

## Down With U.S. Imperialist Aid to Israel!

# Democrats, Zionists and the Witchhunt of Ilhan Omar



Left: Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu addressing right-wing Zionist AIPAC conference, March 2018. Gaza City bombed by Israel, August 2018. Right: Representative Ilhan Omar with House leader Nancy Pelosi. As a Democrat, Omar upholds the U.S. capitalist-imperialist order of exploitation, racism and war.



Reuters photos

ZUMA

For the past month, American politics has been dominated by a smear campaign targeting freshman Democratic Minnesota Congresswoman Ilhan Omar for supposedly “anti-Semitic” remarks. Omar said absolutely nothing anti-Jewish. The witchhunt against her whipped up by Republicans and Democrats alike is premised on the fiction that any criticism of Israel equals anti-Jewish bigotry. In the U.S. and beyond, attacks cut from the same poisonous cloth have become stan-

dard operating procedure to hound, harass and criminalize defenders of the Palestinian people against Israeli state terror.

Since her appointment to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in January, Omar, one of the first Muslim women in Congress and a supporter of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS), has attracted the attention of powerful enemies. The hammer came down when she violated what has become a sacrosanct rule in U.S. politics: never question U.S. support

to Israel. In response to journalist Glenn Greenwald’s warning of a political crusade against Omar and her fellow Muslim Congresswoman Rashida Tlaib for their criticism of Israel, Omar tweeted, “It’s all about the Benjamins baby.” The statement, taken from Puff Daddy’s classic 1997 song, was a commentary on the role of money and the reactionary pro-Israel lobby in U.S. politics, specifically the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC).

The lying distortion of Omar’s remarks

as “anti-Semitic tropes” got its full blessing from the Democrats, particularly House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, whom Omar just promoted by posing with her on the cover of *Rolling Stone* under the headline, “Women Shaping the Future.” Under pressure, Omar apologized for her remarks only to be slammed again for questioning why it is acceptable for the U.S. government to “push for allegiance to a foreign country,” i.e., why Americans (such as herself)

*continued on page 6*

## Britain: Corbyn Betrays Working-Class Brexit Voters

# Down With Racist, Anti-Worker European Union!

We print below a leaflet produced by our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain in defense of Brexit (Britain leaving the European Union). It was distributed at demonstrations in London and Cardiff, Wales, on March 16.

MARCH 15—Last night Westminster voted to delay Brexit beyond the long-anticipated 29 March deadline, although

the EU must approve any delay. With the Tory government in disarray, the Labour Party stands solidly behind the interests of the dominant section of the bourgeoisie which opposes Brexit. The decisive leave vote in the 2016 referendum was a stunning defeat for the City of London [financial center], which it has been trying to reverse ever since.

After betraying his working-class supporters by campaigning for remain in 2016, [Labour Party leader Jeremy] Corbyn has spent the last three years touting the EU. Last month, in blatant disregard for the vote of the populace, he came out for binning [trashing] the

referendum result and making everyone vote again. The only choice the Labour leader proposes to give voters is remain or the Brexit in name only of a permanent customs union with the EU. While Labour MPs were whipped to abstain on Thursday’s vote to hold a second referendum, Corbyn immediately reiterated his support for such a referendum when he deems the time to be right. *Britain out of the EU now!*

As the leader of Her Majesty’s loyal opposition, Corbyn is demonstrating to the British imperialists that he is fit to govern on their behalf. That includes forcing the EU down the throats of

working people who know it has brought them nothing good. Corbyn’s support to the EU has ceded the ground of opposition to that imperialist cartel to racist, right-wing Tories and UKIP, and has put wind in the sails of outright fascists like Tommy Robinson.

Contrary to myths pushed by Corbyn and trade union bureaucrats, EU membership does *not* mean peaceful integration into a “social Europe.” The EU is a set of treaties the European imperialists use to increase their competitiveness against their imperialist rivals, the U.S. and Japan. At the same time Germany,

*continued on page 2*



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Getty



Reuters

Left: Labour Party head Jeremy Corbyn (center) at Brussels headquarters of European Union, February 2019. Pandering to British imperialist interests, Corbyn dropped his opposition to EU and now supports a new referendum to overturn 2016 vote for Brexit. Right: Pro-EU rally outside Parliament in London, January.

## Brexit...

(continued from page 1)

and to a lesser extent France and Britain, have used the EU to plunder the weaker member states such as Greece, Ireland and Poland. Under the EU's free market banner, member states bash the unions, slash social services and privatise everything they can get their hands on.

While shutting the gates of Fortress Europe on immigrants from Africa and Asia, the EU boasts of the supposed "freedom of movement." Intended to provide a supply of low-paid migrant workers lack-

ing the legal protections of the native-born, the right to travel between EU countries is manipulated to suit the needs of the capitalists. A patchwork of national regulations governs exactly who can live and work where. In the face of the bosses' divide-and-rule, the response of the union movement must be to organise immigrant workers into the unions and insist on equal pay for equal work. **No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!**

If the British ruling class still treat Corbyn as a red menace, it is no fault of his. As Labour leader Corbyn has consistently abandoned his stated political principles in the interests of British imperialism.

In addition to dropping his longstanding opposition to the EU, he dodged a vote on [former Labour prime minister Tony] Blair's responsibility for the invasion of Iraq, came out for support to NATO and Trident [missile system] and has been conciliating the "anti-Semitism" witch hunt in Labour which conflates criticism of the Zionist state of Israel with anti-Jewish bigotry.

In demonstrating how ready he is to sacrifice the needs of workers and the oppressed to the interests of the capitalist ruling class, Corbyn is expressing the very nature of Labourism. Labour has *always* defended the interests of the bourgeoisie when the chips are down—from sabotaging the 1926 General Strike to overseeing the 1947 Partition of India to initiating the reign of military terror in Northern Ireland in 1969. Labour is a bourgeois workers party, with a working-class base but a pro-capitalist leadership and programme. A central task of revolutionaries in Britain is to split Labour's base away from its treacherous leadership in the process of building a Leninist vanguard party that fights for the interests of all the oppressed and exploited.

Labour's ultimate aim is to form a capitalist government through winning a parliamentary majority. But the crisis confronting working people across Britain—plummeting living standards, factory closures and the decimation of unions—cannot be solved in Parliament. The task of rebuilding the fighting strength of the workers movement is tied to forging a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions as part of the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party.

To achieve a decent standard of living for every one, good jobs, quality housing and a regeneration of the deindustrialised areas across Britain, it is necessary for the working class to take the productive forces out of the hands of the capitalist profiteers. This requires a proletarian revolution that sweeps away the whole apparatus of capitalist class rule, and establishes workers rule.

Our call for a leave vote in the 2016 referendum explained: "Amid the growing chaos besetting the EU, a British exit would deal a real blow to this imperialist-dominated conglomerate, further destabilising it and creating more favourable conditions for working-class struggle across Europe—including against a weakened and discredited Tory government in Britain" (*Workers Hammer* No. 234, Spring 2016). Opposition to the EU is integral to our revolutionary Marxist perspective: the overthrow of capitalism worldwide by the working class.

The establishment of an internationally planned and collectivised economy under proletarian rule will allow for a qualitative



TROTSKY

### Lenin and Trotsky's Comintern: International Party of Revolution

One hundred years ago this month, the Third (Communist) International—also known as the Comintern—was founded under the guidance of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, which had led the 1917 October Revolution. Upholding the Marxist program for world socialism, the Comintern rejected the social-patriotism of the Second International, whose leading parties supported their "own" bourgeoisies in inter-

imperialist World War I. Following 1923-24, when the bureaucracy under J.V. Stalin usurped political power in the Soviet Union, the Comintern threw out revolutionary internationalism and went on to adopt the program of "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism. In 1938, Trotsky and his supporters founded the Fourth International, the party that we of the International Communist League seek to reforge as the instrument to fight for new October Revolutions worldwide.

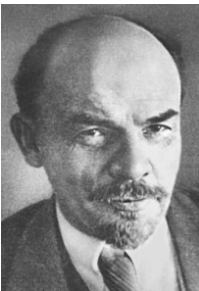
The First International (1864-72) laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital. The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organisation of the proletarian movement whose growth proceeded in *breadth*, at the cost of a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary strengthening of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International....

The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to implement* the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The international alliance of the parties which are leading the most revolutionary movement in the world, the movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, now rests on an unprecedentedly firm base, in the shape of several *Soviet republics*, which are implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat and are the embodiment of victory over capitalism on an international scale.

The epoch-making significance of the Third, Communist International lies in its having begun to give effect to Marx's cardinal slogan, the slogan which sums up the centuries-old development of socialism and the working-class movement, the slogan which is expressed in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History" (April 1919)



LENIN



ZUMA

Spartacist League/Britain supporters at protest outside immigrant detention center in Bedfordshire, England, August 2015.

development of the productive forces and the overcoming of class divisions in society—the starting point for a world communist order. *For a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles! For a Socialist United States of Europe!* ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD



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

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No. 1151

22 March 2019

### WORKERS HAMMER

NO. 244 • WINTER 2019/2020

Down with EU bosses' cartel!

### Immigration and racist Fortress Europe

Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations!



Overturn conviction of Stansted 15 anti-deportation activists!

The conviction of the Stansted 15—members of the anti-deportation activists—has been overturned by the High Court. The court ruled that the conviction was unsafe and that the activists should be acquitted.

The court also ruled that the activists should be awarded damages for the loss of their jobs and the costs of their legal defense.

The court's decision is a major victory for the anti-deportation movement and a blow to the racist policies of the British government.

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### SPARTACIST

NUMBER 65 ENGLISH EDITION SUMMER 2017

### The Fight for Leninism on the National Question



The Struggle Against the Chauvinist Hydra Document of the Seventh International Conference of the ICL

AUSTRALIA: \$1 BRITAIN: 70p CANADA: \$1 IRELAND: \$1 SOUTH AFRICA: \$2 USA: \$1

The Struggle Against the Chauvinist Hydra Document of the Seventh International Conference of the ICL

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# Suplementos en español de *Workers Vanguard*

Durante el último año, la Spartacist League ha formalizado la publicación de números semiregulares de suplementos en español de *Workers Vanguard* y la inclusión de páginas bilingües en la prensa. Estas traducciones al español de artículos de WV nos ayudan a llevar nuestro programa marxista a los trabajadores que hablan español en EE.UU. Nuestros artículos en español también tienen como propósito llegar al pueblo puertorriqueño, oprimido como sujeto colonial de EE.UU., y víctima de represión masiva en las luchas por su independencia.

Los suplementos y las páginas bilingües son una expresión de nuestro compromiso para abordar en español la opresión de los latinos, así como la cuestión negra: el factor clave de la revolución socialista estadounidense. Esta propaganda es una extensión de las lecciones codificadas en la VII Conferencia Internacional de la Liga Comunista Internacional en 2017, la cual reafirmó la necesidad de comunicarnos en los idiomas de los trabajadores y los oprimidos como contrapeso al chovinista *English only* de la clase capitalista gobernante de EE.UU. (Ver “La batalla contra la hidra chovinista” *Spartacist* [edición en español No. 40, septiembre de 2017]).

Durante décadas hemos distribuido *Espartaco*, la publicación del Grupo Espartaquista de México, sección mexicana de la LCI. *Espartaco* es clave tanto para nuestro trabajo en EE.UU. —el país con la segunda población de habla hispana más grande del mundo—, como en América Latina, el Caribe y España. Los suplementos en español de WV, que producimos en colaboración con los camaradas del GEM, aumentan nuestra capacidad de intervención en las luchas de la clase obrera multirracial estadounidense, como lo muestra nuestro volante bilingüe reciente “Maestros de L.A.: ¡A la huelga para vencer!” (WV No. 1147, 18 de enero). Publicamos este volante y lo distribuimos en las líneas de piquete desde el primer día de esta importante huelga en defensa de la educación pública y de un sindicato con muchos maestros hispanoparlantes.

Nuestra meta es construir un partido dedicado a dirigir al proletariado para que barra con el sistema capitalista y establezca el poder obrero. Para este propósito queremos armar a la clase obrera, incluyendo a su mayoría blanca, con un programa para luchar por sus intereses y los de las masas negras y latinas. Es necesario que el movimiento obrero se movilice en oposición a la represión antiinmigrante y que levante las demandas: por plenos derechos de ciudadanía para todos aquellos que están en este país y contra las deportaciones.

Otra demanda crucial al abordar la opresión de los latinos es el derecho a la educación bilingüe para aprender inglés y conservar el español. Esto se ve claramente en el suroeste de los EE.UU. cerca de la frontera con México, donde muchas personas hablan español con fluidez pero no pueden leerlo o escribirlo porque no hay acceso real a la educación bilingüe de calidad. Como parte de nuestra oposición a los privilegios del inglés, estamos por que el español sea un idioma reconocido como el estándar en el suroeste.

La lucha por educación bilingüe no se limita a las personas que hablan español sino que es vital para todas las comunidades de inmigrantes y beneficia a los que han nacido aquí sin importar su origen étnico. Cuando los trabajadores hablan más de un idioma esto ayuda a contrarrestar las divisiones entre la clase obrera. La educación bilingüe es un componente esencial de la lucha por educación pública

Over the past year, the Spartacist League has formalized the publication of semi-regular issues of *suplementos en español de Workers Vanguard* and the inclusion of bilingual pages in the press. These Spanish translations of WV articles help bring our revolutionary Marxist program to Spanish-speaking working people in the U.S. Our articles in Spanish are also aimed at reaching the Puerto Rican people,

leading the proletariat in sweeping away this capitalist system and establishing workers rule. For that purpose, we want to arm the working class, including its white majority, with a program to fight on behalf of itself as well as the black and Latino masses. It is necessary for the labor movement to mobilize in opposition to anti-immigrant repression, raising the demands for full citizenship rights for everyone in the country and no deportations.

Another crucial demand to address the oppression of Latinos is the right to bilingual education, to learn English and also to preserve Spanish capacity. In the Southwest of the U.S. near the border with Mexico, many people speak Spanish fluently but cannot read or write it because there is no real access to quality bilingual education. As part of our opposition to privileges for English, we are for the elevation of Spanish to a recognized standard language in the Southwest.

The struggle for bilingual education is not limited to Spanish speakers but is vital for all immigrant communities and beneficial for those born here regardless of their ethnic origin. When workers speak more than one language, it helps to counter the divisions within the working class. Bilingual education is an essential component of the fight for free, quality, integrated public education. We also seek to break down the walls of the ghettos and barrios—that is, we fight for quality, low-cost, integrated housing, where black people and Latinos can live among whites as equals.

Today, Spanish-speaking workers make up a strategic component of the American proletariat, with many representing a living bridge to the struggles of its class brothers and sisters in their countries of origin. The Spartacist League seeks to build a party whose membership and leadership is 70 percent black, Latino and other minorities. Our work toward publishing propaganda in Spanish here in the belly of the imperialist beast better enables us to win over the most advanced Latino workers, who will fight under the banner of the Fourth International to construct the multiracial and multilingual vanguard party that will lead the working class to power.

Our readers in the U.S. and Puerto Rico who subscribe to *Espartaco* will also receive *suplementos en español de WV*. The archive of the *suplementos* can be found on the ICL website: [www.icl-fi.org](http://www.icl-fi.org). ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

Suplemento en español

Número 9  
10 de agosto de 2018

## El despiadado Trump y los demócratas hipócritas ¡No a las detenciones! ¡Plenos derechos de ciudadanía para los inmigrantes!

**Inmigrante, mujer hondureña y su hijo son arrestados al cruzar la frontera en defensa de sus derechos.**

El siguiente artículo ha sido traducido de Workers Voice, N.º 1106, 29 de junio de 2018.  
Las inmigrantes y los soldados de élite armados, en sus operaciones en jaulas de alambre y separados de días por la fuertemente militarizada policía fronteriza del Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas por un régimen de inmigrantes, han tratado honor y dignidad en su tratamiento que incluye el "trato en jaula" por el criminal. Trump firmó una orden ejecutiva el 29 de junio.

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**Maya**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

Suplemento en español

Número 10  
28 de agosto de 2019

## ¡Por lucha de clases, ninguna confianza en los demócratas! El caso Janus: Ataque al movimiento obrero

El siguiente artículo ha sido traducido de Workers Vanguard No. 1151, 4 de mayo de 2018.  
El caso de la Suprema Corte Janus vs. AFSCME busca directamente destruir los sindicatos del sector público, lo que plantea una amenaza a todo el movimiento obrero. Un fallo en contra de la AFSCME

Protesta en Washington, D.C., ante la Corte Suprema por el antislavery caso Janus vs. AFSCME.

llevar a la AFSCME y a otros sindicatos del sector la bancarrota y de quitarles afiliados. La misma medida también fue votada en un caso anterior, *Packard v. Teamsters Association*, que intentaba reducir los sindicatos obligados por ley a pagar los costos de la fuerza de trabajo. Los manifestantes dicen que los sindicatos capitalistas han tirado contra el movimiento

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Puerto Rico

Public workers march in San Juan, May 1.  
Talladores políticos marchan en San Juan, Primero de Mayo.

Police attack protesters.  
Policías anticomunistas atacan a los manifestantes.

## May Day Cops Attack Demonstrators

For the second year in a row, a national day that drew tens of thousands of people took place in Puerto Rico, where international people have been suffering under the rule of U.S. colonial repression. For the fourth consecutive year, the day was marked by police brutality, the use of tear gas, and the use of force against the demonstrators. The day was marked by the use of force against the demonstrators. The day was marked by the use of force against the demonstrators.

## Primero de Mayo Policía ataca manifestantes

Por segunda año consecutivo, un país de millones de personas se unió al Día Internacional de los Trabajadores (primero de mayo) en Puerto Rico, donde cientos de miles de personas han sufrido la opresión colonial de EE.UU. durante muchos años. El día fue marcado por la brutalidad policial, el uso de gas lacrimógeno y la fuerza contra los manifestantes. El día fue marcado por la fuerza contra los manifestantes. El día fue marcado por la fuerza contra los manifestantes.

## No. 10 28 de agosto de 2018 28 August 2018

## No. 9 10 de agosto de 2018 10 August 2018

WV No. 1134  
18 de mayo de 2018 • 18 May 2018

**Los artículos en español y bilingües de *Workers Vanguard* llevan nuestro programa revolucionario a los hispanoparlantes.**

**Spanish and bilingual *Workers Vanguard* articles bring our revolutionary program to Spanish speakers.**

gratuita, de calidad e integrada. También buscamos acabar con el aislamiento de los guetos y barrios, es decir, luchamos por vivienda de calidad, a bajo costo e integrada, donde las personas negras y los latinos puedan vivir entre los blancos como iguales.

Hoy, los trabajadores hispanoparlantes son un componente estratégico del proletariado estadounidense y muchos de ellos representan un puente vivo que crea un vínculo con las luchas de sus hermanos de clase en sus países de origen. La Spartacist League busca construir un partido cuya membresía y dirección se compongan en un 70 por ciento de negros, latinos y otras minorías. Nuestro trabajo para publicar propaganda en español aquí en la bestia imperialista nos permite tener más capacidad para ganar a los trabajadores latinos más avanzados quienes lucharán bajo la bandera de la Cuarta Internacional para construir el partido multirracial y multilingüe de vanguardia que llevará a la clase obrera al poder.

Nuestros lectores en EE.UU. y en Puerto Rico que están suscritos a *Espartaco* también recibirán los suplementos en español de WV. El archivo de los suplementos está en el sitio de la LCI: [www.icl-fi.org](http://www.icl-fi.org). ■

who are oppressed as U.S. colonial subjects and who have suffered massive repression in their struggles for independence.

The *suplementos* and bilingual pages are an expression of our commitment to addressing in Spanish Latino oppression, as well as the black question, the key to the American socialist revolution. This propaganda is an extension of lessons codified at the Seventh International Conference of the International Communist League in 1917, which reaffirmed the need to communicate in the languages of the workers and the oppressed as a counterweight to the “English only” chauvinism of the U.S. capitalist ruling class. (See “The Struggle Against the Chauvinist Hydra,” *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 65, Summer 2017.)

For decades, we have distributed *Espartaco*, the publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, the ICL's Mexican section. *Espartaco* is key for our work in the U.S., home to the world's second-largest Spanish-speaking population, and in Latin America, the Caribbean and Spain. The *suplementos*, produced in collaboration with our comrades of the GEM, expand our capacity to intervene in the struggles of the multiracial American working class, as shown by our recent bilingual leaflet, "L.A. Teachers: Strike to Win!" (printed in WV No. 1147, 18 January). The leaflet was issued and handed out on picket lines from the first day of this important strike in defense of public education and of a union with many Spanish-speaking teachers.

Our goal is to build a party dedicated to

**WORKERS VANGUARD** Números 1-10  
Suplemento en español \_\_\_\_\_

Visita <https://icl-fi.org/espanol/wvsupl/archives/>



# ESPARTACISTA

PUBLICACION DEL GRUPO ESPARTACISTA DE MEXICO

NUMERO 50 OCTUBRE DE 2019 MEXICO \$3.00

En México y EE.UU.:

## ¡Plenos derechos de ciudadanía para todos los inmigrantes!

Insurgente el gobierno mexicano apura a las ritmos inmigrantes contratemperados de sus familiares. Entre 2018 y 2017, casi 10 mil menores de Guatemala, Honduras y El Salvador fueron retenidos en "relaciones migratorias". Durante junio de 2018, agentes especiales del ICE arrestan a más de cien trabajadores en Ohio, Estados Unidos, durante una reunión en una temporada de calor.

*El espasmo arcaico se hace en su forma más por mayor con normalidad hacia la familia de la siguiente en el Mesico de León (México).*

El gobierno de política doméstica contratemperados y agentes del ICE (Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas) apurados a los menores de sus países y exportaciones en jaulas durante la vuelta al mundo, provocando horror y enojo.

Ante el rechazo generalizado, incluso Trump fingió dar un paso atrás al derecho de la familia durante, pero que en realidad bien ha tirado un otro cuadro para que se pueda encontrar a los miembros de una familia inmediatamente, pero para inmigrantes en Estados Unidos y los solicitantes de asilo en países en la espera del el cuerpo de procesamiento. Unidos

*sigue en la página 6*

**iRomper con AMLO/Morena!  
iForjar un partido obrero!**

**PUBLICACION DEL**  
**Grupo Espartaquista de México**

**No. 50, October 2018, \$5.00 (24 pages)**

**Subscription: \$2 for 4 issues**

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# South Africa



## The Land Question and Permanent Revolution

“Since I was born I never had a piece of land that I can call home.” Woman calls for land expropriation without compensation at public hearing in South Africa’s Gauteng province, July 2018.

AFP

### SPARTACIST SOUTH AFRICA

We reprint below the first part of an article from Spartacist South Africa No. 16 (February 2019), publication of the South African section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

#### PART ONE

Over the last year, the African National Congress (ANC) has done a kind of tight-rope walk over the question of land. On the one side, the party has given lip service to the anger and frustration of the black majority by making a parliamentary bloc with the bourgeois-populist Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) to begin the process of amending the constitution to allow for land expropriation without compensation. While hyping this up as a reversal of its decades-long policy of relying on the “willing seller, willing buyer” method of land redistribution, the ANC has on the other side sought to reassure capitalist investors that nothing is really going to change.

The ANC’s manoeuvring is, in its own way, a testament to the potential explosiveness of the land question. As political commentator Rapule Tabane put it, the prospect of land expropriation evokes “hope in many poor black South Africans” while “provoking fear and uncertainty among many white South Africans and business people” (city-press.news24.com, 4 October 2018). It is not at all difficult to understand why: land ownership provides one of the clearest measures of how entrenched white domination remains, and how little the black majority has gained, in the “new South Africa.” For example, whereas white people—currently 7.8 percent of the population—owned 85 percent of all farmland at the end of apartheid, almost 25 years later they still own 72 percent. In contrast, just 4 percent of farmland is owned by black Africans, who are 80.9 percent of the population!

Behind these statistics are the brutal oppression and poverty that mark the lives of black and coloured [mixed race, partly Malay-derived] people who work on the farms and live in the surrounding communities, where the white boss still rules through the *sjambok* [whip]. A glimpse into this racist hell is provided by the news headlines highlighting particular atrocities: farm workers being

forced to drink liquid faeces as punishment for “neglecting their duties”; white farmers shoving a black man into a coffin and threatening to set him on fire; a black youth killed while being transported to the police station in the back of some white farmers’ *bakkie* [small pickup truck]—for the alleged “crime” of taking sunflower heads!

Millions of black and coloured workers and farm dwellers have been thrown off white-owned farms since 1994. Meanwhile, some 17 million black people remain trapped in the desperately impoverished areas of the apartheid-era “homelands.” They are subject to the arbitrary, despotic rule of tribal chiefs and their agents, which is especially oppressive to black women.

The urban population has steadily increased in the decades since the end of pass laws and influx control. With the prime real estate monopolised by a mostly white, wealthy elite, the non-white masses get crowded into backyard dwellings and other substandard housing in the townships, or shacks in sprawling squatter camps. It is not uncommon for such desperate, overcrowded living conditions to exist just a few kilometres away from leafy suburbs with lavish mansions—the boundary between the two worlds patrolled by armies of machine-gun-toting private security guards.

As Marxist revolutionaries, we seek to do away with the whole system of racist

neo-apartheid capitalism at the root of this hideous oppression and replace it with a socialist system in which those who labour rule. Even if the black masses are to make some partial gains, under capitalism, toward getting the land, this will not be a result of parliamentary commissions and the like, but of social struggle. The outpouring of anger at the public hearings on land expropriation held around the country last winter and the noticeable increase of land occupations both show the burning desire for land. What’s crucial is that the land hunger of the masses be mobilised behind the social power of the proletariat in a fight against the racist capitalist rulers. This requires a political struggle against the nationalist and reformist misleaders, whose whole outlook is defined by parliamentary cretinism and reverence for bourgeois “order.”

The ANC tops are cynically using the constitutional amendment on “expropriation without compensation” (EWC) for populist *posturing*. Even after a year of raging “land debate” it remains to be seen what the actual *content* of such an amendment might be. The ANC has dragged out the so-called “consultative process” with an unending series of parliamentary commissions, so as to calm things down and allay the capitalists’ fears over property rights while still getting political mileage out of “EWC” for this year’s elections (and the EFF is happy to play along).



Striking black and coloured farm workers from De Doorns, Western Cape, rally in Cape Town, January 2013.

Gallo

The amendment process is unlikely to be concluded before the elections, but as it stands now the schemes reportedly being floated by [President Cyril] Ramaphosa and the ANC tops would be meaningless for the black masses. If some meaningful concessions were to be offered in the face of struggle—via a constitutional amendment or some other legislation—Marxists would of course support them. At the same time, we emphasise to the workers and oppressed that all reforms are bound to be stunted and reversible as long as the capitalists remain in power—and that is the class content of bourgeois democracy.

The land question is inextricably bound up with the national oppression of the black majority, and as such raises the spectre of social revolution. It goes to the very heart of capitalist class rule in this country, which was built on the superexploitation of black labour. The dispossession of black land was driven above all by the capitalists’ need to secure labourers for the white-owned mines and farms. Take, for example, the former homelands, whose formation and maintenance was inextricably tied to the migrant labour system that’s produced mountains of wealth for the Randlords and imperialists. Overturning this oppressive status quo is never going to be accomplished by reformist tinkering that leaves the private property of the ruling class untouched.

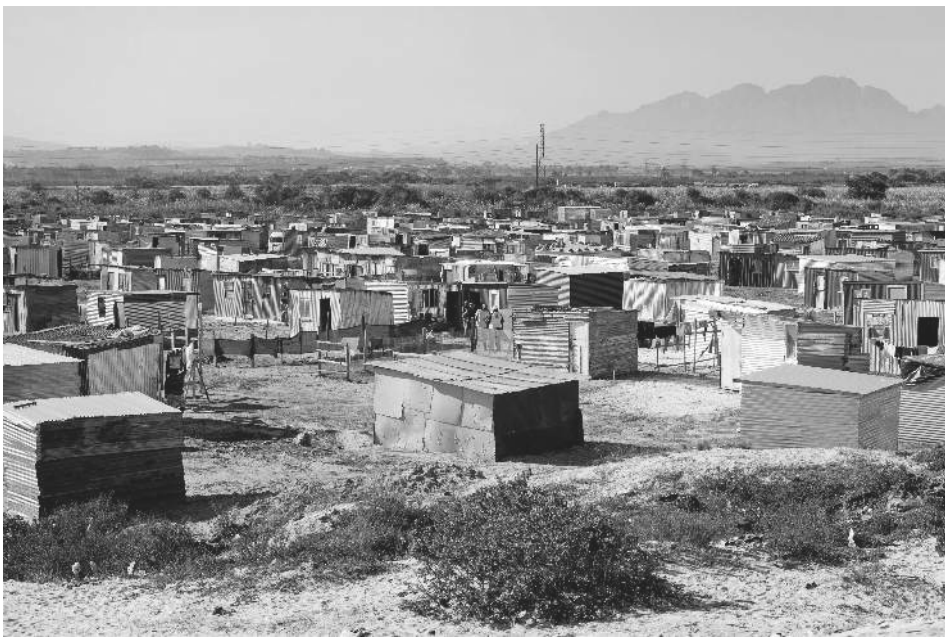
A just resolution of the land question cries out for a revolutionary struggle to uproot capitalism and establish a *black-centred workers government*. Such a government would expropriate the white-owned commercial farms and convert them to collective and state farms under control of the farm workers whose labour keeps them going. It would strip the parasitic chiefs of all privileges and powers, enforcing the democratic rights and social liberation of their “subjects”—especially black women—by rallying the rural toilers in struggle against these and other lackeys of the Randlords. In the urban areas, a black-centred workers government would begin addressing the housing crisis by expropriating the luxury dwellings of the rich and converting them to housing for the workers and poor. At the same time, it would embark on a vast programme of public works—including construction of quality, racially integrated public housing, building and expanding basic infrastructure. This would be part of a radical reshaping of society, lifting the rural areas and townships out of poverty and desolation.

Addressing the many just demands of the black majority—including democratic demands like security of [land] tenure—that have been cruelly frustrated under neo-apartheid rule since 1994, a black-centred workers government would simultaneously begin the tasks of socialist construction, while fighting to spread workers revolution internationally. For such a government, expropriation and redistribution of land would be part and parcel of the revolutionary *expropriation of the bourgeoisie* as a whole, in the first case by breaking up its machinery of state repression and replacing it with a workers state.

This perspective is derived from Leon Trotsky’s theory of permanent revolution, based on the understanding that the bourgeois-nationalist forces of dependant countries are incapable of solving any of the fundamental problems posed by imperialist domination because of their subordination to imperialist capital and mortal fear of their own proletariat. The programmatic core of permanent revolution is complete political and organisational independence of the working class from bourgeois nationalism. This demands a break from not only the ANC, but also more radical-sounding bourgeois parties such as the EFF which, despite its occasional spouting of “Marxist-Leninist” rhetoric, represents the implacable class enemies of workers liberation.

#### Neo-Apartheid Treachery

It has become cliché, especially among bourgeois-liberal political commentators, to lament the ANC’s “lack of political will” to resolve the land question. In fact,



**A tale of two worlds in neo-apartheid South Africa, just a few miles apart in beachside suburb of Clifton.**



the government of the ANC-led Tripartite Alliance [with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)] has demonstrated *plenty* of will to safeguard the interests of the capitalist ruling class it serves—from deploying the cops to evict squatters, destroy their shacks, break strikes and disperse service delivery protests, to rolling out neo-liberal policies like the easing of exchange controls. The government's land policy has been fully in keeping with its overall commitment to maintaining the rule of the Randlords and the domination of their imperialist senior partners. As with so many other burning questions, this has meant bitter betrayal of the aspirations that animated the mass struggles against apartheid.

It is well known that after 1994 the ANC adopted a neo-liberal policy (essentially braintrusterd by the World Bank) based on letting the capitalist market handle “redistribution.” The result, predictably, has been to perpetuate white domination of the land. Even in those cases where land has been restored or redistributed, it is frequently the white landowners who are the main beneficiaries. For example, in 2013-14 almost the entire annual budget for land restitution was wiped out to settle a single land claim: the government paid around R1 billion [almost \$70 million]—an amount far above market value—to the owners of Mala Mala game reserve, settling out of court so as to avoid antagonising the country’s landowners.

The utter and grotesque bankruptcy of the farcical “land reform” of the past decades is clear enough: according to academics and treasury spokesmen, at the current rate even resolving the present backlog of land restitution claims could take *two centuries* and cost an estimated R600 billion! This wretched, servile land policy is not an aberration, but speaks to the very essence of the neo-apartheid system that emerged from the ANC’s nego-

tiated settlement with the white rulers in the early 1990s.

Against the hype over the “South African miracle,” we Spartacists told the truth at the time, for example writing in July 1994: “The rigid structures of apartheid may be gone, but white supremacy remains, and will remain until the racist capitalist system is overthrown by the working people who produce its superprofits” (“South Africa Powder Keg,” reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12). We consistently opposed, as a matter of principle, giving *any* political support to the bourgeois Tripartite Alliance of the ANC/SACP/COSATU or any bourgeois political party.

In contrast, virtually the entire international left supported the ANC politically and helped to peddle the myth of a “new” South Africa. In South Africa, this included fake-Trotskyist groups like Keep Left!, who are affiliated to the International Socialist Tendency (Cliffites), and the forebears of the Workers and Socialist Party, who were known as the Marxist Workers Tendency (*inside* the bourgeois ANC!) and affiliated to the Committee for a Workers’ International (Taaffeites). Now that the ANC has lost popularity, many of these leftists complain that it has “lost its way,” for example pointing to the unfulfilled promise that “the land shall be shared among those who work it” and other populist demands of the 1955 Freedom Charter.

But the class interests represented by the ANC have been clear from its very founding, and these have consistently dictated its servility to the white rulers. Just look at John Langalibalele Dube, first president of the ANC's predecessor, the South African Native National Congress (SANNC). Himself an owner of small sugar plantations, Dube saw the black African masses, "just awakening into political life," as in need of British colonial stewardship. Hence he argued for a policy of "treading softly, ploddingly," of "deep and dutiful

respect for the rulers God has placed over us” (February 1912 address to “Chiefs and Gentlemen of the South African Native National Congress”).

Such sentiments were common among the leaders of the SANNC/ANC, who wished to impress upon the British rulers that they were “respectable” men of property who should be given a role to play in the colonial system. But the British imperialists—not to mention the National Party rulers after 1948—saw no need for

mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC, and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable." Within a few months, "Madiba" had "seen the light" and began assuring the white rulers that they did not have to worry about nationalisations. After the April 1994 elections, he restated this position: "In our economic policies... there is not a single reference to things like nationalisation, and this is not accidental. There is not a single slogan that



**Leaders of  
petty-bourgeois  
South African  
Native National  
Congress,  
forebear of  
ANC, 1914.**

their assistance. Instead, they relied on increasingly rigid segregation and legal discrimination to police the black workers, at the same time preventing the emergence of any semblance of a black African property-owning class.

As a result, the ANC would later adopt a more populist posture, such as with the Freedom Charter. Far from indicating any change in the class character of the ANC—as claimed by reformists who falsely present the Freedom Charter as “socialist”—that shift reflected the petty-bourgeois ANC tops’ recognition that they would need the pressure of the black working masses to force the white rulers to the bargaining table. As ANC icon Nelson Mandela himself put it, the Freedom Charter was in no way intended as a “blueprint for a socialist state,” but rather aimed at “the development of a prosperous Non-European bourgeois class” (“In Our Lifetime,” 1956).

When the opportunity to negotiate a deal with the white rulers ultimately arose, it was in the context of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state in 1991-92. This left the ANC without leverage to extract even minimal economic concessions from the Randlords and imperialists. Instead, the latter relied on political concessions to maintain their rule, co-opting the Tripartite Alliance tops to act as their front men and contain the militancy of the black proletariat.

In the process of betraying the aspirations of the black majority, the ANC tops dropped their populist pretensions like a bad habit. While still in prison, Mandela had reassured ANC supporters in early 1990 that “nationalisation of the

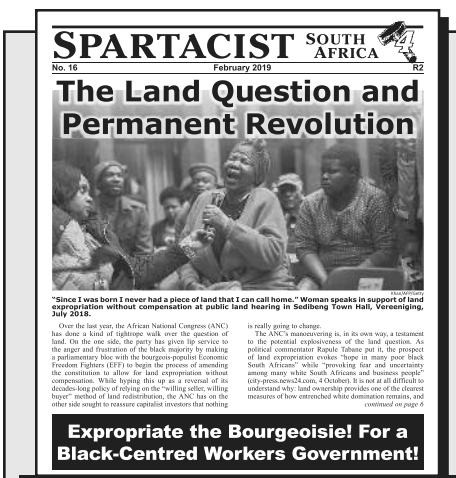
will connect us with any Marxist ideology" (*Sunday Times*, 1 May 1994; quoted in Marais, *Limits To Change*, 1998).

Since then, the Tripartite Alliance government has demonstrated in a thousand different ways that it is a reliable enforcer of the rule of the Randlords and their big brothers in Wall Street and the City of London. The clearest and bloodiest proof was delivered with the Marikana massacre of 16 August 2012, when it oversaw the police killing of 34 striking black mineworkers at the behest of the London-based platinum giant Lonmin.

Now, with the possibility that their grip on governmental power could be threatened for the first time since 1994, the ANC tops have cynically begun to mouth some populist rhetoric about land “expropriation without compensation.” This is a transparent bit of electioneering. Following local elections in 2016 that saw the party lose control of several big metros, including Johannesburg, it’s hoped that “EWC” will galvanise the ANC’s voting base this year and contain losses to the EFF, which has made land expropriation one of its main calling cards since it was founded in 2013.

The land question has also become a political football in the factional struggles within the ANC between supporters of Cyril Ramaphosa and of Jacob Zuma. The latter began pushing “EWC” toward the end of Zuma’s presidency in an effort to dress up the anti-worker, anti-poor attacks and rampant corruption of his nine-year presidency in populist garb. The two factions nearly came to blows over land expropriation when Zuma’s supporters introduced a motion calling to amend the constitution on the final day of the ANC’s

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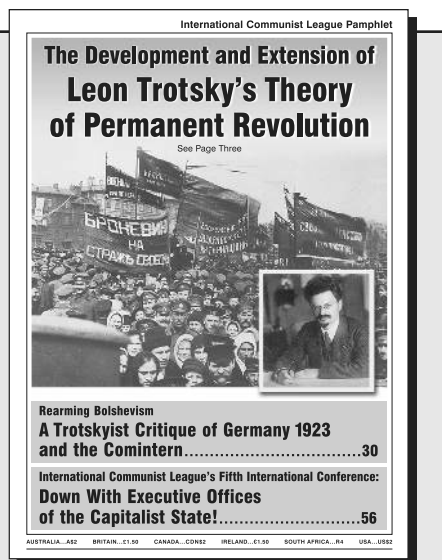
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Witchhunt...

(continued from page 1)

are obliged to support Israel. For this she was absurdly accused of claiming American Jews had “dual loyalty.” Allegiance to Israel, i.e., a state power, is not synonymous with Jewish culture or religion. In fact, it’s the Zionists who equate them, demanding loyalty from Jews throughout the world to the racist, semi-theocratic Israeli state.

The pro-Israel lobby, which is defined by its political agenda, is powerful and, like all lobbies, throws around a lot of Benjamins. But this is not why both the Democrats and Republicans back Israel to the hilt. Rather, their support is driven by Israel’s role as a nuclear-armed linchpin for U.S. imperialist interests in the Near East. Support for Israel by America’s rulers includes over \$3 billion in annual aid, which is used to finance the slaughter of Palestinians.

It takes some chutzpah for Democratic politicians to wax indignant about anti-Jewish bigotry, which runs deep in this country. During the 2017 fascist outpouring in Charlottesville, Nazi-lovers who came out to defend monuments to the Confederacy chanted, “Jews will not replace us.” Last October, eleven Jewish worshippers were massacred by a Hitler-loving gunman at a Pittsburgh synagogue. The fascists are no doubt emboldened by the overt racism of the Trump White House. But both capitalist parties uphold the very social system that breeds such scum. The whole of the American ruling class has tilled the soil in which such resurgent race-terror is growing.

As a black, Muslim and immigrant woman, Omar herself has been the target of white-supremacist death threats and anti-Muslim venom. Earlier this month, a poster put up in West Virginia’s state Capitol during a GOP event tied Omar to the 9/11 terror attacks, and I.C.E. agents shared posts claiming she attended “terrorism classes.” For their part, the Democrats engaged in the spectacle of taking



McGregor/Pacific Press

Pro-Palestinian protesters at office of New York governor Cuomo oppose measures targeting movement to boycott and divest from Israel, June 2016.

their new Muslim Congresswoman—who’d just been touted as an example of the party’s “diversity”—to task for violating “American values.”

Initially, the Democrats put forward a Congressional resolution condemning “anti-Semitism” to rebuke Omar for her comments. The resolution was then larded in the final version with denunciations of all types of “hate,” including anti-Muslim and anti-Catholic bigotry. One would have to ignore a couple centuries of American history to swallow any claim by the Democrats to uphold the “principles of tolerance, religious freedom, and equal protection.” The Democratic Party is the party of the slaveryocracy, anti-black lynchings and Jim Crow. The party’s liberal icon, Franklin D. Roosevelt, denied entry to Jews fleeing the Nazi Holocaust and interned Japanese Americans during World War II. The Obama administration broke all records in the deportation of immigrants—not to mention endless drone attacks and backing right-wing coups abroad, such as the

one spearheaded by anti-Jewish fascists in Ukraine in 2014.

Break with the Democrats!

Both the Democrats and the Republicans preside over the subjugation of semi-colonial peoples abroad and the exploitation of the working class and oppressed at home. As a Democratic Party Congresswoman, Omar is a representative of U.S. imperialism, the very system responsible for destroying her country of origin, Somalia, and turning her and her family into refugees. As part of her service as an imperialist politician, Omar voted for the “NATO Support Act” endorsing continued funding for NATO, a key vehicle for U.S. military hegemony developed as part of the Cold War anti-Soviet alliance.

In a *Washington Post* opinion piece (17 March), Omar argues that U.S. foreign policy should be based on “human rights, justice and peace”—i.e., she seeks to cloak the bloody reality of U.S. imperialism behind the facade of “universal values.”

She went on to explain that her criticisms of “certain Israeli government action in Gaza or settlements in the West Bank” are based on the belief that “these actions not only threaten the possibility of peace in the region—they also threaten the United States’ own national security interests.”

Omar’s pledge of allegiance to U.S. capitalism hasn’t stopped various pseudo-socialists, including the International Socialist Organization and Workers World, from promoting her as part of a new generation of “progressives” who can be pressured to make the Democratic Party champion the interests of working people and the oppressed. It is precisely such illusions in the Democratic Party that have historically made it more effective for the ruling class in mobilizing the populace behind the war and other aims of U.S. imperialism. The role of Omar and others like Democratic Socialists of America member Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez is to try to put a gloss on the capitalist profit system.

Backing Israel is the stock in trade of all wings of the Democratic Party, including liberal darling Senator Bernie Sanders. For years, Sanders has voted to lavish Israel with military aid, and in 2014 he joined in a unanimous Senate resolution endorsing Israel’s war on Gaza. During the 2016 Democratic primaries, he echoed Hillary Clinton by charging the BDS movement with having “some level of anti-Semitism.” He also fired his campaign’s newly hired Jewish Outreach Coordinator, liberal Zionist Simone Zimmerman, because she had aptly condemned Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu for having “sanctioned the murder of over 2,000 people” in the 2014 Gaza war.

On March 6, Sanders issued a statement in which he sidestepped the vile accusations of anti-Jewish bigotry against Omar while objecting that the attacks against her were aimed at stifling “legitimate criticism” of Netanyahu’s right-wing government. Sanders, like many other liberals, thinks the current regime

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national conference in December 2017, where Ramaphosa was narrowly elected to succeed Zuma. As we wrote last year, the hands of the leaders of both the Zuma and Ramaphosa factions are stained with the blood of Marikana: it is suicidal for the working class to give the slightest political support to any of them (see “Ramaphosa vs. Zuma: ANC Factions of Marikana Massacre,” SSA No. 15, January 2018).

The mere talk of fiddling with the constitution over property rights is very worrying to the bourgeoisie. As good front men, Ramaphosa and the ANC tops are keenly aware of this and have constantly reassured the Randlords and imperialists that there will be “no smash and grab” land seizures. Rather, as Ramaphosa warned in an Op-Ed in the London *Financial Times* in August 2018, something must be done

to ward off further instability. The editors of that mouthpiece of finance capital in turn gave him their backing, decrying Donald Trump’s “clumsy” Twittervention earlier that month and warning that “the alternatives” to Ramaphosa’s effort “to go about this in a measured way...would spell disaster” (ft.com, 26 August 2018).

The “measured” approach envisioned, however, is just more of the same. Ramaphosa has indicated that expropriation should focus on derelict buildings and unused state-owned land, while ruling out productive farms. In other words, fiddling around with allocating a small fraction of non-valuable land while leaving all of the high-quality, productive land untouched.

Contrary to the wishful thinking of Ramaphosa and the *Financial Times*, pitiful cosmetic changes like this are not going to quell the masses’ land hunger. Recognising this in their own way, other representatives of the big bourgeoisie worry that Ramaphosa has conciliated populist

moods in the ANC far too much, and that this could unleash popular discontent that he and the ANC won’t be able to contain. For example, senior *Business Day* columnist Peter Bruce admonished Ramaphosa in September 2018 to “Take charge, Mr President, and do it now,” complaining:

“Already his pledge that there will be no land grabs under his presidency is being made hollow. There is land being grabbed in the south of Johannesburg, in Hammanskraal, in Limpopo—and it isn’t being taken back by the police. Why not, Mr President? Surely the police have standing orders on this?”

These words recall the bourgeoisie’s hue and cry, in the early weeks of August 2012, over the “lawlessness” of the striking Lonmin workers in Marikana. No one should be fooled by their hypocritical hand-wringing and the crocodile tears they

shed after the Marikana massacre: the “stability” demanded by the Randlords, in the face of massive social discontent at the base of society, means bloody police repression of the workers and oppressed.

The key lesson from Marikana—where the workers showed no lack of militancy and bravery—is that the working class must be organised independently of the capitalist state and the bourgeois parties that serve the class enemy. This requires above all a *political struggle* to break the most advanced sections of the working class from reformist and nationalist false consciousness, winning them to the task of forging a revolutionary vanguard party capable of utilising the crises of this system to lead the workers to power through socialist revolution.

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**After signing declaration of war against Japan in December 1941, Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered internment of Japanese Americans. Democrats' recent House resolution aimed at Ilhan Omar condemned World War II internment, which was carried out by the Democratic Party itself.**

in Israel has gone so far to the right that it has become a liability for supporters of the Zionist state. In fact, it was the liberal Zionists preferred by Sanders who dispossessed and expelled some 750,000 Palestinians, seizing their land and founding the state of Israel in 1948.

### Defend the Palestinian People!

In the mid 1980s, the late renowned novelist and essayist Gore Vidal was slandered by Zionist bigots as racist and anti-Jewish. We defended him and pointed to the historical connections between the Zionist movement, which sought to re-ghettoize Jews into their “own” state, and some of the deadliest enemies of the Jewish people:

“Zionism has always been the handmaiden of anti-Semitism, accepting and promoting it in order to justify conquest of the ‘Promised Land.’ The Zionists have collaborated with the most notorious anti-Semites, from mass murderers like tsarist minister von Plehve, Ukrainian pogromist Petliura and the Nazis, to outright bigots like Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt, on the basis not only of the most cynical *Realpolitik* but of common aims—Jews don’t belong in anyone ‘else’s’ country.”

—“Gore Vidal: Bad Boy of the Bourgeoisie,” *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 40, Summer 1987

Today, the false accusations against Omar come in the context of a growing campaign to isolate and stifle any semblance of international solidarity with the besieged Palestinian people. It is a crusade orchestrated at the highest levels of

the Israeli state, with the support of its U.S. imperialist patrons. Half of all U.S. states have some type of anti-BDS law, and a number of university administrations have restricted BDS activities. Last year, Bahia Amawi, a children’s speech pathologist in Austin, Texas, lost her job because she refused to sign a pledge that she would “not boycott Israel during the term of the contract.”

A sinister organization, Canary Mission, has created a blacklist of thousands of pro-Palestinian students and professors, posting their personal information online and slandering them as supposed “terrorist supporters.” The Israeli state has used that list to detain and deport activists trying to enter Israel. Canary Mission has sent masked thugs to intimidate student meetings where pro-BDS resolutions were put forward, and in at least one case, pressured school administrators into calling the FBI on a student.

We stand for the defense of the Palestinian people against Israeli state terror. We oppose all U.S. aid to Israel, demand the withdrawal of Israeli troops and settlers from the Occupied Territories and call for the right of return for Palestinian refugees and their descendants. While we vigorously defend BDS advocates against victimization and repression, we oppose the liberal strategy of the movement, which looks to employ moral suasion to pressure campus administrations and American corporations to ditch Israel and put their money in presumably more ethical invest-

ments. This scheme is not just utopian but is actually an obstacle to Palestinian liberation. It banks on the “humanitarian” credentials of the imperialist forces that are the historic occupiers and oppressors of the peoples of the Near East.

In contrast to the BDS movement, our starting point is the need for international *working-class solidarity* in defense of the Palestinians. We are for time-delimited labor boycotts—workers refusing to handle Israeli cargo—to protest particular atrocities like the bombing of Gaza. We are also for a standing labor boycott of all military shipments to Israel, which would be a real blow against the Zionist butchers and, even more crucially, the bloody U.S. imperialists. The purpose of these demands is to strengthen the fighting power and class consciousness of workers in the U.S. and elsewhere in solidarity with the exploited and oppressed of the world.

As Marxists, our starting point for addressing the oppression of the Palestinians is the understanding that there are two peoples in Israel/Palestine with legitimate, conflicting claims to the same land. Under capitalism, such situations of interpenetrated peoples mean that the exercise of self-determination—i.e., setting up a national state—can only come about at the expense of the other’s national rights. The possibility of a just, democratic solution for the Palestinian masses, including the right to return to their homeland, requires proletarian revolutions to overthrow capitalist

rule in Israel and the surrounding Arab states. Only in a socialist federation of the Near East would the right to self-determination for Palestinians and Israeli Jews be respected, claims over land and resources equitably resolved, and discrimination on the basis of language, religion and nationality eliminated.

Supporters of BDS reinforce the false view of a monolithic Israeli society, denying the fact that it is a class-divided country. As in any capitalist state, the historic interests of the Israeli working class run counter to those of their Zionist rulers and exploiters. We recognize that breaking Israeli Jewish workers from the grip of nationalism will be no easy task. But there can be no revolutionary perspective in the Near East without the inclusion of the proletariat of Israel. What is necessary is to forge revolutionary Marxist parties throughout the Near East that fight against all forms of nationalism and religious fundamentalism and put forward the perspective of international proletarian revolution.

Many activists committed to Palestinian rights may see Ilhan Omar as a champion of that struggle. But the truth of the matter is that she is a representative of one of the major parties of U.S. imperialism, which has enforced and deepened the oppression of the Palestinians and myriad other peoples across the globe. For revolutionaries in the U.S., solidarity with the oppressed in the neocolonial world must start with opposing our “own” ruling class and fighting to bring down U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution at home. This may seem far-fetched in an age when even purported socialists sneer at the Marxist goal of an egalitarian international communist order and militant class struggle seems a thing of the past. However, if history has demonstrated nothing else, it is that the workings of the capitalist profit system will produce class struggle pitting the proletariat against its bourgeois exploiters. It is through the intervention of Marxists into such struggles that a workers party committed to the fight for working-class rule will be forged.

Fighters for genuine Palestinian liberation need to study the lessons of the Bolshevik Revolution, the greatest victory for the working class and the oppressed to date. Based on those lessons, the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League, fights to cohere a revolutionary workers party as part of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International. Only the conquest of state power by the proletariat on a global scale and the establishment of a rationally planned economy can lay the material basis for a society in which racial oppression and imperialist wars are relics of history. ■

## Chelsea Manning...

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used to criminalize dissent and opposition to U.S. wars but has rarely been applied to non-citizens. ***Hands off Julian Assange! Drop all charges!***

The witchhunt against Assange comes in the context of the anti-Russia hysteria pushed by the Democratic Party ever since the dirty maneuvers of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) during the 2016 election campaign were revealed by WikiLeaks. With U.S. spy agencies claiming that Russian operatives hacked DNC emails, Democrats and their media mouthpieces have branded Assange a Moscow agent. Although the Democrats have sought to place Trump at the center of an alleged Russian conspiracy to throw the election in his favor, his administration has itself continued the vendetta against Assange. Referring to a 2017 WikiLeaks release exposing CIA hacking and cyberwarfare exploits, Vice President Mike Pence vowed to “use the full force of the law and resources of the United States to hold all of those to account that were involved.”

Imperialists always accompany their depredations around the world with gag orders and secret dealings. Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky observed in November 1917: “Imperialism, with its dark plans of conquest and its robber alliances and deals, developed the system of secret diplomacy to the highest level.” The American masters of war, enraged at any light being shed on their machinations, are determined to send the message to potential whistle-blowers that they will incur the most severe punishment. Witness former NSA contractor Edward Snowden, forced to live in exile in Russia as the price for having revealed in 2013 the sweep and scope of U.S. global electronic spying.

By unmasking the bourgeoisie’s lies and intrigues, brave individuals like Manning, Assange, Snowden and others have carried out a service to workers and the oppressed throughout the world. It is in the interests of the working class to defend them and to fight against the attempt to silence opponents of imperialist war and occupations. But leaks and revelations by whistle-blowers will not fundamentally change this rotten system. The manifold discontents engendered by endless war, racial oppression, economic misery and state repression must be directed against the capitalist class enemy, with the social power of the multiracial proletariat mobi-



WikiLeaks

**Among classified material released by Manning and published by WikiLeaks was “Collateral Murder,” a video in which a U.S. helicopter crew member brags as civilians are gunned down in Baghdad in 2007.**

lized on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed. Our aim as Marxists is to build a revolutionary workers party that can lead the working class in sweeping away capitalist class rule and replacing it with

proletarian-socialist rule. Only then will U.S. capitalism’s spying, lying and violence at home and abroad come to an end and the full extent of its bloody crimes and secrets be laid bare to the world. ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Jailed for Refusing to Fink on Julian Assange Free Chelsea Manning!

Former Army intelligence analyst and truth-teller Chelsea Manning has been jailed again by the vindictive U.S. capitalist state. Tortured in prison for seven years by the Obama regime for exposing U.S. imperialist war crimes, Manning was thrown back behind bars on March 8 because she refused to testify before a grand jury in a secretive star-chamber inquiry against Julian Assange and WikiLeaks. Manning declared: “I will not participate in a secret process that I morally object to, particularly one that has been historically used to entrap and persecute activists for protected political speech.” Held in contempt of federal court for her principled stand, Manning was sent to jail, where she could remain for a year or more as the investigation proceeds. **Release Chelsea Manning now!**

In 2010, WikiLeaks published files leaked by Manning that cast a spotlight on the bloody work of U.S. imperialism in Iraq and Afghanistan. The best-known of these is the graphic aerial video, dubbed “Collateral Murder,” which shows a U.S. Apache helicopter gunship massacring at least 12 civilians in Baghdad in 2007 while the Army pilots gloated over the carnage. After releasing the video, WikiLeaks published hundreds of thousands of diplomatic cables and classified documents recording more murder, torture and rape carried out by the imperialists.

**March 5: Chelsea Manning leaving federal courthouse in Alexandria, Virginia. Three days later, she was jailed for contempt after courageously defying grand jury subpoena targeting WikiLeaks.**

Manning was sentenced in 2013 to 35 years, the most severe punishment ever inflicted on any whistle-blower. Torture at a Marine Corps brig in Quantico, Virginia, solitary confinement at the prison barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and the relentless stress of having to fight for treatment while gender transitioning drove her to attempt suicide twice. Obama’s granting clemency for Manning on his way out of the White House in 2017 was a ploy to pose as a defender of transgender rights

and conceal his true “legacy”—one of persecuting whistle-blowers and ramping up drone strikes and mass surveillance.

The cruel persecution of Manning is directly tied to Washington’s vendetta against Assange. The founder of WikiLeaks has been trapped for nearly seven years in the Ecuadorean Embassy in London. British cops posted outside stand ready to seize him for extradition to the U.S., where he faces a potential life sentence for the “crime” of publishing the



Chikwendu/Washington Post

truth about U.S. imperialism. For the past year, the new Ecuadorean regime, under pressure from the U.S., has made his life unbearable, cutting off his internet access for six months and even forcing him to give away his cat. Meanwhile, Assange’s health continues to deteriorate.

In November 2018, a mistaken court filing revealed that U.S. federal prosecutors had secretly filed charges against Assange, most likely multiple counts of espionage. The charges were filed in the Eastern District of Virginia, known as the “Espionage Court,” where no national security defendant has ever been found not guilty.

Obama’s Justice Department, which used the 1917 Espionage Act against leakers and whistle-blowers more times than all prior administrations combined, had for years looked to indict Assange for a criminal offense. The Feds found it problematic to prosecute him for publishing classified documents without also prosecuting the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Guardian* and others, which had also published these documents. Thus, the Justice Department is aiming to frame up Assange as a co-conspirator with Manning in the unauthorized disclosure of national defense secrets. This would give the government a means to prosecute Assange, an Australian citizen, under the Espionage Act, which has repeatedly been

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## Sinister Attack on Citizenship

## Let Hoda Muthana Return to U.S.!

In an ominous attack on citizenship rights, the Trump administration is refusing entry to a U.S. citizen and her 18-month-old son. Hoda Muthana, who went to Syria in 2014 to join the Islamic State (ISIS), and her son are now stateless and stranded in a refugee camp in that country. Born in New Jersey in 1994 to Yemeni parents, Muthana’s American citizenship has been recognized by the government more than once; she was issued a passport in 2005 and again in 2014. In 2016, the Obama administration revoked her passport and argued that she was not a citizen on the bogus grounds that her father was a foreign diplomat when she was born, a claim now picked up by the Trump administration. In fact, her father lost his job as a diplomat two months before her birth. **Hoda Muthana and her child are citizens and must be allowed to come back to the U.S.**

Charles Swift, the Muthana family’s lawyer, rightly asserted, “If they can do this to Hoda, they can do it to anyone.” In fact, the government is frontally assaulting birthright citizenship as codified in the Fourteenth Amendment, which issued

out of the Civil War that destroyed black chattel slavery. Citizenship is the right to have rights. But under the rubric of the “war on terror,” those rights have been steadily shredded by both Democratic and Republican administrations. While Muslims have been particularly targeted, these attacks are a threat to the rights of the whole population, particularly black people, immigrants, leftists and the working class. The accusation of “terrorism” is a tool of government repression that provides the state with a license to suspend democratic rights, criminalize political activity and ultimately to engage in legalized murder.

In 2011, the Obama administration asserted that a U.S. citizen accused of being a terrorist can be summarily executed, launching drone strikes in Yemen that killed American citizens Anwar al-Awlaki and Samir Khan. In 2002, the Bush administration labeled Jose Padilla an “unlawful enemy combatant” and disappeared him in a South Carolina Navy brig for three years with no charges filed against him. As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee argued in a

2003 *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief on behalf of Padilla, the government’s “anti-terror” laws aim at giving “the Executive unchallengeable authority to strip citizenship from Americans who ‘provide material support’ to an organization which at some time may be deemed ‘terrorist’ by the U.S. government.” Tortured and threatened with execution, Padilla was finally charged with “conspiracy” in 2005 and subjected to a show trial that led to a 21-year sentence.

Hoda Muthana is one of 59 Americans estimated to have joined ISIS at a time when it controlled a swath of territory across Syria and Iraq. Now that ISIS is confined to a scrap of land on the Syria-Iraq border, thousands of its supporters have fled to refugee camps. Leaving Muthana and her son stateless and in the camp could be a death sentence. On March 7, the three-week-old baby of Shamima Begum, a British citizen, died after the British government stripped her of her citizenship.

Some calls for Hoda Muthana’s repatriation, like the one from Democratic Senator Doug Jones, have been made on



Prickett/NY Times

**Hoda Muthana with son at detention camp in Syria last month.**

the grounds that this is the only way to prosecute her. All that has been presented as a basis for prosecuting Muthana is her membership in ISIS and tweets in support of its actions. In short, what Muthana has been accused of so far is no more than political advocacy. This would set another dangerous precedent for attacking leftists, anti-racist activists and anyone else the government wants to silence. As communists, we are in sharp opposition to everything that the bloodthirsty ISIS stands for. But the greatest threat to the working people and oppressed of the world is U.S. imperialism and its far more murderous ruling class.

As we have always stressed, what the U.S. capitalist rulers get away with in attacking the civil liberties and democratic rights of the population will largely depend on the level of social and class struggle in this society. It is in the interest of the working class and all opponents of U.S. imperialism to demand that Hoda Muthana and her son be allowed to come home. ■