

South Africa: De Klerk Goes,



de Blois/AP



Reuters

Neo-Apartheid Remains

New constitution approved, De Klerk (above, left) exits "power sharing" government. Meanwhile, police fire rubber bullets at squatters in black township near Johannesburg (left).

Break with Bourgeois-Nationalist ANC—For a Bolshevik Workers Party!

The South African "Government of National Unity" abruptly came to an end on May 9 when F.W. De Klerk resigned as deputy president and his National Party left the cabinet. This ends the formal "power sharing" arrangement, in which the representatives of the former apartheid regime and the former leaders of the black liberation struggle jointly presided over a "post-apartheid" capitalist South Africa. Now the African National Congress (ANC)—the former petty-bourgeois black nationalist movement which has been transformed into a bourgeois ruling party—will alone administer the country on behalf of the Randlords and the Johannesburg stock exchange.

The "new South Africa" is *neo-apartheid*: although the legal structure of rigid racial segregation and white supremacy has been dismantled, the capitalist economy is still based on brutal exploitation of black labor by the white owners of the country's mines, factories and farms. While the ANC has taken over the government ministries, the core of the state apparatus, the officer corps of the army and the top commanders of the police force, is the same as before.

Make no mistake: whether as part of a "power sharing" coalition or on its own, the ANC—backed up by the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)—is a front for racist capitalist rule. In its two years in government,

Nelson Mandela's regime has unleashed the cops to shoot down striking workers and sent eviction squads against squatters. As the needs of capital require, it is prepared to launch frontal attacks on the powerful and combative union movement. It is already carrying out a poisonous campaign against immigrants fleeing the ravages of neocolonialism in southern and central Africa.

What is necessary is a fight to split the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance" which chains the proletariat to its class enemies, and to forge a Bolshevik workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution to liberate all the oppressed. The South African black proletariat has enormous power; it must throw off the yoke of the nationalist popular front and fight for power in its own name. Those who labor must rule!

The National Party pulled out of the cabinet one day after the new South African constitution was signed. The 140-page document drafted by the Constitutional Assembly enshrines a regime of bourgeois parliamentarism and formal political equality, as opposed to the elaborate apartheid code of "separateness," with its infamous pass laws, bantustans and the Group Areas Act. However, a host of "sunset clauses" entrenches white domination in the state apparatus until 1999. And despite elaborate prohibitions of discrimination on the grounds of "race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour,

sexual orientation, age, disability, religion," etc., the whole constitutional structure is to enforce the rule of the white capitalist masters whose fabulous wealth is extracted from the sweat and toil of black labor.

De Klerk's Nats voted for the new charter in the interests of "stability," but in last-minute bitter wrangling they demanded greater protections of "property rights," a supposed "right" of the bosses to lock out workers, and government funding of segregated ("Afrikaans only") schools. The 1.6 million-member COSATU carried out a one-day general strike on April 30, demanding the lock-out clause be removed from the constitution. While the *New York Times* (1 May) declared, "General Strike Fails in South Africa," the stayaway closed down auto in Port Elizabeth, stopped the trains in Johannesburg and shut construction sites. The weakest support for the strike was in mining, reflecting the large number of miners recruited from Mozambique and Lesotho who have few rights and hence little interest in striking over constitutional issues. The April 30 strike was successful in getting the lockout clause dumped from the constitution, but the Labor Relations Act, passed last year, already legalizes that weapon of the bourgeoisie.

The question of "property rights" was one of the most contentious issues. The *Johannesburg Mail and Guardian* (3 May) reports "speculation that Cosatu

and the ANC agreed on a trade-off, according to which the ANC would publicly support the [April 30] strike as long as Cosatu did not challenge it on...the property clause and other unresolved constitutional clauses." Originally, the ANC wanted to sidestep this question, but big business interests demanded limits on the government's ability to nationalize property. So as the National Party, Democratic Party and ultraright Freedom Front dug in their heels, a proviso was inserted that "no one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application."

"Gravy Train" for ANC Tops, Austerity for the Workers

While the township poor are growing increasingly disillusioned over the Mandela government's failure to keep its promises, the ANC tops fully intend to line their own pockets while they're filling the bankers' coffers. In ANC jargon, this is called "black capitalist empowerment." In the townships and the factories they call it "climbing aboard the gravy train." And to the growing anger of the black masses, for the tops of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, entering the government has been their ticket to the "Blue Train" to individual enrichment.

As the ANC concentrates governmental power around Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, a "respectable moderate," other possible contenders for successor to Mandela are being crassly bought off. Pallo Jordan, a reputed ANC left-winger recently ousted from the cabinet, has now been brought back to head the ministry of tourism, where he will broker resort construction and airline megadeals in this boom industry. Reconstruction and Development Programme minister Jay Naidoo, the former COSATU chief, had his ministry abolished, but was re-compensated with the telecommunications ministry, where he will preside over the privatization of Telkom and awarding

continued on page 2



MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

Part 5
The Syndicalists

See Page 6



South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

cellular phone franchises. And last week ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa announced his retirement from parliament to go into private business.

The personal odyssey of Cyril Ramaphosa from Johannesburg human-rights lawyer to mine union leader to government power broker to black capitalist tells a lot about the "new South Africa." From the beginning, Ramaphosa was the protégé of Anglo American mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer, who engineered Ramaphosa's installation as head of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). Ramaphosa will now head "New Africa Investments Limited" (NAIL), which owns *The Sowetan*, South Africa's biggest circulation black newspaper, and is set to pick up another industrial and media group being offered for sale by Anglo American. The London *Financial Times* (16 April) quotes Ramaphosa saying, "The beauty of this is that the unions are coming together with black business to play an important role." For black miners living in fenced-in hostels, separated from their families, daily sub-

jected to strip searches by company police, there is no "beauty" in this arrangement. Hundreds of thousands of anti-apartheid fighters did not face the jails, the guns and "hippo" armored cars of the racist bosses to put a few ANC tops on the "gravy train."

With the "honeymoon" of the Government of National Unity over, the representatives of South African and international capital are targeting the workers movement, as they have done everywhere from the U.S. to West Europe and Latin America. The Randlords are clamoring for a massive cut in the cost of South African labor, which means a full-scale assault on the powerful and combative union movement. During the anti-apartheid struggle, the black unions came to center stage, and their militant fight did much to bring about the replacement of direct white-supremacist rule by the ANC regime. It also won some of the higher wages among "Third World" countries. At the same time, the huge apartheid wage gap between whites and blacks—six to one in manufacturing and even greater in mining—remains.

Now, in the name of the "national interest," and following the dictates of the world capitalist market, the bour-



Reuters
South Africa's main union federation, COSATU, staged one-day national strike April 30, demanding dropping of constitutional clause giving bosses "right" to lock out workers.

geoisie is gearing up to take a *sjambok* to South African labor, which is bound and gagged politically by the ANC/COSATU/SACP alliance that directly subordinates labor to the capitalist state, centrally through the SACP-dominated union bureaucracy. The key task is to break the working class from this nationalist popular front and build a Bolshevik workers party.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party! For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

As we wrote last month in "South Africa: Cracks in the Neo-Apartheid Order" (WV No. 643, 12 April):

"While the ANC may occasionally clash with South Africa's business leaders, this former petty-bourgeois nationalist political movement has become a neocolonial bourgeois party. The Mandela regime—whether or not in coalition with De Klerk's National Party—cannot significantly improve the conditions of the black African, coloured and Indian toilers, much less meet their needs and heightened aspirations."

When Mandela agreed to "power sharing" with De Klerk, a host of reformist leftists called for votes to the ANC and "demanded" that this (now bourgeois) nationalist party break with De Klerk and govern in its own name. A prime example is the Socialist Workers Organisation (SWO), allied with the British social democrat Tony Cliff. In the run-up to last November's local elections, the SWO called to "Vote ANC to Boot De Klerk" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 October 1995). A split-off from the SWO, the International Socialist Movement (ISM) has the same line. The ISM headlined last year, "Dump De Klerk" (*Revolutionary Socialist Worker*, July 1995). Well, now De Klerk is out, but this will not aid the struggle of the black proletariat one whit!

Now the SWO writes, "Constitution: Far Too Many Compromises!" complaining, "The ANC has given too much to the capitalist minority" (*Socialist*

Worker, April 1996). But the ANC is today a capitalist party administering a capitalist state: for Mandela, Mbeki & Co. the capitalist constitution is no "compromise" but the codification of the class rule they represent.

The struggle against popular-frontism must go hand in hand with forging a revolutionary workers party fighting for the cause of all the exploited and the oppressed, from the homeless in the squatter camps, to triply oppressed black women workers, to "illegal" immigrants fleeing the devastation of a continent racked by neocolonial wars. South Africa exemplifies the burning urgency of Trotsky's program of *permanent revolution*—in the imperialist epoch, even the most basic struggles for national liberation, democratic rights, land, education, housing, social and economic modernization can only be won through proletarian revolution, and a determined fight by communist internationalists to take that battle to the imperialist centers. As we wrote last month:

"What is needed is a *Bolshevik workers party* capable of leading the workers movement in a socialist revolution in South Africa and extending the revolution internationally, which alone offers a progressive solution to all of the national and democratic tasks. Given the country's massive and stark inequalities, so long as the struggle over the redistribution of the country's wealth is defined in national-ethnic terms and limited to a purely South African framework, it could well trigger race war, bloody tribalist conflict and economic collapse. The fight for a black-centered workers government would necessarily transcend the potentially fratricidal conflicts between different ethnic groups, holding out the prospect of decent jobs, education and housing for all working people—black, coloured, Indian and white—on the basis of socialist planning. Only a *proletarian internationalist* perspective, linking the reconstruction of southern Africa to a world socialist revolution, can ensure that a just and egalitarian society will be erected on the ruins of the neo-apartheid state." ■



TROTSKY

The IWW and the Fight for a Revolutionary Workers Party

Anarcho-syndicalism has gained increasing attention among radicalizing youth in West Europe in recent years. In the U.S. in the early part of this century, revolutionary syndicalism was represented by the Industrial Workers of the World, which called for "One Big Union" that would serve as the instrument to seize the means of production from the capitalist class. This confuses the role of the unions, which seek to embrace

the mass of the workers, and a programmatically based revolutionary party. As former "Wobbly" and later Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote in a 1955 essay, the IWW's conception was transcended by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which demonstrated that what the working class needs to overthrow capitalism is a Leninist vanguard party.

The founders of the IWW regarded the organization of industrial unions as a means to an end; and the end they had in view was the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by a new social order. This, the heart and soul of their program, still awaits its vindication in the revolution of the American workers. And the revolution, when it arrives, will not neglect to acknowledge its anticipation at the Founding Convention of the IWW. For nothing less than the revolutionary goal of the workers' struggle was openly proclaimed there 50 years ago....

As an organization of revolutionists, united not simply by the immediate economic interests which bind all workers together in a union, but by doctrine and program, the IWW was in practice, if not in theory, far ahead of other experiments along this line in its time, even though the IWW called itself a union and others called themselves parties.

That was the IWW's greatest contribution to the American labor movement—in the present stage of its development and in those to come. Its unfading claim to grateful remembrance will rest in the last analysis on the pioneering role it played as the first great anticipation of the revolutionary party which the vanguard of the American workers will fashion to organize and lead their emancipating revolution.

This conception of an organization of revolutionists has to be completed and rounded out, and recognized as the most essential, the most powerful of all designs in the epoch of imperialist decline and decay, which can be brought to an end only by a victorious workers' revolution. The American revolution, more than any other, will require a separate, special organization of the revolutionary vanguard. And it must call itself by its right name, a party.

—James P. Cannon, "The IWW: The Great Anticipation,"
The First Ten Years of American Communism (1962)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Carla Wilson

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Shauna Blythe

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Spartacist Publishing Company has 3rd class privileges, imprint #4167.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is May 21.

No. 646

24 May 1996

Update: Geronimo Case Sent Back to Superior Court

The Los Angeles district attorney received a setback in his attempts to derail the fight by Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) to overturn his frame-up conviction for a murder everyone knows he did not commit. On May 15, the California Supreme Court reversed an earlier order by L.A. Superior Court judge Michael Cowell which had endorsed D.A. Gil Garcetti's claim that Geronimo's *habeas corpus* petition had to be filed in the state Supreme Court. In his decision, Cowell had ignored strenuous objections from Geronimo's legal team.

A former leader of the Black Panther Party and unbowed fighter against black oppression, Geronimo has been fighting to expose the now notorious frame-up by the FBI, the LAPD and D.A. Geronimo has been behind bars for more than a quarter of a century—one year short of the 27 years the South African apartheid state kept Nelson Mandela imprisoned. Geronimo is a living condemnation of the American capitalist state and the racist "justice" of its courts. The international working class must demand: Freedom for Geronimo now!

Wobblies Knew: A SCAB IS A SCAB IS A SCAB

Lessons from the History of the Class Struggle

A clear example of the degeneration of the American labor movement under the pro-capitalist "leadership" of the AFL-CIO is the betrayal of the basic trade-union principle of respecting picket lines. This was amply demonstrated in the strike last winter by SEIU Local 32B-32J building workers against the New York City real estate barons. While many individual unionists and even non-union truck drivers refused to cross the picket lines of this largely black and immigrant workforce, the city's labor officialdom betrayed the building workers by ordering their members to cross the lines.

But it wasn't only the trade-union bureaucrats who knifed the strikers in the back. A host of self-described "socialist" groups, like the International Socialist Organization and the "Bolshevik Tendency" (BT), blithely and regularly waltzed across the picket lines. The BT actually went the labor tops one better by *publicly defending* crossing the lines. In a letter to *WV* (No. 641, 15 March), one BTer tried to alibi his scabbing by arguing that "neither I nor any of my fellow union members did the work normally performed by strikers—the defining activity of a scab in the eyes of any trade unionist, or, for that matter, anyone else outside the Spartacist League."

This is the classic excuse of craft union bureaucrats for scabbing on another union's strike. Almost 90 years ago, an article in a publication of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) blew to bits the pseudo-socialists' shameless rationale for scabbing. A revolutionary syndicalist organization, the IWW fought to build industrial unions, transcending the narrow craft divisions of the AFL, which stood in the way of organizing mass production industries. In doing so, the "Wobblies" dealt head-on with the treachery of "union" scabs.

Union Scabs

by Oscar Ameringer (1870-1943)

There are three kinds of scabs: the professional, the amateur and the union scab.

The professional scab is usually a high-paid, high-skilled worker in the employ of strikebreaking and detective agencies. His position is that of a petty officer's in the regular scab army.

The amateur scab brigade is composed

of bums, riff-raff, slum dwellers, rubes, tramps, imbeciles, college students and other undesirable citizens.

The last, and by far the most important class is the union scab.

Professional scabs are few and efficient. Amateur scabs are plentiful and deficient, and union scabs both numerous and capable.

The professional scab knows what he is doing, does it well and for the sake of the long green only.

scabs are coaxed, persuaded, or bullied away from the seat of the strike. Persuasion having no effect on the professional strikebreaker, he is sometimes treated with a brickbat shower. Shut down that plant, shut it down completely, is the watchword of the striker.

Now while all these things are going on and men are stopped in ones and twos, a steady stream of dinner pail parades pours through the factory gate. Why are they not molested? Oh! they're union

the Portable Firemen, the F.O.O.L., the A.S.S.E.S. Societies have nothing to do with the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers.

At the next regular meeting of those societies, ringing resolutions endorsing the strike of the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers will be passed. Moral support is pledged and five dollars' worth of tickets are purchased for the dance given by the Ladies' Volunteer and Auxiliary Chorus for the Benefit of the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers.

The whole thing is like beating a man's brains out and then handing him a headache tablet.

During a very bitterly fought molders' strike in a northern city the writer noticed one of the prettiest illustrations of the workings of plain scabbing and union scabbing.

A dense mass of strikers and sympathizers had assembled in front of the factory awaiting the exit of the strikebreakers. Out they came, scabs and unionists in one dark mass. Stones, rotten eggs and other missiles began to fly, when one of the strikebreakers leaped on a store box and shouted frantically: "Stop it, stop it, for C-----'s sake, stop it; you are hitting more unionists than scabs; you can't tell the difference."

That's it. Wherever scabs and union men work harmoniously in the strike-breaking industry all hell can't tell the difference.

To the murky conception of a union scab, scabbing is only wrong when practiced by a non-union man. To him the union card is a kind of scab permit that guarantees him immunity from insults, brickbats and rotten eggs.

After having instructed a green bunch of amateur scabs in the art of brimstone and emery polishing all day, he meets a striking brother in the evening and forthwith demonstrates his unionism by setting up the drinks for the latter.

Union scabbing is the legitimate offspring of craft organization. It is begotten by ignorance, born of imbecility and nourished by infamy.

My dear brother, I am sorry to be under contract to hang you, but I know it will please you to hear that the scaffold is built by union carpenters, the rope bears the label, and here is my card.

This is union scabbing.

—*Industrial Union Bulletin*,
14 March 1908



The Rebel Girl

The historic 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts textile strike, led by IWW. Above, strikers responded to brutal police attacks with mass pickets.

The amateur scab, posing as a free-born American citizen, who scorns to be fettered by union rules and regulations, gets much glory (?), little pay and when the strike is over he is given an honorable discharge in the region where Darwin searched for the missing link.

The union scab receives less pay than the professional scab, works better than the amateur scab and don't know that he is a scab.

He will take a pattern from a scab pattern-maker, cast it in a union mold, hand the casting to as lousy a scab as ever walked in shoe leather, and then proudly produce a paid-up union card in testimony of his unionism. Way down in his heart he seems to have a lurking suspicion that there is something not altogether right in his action, and it is characteristic of the union man who cooperates with scabs that he is ever ready to flash a union card in the face of innocent bystanders.

He don't know that the rose under any other name is just as fragrant; he don't know that calling a cat a canary won't make the feline warble, and he don't know that helping to run the shop while other workers bend all their energies in the opposite direction is scabbing. He relies on the name and seeks refuge behind a little pasteboard card.

When a strike is declared it becomes the chief duty of the organization to effect a complete shutdown of the plant. For that purpose warnings are mailed, or wired, to other places, to prevent working men from moving to the afflicted city.

Pickets are stationed around the plant or factory, or harbor, to stop workers from taking the places of the strikers. Amateur

men, belonging to a different craft than the one on strike. Instead of brickbats and insults it's "Hello, John; hello, Jim; howdy, Jack," and other expressions of goodfellowship.

You see, this is a carriage factory, and it's only the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers that are striking, the Brotherhood of Oil Rag Wipers, the Fraternal Society of White Lead Daubers, the Undivided Sons of Varnish Spreaders, the Benevolent Copilation of Wood Work Gluers, the Iron Benders' Sick and Death Benefit Union, the Oakdale Lodge of Coal Shovelers, the Martha Washington Lodge of Ash Wheelers, the Amalgamated Brotherhood of Oilers, the Engineers' Protective Lodge, the Stationary Firemen,

Spartacist Events

EUGENE

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Saturday, June 1, 4 p.m.: *The Fight for a Revolutionary Party*; University of Oregon, Chapman Hall, Room 202
For more information: (510) 839-0851

SAN FRANCISCO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Thursdays, 6:30 p.m. First class, June 6: *The Origins of Marxism and the Marxist Program*; New College, Room 2, 777 Valencia Street (between 18th & 19th Streets)
For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

VANCOUVER

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Thursday, June 6, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Poisons Class Struggle: For Quebec Independence!*
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information and readings: (604) 687-0353

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- \$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*, *Women and Revolution* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*) international rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail
- \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

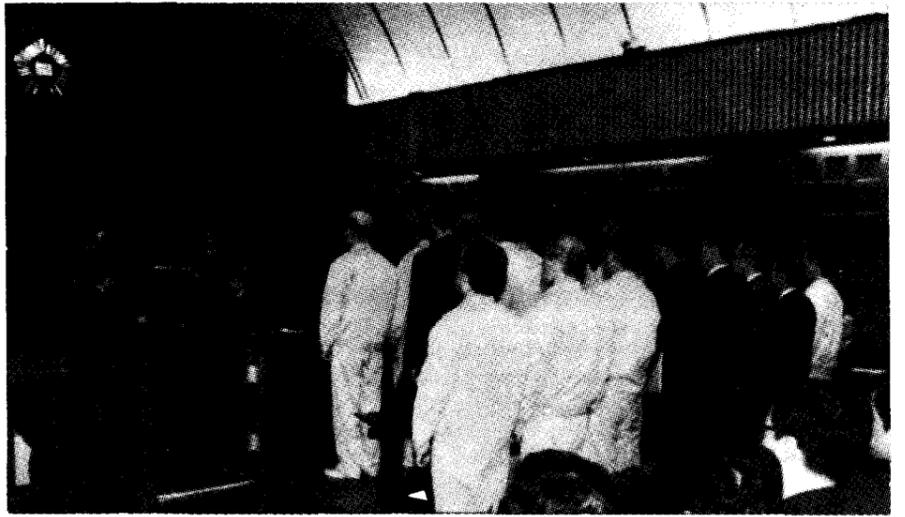
Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

The Bloody Suppression of the 1980 Kwangju Uprising



South Korean army massacred 2,000 during crushing of May 1980 rebellion in Kwangju. Right, former presidents and generals Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo are on trial for this slaughter and 1979 military coup.

South Korea: Regime Puts Coup Generals on Trial

For months, the attention of the South Korean population has been riveted on an unprecedented trial of two former generals and presidents, Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo. Sixteen years after they ordered a bloody massacre in the city of Kwangju, Chun, Roh and 14 other defendants are being tried in Seoul for corruption, mutiny and treason for seizing power in a December 1979 coup, and for their role in the May 1980 Kwangju massacre. When the trial began in March, hundreds of protesters crowded outside the courthouse to jeer and throw eggs at the hated former military rulers. "We've waited for 16 years, and our suf-

fering has never stopped. We've come here to rip them to pieces," exclaimed one woman, the mother of a student protester killed in Kwangju.



May 1980: Insurgents patrol the streets of Kwangju after seizing weapons and military vehicles. Popular revolt drove out the army and held the city for over a week.

fering has never stopped. We've come here to rip them to pieces," exclaimed one woman, the mother of a student protester killed in Kwangju.

On 18 May 1980, student protests against the imposition of martial law the previous night gave vent to pent-up anger over years of brutal U.S.-backed military dictatorship, triggering a full-scale popular revolt which drove the army out of Kwangju. Nine days later, assured of the support of their U.S. imperialist overlords, the South Korean army bloodily suppressed the uprising, labeling it a "communist revolution" orchestrated by "impure elements" and North Korean agents. Ever since, particularly during the bitter struggles of the 1980s against the military dictatorship, radical students

and working-class activists have looked to the Kwangju uprising as a symbol of resistance. At the same time, as an article in *CovertAction* (Spring 1996) notes, "For many Koreans, the massacre is also a symbol of all that was and continues to be wrong with the nation's close relationship to the United States." Now, in the aftermath of the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, and with the North Korean deformed workers state ever more isolated and brittle, the South Korean bourgeoisie is trying to spruce up its "democratic" credentials. The trial of Chun and Roh is intended to serve a similar purpose to

the "Truth Commissions" which have become a commonplace in countries from South Africa to Argentina and El Salvador, where U.S.-backed right-wing dictatorships have been replaced by supposedly "democratic" governments. A few particularly repugnant figures may be sacrificed in order to amnesty the criminal rule of the whole capitalist class.

The backdrop to the current trial is a military garrison state riven by explosive class struggles and student protests against the regime and the nearly 40,000 U.S. occupation troops which have been stationed in the country since the 1950-53 Korean War. As a wave of demonstrations broke out in the lead-up to parliamentary elections this April, Kwangju police threatened to "strongly confront" the stu-

dent protesters. Earlier this month, police arrested 45 union activists in an attempt to suppress a militant textile strike in the southern industrial city of Kumi.

It was only as the result of a massive strike wave in 1987-88 that the military dictatorship, then headed by Chun, was forced to grant direct presidential elections, placing Roh in power. At the same time, the rise of an independent labor movement, breaking the stranglehold of the "AFL-CIA"-advised and government-sponsored corporatist trade-union federation, ushered in a period of enormous working-class combativity, marked by recurrent strikes and

tions. Until recently, Kim opposed any investigation or trial of the former military rulers, urging "let us forgive" and insisting that "history [will] determine the full truth if there are still doubts about it" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 27 May 1993). Only when corruption charges against Roh threatened to engulf Kim himself did the president finally become, late last year, an advocate of "righting the wrongs of history." Former "dissident" Sohn Hak Kyu, now an NKP parliamentarian, asserts: "We need a new history. This means not only defining Kwangju as a democratic movement, but also punishing those who suppressed it" (*Guardian* [London], 20 January).

The Kwangju uprising should be remembered as part of a history of struggle running back to the resistance to Japanese colonial rule and the struggle for national independence at the end of World War II. The postwar partition of the country was one of the first acts of the Cold War. When Kim Il Sung's forces attacked the Southern puppet army, this led directly to the counter-revolutionary onslaught by U.S.-led United Nations forces against North Korean and later Chinese troops backed by the Soviet Union. A Korean Trotskyist party, committed to military defense of North Korea, will avenge the Kwangju massacre through socialist revolution against the South Korean *chaebol* (monopoly) capitalists—linking this to proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist regime in Pyongyang—and the revolutionary reunification of the peninsula.

Front Line in the Cold War

The division of Korea along the 38th parallel was demanded by the United States in the face of the Soviet advance into Korea in the last days of World War II. As an independence movement dominated by Communists and radical nationalists erupted throughout Korea, the U.S. ordered Japan not to surrender to "unauthorized local armed Resistance groups." U.S. occupation authorities armed Japanese troops to liquidate the "people's committees." After the Moscow conference in late 1945, where Stalin effectively acquiesced to U.S. plans for South Korea, repression was stepped up in the American occupation area.

Syngman Rhee (Yi Seung Man), who had spent years in exile in the United States and was the solitary nationalist leader willing to serve as a U.S. puppet,

Kwangju Massacre: Washington Gave the Green Light

The South Korean generals who drowned in blood the popular uprising of May 1980 in Kwangju acted with the full support and active collusion of their imperialist masters in Washington. This is proven by some 2,000 formerly secret documents which were obtained from the State Department and the Pentagon by journalist Tim Shorrock under the Freedom of Information Act. His report, published in the *Journal of Commerce* (27 February), sparked a wave of protest demonstrations in Kwangju and elsewhere in South Korea.

A study of a large portion of the recently released U.S. documents by *Workers Vanguard* shows even greater levels of American complicity in the Kwangju bloodbath than had been reported. U.S. officials warned ominously of a takeover by "unidentified armed radicals who are talking of setting up a revolutionary government." To prevent this, Washington was prepared to do anything. Notably, the massacre by South Korea's "free world" dictatorship was sanctioned by Democratic president Jimmy Carter, whose "human rights" campaign was aimed at whipping up Cold War II against the Soviet Union.

The documents show that the U.S. government approved plans by the South Korean regime to send the army against the citizens of Kwangju and was fully conscious that this would result in a bloodbath. The American forces commander in South Korea released operational control over several of the key

Democratic president Jimmy Carter, here with Defense Secretary Brown and National Security Adviser Brzezinski, approved military crushing of 1980 Kwangju uprising.



Korean (ROK) army units from his command which were sent to occupy Kwangju. The documents also show that top U.S. officials were prepared to intervene militarily with U.S. troops if their South Korean puppets were unable to bring the situation under control.

The documents clearly expose the lies of successive U.S. administrations, who have for years denied U.S. responsibility in the Kwangju massacre. Washington's official history of the Kwangju events is a White Paper produced by the Republican Bush administration for a 1989 South Korean parliamentary investigation. This State Department document claimed that U.S. officials were "alarmed" at reports that South Korean troops were to be used against protesters. In reality, while gently lecturing its South

Korean henchmen on the need for "liberalization," the Carter administration repeatedly assured them of Washington's full backing if they unleashed military repression.

Thus U.S. ambassador William Gleysteen, in preparation for a meeting with South Korean president Chun Doo Hwan, cabled the State Department on 7 May 1980: "In none of our discussions will we in any way suggest" that Washington "opposes" the South Korean regime's "contingency plans to maintain law and order, if absolutely necessary, by reinforcing the police with the army." Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher (now Clinton's Secretary of State) cabled back that officials in Washington "agree that we should not oppose" South Korean "plans to maintain law and order." And

a 21 May 1980 cable from Gleysteen crisply predicts: "Military will probably restore order using considerable force."

The 1989 State Department White Paper claims that the U.S. did not have "prior knowledge" that the brutal South Korean Special Forces were being sent to Kwangju. We have emphasized before the U.S. role in the Kwangju massacre, noting that "The Special Forces troops which carried out the massacre were released from duty along the Demilitarized Zone with North Korea and replaced by U.S. troops" (WV No. 431, 26 June 1987). However, the recently released documents make U.S. knowledge of the use of the notorious "Black Berets" even more abundantly clear.

Early in May 1980, Ambassador Gleysteen reported that two brigades of Korean Special Forces were being sent to Seoul to be used against student demonstrations. A further cable on May 8 from U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency operatives reported that the Korean Special Forces were "probably targeted against unrest" in Kwangju and noted they could be counted on to "break heads." Confronted with proof of their blatant lies, State Department officials have stonewalled, cynically declaring to the *Journal of Commerce*: "When all the dust settles, Koreans killed Koreans, and the Americans didn't know what was going on."

"Didn't know"? On 22 May 1980, just days before the massacre, Gleysteen

continued on page 10

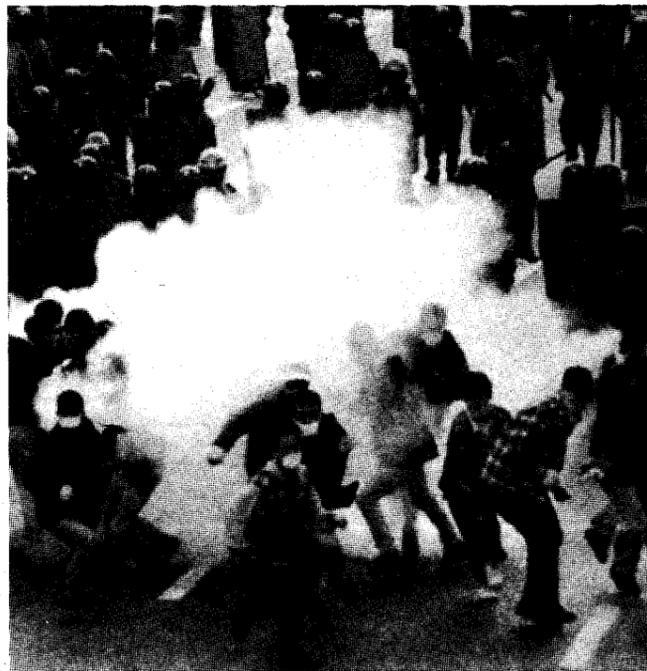
was installed in power. The same police who had rounded up and enslaved Korean women to serve as "comfort women" in imperial Japanese army brothels—and who later ran prostitution rackets that seized young women from refugee columns during the Korean War—were now recruited to wipe out any popular resistance to the American occupiers and their puppet regime. Likewise, the head of the South Korean army when the Korean War broke out had served in a special Japanese anti-guerrilla force, akin to the Nazis' Waffen-SS, which hunted down Kim Il Sung's Korean Communist guerrillas in Manchuria. Park Chung Hee (Pak Chung Hee), the military dictator who replaced Rhee in 1961, also saw active service with the Japanese army in China.

As Jon Halliday and Bruce Cumings write in *Korea: The Unknown War* (Pantheon, 1988), "the occupation spent much of its first year dismantling the [people's] committees in the South, which culminated in a major rebellion in October 1946 that spread over several provinces." In addition, the occupation authorities suppressed peasant seizures of formerly Japanese-owned land (which was then handed over to new profiteer landlords) and imposed exploitative restrictions on the sale of rice. The correspondent of the *Chicago Sun* reported on the main uprising in the southeastern city of Taegu:

"The railroad workers went on strike, followed by the phone, metal, textile and electric workers. As each strike was suppressed by the police, another one took its place. Students went into the streets to demonstrate...."

"From the city, the revolution spread into the country side and was taken over by the sharecroppers. The farmers refused to surrender their rice to the police. They attacked the homes of the landlords, and then the police stations. They tore off jail doors to release arrested sharecroppers, they burned the records, and they stole the weapons."

"Arrayed against the revolution were the police, the rightist organizations and the American Army. In one town after



AP

another, right-wing leaders offered their aid to our local commanders, or actively participated in the mass roundups of suspects. As for us, we did more than just transport the Korean police to the trouble areas, or supply arms, or maintain preventive patrols. Our troops—come here as liberators—had fired on crowds, conducted mass arrests, combed hills for suspects, and organized posses of Korean rightists, constabulary and police for mass raids."

—Mark Gayn, *Japan Diary*, quoted in Jon Halliday, "The Korean Revolution," *Socialist Revolution* (November-December 1970)

Two years later, mass unrest broke out again. Even before the Korean War began in June 1950, more than 100,000 people had been killed in the South.

Though organized resistance had in large part been suppressed in the South by 1950, sporadic guerrilla struggle continued in many areas during the war. Tens of thousands of people were killed in



Kyunggang Shinmum

Turmoil in today's South Korea. Left: Police attack student demonstrators in Seoul in March. Above: Mass rally of illegal Korean Confederation of Trade Unions.

Seoul after Rhee's troops reoccupied it in September 1950. Contrary to anti-communists like Tony Cliff's "state capitalist" Socialist Workers Party in Britain (represented by the International Socialist Organization in the U.S. and the International Socialists in South Korea), the origins and development of the Korean War graphically demonstrate the intimate connection between the defense of the deformed workers states and revolutionary struggle against imperialism and capitalism. While the Trotskyists called for unconditional military defense of North Korea, China and the Soviet Union, Cliff capitulated to imperialist Cold War pressure, breaking from the Fourth International in 1950 through his refusal to take a side in the Korean War.

Kwangju: "Let's Rise Up! Let's Fight!"

Traumatized by the horrors of the Korean War, in which some two million

people were killed by the U.S.-led forces, the South Korean population was then subjected to a brutally authoritarian police state. South Korea's vaunted "economic miracle" of recent decades was the result of vicious exploitation imposed through naked terror. This created a large—and combative—urban proletariat in what had been a largely agricultural area. By the end of the 1970s, three-fourths of the South's 8.8 million non-agricultural workers were under the age of 29, and 44 percent of Korean women worked outside the home. A sit-in by 250 women textile workers at the Seoul office of the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) in August 1979 marked the beginning of a new wave of struggles. A thousand riot police were sent to break up the sit-in and one woman was killed. This, in turn, provoked student demonstrations and mass protests in the industrial cities of Pusan and

continued on page 10

Young Spartacus

Parts One through Three of this series (published in Workers Vanguard Nos. 640, 641 and 642) dealt with the origins of anarchism and its leading figures such as Proudhon and Bakunin, up through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Part Four (WV No. 643) covered the views of Kropotkin, and also discussed anarcho-terrorism in the late 19th century.

The early years of this century saw the rise of syndicalism, especially in Latin Europe. The Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor—CGT) became the dominant workers organization in France. The Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor—CNT), formed by anarcho-syndicalists in Barcelona in 1911, soon became the strongest trade-union formation in Spain and was hegemonic in Catalonia, the country's most industrialized region. The Unione Sindacale Italiana was a sizable formation occupying a position to the

by Joseph Seymour

left of the main Italian trade-union federation, which was led by reformist socialists. In the United States, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was a major factor on the American left in the decade before World War I.

The rise of syndicalism in this period was in part a reaction to the parliamentary reformism prevalent among the parties of the Second (Socialist) International, and partly (especially in France) it developed and was defined against the anarchist propagandism best represented in this period by Peter Kropotkin. Addressing an international anarchist congress in Amsterdam in 1907, the prominent French syndicalist Pierre Monatte explained that a decade before, "a number of anarchists, realizing at last that philosophy is not enough to make a revolution, entered into a working-class movement" (in George Woodcock, ed., *The Anarchist Reader* [1977]).

The original Bakuninist movement of the early 1870s envisioned an imminent Europe-wide revolution which would usher in a new liberated world without classes and without states. However, by the mid-1880s no serious and intelligent leftist in Europe considered social revolution to be a near-term prospect anywhere on the continent. Anarchist militants therefore asked themselves: what is the main obstacle to social revolution and how could this be overcome? They arrived at two basically different answers (leaving aside the anarcho-terrorist fringe).

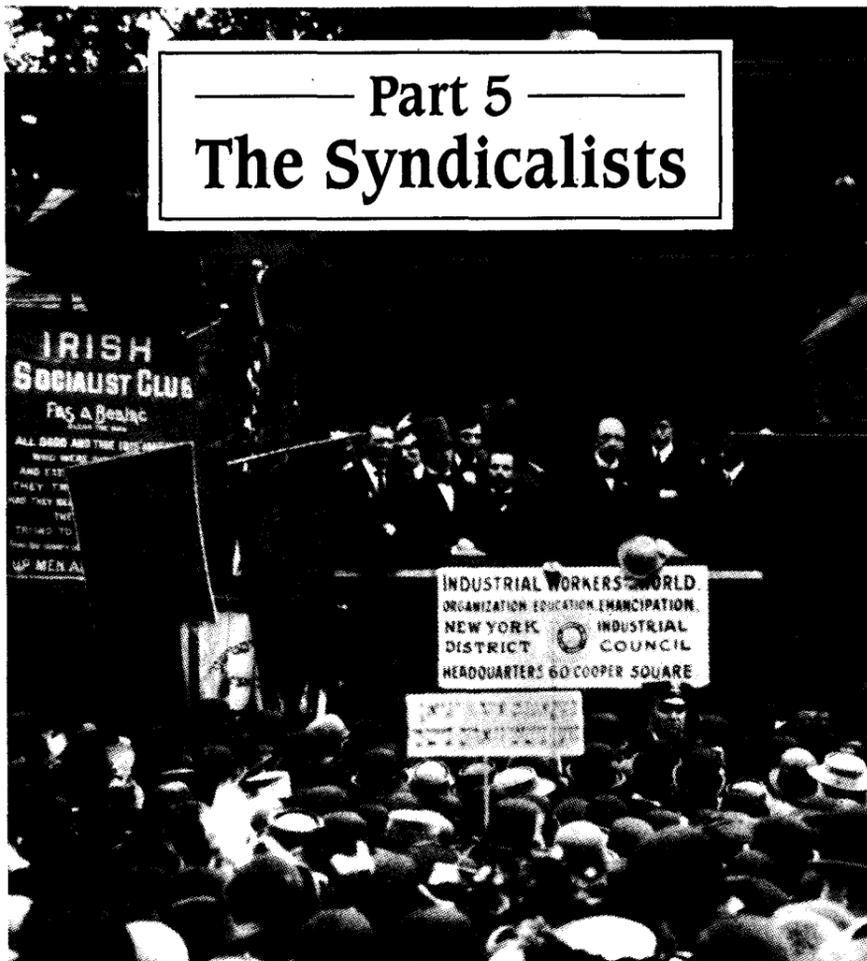
Kropotkin, Errico Malatesta, Elisée Reclus and their cothinkers maintained that the masses did not understand and so did not support the principles and program of anarchism. They therefore devoted themselves to expounding and defending anarchist doctrine in books and pamphlets, speeches and meetings of small propaganda groups. The theorists of syndicalism—Fernand Pelloutier, Emile Pouget, Monatte and others—argued that the main obstacle to social revolution lay in the organizational weakness of the anarchist movement and the disorganization of the working class in general. They therefore devoted themselves to organizing and striving for leadership of a mass trade-union movement.

The strength of syndicalism lay in its understanding that the organized industrial working class was the central agency for overthrowing the capitalist system. As the leaders of the American IWW

MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM

From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution

Part 5 The Syndicalists



Library of Congress
Mass meeting in New York City of the Industrial Workers of the World. Revolutionary syndicalists of the IWW wrote a heroic chapter in the history of the American labor movement.

stated bluntly: "anarchism denies the class struggle, while the I.W.W. teaches it." Many syndicalist militants—Monatte and Alfred Rosmer in France, Andrés Nin and Joaquín Maurín in Spain, James P. Cannon and William Z. Foster in the U.S.—would become leading figures in the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. In this sense, pre-1914 syndicalism occupied an intermediate position between classic anarchism and contemporary communism.

The main weakness of syndicalism lay in its tendency to place the organization of the working class above its political consciousness. The fact that a trade union has an avowedly revolutionary leadership and formal program is not in itself sufficient to make it a revolutionary organization in practice. The revolutionary syndicalists, in order to maintain their positions as official union leaders, were under constant pressure to adapt their policies to the backward prejudices of the ranks, above all national chauvinism. Thus with the outbreak of World War I,

the central leadership of the French CGT around Léon Jouhaux helped mobilize the working class on behalf of the French imperialist state. Jouhaux ended his career as a front man for the American CIA in building an anti-Communist union movement in France after World War II. In this sense, pre-1914 syndicalism occupied an intermediate position between classic anarchism and contemporary trade-union reformism.

Pre-1914 Syndicalism: The French CGT

There were a number of factors—economic, political and ideological—which underlay the rise of syndicalism in the French workers movement in this period. The relatively slow pace of industrialization in France perpetuated many small workshops, especially in the luxury trades such as silk, lace, china and jewelry. In part due to this, the French union movement developed on a geographical basis rather than along industrial or craft lines. A key institution was the local

Bourse du Travail which combined the roles of a labor exchange (the literal meaning of the term), a workers' social and cultural club and, later, a centralized union body. Most major strikes were city-wide, involving the entire working-class community. Hence French anarchists like Pouget could easily transform the old Bakuninist program of a society based on autonomous communes into one based on autonomous local unions representing the working-class community.

At the political level, French syndicalism was conditioned by the multiplicity of socialist parties in that country. During the last quarter of the 19th century unitary, mass social-democratic parties claiming to represent the entire working class developed in Belgium, Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Scandinavian countries. It was therefore natural for the union movement in these countries to be closely affiliated with these parties. In France, however, during the 1890s there were half a dozen sizable socialist parties competing with one another and constantly splitting and combining.

Any effective trade union (*syndicat*) therefore had to embrace not only workers but also organizers and officials adhering to different political tendencies. When the CGT was formed in 1895, its leadership included prominent anarchists like Pouget, avowedly reformist socialists (Possibilists) and old-style Jacobin communists (Blanquists). The independence of the unions from political parties was initially an empirical adaptation to peculiar French conditions and only subsequently was enshrined in syndicalist doctrine. In other words, the *syndicats* came before syndicalism.

The founding father of French syndicalism is generally considered to be Fernand Pelloutier. Born into a well-to-do family, Pelloutier was a university-educated intellectual who rapidly progressed from bourgeois radicalism to reformist socialism to the official Marxist Parti Ouvrier Français (French Workers Party) of Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue (Marx's son-in-law). But he soon became disillusioned with parliamentary maneuvering and the factionalism between the Parti Ouvrier and its rivals. Pelloutier then turned to the local *Bourses du Travail* and organized these into a national federation, which by the turn of the century had become the largest labor organization in France. After Pelloutier died of tuberculosis in 1901 at the age of 33, his memory was revered by many French workers.

Pelloutier aimed to free the French workers movement from both "the parliamentary doctors, who have taught that any social transformation is subordinated to the conquest of political power," and "the revolutionary doctors, who have taught that no socialist effort is possible before the redeeming cataclysm" (Fernand Pelloutier, *Histoire des bourses du travail* [1901]). The "revolutionary doctors" gibe was mainly directed at the Blanquists, the leading advocates of "to the barricades" insurrectionism who, even more so than the Marxists, were popularly identified with the Paris Commune of 1871. Pelloutier and his fellow syndicalists were offering the French workers a path to socialist transformation supposedly avoiding the risk of another "bloody week" of May 1871, when the army massacred 20,000 people in crushing the "Red Commune."

But if a social revolution could not be brought about through parliamentary means and insurrection was supposedly ruled out, what was left? The revolutionary syndicalists answered: the general strike. The leading intellectual exponent

of French syndicalism, Georges Sorel, in his famous 1908 *Reflections on Violence*, wrote of the general strike as embodying "the war undertaken by socialism against modern society. The syndicalists solve this problem perfectly, by concentrating the whole of socialism in the drama of the general strike...." The CGT's 1906 Charter of Amiens declared that the organization "prepares for the complete emancipation which can be achieved only by expropriating the capitalist class. It endorses the general strike as a means of action to that end" (reproduced in Val R. Lorwin, *The French Labor Movement* [1966]).

While socialists, both Marxist and non-Marxist, have propagated and led political and economic general strikes, the syndicalists identified the general strike with the revolution, posing it as an alternative to insurrection. The syndicalists argued that a strike in one city or industry could be broken by government repression with striking workers replaced by scabs protected by the police or, in some cases, by soldiers. But how could the army run all the major railway lines, unload vital imports from the docks, distribute food to thousands of shops in the major cities and towns, etc.? If all workers walked out at the same time, it was maintained, the economy would collapse and the bourgeoisie would be rendered powerless.

But, one might argue, what if the government threatened to arrest or even shoot down the striking workers? A decade earlier Engels had pointed out in a letter (3 November 1893) to Karl Kautsky, "the political strike must either prove victorious immediately by the threat alone (as in Belgium, where the army was very shaky), or it must end in a colossal fiasco, or, finally, directly lead to the barricades" (emphasis in original). Engels' view of the dynamics of a revolution was borne out by the Russian Revolution of 1905, which began with a series of mass strikes. It soon became apparent that only an insurrection could overthrow the tsarist autocracy. As V.I. Lenin wrote, "Over the heads of the organisations, the mass proletarian struggle developed from a strike to an uprising. This is the greatest historic gain the Russian revolution achieved in December 1905" ("Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," August 1906).

Although the suppression of the Paris Commune was well within living memory, the CGT syndicalists implicitly assumed that the French bourgeoisie had become "too civilized" to again resort to mass terror against the working class in defense of its property. For all the denunciations of parliamentarism, syndicalist doctrine in its own way rested on illusions in bourgeois democracy.

Furthermore, a precondition for a revolutionary general strike was the organization of the large majority of workers into the syndicalist-led union movement. Syndicalist strategy therefore implied the social revolution was a relatively long-term prospect. Pelloutier's basic



Musée Social
French syndicalist workers meet in 1909 under the banner of *La Vie Ouvrière* (Workers Life), edited by Pierre Monatte (above). Monatte later became a leading figure in early French Communist Party and Third International.



CFF Archive

message was that the workers had to "pursue more actively, more methodically, and more persistently the work of moral, administrative and technical education necessary to make viable a society of free men." When this was written in 1901, only 10 percent of French workers were in any kind of trade-union formation. A decade later only one in six industrial workers were unionized and one in ten were in the CGT. Even at the

public authorities, not by trying to get favorably minded deputies into parliament. If the improvement sought must be wrested directly from the capitalist...their means are varied, although always following the principle of direct action. Depending on the situation, they use the strike, sabotage, the boycott, the union label."

Here it should be emphasized that "direct action" was basically regarded and motivated as a more effective means

doctrine, with the CGT's 1908 congress in Marseille adopting the following resolution:

"The Congress repeats the formula of the [First] International: 'The workingmen have no fatherland;' and adds: 'That whereas, consequently, every war is but an outrage against the workingmen; that it is a bloody and terrible means of diverting them from their demands, the Congress declares it necessary, from the international point of view, to enlighten the workingmen, in order that in case of war they may reply to the declaration of a war by a declaration of a revolutionary general strike.'"
—reproduced in Louis Levine, *The Labor Movement in France* (1912)

These were fine words but they turned out to be just that...words. When the moment of truth came in August 1914, the CGT did nothing. No call for a general strike, not even an antiwar demonstration. A number of CGT leaders, notably the general secretary Léon Jouhaux, immediately announced their support for the war and subsequently collaborated closely with the bourgeois government in mobilizing the working class for the four-year-long imperialist slaughter. Those syndicalist militants like Pierre Monatte and Alfred Rosmer who remained true to the principles of proletarian internationalism found themselves an isolated minority in an organization in which only yesterday they had been respected leading figures.

In hindsight, the CGT's collapse with the outbreak of war was prefigured by its entire history. During the 1905 Morocco crisis—an interimperialist squabble for influence in North Africa—everyone in France thought war with Germany could break out at any moment as, indeed, it could have. Yet during this and subsequent international crises, the CGT leaders did no more than call demonstrations, issue manifestos, etc. There was no move to organize protest strikes. When in 1913 the French government extended the length of compulsory military service from two to three years, the CGT leaders considered but rejected calling a general strike against this measure, which was broadly unpopular.

Furthermore, the CGT's "anti-militarism" was defined almost exclusively as opposition to the looming war with Germany. French syndicalists were little concerned with the role of the French army in enforcing the colonial enslavement of the peoples of Africa, the Near East and Indochina. In 1911, French troops suppressed an uprising in Morocco against the local monarchical client regime, and the following year Morocco was formally made into a French protectorate. In action, the CGT leadership was effectively indifferent to such colonial conquests by the French imperialist state.

Why did the revolutionary syndicalists limit the "direct action" they advocated

continued on page 8



New American Library
1910 poster shows striking French workers, waving red flag of socialism and black flag of anarchism, confronting the army.

height of their power and influence, the French syndicalists did not have the organizational capacity to carry out their maximal program of a general strike to "expropriate the capitalist class."

As previously noted, French syndicalism developed in part as a result of the existence of several competing socialist parties. However, in 1905 the main socialist factions got together and formed the French Section of the Workers International (SFIO), conventionally called the Socialist party. The CGT syndicalists thus had to define their relationship to a party which claimed to be the political representative of the entire working class. The response was the 1906 Charter of Amiens, a declaration of trade-union independence from all political parties, regardless of their character. The subsequent relationship between the CGT and SFIO was one of peaceful coexistence—sometimes chilly, sometimes warm—with a tacit understanding of a division of labor.

To the parliamentarism of the Socialist party, the CGT syndicalists counterposed "direct action." What this term meant concretely was stated in Emile Pouget's 1905 *Le Syndicat*:

"If the improvement they demand is a matter of government action, the unions pursue the aim by mass pressures on the

than parliamentary pressure in winning concessions from the capitalists and government.

Some of the struggles undertaken by the CGT disturbed and potentially threatened the bourgeois order, notably the 1910 railway strike, which the government quickly crushed by inducting the striking workers into the army and militarizing the railways. However, all CGT strikes and other industrial actions had as their immediate and direct aim gaining higher wages, shorter hours or better conditions from the employer. The French revolutionary syndicalists did not engage in strikes—even protest strikes—for political aims, thereby avoiding challenging the authority of the government at this level. In practice, the CGT functioned in a way not fundamentally different than the British Trades Union Congress whose leaders did not at the time even claim to be socialists, much less revolutionaries.

The CGT's "Anti-Militarism" and August 1914

The ascendancy of syndicalism in the French workers movement coincided with the looming threat of a Europe-wide imperialist war which finally exploded in 1914. Therefore "anti-militarism" was a key element of French syndicalist



Wayne State University
IWW general secretary Vincent St. John, outstanding American workers leader.

Anarchism...

(continued from page 7)

to the sphere of economic relations between labor and capital? One undoubted factor is that syndicalist militants were well aware that many workers in the CGT, probably most, were imbued with national chauvinist prejudices to some extent. If, for example, the CGT leaders had called a mass demonstration or a one-day protest strike against French military intervention in Morocco, they would have encountered significant rightist opposition in their own ranks, perhaps even leading to a split.

The French syndicalists organized and led a labor organization primarily on the basis of *militant trade unionism*. The French syndicalists never really pre-

At a regional conference of the PSI in Brescia in 1904, the syndicalist current passed a motion declaring:

"Reaffirming the permanently and intransigently revolutionary character of proletarian action, which is against the bourgeois state, the Congress declares that the transformation of the political organization of the proletarian class into a mainly parliamentary, opportunist, constitutionalist and monarchist possibilist party is a degeneration of the socialist spirit.

"It therefore rejects, as inconsistent with the principle of the class struggle and the true essence of the proletarian conquest of public power, alliance with the bourgeoisie, whether through participation by party members in any monarchical or republican government or through support of any sort to a government of the bourgeois class."

Labriola and his supporters were incessantly propagandizing for a general strike. Barely five months after the

founding of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo in 1911 represented a convergence of the anarchist and syndicalist currents. Within a month of the CNT's founding, it had endorsed a general strike and was outlawed by the government. As Spain remained neutral throughout the war, the syndicalists' call for a "general strike against war" remained purely abstract. But as the imperialist powers became exhausted, and workers were inspired by the overthrow of the tsar in Russia, a revolutionary opportunity presented itself in Spain in August 1917.

The anarcho-syndicalist CNT had been pushing for months for an unlimited national general strike, and mass pressure forced the Socialist-led UGT labor federation to join in planning for the strike. Meanwhile, the Republican bourgeoisie and Catalan regionalists were agitating for the overthrow of the monarchy, counting on support in the army. When the strike was finally called, rather than launching a fight for social revolution, its objective was restricted to helping the liberal bourgeoisie seize power. As a result of this limited goal, the working class did not mobilize uniformly, and after a week of bloody repression the strike was extinguished. As would once again occur in 1936-37 during the Spanish Civil War, the anarchists became the tail of bourgeois forces.

The IWW: Revolutionary Syndicalism in the United States

In the United States during the decade before the First World War, a syndicalist movement—the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)—came into being that was significantly different than its counterparts in Latin Europe. The particular and in some ways unique nature of the IWW was rooted in the development of the American economy and its effect on the character and political consciousness of the working class.

The working class in the U.S. was largely formed through successive waves of immigration from different European countries. This produced an industrial proletariat riven by deepgoing ethnic divisions and antagonisms, for example, between native-born workers of Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock and Irish, Italian and East European Catholic immigrants. These ethnic divisions, skillfully manipulated by the American ruling class, prevented not only the formation of a mass workers party such as developed in Europe in this period but also the unionization of the mass of the industrial proletariat, especially non-English-speaking immigrants. By the turn of the century, only 5 percent of workers in the U.S.

were organized at all, and these on a craft-union basis in the openly pro-capitalist American Federation of Labor (AFL).

The Industrial Workers of the World was formed in 1905 as a broad front of the American left. The founding leadership consisted of revolutionary syndicalists such as William Trautmann and Vincent St. John, the "orthodox" Marxist Daniel De Leon and his followers, and the militant trade unionists of the Western Federation of Miners. The launching of the IWW was enthusiastically supported by Eugene V. Debs, the most popular, even revered, figure in the American socialist movement of the day.

As against the conservative, job-trusting AFL, the IWW actively sought to organize unskilled workers across ethnic/racial lines, including such oppressed layers as immigrant agricultural laborers. Confronting murderous anti-union terror by company strikebreakers as well as government repression in the form of anti-labor laws and deportations of foreign-born organizers and activists, the IWW wrote a heroic chapter in American labor history.

The leaders and militants of the IWW—which adopted as its slogan "One Big Union"—expected in a relatively short time to organize the mass of industrial workers, win over most of the membership of the AFL and reduce the remaining right-wing craft unions to an insignificant element in the American labor movement. The IWW press carried frequent reports on the struggles and activities of the French CGT under the heading: "Le Syndicalisme in France is Industrialism in America. Its principles are substantially those of the I.W.W. in America" (quoted in Philip S. Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* [1965]). Yet the American syndicalists were not able to emulate the organizational success of their French cothinkers. The reasons lay in the very different political consciousness of the working class in the two countries. Most French workers wanted socialism in some form and thought it natural to join a union whose ultimate aim was "complete emancipation...by expropriating the capitalist class."

Not so American workers. During strikes most of the workers involved joined the IWW but left just as quickly when normal, workaday life returned. The IWW became in fact an organization of revolutionary militants in the form of a broad-based union movement although this was in no way the conscious program or intent of its syndicalist leaders. James P. Cannon was a young IWW roving organizer who later became a



Nouvelle Librairie de France



Bibliothèque Nationale

Left and right faces of syndicalism: Anarchist militant Emile Pouget (far left) became a leader of the French syndicalist movement, advocating "direct action." In 1914, French CGT leader Léon Jouhaux supported French bourgeoisie in imperialist slaughter of World War I.

pared the workers they led and influenced for a decisive confrontation with the bourgeois state but rather increasingly adapted to the political consciousness of their base. As Trotsky later wrote in his 1929 article, "Communism and Syndicalism": "The epigones of syndicalism would have one believe that the trade unions are sufficient by themselves. Theoretically, this means nothing, but in practice it means the dissolution of the revolutionary vanguard into the backward masses, that is, the trade unions."

Italian and Spanish Syndicalism

The French syndicalist movement was both the seedbed of European syndicalism and its most moderate expression. Exported to Italy and Spain, the doctrines of revolutionary syndicalism took on more radical expressions. There, calls for general strikes were carried out, more than once. Yet there also, the syndicalist movement collapsed when faced with the ultimate tests of war and revolution. For while this current initially represented a revolt against reformist parliamentary socialism and coalitionism with the bourgeoisie, it was unable to generate a program and theory capable of politically defeating the reformists and carrying out socialist revolution. Worse yet, facing this dead end, sections of the syndicalist movement evolved in the direction of imperialist nationalism, in particular fascism, symbolized by Mussolini.

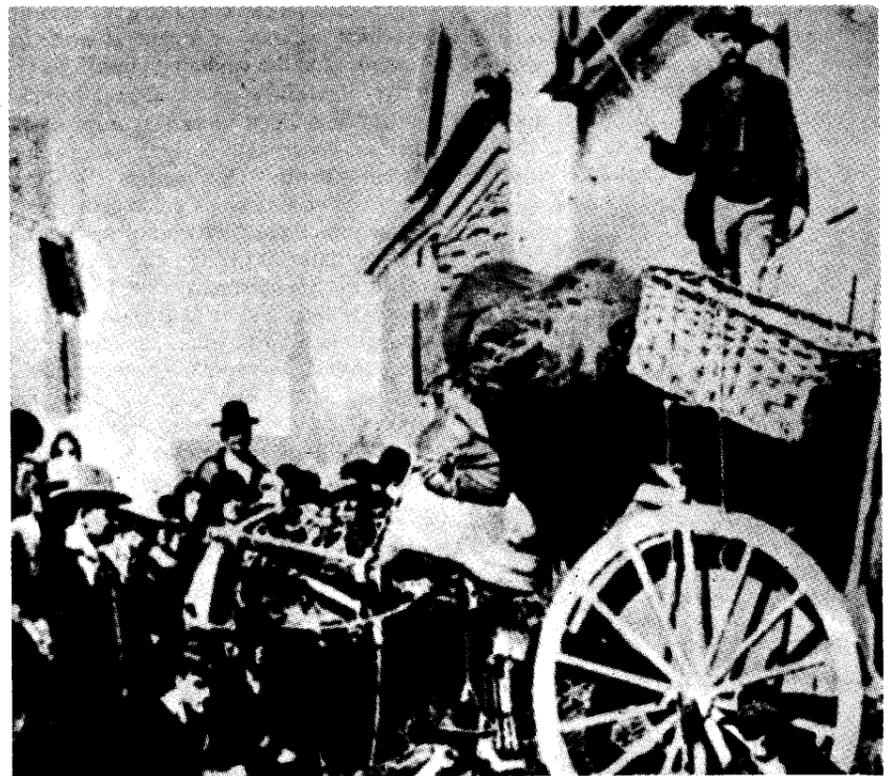
In Italy, the syndicalist movement originated in the Socialist Party (PSI), and was originally led by men who considered themselves orthodox Marxists. The first organ of Italian revolutionary syndicalism was the paper *Avanguardia Socialista*, founded in 1902 by Marxist theorist Antonio Labriola. Italian Communist leader Antonio Gramsci later described early Italian syndicalism as "the instinctive, elemental, primitive but healthy expression of working-class reaction against a bloc with the bourgeoisie and for a bloc with the peasants" (from his essay on *La questione meridionale* [The Southern Question], 1926).

Brescia motion was passed, and weeks after the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International rejected the applicability of the general strike, in September 1904 such a strike swept through Italy in protest against the government's violent repression of workers' demonstrations. For five days the peninsula was shaken by a vast national mobilization, yet the workers' action never went beyond a giant protest to a struggle for power. Again, from May to July 1908, the syndicalists carried out another major strike, of agricultural workers in the region of Parma, which is depicted in Bernardo Bertolucci's epic film *1900*. Facing brutal repression by the army, including use of cavalry and legions of strikebreakers, after a running three-day battle the strike was broken.

One of the constant themes of syndicalist propaganda was that of an antimilitarist "general strike against war." In Italy, there was an attempt to carry this out, in September 1911, against the Italian colonial war of conquest in Libya. However, while it was (tepidly) supported by the PSI and the CGL labor federation, the strike failed to change anything. Moreover, it was undercut by the fact that important syndicalist leaders (including Labriola) supported the Libyan war. In seeking to combine syndicalism and nationalism, they were following the example of Georges Sorel, who in this same period was collaborating with the reactionary nationalist-monarchist Action Française movement.

On the eve of the imperialist world war, a nationwide general strike broke out in response to the shooting of antimilitarist syndicalist demonstrators in Ancona. During the "Red Week" of 7-14 June 1914, many syndicalists thought the moment had come for the general revolt they had preached for so long to bring down the government, the monarchy and the rule of the bourgeoisie. Yet lacking a plan of action for decisive revolutionary struggle and a steered leadership to carry it out, the strike soon petered out.

In Spain, meanwhile, the syndicalists also grew to be a substantial force. The



A. Mondadori

Agricultural laborers, key component of the Italian syndicalist movement, on strike in 1907.

founding member of the American Communist Party and subsequently the principal leader of American Trotskyism. Looking back at the IWW in the 1950s, Cannon explained its dual and contradictory nature:

"The IWW announced itself as an all-inclusive union; and any worker ready for organization on an everyday union basis was invited to join, regardless of his views and opinions on any other question. In a number of instances, in times of organization campaigns and strikes in separate localities, such all-inclusive membership was attained, if only for brief periods. But that did not prevent the IWW agitators from preaching the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in every strike meeting....

"The IWW at all times, even during strikes embracing masses of church-going, ordinarily conservative workers, acted as an organization of revolutionists. The 'real IWW's,' the year-round activists, were nicknamed Wobblies—just when and why nobody knows—and the criterion of the Wobbly was his stand on the principle of the class struggle and its revolutionary goal; and his readiness to commit his whole life to it.

"In truth, the IWW in its time of glory was neither a union nor a party in the full meaning of these terms, but something of both, with some parts missing."

—"The IWW: The Great Anticipation" in *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

As it became clear that the IWW was not going to displace the AFL as the main labor organization in the U.S., much less become "one big union," the Wobblies increasingly saw themselves as a "militant minority" setting an example for the more backward mass of workers. The existence of an avowedly revolutionary union movement competing with pro-capitalist unions, which initially was regarded as an unfortunate and transitory condition, evolved into a political principle. The program of revolutionary dual unionism thus became a central tenet of the American far left in the period immediately before and during World War I.

The Wobblies took a militantly anti-war line when in 1917 U.S. imperialism entered the European conflict (a clear indication that the IWW was a very different kind of organization than the French CGT despite the shared syndicalist doctrines). The U.S. government, mobilizing popular chauvinism, effectively destroyed the IWW through massive police repression abetted by extralegal vigilantism. Frank Little, a Native American Indian IWW organizer in the copper mines, was lynched in 1917 in Butte, Montana. In 1918, thousands of IWW-organized Mexican miners in Arizona and New Mexico were loaded onto railroad cars and dumped in the desert. At the same time, the war-generated economic boom led to a substantial growth in the AFL unions, and a wave of worker militancy swept through these unions in the immediate postwar period.

Nonetheless, former IWW militants and sympathizers such as John Reed, who constituted an important part of the early American Communist cadre and leadership, opposed in principle working in the pro-capitalist AFL unions even though these now constituted almost the totality of organized labor in the United States. One of the major disputes in the formative period of the Communist International was over the question of revolutionary dual unionism in the United States and elsewhere. Lenin's 1920 pamphlet, *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder*, addressed this doctrine:

"This ridiculous 'theory' that Communists should not work in reactionary trade unions reveals with the utmost clarity the frivolous attitude of the 'Left' Communists towards the question of influencing the 'masses,' and their misuse of clamor about the 'masses.' If you want to help the 'masses,' and win the sympathy and support of the 'masses,' you should not fear difficulties, or pinpricks, chicanery, insults and persecution from the 'leaders' (who, being opportunists and social-chauvinists, are in most cases directly or

Defend Barnard Students Victimized for Supporting Strikers!



Young Spartacus

In a vindictive move against seven graduating seniors—supporters of clerical workers in UAW Local 2110, which was on strike for much of the semester—administrators at Barnard College in New York City withheld the students' diplomas "pending disciplinary proceedings." The administration wanted to gag the students to ensure a quiet commencement in the midst of the bitter campus struggle.

College president Judith Shapiro and the entire Barnard administration have shown their contempt for campus workers as well as students in their heavy-handed attack on the clerical workers union. This is to be expected from the bosses of an elite school whose purpose is to train the

next generation of bourgeois administrators. We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs support the students' solidizing with striking workers. However, as we said early on in the strike, effective student support of the strikers means: Build picket lines, don't cross them! Strikes win by *shutting down* the struck facilities; that means all other campus unions honoring Local 2110's picket lines, with students and teachers boycotting classes, not merely holding them off campus.

The SYC says: The seven students deserve their diplomas without any recriminations! Drop all disciplinary actions against all strike-supporting students! Victory to the Barnard clerical workers strike!

indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police), but must absolutely work wherever the masses are to be found." [emphasis in original]

The Trade-Union Question: Anarchism, Syndicalism and Leninism

At an anarchist conference in 1907, the old Italian Bakuninist Errico Malatesta warned against what he saw as the dangers of syndicalism for the anarchist movement:

"One cannot deny that syndicalist action involves us in certain perils. The greatest of these perils undoubtedly lies in the acceptance by the militant of office in the syndicates, particularly when it is paid office. Let us take it as a general rule: the anarchist who becomes a permanent and paid official in a syndicate is lost to propaganda, lost to anarchism! Henceforward he is under obligation to those who pay him and, since these are not all anarchists, the salaried official—placed between his conscience and his interest—must either follow his conscience and lose his position, or follow his interest—and then, goodbye to anarchism!"

—reproduced as "Syndicalism: A Critique," in George Woodcock, ed., *The Anarchist Reader*

Malatesta therefore insisted that anarchist militants, whether in the trade unions or outside them, should limit themselves to explaining and defending the principles and program of anarchism. When the vast majority of working people were won to the anarchist vision of the future...then, *voilà*, the revolution.

In light of the subsequent course of the French CGT, Malatesta's concern that syndicalist militants would abandon their revolutionary principles in order to keep their union posts was certainly valid. But the old Bakuninist's preventative cure for the bureaucratic degeneration of revolutionaries is, however, as bad as the disease. For revolutionaries to refuse in principle to ever become trade-union officials is to cede the lead-

ership of the mass economic organizations of the working class to opportunists (hardened and otherwise), reformists (overt and covert) and even reactionaries. This will ensure that there will never be a proletarian revolution and that the trade unions will not even serve the best interests of the workers within the framework of capitalism. A precondition for a socialist revolution is a strong workers movement, with mass trade unions, factory committees, etc. The key is the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party.

During the First World War, the Russian Bolsheviks denounced the treachery and overall wretchedness of social-democratic parliamentarians and trade-union and party officials just as harshly as did the anarchists, if not more so. But they did not therefore conclude that the workers should do without mass trade unions and political parties. As the Bolshevik leader Gregory Zinoviev wrote in 1916 in *The War and the Crisis of Socialism*:

"At the time of the crisis over the war, the labor bureaucracy played the role of a reactionary factor.... But that does not mean the labor movement will be able to get along without a big organizational apparatus; without an entire spectrum of people devoted especially to serve the proletarian organization. We do not want to go back to the time when the labor movement was so weak that it could get along without its own employees and functionaries, but to go forward to the time when the labor movement will be something different, in which the strong movement of the proletariat will subordinate the stratum of functionaries to itself, in which routine will be destroyed, bureaucratic corrosion wiped out; which will bring new men to the surface, infuse them with fighting courage, fill them with a new spirit."

—excerpted in *New International* [New York City], March-June 1942

A Leninist party is a counterweight to the inevitable pressures on revolutionary militants fighting for leadership in mass organizations. Unlike a union or factory

committee, membership in and support for a political party is based on accepting its program and agreeing with its underlying principles. In arguing for the need for a separate party of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard, Lenin stressed that there are different levels of consciousness in the working class. Many workers have reformist illusions and are imbued with national chauvinism, racism and other manifestations of social reaction, from religiosity and the desire to open a small shop to wife-beating. Through its press, demonstrations and other actions, through intervening in and fighting for leadership of social protest movements of the oppressed—and, when appropriate, participating in parliamentary and other elections—a communist party can attract and organize those workers who support the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system, *differentiating* them from those workers who have not gone beyond militant trade unionism.

Here one can contrast the pre-1914 French syndicalists with the Russian Bolsheviks in the same period. The anti-parliamentarism of the CGT leadership actually prevented French workers from facing a clear-cut choice between revolutionary and reformist politics. Instead class-conscious French workers led compartmentalized lives: they were syndicalists in economic struggles against the employer and socialists when it came to electing parliamentary deputies or local government officials. Furthermore, the French Socialist party contained both openly reformist and ostensibly Marxist factions.

The political topology of the Russian workers movement in the decade before the First World War was entirely different. There the organization of revolutionary militants (the Bolshevik Party) was clearly differentiated from both the trade unions, factory committees, etc. and the reformist/centrist socialists (the Mensheviks). A Russian worker who actively and directly supported the Bolsheviks (e.g., distributing the party's illegal literature) was motivated by a higher level of political consciousness than one who simply voted for a Bolshevik fellow worker to head up a strike committee. The Bolsheviks also ran candidates (a number of whom won) in elections to the workers' section of the tsarist Duma (parliament), opposing not only the liberal and reactionary parties but the populist Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks organized the *revolutionary vanguard* of the Russian working class, later enabling them to lead the first successful proletarian revolution in world history in October 1917.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Wobbly leader "Big Bill" Haywood (far right) in Moscow, 1922, with former IWW organizer James P. Cannon who later became the founding leader of American Trotskyism.

South Korea...

(continued from page 5)

Masan in October.

The mounting popular resistance led to splits within the military regime. In late October 1979, Park was assassinated by the head of the Korean CIA and replaced by a caretaker regime. But when the new government promised concessions and elections, General Chun attacked army headquarters and seized power. Chun proceeded to consolidate his coup with the acquiescence of the liberal opposition. Kim Young Sam, then head of the NDP, vowed that his party would cease playing the role of an opposition. His more populist alter-ego, Kim Dae Jung, released from house arrest, stressed the importance of "national security" against North Korea and called for restoring dictator Park's 1963 draft constitution.

But Chun's coup was met with growing popular resistance from student demonstrations and labor struggles. The *Los Angeles Times* (5 May 1980) reported with alarm: "Sitdown strikes, walkouts and other labor protests, some of them violent, are spreading across South Korea in a wave of worker uprisings." In Pusan, a thousand steel workers clashed with cops. In Sabuk, coal miners attacked a police station. On May 14-15, more than 50,000 students demonstrated in Seoul, followed a day later by 20,000 in Kwangju, the capital of South Cholla province and the country's fourth-largest city. At midnight on May 17, Chun declared martial law, closing universities, banning strikes and all political activity, and arresting thousands of student leaders and worker activists along with prominent bourgeois opposition politicians like Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung.

The next day, a Sunday, protesting students in Kwangju defied the martial law edicts. The center of a historically deprived area, Kwangju had a history of political revolt, going back to the post-WW II people's committees and further still to an anti-colonial student uprising in 1929. On the afternoon of May 18, 3,000 paratroopers and "elite" Special Forces, who had been moved into the city in preparation for the declaration of martial law, waded indiscriminately into the street crowds. During the Vietnam War, the Special Forces had earned particular notoriety for their brutality as part of the 300,000-strong South Korean mercenary contingent for U.S. imperialism. Now, in Kwangju, these elite killers murdered hundreds and beat, bayoneted and tortured thousands more in a matter of days.

Mass outrage swelled; an American Peace Corps volunteer in Kwangju recalled: "It was at this point I began to hear murmurs from the crowd—Let's rise up! Let's fight!—not from students, but from ordinary people in the streets." Taxi and bus drivers offered their vehi-

cles to the demonstrators. People began to arm themselves—first with kitchen knives, sickles and pipes, then by seizing weapons from police stations and armories—5,400 rifles and 318 military vehicles, according to the government's own records. In places, the soldiers fired blindly as they were overwhelmed by the enraged masses. On May 21, as 200,000 people took to the streets, students installed a machine gun on the roof of Chonnam University Hospital. That evening the army withdrew from the city.

Mass rallies continued, as debate raged about what to do next. All called for Chun's ouster and an end to martial law. Initially a committee dominated by local officials and dignitaries sought to negotiate with the government on the basis of seven demands, including no return of combat troops to Kwangju, the release of all those arrested and no reprisals. But this grouping was shortly supplanted by a more radical committee, which opposed compromise and sought to organize arms distribution and the defense of the city. Commissions were established to handle public administration, external affairs, planning, analysis of the situation, security and public information, which included the publication of a news journal from May 18 to May 26.

On the night of May 26, expecting the army to attack the next day, women and youth were told to go home, leaving a core of several hundred militants in the provincial administration building. The army stormed the city with tanks, flame throwers and heavy machine guns, killing scores more. The central government building was taken after a three-hour gun battle.

Other cities in the southwest—the port of Makpo, Hwasun and Polkyo—also came under insurgent control during these days. Draconian repression was to follow. An official report of 9 February 1981 speaks of more than 57,000 arrested in a "campaign of social purification" and 39,000 sent to military camps for "physical and psychological re-education." Many people simply disappeared and were buried secretly. The official claim of about 200 dead is still propagated by various imperialist mouthpieces, but the best estimate is that around 2,000 were killed. Official figures of the arrested and killed indicate the heavy involvement of industrial workers alongside students.

To this day, Washington denies any responsibility for what happened at Kwangju. A State Department spokesman recently insisted, "We have denied on multiple occasions that we had advance knowledge of what was going to happen at Kwangju or that we gave our approval for it" (*International Herald Tribune*, 6 March). However, recently released Pentagon and State Department documents confirm what was obvious at the time: that despite occasional counsels of "moderation," the U.S. knew in advance of the plan to use the Special Forces thugs to suppress the Kwangju uprising, and

aided and abetted the military crackdown (see "Kwangju Massacre: Washington Gave the Green Light," page 5). The U.S. repaid Chun by rolling out the red carpet when this bloodthirsty dictator visited Washington in February 1981, the first foreign head of state to be invited by Ronald Reagan after his inauguration.

Even today, as the South Korean rulers undergo a bit of cosmetic housecleaning by trying Chun and Roh, other bourgeois spokesmen continue to stand by these butchers for their services on behalf of the "war against Communism." A recent editorial in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (4 April) seeks to amnesty Chun and Roh:

"In terms of substance, moreover, there is an excellent case to be made that what Mr. Roh, and especially Mr. Chun, did in 1979 saved the country from disaster. Mr. Park's assassination, it is worth recalling, came at a time when the balance of power between North and South favoured the former and support for Seoul from the Carter administration was uncertain."

In the 1976 American presidential election campaign, held in the immediate aftermath of U.S. imperialism's defeat in Vietnam, Democratic candidate Carter called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea. The following year Major General John Singlaub, then chief of staff of U.S. forces in Korea, was fired for publicly denouncing Carter's call. But by 1979, U.S. imperialism was seething about its humiliations in Iran and Carter had proclaimed his "human rights" Cold War II crusade against the Soviet Union. As mass protests rocked the streets of South Korea in October 1979, visiting U.S. defense secretary Harold Brown went out of his way to reaffirm South Korea's "pivotal" and "vital" role in U.S. strategic interests.

In the years 1980-87, 1.7 million new manufacturing jobs were created in South Korea. Some of the world's largest steel mills, car plants, shipyards and television factories were built there. Wages were low and working conditions horrendous. The combative young proletariat intersected with students and petty bourgeois deeply alienated by the brutal dictatorship and the continuing presence of the domineering U.S. military. Underground circles talked about revolution while the workers sought to organize illegally. The memory of Kwangju was a rallying point for thousands of radicals and labor activists.

Some sense of the radical students and labor activists is gained from a description of the political evolution of Yoon Sang Won, a 29-year-old leader of the struggle committee which sought to lead the uprising and who died in the final shootout at the central administration building:

"Simply opposing Park was no longer enough, he discovered. Students sought a more all-encompassing, progressive view of the world. Yoon and others devoured Hegelian philosophy, Third World radical texts and Western books on economic history, capitalism, socialism and communism. Renting a room in

a Kwangju slum, Yoon watched the wretched lives of the slum-dwellers and agonised over his future. Should he become a salaried man and help put his younger siblings through school? Or should he opt for an entirely different direction, organising a social movement?"

—*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 26 May 1994

The consciousness of the participants in the 1980 Kwangju uprising was quite mixed. Demonstrators often waved Korean flags and sang the national anthem. There is no evidence of attempts to organize the workers into factory councils and soviet-type bodies, nor of any clear idea what to do once the army had been driven out. The consciousness evidenced during the Kwangju uprising remains indicative of much of the current South Korean left, which blends vague Marxist ideas with nationalist sentiment, often expressed as sympathy for the bizarrely nepotistic Stalinist regime in the North, particularly its appeals for "peaceful reunification." By and large they subscribe to the Stalinist/Menshevik "two stage" theory, advocating a "democratic" (i.e., bourgeois) revolution first (some precede this with a "national liberation" stage), while relegating the "socialist stage" to an indeterminate future.

Caught between the U.S. and Japanese imperialist powers, South Korea continues to be a powder keg. South Korean "democracy" is limited and unstable. The draconian National Security Laws remain in place. In the last few years the South Korean capitalist rulers and their imperialist patrons have been congratulating themselves about a decline in working-class and student struggle, conditioned in part by the death of the Soviet Union, as well as by South Korea's recent "democratic" facelift and the rise of a more affluent middle class. In any case, spontaneous upsurges cannot continue indefinitely in the absence of a revolutionary workers party to lead these struggles toward the seizure of state power.

The volatile situation in South Korea cries out for a Trotskyist party based on the strategy of permanent revolution, the understanding that only the working class leading the rural masses and other oppressed layers in a socialist revolution can solve the democratic tasks, as it undertakes the expropriation of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and seeks to extend revolution internationally, particularly to the economic powerhouse of Japan.

Such a party will be internationalist to the core, championing the rights of the increasing numbers of Chinese Korean, Filipino and other minority workers. It will stand for defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialist and South Korean provocations, while fighting for political revolution to remove the Stalinist Kim Jong Il regime in North Korea. It would also reach out to the working masses of China to carry out proletarian political revolution to thwart the growing danger of capitalist counterrevolution from within. *For the revolutionary reunification of Korea!* ■

U.S. Documents...

(continued from page 5)

reported to Washington his talk with the South Korean foreign minister: "I explained the extent to which we were facilitating ROK army efforts to restore order in Kwangju and deter trouble elsewhere. In essence, we had done everything we reasonably could. We had not and did not intend to publicize our actions because we feared we would be charged with colluding with the martial law authorities and risk fanning anti-American sentiment in the Kwangju area." While giving the go-ahead to the South Korean butchers, American officials drew up plans for direct U.S. intervention if their lackeys could not control the situation.

That same afternoon, President Carter

held a special high-level meeting on Korea with the secretaries of State and Defense, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the head of the CIA, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, Warren Christopher and Richard Holbrooke, who was then the chief U.S. diplomat specializing in East Asian and Pacific affairs (Holbrooke was until recently Clinton's special negotiator in Bosnia). The secret minutes of that meeting show that the participants discussed possible direct U.S. military intervention and shared "general agreement that the first priority is the restoration of order in Kwangju."

It was at that White House meeting that the decision was made to dispatch two early warning aircraft and an aircraft carrier, the *Coral Sea*, to South Korea. In fact, the South Korean martial law commander in chief during the Kwangju massacre has testified that sending troops into the city was delayed by three days

in order to ensure the American naval and air deployment. One hour before the attack was launched, the U.S. government declared: "We recognize that a situation of total disorder and disruption in a major city cannot be allowed to go on indefinitely" (see "Korea and the U.S.: Partners in Repression," *CovertAction*, Spring 1996).

What were the leaders of U.S. imperialism fearful of? *Washington saw in the Kwangju uprising the threat of social revolution.* The *Journal of Commerce* report does not mention this key aspect, but it is amply spelled out in the numerous documents which WV investigated. On 15 May 1980, U.S. ambassador Gleysteen cabled Washington that "It is the radicals" in Kwangju "who are obviously in the lead now." Two days later, he wrote: "we are faced with an extremely serious escalation of the Korean confrontation between the people in power, who fear to let go, and those out of power,

who have less and less compunction about resorting to radical measures."

And here is how the Secretary of State summarized the situation in a cable to the commander of U.S. Pacific forces in Honolulu and to U.S. embassies in South Korea, Japan, China and the USSR:

"The situation in Kwangju has taken a rather grim turn. The moderate citizens committee has lost control of the situation and the radicals appear to be in charge. Peoples courts have been set up and some executions have taken place. Student demonstrators have been largely replaced by unidentified armed radicals who are talking of setting up a revolutionary government... Military action to regain control of the city will probably take place within 24-36 hours."

Less than 36 hours after that cable was sent, South Korean troops were carrying out a bloody slaughter in the streets of Kwangju. Estimated death toll: up to 2,000 civilians killed.

Kwangju was Jimmy Carter's "human rights" massacre. ■

Hospitals...

(continued from page 12)

released by the Civilian Complaint Review Board show police brutality complaints in the Bronx soaring by 34 percent in the first three months of this year. And now New York State once again has the death penalty on the books. This is part of a national government plan to augment the forces of racist repression in the face of a growing gap between the filthy rich ruling class and those on the bottom of society. Last week, Democratic president Clinton bragged to a Washington, D.C. gathering of the Fraternal Order of Police that 44,000 cops have been added to police rolls on his watch as part of his pledge to add 100,000 cops nationally.

Anger Mounts Over Killer Cuts

As the scope of the cutbacks broadens, it is not just the destitute who are feeling the effects. Anger is seething among transit workers over speedup and layoffs caused by steep state funding cuts that threaten their safety and that of millions who ride the subways and buses every

day (see article page 12).

On May 14, over 1,000 child-welfare workers organized by the Social Services Employees Union massed outside City Hall to denounce the suspension of two caseworkers charged with failing to prevent the beating death of six-year-old Elisa Izquierdo in a housing project last December. The social workers were being made into scapegoats for a tragedy that grew directly out of welfare funding cuts which have increased the caseloads of welfare workers, who earn \$26,000 a year, to as many as 80 per worker. As one placard carried by the unionists read, "Caseworkers don't murder children, politicians do."

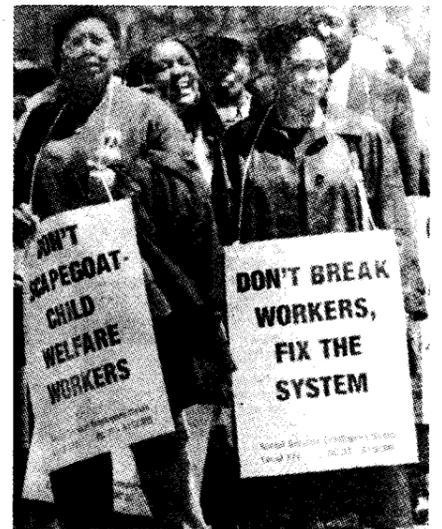
While there is evident desire to fight back against the city's political bosses, no one can imagine any kind of militant action coming from pro-capitalist union "leaders" who roll over and play dead every time attacks come down from City Hall, the Albany statehouse, Washington or their Wall Street patrons. The same day the school budget plan was revealed, United Federation of Teachers president Sandra Feldman signed off on a contract proposal virtually identical to the one voted down by the union ranks in

December, including a two-year wage freeze. Giuliani gloated, "What they have got is exactly what they turned down last time."

Feldman and Giuliani hope that teachers will buckle under this time after watching AFSCME District Council 37 head Stanley Hill, chief negotiator for 130,000 city workers, ram through a similar rotten contract in January. At a meeting earlier this month, Hill touched off a storm among the union brass by lauding both the mayor and the hateful Republican U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato, claiming that with their aid "I got job security for three years for my members." He didn't add: And a wage freeze, as well as sacrificing city hospital workers slated to be axed as the city pursues its plans to privatize hospitals. As for the mythical "job security," Rudy the Slasher has since come calling for another pound of union flesh, with a new budget plan which would eliminate 12,000 more city jobs.

The labor tops acquiesce to the bosses' cutbacks because they are politically wedded to the capitalist system, particularly through their ties to the Democratic Party. The only "alternative" put forward by phony labor "progressives" to Hill's groveling before the Republican Giuliani is more dead-end support to the Democrats. Particularly in a presidential election year, this translates into maintaining labor "peace," heading off any threat of militant action and herding unionists to the phone banks to get the vote out for Clinton.

Giuliani's predecessor, black Democrat David Dinkins, oversaw the gutting of thousands of city and industrial jobs while hiring 6,000 more cops. And as an article by Vivian S. Toy in the *New York Times* (18 May) underlined, the Democrat-controlled City Council plays a key role in pushing through the cutbacks through their "annual budget dance" with City Hall: "Year after year, the Council has been criticized by advocacy groups...for only marginally changing the Mayor's budget proposal, even though the heavily Democratic



Norcia/NY Post
NYC City Hall, May 14: SSEU union protest against Giuliani's scapegoating of child-welfare caseworkers.

body could, under law, serve as a powerful counterweight."

With the Giuliani gang bludgeoning workers and the poor, it is high time to mobilize the labor movement in action at the head of all the victims of the racist budget-slashers. But this requires the kind of fighting leadership that would have used widespread anger over last winter's city union contract proposal to lead a militant strike in defiance of the state's anti-labor Taylor Law. Today the unions could begin to mobilize opposition against the cuts by sending activists into housing projects, schools and hospitals to organize massive marches of labor and the poor against Wall Street, City Hall and the City Council to protest racist killer cuts and killer cops.

What's called for is a leadership that understands you get nothing without hard class struggle against the racist rulers. This means fighting to break working people and the black and Hispanic masses from support to the Democratic Party, to drive the pro-capitalist labor fakers out of the unions, and to forge a revolutionary workers party that fights for the rights of all the oppressed. ■

CORRECTIONS

A Partisan Defense Committee statement on the frame-up murder conviction of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), headlined "Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Geronimo!" (WV No. 645, 10 May), incorrectly referred to evidence showing that he was 400 miles away "at the time the murder was uncovered." In fact, FBI wiretaps and evidence from former Black Panther leaders show that Geronimo was at a Panther meeting in Oakland at the time the murder was committed in Santa Monica, near L.A.

In "Victory to L.A. Port Truckers!" (WV No. 645, 10 May), we wrote that Latino Teamster Jesse Acuna "sits in

prison on a five-year rap after being assaulted by cops for defending his union's picket lines." Acuna was actually jailed for defending the Teamsters' picket line from a speeding *scab* who tried to run down pickets at Pico Rivera.

In "Sewer Socialists' Campaign in Oakland" (WV No. 641, 15 March), we incorrectly referred to World War I era Socialist Party politician Victor Berger as "Milwaukee mayor." Berger was an alderman and was elected to Congress from Milwaukee six times, beginning in 1910; the SP did win the mayoralty several times, but with other candidates.

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

The TA has been trying to get rid of conductors for six years, especially on the shuttle lines that run trains with half the usual number of subway cars. NYC's 90-year-old subway system already kills at twice the national rate. Management pressure on train operators, dangerously outmoded safety signals and other hazards have caused so many accidents in the past six years that even a recent federal safety board report went after the TA for "mismanagement." The OPTO scheme symbolizes the TA's wanton indifference to safety. Each year, over 90 passengers experience the nightmare of having a door closed on a limb, purse or baby carriage and being dragged off

by a moving train. The shock, injury and death caused by "draggings" can only go up under OPTO. And who hasn't looked for the conductor's car when taking the subway late at night?

The plan for one-man train crews is part of a broader assault on union-won work rules and seniority rights, aimed in this case against conductors and train operators. Three years ago—as management started gearing up for OPTO, sweeping job cuts, privatization and the current "productivity" crackdown—transit workers held several "work to rule" slowdowns. But newly appointed Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Willie James has already announced that he'll do nothing to stop OPTO. It is now obvious that the Local 100 leadership, in one of many sleazy givebacks in the 1994 contract, handed OPTO to management on a silver platter. The union brass agreed to binding arbitration by a panel, which then dutifully approved OPTO in March.

These days the James gang is totally absorbed in the flimflam of getting transit workers to pull the lever for Clinton's racist, labor-hating Democrats in November. The New Directions "opposition"—which controls several key divisions of the local—also pins its hopes on Democratic "friends of labor," urging TWUers to beg state lawmakers in Albany to oppose OPTO. By preaching reliance on capitalist politicians, both wings of the Local 100 bureaucracy politically shackle the enormous potential power of this union, whose heavily minority workforce makes New York City run. To stop the TA's criminal assault on subway safety, transit workers need a *class-struggle leadership* that's prepared to defy the strikebreaking Tay-

lor Law and *shut the system down*.

Six months after the largest fare increase in TA history, subway and bus service is worse than ever. Subway cars and platforms are dirtier, lines for tokens snake up the stairwells, trains and buses are more crowded and less reliable, and track beds are often unsafe, filthy, rat-infested swamps. On May 1, a track fire in midtown Manhattan prompted panicked passengers to seek safety by running through subway tunnels, and 3,000 people ended up trapped underground for over three hours. The TA's standard response to accidents is to blame the workers and haul them off for drug tests, but this time they arrogantly blamed the

riders for running for safety!

Instead of cutting train crews and laying off token booth clerks, what's needed is to *hire thousands more transit workers* to maintain and *rebuild* the rotting, antiquated system. A union fight for improved safety conditions would galvanize tremendous popular support among NYC's hard-pressed working people, as would a fight for *free mass transit*. Token clerks should be retrained at company expense to fill vital jobs, like platform conductors, throughout the system. We say: *Stop OPTO in its tracks! Reverse all layoffs! Fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!* ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
 Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m.
 Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
 328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
 Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 454-4930

New York City

Tues.: 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
 41 Warren St. (one block below
 Chambers St. near Church St.)
 New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Atlanta

Box 397
 Decatur, GA 30031
 (404) 521-9338

Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta.
 Cambridge, MA 02139
 (617) 666-9453

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
 Chicago, IL 60680
 (312) 454-4930

Eugene

Box 3392
 Eugene, OR 97403

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
 Los Angeles, CA 90029
 (213) 380-8239

New York

Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
 New York, NY 10008
 (212) 267-1025

Oakland

Box 29497
 Oakland, CA 94604
 (510) 839-0851

San Francisco

Box 77494
 San Francisco, CA 94107
 (415) 777-9367

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
 Washington, D.C. 20013
 (202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
 Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
 (416) 593-4138

Montréal

C.P. Les Atriums
 B.P. 32066
 Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver

Box 2717, Main P.O.
 Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
 (604) 687-0353

WORKERS VANGUARD

Labor Tops Roll Over for City Bosses

NYC: Giuliani Axes Hospital Jobs

Last week, city bosses sent layoff notices to 1,600 New York City public hospital workers. This is a deadly blow aimed right at the poor and minority population, and at the city's powerful health care and public employees unions. Those laid off include over 1,100 registered nurses, some 239 doctors, and scores of technicians, dieticians, pharmacists and others. Two days after the pink slips went out, union officials got word from the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC) that 1,100 more jobs were to get the ax by the end of June.

HHC spokesmen have announced that by the end of the year as many as 8,000 workers—more than 20 percent of the workforce—would have to be cut to make up a \$550 million budget gap. This budget "gap" is a direct result of hundreds of millions of dollars of government health funding cuts, from the state's slashing of money for Medicaid to a new NYC budget proposal that would chop \$100 million from the city's contribution to the HHC, on top of a 20 percent cut the year before, leaving the city's subsidy at the lowest level since the agency was created over 25 years ago.

The assault on public hospitals is a death sentence for the black and Hispanic poor and hospital workers alike. What's needed is for the trade unions, whose members make this city run, to take the lead in mobilizing all the victims of capitalist cutbacks—ghetto and barrio residents, City University students, the homeless—in militant struggle against the racist rulers. But the biggest obstacle to such a strategy are the bureaucratic fakers who "lead" the unions for the benefit of City Hall and its Wall Street bosses.

While this first round of layoffs was mostly of professionals and did not in-



Hospital workers protest mass layoffs and racist attacks on health care, May 19, at Kingsboro Psychiatric Center in Brooklyn. WV Photo

clude members of the large, integrated municipal unions, everyone knows they are next on the chopping block. A quick look at where the jobs are being eliminated shows that the cutbacks under Mayor Rudolph Giuliani are not only union-busting in intent but *deliberately racist* as well. Harlem Hospital is losing the most nurses, while at Metropolitan Hospital in East Harlem *all* supervising nurses and assistant head nurses, and half of the head nurses, will be fired—

the layoffs may be the first step in shutting down these hospitals outright. At Brooklyn's Kings County Hospital, in the heavily Caribbean Flatbush district, every one of the 208 part-time doctors is getting the boot. This comes at a time when notorious "diseases of poverty" have reached epidemic levels—the infection rate for TB in New York City is the highest in the U.S., and asthma has skyrocketed in the South Bronx, home of scores of incinerators and

waste facilities. These are truly "killer cutbacks."

Beyond the cuts is the looming threat of a wave of hospital shutdowns, as the capitalist rulers implement so-called "managed" health care. "Managed care" is a code word for shutting hospital doors to workers and the poor—40 million of whom nationally have no medical insurance—while soaking the working population for expensive medical coverage plans, leading to tremendous profits for insurance companies and "health maintenance" corporations. A recently released study of New York City's hospital system by two research organizations predicted the closing of almost one-fifth of the city's 78 hospitals in the next three years, leading to the loss of 80,000 jobs (*New York Times*, 7 April).

The hospital layoffs are but a fraction of the cuts dictated by Giuliani and New York governor Pataki, whose targets include some of the most vulnerable layers of the population. Among school cutbacks announced on May 14 by NYC schools chancellor Rudy Crew was the slashing of special education programs for the handicapped. That same day, a Manhattan judge slapped million-dollar fines on two city agencies and a contempt of court citation on Giuliani after touring a Bronx homeless services office and finding 254 people sleeping on floors, desks and chairs while they waited for places in homeless shelters—a leading target of the city's budget ax.

To enforce capitalist austerity, Giuliani has unleashed a growing army of police on the desperate ghetto and barrio masses. Currently an additional 800 cops have descended on north Brooklyn, with a wave of paramilitary "drug sweeps" scheduled for the summer. New figures

continued on page 11

TWU Must Stop One-Person Train Operation!

NYC Transit's Killer Cuts

New York City's Transit Authority (TA) has just announced plans to implement one of the more deadly "cost-cutting" schemes to hit the tracks, "One Person Train Operation" (OPTO). The TA is set to carry out an OPTO "pilot program" on five lines early this fall, as a first step toward using this dangerous practice extensively "systemwide," according to TA chief Lawrence Reuter. This means *eliminating subway conductors*, who open and close doors, make

announcements, assist passengers and carry out other tasks critical for overall safety. With one-man trains, already overworked train operators will be ordered to do conductors' duties as well. Part of a five-year plan to slash \$2.4 billion from the TA's budget, OPTO is supposed to save barely \$42 million. But the real costs of this and other killer cuts will be—and already are being—paid in blood by transit workers and riders alike.

continued on page 11



Transit workers at March 20 TWU rally demand fight against deadly conditions caused by layoffs and cutbacks. WV Photo