laden's unclassified CIA biography states that he ran a front organization known as Maktab al-Khidamar—the MAK—which funneled money, arms and fighters to Afghanistan. MAK was nurtured by Pakistan's state security services, the main CIA conduit for the covert war against the USSR in Afghanistan. The article quotes Republican Orrin Hatch, senior member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, saying that he would make the same call today knowing what bin Laden would do subsequently: "It was worth it," he said. "Those were very important, pivotal matters that played an important role in the downfall of the Soviet Union."

U.S. imperialism is the biggest terrorist in the world, from the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the murderous campaigns carried out by the CIA's Nicaraguan contras and Cuban *gusanos*, to the 1999 U.S./UN war of annihilation against the Serbian people which bombed that country back to the Stone Age, to the terror bombing of Iraq and never-ending starvation blockade that has led to at least 1.5 million deaths—to just name a few. Imperialism is not a "bad policy" that can be changed through mass pressure to be more humane, as the liberals, feminists and reformists contend. It is an organic outgrowth of the profit system and the "highest stage of capitalism," as Lenin defined it. Calling on bloody U.S. imperialism, NATO or the UN to intervene for "human rights" is a dangerous trap that builds illusions in this bloody imperialist system which enforces capitalist exploitation, mass poverty and national oppression the world over.

Ever since the 1979 Soviet intervention, the Western media labeled the civil war in Afghanistan "Russia's Vietnam," a

characterization that is still used today. Mikhail Gorbachev, who came to power in the USSR in 1985, took up this insidious lie for his regime's own reasons. As Marxists, we judge what side we take based on what advances the interests of the working class and the oppressed. In Vietnam, the U.S. fought a genocidal war to smash a social revolution and was soundly defeated *on the battlefield*. We said, "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution—Defeat U.S. Imperialism!" The Soviet Army in Afghanistan fought on the side of social progress to stop the reactionary onslaught which imperiled not only the Afghan masses but the



E.P. Dutton & Co.

First meeting of young women's political group in Tashkent, Central Asia, following Russian Revolution of 1917. Bolshevik victory was giant step toward liberation of women throughout former tsarist empire.

USSR itself. That's why we said, "Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan."

But the Soviet bureaucracy didn't fight to win. From the outset of the war the Kremlin tops always held open the possibility of withdrawal as a bargaining chip in dealing with Western imperialism. Nonetheless, by 1984 the Soviet and PDPA forces had practically won the war. The CIA's "holy warriors" were shattered and demoralized. And the government's modest reforms, although scaled back from even the moderate program first offered by the PDPA, were winning support in the countryside.

When Gorbachev came to power in 1985, he faced economic stagnation aggravated by the intensified military pressure from the U.S. that had accelerated under President Ronald Reagan. Gorbachev pushed a series of policy changes: "restructuring" (*perestroika*) of the Soviet economy, "openness" (*glasnost*) in Soviet society and "new thinking" in international affairs. This "new thinking" amounted to Soviet *retreat* on a global scale: the cutoff of arms to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador, aid cutbacks for the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and one-sided nuclear arms reductions by the USSR. As part of this strategy of surrender in the hopes of striking a "peace" deal with Reagan, Gorbachev's Politburo decided in November 1986 to abandon Afghanistan within two years.

The withdrawal was completed on 15 February 1989. The *Washington Post* reported, "At CIA headquarters in Langley, operations officers and analysts drank champagne." The withdrawal of the Red Army was a cold-blooded betrayal of the Afghan *and* the Soviet peoples. Gorbachev's treacherous pullout of Afghanistan burnt out a whole generation of youth in the Soviet Union who did their internationalist duty serving in Afghanistan. One young Russian told our comrades in 1994 that he had fought in Afghanistan in 1986 when he was 18, "to fight for internationalism," but when he returned home he was reviled and said that he was "called a rapist by the same people who sent [him] there." Another Soviet veteran said in March 1988: "Our sacrifices were not for nothing. We have after all brought there the achievements of the civilized world."

We honored the Soviet veterans of the Afghan war who justly viewed themselves as fighters for revolutionary internationalism. The Soviet bureaucracy's attempt to trade Afghan blood for good will in Washington only whetted the appetites of the imperialists, intent upon the counterrevolutionary destruction of the entire Soviet Union. Inside the USSR, this move strengthened pro-capitalist forces. The Red Army pullout was *directly linked* to the final collapse of the USSR itself, a historic defeat for the working class and oppressed internationally. Gorbachev's foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, later said: "The

final dissolution of Stalinist rule under the military and economic pressure of imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union conformed very precisely to his analysis. I would recommend, for those who haven't read it, our pamphlet *Stalinism—Gravedigger of the Revolution: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*.

Withdrawal from Afghanistan was followed by counterrevolution in East Europe: Solidarność-led capitalist counterrevolution in Poland in 1990, the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990, Boris Yeltsin's 1991 pro-capitalist counter-coup in Moscow. This, in turn, led to a total cutoff of aid to Kabul, spelling doom for the fragile Afghan economy and central government. In April of 1992, the Kabul government, headed by Najibullah, fell to the feudalist reactionaries. The warring mullah factions then subjected the entire populace to a reign of terror and plunder.

The horrors being played out in Afghanistan today are the starkest expression of the choice which has been posed, with increasing sharpness and urgency, over the past century: socialism or barbarism. Young fighters against social oppression must study and learn the lessons of past struggles and defeats, including the world-historic defeat represented by the destruction of the remaining gains of the October Revolution, if they are to go forward to win new victories. We of the International Communist League fight for new Octobers, both in the U.S. and around the world. And we here in the U.S., in the belly of the beast, have a special responsibility to smash U.S. imperialism through workers revolution.

We fight to forge Bolshevik parties internationally to lead the workers—standing at the head of all the oppressed—to power and to a society in which capitalist oppression and enslavement of women are relics of a barbaric past. Women will be in the front ranks of such a revolutionary movement, understanding that their interests cannot go forward without a working-class perspective, and the workers movement cannot go forward without taking up the fight for women's liberation. I want to end with a quote from Trotsky in 1924 about the Muslim women of the Soviet East:

"The Eastern woman, who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits, and in creativity, the slave of slaves...she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak, will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress. She will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas and new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution and for the ideas of communism, than the awakened woman worker." ■

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Horowitz...

(continued from page 12)

his own event in order to return to Israel to try and boost his electoral fortunes. We await the accusation that his lack of success in this endeavor was also the responsibility of what Horowitz calls "the intolerable left."

These incidents have been consciously lumped together in a false amalgam by the campus conservatives and AIA so they can posture as "defenders" of free speech. An article by Flynn in Horowitz's *Front Page Magazine* (14 March) whines, "As evidenced by last semester's student-mob action to prevent Benjamin Netanyahu from speaking in the city of Berkeley and the shouting down of a talk given by this writer and the subsequent book-burning of a booklet that I had authored, censorship is quite common at Berkeley."

There is a whole gamut of right-wing organizations and foundations who want to demonize the left as anti-free speech and drive black and minority students off the campuses. Horowitz and his Center for the Study of Popular Culture, which has an annual budget of \$3 million, are heavily funded by ultraright-wing groups like the Olin, Scaife and Bradley foundations. According to *The Nation* (3 July 2000), the Bradley Foundation alone has given Horowitz more than \$3.5 million since 1988. Among the Bradley Foundation's other funding projects is the American Civil Rights Institute led by Ward Connerly, the UC regent who along with Horowitz spearheaded California's Proposition 209 in 1996, eliminating affirmative action. Moreover, according to *Z Magazine* (April 2001), the Bradley Foundation provided more than \$1 mil-



Library of Congress

Heroic black troops in Civil War played key role in smashing slavery and defeating Southern Confederacy. We say: Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

vicious racists, they are also outright liars. AIA/AIM libeled the Spartacist League, claiming we "urged...the killing of police officers." We took this sordid outfit to court in 1987 and forced a full retraction of their deadly lies.

For his part, Horowitz, whose parents were members and later fellow travelers of the Communist Party, began his career as a New Left activist in the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and eventually became editor of the leftist publication *Ramparts*. After a brief stint around the Black Panther Party in the mid '70s, as it was splitting up in vicious factionalism under the pressure of the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO campaign, he resurfaced in December 1979 with a *Nation* article denouncing the heroic victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism as "genocide." That was simply the opening shot of a viciously racist and anti-communist crusade. Lately, his sights have targeted everyone from *Nation* columnist Eric Alterman to black liberal intellectual Cornel West, as well as Noam Chomsky, Edward Said and liberal Berkeley professor and China expert Orville Schell. Borrowing grotesque lies from D'Souza's book *The End of Racism*, Horowitz's most recent book, *Hating Whitey*, essentially portrays black men as rapists of white women. This is a direct echo of the Klan incitements to racist lynchings in the name of "defending the honor of white women."

Marxism vs. Liberal Idealism

As Scott Sherman of *The Nation* (3 July 2000) put it, Horowitz has become "the right's very own Ahab." And just who is this guy's "great white whale"? Everyone from the "politically correct" crowd to Marxists to leftists to multiculturalists to liberals to those who defend black rights—basically anyone to the left of William Buckley, Jesse Helms and Strom Thurmond.

Anyone who has set foot on an American campus lately knows they are hardly havens of Marxism or free speech. With token gains of the civil rights movement like affirmative action abolished, tuition fees escalating exponentially, and the imperialist triumphalism over the supposed "death of communism," the elite campuses have been turned into overwhelmingly lily-white institutions where racists and other retrogrades think they can act with impunity. It's a telling sign of the times that a racist like Horowitz feels comfortable stepping onto campuses like Berkeley, which were once known for their radical history. But this climate was not simply created with the inauguration of the Bush administration. Rather, it is a reflection of eight years of Democratic Party rule, which was marked by increasing attacks on the working class, black people and immigrants.

Grotesquely, the NAACP and the ACLU, which has long made a name for itself defending the "rights" of fascists to recruit to genocide under the rubric of "free speech," have condemned the outraged students who confiscated newspapers at Brown and those who have called on campus papers not to print Horowitz's

ad. Boston University's NAACP president said of Horowitz: "I'm trying to encourage the NAACP to embrace what he has to say, but not necessarily accept it. He has the audacity to say what he feels and, quite frankly, I appreciate it."

On the other side of the coin, Horowitz and his right-wing cabal have had some success in portraying themselves as the defenders of "free speech." Their way was paved by liberals and putative leftists who have appealed to campus administrations to enforce restrictive "speech codes" and for "sensitivity training" as the means to supposedly combat racism, sexism and anti-gay bigotry. The liberal left in this country has in fact created a no-free-speech zone. That's what's behind "political correctness," that's what laws against "hate speech" are for, and that's what the liberal left has demanded for years.

A whole "date rape" hysteria was promoted on the campuses during the 1990s by feminists and other liberals in order to strengthen the hands of the campus cops while demanding that the administration impose stifling rules to regulate sexuality. After the brutal 1998 murder of Matthew Shepard by anti-gay bigots, the liberals intensified the call for "hate crimes" legislation, which again meant more cops and even greater powers of prosecution for the courts.

Horowitz and his like are racist ideologues whose political ideas, themselves a product of decaying capitalism, must be combatted and refuted. Reducing the question of fighting oppression to a matter of circumscribing bad words or images, the liberals are unable to take on Horowitz politically. Instead, they lead anti-racist students to one of two paths: sitting on your hands while this racist rants, as students did at Boston University, or calling on the administration and the campus papers to refuse to print Horowitz's ad, and falling right into his trap. As we emphasized in "Are You Now Or Have You Ever Been... 'PC'?" (WV No. 533, 30 August 1991):

"The problem with this strategy is it disarms the victims by fostering illusions in the supposed 'neutrality' of the racist university administrations and the cops. It gives enhanced power to those institutions to act against, for instance, leftists who might rightly protest Colin Powell or [Norman] Schwarzkopf and call these imperialist pigs 'imperialist pigs.' What's more, *this strategy doesn't work.*"

The organizers of "silent protests" by black students at Berkeley told students to *stay away* from the united-front protest we organized. It is a telling sign of the despair to which black youth have been driven by the racist atmosphere on the campuses and of the bankruptcy of the black liberal misleadership that such things could seriously be suggested.

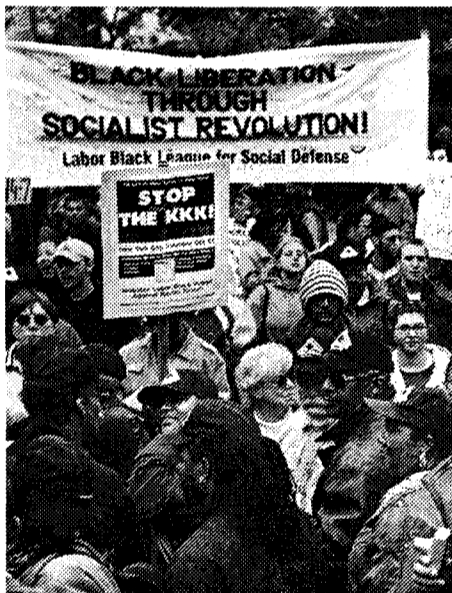
Beholden to bourgeois liberalism, most of the left boycotted our Berkeley demonstration, demonstrating that they're a bunch of paper tigers. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) fervently raises the call to "fight the right," portraying the Democrats as an alternative to the Republicans. Yet when the right reared its head at Berkeley, these "fighters" were nowhere to be seen. In fact, the ISO

attempted to sabotage the demonstration by using their leadership position in the campus group Students for Justice in Palestine to block its endorsement, and then called a meeting of that group the same night as the rally. Ever so craven, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (30 March) carries a tiny article titled "Protest Racist Ad" which claims to solidarize with the campus protests but dishonestly hides its role at Berkeley by neglecting to mention the SYC-initiated protest there. Now the ISO is calling an event to challenge Horowitz at Columbia University in New York—quite brave since the campus paper hasn't printed his ad and Horowitz isn't coming to Columbia. As for free speech, just try to enter a public ISO meeting with a few copies of *Workers Vanguard* in your hand, and you'll see how, for these reformists, free speech means nothing.

To its credit, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) came to the Berkeley protest and even put out a leaflet. PL also put out a leaflet in Boston titled "No Free Speech for Racists!" But by amalgamating Horowitz with Klan and Nazi race-terrorists, PL confuses the whole question. The fascists are paramilitary action gangs whose purpose is racial genocide and the destruction of organized labor. This is not a question of "free speech" but of mobilizing the working class to smash them as an elementary defense of itself and of the oppressed. Horowitz is a racist ideologue whose views need to be exposed and defeated as part of combatting bourgeois ideology. While their Boston leaflet did attempt to refute Horowitz, PL falls into the same trap as the liberals who simply see it as a question of suppressing racist ideas rather than fighting against the material basis of racial oppression.

Horowitz wants to turn back the clock to more reactionary times; the liberals merely want to maintain the status quo of racist American capitalism by trying to prettify it through "politically correct" verbiage. As Marxists, our aim is to change reality, not merely the perception of reality. We want to mobilize students behind the social power of a working class united in the fight against the oppression of black people, women and minorities. As we explained in a letter to Berkeley's *Daily Cal* (3 April), "Our protest against Horowitz was part of our effort to win youth to the cause of black freedom."

We fight to build a youth organization to intervene on the campuses with a revolutionary program and to combat every manifestation of racial oppression and discrimination. The battles at hand require the leadership of a multiracial workers party that will act as a "tribune of the people" in championing the cause of all the oppressed, fighting to achieve black liberation through integration in a socialist society. It is by joining such a struggle that radical-minded students and youth can help to unify the working class to overthrow this whole rotten system and open the door to human freedom. ■



WV Photo

23 October 1999: Labor/black mobilization against KKK race-terrorists in NYC. Fight for black freedom in the U.S. is central to the struggle for emancipation of labor and all the oppressed.

lion for the writing of the notoriously racist tract *The Bell Curve*, which argued that poverty among blacks was the result of genetic inferiority. The book was co-funded by the Pioneer Society, a holdover from the white-supremacist eugenics movement of the 1930s. The Bradley Foundation helps fund the Berkeley Conservative Foundation, which invited Horowitz to speak at Berkeley, through the Leadership Institute, which receives funding from the union-busting Coors conglomerate.

This sinister cabal includes AIA and AIM, which are tied to the Moonie-owned *Washington Times* and the World Anti-Communist League—now called the "World League for Freedom & Democracy"—an outfit that brings together fascists and rightists from all over the world. AIA/AIM are associated with Dinesh D'Souza, founder of the right-wing *Dartmouth Review*, whose motto was "Genocide is never having to say you're sorry." Not only are these groups

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Defend China...

(continued from page 1)

Russia four Sovremenny guided missile destroyers, four Kilo-class submarines which are reputed to be as quiet as the most modern U.S. subs, SU-27 fighters and advanced missiles. The purpose of the EP-3E spy flight was to monitor the Sovremenny destroyers and subs and to test Chinese air defenses.

In a 1987 exercise, a U.S. guided missile cruiser sailed right into Soviet territorial waters near a top-secret naval base on the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Soviet Far East. Such "games," dubbed "Chicken of the Sea," were intended to trigger defensive actions and communications to be observed and analyzed. In 1983, U.S. intelligence had the civilian Korean Air Lines Flight 007 fly over Kamchatka while P-3 spy planes (the forerunner of the EP-3E) monitored Soviet defenses. This imperialist provocation cost the lives of more than 200 innocent passengers, as KAL 007 was shot down by Soviet forces who mistook



Xinhua

Chinese war heroes hailed by North Koreans celebrating 1953 cease-fire in Korean War. PLA entry into war was crucial in defeating U.S. imperialist onslaught against North Korea and defending Chinese Revolution.

expulsion of 50 Russian diplomats and the ultimatum to South Korea's Kim Dae Jung to halt negotiations with the North. Speaking for the virulent China-bashing wing of the Democratic Party, New Jersey Senator Robert Torricelli is now mooted the recall of the U.S. ambassador to China as long as the EP-3E crew is held there.

Arguing that the U.S. should be trying to play Russia, China and North Korea off against each other, conservative strategist Edward Luttwak pointed to the recent American provocations against all three in a *Los Angeles Times* (28 March) column titled "Foreign Policy Crew Is Smashing the Crockery." Luttwak continued, "What cannot be explained in the context of a rational foreign policy is that all three things were done at once." A front-page article in the *Wall Street Journal* (4 April), one of the most hawkish bourgeois mouthpieces, took aim against "Beijing-bashing hard-liners" on behalf of the "pro-business camp" in the administration, noting that "China is a lucrative market and manufacturing site."

While the former Reaganites who advise Bush Jr. may revel in memories of Reagan's crusade against the Soviet "evil empire," the world is not the same as it was in the 1980s. The destruction of the Soviet Union and East European deformed workers states removed the glue that kept the major capitalist powers united under U.S. leadership. Seizing on Bush's rebuff to North Korea, the European Union (EU) has moved to set up diplomatic relations with the North. The chilling of Washington's relations with Moscow has prompted the EU to announce a "strategic partnership" with Putin's Russia. Washington has bluntly opposed creation of a European "rapid reaction" force outside of U.S.-dominated NATO. On the eve of German chancellor Gerhard Schröder's visit, Bush provocatively announced that the U.S. was rejecting the Kyoto environmental accord favored by the Europeans, leading to a storm of criticism from the EU.

Growing tensions between the U.S. and Japan were underscored in February with the reckless sinking of a Japanese fishing vessel by an American submarine near Hawaii, touching off a furor in Japan intensified by the callous U.S. reaction. Recently, the U.S. flouted a 40-year-old agreement by sailing a nuclear aircraft

carrier into a Japanese port without bothering to ask permission. This has all touched off renewed opposition to American military bases in Japan, particularly in Okinawa with its concentration of American troops, as well as demands long pushed by right-wing nationalist forces to bolster Japan's military.

The mounting tensions between the U.S. and its imperialist rivals highlight the inherent competition for control of the world's markets, sources of raw materials and cheap labor among the imperialist powers. These tensions will only be accentuated as the world economic recession deepens. As was demonstrated in World Wars I and II, such competition can ultimately only be resolved through war, in this case one that would threaten



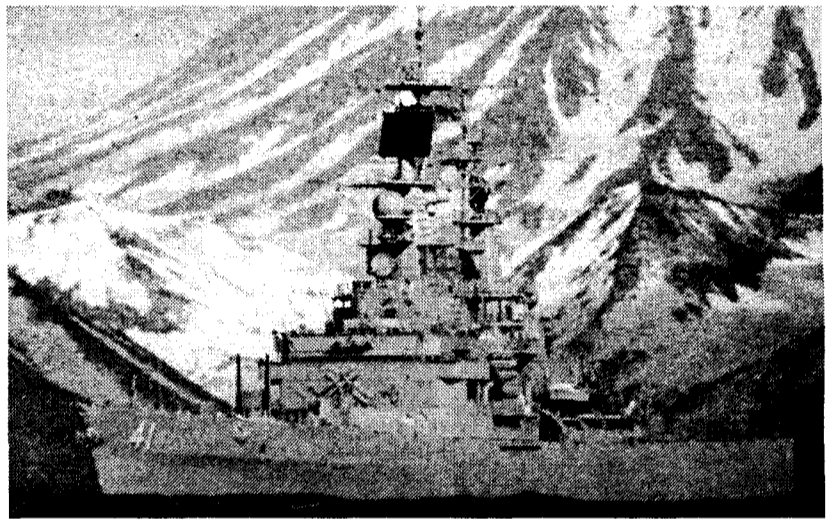
Xinhua

Courageous Chinese pilot Wang Wei

it for a U.S. military incursion into Soviet airspace. With their finger on the nuclear trigger, the leaders of U.S. imperialism constantly threatened the world with incineration in pursuit of their war drive aimed at the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Imperialist Rivalries Increase

In a front-page column in the *Milano daily Corriere della Sera* last week, Italy's former ambassador to the U.S. described Bush as "a young president who rules the world, but is only truly knowledgeable about Texas." The Bush administration is a truly scary gang, so packed with Christian fundamentalists and right-wing militarists that Secretary of State Colin Powell, architect of the massacre of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, comes across as a "voice of moderation." Many are veterans of the Reagan administration's Conragate schemes and bloody terror operations against leftist insurgents in Latin America. While taking aim at China, they are also increasingly provocative toward North Korea, capitalist Russia and even their European allies. This was exemplified by the recent wholesale



Percy/Combat Camera Group Pacific Fleet

U.S. guided missile cruiser *Arkansas* invaded Soviet territorial waters off Kamchatka Peninsula in 1987 Cold War provocation.

the nuclear annihilation of humanity. In the interim, the capitalist rulers use such tensions to foster national chauvinism and to divert the attention of the workers from growing unemployment and immiseration.

Recapturing China for capitalist exploitation is currently the big "prize" for the competing imperialist powers. This would be a historic defeat for the workers and all oppressed peoples of the world, and would trigger an even more furious scramble among the major capitalist powers to carve up the spoils. It was largely over the "right" to exploit China that the 1941-45 Pacific War between the U.S. and Japan was fought.

Beijing Bureaucracy on a Tightrope

While the regime of Chinese president Jiang Zemin has scrambled to strike a deal with the U.S., the arrogance of America's imperialist rulers provoked outrage among broad sectors of the Chinese populace. "Of course, they will have to apologise in full," said one Beijing resident quoted in the *London Financial Times* (7 April) who continued, "If we let them push us around once, it will happen the whole time just like when China was weak." The article noted that this was "an almost ubiquitous sentiment."

The Beijing regime has banned any public protest on the mainland against the U.S. provocation, rejecting permission for demonstrations requested by

more than 50 university and college groups. This is in good part because the regime does not want to upset the trade deals that are integral to its program of "market reforms." Above all, the bureaucracy fears that any protest against the imperialist provocation could draw in the combative and disgruntled working class. Even when the regime allowed protests against the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade during the 1999 NATO war against Serbia, it reportedly banned factory contingents from joining them. The bureaucracy lives in dread of the spectre of the 1989 Tiananmen upheaval, when the entry of the working class into the student protests marked an incipient political revolution.

On April 5, police in Beijing arrested four men attempting to protest outside the U.S. embassy. One of the placards they carried read: "We Don't Want U.S. Dollars, We Want Dignity." But the Jiang regime does want U.S. dollars, and German D-marks and Japanese yen. "As the spyplane standoff has unfolded," observed the *Financial Times*, "national outrage has grown, and criticism of national leaders for being 'too soft' on the US has become a common refrain." There are increasing strains inside the bureaucracy itself between pro-Western elements and those, particularly in the military, who want to maintain a harder line against U.S. aggression.

"Great Power" Chinese nationalism cannot repulse the drive for imperialist subjugation, but would serve only to bind the Chinese proletariat to the bourgeoisie that was driven out of the country in 1949. We explained in "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution

or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997):

"As an ideology emanating from capitalism's emergence from feudal society, nationalism is a *false consciousness* for the Chinese proletariat. It is, however, the proper ideology of the Hong Kong capitalists and nascent mainland Chinese bourgeoisie. Nationalism was a major political force in the counterrevolutionary wave that swept over the former USSR and East Europe—both the nationalism of the minority peoples, fostered for decades by the U.S. State Department and CIA, and the chauvinism of the ruling caste, which helped spin off elements who looked to capitalist rule as the road to great-power status.... Nationalism is already playing a similar role in China."

This is crystal clear in the bureaucracy's offer to the bourgeoisie in Taiwan to reunite on the basis of "one country, two systems." We call for *revolutionary reunification*, through socialist revolution in Taiwan and proletarian political revolution on the mainland.

The Chinese population is deeply conscious of its history of oppression by Western and Japanese imperialism, and of the long record of U.S. military belligerence against the 1949 Revolution. Ending the era of imperialist subjugation exemplified by the Opium Wars and the carving up of China by the colonial powers took the overthrow of the corrupt comprador bourgeoisie by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and People's Liberation Army in 1949, creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The defense of this workers state can only be carried

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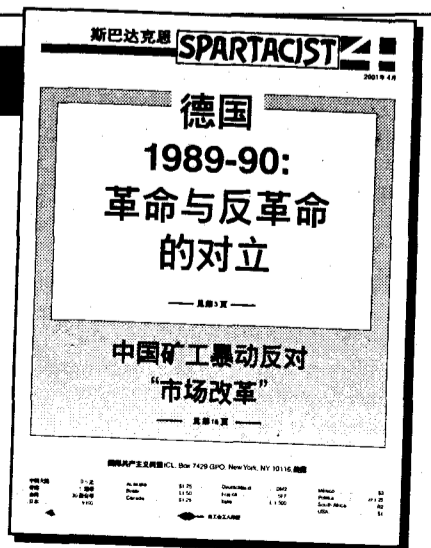
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Mao's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism, sealed by 1972 meeting in Beijing with war criminal Nixon, helped open door to imperialist penetration of China. Chinese president Jiang Zemin at New York Stock Exchange, 1997.



DeChillo/NY Times

forward on the basis of proletarian internationalism—against both imperialist aggression and internal counterrevolution—seeking to mobilize the working people of South Korea, Japan, the U.S. and the rest of the capitalist world for socialist revolution.

What Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, wrote about the Soviet Union in the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" in May 1940 applies with full acuteness to the Chinese deformed workers state today:

"The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle....

"We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

Mao's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism

Reflecting widespread sentiment against the current Beijing regime for conciliating U.S. imperialism, one Internet posting in China read: "We miss Chairman Mao" and was signed, "New Force of Laid-Off Workers." But it was Mao who consummated the criminal alliance with the U.S. imperialists directed against the Soviet Union, signaled by Nixon's 1972 visit to Beijing while American bombs were raining on Vietnam. The anti-Soviet alliance sealed by Mao was deepened under Deng Xiaoping, from China's failed 1979 invasion of Vietnam to its aid to the CIA-backed *mujahedin* terrorists in Afghanistan and its setting up of CIA listening posts on its border with the USSR. In aiding and abetting the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Beijing bureaucracy helped place the Chinese deformed workers state itself directly in the cross hairs of imperialism. We warned in "Deng's China and Political Revolution" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88) that the Mao/Deng course of anti-Sovietism and nationalism would "ultimately threaten China with disaster, bloody counterrevolution and a new colonization subjugating the country to the yoke of imperialism."

While much of the harking back to Mao is couched in the language of Chinese nationalism, there is also a yearning for the relative egalitarianism of the Mao years as against the current regime's "market reforms" which have led to rampant corruption, increasing economic disparity, joblessness and loss of previously guaranteed benefits. But the policies of the Mao regime, which were premised on the anti-revolutionary Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country," were marked by economic autarky and insane economic adventurism, such as the 1950s "Great Leap Forward." At the same time, through its appeasement of imperialism in the name of "peaceful coexistence," the Mao regime laid the basis for the policies pursued by the current bureaucracy.

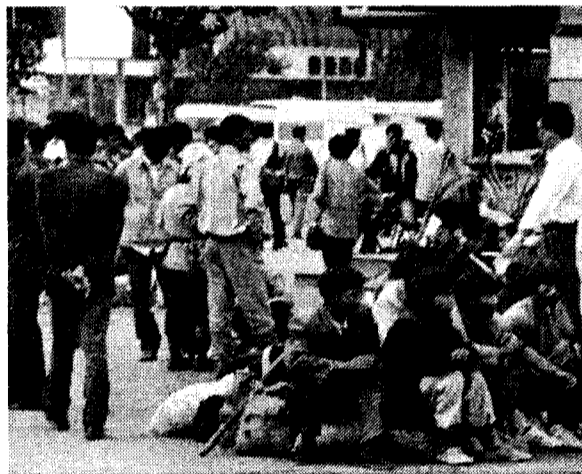
Mao's heirs have increasingly opened the country to imperialist penetration. This has been met with massive proletarian resistance, with tens of thousands of strikes and workers' protests every year. Reflecting the brittle and contradictory nature of the bureaucracy, Chinese premier Zhu Rongji, who has spearheaded

the deepening of "market reforms," announced last week a campaign against corruption and other forms of "commercial excess." In addition, the *Financial Times* (5 April) reports, "The official People's Daily newspaper carried an opinion piece last month excoriating capitalism and globalisation for the wealth imbalances that it promotes. Such sentiments have rarely, if ever, received such a prominent airing over the past three years."

The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a possessing class but a parasitic caste. Resting on proletarian property forms, the bureaucracy simultaneously acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of

economic growth while eradicating the extremes of rich and poor so evident in China today. The state monopoly of foreign trade should be utilized to promote imports and exports on the world market, taking full advantage of the international division of labor. We oppose the opening of China to the World Trade Organization (WTO) not because we favor Maoist economic autarky but because it would further undermine the monopoly of foreign trade and the collectivized economy.

Competition between the imperialists for markets would provide such a revolutionary regime a certain room for maneuver. The Soviet workers state under



WV Photo

Left: Migrant workers outside Shanghai railway station. Right: Anti-U.S. protesters arrested in Beijing on April 5. Stalinist regime fears that protests could touch off explosion by disgruntled proletariat.



AP

the capitalist world market on the deformed workers state. But the bureaucracy also has to tread warily as it pushes pro-capitalist economic measures, out of fear of a working-class explosion. As we wrote in the first part of "Whither China? 'Market Socialism' and the Legacy of Mao" (WV No. 743, 6 October 2000):

"As it pursues 'market reforms' and opens the door to exploitation by Western and Japanese imperialists and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, the Beijing regime is paving the way for capitalist restoration. It is simultaneously preparing the ground for a new revolutionary proletarian explosion—not a *social* revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949 but a *political* revolution to oust the ruling bureaucracy and to place political power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). Such a political revolution is premised on *unconditional defense of the planned, collectivized economy* which is the social foundation of the (bureaucratically deformed) workers state."

The urgent task is to build a Trotskyist party in order to provide leadership to the combative proletariat and to link its fight for political revolution to the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers.

For Proletarian Internationalism

A revolutionary China of workers and peasants councils issuing out of a proletarian political revolution would face virulent imperialist reaction. While doing what it could to aid the fight for socialist revolution internationally, not least in the U.S., a revolutionary workers and peasants government would have to undertake necessary economic and military measures in its own defense. This would require the reconsolidation of central economic planning based on state-owned industry. Under a government based on workers democracy and led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party, a centrally planned economy would optimize

Lenin and Trotsky, erected through the October Revolution of 1917, took advantage of such rivalries to strike trade and military deals with Germany and other capitalist countries. But for the revolutionary-internationalist Bolsheviks, the aim was to buy time until the victory of proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, which they worked to prepare by building the Third (Communist) International. The Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped power in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24 put forward the anti-Marxist dogma of "socialism in one country," transforming the foreign Communist parties into bargaining chips in an illusory search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. That program led to the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92.

The all-sided misery pervasive throughout the former Soviet Union today—the wholesale devastation of industry and social services, the massive unemploy-

ment, the shocking fall in life expectancy—starkly illustrates the superiority of a planned economy over capitalist chaos. This is a lesson not only for the proletariat of China but for the working class and minorities in the U.S. and other capitalist countries, who are already facing massive layoffs before a recession has even taken hold, on top of years of wage cuts, givebacks and the eradication of social benefits.

In the United States, the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy has simultaneously presided over the destruction of hard-won union jobs and benefits and promoted U.S. imperialism's attacks on the working class internationally. The AFL-CIO tops are in the vanguard of anti-Communist China-bashing. This is most virulently expressed by Teamsters president James Hoffa Jr., who issued an April 3 statement following the landing of the U.S. spy plane at Hainan ranting that "Communist China continues to violate international law at each turn." Railing against "slave labor" in China, the labor tops promote the virtues of the free market. But it won't be so easy to sell capitalist "democracy" to workers in China, many of whom have already experienced the miseries of free-market exploitation in the "Special Economic Zones" and other areas of capitalist penetration created by Beijing's "market reforms." Joining in the anti-China cam-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

David Horowitz: Reactionary Demagogue on Nationwide Offensive

Racism and Witchhunts On Campus

Young Spartacus

Racist ideologue David Horowitz is on a nationwide offensive to portray black people as indolent *untersmenschen* who owe a "debt" to America for "welfare benefits and racial preferences...all under the rationale of redressing historic racial grievances." That is, Horowitz thinks that black people are lucky their ancestors were kidnapped and brought here to be slaves. Horowitz's campaign is part of an effort by forces of the far right to roll things back to the McCarthyite 1950s, when communists, leftists and even liberals were witchhunted off the campuses while black students were excluded altogether. And they're using the issue of "free speech" as a cover for this racist witchhunt.

In late February, Horowitz submitted an ad to some 50 campus newspapers, titled "Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery Is a Bad Idea—and Racist Too." Obscenely claiming that slave labor "created wealth for black Americans...including the descendants of slaves," Horowitz all but argues that black people should pay the cost of being brought here as slaves. After pointing to programs like the "war on poverty" which were instituted to quell the anger of the brutalized and impoverished ghettos in the '60s, Horowitz asks, "Where is the gratitude of black America and its leaders for those gifts?" As *Nation* columnist Eric Alterman responded in a 22 March MSNBC Web posting: "One might just as appropriately ask Jews show their 'gratitude' to Germany because of all the gifts bestowed on them there, aside from that small matter of the Holocaust."

An op-ed piece in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (26 March) noted: "Horowitz is no more worried about the likelihood of reparations for slavery than he is about the possibility of owls taking over the government." The aim of Horowitz and his associates is to increase and intensify the atmosphere of racism and intimidation on the campuses. Students and professors who dared to protest against Horowitz's ad are already being threatened. At Brown University, where an entire run of the university's paper was confiscated by outraged students after it printed the ad, a black student received an anonymous letter with a picture of a mutilated black youth. And the Afro-American Studies Department has had a series of racist messages left on its answering machine, one spelling out the racist epithet "n-----."

Horowitz is not some individual nutcase or a fringe element. He is well connected to and funded by some big-time right-wing forces, including in the upper echelons of the Republican Party. Just last year, prominent Republican Senators and Congressmen hosted a soiree for him in Washington at which some \$40,000 was raised for his activities. His recent pamphlet, *The Art of Political War: How Republicans Can Fight to Win*, was endorsed by 35 Republican Party chairmen. Thousands of copies were distributed by the right-wing Heritage Foundation, and Republican House

leader Tom DeLay provided copies to every Republican Congressman, with a cover note praising the contents.

With the inauguration of the Republican Bush administration whose attorney general, John Ashcroft, is an open sympathizer of the Confederate slavocracy, Horowitz and an increasingly militant campus right obviously feel the wind in their sails. Horowitz also fits well with the crew that Bush has resurrected from the basement of the Reagan White House who are particularly infamous for backing the sadistic torturers and murderers who made up the Nicaraguan contra forces in the 1980s. As noted in an article in the 3 July 2000 *Nation*, Horowitz himself was dispatched by Elliott Abrams,

thousands of students who demonstrated and struck the campuses for free speech in the '60s were in revolt against precisely what Horowitz seeks to reinstate: the stultifying reaction of the McCarthyite era, with its imposition of Loyalty Oaths, *in loco parentis* and witchhunting HUAC star chambers. In no small part, the Free Speech Movement arose out of sympathy for the Southern civil rights movement, to which the Berkeley student body would contribute many cadre elements. Free speech protesters sought to further this work unhindered by, for example, draconian regulations designed to keep leftist "outside agitators" from being able to speak on campus. Of course, as a former Berkeley radical, Horowitz knows this

ning dog.' The image was allowed to just stand there, making me appear to be a theoretician for the Posse Comitatus or some lunatic fringe group?' As for calling Horowitz a "capitalist running dog," if the shoe fits, wear it. Horowitz also declared that his appearance at Boston University would be threatened with attack by "Maoists," which shows how divorced from reality he is. The truth of the matter is, there has been no significant Maoist organization in the U.S. since the late 1970s. A former New Leftist turned raving racist anti-communist, Horowitz is obviously caught in the time warp of his own warped mind.

Who Are These Racist Pigs?

At UC Berkeley, the stage for Horowitz was set last September by his ally Dan Flynn of Accuracy in Academia (AIA) and its parent group, Accuracy in Media (AIM). The Berkeley College Republic-



Young Spartacus

Reagan's assistant secretary of state, to assist the contras: "Horowitz found himself in Managua, Nicaragua, where, at the expense of US taxpayers, he offered tactical advice to anti-Sandinista labor unions, politicians and journalists, and, in the dining room of the Intercontinental Hotel, thundered, 'For the sake of the poorest peasants in this Godforsaken country, I can't wait for the contras to march into this town and liberate it from these fucking Sandinistas!'"

SYC-Initiated Protest Refutes Horowitz's Lies

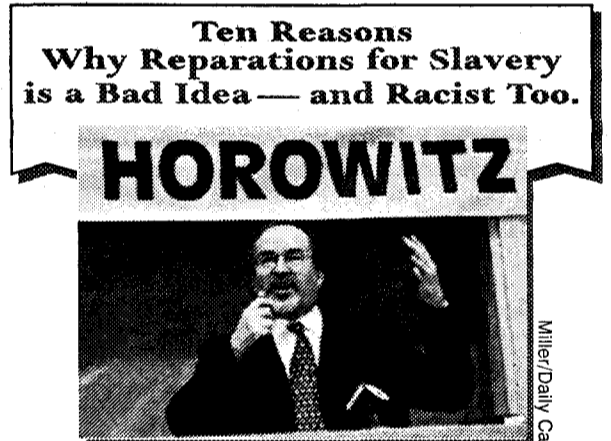
Horowitz used the publicity garnered by his racist ad to launch a nationwide speaking tour grotesquely titled the "Freedom Tour." When Horowitz brought his tour to UC Berkeley on March 15, courtesy of the Berkeley College Republicans and the Berkeley Conservative Foundation, he was met by more than 50 anti-racist protesters who joined the Spartacus Youth Club-initiated picket, which was endorsed by prominent Berkeley professors Waldo Martin Jr. and Robert Allen, editor of *The Black Scholar*.

Cynically playing the issue of "free speech" for his sinister purposes, the ad for Horowitz's speech featured a photo of a Free Speech Movement demonstration at UC Berkeley in the 1960s. To call this Orwellian only partly captures it. The

quite well. His "Celebrate Free Speech" appearance at Berkeley was a calculated provocation.

The only place at Berkeley that night where there was any free speech was at our united-front protest, which fought to refute Horowitz's racist bigotry and to defend free speech rights for leftists, radicals and black and minority students. Protesters had to face down a howling mob of anti-communists and racists. Such a level of organized right-wing intimidation has not been seen on the campus since the 1930s when ROTC mobilized Berkeley students to scab on the 1934 San Francisco general strike. Meanwhile, on the inside, Horowitz pulled the plug on his own charade. When the third speaker in the discussion round, a black man, simply questioned Horowitz, the event's moderator shouted, "No debate!", cut the microphones and hustled Horowitz out of the building!

Newsweek (2 April) published a picture of a participant in our protest holding a sign which read, "Protest David Horowitz, Racist Ideologue!" The reference to our protest drove Horowitz to rant in his regular *Salon.com* column (2 April) that the article did not "explain that the protesters were members of the Spartacist Youth League [sic], a Trotskyist splinter group whose members also denounced me as a 'capitalist run-



UC Berkeley, March 15: SYC-initiated protest against reactionary ideologue David Horowitz. Racist ad by Horowitz is part of national drive by the right against black people and leftists.

cans and the Berkeley Conservative Foundation invited Flynn, author of the scurrilous tract *Cop Killer: How Mumia Abu-Jamal Conned Millions into Believing He Was Framed*. Their purpose was to propagate the lies of the Philadelphia police and District Attorney's office that were used to frame up this innocent man who had long been in the sights of the state for fighting against black oppression and racist cop terror. Flynn was met with protests by outraged students who burned his literature and shouted him down. As we wrote at the time, "It's too bad that the Berkeley protesters fell into Flynn's trap. It would have been much more effective to expose AIA's smear campaign against Mumia for what it is: a bunch of lies" ("SYC Defends Mumia Against Reactionary Smear Campaign," *WV* No. 745, 3 November 2000).

A couple of months later, when former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu was scheduled to appear in Berkeley, UC Berkeley's *Daily Californian* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* joined the Berkeley Conservative Foundation's *California Patriot* in denouncing the 300 peaceful demonstrators who exercised their democratic right to protest this war criminal, for "violating" Netanyahu's "freedom of speech." In fact, Netanyahu wasn't even there. He skipped out on

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