

Democratic Party: Enemy of Immigrant Rights

Down With Trump's Racist War on Migrants!

OCTOBER 30—In recent weeks, President Trump has sought to whip up the nativists in his base by making the Central American migrant caravan the defining issue of the midterm elections. Daily Trump rallies feature hysterical chauvinist rants against the “onslaught of illegal aliens,” a reference to the Hondurans and other Central Americans desperately fleeing the poverty and violence imposed on their home countries by U.S. imperialism. With the White House pledging to stop them at all costs, yesterday the Pentagon announced the deployment of at least 5,200 active-duty U.S. Army and Air Force troops to the U.S.-Mexico border, dubbed “Operation Faithful Patriot.” There they will join 2,000 National Guardsmen and the battalions of the U.S. Border Patrol. A few days prior, Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen ominously commented that “the rules of engagement” were still being worked out: “We do not have any intention right now to shoot at people. They will be apprehended, however.”

The Trump administration had already enlisted the Mexican authorities to do Washington's dirty work to prevent the caravan from moving further north. After crossing Mexico's southern border, the once 7,000-strong caravan was met with detentions and deportations and is now reduced in size. Two days ago, as a smaller caravan trailing behind entered Mexico, a Honduran man was killed by the Federal Police.

Spewing his characteristic vitriol about Latinos and other “criminals” invading white America, Trump also has plans to invoke his presidential powers to close every door to their legal entry to the U.S., whether by banning them on “national security” grounds (similar to the racist anti-Muslim travel ban) or summarily denying asylum claims. We oppose these measures as well as all other racist, nationally discriminatory immigration laws and regulations.

The Democratic Party, the other party of racism and U.S. imperialism, has largely evaded the matter of the caravan so as not to alienate more socially backward potential voters. While there may be differences in what they say and how they say it, any policy differences between the Republicans and the Democrats boil down to how best to administer American capitalism. When on October 26 Democratic honcho Nancy Pelosi issued a statement regarding Trump's anti-migrant “fearmongering,” it was to push “comprehensive immigration reform to protect our borders,” that is, a version of Trump's wall.

The Democrats certainly know a thing or two about “protecting” the borders, as evidenced by the anti-immigrant crack-downs of the last two Democratic admin-



Texas National Guard at U.S.-Mexico border along the Rio Grande/Río Bravo, April 11.

Hondurans Flee Devastation Made in USA



Thousands-strong migrant caravan, consisting largely of Hondurans, comes up against Mexican state forces at Guatemala-Mexico border, October 19.

istrations. Bill Clinton's 1994 “Operation Gatekeeper” militarized the U.S.-Mexico border, including through the building of a fence to seal off entry points. Two years later, his draconian “immigration reform” law established the detention and deportation apparatus seen today. For his part, Barack Obama not only deported a record 2.5 million people, but also massively expanded the detention system. During his reign, border enforcement was bolstered by National Guard troops and Predator drones as agents engaged in widespread abuses and repeatedly gunned people down, including killing three Mexican teenagers on Mexican soil.

All this paved the way for the cur-

rent White House's declaration of war against immigrants. I.C.E. raids, deportations, detentions and family separations have been part of the daily web of terror. Trump's revocation of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) threatens the forcible removal of nearly half a million people by January 2020. These immigrants, from countries like Haiti, El Salvador and Honduras, have legally lived and worked in the country for years. (In 2016, the Obama White House without warning called a halt to new TPS applicants from Haiti, stranding thousands on their way to the U.S.) At the same time, Latino citizens, especially in the borderlands, have been caught in a racist State Department dragnet that strips

them of their U.S. passports under the pretext that their birth certificates were falsified.

Trump is now mooting the overturn of the right to citizenship for children born in the U.S. to non-citizens. That fundamental right is embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment, one of the gains of the Civil War that destroyed black chattel slavery. This attack underscores that anti-immigrant chauvinism always threatens black people as well.

It is vitally necessary for the labor movement to take up the fight for full citizenship rights for everyone who has made it here, legally or illegally. The same capitalist class taking aim at vulnerable undocumented immigrants also increasingly grinds down the working class as a whole. The bosses use anti-immigrant chauvinism, as well as anti-black racism, to divide the workers and weaken their struggles. A class-struggle fight against deportations and I.C.E. raids, together with a concerted drive to organize undocumented workers into the unions with full rights and protections, would go a long way toward advancing the unity and fighting capacity of the working class.

But the unions are not mobilized to defend the interests of their own members, much less the immigrant population, due to their traitorous leadership. Labor officialdom is committed to maintaining corporate profitability and the very system of capitalist exploitation, clearly shown in its allegiance to the Democratic Party. Today, the AFL-CIO tops are also giddy over Trump's trade tariffs, which coincide with their longstanding calls for “American jobs for American workers”—protectionist poison that also fans the flames of anti-immigrant bigotry. Labor needs a new leadership dedicated to class struggle and proletarian internationalism. That requires breaking labor's ties to the Democrats, Trump and all capitalist parties and politicians.

U.S. Imperialist Domination in Honduras

Those in the migrant caravan are attempting to escape the destitution and pervasive violence plaguing Central America as a result of U.S. imperialist subjugation and the corrupt and repressive rule of the local bourgeoisies. For well over a century, U.S. intervention in the region has left behind a grisly trail of death and devastation. Since its emergence as an imperialist power at the end of the 19th century, the U.S. has made the Central American republics, along with Mexico, its exclusive preserve, enforcing its diktats through coups d'état and giving free rein to the infamous United Fruit Company.

More recently, the 2005 Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) threw open local economies to U.S. imperialist pillage. That economic ruin was exacerbated three years later by the global financial crisis triggered by Wall Street. CAFTA has reduced the peasantry to

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Law and Order Socialists

ISO Stumps for “Progressive” D.A.s

Cops gun down black men with impunity, hundreds of thousands of black people and other minorities rot in prison, impoverished defendants are locked up without trial for months on end simply because they cannot afford bail. The injustice of the racist U.S. “justice” system is obvious to its many victims. Now, a move is afoot to put some lipstick on that foul pig. In recent years, some two dozen so-called “progressive” district attorneys have been elected nationwide with the support of activist groups, local Democratic Party machines and liberal billionaire George Soros.

These D.A.s promise reforms, such as reducing prosecutions for marijuana possession, making the cash bail system less onerous and seeking fewer prison sentences for those convicted of nonviolent crimes. Helping to present these cynical promises as a step toward achieving some sort of justice—or even seriously reducing the incarceration rate—are the phony



Above: ISO encourages readers to give electoral support to so-called “progressive” Democratic D.A.s, who are part of capitalist state machinery of repression. Right: ISO supporter Keeanga-Yamahatta Taylor (left) joins Bernie Sanders (center) and Philly D.A. Larry Krasner (second from right) at roundtable to “get race right,” May 4.



PhillyCAM

socialists of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), who offer themselves up as crusaders for such “reformers.”

A recent article by Lauren Fleer (“Larry Krasner and the Fight to Break the Cages,”

socialistworker.org, 1 October) lays out the ISO’s blueprint for how activists can help elect “progressive” D.A.s on the Democratic Party ticket. As revolutionary Marxists, we understand that district attorneys—no less than the cops, the courts, the military and prison guards—are a core part of the capitalist state. V.I. Lenin, basing himself on Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, explained in his 1917 work *The State and Revolution* that the state consists of “special bodies of armed men” and “is an organ of class *rule*, an organ for the *oppression* of one class by another.” That remains true regardless of which individuals occupy posts in the state apparatus, including that of D.A.

The timing of Fleer’s article is clearly intended for the November 6 midterm elections. Holding up as a model last year’s campaign that helped Larry Krasner get elected Philadelphia D.A., she enthuses over the donkeywork done by the Coalition for a Just D.A., the Working Families Party, ACLU Pennsylvania and others who canvassed nearly 100,000 people on Krasner’s behalf. Fleer lauds this effort for having “delivered Krasner’s victory.”

Fleer acknowledges Krasner’s record in office “has not been perfect.” Krasner has allied himself with the Fraternal Order of Police in blocking efforts by class-war prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, framed up on bogus murder charges, to win his freedom. And despite Krasner’s professed opposition to capital punishment, he has given the green light to his underlings in the D.A.’s office to seek the death penalty. But for the ISO, no problem! Fleer points to Krasner’s monthly meetings with his activist supporters, which she portrays as an “accountability mechanism.” The notion that the D.A.’s office can be held accountable to the oppressed and exploited is a deadly delusion.

Nearly three weeks after Fleer’s article appeared, ISO honcho Paul D’Amato offered a mealy-mouthed critique with Marxist pretensions (“A Prosecutor Shouldn’t Get Our Support,” socialistworker.org, 19 October). D’Amato admonished Fleer that it is “a fundamental position of our movement to offer no support to state officials whose job is to run aspects of the state’s administration of repression and control.” Yet in practice the ISO tramples on the principle that D’Amato pays lip service to.

The ISO has a long history of calling for the police to be made “accountable” through such gimmicks as “an elected civilian police commission,” the “investigation” of killer cops and the removal of top police officials. Four years ago, the ISO endorsed a Chicago forum that was basically a campaign rally for “free range socialist” Angela Walker, who was running for Milwaukee sheriff.

During the brouhaha over the nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, the ISO pitched yet another way to tinker with “the state’s administration of repression and control.” In an article titled

“Without Struggle, There is No Roe,” the ISO wrote that Kavanaugh “could be rejected if the Democrats are forced to put up a real fight” (socialistworker.org, 20 July). The underlying false premise of all these reformist schemes is that the capitalist state is a neutral body that can be swayed to represent the interests of the exploited and oppressed.

In his reply to Fleer, D’Amato also asserted that “a fundamental principle of the Marxist movement has been to offer no political support for candidates from bourgeois parties.” Yet the ISO’s track record includes endorsing the capitalist Green Party and even running candidates on its ticket. When Barack Obama was first elected Commander-in-Chief of U.S. imperialism, the ISO celebrated the occasion as “transformative” and promised, “We can make the Obama years an era of struggle and political progress” (*Socialist Worker*, 7 and 19 November 2008). This is what D’Amato means when he respectfully suggests that the ISO should confine itself to applying “mass pressure without offering any political support.”

What is at issue for D’Amato and the rest of the ISO is not the fundamental Marxist principle of working-class independence from all the parties and agencies of the capitalist class enemy. Rather, it is simply a question of how far to go in selling out to parties of the bourgeoisie. The ISO has always pursued the dead end of seeking to pressure the capitalist parties, centrally the Democrats, as though this will shift their priorities to the benefit of the workers and oppressed.

The ISO’s strategy is pressure politics, whether through demonstrating in the streets to beg the Democrats or helping them win election. That strategy is an obstacle to fighting for the necessary mobilization of independent working-class struggle against the capitalist rulers and their racist system of exploitation and imperialist war. The only way to get rid of the capitalist system is by building a party dedicated to leading a workers revolution that will shatter the capitalist state and replace it with the rule of the working class through workers councils (soviets). This understanding is the fundamental dividing line between Marxist revolutionaries and reformist pseudo-socialists like the ISO. ■



TROTSKY

Spartakus and 1918 German Revolution

One hundred years ago this month, near the end of the bloody interimperialist World War I, a revolutionary wave swept Germany. Inspired by the Bolshevik-led Russian Revolution of October 1917, the German workers and soldiers formed soviets (councils) and the Hohenzollern monarch was forced to abdicate. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Independent Social Democrats sought to

preserve the capitalist order, taking over administration of the bourgeois state.

The Spartakusbund of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg emphasized that the working class must take power into its own hands, including in Liebknecht’s November 23 speech excerpted below. But they had not assimilated that there is a line drawn in blood between revolutionary Marxism and opportunism, only splitting from the Social Democracy in December 1918. The next month, SPD leaders, together with the military high command, mobilized the fascistic Freikorps to murder Liebknecht, Luxemburg and other Spartakus leaders, inflicting a serious defeat on the revolutionary movement.

Can the proletariat content itself with merely eliminating the Hohenzollerns? Never! Its goal is the abolition of class rule, of exploitation and oppression, the establishment of Socialism. Our present Government calls itself Socialist. Thus far it has acted only for the preservation of capitalist private property....

The ruling class is not thinking of giving up its class rule. They can be put down only in the class struggle. And this class struggle will and must pass over the bodies of all governments that do not dare take up the struggle with capitalism, and preach instead to the workers—day by day—peace, order, the wickedness of strikes.

The extermination of capitalism, the establishment of the Socialist order of society, is possible only on an international scale—but, of course, it cannot be carried out at a uniform pace in all countries. The work has begun in Russia, it must be continued in Germany, it will be completed in the Entente powers.

Only the path of social world revolution can lead us out from the terrible dangers which threaten Germany by reason of the food and raw materials situation. Nor does the German proletariat build its hopes in this connection on Wilsonian promises of mercy, but on the rock of the international proletarian solidarity.

There are two alternatives for liquidating the war—the capitalist-imperialist alternative, and the proletarian-Socialist alternative.

The former will afford for a moment a peace unworthy of men, a peace that will give birth to new wars. The second offers a peace of well-being and permanence. The former will preserve the capitalist order of society; the second will destroy it and liberate the proletariat.

—Karl Liebknecht, “Proletarian Revolution and Proletarian Dictatorship,”
Speeches of Karl Liebknecht (International Publishers, 1927)

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Native Americans Targeted

Free Dakota Access Pipeline Activists!



Stromme/Bismarck Tribune

Six Native Americans who two years ago protested against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) near the Standing Rock Sioux reservation in North Dakota today are facing years-long federal sentences. The Standing Rock encampment, which attracted thousands of American Indians and environmental activists in late 2016 until its dismantling in February 2017, was brutally assaulted many times by police, National Guardsmen and private security thugs, with over 800 arrested. The Water Protector Legal Collective reports that 132 state criminal cases are still active. We demand: **Drop all the charges against the protesters now!**

On 27 October 2016, cops used pepper spray, rubber bullets, Humvees, armored trucks and bulldozers in an attempt to clear the encampment, arresting more than 140 and leaving over 50 injured. One of those arrested that day was Oglala Lakota Sioux activist Red Fawn Fallis, a respected leader and medic at the camp whose family includes a number of American Indian Movement (AIM) members. As she was pinned to the ground by several burly cops, a .38-calibre revolver at her waist went off. Lucky to survive this assault, she was slammed with three federal felony charges, including discharge of a weapon, which carries a sentence of ten years to life. She took a plea deal and was sentenced in July to 57 months on the lesser charge of possession and is incarcerated in Texas.

Michael “Rattler” Markus, Michael “Little Feather” Giron, Dion Ortiz and James “Angry Bird” White were charged with starting fires during the cop offensive of October 27—a federal offense that carries a minimum of 15 years. Three have now been sentenced on civil disorder charges to 16 or 36 months. In a subsequent attack by state forces on 19 January 2017, Navajo student Marcus Mitchell was shot in the face with a bean bag pellet. He lost sight, feeling and taste on his left side and his spine was severely damaged. For surviving, he was charged with criminal trespassing and is due in federal court on November 5.

The capitalist state vendetta against



Reuters

Police confront pipeline protesters near Standing Rock Sioux reservation, North Dakota, 15 November 2016. During the months-long protest, cops assaulted and arrested hundreds, among them Red Fawn Fallis (top).

these American Indians is the latest racist atrocity committed by federal authorities against the indigenous population. Indeed, the frame-up of Fallis is straight out of the FBI’s standard playbook. The gun that discharged during her arrest belonged to her then boyfriend, Heath Harmon, who has since been exposed as an FBI informant tasked with spying on AIM. Red Fawn’s mother, Yellow Wood, founded the Colorado chapter of AIM and protested forced sterilizations of American Indian women, among other issues. Her uncle is an AIM spokesman in Colorado today. Documents acquired by journalist Will Parrish and published on *The Intercept* website show that Red Fawn was targeted by state forces—they literally had her photo on the wall chart.

In the 1970s, AIM and the Black Panther Party were marked for murderous repression under the FBI’s COINTELPRO, which used infiltration, surveillance and disinformation to “neutralize” these organizations. Notable among the leaders of AIM who languish in prison to this day is Leonard Peltier. Framed for killing two FBI agents during a government assault

on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1975, Peltier has been consistently denied parole because he steadfastly refuses to admit guilt for a crime he did not commit.

With the Feds throwing the book at the American Indian DAPL protesters, most were compelled to accept non-cooperating plea deals on lesser charges. Another factor was the prevalent racism against Native Americans in the area; a survey of jury-eligible locals showed that the vast majority assume they are guilty or are biased against them. As Michael Markus explained: “Having a fair trial in Bismarck was going to be impossible,” adding, “If you go to court in North Dakota, you are going to get convicted.” Indeed, it was an all-white jury in North Dakota that convicted Leonard Peltier even though prosecutors later admitted, “We can’t prove who shot those agents.” **Free him now!**

American capitalism was built on the brutal dispossession and near genocide of the indigenous peoples. Having pushed the Sioux onto a reservation established under the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie, the fed-

eral government stole large chunks of the reservation land later in the 19th century, including a stretch of 35 miles that the DAPL goes through. The Sioux are owed substantial compensation for this historic land grab.

As for the DAPL itself, Marxists had no reason to either support or oppose it. Oil pipelines serve a socially useful function of transporting fuel and are overall safer than other forms of oil transport. Protesters expressed concern that the reservation water supply will be polluted by a leaking pipeline. Cutting corners to boost profits is the name of the game for the energy barons, as it is for the capitalists in every industry. What is needed are fighting unions that enforce safety standards and practices in construction, operation and maintenance. Then, both those living near pipelines and workers on the job would be better off.

To this day, the reservations are blighted by poverty and desperation. At the same time, much of the indigenous population now lives in America’s cities and is a component part of the multiracial proletariat. We seek to build a Leninist workers party that will unleash the social power of the working class in defense of all the oppressed, on the road to sweeping away the capitalist system and establishing a workers government. Such a government would immediately spend the money to provide a decent life for those who have suffered most under capitalism, not least Native Americans and black people. It would ensure the social emancipation of American Indians, promoting their voluntary integration on the basis of full equality while providing the fullest possible regional autonomy for those who desire it.

The Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has contributed to Red Fawn’s legal defense. Details on how to write to the prisoners, contribute to their commissaries and donate to the legal defense of the protesters can be found at waterprotectorlegal.org. ■

MOVE Member Mike Africa Paroled

On October 23, after having more than four decades of his life stolen, Michael Africa Sr. was finally released from a Pennsylvania state prison. Only the second of the MOVE 9 to be paroled—his wife Debbie was released in June—Mike was able to join her and their son Michael Africa Jr., who was born in prison 40 years ago. (See WV No. 1136, 29 June.)

The MOVE 9 were sentenced to terms of 30 to 100 years on bogus charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer during a brutal cop assault on their Powelton Village home on 8 August 1978. After a months-long siege, an army of nearly 600 cops surrounded the MOVE house, unleashed a hail of gunfire and then stormed the home. One police officer, James Ramp, was killed in the cops’ own cross fire. At least



Tommy Oliver

Mike Africa embraces his wife Debbie for the first time in 40 years.

eight witnesses testified that no gunshots came from the MOVE house, and no fingerprints of any MOVE member

were found on the weapons supposedly recovered from their home. The presiding judge who entombed them in prison admitted he hadn’t “the faintest idea” who shot the cop.

Mike Africa’s freedom is welcome news. But we do not forgive or forget the decades of prison hell he and his family have suffered. This includes watching in horror on 13 May 1985 when the Philly police firebombed their Osage Avenue home, killing eleven, as well as the deaths of Merle and Phil Africa behind bars. The MOVE 9 are innocent victims of a vicious 1978 cop attack on their home and an obvious frame-up. Despite the overwhelming evidence of their innocence, MOVE members Delbert, Eddie, Chuck, Janet and Janine remain in Pennsylvania’s dungeons. We demand: **Free them now!**

Partisan Defense Committee

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For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

Greece: Chauvinist Frenzy over Macedonia

The following is the second part of an article translated from *O Bolsevikos* (April 2018), newspaper of our comrades of the Trotskyist Group of Greece. The introduction to Part One (WV No. 1142, 19 October) addressed the concerted drive by the U.S. and European imperialists to force Macedonia to change its name in order to be considered for membership in the European Union and NATO. On October 19, the Macedonian parliament voted to approve the name change, a first step in the process of renaming the country.

Ο ΜΠΟΛΣΕΒΙΚΟΣ 

PART TWO

The victory of the workers and peasants in the October Revolution of 1917 inspired the founding, one year later, of the Socialist Workers Party (SEKE)—later to become the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). For most of its history, the KKE has charted a course of opportunist zigzags and open betrayals on the Macedonian national question. While there was from the very beginning a pronounced nationalist bulge among sections of the KKE, nevertheless in its early years the party suffered severe repression at the hands of the Greek bourgeoisie for defending national rights for the Macedonians. In 1924, under pressure from the Comintern, the KKE adopted the call for a united, independent Macedonia and a united, independent Thrace, a position which was to lead to deep divisions within the party and to haunt it thereafter.

Beginning in 1923-24, the Soviet Communist Party and state underwent a qualitative bureaucratic degeneration, a political (but not social) counterrevolution. The victory of a conservative, nationalist bureaucracy, ruling in its own narrow interest as a parasitic excrescence on the workers state, took programmatic shape in December 1924 as Stalin promulgated the absurd idea that the USSR could build socialism on its own, without revolutions in other countries. The Stalinist degeneration was to have a disastrous effect on the young parties of the Communist International, including the KKE. Over the next decade and more, as the Trotskyists fought relentlessly to uphold the banner of Leninist internationalism, the Stalinist bureaucracy zigzagged between outright conciliation of the various imperialist powers and heedless adventurism bound for defeat, transforming the Comintern from a party seeking international workers revolution into one acting as a tool of Kremlin diplomacy.

Today the KKE denies the very existence of a Macedonian nation, language or minority. The KKE's own past speaks against its present. In 1924, a KKE congress adopted a resolution which said:

"The ruling bourgeoisie, exploiting workers and sucking the blood of the peasants, subordinates whole nations to its exploitation and oppression, while it prattles hypocritically and with ulterior motives about protecting small nations. The ruling capitalists of the dominant nation politically oppress the national minorities and deprive them of any rights (language, school, religion, etc.). It implements the policy of forcible national assimilation in order, in this way, to stifle the resistance of the oppressed nationalities and thereby ensure their unbridled exploitation.

"The Communist Party is the only party which carries out a relentless struggle against the violence, political oppression and economic exploitation of other peoples. Fighting against the bourgeoisie, the KKE supports all genuine revolutionary struggles of these peoples against their national oppression and proclaims the right of self-determination of all nations

up to their separation and formation of their own independent state."

— *Official Documents*, Vol. 1

But the KKE was soon to abandon any principled position on Macedonian self-determination and to embrace Greek chauvinism. In 1935, at its Sixth Party Congress, the KKE carried out an about-face on the national question, dropping its demand for independence for Macedonia and replacing it with a call only for full equality for the national minorities in Greece. Completely distorting Lenin, in subsequent resolutions, when the KKE spoke of self-determination, it meant that the Macedonian minority had to be incorporated into the Greek state. This turn by the KKE was closely tied to the popular front against fascism, i.e., coalitions of class collaboration with the "anti-fascist"

creation of an autonomous Macedonian Republic inside the Yugoslav federation exercised a strong attraction on the Slavs in Greece. The Yugoslavs' campaign for a united Macedonia was met with hostility from the KKE.

At the time of [Yugoslav Communist Party leader] Tito's split with Stalin, the KKE made an effort at reconciliation with the Macedonians in order to undermine their support for Tito. In January 1949, the KKE pledged that with "the victory of the DSE and of the people's revolution, the Macedonian people will find their full national restoration as they themselves wish" (Resolution of the Fifth Plenum of the CC of the KKE, 30-31 January 1949, rizospastis.gr). However, following defeat in the Civil War, the KKE again repudiated the right of national self-



Yad Vashem

Above: Anti-Nazi partisans in Yugoslav Macedonia during World War II, 1943. Below: Yugoslav Communist Party leader Josip Broz Tito reviewing troops of his partisan army, November 1942.



Keystone

bourgeoisie. With the adoption of the popular-front policy, the Stalinized Communist parties, including the KKE, went over decisively to the defense of the bourgeois order just as the Social Democracy had done over WWI, pledging to defend every inch of national soil.

During the [1946-49] Civil War, Macedonians constituted at least 25 percent of the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) but the KKE, in the name of "national unity," had buried any call for self-determination. A major factor in winning Macedonian support for the DSE's struggle was the social revolution that had taken place in Yugoslavia. There the Macedonian fighters had formed their own headquarters, which was staffed by Macedonian officers and which used the Macedonian language and flag. The

determination. Party spokesman Vasilis Bartziotas announced in October 1949: "Today the situation has changed.... We have to return to the slogan for national equality which was put forth by the [1935] Sixth Congress of the KKE." (See "Greece 1940s: A Revolution Betrayed," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 64, Summer 2014.)

Many of the reformist groups in and around the coalition Antarsya claim to oppose Greek chauvinism and to uphold the rights of the Macedonian minority in Greece. However, they balk at the right of self-determination. In a common statement titled "The Enemy Is Not the Neighboring People but 'Our Own' Bourgeoisie," OKDE-Spartakos, EEK, OEN and ORMA write: "Political organizations blocked the Nazis' path and

made propaganda against the nationalist demonstrations, advancing the right of self-determination of the Republic of Macedonia," by which they mean the right of the Republic to choose its own name. This declaration makes a mockery of the right of self-determination, i.e., the right to independent statehood. The Republic of Macedonia was autonomous within the Yugoslav deformed workers state and had been formally independent since the capitalist counterrevolution in 1991. The Slavic population there does not need more "self-determination" (it's a different matter for the Albanians). The real issue, which the opportunists of OKDE-Spartakos, EEK et al. refuse to countenance, is the right of the Macedonians in Greece to freely choose their own destiny.

The first Greek supporters of Leon Trotsky's Left Opposition—the Archeiomarxists—were opposed to independence for the Macedonian minority. In discussions with the Archeiomarxists in 1932, Trotsky castigated his supporters for this chauvinist line. Responding to their argument that Aegean Macedonia was "90 percent Greeks," Trotsky replied: "Our first task is to take an attitude of total skepticism toward these [government] figures." On the question of independence, Trotsky said:

"I'm not certain whether it is correct to reject this slogan. We cannot say we are opposed to it because the population will be against it. The population must be asked for its opinion on this. The 'Bulgarians' represent an oppressed layer....

"It's not our task to organize nationalist uprisings. We merely say that if the Macedonians want it, we will then side with them, that they should be allowed to decide, and we will also support their decision."

— "A Discussion on Greece"
(Spring 1932)

He went on to point to the crux of the matter for Marxists in Greece:

"What disturbs me is not so much the question of the *Macedonian peasants*, but rather whether there isn't a touch of chauvinist poison in *Greek workers*. That is very dangerous. For us, who are for a Balkan federation of soviet states, it is all the same if Macedonia belongs to this federation as an autonomous whole or part of another state."

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans

For more than a century, Macedonia has been the "apple of discord" of the Balkans, a strategic region hotly contested since the collapse of the Ottoman empire by Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, who partitioned this multiethnic province among themselves before WWI. An equitable resolution of the Macedonian national question is closely bound up with the struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

In the 1870s, Serbian socialists first put forward a proposal for a Balkan federation, a proposal that was adopted by the Second International as the only means for defusing national tensions in the peninsula that were being continually stirred by the Great Powers in their own interests. Following the slaughter of WWI that was sparked by Balkan tensions, the Communist International insisted that the local bourgeoisies were incapable of transcending national antagonisms and that a Balkan federation would only come about as a result of proletarian revolution.

The victory of Tito's partisan army in WWII over the Axis forces, the Serbian monarchist Chetniks and the Croatian fascist Ustasha led to the smashing of the capitalist state in Yugoslavia and the creation of a workers state. On the basis of workers power, decades of bloody national conflict among the South Slavs and others were brought to an end. This was a remarkable

WORKERS VANGUARD

Migrants...

(continued from page 1)

abject misery, forcing millions to migrate to the cities or to the U.S. in search of subsistence, as NAFTA has done in Mexico for nearly a quarter-century. Washington’s plan to replace NAFTA with a new treaty, the USMCA (United States, Mexico and Canada Agreement), will only deepen the imperialist looting of Mexico. From the beginning, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League have opposed NAFTA (as well as CAFTA). What is needed is joint class struggle on both sides of the border to bring it down.

The social fabric of Central America was ripped apart by the dirty wars of the 1980s amid the anti-Soviet Cold War. Senior Honduran officials on the CIA payroll tortured and killed supporters of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and leftist guerrillas in El Salvador. Clan-destine cemeteries in Honduras are littered with the remains of the *desaparecidos* (disappeared), and survivors testify to the torture they endured at the hands of U.S.-trained military personnel.

After the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the U.S. had less interest in using Honduras as a front line for anti-subversive operations, but continued to supply millions of dollars in military aid under the guise of the “war on drugs.” In the name of fighting *el narco*, Washington has provided weapons and military training to Central American armed forces, which are totally interpenetrated with the drug cartels. Far from protecting the population, the purpose is to augment the bourgeois state apparatus of repression against the exploited and oppressed. **Down with the “war on drugs”!**

The conditions for Honduran workers and the urban and rural poor have grown even more dire since 2009 when then president Manuel Zelaya was toppled in a coup engineered by a section of the national bourgeoisie and headed by a general trained at U.S. imperialism’s notorious School of the Americas. One of Obama’s opening shots after first being elected Commander-in-Chief was to prop up the post-coup regime of Porfirio Lobo, including by funding security forces to smash the protests rocking the country. Since the coup, under successive reactionary Partido Nacional regimes, unemployment has skyrocketed and criminal gangs have mushroomed. In that time, at least 30 trade unionists have been killed as well as several activists, such as indigenous leader Berta Cáceres.

Cáceres was reportedly on a military hit list given to the elite TIGRES police unit, which was set up in 2013 by the Honduran government in conjunction with the U.S. State Department. Washington gives aid, training and advice to these killers who have terrorized poor communities like those defending their land rights against the huge U.S. and Canadian mining companies. The TIGRES death squads also hunted down those protesting the results of last year’s presidential elections, which

were marked by fraud when Juan Orlando Hernández, a longtime U.S. ally, was re-elected after “computer malfunctions.” At demonstrations and in midnight home raids, some 35 were killed and over 1,000 detained.

Down With Repression Against Caravan Migrants!

Although still far from the U.S. border, those in the caravan that started on October 12 in Honduras have undertaken a perilous journey just to make it to southern Mexico, braving weeks of scorching temperatures, lack of food and water and brutal state repression. The Mexican government, acting as a guard dog of its U.S. imperialist master, regularly hunts, jails and deports Central American migrants. The caravan migrants have been treated as subhuman “lawbreakers” with no rights, sprayed with insecticide and attacked by Mexican riot police and military forces. This chauvinism is of a piece with the bigotry toward Mexico’s deeply oppressed indigenous population. Our comrades of the Grupo Esparquista de México say: **Full citizenship rights for those in Mexican territory and no deportations!** These demands include the right to move through the country and to receive free health care and education.

The caravan was initiated by immigrant rights activists, including Arizona-born Pueblo Sin Fronteras director Irineo Mújica, who was arrested on October 18



WV Photo

Spartacists join immigrant rights march in New York City, June 30.

in southern Mexico on the false claim that he had no papers. Now released on bail, Mújica was already in the sights of the Mexican authorities, having been arrested and beaten by federal agents while documenting the abuse of immigrants in Oaxaca in 2008. Last week, Mújica and other caravan leaders rejected a cynical proposal by Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto that the migrants could apply for refugee status in Mexico on the proviso that they remain in the southern states of Oaxaca and Chiapas. The offer was an attempt to contain the “problem” for the U.S. imperialists through an empty promise of jobs when there are none.

Back in 2014, Peña Nieto was the one

federation, the thorny Macedonian question could have been easily resolved. But Tito’s Yugoslavia, Dimitrov’s Bulgaria and the KKE in Greece (not to mention Stalin in the Kremlin) each pursued their own version of “socialism in one country” in which calls for a socialist federation of the Balkans were raised and dropped according to the opportunist appetites of the Stalinists, each exploiting the Macedonian question for their own interests.

As genuine Marxists, we recognize that the conflicting national claims of the various Balkan peoples can only be equitably resolved through the proletarian overthrow of all the capitalist regimes of the region and the forging of a socialist federation of the Balkans, including Greece, as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. The Trotskyist Group of Greece, as the Greek section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), is fighting to build a revolutionary workers party, modeled on the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, to finally achieve that aim. ■



Office of Rep. Henry Cuellar

Immigrant families in South Texas detention center, 2014. Obama administration waged its own war on immigrants, deporting millions and detaining tens of thousands.

who launched the “Plan Frontera Sur” (the Southern Border Plan) with sponsorship from the U.S. State Department. The plan was pushed by Obama after he declared a “migration crisis” that same year, when U.S. border guards detained over 50,000 unaccompanied Central American children trying to cross into *El Norte*. Washington has provided nearly \$200 million in funding to expand Mexico’s deportation machine under Plan Frontera Sur. Since its implementation, the Mexican government has deported over 600,000 migrants, overwhelmingly back to Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. We say:

its large Mexican and Central American components.

Only Proletarian Revolution Can Sweep Away Imperialism

Imperialism is not a policy but a global system rooted in the drive for profit. Under this system, a handful of advanced powers dominate the colonial and neo-colonial world as they compete with one another over markets, raw materials and sources of cheap labor. U.S. imperialism cannot be reformed to be “humane” but must be overthrown through proletarian revolution that shatters the capitalist state machinery, which includes the cops and border enforcement, and establishes a workers state.

In contrast, some reformist outfits pretend it is possible to convince the capitalists to stop policing their borders. The pseudo-Marxists of Left Voice—U.S. section of the Trotskyist Fraction-Fourth International, whose Mexican affiliate is the Movimiento de los Trabajadores Socialistas—have recently published a series of articles calling to open the borders, including one titled “The Migrant Caravan: A Challenge to Donald Trump” (24 October) that concludes, “Today more than ever we socialists fight for #Open-Borders.” Such calls are a liberal utopian pipe dream; no capitalist ruling class has voluntarily given up control of its territory, and none ever will. The modern nation-state arose with the advent of capitalist property relations and will remain the basis for the organization of the capitalist economy until the profit system is swept away.

An earlier Left Voice article titled “Abolish ICE, and Abolish the Border Too: A Socialist Perspective” (30 July) dresses up a favored slogan of the anti-Trump “resistance.” While many of these Democrats and their hangers-on propose to “abolish I.C.E.” simply to replace it with a different immigration enforcement agency, Left Voice presents the slogan as a variant of “abolish the borders,” further imbibing in the liberal delusion that the capitalist state will dismantle itself through sufficient pressure. In addition, their call for “an end to national borders and all enforcement apparatuses” has a reactionary content. It would not only open up Cuba, China and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states to counterrevolutionary attacks, but also intensify the imperialist plunder of dependent countries and obliterate the right to national self-determination.

Borders, and the state itself, will disappear only in the communist future. Getting there will take a series of revolutions around the world to establish an internationally planned socialist economy. The resulting vast increase in the productive forces will make it possible to eliminate material scarcity and lay the foundations for a decent life for everyone. In order to make this perspective a reality, it is essential to forge genuine Leninist-Trotskyist parties, based on the experience of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, in the U.S., Mexico and beyond, as part of a reformed Fourth International. Here in the belly of the beast, that party will largely consist of and be led by black people, Latinos and other minorities and will be internationalist and revolutionary through and through. ■

U.S. Imperialist Mass Murder in Korea

The 1948 Jeju Massacre



National Archive photos

Left: Leaders of American Military Government in South Korea with Korean army and police brass at Jeju Airport, 5 May 1948. Right: Prisoners rounded up as part of U.S.-led anti-Communist massacre, November 1948.

“All exits to the sea, all roads, and all exits from villages were blocked. Under the command of Colonel John Mansfield, the Fifth Korean Constabulary Regiment and the National Police swept across villages searching for weapons and ‘any suspicious characters, organizers, and Communists.’... All civilians were stopped on the road or in villages and herded together.... Between April 27 and May 6, the island of Cheju was sealed off from the outside world and suffered an ‘orgy of slaughter’.”

—Su-kyoung Hwang, *Korea's Grievous War* (2016)

Seventy years ago, in April 1948, South Korean forces under the control of the U.S. Army launched an anti-Communist massacre on Jeju (Cheju) Island off the south coast of the Korean peninsula. Their aim was to eradicate all opposition to the brutal military dictatorship installed by U.S. occupation forces after Japan's defeat in the Second World War. The bloodbath continued for more than a year; by the end, as many as 80,000 people had been slaughtered, more than 20 percent of the island's population. Women were systematically raped. Seventy percent of all homes were destroyed.

The truth about the Jeju butchery was systematically suppressed for decades: even the mass graves were kept hidden. To this day, the events are little known outside the peninsula. Yet the massacre was but one of many inflicted upon Korea's workers and peasants by the U.S. and its allies in their crusade to “roll back Communism” in Asia. This is the true face of imperialism, exposing as a cynical lie the “democratic” pretensions used by the U.S. rulers to disguise their barbarism.

Su-kyoung Hwang's book, which is based in part on interviews with survivors of the Jeju horrors, is a valuable contri-

bution to uncovering this history. Hwang cites the account of a woman named Kim Ok-nyo: “I was stripped naked in the police yard and beaten senseless with a log, everywhere and even here. My hands were tied with cables, and before they switched on the electricity, they would run the water and fill the tank up.... When it seemed like they were going to kill me, I pleaded, ‘Just kill me, please kill me’.” Another elderly survivor, Kim Tae-jin, described how islanders were herded to the shoreline as police burned down their villages, homes and schools, then lined up for execution as suspected communists. “The police remained free of any culpability,” he said. “So they could kill anyone, countless innocent lives.”

The Jeju bloodbath was a direct precursor to the 1950-53 Korean War. In that war, U.S.-led forces under the auspices of the United Nations slaughtered three million people as the imperialists sought to crush a social revolution on the Korean peninsula and destroy the deformed workers state that had been created in North Korea under the protection of Soviet troops. U.S. warplanes attacked Korea with napalm and destroyed cities, factories and dams. Civilians were massacred by the tens of thousands, as in the South Korean village of No Gun Ri, where some 400 peasants including women and children were machine-gunned to death by the U.S. First Cavalry Division. In the words of Air Force general Curtis LeMay, who organized the firebombing of Tokyo in WWII: “We burned down every town in North Korea and in South Korea too.” Washington repeatedly threatened to use nuclear weapons as well, but was hindered by Moscow's development of its own nuclear arsenal.

The U.S. rulers sought to use the Korean War as a staging post to the overthrow of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which

had smashed capitalist class rule in the world's most populous country, but were blocked by the intervention of some three million heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army troops. The war was fought to a stalemate, after which Washington for decades propped up a series of brutal police-state regimes in South Korea. Nearly 30,000 U.S. troops remain there to this day, an ever-present threat to China as well as North Korea and to the combative South Korean working class.

We demand the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from South Korea and an end to imperialist sanctions against North Korea. As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of North Korea, China and the other deformed workers states against imperialism and counterrevolution, including their development of nuclear weapons as a deterrent against imperialist attack. On this basis, we call for the revolutionary reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy in the North, establishing a government based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

A Mass Upsurge of Workers and Peasants

The Jeju events grew out of an upsurge by Korea's workers and peasants that began in 1945. With the collapse of Tokyo's brutal, decades-long colonial rule, the masses rose up, engaging in protests, strikes and land and factory seizures. The small Korean capitalist class had been wholly dependent on their Japanese overlords and was hostile to the fight for national emancipation.

In the wake of Japan's defeat, the Soviet Red Army moved into the peninsula from the north. The U.S. hastily proposed, and Stalin criminally accepted, the division of

Korea at the 38th parallel. A regime led by Kim Il Sung, a former Stalinist guerrilla fighter in Japanese-controlled Manchuria, was installed in the North under Soviet army protection and soon moved to expropriate the landlords and capitalists. This was a social revolution that established the economic foundations of workers rule, though one deformed from birth by the existence of a bureaucratic caste that monopolized political power and deprived Korean workers of control over their own state. In the South, in stark contrast, the U.S. occupying forces allied with those who had collaborated with the Japanese, to crush the workers and peasants insurgency that was spreading throughout the country. Police, judges and prison guards who had served the colonial regime simply went from Japanese to U.S. pay.

Organizations known as people's committees had emerged after the Japanese defeat across most of the country. Their character varied from area to area: some were led by “patriotic” bourgeois and religious forces, while others were dominated by left-wing peasant-based nationalists or forces based on the working class. The latter prominently included the Communist Party (CP), whose members had previously been in exile or underground, as well as workers who were among the millions who returned home after being forced to toil in Japanese factories and mines during the war. In the North, the most industrialized part of Korea, the Soviet-backed regime encouraged land and factory takeovers by the people's committees, then moved to co-opt them as it consolidated its bureaucratic rule.

In June 1946, half a million protesters marched in Seoul against the U.S. military regime. In September, tens of thousands of rail workers went on strike, demanding the nationalization of industry and dismissal of all police and government officials who

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Translated from

Workers Vanguard No. 1136, 29 June 2018

원칙들에 대한 선언과 강령의 몇 가지 요소들

국제공산주의동맹 (제4 인터내셔널주의자)

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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National Archive

U.S. atrocities in South Korea. Left: Women burned by U.S. napalm airstrike near Suwon, February 1951. Right: U.S. Marine walking through wreckage in Seoul during offensive against North Korean army, September 1950.



AP

(continued from page 8)

conceive of such union mobilizations is squarely the responsibility of the union tops. They have shackled the social power of the working class to the interests of the capitalist exploiters, particularly through the Democratic Party, lying down as the bosses have waged a one-sided class war that has decimated the unions.

The potential for mobilizing labor/black power to crush the fascists was shown in a small but real way in New York City in October 1999. The Partisan Defense Committee initiated a united-front action to stop the KKK. Thousands, backed by the city's powerful integrated union movement, mobilized on the streets. Fearing any possible display of labor/black power, Democratic officials preached "tolerance" and "peace," even sharing their sound permit with the Klan. They were joined by the ISO, which built a diversionary rally organized by the Democrats and

shared the platform with a Latino police association.

The aim of our action, like our other mobilizations against the KKK and Nazis in the 1980s and '90s, was not only to stop the fascists. We also sought to imbue the working class with the consciousness of its social power as well as to draw political lessons on the nature of the capitalist state and the Democratic Party. These actions showed the possibility of mobilizing the proletariat in defense of itself and all the oppressed.

The proletariat has the numbers, power and organization not only to spike fascist provocations but to sweep away capitalist rule. What is lacking is the kind of leadership necessary to fight. We need a workers party that fights for a workers government to rip the means of production from the capitalist exploiters and institute a planned socialist economy that operates for the benefit of working people. We need a workers America that will hammer the last nail in the coffin of the fascist vermin. ■



New York City, 23 October 1999: Trade unionists were backbone of PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK.

had collaborated with the Japanese. This sparked a general strike that was backed by peasants and students. The U.S. ruthlessly suppressed the uprising, killing hundreds and arresting tens of thousands. “We set up concentration camps outside town and held strikers there when the jails got too full,” wrote one American official. “It was war. We recognized it as war. And that is the way we fought it” (cited in George Katsiaficas, *Asia’s Unknown Uprisings*, Volume 1 [2012]).

The turmoil soon spread to Jeju, a strategically located island that U.S. Army reports described as a “hotbed of Communism” and a “cancer of the troubles in South Korea.” After the Japanese surrender, workers had seized all 72 of the chemical and manufacturing enterprises on the island. By late 1946, the new Workers Party of South Korea (WPSK)—a fusion of the South Korean wing of the CP and two other organizations—had won control of the local people’s committee, which largely consisted of farmers and fishermen.

The WPSK and its CP predecessor were far from being authentic revolutionary parties; rather, they upheld the disastrous Stalinist strategy of seeking allies among “progressive” bourgeois forces. The CP had sought an alliance with the U.S. occupiers as potential liberators from the Japanese. And now the WPSK was ready to link up with any force, including elements of the national bourgeoisie, that opposed those in the ruling class and military who had collaborated with the Japanese and were now serving as U.S. tools.

Cold War and Counterrevolutionary Terror

When tens of thousands rallied in Jeju City on March 1, 1947 to mark the anniversary of a 1919 revolt against Japanese rule, U.S. forces ordered South Korean police to open fire, killing six people. An island-wide general strike broke out against the killings. The U.S. brought in hundreds of additional police and a squad of nearly 1,000 fanatically right-wing youth who had been displaced from North Korea. Fascist bands organized by

these thugs engaged in an orgy of terror, raping and murdering their way from village to village on the island.

That same month, as part of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, Democratic Party president Harry Truman announced a global policy of American military, political and economic intervention to stop the spread of Communism. At the time, Korea was the main front of the anti-Soviet drive in Asia. Having already blocked all transit across the North-South border, the U.S. banned radio contact with the North. The WPSK was declared illegal and repression increased sharply throughout the U.S.-occupied zone.

Washington turned to Syngman Rhee, a rabid anti-Communist who had lived in the U.S. for decades, as its hand-picked puppet to become president of the South in an “election” boycotted by all other parties. Rhee was literally the only prominent Korean politician the U.S. could find who was not tainted by support to the Japanese occupation. He had already promised his paymasters that Jeju Island would be made available for a huge U.S. military base.

The killings, repression and torture on the island, combined with opposition to the fraudulent U.S.-run election, led the WPSK to launch an armed uprising on Jeju on 3 April 1948. Simultaneous attacks were launched against the fascist youth gangs and police stations across the island. These won broad support; even the provincial governor went over to the side of the insurgents. A truce was negotiated later that month, but the U.S. vetoed it and ordered the Korean Constabulary to conduct a “scorched earth” policy. Eighteen U.S. warships blockaded Jeju to prevent infiltration from the mainland and bombarded defenseless villagers. American military “advisers” provided South Korean forces and their fascist auxiliaries with advanced weaponry. In contrast, most rebels had only handmade spears, swords or farm implements.

As carnage swept through the island, revulsion at the mass murder led to revolts in the South Korean army. When the Korean Constabulary's Fourteenth Regiment was ordered to Jeju to help suppress

the uprising in October 1948, thousands of soldiers mutinied, killing their officers and former Japanese collaborators. The soldiers seized control of the area around Yeosu and nearby Suncheon on the mainland in what became known as the Yeosun Uprising. Mass celebrations broke out as they hoisted the flag of the newly declared People's Republic in the North.

The U.S. dispatched troops in a bloody counteroffensive that retook Suncheon and Yeosu. Thousands were executed, the army was purged of leftist elements, and a law was passed making collaboration with North Korea a capital offense. But mutinies continued over the following year. In May 1949, two battalions of the Eighth Regiment walked across the 38th parallel and joined the North Korean armed forces. A CIA assessment later that year reported that South Korea was “wholly dependent on U.S. economic and military aid for its survival.”

When the North Korean army moved south the following year, they were greeted as liberators by the workers and peasants. If not for massive U.S. air power launched from Japan, followed by the full-scale military invasion under the UN fig leaf, the North Korean forces would likely have taken all of Korea with little resistance. The price of U.S. imperialism's intervention to shore up capitalist rule in South Korea is staggering: more than 100,000 killed from 1946 to 1950, followed by the extermination of millions in the war itself.

For Workers Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!

The Jeju massacre was an unspeakable crime of U.S. imperialism that should be seared into the consciousness of workers worldwide. Today, Jeju is marketed as a tourist paradise, the “Hawaii of South Korea.” But a decade ago, excavations at

the island's international airport unearthed the remains of hundreds of victims of the 1948-49 anti-Communist slaughter. Some 700 people had been summarily executed there, their bodies thrown into pits.

South Korea recently opened a massive naval base on Jeju's south coast facing the East China Sea. U.S. nuclear submarines and other naval vessels began arriving last year, part of Washington's military "pivot to Asia" directed centrally against China and initiated under the Obama presidency. Construction of the base was met by years of angry protests on the island.

It was the Democratic Party administration of Truman that oversaw the mass killings in Jeju and elsewhere in South Korea and began the Korean War. After Donald Trump met with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un earlier this year, Democratic leaders denounced his supposed “concessions” and called North Korea a “threat to the security of the United States, our allies and the world.” The real threat to the world is U.S. imperialism, armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons and with some 200,000 military personnel deployed in at least 170 countries. The Trump administration and the Democrats both seek to force North Korea to surrender its nuclear deterrent, which would render it defenseless in the face of U.S. aggression.

The carnage on Jeju Island seven decades ago is but one example of the horrors perpetrated by U.S. imperialism against working people and oppressed nations around the world. Our aim is the defeat of U.S. imperialism through workers revolution by the multiracial proletariat. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building a revolutionary workers party that is the U.S. section of a reformed Fourth International, the necessary leadership for the workers to put an end to capitalist rule and mass murder once and for all. ■

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Jewish Worshipers Massacred by Hitler Lover

Pittsburgh

Shouting “all Jews must die,” Nazi lover Robert Bowers stormed through the Tree of Life synagogue in the Pittsburgh neighborhood of Squirrel Hill on October 27. As worshippers gathered for religious services, they were mowed down by the killer, who continued firing

his semiautomatic weapon in the temple for some 20 minutes. Eight men and three women, between the ages of 54 and 97, were slaughtered in what is reportedly the largest single massacre of Jewish people in U.S. history. Three days before, a white-supremacist, who had earlier tried to force his way into a black church, shot and killed a black man and woman at a Kroger grocery store in Jeffersontown, Kentucky. Echoing in the background of these murders are the chants of “Jews will

not replace us” by the marauding fascist gangs who mobilized in Charlottesville last year in defense of monuments to the slaveowners of the Confederacy.

After the Tree of Life massacre, Democrats and the bourgeois media cynically raised a collective cry against the Trump administration for unleashing a “climate of hate.” There is no question that Trump’s anti-immigrant vitriol fanned the flames of Bowers’ anti-Jewish rage. His social media postings are riddled

with diatribes against HIAS, a Jewish organization that aids refugees, and filthy lies of a Jewish “genocide” against white people. But what Trump lets loose is simply the unvarnished reality of the U.S. capitalist order. Democrat and Republican alike, the rulers of the depraved American empire have tilled the soil in which resurgent racist terror and fascist murder are growing.

This is America—a country rooted in near-complete genocide of American Indians, black chattel slavery, brutal exploitation and the mass murder of millions around the world. This will always be America until the whole rotting edifice of capitalist rule in this country is swept away through a socialist revolution carried out by the multiracial working class. The tears shed by a wing of the U.S. ruling class and their politicians over the criminal murder of Jewish worshippers in Pittsburgh are, in the words of black abolitionist and former slave Frederick Douglass, “a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages.”

For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop the Fascists!

Fascist Proud Boys Rampage in NYC

It was an unmistakable call to murder leftists. On October 12, the fascist Proud Boys descended on New York’s Upper East Side to re-enact the 1960 assassination of Japanese Socialist Party leader Inejiro Asanuma by Otoya Yamaguchi, a member of a far-right militarist organization. Asanuma, a well-known supporter of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party, was speaking from a podium when Yamaguchi rushed the stage and stabbed him with a samurai sword.

After playing the assassin in the re-enactment held inside the Metropolitan Republican Club, Proud Boys founder Gavin McInnes went outside waving his katana and his gang of thugs attacked antifa demonstrators on the street. Cops stood by approvingly as anti-fascist protesters were slammed to the pavement, beaten and kicked amid barks of “faggot.” The cops then arrested three leftists at the request of the fascists. ***Drop all charges against the anti-fascist protesters!***

The following day in Portland, Oregon, the Proud Boys teamed up with Patriot Prayer for a “flash march for law and order.” Their target was activists gathering for a memorial for Patrick Kimmons, a black man killed by the Portland police in September. Clearly, they were out for blood. One fascist wore a shirt reading, “I hunt Antifa cowards.” As they waved American flags, the fascists attacked the crowd with clubs, pepper spray and other weapons while the cops watched.

Although the Trump administration is not fascist, the fascists have been emboldened by the official racism and bigotry emanating from the White House. Trump’s recent declaration, “I’m a nationalist,” was making a play for them on the eve of the midterms. The fascists feed off the economic misery created by the capitalist system, which is based on brutal exploitation and racial oppression, whether adminis-



Costanza/NY Daily News

Proud Boys savagely attack anti-fascist protesters in New York City, October 12.

tered by Republicans or by Democrats.

Today, fascist scum like the Proud Boys are targeting the left, especially antifa. Their ultimate purpose is the destruction of the workers movement, including labor unions, and racial genocide. The fascists are the paramilitary shock troops of the capitalist class, but with labor struggle at an all-time low, America’s rulers currently have no need to unleash them against the proletariat and oppressed. But they are held in reserve, to be let loose in times of social crisis, especially against convulsive struggles by the working class.

Every time neo-Nazis successfully mobilize, they win new recruits and encourage Hitlerite killers like the one who gunned down eleven Jewish people in a Pittsburgh synagogue on October 27 (see article above). The roots of American fascism go back to the defeat of the Confederacy by the Union Army in the Civil War, after

which the KKK and other race-terrorists arose to bloodily suppress the newly freed slaves. The fascists long to reverse the verdict of that war, as McInnes underscored to his followers: “This is the Civil War. If you’re dressed as a Confederate soldier and a Yankee comes up to you, don’t listen to what he has to say. Choke him.” Their goal is an all-white America where black people, Jews, Latinos and other minorities simply do not exist.

After the Proud Boys rampaged in New York, Democratic governor Andrew Cuomo announced that state police forces will investigate the incident, and five Proud Boys members have been arrested. Don’t buy the lie that the capitalist state and its cops, who are the main perpetrators of violence against black people and the oppressed, are going to protect you from the fascists. The cops and fascists have always worked hand in hand, from

the murder of activists during the civil rights movement and the 1979 Greensboro massacre of five anti-Klan leftists to Charlottesville last year, when a fascist plowed his car into a crowd of protesters and killed Heather Heyer.

After the race-terrorists mobilized in Charlottesville, the Democrats and their media mouthpieces howled their moral indignation at Trump’s condemnation of “both sides,” but then did the same thing by denouncing antifa “violence.” This month, after the attack by the Proud Boys in NYC, the right-wing rag *New York Post* (16 October) dismissed it as “no threat” while railing against “Antifa goons” for “threats of actual violence.” Just days earlier, the prestigious *Washington Post* (14 October) reported that “antifascists may have provoked the violence” in Portland. Joining the chorus against antifa, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) intoned: “A strategy focused on physical confrontation gives the reactionaries exactly what they want” (socialistworker.org, 26 October).

In fact, the fascist killers ***must be stopped*** when they mobilize. It is the fascists—not black people, Jews and other minorities—who should feel the sting of fear. While antifa activists are defiant and heroic, their program is merely the streetfighting face of liberalism and moral suasion. The fascist menace cannot be eliminated through isolated actions that do nothing to advance the political consciousness of the working class. A serious fight to eradicate fascism must be based on a revolutionary proletarian perspective to overthrow the capitalist system that breeds it.

Standing at the head of all the intended victims of fascist terror, labor has the power to drive these racist killers off the streets. That many working people and anti-fascist activists today cannot even

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