

## Reagan to Poor: **"Let Them Starve!"**

Dividends are rising—black people are starving. As the capitalists celebrate 1984 with toasts to their high profits, the soup lines grow longer and workers are dumped from their jobs in the heart of industrial America. Hunger, a gnawing fact of life for the poor, has become an open joke from Wall Street to the White House, and—equally cynically—a buzzword in the election speeches of the Democratic

windbags. The anti-Soviet war budget, based on political consensus by both parties, continues to take the ax to blacks, workers, minorities.

Not too long ago the U.S. capitalists claimed to rule in the interests of "all the people." Observable hunger was embarrassing for them. As James P. Cannon said at the time of the Communist hunger march in 1931, hunger shows "the inability of the

richest imperialist power to provide the necessities of life to the producers of that wealth." Even Richard Nixon was heard to say that there was something wrong, something unnatural about hunger in America. There was lots of talk of reforms and even a "war on poverty." But not now. They don't have to bother. It was only the emergence of the powerful industrial union movement which changed the

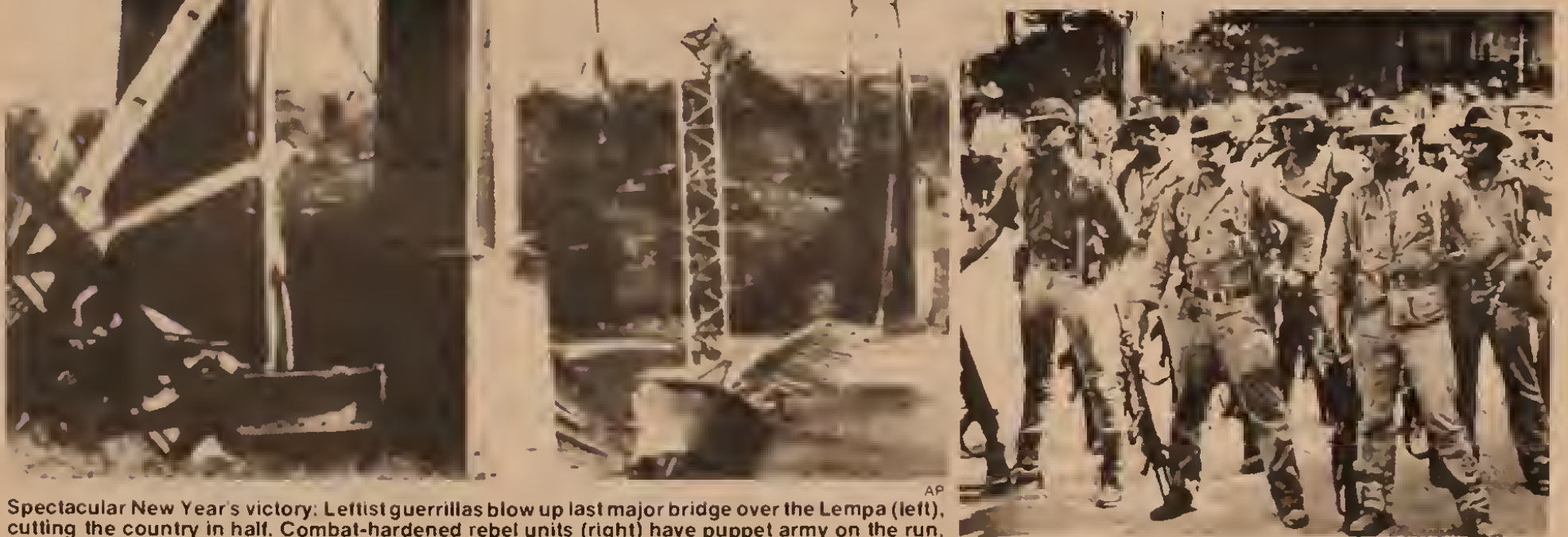
political style of the two capitalist parties from unabashed preachers of capitalism-and-damn-its-victims to the big-promises demagoguery which has been popular since the 1930s. Now with the union movement being strangled by the giveback bureaucrats, the defeat of PATCO and Greyhound, the capitalists don't even have to pretend to give a damn about hunger.

Poverty is, after all, not *their* problem. Unemployment? That's just blacks and workers. So the U.S. has an infant mortality rate like a "Third World" country? The ruling class's babies are in no danger. Half the adult black population is looking for work. And black teenagers don't have a chance. The U.S. bourgeoisie increasingly accepts and promotes a permanent black underclass. Racial

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## Reagan's Puppet Army Cracking

# Salvadoran Rebels Must Go for Victory Now!



Spectacular New Year's victory: Leftist guerrillas blow up last major bridge over the Lempa (left), cutting the country in half. Combat-hardened rebel units (right) have puppet army on the run.

While fireworks exploded across the country in a New Year's celebration, forces of the leftist Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) easily routed government troops descending the Cuscatlán bridge and blasted the quarter-mile-long structure into the Lempa River. The destruction of the last suspension bridge to the eastern four provinces cuts the country in two, further protecting the rebel-dominated East from government attack. This was the second major military defeat for the U.S. puppet regime in less than 72 hours. On December 30 a second guerrilla army had overrun the fourth largest military base, El Paraíso, only 37 miles north of the capital, San Salvador. After holding the U.S.-designed base for 12 hours the guerrillas withdrew, leaving the base in ruins.

The leftist insurgents are on a roll, and they had better keep rolling now to a decisive military victory before Reagan and his bloody colonels have time to regroup. Over the past four months an uninterrupted series of FMLN victories in the field and the accelerating disintegration of the government army has made the collapse of the puppet regime in San Salvador an immediate possibility. Even the Kissinger commission report admits: "Given the increasing damage—both physical and political—being inflicted on the economy and Government of El Salvador by the guerrillas, who are maintaining their strength, a collapse is not inconceivable" (*New York Times*, 12 January). The worst thing the rebels could do now would be to stop, using the latest victories to push for a "negotiated

solution," i.e., a coalition government with a section of the murderous oligarchy. Pushing the puppet regime to the brink of defeat and then pulling back would emharden U.S. imperialism and encourage direct military intervention to stave off the looming catastrophe. Now is the time to strike! On to San Salvador!

In the wake of these dramatic developments, Vietnam War criminal Henry Kissinger's commission on Central America endorsed the Pentagon request for \$400 million in military aid over the next two years, triple the current figure. But no amount of money is going to revive a beaten army, and the additional funds will do little more than fatten the Swiss bank accounts of some Salvadoran colonels and death squad honebos. We only hope that these sadistic killers

do not escape to enjoy Washington's blood money.

All the phony talk about stopping the death squads is just so much public posturing. And the real aim of the Kissinger report is as a ploy in American domestic politics, namely, to blame Congressional liberals for losing the "war against Communism" in El Salvador; if only they voted enough money for effective "counterinsurgency"; if only they stopped talking about "human rights conditionality."

The Kissinger commission report of course echoes the Reagan line that behind the popular revolutionary upheavals in Central America is "Soviet expansionism": "The Soviet-Cuban thrust to make Central America part of their geostrategic challenge is what

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# Cambodian People Now Have a Future

Western Union Mailgram

PRESIDENT HENG SAMRIN  
PHNOM PENH  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

GREETINGS ON FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION OF KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE FROM BARBAROUS POL POT REGIME. HAIL INTERNATIONALIST ASSISTANCE OF VIETNAM THAT SAVED MILLIONS FROM GENOCIDE AND LAID BASIS FOR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION--KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE NOW HAVE FUTURE. FORWARD TO FINAL DEFEAT OF REACTIONARY REMNANTS OF POL POT/SON SANN/SIHANOUK CLIQUES ARMED AND FUNDED BY CHINA AND U.S. IMPERIALISM. HAIL HEROIC PERSEVERANCE OF INDOCHINESE WORKING PEOPLE, INSPIRATION TO REVOLUTIONARIES IN BELLY OF IMPERIALIST BEAST.

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL SPARTACIST TENDENCY

SUSAN ADAMS  
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN  
LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DE FRANCE

JIM ROBERTSON  
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN  
SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.



WV Photo

Cable sent for January 7 anniversary of Vietnam's ousting of genocidal Pol Pot government in Kampuchea (left). On September 27, international Spartacist tendency held eight demonstrations to protest murderous Pol Pot gang retaining seat in UN. Photo (above) shows protest at UN headquarters in New York City.

## Letter

## On the AIDS Witchhunt

Cleveland, Ohio  
Nov. 29, 1983

Comrades:

Consistent with Lenin's dictum that revolutionaries must be "tribunes of the people" *Workers Vanguard* has historically done exemplary work. As a regular reader for a number of years now I am grateful for this. But for almost two years *WV* has failed to comment on a serious and worthy topic. I refer to the politics of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).

The hard-won democratic rights of the gay minority, tenuous and partial at the best of times, are threatened by the ugliest reaction over the AIDS epidemic. The capitalist media is freely distributing gross disinformation about AIDS. In the same sentence mass publications simultaneously decry and promote "AIDS hysteria." Newspapers report that before long millions of gays will have AIDS. (The press subtly fails here to convey a sense of loss.) Many people believe that only homosexuals can catch AIDS and/or that it is easily transmitted. Gay organizations' complaints that the rabidly anti-homosexual Reagan administration is playing politics with the Center for Disease Control are never thoroughly investigated.

And the difficulties in getting accurate information about AIDS are not reserved only for the masses. There are reports of scientific information being suppressed even at high levels. Dr. Maria Teas, a researcher at the Harvard School of Public Health had to go to England's *Lancet* for publication of her African Swine Fever Virus hypothesis, which some consider to be the only coherent hypothesis yet to explain AIDS in Haitians. Meanwhile acres of newsprint are devoted to promoting AIDS hysteria.

Some examples—

New York City emhalmers had to be ordered by special legislation to stop refusing AIDS corpses.

Legislation in New York State is now pending to force the closure of gay bath houses and "hack room" bars.

San Francisco cops, no doubt thrilled to add to the reaction, have handled AIDS suspects (read gays) with surgical masks and gloves.

A San Francisco TV production, ironically attempting to demystify AIDS, hit a snag when the camera crew refused to enter the same room with an AIDS patient. The crew wrongfully feared contagion by casual contact.

The AIDS scare adds fuel to the "normal" homophobic prejudices promoted in bourgeois society. In Cleveland last July, for example, an avowed Nazi, Joseph Spisak, was convicted of a spree of race murders. But the prosecutor told the jury Spisak killed not because he is a Nazi, or even because he is a psychopath, but because he is homosexual! The message was clear: one way or another, homosexuals kill.

Epidemiologically, AIDS will continue to spread from New York and other large cities and then penetrate even rural areas. The disease will soon claim a significant percentage of its victims from the heterosexual majority. The inevitable suffering and grief, when combined with the earlier illusions about AIDS as a "gay disease", bode hell for homosexuals. They understand this. Job firings, forced closings of bars and baths, evictions and vigilante attacks are now creating a lot of concern among gays. Indeed the social consequences of the AIDS juggernaut may render the disease itself a secondary concern. Clearly gays face a reaction of great potential ferocity.

AIDS has been front page news for *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *Village Voice* etc. It has been the subject of countless network television reports and is now virtually a household word. And yet it seems that *WV* has nothing to say about it! How a paper written and published in Lower Manhattan can have missed the AIDS scare of '83 is, to say the least, puzzling.

I recall your coverage of the Spartacist League's fusion with the Red Flag Union after helping them break from the gay life-stylistic morass. The many fine articles in *WV*, *Young Spartacus* and *Women and Revolution* on the various aspects of the gay question also come to mind. You certainly didn't wait a couple of years to respond to Anita Bryant. So why no AIDS coverage? Even Sam Marcy's reformist rag, *Workers World*, has covered AIDS extensively.

The AIDS scare provides an important and fascinating conjunction of medicine, sexuality and politics. It is over exactly such issues that the Spartacist League has made a name for itself with its trenchant Marxist analysis. I for one can only hope that the belatedness over AIDS is accidental (a venial sin) and does not represent a retreat on the gay question.

Homosexuals and their organizations have often been early targets for smashing in times of growing reaction. But this inevitably foreshadows the bourgeoisie's agenda for the rest of the oppressed, the left and the proletariat. Democratic rights are indivisible!

Fraternally,  
D.F. Moore

*WV* replies: We thank D.F. Moore for his informative letter, and direct his attention to the article, "Reaction-

ary Bigots Breed Anti-Gay Hysteria—AIDS and the 'Mortal Sin' Scam" in the new issue of *Women and Revolution* (No. 27, Winter 1983-84). We agree with him on the importance of covering this question, particularly because the right wing has exploited the AIDS epidemic to fan the flames of anti-homosexual hysteria, superstition and bigotry in this deeply homophobic society.

But we emphatically reject Moore's suggestion that the SL may have made "a retreat on the gay question" since our 1977 fusion with the Red Flag Union, a leftward-breaking gay rights group which was won to Trotskyism. The delay in our AIDS coverage was due to nothing more remarkable than repeated, frustrating delays in producing the new *W&R* (nine months between the last two issues), resulting mainly from the demands of our important legal defense campaigns, with the *W&R* editor being heavily involved in the publicity work around these cases. We invite D.F. Moore to consider in particular our forthright defense of the "North American Man/Boy Love Association" against the vengeful and reactionary "age-of-consent" crusade (see "Moral Majority Witchhunt Against Gay Activists—Defend NAMBLA!" *WV* No. 321, 14 January 1983). The SL has stood virtually alone in our defense of NAMBLA while everybody from "leftists" to gay groups have ducked this taboo subject, abandoning the weakest of a weak oppressed group to be slandered and targeted as "kidnappers" and "child molesters."

We were interested to see that the *New York Times* has finally come out with a position, in the form of a major feature article, "For Victims of AIDS, Support in a Lonely Siege," which ran as the lead story in the Metro section on 5 December 1983. This sympathetic account of how a small group of courageous gay activists are fighting against the prejudice surrounding AIDS victims, and sheer documentation of the horror stories on the treatment of AIDS sufferers, performs a useful service. ■

### WORKERS VANGUARD

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- Under the Terror in Sri Lanka
- Women and Night Work in Sri Lanka
- Turkey: Prison House for Women, Kurds
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WORKERS VANGUARD



## Defend the Scoundrel!

# Village Voice's Cockburn Up a Creek

Alexander Cockburn, flashy left-wing gadfly of the *Village Voice*, is the target of a vicious campaign charging that his anti-Zionist writing is bought and paid for by PLO or other Arab money. The media piranhas smelled blood when they read in the *Boston Phoenix* (10 January) that last year Cockburn got a \$10,000 fellowship from a scholarly foundation, the Institute of Arab Studies, to write a book on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. It looks like Cockburn may lose his job. His editor at the *Voice*, David Schneiderman (whom Cockburn has described aptly as a "morally indifferent P.T. Barnum"), pronounced before even talking to Cockburn that "It's just wrong" and "very, very serious" (*New York Times*, 12 January). By January 16 the *Voice* had Cockburn "suspended indefinitely" without pay.

But in a move calculated to contrast to the mean-minded little McCarthys at the rad-ih *Voice*, the big-bourgeois *Wall Street Journal* decided to keep Cockburn on in his once-a-month op-ed column. In a breezy and calculated editorial (13 January) titled "Alexflap," the *Journal* describes the incident as "fairly innocuous." The only trouble with Cockburn, they say, is every editor's problem with every writer: deadlines; they observe that "Interesting columnists come, like Cromwell, warts and all." These rahdily pro-Israeli superhawks observe that "even Arah's should enjoy freedom of speech." Thus the *Voice* makes the *Wall Street Journal* look like civil libertarians. Meanwhile, according to the *New York Times* (17 January), Cockburn may be getting a job offer from Victor Navasky, editor of the *Nation*. Navasky has written persuasively, regarding the McCarthy period, that the wrong way to deal with witchhunting is to separate oneself from those to one's left; his offer to Cockburn puts that understanding into action.

This is a witchhunt meant to drive Cockburn out of print. Of course he has the right to take money from an Arab foundation to write a book. Who is the Institute of Arab Studies supposed to get to write on the Near East? Norman Podhoretz? William Safire? When that army of Zionist journalists gets money there's no big stink. The premise of the "purity" of the American press is laughable. They cohabit snugly with the CIA's "ministry of disinformation," and besides, there's not a newspaperman in this country who wouldn't hold out his hand if someone offered him \$10,000 to write a hook.

So we don't like what's happening to Cockburn. If he is driven off the pages of major U.S. newspapers it will be a witchhunters' victory and a defeat for, among other things, freedom of the press. And we will miss him. Not only

because we find his columns interesting, venomously bright; not only because he is a political enemy worth aiming polemics at. We think it's just fine when we lay bare his political core: hiding his conciliation behind his snotty wit. But only we should be allowed to cream Cockburn, not this hunch of liberal imperialists.

Cockburn wants to maintain bourgeois respectability, at least as an *enfant terrible*, while trying to approximate political reality, however cravenly. Now the Oxford grad is finding out that anti-Zionism is no kind of respectable in America.

### The Americanization of Alex

So, Cockburn, how does it feel to be the contemporary equivalent of a Jew in tsarist Russia? For a man who spends so much effort cultivating social ties to the U.S. ruling class, you really stepped into it this time. Can you have thought there wasn't an American Establishment, the likes of the one you are well aware of in your own land? It causes sadness to have to tell an adult man that the U.S. has a ruling class too. And that Jews figure in it (and even the German Jews of the *Times* share this fixation on Israel). The modern "black hundreds" over at *Commentary* suggest you drink the blood of little Jewish children. How does it feel knowing the lights burn late at the Israeli Mission because of Alexander Cockburn?

Cockburn defensively told the press he'd be giving the money back because he hasn't had time to write the book (too bad—we would have liked to read it). And he observed that he couldn't be bribed to be anti-Zionist because he already stood against the Zionists. (This line of reasoning cut no ice with the same people who thought it was brilliant when Norman Thomas used it as a defense of CIA payoffs.) "My views on the Middle East are extremely well known," said Cockburn. Indeed that is why he is under fire as a purported agent of Arab propaganda.

Edward Said, Columbia professor and member of a PLO leading body, is chairman of the Institute of Arab Studies. Said, a widely respected scholar, defended the Institute's academic purposes. For Zionist groups like the "American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee" (AIPAC) of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, he noted, "anything with the word 'Arab' in it is therefore propagandistic" (*New York Times*, 12 January). This is, he said, "not only totally unfounded, it's racist." The American Zionist mainstream cannot help but reflect the outright racism of Menachem Begin who describes Arabs as "beasts who walk on two legs." The AIPAC has slanderously targeted as

Alexander Cockburn poses for *Village Voice*, 1982.



some kind of anti-Jewish "activist" even the most moderate (read: sellout) Arah scholars. Their treatment of Walid Khalidi, for instance, was so preposterous that even liberal Zionist Anthony Lewis, in a column titled "Protocols of Palestine," objected. "Joe McCarthy could not have produced a nastier distortion" (*New York Times*, 16 January).

No one who knows Cockburn's record can really suspect him of being a kept propagandist for Arah/Islamic causes. When the Soviet army intervened against the feudal mullahs in Afghanistan, all the sheiks of Araby joined Begin and Jimmy Carter to embrace the Afghan "freedom fighters." (So did the anti-Soviet U.S. "left.") But not Cockburn who with typical bourgeois hauteur wrote:

"We all have to go one day, but pray God let it not be over Afghanistan. An unspeakable country filled with unspeakable people, sheepshaggers and smugglers, who have furnished in their leisure hours some of the worst arts and crafts ever to penetrate the occidental world."

"I yield to none in my sympathy to those prostrate beneath the Russian jackboot, but if ever a country deserved rape it's Afghanistan. Nothing but mountains filled with barbarous ethnics with views as medieval as their muskets, and unspeakably cruel, too."

—*Village Voice*, 21 January 1980

The attack on Cockburn isn't about the alleged ethics of journalists. Cockburn's real crime for self-censoring hypocrites is that no journalist with a name and some following in the U.S. is allowed to be a thorn in Israel's side. During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon it is one thing for *Workers Vanguard* to headline: "Reagan, Begin & Hitler." It's quite another matter when prominent journalist Alexander Cockburn makes the same point in nearly the same language: the Israeli "blitzkrieg" and "war criminals."

### The Enemies He Makes

If a man is to be judged partly by the enemies he makes, it must be said that Cockburn has many of the right ones. He is particularly hated by the big liberal press for his weekly "Press Clips" in the *Voice* where he exposes and sometimes humiliates the establishment press as capitalist lackeys and hacks. (It is here that one reads of the "musical chairs" played by the *New York Times*

and the State Department: Richard Burt [Republican] and Leslie Gelb [Democrat] work the national security chair for either State or the *Times*, depending which party is in office.) The *Times* doesn't conceal its glee at Cockburn's troubles as it observes that his column "frequently includes lacerating comments about the ethical standards of other journalists."

The *New York Times* ought to know. Cockburn caught them a few years ago in a sensational fake. A lengthy *Times* feature titled "In the Land of the Khmer Rouge" (20 December 1981) by one Christopher Jones carried the blurb: "An American reporter takes a journey into the Cambodian jungle, where the shadowy Pol Pot leads his peasant army in savage guerrilla warfare against the Vietnamese invaders." The ideological dolts at the *Times* published Jones' piece of pulp fiction, where he claimed he even spotted Pol Pot.

It was Cockburn who spotted the hoax and printed the last paragraph of the *Times* article—along with the paragraph from André Malraux's novel set in Cambodia (*La Voie Royale*, 1923) from which the paragraph was plagiarized. Stung, the *Times* sent three of its honchos to dig up Jones in Calpe, Spain, where he admitted he'd written his eyewitness travelogue of Cambodia from his parents' seafaring apartment in Spain. On 23 February 1982 the *Times*' pathetic lead editorial, "A Lie in the Times," cried over their "nightmare of the newsroom" and begged forgiveness. For his part, Cockburn noted that at the *Times*, only "the small lie is exposed," while the "greater lies persist unchallenged," on the cover-up of Central American death squads for instance. No wonder the pundits at the *New York Times* want to get Cockburn.

### Back to the Bogs, Boyo?

Cockburn's holier-than-thou snottiness is now going to cost him. But it is important to see that the style reflects a fundamental political conciliationism. Despite his decidedly left-wing literary output, he is personally a man of distinct and self-cultivated aristocratic sensibility. For instance, in all this Arah money business, he never bothered to tell his bosses. Why? Not because he was hiding it, but because typically Alex

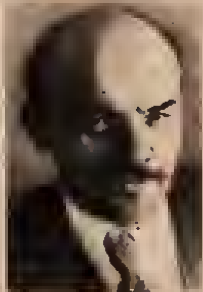
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TROTSKY

as the strike needs pickets. Basically, the picket is the embryo of the workers' militia. He who thinks of renouncing "physical" struggle must renounce all struggle, for the spirit does not live without flesh.

—Leon Trotsky, *Whither France?* (1934)



LENIN

### The Arming of the Proletariat

A strike is inconceivable without propaganda and without agitation. It is also inconceivable without pickets who, when they can, use persuasion, but when obliged, use force. The strike is the most elementary form of the class struggle which always combines, in varying proportions, "ideological" methods with physical methods. The struggle against Fascism is basically a political struggle which needs a militia just



## Militant British Printers Stabbed in the Back

# Labour Fakers Bow to Tory Union-Bashers

LONDON—For more than four years Margaret Thatcher has with malicious glee ground her heel in the face of the British working class. Then last month it looked like the Iron Lady had gone too far and was about to get her comeuppance. When the printers union (National Graphical Association [NGA]), one of the strongest and most militant in the country, stood up to the union-bashing Tehbit Act, every class-conscious worker in Britain knew there was an opportunity to break the hated Tory government just as the miners had brought down Heath (the last Tory government) in 1974. At one point 4,000 printers and their supporters battled police in the small Midlands town of Warrington. But the Trades Union Congress (TUC) bureaucracy—including the so-called "lefts"—stabbed the embattled printers in the back in one of the most flagrant acts of class treason within living memory. Lenin's definition of the reformist labour bureaucracy as the agents of the capitalist class within the workers' movement can hardly be clearer than in Britain today.

What began as a localised closed-shop dispute between the NGA and Eddie Shah's Messenger Group, a small-time, seah free-sheet publisher in the Manchester area, escalated into a major showdown between the Tories and the trade-union movement. Having already imposed close to £1 million in fines and court costs and sequestered the union's entire assets under the Tehbit Act's provisions against mass picketing and secondary action [refusal to handle seah goods], the courts then outlawed the 24-hour national strike called by the NGA for December 14. *This provocation should have been answered with an immediate general strike call by the TUC to defend the printers and smash the anti-union laws.* The NGA tops may



The Battle of Warrington: 4,000 printers and their supporters take on scabherding cops, 29 November 1983.

ed move TUC general secretary Len Murray publicly repudiated this democratic decision and denounced *any* support to the NGA, including the tepid, toothless "left"-inspired resolution conveying a "sympathetic and supportive attitude." Seizing the opportunity to pass the buck, the NGA tops called off even their one-day protest action pending TUC approval. A divided TUC General Council convoked by Murray put the imprimatur on his backstabbing. Murray is now naturally and rightly hated by millions of militant workers as an open class traitor. But the TUC "lefts" are no more willing to confront the Tories' union-busting offensive. For example, Arthur Scargill, head of the powerful National Union of Miners, while condemning Murray, has taken no action in support of the printers or against the anti-union laws. Clearly the NGA could not take on the government on its own, but from the beginning its leadership refused to force the issue upon the TUC by mobilising the necessary strike action.

While the Fleet Street press showered the "courageous" Murray with kudos, in Westminster Iron Lady Thatcher purred, "The TUC believes in upholding the law." Indeed, it wasn't Parliament or the queen's assent which made the Tehbit/Prior anti-union legislation "the law," but the treachery of Murray and his TUC cohorts. The open endorsement of the Tories' union-busting laws by the right wing of the Labour Party/TUC bureaucracy and the do-nothing acquiescence of the "lefts" have shaken and angered countless worker militants. They want to fight. These worker militants can and must be broken from the entire tradition of Labourite reformism in both its right and left forms. There can be no proletarian socialist revolution in Britain without splitting the Labour Party and winning the mass of active, class-conscious workers as the communist vanguard.

### Labour/TUC "New Realism": Cold War Austerity

The TUC's backstabbing of the printers was a practical lesson in the "new realism" consolidated at its Blackpool conference last September. The conference was an orgy of Cold War

anti-Sovietism centered around Reagan's Korean Air Lines 007 provocation and a witchhunting attack on "left" miners leader Arthur Scargill for his correct denunciation of Polish Solidarność as "anti-socialist." Acting as Murray's hatchetmen against Scargill were none other than Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party. Not long ago the Healyites served as messengers for Islamic fanatic dictator of Libya, Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi. Now they're serving the cause of Pope John Paul Wojtyla and his friends in NATO and the CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia. The Blackpool TUC represented a concerted drive by the NATO/CIA-loving right wing to pull the trade-union movement into line behind the imperialist preparations for anti-Soviet nuclear war. As we said at the time:

"That means toeing the line for Thatcherite austerity, domestic fist of the drive to war. It means crawling to Tehbit, accepting the Tory attacks on jobs, wages, living standards and social services."

—Spartacist Britain, September 1983

The attack on Scargill was a warning to any who might step out of line with Cold War anti-Sovietism, in particular as the question of Solidarność is the touchstone for social-democratic anti-Sovietism. Neither the Labourite "lefts" nor the Communist Party supporters like Scottish miners leader Mick McGahey and the Engineers' Ken Gill stood up to the Cold War witchhunters. Not surprisingly when it came to the crunch with the NGA over Tehbit, they howled to the Cold War rights again, going no further than words of support despite their votes against Murray in the General Council.

Under the impact of the renewed anti-Soviet war drive led by U.S. imperialism, a distorted and uneven class line has been cleaved between "little England" reformists around Tony Benn and the NATO/CIA-connected Atlanticists in the Labour Party. This has already led to a major right split in 1981, producing the Social Democratic Party (SDP). The remaining Cold War right, both in the parliamentary Labour Party and TUC, denounced NGA "violence" and "lawbreaking" from the outset and openly took on the task of being direct



Britain's No. 1 class traitor: TUC general secretary Len Murray.

agents for Thatcher's anti-union laws. The "left" Campaign group of Labour MPs mumbled words of "active" support for any NGA industrial action—particularly when it became clear there was not likely to be any. And what of the Labour Party's "dynamic" new leader, Neil Kinnock? He sat on his hands for three weeks, only to finally announce: "I have no intention of condoning breaks in the law and no intention of being a drill sergeant for divisive and ruinous Tory legislation" (London Times, 14 December 1983). At the first hint of class struggle the Welsh windbag collapses. The Labour Party tops not only betray the workers' struggles against the Tories, but when in power themselves act to suppress labour militancy and increase the rate of exploitation for a sclerotic British capitalism. Remember the Callaghan/Healey "social contract" under the last Labour government!

The Cold Warriors like Denis Healey and Roy Hattersley, fifth columnists for the SPD, should be driven out of the Labour Party. Not that we have any illusions in the Bennite "left." On the contrary, we follow Lenin in seeking to put those with socialist pretensions, such as the Bennites, in power in the mass reformist party and in the government while unceasingly warning, at every step, that they are traitors and will betray—thus to win over their worker-militant followers as these hard truths are brought home.

### Bring Down Thatcher Through Class Struggle!

While the "left" bureaucrats' hangers-on were alibiing for surrender in the NGA battle, the Spartacist League/Britain was intervening with a revolutionary perspective. Outside the critical December 14 meeting of the TUC General Executive, our call to "Sack Murray" was taken up by numerous other militants. Against the NGA tops' attempt to pass the buck to Murray, we called for the occupation of Fleet Street (center of British newspaper industry) to seize the bosses' assets as ransom against the courts' theft of the union's assets and for a national, all-union print strike to defeat the union-busting attack. And against the TUC "lefts" do-nothing "sympathy and support" platitudes, we said: "TUC: Back NGA all the way—General strike now to smash Tory anti-union laws!"

Clearly needed is a general strike against the Tories' anti-labour offensive. But how to get it? Through widening actions, a strike in defense of the NGA could build to a decisive confrontation with the Iron Lady. In the context of an all-union print strike, joint strike committees of the NGA and other printing-trades unions would be crucial in winning the strike. Moreover, by overcoming the deeply entrenched craftist prejudices and structure of the printing trades, the basis would be laid for an industry-wide union forged through class-struggle unity. The demand for solid support action must be placed in particular upon those unions



Iron Lady Thatcher gets her kicks savaging the working class.

have intended their call for a 24-hour stoppage to be a token protest action to blow off steam, but many workers in the printing industry and elsewhere saw it as a springboard to wider action against Tory rule.

This widespread sentiment at the base was reflected in the TUC Employment Policy and Organisation Committee vote on December 13 narrowly endorsing the NGA action. In an unprecedented



# Six Die in West Berlin Deportation Jail

WEST BERLIN—Six young foreign detainees—three Tamils, a Tunisian long-time resident of France and two Palestinians—were killed horribly here on New Year's Eve in the notorious Augustaplatz prison, an old Wehrmacht barracks converted into a deportation jail. First reports said they burned to death. Two days later, autopsies revealed death from the cyanide fumes of the burning mattresses. A survivor has testified that he saw a cop throw fireworks into the cell. Police sources now state that 35 minutes elapsed between the outbreak of the fire and the arrival of the fire department.

An investigation was immediately launched *against the survivors* for arson and prison mutiny. As the facts leaked out, an investigation on charges of manslaughter was begun against prison wardens who had locked the cell, ostensibly in fear of a "general uprising."

West German jails are notorious. We do not forget the fate of Ulrike Meinhof (supposedly a "suicide") and other members of the so-called "Baader-Meinhof gang" of German leftists. But the central element in the brutal random killing of the Augustaplatz Six was racism, with a substrate of hard cold economics.

In West Germany today there are an estimated 4.6 million foreign workers,

## Stop the Racist Roundups!

of which the largest component comes from Turkey. Particularly after the coldblooded targeting of Turkish leftist Kemal Altun, hounded to death last August 30 by the deportation terror, the policy of German capital and its armed thugs is horribly clear. In their campaign to slash the immigrant work force, particularly resident foreign leftists, they have declared open season on immigrants. German capitalism rakes in big profits from the desperate millions of foreign workers fleeing economic hardship and vicious regimes of rightist terror: when they are no longer needed, the bourgeoisie's government, the "democratic" successor state to Auschwitz, obligingly enforces laws which recall those of the Nazis to deport them. Under Schmidt's Social Democratic (SPD) government more than 800,000 foreign workers were deported from West Germany, many of them to certain torture and death at the hands of the genocidal dictatorships they fled.

The hideous fiery death of the Augustaplatz Six began according to the prescribed racist routine. Rounded up in the anti-immigrants dragnet, all were illegally arrested—on the street, in subway stations, in the railway

station while huying a ticket—when they were unable to produce papers for an ID check. Two were simply visitors traveling through West Berlin; several had valid papers.

These daily manhunts are conducted by the AGA, the hated special police unit built by Christian Democrat (CDU) strongman and West Berlin interior minister Lummer. The arrested are routinely refused access to interpreters and lawyers; thus they are denied information on their legal right to demand asylum. Lawyers often learn only by accident of their detention: how many become "missing persons" to be deported quietly is impossible to determine.

Seven of the survivors of the New Year's Eve massacre have now been deported in secret, their identities and the destinations of all but one unknown. Another 36 shall be deported soon: there will soon be no witnesses left of the grisly atrocity.

The only "crime" of the many Tamils, Palestinians, Turks and Kurds who travel through West Berlin is their attempt to flee mass terror in their homelands. West Berlin, stronghold of deportation terror under Lummer and his bonapartist cops, is now under

CDU rule. But for years under the SPD as well, West Germany has supplied Turkey (NATO's southern flank) with tanks and arms, poured military aid into Israel, played paymaster to bloody J.R. Jayewardene in Sri Lanka. For Kurdish and Turkish workers and leftists, for Palestinian and Tamil refugees in West Germany, this smooth cooperation among capitalist butchers means an iron vise of terror, torture and murder.

On January 2 a demonstration of about 650 here witnessed an outpouring of just outrage. The contingent of about 250 Tamils chanted "At home they burn our houses, here they burn our bodies!" and took up the chants of the German Trotskyists, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands: "Free all deportation prisoners now! No deportations—deportation is murder! Political asylum for Tamils! German imperialism, paymaster for J.R.'s genocide!"

The working class must fight for its most oppressed sectors. The labor movement must act to stop the deportations and win full citizenship rights for foreign workers and their families. Asylum for refugees from rightist terror regimes! Avenge the Augustaplatz Six! To oust Lummer is not enough! Stop the manhunt against foreign workers! Down with the Gestapo methods of Lummer's racist police! Down with the AGA!

whose leaders claim to stand with the NGA—like blacking of [refusing to handle] print shipments by the National Union of Railwaymen and mass pickets (above all, at Eddie Shah's scab operation in Warrington) built through strike action with Scargill's miners, themselves in dispute with the National Coal Board bosses. Across the board, from the miners to the railwaymen to the Transport & General Workers, the journalists' union slapped with another Tebbit injunction, the British Telecom phone workers earlier hit with a court injunction, the British Leylands workers now in dispute, what is needed is not token "solidarity" or "moral support" but *solid industrial action*. Key to any generalised confrontation with the Tories/capitalists would be the struggle to win over and integrate the vast army of unemployed, by fighting for jobs for all through worksharing on full pay.

The TUC's betrayal of the printers has encouraged the Tory union-bashing offensive. Home secretary Leon Bright put it plainly: "The closed shop is itself, however enforced, a flagrant and fundamental denial of individual liberties...not only morally wrong but deeply dangerous to the economy and jobs" (London Times, 17 December 1983). Morality? Liberty? Deprived of its former world dominance and colonial empire, this rapacious ruling class turns with mounting virulence against the British working class. The only liberty they are really interested in is to uphold their class rule of exploitation and oppression. The TUC tops seek talks with the Thatcher government to negotiate some crumbs so that Labourite reformism does not become totally discredited in the eyes of their disaffected and embittered ranks. For working-class militants it is an urgent task to defend the independence of the trade unions from the capitalist state. That means defiance of the anti-union laws! To hell with the government-inspired closed-shop ballots! To hell with Murray's talks with the Tories!

### Fake-Lefts: No Way Forward

Of all the groups to the left of the Labour Party, the Communist Party (CP) has by far the greatest influence in

the trade unions. Years of class collaboration in the name of "peaceful coexistence" has resulted in the CP being dominated today by Cold War Eurocommunists. But Euros and pro-Moscow Stalinists alike capitulate before the Labourite traitors when it comes to class struggle. Thus, despite its significant weight in the Fleet Street printing trades, the CP was virtually invisible in this major confrontation between labour and capital.

At the height of the crisis, in mid-December prominent CP trade-union leader Ken Gill, a member of the TUC General Council, spoke to a joint CP/Labour Party gathering in London and scarcely mentioned the NGA conflict! When challenged by a Spartacist spokesman, Gill (who is in the pro-Moscow wing of the CP) replied that there needed to be "ideological struggle" in the TUC (!) before there could be talk of a general strike and claimed that "unless the NGA engages in battle there is little one can do to support." At this meeting another CP supporter, who is deputy father of the NGA chapel at the Financial Times (equivalent to the Wall Street Journal), while expressing "disappointment" at calling off the 24-hour stoppage and "disgust" at Murray's hackstalking, concluded that unionists should send resolutions to "get Murray off the fence." So here was the spectacle of one of the CP's most important union leaders claiming he could do nothing and a leader of one of the NGA's most powerful chapels claiming there was nothing to be done except writing to Len Murray!

One of the few left groups which raised the call for a general strike was the centrist Workers Power. At the same time, seeking to pressure the reformist leaders it also demanded that:

"The Labour Party leadership must be called to account. Hundreds of resolutions must be sent to the NEC [National Executive Committee] demanding that Kinnoch, Hattersley & Co. retract all their attacks on the NGA, and declare their 100% support, and that of the whole party, for the NGA."

Good luck! While trying to put comrades Kinnoch and Hattersley on the right track, Workers Power also veered off to infantile rank-and-filism

and idiot adventurist gimmickry (e.g., proposing to take on "armed police riot squads...under the guise of football, gymnastics and martial arts clubs"). Like Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party from whence it came, Workers Power seeks to skirt the issue of *political* struggle against the trade-union bureaucracy by pinning its hopes on a "rank-and-file" movement with no defined programmatic content.

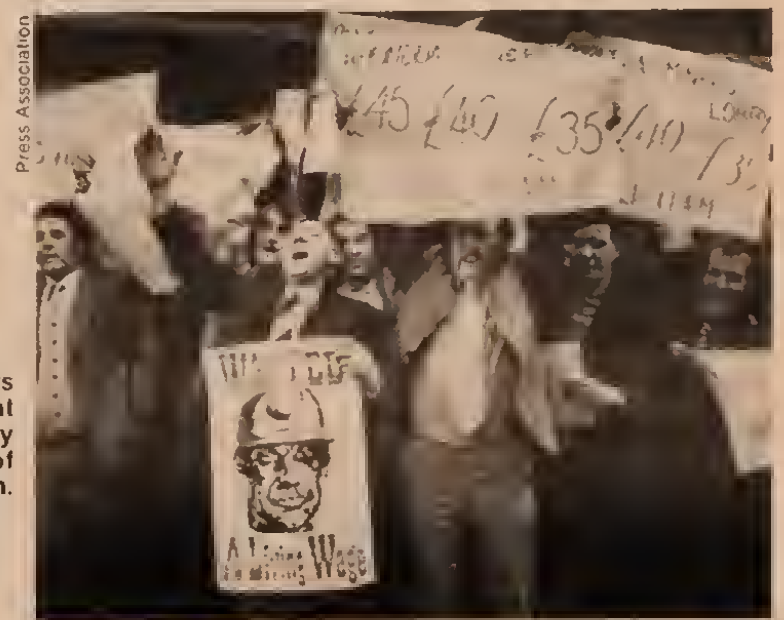
### Whither Britain?

On every front, at home and abroad, the British bourgeoisie is on the offensive against the hard-won gains of the

decay of British capitalism has condemned large sections of the population to permanent impoverishment. In the summer of 1982 jobless youth, black and white, burned down the slum neighbourhoods of the bleak and dilapidated cities.

The progressive rot of Britain combined with the demonstrated impotence of the Labourite bureaucracy to stop it also create a fertile social/political climate for the ominous growth of fascism. Thus, the struggle against the anti-immigrant racialism directed at the South Asian and West Indian communities is crucial to forging a revolution-

1974 miners strike brought down last Tory government of Edward Heath.



working class in a desperate attempt to reverse the decline of British imperialism. For this third-rate imperialist power it means marching in lockstep with Reagan's America in preparation for war to overthrow the Soviet degenerated workers state, horn of the Bolshevik Revolution. And it means destroying such gains as the trade-union movement has made over the past half century, forcing labour back to the pre-World War I status of the notorious Taff Vale decision. Unions are to be confined to narrow economic issues, at best.

Meanwhile, as one sector of industry after another undergoes devastation, valuable skills of the proletariat are thrown to the wind. The decades-long

any vanguard party of the now ethnically diverse British proletariat.

The flagrant betrayal of the printers highlights the wretchedness and utter bankruptcy of all wings of traditional Labourite reformism. The right openly accepts the dictates of Cold War austerity, while the "lefts" no longer offer believable reforms and fear any struggle which might challenge the basis of capitalist rule. The working class acutely needs a new leadership which can halt and reverse the Tory anti-union offensive and carry the struggle forward to socialist revolution, which would be followed by some ambitious five-year plans to make Britain a decent place to live. ■



## Lauren & Ray...

(continued from page 16)

who came to court January 6 and posed for photographs outside the courtroom (see photo, page 16) was Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1225 president Dave Mix—some of his local members are themselves facing felony charges for defending their picket lines during the recent bitter Greyhound strike.

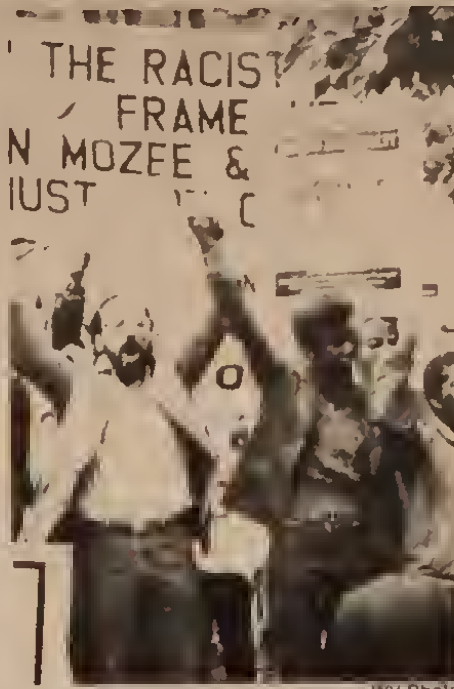
The defense motion charges that Lauren (formerly a Black Panther Party member for ten years) and Ray were

targeted because of their political views and histories and their union activism. Both members of the oppositional caucus in the CWA, the Militant Action Caucus, Ray and Lauren are avowed socialists, well known in the union as anti-racist class-struggle fighters, who were picked out for victimization as part of a concerted company attempt to intimidate the strikers and break the strike.

### Funds Urgently Needed Now

Following a spirited march of 400 in support of Mozee and Palmiero held in Oakland last October 29, the PSDC is continuing vigorous efforts to publicize the case. Prior to the demonstration 185,000 leaflets were distributed; since then nearly 50,000 *WV* supplements on the case have been handed out at work locations, on campuses, in black neighborhoods, at bus barns and on the Greyhound picket lines. The PSDC's demands have been endorsed by more than 20 local unions and over 160 labor officials, by minority student and civil rights groups, community activists, a variety of left-wing political spokesmen and several prominent bourgeois politicians. Thanks to the pressure generated by this broad support, the D.A. dropped one of the charges in advance of the first court appearance. Now the D.A.'s office is stalling; meanwhile, the phone company is intervening hard in the unemployment hearings to make sure Ray and Lauren continue to be denied unemployment compensation. The phone company and their government friends are hoping the active support generated by the PSDC will dissipate and the militants will run out of patience—and money.

The defense motion was filed November 21. Then the prosecutor, Deputy D.A. Bill Kleeman, suddenly



Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee at 29 October 1983 defense rally in Oakland.

backed out of the case. Kleeman, known to have political aspirations, likes to claim he supports the labor movement (*San Francisco Examiner*, 28 October 1983); this case—with the impressive labor backing for the defendants—was looking like a political millstone for his neck. The D.A. now handling the case has stalled and stonewalled: first flatly refusing to submit a written answer to the defense motion, then continuing this posture at the January 6 hearing with claims the motion, with its mammoth documentation, is "insufficient" and "without merit." The PSDC is mobilizing to once again fill the courtroom with supporters of Ray and Lauren on January 17.

In mid-December, the PSDC learned that the phone company had quietly

transferred Michelle "Scab" Hansen to a San Francisco phone office. This ploy did not work out quite as they intended. Workers there, after reading the *WV* supplements on the case, were outraged that the racist scab was working in their midst. A union steward took supplements for every worker in the office and sold 15 PSDC buttons to coworkers. This militant told PSDCers what happened next: one of Hansen's fellow managers, seeing workers engrossed in reading the material, went to a second-line boss and demanded the workers be forbidden to read it. The second-line, who is black, replied she couldn't tell people what to read. One worker took a supplement, underlined every reference to Hansen—in yellow!—and threw it in her face saying, "This is what people think of you!" Except for Hansen's lone manager buddy, the steward says, no one in the office will talk to the racist scab.

All defenders of unionism and black people's rights can be gratified by the class solidarity shown by these phone workers and other working people. But PSDC spokesmen emphasize that the vital defense effort is imperiled by mounting financial costs. Thousands of dollars have been spent on pursuing and publicizing this case: Ray and Lauren and the three teenagers dependent on them have had practically no income except the contributions raised by the PSDC. While the CWA has paid some legal expenses there continues to be much additional costly activity to be done. Many unions, rank-and-file unionists and concerned individuals have contributed generously, but the PSDC has been forced to rely on additional loans. *WV* appeals to our readers to send urgently needed contributions to: Phone Strikers Defense Committee, Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623. ■

### LABOR

#### Unionists Rally To Help Two Fired Phone Workers

Some 400 Black trade unionists and other supporters recently marched from the Oakland City Hall to the Alameda County Court house to protest the recent firings of two telephone workers.

Former employees Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero said they were fired and denied unemployment compensation for taking part in the recent national phone workers strike.

Mozee said that she was attacked by telephone manager Michelle Rose Hanseon, who shouted racial epithets at her and hit her in the face. Mozee said she defended herself and Palmiero came to her assistance. Hanseon reportedly still has her job.

The rally was endorsed by 12 local unions and 24 Black, student and civil rights groups.

JET magazine, 19 December 1983, covers Mozee/Palmiero defense.

# Phone Strikers Singled Out for Prosecution

## Excerpts from Defense Motion for "Discovery" and Dismissal of Charges Against Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero

MUNICIPAL COURT  
OF CALIFORNIA,  
COUNTY OF ALAMEDA  
SAN LEANDRO-HAYWARD  
JUDICIAL DISTRICT

PEOPLE OF THE STATE  
OF CALIFORNIA,

Plaintiff,

v.

RAIMONDO GIUSEPPE  
PALMIERO, et al.,

Defendants.

NOTICE OF MOTION TO  
DISMISS INDICTMENT  
FOR DISCRIMINATORY  
PROSECUTION AND  
MOTION FOR DISCOVERY  
IN SUPPORT THEREOF

DECLARATION OF  
ANNE FLOWER CUMINGS

I, ANNE FLOWER CUMINGS,  
declare:

...Defendants [Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero] had been employees of PT&T, were and are members of the Communications Workers of America. Defendants are an interracial couple who live together in Oakland. At the time of the alleged offenses, they were on strike. The strike lasted from approximately August 8, 1983 until August 29, 1983. The alleged offenses allegedly occurred at or near the picket line. The alleged victim was a non-

striking employee of PT&T. The instant case is strike-related.

The August 1983 strike was the first significant and lengthy [strike] of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) against PT&T in California since 1955. It was a bitter strike. Management personnel, contractors and suppliers, etc. regularly crossed picket lines and engaged in assaultive type conduct toward picketers as PT&T attempted to insure that the strike interrupted its business as little as possible.

Defendants MOZEE and PALMIERO are members of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America. It is an organized group of phone workers within the CWA who seek to become the leadership of the Union. It advocates that unions, in particular the CWA, must represent the interests of workers and that those interests are separate and distinct from, and counterposed to those of the companies. It espouses the belief that the independent interests of workers must have a political as well as an economic expression in the form of an independent working class party.

Defendants, along with other members of the Militant Action Caucus, were among the most vocal and active supporters of the strike. They sought to mobilize the Union members to make the strike effective and successful. There is a history of harassment of Caucus members by PT&T management for their Union activities.

The defendants have filed a Motion to Dismiss the instant criminal action on the basis that the prosecution is the result of discriminatory enforcement of the laws.... Defendants contend that Alameda County law enforcement officials sided with PT&T, its management and its security officers during the strike of August 1983. Defendants contend that Alameda County law enforcement officials had a policy of investigating and prosecuting only striking workers for allegedly committing assault type offenses; conversely, Alameda County law enforcement officials had a policy of not investigating or prosecuting PT&T personnel for allegedly committing assault type offenses....

No prosecution of any assault type offense committed on a striker by PT&T personnel (or those sympathetic to PT&T during the strike) has been initiated....

No matter who called the police (whether PT&T personnel or a striker), the police responded to PT&T management and/or security personnel first. I am informed and believe that this procedure was jointly worked out between Alameda County law enforcement personnel and PT&T....

I am informed and believe that Alameda County law enforcement officials and PT&T management and security personnel caused to be broadcast on local television news a story about the arrest of defendant PALMIERO which included an old mug shot of LAUREN MOZEE accompanied by the statement that the police were still looking for this woman. I am informed and believe that at the time the above information and photograph were caused to be broadcast, Alameda County law enforcement officials and PT&T management and security per-

sonnel were aware that defendant MOZEE was an employee of PT&T and knew her address. I am informed and believe that the actions taken to cause said broadcast were done with the intent to intimidate LAUREN MOZEE and CWA strikers in general from exercising their right to picket and with the intent to incite public opinion against the CWA strike by portraying defendant MOZEE as a violent criminal.

I am informed and believe that at the time of defendant PALMIERO's arrest by and defendant MOZEE's surrender to Alameda County law enforcement officials, said officials confiscated the PT&T identification cards of both defendants on behalf of, at the instruction of, and with the authority of PT&T management and security personnel.

I am informed and believe that the strikers at San Leandro Directory Assistance were largely minority women and that they were the focus of consistent harassment by PT&T management and those sympathetic to them and the San Leandro Police Department. These minority strikers were conscious of police hostility and antipathy to them not only because they were strikers but also because of their race and sex.

I am informed and believe that law enforcement officials were in constant contact with PT&T management and security before, during and after this strike as part of the discriminatory enforcement of the laws. I am informed and believe that PT&T has in its possession or under its control the records sought herein regarding meetings, contacts, agreements, etc., between PT&T and law enforcement officials of Alameda County....

Executed this 21st day of November, 1983, at San Francisco, California.

Anne Flower Cumings  
Declarant



# Excerpts from Phone Strikers' Depositions

We publish here some excerpts from the sworn statements of Communications Workers of America (CWA) members submitted in court November 21 as part of the defense motion that the frame-up charges against Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be dismissed on the grounds of "discriminatory prosecution." The strikers' accounts constitute the most powerful proof that the legal victimization of Lauren and Ray was undertaken as part of the vindictive conspiracy between PT&T management and the capitalist state against telephone workers and their right to strike. In excerpting these documents for publication here, we have corrected obvious typing errors.

## CWA member Karen Lawrence

...On August 18, 1983, I witnessed the arrest of one Communications Workers of America picket, Annette Robertson, by members of the San Leandro Police Department.

Before Robertson was arrested, two San Leandro Police officers were at the picketing site. A few minutes later, two more San Leandro Police officers arrived. One of the recently arrived officers asked another officer, "What's happening here?"

The first San Leandro Police officer replied, "We're going to get one of them."

...After a car passed through the picket line, two members of the San Leandro Police Department ran over to Annette Robertson and one of them said, "That's it. You're under arrest." One of the police officers arresting Annette Robertson raised his right arm in a motion that indicated he might strike her. I yelled, "Don't you hit that woman on the head!" Annette Robertson was then pushed against the police car and the officers kicked her in the ankles to force her feet apart. Annette Robertson is a small woman who weighs approximately 100 pounds...

I cannot recall the specific date, but to the best of my recollection, during the last week of the strike, a man who was accompanying a strike-breaker brandished a tire iron and a handgun in a threatening manner to the picketers. The man said, "I'll blow this whole picket line away."

The San Leandro Police Department was supplied with a description of that man as well as the license number of the car he drove. The officer who took the report later informed me that the man was neither interviewed nor arrested...

## CWA member Trina Penn, a picket captain during the strike

...On August 24, 1983, Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee arrived at the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph office at 530 East Fourteenth Street, San Leandro. Only a few minutes after their arrival, three or four San Leandro Police Department squad cars arrived at 530 East Fourteenth Street. There were at least two police officers in each car. The six to eight police officers reacted as if a major crime was in progress. One police officer removed the shotgun from the rack inside the squad car. They were obviously responding to a call from Pacific Telephone and Telegraph management...

## CWA member Paul Costan

...On August 10, 1983, I was on picket duty at 1661 Doolittle Drive, San Leandro, California. At approximately 10:00 AM, a blue van from the "Special T Messenger Service," a non-union delivery service, was driven

through the picket line at a high rate of speed. I would estimate that the van was going about 30 miles an hour. Picketers had to scramble to avoid being struck by the speeding van. One picketer, Wanda Rutland, was struck on the head by the van's right-side rear-view mirror. About thirty minutes later, the same van stopped behind a gate inside company property. Everyone on the picket line was paying careful attention, because we were afraid the van would try to crash the picket line again. A company station wagon pulled up and stopped next to the picket line.

the picket line. After the convoy passed through the picket line, the company security personnel talked with the police officers. The discussion was very friendly. Both the police officers and the company security personnel were laughing...

## CWA member Steven Sandor John

[On August 17]... I went to the police station on East 14th Street and ascertained that Ray Palmiero was being detained there. I then drove to the operators' picket line at 530 East 14th Street and got several of the operators to

have time. They said that these things happen all the time during a strike. I had to be very insistent before they would write a report. They asked me if I provoked the incident...

On August 18, 1983, the Communications Workers of America held a march through downtown Oakland. We were well organized and observed the law. The Oakland Police Department had a large number of officers observing the parade. They were not escorting us. They hung back and appeared to be waiting for any outbreak of trouble. At one point during the parade, a motorist



During last summer's phone strike militant CWA pickets confront scabs at San Leandro in California Bay Area (left). Notoriously brutal Los Angeles police bust phone strikers (right).

We thought the company station wagon would run interference for the van. Then, without warning, the van drove around the station wagon and crashed through the picket line. It was as if the driver of the van was aiming at the picketers. Everyone tried to avoid getting hit. I was running for cover, but as the van squealed around the corner onto Doolittle Drive at 25 to 30 miles an hour, it hit my left foot. I spun around and landed in a prone position...

Sometime around 10:30 AM, a group of ten or more police officers arrived at 1661 Doolittle. There was nothing happening on the picket line at the time, but these police officers were dressed in "riot gear" with visored helmets, full-length batons and jumpsuits. Their commanding officer conferred with company security while the rest of the police officers waited across the street. Then the police officers approached the picket line. Without any explanation to us, they forced us off the picket line. This allowed a convoy of strike-breaking big-rig trucks to cross our picket line. The police officers were acting as if they were management security officers...

Later, when I recognized the severity of my injuries, I contemplated making a police report. But I was confined to my bed for about a week. Then I heard that a fellow Communications Workers of America [member] had seen my picture on an Oakland police officer's motorcycle. I also heard that a union worker was threatened with the possibility of being arrested for making a false police report when she tried to report a similar incident...

## CWA member Kathy Ikegami

[On August 10 in San Leandro]... the police officers approached the picket line and each police officer physically grabbed a picketer and removed him or her from the line. I was grabbed around the chest and held. There was no way that we could lawfully picket. While the police were holding us, a convoy of strike-breaking "18-wheelers" crossed

accompany me back to the police station...

While the desk officer was speaking to me, a young blond man in a suit walked across the room behind the desk officer and ostentatiously took my picture...

August 19, 1983, I was present in the San Leandro Municipal Court... [Palmiero's lawyer] Mr. Simons requested that Ray's personal effects taken two days earlier when he was arrested by the police be returned. The District Attorney responded that they had to hold on to his possessions and then something to the effect that the police had confiscated a Communist Party card belonging to Ray. In fact, the items taken from Ray are listed in the police report and do not include a Communist Party card...

## CWA member Tom Humphrey

...On August 16, 1983, at approximately 7:45 AM, I was on picket duty in front of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph facility at 3014 Chapman Street, Oakland, California. At that time, Suzanne Fields, an employee of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, drove up to the location where I was picketing. I showed her my picket sign. She looked straight at me and then drove into me, hitting me in both kneecaps. She smiled as she hit [me] with her car. Everett Campbell, a Pacific Telephone and Telegraph manager, witnessed the entire incident. I asked him to call the police. He refused to do so. I had to walk two blocks on very sore legs to make a call to the Oakland Police from a public phone.

After my call, two Oakland Police Department squad cars arrived. Three Pacific Telephone and Telegraph security cars also arrived. The Oakland Police officers first started to go inside the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph facility to talk with management personnel before talking to me. I had to remind them that I was the complainant in this matter. Then the Oakland Police officers didn't want to make a report of the incident. They told me that they didn't

honked his horn in support of the marchers. The Oakland Police officers immediately took this man, who is named Robbie Llamas, from his car and took him to jail. This, as it turned out, was the biggest disturbance of the parade. And it was caused by the Oakland Police Department.

In late August 1983, a date that I am unable to specifically recall, I was at the Communications Workers of America Local Chapter 9415 at 1831 Park Boulevard, Oakland, California. At that time the local received a telephone call from the picketers at the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Directory Assistance facility, 530 East Fourteenth Street, San Leandro. The picketers called Local 9415 because they felt intimidated by the San Leandro Police Department. The picketers said they were intimidated by a San Leandro Police Department paddy wagon that repeatedly drove in front of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph facility. We had to dispatch three or four people from Local 9415 to reassure the picketers in San Leandro...

## Special Blues Benefit for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee

Stop the racist anti-labor frame-up of Mozee and Palmiero!

Featuring

**Peewee Crayton**  
**Percy Mayfield**

Sunday, February 19, 3 p.m.

At the National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 24  
774 South Valencia

\$5 donation. Proceeds to the PSDC.

For more information:  
(213) 663-1216 or 1217

**LOS ANGELES**



# UNPOPULAR FRONT IN FRANCE

This is the conclusion of a two-part article on Mitterrand's France. The first part, covering political and economic developments under the preceding Gaullist and Giscardian regimes, was published in WV No. 339, 7 October 1983.

## PART TWO

"Mitterrand projected himself as the President of plenty but has become the President of penury."

—Henri Amourenx, historian

When François Mitterrand was elected the first Socialist president of the Fifth French Republic in May 1981, the reformist left throughout the world hailed this as a great victory. Amid a capitalist world committed to economic austerity and monetarism, the new French popular front advocated what the snide London *Economist* dubbed "Keynesianism in one country." The Mitterrand regime promised to pull France out of the world economic crisis—the worst since the Great Depression of the 1930s—through a purely national policy of fiscal and monetary expansion.

The utter impossibility of this program did not take long to make itself felt. At the dictate of international finance capital, after a year in office the Mitterrand popular front executed a U-turn in economic policy and has since imposed *more severe* austerity measures than those of the previous bourgeois Giscardian and Gaullist regimes! There were 1.7 million unemployed when Mitterrand took office; today there are over 2 million. And official government forecasts project half a million more unemployed by the end of 1984.

One effect of the disastrous failure of the Mitterrand "experiment" has been to drive the petty-bourgeois masses to the right, creating the increasing danger of bonapartism. At the same time, the working class is being forced to defend its jobs, its living standards, the social gains of a generation against this unpopular-front regime. In the forefront of such struggles have been the foreign, predominantly North African, workers, who have fewer attachments to and illusions in French social democracy. The Mitterrand popular front has



Aulnay-sous-Bois—Citroën auto workers on strike, May 1982. The working class is being forced to defend its jobs, its living standards, the gains of a generation against Mitterrand's unpopular-front regime.

entered an explosive period which will determine not only the future of France but perhaps all of Europe.

### Mitterrand's Popular Front with Gaullism

When the world economic downturn hit France in 1979-80, the country had already suffered under three years of deflationary austerity (the Barre program) coming after two years of world slump. The unemployment rate in 1979 of 6 percent was the highest in a generation. A public opinion poll taken at the end of 1980 showed that a majority of those questioned thought that inflation, employment, growth, living standards, equality and international competitiveness had all got worse since the right-wing monetarist Raymond Barre became prime minister in 1976. Almost all sections of French society rejected the "neo-liberal" eco-

nomies of the Giscard/Barre regime. In the months leading up to the May 1981 election the economic conditions got markedly worse and became the dominant domestic issue in the campaign.

Mitterrand promised a veritable Keynesian/social-democratic "economic miracle." If elected, he told the French people, he would create 400,000 new jobs (half in the public sector), reduce the workweek from 40 to 35 hours, increase state pensions and family allowances by 50 percent, raise the minimum wage by 25 percent and institute an additional fifth week of annual summer vacation. Add to this an ambitious nationalization program with generous compensation and a major rearmament drive. In particular, Mitterrand promised to beef up the *force de frappe* (especially nuclear submarines) and expand French arms exports to the so-called Third World. Integral to this program was increased protectionism under the slogan of "reconquering the domestic market."

Like Mitterrand and the Communist Marchais, the Gaullist candidate Jacques Chirac attacked the Giscard/Barre regime for its "wet liberalism" and "complacency" toward the worsening economic crisis. He, too, promised to stimulate the economy and reduce unemployment with his own version of Keynesian pump-priming, namely, big tax cuts for both businesses and individuals. The Gaullist campaign appealed especially to small and medium-sized capitalists who resented the baughty Giscard as the representative of high finance and the multinational corporations. More generally, Gaullism appeals to the chauvinistic petty bourgeoisie of a middle-rank imperialist country with memories of lost historic grandeur (the Sun King, the Napoleonic empire).

The pseudo-Trotskyists such as the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire

(LCR) followers of Ernest Mandel/Alain Krivine, Pierre Lambert's Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI) and Arlette Laguiller's Lutte Ouvrière (LO) enthusiastically supported Mitterrand. The PCI proclaimed Mitterrand's 10 May 1981 election success a "workers victory" against the bourgeoisie. Uniquely, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency, insisted that Mitterrand was in fact tied to a section of the French bourgeoisie, and not just marginal elements like the Left Radicals but centrally the Gaullists. On the eve of the second round the LTF wrote:

"What has Mitterrand promised which creates such enthusiasm in our leftists of yesteryear? To form a popular-frontist alliance with representatives of the bourgeoisie (Left Radicals, Gaullists, etc.). To reinforce the links of imperialist France with the Atlantic Alliance aimed at the USSR. To make the workers pay for the crisis of capitalism. It will be the popular front under the colors of Gaullism!"

—"Giscard Never, Mitterrand No!" *BV* No. 280, 8 May 1981

The social-democratic and Gaullist campaigns had a number of important themes in common. Both attacked Giscard/Barre's "neo-liberal" economies for sacrificing the French economy to the interests of foreign capital. Both denounced Giscard for being too détente-minded and soft toward Soviet "aggression" (e.g., Afghanistan). The Mitterrand forces assiduously courted the so-called "left" Gaullists. In fact, Mitterrand probably paid greater homage to the General's memory than did Chirac, declaring: "This is an appeal to national resistance against the fatality of the crisis, as General de Gaulle appealed in his day in other circumstances that were difficult for the nation" (quoted in Denis MacShane, *Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey* [1983]).

These appeals to Gaullist nationalism



Hallio/L'Express

Social democrat François Mitterrand with Gaullist Jacques Chirac (right): Two faces of French nationalism.



were not without their effect. When Chirac was eliminated in the first round, he said that while he personally would support Giscard, his followers were free to vote their consciences. This was universally taken as haek-handed support to Mitterrand. And after he lost, Giscard accused his former prime minister of "premeditated treachery." Fully 15 percent of those who voted for the Gaullist on the first round switched to the social democrat on the second, the decisive margin which put Mitterrand into the Elysée.

One "left" Gaullist and one ex-Gaullist, both advocates of traditional *dirigisme*, were given key economic ministries: Michel Jobert as minister of trade and Jacques Delors as minister of finance. As Pompidou's foreign minister in the early 1970s, Jobert had gained international notoriety as the most vocal—indeed, insulting—critic of Henry Kissinger's abortive "Year of Europe." More so than the maverick Jobert, the symbiosis between Mitterrand's social democracy and Gaullism is personified by Jacques Delors, a former senior Bank of France official. Delors in 1969-72 was chief economic adviser to the "liberal" Gaullist regime of Chahan-Delmas, where he advocated (unsuccessfully) a "social contract" between the unions, employers and government to divide up the economic pie. After Chahan-Delmas was dumped by Pompidou as too "radical," Delors switched his allegiance to Mitterrand's Socialists as the best party to realize his vision of a liberal corporatist state.

The response of the bourgeoisie in France and its imperialist allies to Mitterrand's election was genuinely contradictory. On the one hand, it was generally leared that his economic program would produce an inflationary explosion with unpredictable but clearly dangerous consequences. On the morrow of the election the conservative London *Economist* (16 May 1981) predicted:

"The almost certain result of this Mr Mitterrand's economic policy would be an explosion of inflation that would drive the franc through the floorboards of the European Monetary System and lead to a flight of capital, which Mr Mitterrand's left-wing advisers would then blame on a 'bankers' ramp' and would want to cure by re-erecting a protectionist fence around France."

Much of the French bourgeoisie agreed with this prognosis. 10 May 1981 began an uninterrupted capital flight. In the first two weeks after Mitterrand's election France lost a quarter of its total foreign exchange reserves. The term "flight of capital" is no mere metaphor either. In late 1981 the main customs officials union estimated that since the new government had come to power \$7.5 billion in cash, gold and other valuables had been smuggled out of the country, most of it in private planes! The combined effect of the world downturn and apprehension over Mitterrand's policies caused French capital to go on strike. Private-sector investment fell about 15 percent in 1981-82. Shades of Allende's Chile!

But the attitude of the bourgeoisie, both within France and without, toward Mitterrand's election was by no means entirely negative. As we have seen, a substantial section of French capital, represented by the Gaullists, opposed Giscard/Barre's "neo-liberalism" and favored a return to more nationalistic, *étatiste* policies. Secondly, Mitterrand's strident anti-Sovietism (in contrast to Giscard) won him the favor of imperialist opinion, especially in Reagan's Washington. The American *Time* magazine (9 November 1981) titled an article on the new French president, "Hawk in Socialist Feathers: Mitterrand backs a strong military in tandem with U.S. policy." And, indeed, the French social democrat has been the leading recruiter for Cold War II in NATO Europe. For example, early last year in Bonn he denounced pacifism in Germany (when has a French president ever done that before?) and urged the Bundestag to

support the scheduled deployment of the U.S. Pershing 2 missiles. Of course, Mitterrand's France is not a puppet of Reagan's America (occasional appearances to the contrary notwithstanding). It is a middle-rank imperialist country seeking to carve out its own sphere of influence (e.g., in the Near East).

Especially outside France, Mitterrand's election was seen as a victory for pro-NATO social democracy over the (more or less) pro-Moscow Communist Party. It was also viewed as a victory for parliamentary reformism over militant class struggle à la May '68 and, on a lesser scale, Lorraine in 1979. The same *Economist* editorial which criticized Mitterrand's economic program nonetheless welcomed the strengthening of parliamentary illusions among the French working class: "The clear gain is that, after 23 years under right-of-centre governments, France has shown that it can cross over to the left by the ballot-

emphasis on nationalization. The government took over a number of major industrial firms accounting for about a quarter of France's manufacturing output. These newly nationalized enterprises were supposed to be the locomotive of economic growth and the *force de frappe* in the war to "reconquer the domestic market." Mitterrand declared:

"I am opposed to an international division of labor and production, a division decided far from our shores and obeying interests that are not our own... This must be made clear, and for us nationalization is a weapon to protect France's production apparatus."

—*Wall Street Journal*,  
7 October 1981

Instead of being a locomotive of growth, the nationalized industrial sector has become a white elephant. First, to say that compensation to the former owners was generous would be a gross understatement. In a number of

adolescent's toward his father—vengeful, vindictive, and whiny."

—*Le Nouvel Economiste*,  
9 November 1981

According to Delors, during Mitterrand's first year in office consumption in France increased by 3.7 percent, industrial production by only 2.1 percent. The difference was made up by a jump in imports. A government pledged to "reconquer the domestic market" did just the opposite. Its policies stimulated further penetration by foreign manufacturers into the French market. In Mitterrand's first year imports were up by 5.5 percent while exports fell. The result: the balance-of-payments deficit almost *quadrupled* (OECD Economic Survey, France, March 1983). By mid-1982 the Bank of France was fast running out of foreign exchange reserves and foreign credit. Mitterrand's France was becoming the Poland of West Europe.

Mitterrand's last hope to maintain his policy of "Keynesianism in one country" was played out at the June 1982 Versailles economic summit. As host the French president proposed a series of grandiose schemes for restructuring the world capitalist economy. All these schemes had one thing in common: they would channel other people's money, mainly denominated in dollars and Deutschmarks, into the coffers of the Bank of France. In particular the French made a big push for international currency stabilization, a scheme to have the U.S. Federal Reserve take over the hopeless job of propping up the faltering franc.

Quite possibly Mitterrand believed that his fervent anti-Sovietism entitled him to American economic largesse (a new Marshall plan). But facing the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, U.S. imperialism was neither willing nor able to subsidize any West European experiments in social reformism. A *Wall Street Journal* editorial (9 June 1982) commented acidly on Mitterrand's call for international currency stabilization:

"That would, in effect, amount to hitching the dollar to the spending schemes of France's Socialist government, and mercifully the Reagan team managed to slip out of Versailles without promising anything more than a study of the whole idea of currency intervention."

With Wall Street having cut off its credit the Mitterrand regime had to replace the language of *solidarité* with that of *rigueur*, a euphemism for austerity.

### ...to Rigueur I & II

A week after the disastrous Versailles summit the Mitterrand regime devalued the franc for the second time and announced an austerity program designed to reduce consumption by 2-3 percent. Wages and prices were frozen for four months. This freeze antagonized both labor and capital: the workers because it cut their living standards, the industrialists because they couldn't pass on the increased costs (e.g., for imported oil) resulting from the devaluation.

The bourgeois press and politicians had a field day baiting the Socialist Communist government for imposing an austerity program more severe than anything the Gaullists or Giscardians had ever attempted. Writing in the conservative *Le Figaro* magazine Chirac sounded like a social democrat denouncing a right-wing monetarist regime:

"Until 10 May 1981, despite the crisis, successive governments had managed to maintain the standard of living of the French, to improve the situation of the most underprivileged and to guarantee social welfare. Today, under pressure from a strained economy made worse by its own mistakes, the government is jeopardizing those achievements... 'What a paradox it is to see a socialist and communist government follow a policy that is no longer social at all!'"

—U.S. Joint Publications  
Research Service, *West Europe*  
Report, 12 January 1983

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Deutsch/Paris Match

**Auto workers march through Renault-Flins plant, May 1982. Immigrant workers, predominantly North African Arabs, are in the vanguard of labor struggles against Mitterrand's austerity.**



Atlas/Sygma

**Symbol of French Stalinists' repulsive chauvinism: Homes of black African immigrants bulldozed by Communist mayor of Vitry, December 1980.**

box rather than by violence in the streets."

On balance the *initial* attitude of the bourgeoisie to the Mitterrand "experiment" was one of guarded toleration. If—a big if—the Mitterrand popular front did not seriously weaken France's international competitiveness, producing a run on the franc, then perhaps it would become a force of stability for the French bourgeois order, as had the German social democrats under Brandt/Schmidt.

### From "Keynesianism in One Country"...

A few months after Mitterrand took office, *Business Week* (24 August 1981) observed, "French fiscal and monetary policy is switching to a fast expansionary track." Indeed, it was. The budget for 1982 called for increases in spending for government loans and other subsidies to business of 54 percent, for housing of 34 percent, for public works of 30 percent and for the military of 18 percent. Overall, from 1980 to 1982 the budget deficit *tripled*, from 31 to 95 billion francs.

Where the Mitterrand regime differed from conventional Keynesianism was its

cases (e.g., Saint-Gobain, Thomson-Brandt) the owners received *more* in compensation than if they liquidated their shares on the Paris Bourse a few months *before* the Socialists took office! "Some of those companies aren't worth a franc," commented one Paris stockbroker. Despite generous government funding for investment, all of the newly nationalized firms except one (Compagnie Générale d'Electricité) lost money in 1982. And now that austerity is the order of the day, the nationalized industries are under the ax. For example, the coal syndicate, Charbonnages de France, is planning to reduce its labor force by 20,000 miners by 1988. Mitterrand's last year in office. Instead of being the vanguard of the "high-tech revolution," the nationalized enterprises have become the vanguard of retrenchment and layoffs.

Despite the government's massive infusion of money demand into the economy, however, private capital investment continued to plummet. Even Delors, the minister closest to the business community, complained:

"I expected modern factors to be more widespread among the small and large leaders. Business and industry have an attitude toward the state similar to an



# France...

(continued from page 9)

With the ignominious collapse of its economic program, the Mitterrand regime's only recourse was to blame all its trouble on the rest of the world. Delors and Johert, for example, railed against Japanese protectionism, West German fiscal policy, American interest rates, etc. Behind these attacks on its major trading partners was the scarcely veiled threat of protectionism. While the French market is small potatoes for the Americans and Japanese, it is vital for the West German industrial economy. This gives the French a certain leverage for economic blackmail against its major trading partner across the Rhine.

Early last year France threatened to pull out of the European Monetary System (a potential first step toward pulling out of the Common Market altogether) unless the Deutschmark was revalued upward against all other currencies. In other words, the Mitterrand government told the West Germans to sacrifice their own international competitiveness for the sake of France's horrendous balance-of-payments situation. Bonn grudgingly realigned its currency last March, but German industrialists were seething in anger.

Despite their strident anti-Sovietism, the Mitterrand social democrats have by their economic policies antagonized two of the most powerful forces in the capitalist world: Wall Street and the Frankfurt Börse. France's principal imperialist allies demand a government in Paris which is strictly monetarist, stabilizes the franc through domestic austerity and does not constantly ask for subsidies from the Federal Reserve and Bundesbank under the threat to go protectionist. The French bourgeoisie are thus encouraged by world capitalist opinion—as if they needed any encouragement—to put an end to the discredited and unpopular Mitterrand "experiment."

The June 1982 devaluation/austerity measures (now known as *Rigueur I*) failed to arrest the catastrophic decline in France's international financial situation. During 1982 France borrowed more in the international money market than any country except the United States and Canada. Already at the beginning of 1983 the foreign debt exceeded \$50 billion, approaching levels such as those of Brazil and Mexico. The mounting pressures for a new round of devaluation/austerity produced a rift in the Mitterrand regime between the so-called "realists" led by Delors and former *autogestionnaires* (self-management cultists) Michel Rocard and Edmond Maire, on the one hand, and the "radicals" led by minister of industry Jean-Pierre Chevènement on the other. The Communist Party has likewise pushed protectionism as an alternative to austerity.



Ultrarightist policemen march on the ministry of justice, June 1983. Disastrous policies of Mitterrand popular front fuel growing forces of bonapartist reaction.

Chevènement is conventionally labeled a Marxist and the leader of the Socialist Party's left wing. This is a fundamental misunderstanding of his role in French politics. Chevènement actually represents the extreme *dirigiste* wing of French technocracy, the so-called *enarques*, graduates of the elite *École Nationale d'Administration*. Chevènement is just as distant from the workers movement as his rivals Delors and Rocard. His base in the Socialist Party, CERES (Center for Research, Studies and Socialist Education), consists entirely of intellectuals. When he was named minister of industry, this "leftist" declared to all who would listen that he had never advocated class struggle and that he thought there was "place in the majority for all those who want to loyally play the game" (*Le Figaro*, 6 May 1982).

Chevènement's answer to the crisis and the monstrous balance-of-payments deficits is economic autarky (or "*enarqui*"), making France as industrially self-sufficient as possible. Chevènement's Fortress France program is as reactionary as it is utopian. Behind the tariff and quota walls prices would skyrocket, while foreign retaliation against French exports (automobiles, for example) would add hundreds of thousands to the already massive army of the unemployed. French capitalism is simply too integrated into the world market to accept the ultraprotectionist policies of Chevènement (and also Marchais' Communists). So when the crunch came last March the *enfant terrible* of French social democracy got the ax.

Devaluation III was accompanied by *Rigueur II*: increased income taxes and sales taxes on cigarettes and alcohol; a forced loan of a 10 percent surcharge on the income tax; higher rates for public utilities such as gas, electricity, telephones and railroads; increased fees for hospitalization for the first time ever. And that's just half of it. The other half

is a massive cutback throughout the public sector. Especially irritating were new currency restrictions which made it practically impossible for the ordinary Frenchman to vacation abroad. "We are condemned to vacations with our grandmothers in the countryside," exclaimed one middle-level manager in a Paris suburb.

For French capitalism, *Rigueur II* is still not severe enough and already the government is planning for the "*après-rigueur*"—which won't be any less rigorous. Two reputable econometricians estimate that to eliminate the balance-of-trade deficit by 1985 the real income of the average Frenchman must be cut by 7-8 percent over and above the reductions which have already taken place (*Le Monde*, 3-4 April 1983). But Mitterrand's New Year's appeal for a renewed "effort" to overcome the crisis rings hollow in the face of universal predictions that this year France is about the only industrialized country in the world where an upturn is not expected!

## Rigor Mortis of the Popular Front

Someone writing a textbook on Marxist politics could not find a more clear-cut case to demonstrate the utter bankruptcy of social-democratic reform than France in the past two and a half years. It is as if Mitterrand had deliberately set out to prove that everything the Trotskyists say about popular frontism is true. This regime has managed to antagonize just about every sector of the population. Yet it has been mass demonstrations of the enraged petty bourgeoisie under reactionary leadership that have captured center stage as the opposition to the popular front. And that is due to the systematic undermining by the reformist misleaders (helped by their "far-left" valets) of mounting working-class anger against the popular front's brutal austerity measures.

The proletariat's "honeymoon" with the Mitterrand regime broke down after only six months. In October 1981 atrocious working conditions in the "model [nationalized] enterprise," Renault, pitted the auto workers against the "employer-state." While the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (Communist-led union federation) and *Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail* (Socialist-led union federation) bureaucrats smothered the strikers, confining them to individual departments or plants, the pseudo-Trotskyists (I.C.R., L.O., P.C.I.) refused to call even for a strike of the entire Renault chain. Echoing the Socialists' slogan for "*changement*" (change), they were on their knees before Mitterrand demanding new bosses for this nationalized firm!

In the winter of 1982-83 strikes broke out again in auto—this time at Citroën, Renault-Flins, Chausson and others—posing point-blank the necessity of an industrywide strike. The Mitterrand regime stood exposed as viciously anti-

working-class by Prime Minister Mauroy's revolting attack on the largely immigrant strikers as "Islamic fundamentalists" manipulated by ayatollahs. The workers shot back: "Us, fundamentalists? Bring us a bottle of whiskey and we'll see!" (*Libération*, 29-30 January 1983). Once again the trade-union bureaucrats refused to organize a genuine counterattack to management lockouts, the Stalinist social-chauvinists refusing to block production of "red, white and blue" autos. The response of Mitterrand's "Trotskyist" tails: petitions and postcards designed to pressure the social democrats. Today the bitterly fought strike at Talbot sharply poses the possibility of a working-class lighthack against the government's intertwined austerity/anti-immigrants campaign.

In the service of the popular front the mass reformist parties, the trade-union bureaucrats and their "far-left" accomplices have banded together to smother working-class struggle against the anti-working-class Mitterrand regime. A key component has been social-chauvinist protectionism. And it is precisely the immigrant workers, the least susceptible to these social-patriotic appeals, who are playing the lead role in strike struggles. But as the experience of the Mitterrand popular front shows, working-class mobilization against racist terror and a counteroffensive against austerity, if it is to be successful, must lead to sweeping away not just "the right" but the capitalist system as such. This requires the construction of a conscious revolutionary leadership to combat popular frontism—a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Mitterrand's "left" and "far-left" lawyers have but one last card to play to keep the proletariat chained to a manifestly bankrupt regime—the blackmail threat of a return to power by the "right." But the result of the popular front has been to drive the petty-bourgeois masses into the arms of the rightist reaction, dramatically demonstrated by the emergence of Le Pen's fascist National Front as a serious, even "respectable" political force. Trotsky wrote of Germany in 1932: "The policy of reformism deprives the proletariat of the possibility of leading the plebeian masses of the petty bourgeoisie and thereby converts the latter into cannon fodder for fascism" ("The Only Road"). Certainly, the present situation in France is a far cry from that of Germany on the eve of the Nazi takeover. But who will deny that the Mitterrand popular front has enormously strengthened the forces of racist reaction and the danger of right-wing bonapartism? To counter the demagogic appeal of a Chirac or a Le Pen, the working class must break with Mitterrand and offer a way out of the deepening capitalist crisis.

In most other West European parliamentary regimes, as well as under the Fourth Republic, a government as unpopular as Mitterrand's would already have fallen. But to overcome the extreme governmental instability of the Fourth Republic, the 1958 Constitution made France the most structurally

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# In Mitterrand's France, North African Workers Take the Lead The Battle of Talbot

PARIS, January 15—The bitter strike of the courageous immigrant workers at Talbot-Poissy—isolated and abandoned by their sellout union leaders—has ended in defeat. But after 23 days of occupying the large auto factory in the Paris suburbs, after having retaken the buildings following their expulsion by the CRS (riot police) shock brigades, after the bloody battle of Department B3, where they defended themselves against an assault by a thousand scabs and by professional thugs, the Talbot strikers have given an example to worker-militants throughout France.

The Talbot-Poissy factory has the highest percentage in France of immigrant workers, with 53 percent of its labor force composed of foreign-born workers, predominantly North African Arabs, more than 80 percent of whom can neither read nor write. When the hammer came down on them these immigrant workers fought—and how they fought!

The showdown came with the battle of January 5. The company brought in hundreds of foremen and other supervi-

sory personnel from all over the Peugeot empire. (The PSN fascists bragged about dispatching their thugs to Poissy as well.) A dozen plainclothes goons armed with slingshots, fire extinguishers and (some of them at least) revolvers headed the charge of the "blue shirts." Against this violent assault, the workers occupying Department B3 counter-attacked with anything they could lay their hands on. There was a rain of bolts; entire parts of chassis were hurled from the overhead passageways. After an hour the assailants were withdrawn by management and the hundreds of strikers remained in their besieged fort. Outside, the frustrated racist scabs shouted, "To the gas ovens!"

It was then the CFDT (union federation led by Mitterrand's Socialist Party) abandoned the struggle. "Now I am afraid," said Talbot CFDT leader Jean-Pierre Noual. Instead of calling for emergency reinforcements from nearby auto factories (Renault-Flins, Citroën-Aulnay) the CFDT called... the police. Then hours later the strikers were evacuated from the buildings between

**Talbot-Poissy,  
January 5—  
Foreign-born auto  
workers hold off  
attack by one  
thousand scabs  
and professional  
thugs.**



two lines of CRS riot cops. Immediately afterwards management declared a lockout for several days and the CFDT called off the strike.

At a time when the regime of "austerity Socialist" president François Mitterrand is shaken by an apparently interminable economic crisis and driven into a corner by the increasingly aggressive forces of reaction, the Talbot workers' struggle could have touched off a strike wave to heat hack the joint offensives of the employers and government, thereby opening the perspective of revolutionary struggles. At this

turning point the fate of France depends on the construction of a truly Bolshevik party which can fight class collaboration and racial oppression, forging a powerful working-class mobilization inspired by the current vanguard of immigrant workers. That is the goal of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

## Reformists Against the Talbot Workers

The Talbot strike was a flash of lightning starkly outlining the political landscape of France under the popular

*continued on page 12*

bonapartist state of any bourgeois democracy. In a "crisis" the president can declare a state of emergency, giving him almost unlimited powers. The reactionaries, including the Gaullists, are now bristling at the rigidities of de Gaulle's Constitution. Last spring Chirac called for a referendum on the government's economic policies. If Mitterrand lost—and there was no question about that—then presumably he would resign and call new elections. Since the first social-democratic president of the Fifth Republic is not likely to voluntarily commit political suicide in this particular manner, the bourgeoisie tested the prospects for putting an end to the Mitterrand "experiment" by unconstitutional means.

Thus last spring saw the most threatening reactionary mobilizations since 1958 and the paramilitary ultrarightist OAS. Peasants, shopkeepers, students, police, tens of thousands of the frenzied petty bourgeoisie took to the streets shouting "We got Allende, we'll get you, Mitterrand!" (see "Unpopular Front in France," Part I, W/1 No. 339, 7 October 1983). The ultraright mobilization continued last October as technicians and lower-level managers, many of whom voted for Mitterrand, paraded to chants of "To the Elysée [presidential palace]! Kill, kill the Communists!" Having given the green light to racist police terror and relying increasingly on the CRS—a bonapartist special police force par excellence—to suppress strikes, it was the popular front itself which paved the way for these reactionary scum.

Earlier popular fronts in France similarly dug their own graves. When in March 1937 riot police shot down anti-fascist demonstrators at Clichy, Socialist prime minister Léon Blum found the situation too hot to handle and passed the governmental reins to his bourgeois bloc partners, the Radicals. Succeeding Radical governments of the Popular Front launched a full-scale assault on the gains wrested from the bourgeoisie in June 1936, eliminating the 40-hour week, culminating in the crushing of the November 1938 general strike. The slow disintegration of the Popular Front came to a close when the same parliament which had given the Popular Front its majority approved Pétain's dictatorship (including a number of

social-democratic deputies).

Then, as now, the Trotskyists represented an irreconcilable proletarian opposition to the bankruptcy of popular frontism: fighting for full rights for foreign workers, for workers defense guards based on the unions, for workers control (dual power in the factories) and the establishment of a genuine workers government based on organs of workers power—soviets growing out of the centralization of strike committees.

## For the Socialist United States of Europe!

There is no way out of the deepening capitalist crisis within a purely national framework. The protectionist Fortress France advocated by Chevènement and the Communist Party is not only a reactionary utopia, would not only worsen the material conditions of the French populace, but goes in exactly the

opposite direction from the only progressive solution: the unity of the French and German proletariat in the socialist reconstruction of Europe. West Germany, like France and the rest of capitalist Europe, is suffering from the highest unemployment since the early postwar years. For the Christian Democrats in Bonn, like the Mitterrand popular front, the only way to improve international competitiveness is to slash social programs and dismantle entire industrial sectors. But when in the fall of 1982 the Christian Democrats replaced the Social Democrats through a parliamentary maneuver, the new Kohl regime was greeted by mass trade-union protests with many militants talking about a political general strike. Since then West Germany has experienced an upsurge of industrial militancy. For example, recently in the ports of Bremen and Hamburg workers occupied shipyards scheduled to be shut down.

These militant working-class actions are taking place when political ferment in West Germany is greater than at any time since the founding of the Federal Republic in 1948. The deployment of the first-strike Pershing 2 missiles, under the command of the anti-Soviet fanatic Reagan, has deeply polarized West Germany. However, the Social Democracy, in particular, is directing this widespread pacifistic sentiment into a resurgent German nationalism—anti-American and anti-Soviet—whose basic goal is to reconquer East Germany and restore German imperialist hegemony in East Europe. Thus, the anti-*hochisme* of Chevènement and the French Communist Party is mirrored by the ominous resurgence of German nationalism in social-democratic coloration. As the objective basis and need for unity in struggle of the French and German working classes becomes ever clearer and more urgent, the reformists on both sides of the Rhine step up their chauvinist demagoguery. Against the new German nationalism of the "left" as well as of the traditional right, the Trotskyists call for the revolutionary reunification of Germany. A unified German workers state would be the industrial core for the socialist reconstruction of Europe.

But the spark for the revolutionary remaking of Europe could well come from the left bank of the Rhine as it has in the past. The Great French Revolution of 1789-93 is the fountainhead of social progress in the modern world. From Madrid to St. Petersburg generations of revolutionaries modeled themselves on the Jacobins. Lenin defined a Bolshevik as a "Jacobin who wholly identifies himself with the organization of the proletariat." The Paris Commune of 1871—the first workers government—directly inspired the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. May '68 not only shook the French bourgeois order to its foundations and toppled de Gaulle's throne, but set off alarm bells from the Frankfurt Börse and NATO headquarters in Brussels to the Pentagon and Wall Street. The answer to Mitterrand's austerity and the growing danger of rightist bonapartism is for the French working class to return to its world-shaking historic traditions and shatter the *ancien régime* of the decaying capitalist order. Forward to the Socialist United States of Europe! ■



**When Reagan  
toured Europe in  
June 1982, the Ligue  
Trotskyste de  
France in Paris (top)  
and the  
Trotzkistische Liga  
Deutschlands in  
Bonn (bottom)  
marched for  
unconditional  
military defense of  
the Soviet Union  
against NATO  
imperialism and for a  
Socialist United  
States of Europe.**



# Victory to the McDonnell Douglas Strike!

## Stop IAM Scabbing!

LOS ANGELES—The strike of 6,800 United Auto Workers (UAW) members, now entering its fourth month against McDonnell Douglas aircraft plants in California, Oklahoma and Arkansas, is threatened from within by scabbing. The International Association of Machinists (IAM) earlier accepted the company's brutal giveback terms, and IAM bureaucrats have kept 4,000 aircraft workers in Douglas Aircraft plants, herding many of them across UAW picket lines.

The company's demands, modeled after a settlement between the IAM and Boeing Aircraft last year, are designed to rip up industrial unionism by pitting skilled workers against lower paid and newly hired workers. Douglas is demanding a total wage freeze, excepting a minority of higher paid workers; sharp cutbacks in cost-of-living (COLA) and other benefits, with COLA totally denied to the lowest paid section of the workforce; and a spurious 3 percent

"honus" in lieu of a wage increase.

Even more ominously, Douglas wants to establish vastly reduced pay and benefit scales for new hires. Jobs that now pay \$11.50/hr. in California plants would start at \$6.70, with periods ranging up to 25 years before new hires would reach "full pay" (at levels substantially below what they are today). Such provisions, which have been incorporated in contracts at Boeing, Lockheed, American Airlines and most recently at Greyhound, do away with the hard-won gain guaranteeing equal pay for equal work. As one 20-year worker at Douglas Aircraft's Long Beach plant put it: "They want to take away what generations of union members have fought to win, what people deceased and buried fought for...they want to take it away so generations coming up won't have it" (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 January). But UAW officials are not opposing the lower scales for new workers.

The sharpest blow directed at Douglas workers has come from the IAM bureaucracy headed by "Wimpy" Winpisinger. The IAM settled with both Lockheed and Douglas after the UAW strike began, and have continued scabbing at McDonnell Douglas ever

since. The same thing happened in 1978, when UAW members went out alone against Douglas for over 90 days, with both UAW and IAM officials demanding that IAM members stay on the job. And in 1975 it was the UAW that crossed IAM picket lines!

The orgy of scabberding led by union bureaucrats is killing the labor movement. Certainly for Winpisinger such backstabbing is nothing new. Wimpy, who is co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), was widely hailed by the fake-left as a new breed of "militant" when he became president of the IAM a few years ago. Then came PATCO. The IAM-organized airline mechanics were among several key unions with the power to shut down the airports and smash Reagan's union-husting. But Winpisinger kept them on the job, hiding behind the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's no-win "strategy" of an impotent consumer boycott. And the company cops in UAW's Solidarity House are no better; their latest exploit was to herd UAW-organized Greyhound baggage handlers and mechanics across the drivers' picket lines in Detroit.

This inter-union backstabbing must be halted now! For a joint industrywide

strike of all aircraft workers! UAW workers must elect strike committees to mobilize their IAM brothers and sisters to join the picket lines. Scrap the sellouts at Lockheed and Boeing as well—and bring out on strike now the 55,000 UAW aircraft workers whose contracts expire later this year. For mass, militant picket lines that nobody crosses! Smash the bosses' takeaway demands: for full cost-of-living benefits, a big pay boost, equal pay for equal work at the highest levels!

The union-husting drive at home is the domestic side of the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet war drive. Social-democratic labor traitors like Winpisinger and the UAW's Owen Bieber, who push chauvinist protectionism and ardently support the military rearmament of the imperialists, aren't about to stand up to the Pentagon and its friends at Lockheed, Boeing and McDonnell Douglas. To smash the bosses' union-busting drive, workers need a class-struggle program and leadership capable of mobilizing a real labor offensive against the capitalists. Such a leadership can only be forged through a relentless political fight to expose and defeat the traitorous, pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy. ■

## Battle of Talbot...

(continued from page 11)

front of the '80s. Foreign-born industrial workers, fighting to save their jobs, were confronted by an offensive of the entire ruling class, from the little kings of Peugeot who believe in the "divine right" of private property, to the most "enlightened" managers, educated in the elite universities, who run the national-

retirement." On December 7, as rumors spread that the projected 2,900 layoffs would be approved, several hundred immigrant workers occupied the plant. Ten days later the government announced with much fanfare a deal negotiated by Ralite, the company and the CGT (Communist-led union federation) which set the total layoffs at 1,900, with phony training programs for the fired workers. Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy spoke of "industrial reconstruction with a human face," but the Talbot workers affected by this plan rejected it almost unanimously. The

"union" which includes a large number of poor white colonialists from Algeria and ex-legionnaire types. It was a reproduction of colonial society at the very heart of French industry. And when they went into revolt against Mitterrand's layoffs, these North African wage-slaves stood at the center of class struggle in France.

The Talbot strike ended in defeat. But it is a defeat that could anger the working class rather than demoralize it. Government plans call for "trimming" up to 40,000 jobs in auto, 20,000 in steel, thousands in shipbuilding, closing down whole regions of coal mining. This must be answered by joint strike action, leading toward a general strike. If the workers do not fight back, the reactionaries are waiting in the wings. The ultrarightist cop demonstration last June was an indication of the real honapartist threat to replace one more of France's unstable bourgeois-democratic governments with a new "strong state," unless the proletariat takes its fate in its own hands.

### Forging a Trotskyist Party

What is needed is a revolutionary party that told the truth about the Mitterrand regime from the beginning, and thus was prepared to organize a thoroughgoing class struggle against it. What is needed is a genuinely communist party that acts as a "tribune of the people," championing the immigrants' cause. From the beginning of the Talbot strike, the Ligue Trotskyiste (LTF) sought concrete means to extend the strike and win it.

An LTF comrade at the Renault-Cléon auto plant in Rouen led a delegation of CGT members and other auto workers which visited the Talbot-Poissy plant on December 29 to show their solidarity with the striking immigrant workers. An open letter by the LTF comrade reporting to Cléon workers on the delegation (subsequently reproduced and distributed by the LTF in French and Arabic) called for the election of strike committees to lead a general strike of auto. Other demands included extension of the strike to supplier and dependent industries like steel and transport; immediate 24-hour strike at Renault-Cléon to lay the basis for a national strike; occupation of the plant protected by mass pickets; full citizenship rights for foreign workers.

The Ligue Trotskyiste was virtually unique in linking the government/employer offensive against the Talbot workers with the racist campaign of cop and fascist terror against immigrant neighborhoods in France during the past year. At a January 14 march we chanted: "Cops out of the immigrant districts!" and "Against the fascists, against the racists—workers militias!" The LTF banner directly addressed the defeatist sentiments sown by the failure of the French workers movement to back up the strike; the banner declared: "Don't pack your bags—Not one layoff or deportation—For a general auto strike!" Another banner proclaimed: "French and immigrant workers—Break with Mitterrand and his left tails, liquidators of the Talbot strike."

While the pseudo-Trotskyists kowtow to the chauvinist union tops, the Ligue Trotskyiste has the right to oppose the defeatism among North African and black African workers in France because of our consistent opposition to all forms of chauvinism. In the 1981 elections the LTF had raised the possibility of critical support to the PCF's Georges Marchais, until the PCF's bulldozer attack against the immigrant community in the Paris suburb of Vitry. We pointed out that the Communist Party's disgusting racism (shown also in the protectionist "Produce French" campaign) is support to one's "own" bourgeoisie.

Reformism is necessarily nationalist; revolutionary socialism is internationalist. Thus in crawling after Mitterrand, the "far left" has joined in the anti-Soviet war drive, whose architects are not only in the White House but also in the Elysée. Denouncing Mitterrand's anti-Sovietism, the LTF comrade's open letter to the Renault-Cléon workers pointed out: "By the way, comrades of the PCF, if the 'comrade ministers' were currently in a real workers government, the NATO generals would be counting the French missiles on the Soviet side instead of the reverse." With the arms buildup for an imperialist war against the Soviet Union already well advanced, with Reagan embarked on a wave of provocations from Central America to Lebanon, the question of "after Mitterrand, what?" takes on world importance. The French working class has the power and duty to answer: for a workers Commune! ■



Der Spiegel

Workers occupy Talbot-Poissy plant for 23 days in fight against mass layoffs. Reformist union leaders sold them out.

ized companies in the interests of French capital. On the side of the Peugeot bosses were the "left" government, the Socialist and Communist (PCF) parties, and the sellout leaders of the unions who fulfilled their role as firemen putting out the flames of the feared "workers' revolt."

Last summer the management of the PSA group (Peugeot), owner of Talbot for the last two years, announced its intention to slash more than 4,000 jobs at the Poissy plant. Following walkouts by Talbot workers, the government decided to postpone the decision. In October the PCF minister of employment, Jack Ralite, accepted 1,000-plus job cuts accomplished through "early

explosive situation threw the Stalinists and Socialists into a total mess, both in the unions and in the cabinet.

The hard-line Peugeot management was determined to flush out one of the centers of working-class resistance, which played a vanguard role in the auto strikes of 1982-83. They wanted to reestablish the paternalistic labor relations of days past, when the bosses seemed like colonial plantation owners. The labor force was recruited in remote villages of Morocco, where the latter-day slave traders of Simca (later Chrysler-France, then Talbot, now a subsidiary of Peugeot) selected illiterate peasants almost exclusively. Once in the plant they were controlled by the scab



WASHINGTON, D.C.—It was a cold-blooded racist killing last December 15 when at least nine cops swooped down on 22-year-old black youth Darryl Rhones, pummeled him to the ground, then dragged him off to Third District police headquarters where he was later found strangled to death. The medical examiner labeled the cause of death "cardio-respiratory arrest attributed to neck compression." Translated, this means Rhones was the latest black victim of the murderous police "choke hold" grasp which "cuts off air to the lungs or blood to the brain." The pre-planned assault was another "kill mission" of the Third District hit squad—the notorious elite drug task force set up by D.C. black mayor Marion Barry in 1981. Two days later, the death of another minority man in police custody sent more shock waves through black Washington.

When on the night of December 15, after the cops said an "unidentified citizen" told them Rhones might have been involved in a shooting earlier that evening, they made their move. Without warning, the members of this elite killer squad jumped out of their unmarked cars and grabbed Rhones. In front of his 11-year-old sister and other horrified relatives and neighbors who were prevented from going to his aid, the cops beat Rhones to a pulp:

"They grabbed and handcuffed him.... They were hitting him with their hillies, those little black things they wear. Hit him around the neck. His little sister, she's eleven, was hollering and screaming, 'That's my brother.'.... They drug him to the car. Didn't even carry him. They drug him by his shoulders, with his feet dragging. They put him in the back seat. He had knots on his head. On the top of his head and on his face. His eyes looked like light bulbs."

—Washington Post,  
17 December 1983

This was how an eyewitness, Wanda Haire, described the incident. Other eyewitnesses say that *after* Rhones was handcuffed he was beaten for upwards

## Jail the Killer Cops! D.C. Cops on Racist Terror Rampage

of twenty minutes. One District official reported that the cops "accidentally [!] dropped Rhones, head first, onto a pavement as they struggled to put him inside a patrol car."

Rhones was hauled into Third District police headquarters shortly before 9 p.m. where he was carried to a secluded upstairs area near the detectives' office. Later they claim he was found in the cellblock "totally unconscious" and taken to George Washington Hospital where he was pronounced dead. It was not until early the next morning, more than five hours after Rhones was officially declared dead, that the cops began their *modus operandi* of declaring the dead victim guilty of the crime of "assaulting a police officer!"

In reward for their vicious killing, the nine cops were given "administrative leave with pay," (i.e., a paid vacation) pending a D.C. Superior Court grand jury investigation. But according to one eyewitness, one of the cops involved in the fatal beating is still on the job "investigating" the case. Two days after the Rhones killing, another minority resident, 29-year-old Loren Thomas, supposedly arrested for "disorderly conduct," was found suffocated to death in the back seat of a police car upon arriving at the self-same Third District headquarters. This racist cop rampage must be stopped! Jail the killer cops!

In the wake of this atrocity the bourgeois press has tried to alibi cold-blooded racist murder by screaming that Darryl Rhones' police record

justified beating and choking him to death! Thus a 21 December *Washington Post* article grotesquely demanded to know why Rhones "had managed to remain on the streets despite serious pending charges and a seemingly endless series of court appearances." It went on to quote a "senior official in the U.S. Attorney's office" that "If I had my way, he would have been locked up, and I think a lot more people like [him] should be locked up too!" For the cops, and the *Post*, every black kid is guilty of *something*, first and foremost of the "crime" of being black in racist capitalist America where ghettoized, lumpenized, terrorized, they are picked up by the cops on the slightest infraction and then their "record" is used to justify any atrocity against them!

The Third Precinct was after Darryl Rhones, a youth from the devastated ghetto community which borders Howard University in Northwest Washington. To them his life wasn't worth a plug nickel. Ever since he was 18 years old the cops had had him in and out of court on charges of everything from burglary to possession of PCP to second degree murder; at the time of his death there were six outstanding charges against him. But the cops had never been able to make the charges stick. Like so many black young men in the so-called "land of the free," he was living on borrowed time. Rhones' mother, Joan Allen, charged: "A number of times they jumped on Darryl and they couldn't find anything.... It was the early part of 1983, Darryl said they told him that they were

going to get him and that they were going to kill him. He came into the house and said, 'Momma, why do they want to kill me?' After that it was just constant harassment."

Indeed, D.C. mayor Marion Barry has given the terrorist squad from the Third Precinct a green light to run amok in the black community. The Shaw-14th Street district where Rhones was beaten is part of the "riot corridor" just blocks from the White House: the cops' "war on drugs" has been the justification for maintaining a reign of terror on the black population. Far from stopping drug traffic, as shown in New York City's famous Knapp Commission report in the 1960s, inner city cops are notoriously the biggest pushers of narcotics, while enforcing bourgeois "law and order" through racist intimidation and brutal violence. Police terror, layoffs of black city workers, killer cutbacks in basic social services—these are Mayor Barry's program: the big city Democratic mayors, black as well as white, function as the overseers on the capitalist plantation.

Killer cops and racist terror groups thrive in the political climate of the anti-labor/anti-black offensive in Reagan's America. To stop the race terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms will require a revolutionary struggle for workers power against the racist capitalist system. A revolutionary party of the multiracial American working class must be built in class-struggle defense of the working people, especially the most oppressed sectors, against the brutal rule of decaying capitalism. This perspective was powerfully glimpsed on 27 November 1982 when over 5,000 black workers and youth took part in the Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital. Jail the killer cops! For militant labor/black mobilizations against KKK racist terror! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

## Reagan to Poor...

(continued from page 1)

oppression—at the heart of American capitalism—has become increasingly more open. That is why capitalism's answer to growing black poverty is: "Let them starve."

Capitalism isn't going to do anything about hunger except create more racist campaigns to deny its existence. What about the soup kitchens spreading out across the country? Oh, those—Reagan's vicious roly-poly adviser Edwin Meese summed up the case for the government: "People go to soup kitchens because the food is free, and that's easier than paying for it" (*New York Times*, 15 December 1983). But hungry people keep appearing with their empty bowls. So Reagan appointed a commission on hunger to expose these freeloaders once and for all.

Reagan's fat-cat panel was composed of "free enterprise" mouthpieces like Midge Dector of the "Committee for the Free World," concerned about "starving masses" only when they're in places like Poland (where nobody is starving). Like Dr. George Graham, an expert on taking food out of kids' school lunches, who thinks blacks haven't got any "food problem": "Look around at the black athletes on television," he said, "they're a pretty hefty bunch." They should have gotten Dr. Mengele to add his "scientific" opinions, too, though the Nazi torturer was probably too busy spying for the CIA in South America to make it.

Now Dr. Graham, one of Reagan's regular scientific advisers, is telling us a race that produced Kareem Abdul Jabbar and Moses Malone hasn't got anything to complain about. Well, we expect the slave gladiators in the old

Roman arena were pretty well fed too. But at least along with their circuses, the old Roman tyrants occasionally distributed some bread.

Reagan's panel wrestled with the definition of "hunger" until they were able to effectively deny its existence. "Herr Doktor" Graham expressed the racism of the administration when he explained that the low birth weights of black babies (a standard evidence of malnutrition) was in fact part of the "black problem" and would best be addressed by "a series of cultural changes"—like "avoiding sex during pregnancy"! (*New York Times*, 10 January).

Hunger is at the extreme end of the attacks on all workers in this country. But what is to be done? The labor bureaucrats sell out the workers' struggles and say: vote for the Democrats. And the Democrats talk about Reagan's lack of "compassion," electioneering for a little more soup, while the reformist left follows along behind with their ladles. But it is the Democrats who began the attacks on the cities. And it is the Democratic mayors, and the black mayors at that, who act as overseers on capitalism's wretched plantations.

This attack on the poor is part of the generalized assault on the entire working class. It is either fight or starve. But a fight by labor has been crippled by the pro-capitalist labor "leaders" who sat by with folded hands and watched union after union smashed or defeated, from PATCO to the phone strike last year to Greyhound. And the black front men for capitalism like Jesse Jackson are racing madly around trying to sell blacks on the racist "American dream."

The ghetto and the factory are inextricably linked: the fate of one is the fate of the other in this country. Boarded-up small businesses and homes

surrounding U.S. Steel's South Works, once Chicago's largest single source of jobs, stand as mute testimony to the destruction of a whole section of black and working-class Chicago. What's needed is militant action by labor and blacks to turn back the reactionary and racist offensive. One sit-down strike in Chicago or Detroit is worth all the soup lines and relief programs. Such action would mobilize the ghetto masses behind a fighting labor movement to begin to heat back the racist anti-labor offensive.

The recent break in the economic conjuncture may have the big stockholders cheering, but it has also rekindled the fighting spirit of the workers. In the face of the bosses' union-busting drive, aided and abetted by government strikebreaking, Greyhound strikers and

copper miners in Arizona conducted themselves with courage and determination on the picket lines.

But without a revolutionary leadership that can unite the working class and oppressed in anti-capitalist struggle there has not been—and will not be—genuine victory. The utter bankruptcy of capitalism, with widespread hunger at the peak of "economic recovery"—speaks for itself. The task is to forge a revolutionary party of black and white workers that can organize a fight to do away with capitalist exploitation once and for all by ripping the productive wealth of this country, including all the idle factories, out of the hands of the capitalist class and replace it with a workers government and planned economy that can provide jobs and decent living standards for all. ■

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WASHINGTON, D.C.



# Cockburn...

(continued from page 3)

Cockburn doesn't account to anybody for anything.

Cockburn, 42, Scottish, bourgeois, grew up in Ireland, educated at Oxford. He seems to aspire to the old British tradition of the aristocratic radical. (To borrow a phrase from another context, one might say Cockburn is of ambiguous class orientation.) Perhaps he inherits it from his deceased father, who wrote *The Week* for years and after a stint in the British CP went on to *Pinch* and *Private Eye*. Part of what makes his columns so hitting and effective is that he writes like an insider. The fact is Cockburn shares the bourgeoisie's social world but not their worldview. The most prominent left-wing journalist in America, Cockburn prefers to associate with the bourgeoisie. He recently married Katherine Kilgore, daughter of an ex-editor of the *Wall Street Journal*. For a while he lived with *Washington Post* owner Katherine Graham's daughter, and before that had a child by Emma Rothschild. We're told he hangs out with the rest of the bourgeois *literati* and aspirants to the fast lane. Cockburn is clearly more comfortable on a UN receiving line than on a picket line. At the *Voice* he feels above the union (District 65) and voted against the 1982 strike (other rad-libs talked a lot and sold out later). But now he needs the union and the union ought to defend him.

For Cockburn politics is literary; it does not touch his personal decisions. Revealingly, he used marital imagery to describe the *Voice's* suspension of him on political grounds, terming it "a trial separation" (*New York Times*, 17 January).

The Irish have an expression for Englishmen who come to Ireland to trade on their sophistication: "Mickey dazblers." Indeed Cockburn has been able to dazzle in America amid the wasteland of political culture. Where else could he take the academics to school over something as well known as Marx's (and Shakespeare's) use of the phrase "old Mole"? Cockburn is evidently the only left-leaning journalist in America capable of recognizing a quote from Malraux when it really counts.

Cockburn was doing all right as the ruling class's literary had boy. He has been the highest paid writer on the *Village Voice*, perhaps the highest paid print journalist on a weekly in America. But of course everybody knows, including Schneiderman, that he is their only first-rate writer. In fact, were it not for Cockburn's political commentaries one would have to think twice before shelling out 90 cents for mediocre muckraking, eccentric culture criticism, mainstream Zionist haloney and some movie reviews.

Cockburn surely knows the "Fool Tradition" in English literature. The fool is in the Court but not of it. While at the bottom of Court Society, it is his privilege to say anything, even the truth, to the king. He can mock Royalty because he is recognized as an important

critical voice in the system. Cockburn wears his snotty wit like a suit of motley, as protection and a sign that at bottom he is powerless; his jibes are all part of the royal sport.

Contrast Cockburn with a real class traitor to the ruling class, and one with an important political project—the great British spy for the USSR, Kim Philby. Philby knew politics meant you have to roll up your sleeves and get your hands dirty.

Cockburn thinks the ruling class acknowledges his right to say something approximating the truth because they see him as one of them. But this time he's managed to gore three oxen of the bourgeoisie: the *New York Times*, the Zionist Establishment and the Christian fundamentalists. He thought he was above the political fray, but now the fray has come for him.

## The Failure of Appeasement

If Cockburn has many of the right political enemies he has also gone out of his way to make political enemies of revolutionary Marxists. When his printed pages got too close to a hot dispute in the streets, Cockburn offered up the Spartacist League as the proper target for those who found him too left-wing.

It started after the 1979 Greensboro massacre of blacks, leftists and union organizers (which the *Times* was calling a "shootout" between "extremists" while the reformist left sat on its hands). When the murderers said they would "celebrate" their massacre by rallying in Detroit the Spartacist League initiated



Washington, D.C., 27 March 1982: SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent sealed off in massive display of cop power. Cockburn joined with Big Liars in violence-baiting the SL.

our first labor/black mobilization against Klan/Nazi terror. Cockburn's *Voice* editorial, "Silent as the Graves" (19 November 1979), lashed out at the labor leaders and leftists who "are content to let consensus reign":

"Dignity would at least have required labor and its liberal allies to issue some proclamation of grief, some demand for justice if not revenge. Courage would demand issuance of a call for anti-fascist demonstrations in every major city—like the one sponsored by the Spartacists in Detroit. But our liberals are too busy with Teddy, and labor is getting ready to elevate Lane Kirkland as Meany's successor. Action against native fascism is left in the hands of the Trotskyists and other sectarians, who at least can understand the meaning of murder when they see it."

but important way a blood line was drawn in this country between revolution and counterrevolution.

Cockburn was for military victory and had said so often in the *Village Voice*. So now he tried to appease the anti-Spartacist cahal by distancing himself from us with a slew of sophomoric name-calling and the false (as he well knew) claim that "everybody" is for military victory. On 6 April 1982 he wrote: "The Spartacists are a flinty lot, with more than a whiff of Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism, but their line on victory to the FDR/FMLN is unimpeachable. They should just learn to stop acting like assholes. After all, most of the demonstrators on the main march probably espouse victory for the FDR/FMLN too."

It didn't work; all the reformists saw in Cockburn's remarks was "their line is unimpeachable." There was a Big Lie campaign in full swing to justify the cop-protected violent exclusion of the SL; this time Cockburn's eccentric leftism would have consequences. So with cowardly mendacity Cockburn lined up with the anti-Spartacist slanders in an item titled "Assholes Revisited" (*Voice*, 13 April 1982). With the SL being baited by the fake-left as "CIA" and by the ruling class as some kind of Soviet-surrogate "terrorists," Cockburn joined the chorus by writing that we had engaged in "low level violence" against the reformists at the March 27 demonstration in Washington. In our editorial reply, "So What Makes Cockburn Run?" (*WV* No. 303, 16 April) we put



Massacre of Sabra and Shatila: Cockburn defied the U.S. journalists' crime of silence over Zionist atrocities.

the point starkly: "The evidence is clear and complete, Cockburn—you did not distort, you lied in this particular matter... a particularly nasty lie for you especially.... You claim to have that very position of military victory yet defend those who did their level best—by themselves and then backed by the police—to block such assembly. To liar, one must add hypocrite."

Cockburn's "membership" in the respectable left could be purchased with a nasty line. He no doubt thought it cheap at the price. We however gave him some advice for free that turns out to have been pretty accurate:

"Cockburn is a well-known columnist; doubtless he sees the Spartacist League as a tiny pariah group which he can do to as he sees fit. Well, he's not entirely wrong. But in this country we don't have a seamless set of 'old boys' networks and it's not clear he's part of much of one anyhow...."

## Overcoming Unemployment

So we defend you, Alexander Cockburn. This surely will help to secure your future. Perhaps there is an opening for "Keeper of the Queen's Pictures." But we understand you may want to stay in the U.S. where you are hot stuff. Well, we can do more than defend your civil liberties in the pages of *Workers Vanguard* (like a rope supports a hanging man?). Information on office hours for our journalistic staff—which works at subsistence pay and negative perquisites—is available on request. Since our wage scale will hardly keep you in cologne, if you come to work for us you can take Arab money so long as you tell us about it, and so long as we agree to any journalistic output you supply to *WV*. (In fact, if you work for us you will need Arab money.)

We note sadly that neither Arab money nor any other gusher of big bucks has come our way. We get the heat already, including from Alexander Cockburn; we could sure use the money. But we doubt that either big bucks or Alexander Cockburn will come our way. They are more likely to find each other than to find their way to the revolutionaries. ■

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# El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

has turned the struggle in Central America into a security and political problem for the United States...." Unfortunately, imperialist propaganda that behind every movement for social justice in the world lurks a Kremlin plot to spread "Marxist states" is not true. Soviet arms are not flowing to the Salvadoran guerrillas—although they could surely use them. Nor is the radical nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua getting what it needs to wipe out the CIA-organized *contra* terrorists. But for Reagan's purposes that's irrelevant. He is posing the civil war in El Salvador as the *contra* war against Nicaragua as a confrontation with the Soviet Union and Cuba in order to mobilize American society for an *actual* war with the Soviet bloc. That is why the Spartacist League insists that the defense of the Soviet Union and Cuba—of the social gains of the October Revolution and its extension—is now posed in Central America.

## Smash the Army! Workers to Power!

But Reagan's effort to drown the popular insurgency in El Salvador in blood by showering dollars and weapons on the kill-crazy army and death squads is increasingly viewed as hopeless. It becomes ever more clear that Washington's real options come down to three: accept a leftist military victory, make a deal with the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders of the insurgency or send in U.S. combat troops. No section of U.S. imperialism is prepared to accept a leftist victory. Fearing another "Vietnam-type" defeat, Reagan's liberal critics offer an alternative strategy based on *betrayal* of the revolutionary masses by their own leaders. This is the meaning of their call for a "negotiated solution" with the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR)/FMLN. The basic aim: to preserve the core of the now-disintegrating bourgeois armed forces.

The FDR calls for a new "people's army" which, however, is to include "non-corrupt, patriotic and worthy elements of the present army." Worthy elements? The death squads will never be eliminated so long as the bourgeois officers corps which spawns them is left intact. The Salvadoran masses suffer the poverty and repression of backward *capitalism*, and they can only be liberated by a workers and peasants government—a proletarian revolution which sweeps away the landowners, industrialists, bankers and army officers who together form a single ruling class.

Now the moment of truth in El Salvador is at hand. After 50 years of repressive military rule, the last four an especially brutal reign of terror, it is urgently necessary to mobilize the urban working class to take power to end the bloodbath. It was the mass marches and labor strikes in San Salvador and its working-class suburbs that initiated the current revolutionary period. Now with the hated regime tottering, the mass uprising of urban workers and poor could drive the nails into the coffin of

the rule of the oligarchs and their military guard dogs.

To be successful this fight must break the narrow bonds of nationalism in which the petty-bourgeois FDR/FMLN leadership seeks to confine it. Like their counterparts, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the FDR/FMLN tops seek to prevent class war and secure a separate peace with rapacious U.S. imperialism.

But Reagan has made it clear that Sandinista capitulations and FDR/FMLN peace proposals only whet his appetite. Reagan is hacking his hutchers with arms and money, has 5,000 GIs out on open-ended maneuvers in Honduras and has stationed war fleets off each coast with another 20,000 American troops aboard. U.S. bases at Comayagua and Cholotea in Honduras are within easy striking range of both El Salvador and Nicaragua. And the recent



Hoagland/Gamma-Liaison

## Avenge victims of right-wing death squads!

shooting down of the U.S. army helicopter over Nicaragua shows just how explosive the situation is.

The U.S. is poised for invasion. To defeat U.S. imperialism's bloody designs requires the revolutionary mobilization of the Central American workers and peasants in a struggle without borders. This is the strategy that imperialism fears most and one that the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FDR/FMLN and the Sandinistas will never lead. Only a Trotskyist party armed with the program of permanent revolution can provide that leadership.

## Reagan's Butchers on the Run

The current rebel offensive in El Salvador began in September with a spectacular attack on the army barracks in San Miguel, the nation's third largest city. A full rebel brigade of some 1,000 soldiers laid siege for 10 hours, bombarding the government base with 81-millimeter and 120-millimeter mortars trucked into position on the outskirts of the city. This was the opening salvo of an offensive which has brought most of the eastern third of the country under

guerrilla control. At least 31 towns and villages have been added to the 11 already under rebel control before the offensive began.

The rebel victory at El Paraiso was an indication of its growing superiority. A modern base designed by American military advisers, El Paraiso was supposed to be invulnerable. The guerrillas struck while much of the garrison was on patrol or on holiday leave. The rebels took control of the fort after a fierce mortar barrage. It was the highest guerrilla victory of the war, with the government suffering over 300 killed (including two colonels), wounded or captured.

In the context of such defeats morale among the government soldiers is approaching rock bottom. As a result of the effective guerrilla tactic of releasing prisoners to the Red Cross, government soldiers increasingly are choosing to surrender when attacked in force. Since September well over 600 have surrendered. Entire companies have surrendered, such as in Anamorós last November where 135 men gave up and handed over their weapons in the single largest surrender of the war. Others simply run. In Tejutepique a 180-man unit in defensive position broke under attack, many running to a nearby town where they changed into civilian clothes. This is an army on the point of collapse. Many of the government soldiers are teenagers press-ganged into service at gunpoint, with no loyalty and nothing to fight for but their own skins. When the final break comes, it could be a sudden coming apart at the seams, like the collapse of the ARVN in South Vietnam.

In its death agony the Salvadoran military command only becomes more desperate and bloodthirsty. In September in a battle for Tenancingo, government A-37 Dragonfly warplanes indiscriminately bombed the town, killing over 100 civilians and destroying 60 percent of its buildings. In a November atrocity involving the same U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion, another 100 civilians were killed in three separate incidents near Lake Suchitlán. In one incident troops firing automatic weapons forced 30 civilians into the lake where most drowned. In another, 20 women and children were herded into a house and machine-gunned.

The tragedy is that the FDR/FMLN leaders do not want to win the war, but cling to the notion of a "political settlement." FDR president Guillermo Ungo laid it out clearly in a 25 October 1983 *Village Voice* interview. "We are not looking for a military victory, because no one wants prolonged war. Such a victory could be achieved on a prolonged basis but leaves more chance of American intervention, and nobody wants that. So the best and safest way is to achieve a political settlement." What kind of government does Ungo propose? He favors a "balanced, broad-based government" in which left and far right share power. So the FDR/FMLN is prepared to trade its battlefield victories and the blood of 40,000 *compañeros* for a few cabinet portfolios and more empty promises. Anything to prevent social revolution. The coffee barons would maintain their stranglehold and the death squads would continue to ride.

As we have insisted, only military victory by the leftist insurgents can smash the death squads and open the way to a workers and peasants government. To preserve that triumph from Yankee imperialism the Salvadoran masses must link up their struggle with that of the Nicaraguan masses and spread social revolution throughout the isthmus. Ultimately the Central American masses must join forces with the powerful and restless Mexican proletariat to crush the oppressors and open up a future for the children who now have none. That is why we say, "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents!—For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!" ■

# Angola...

(continued from page 16)

Angola.

After the battle with Cuban troops at Cuvélai, Pretoria claimed 342 enemy dead but admitted at least 21 of its own were killed—the highest number of South African casualties in any of its Angola invasions. And since these white supremacists, like the Israeli Zionists, believe one white South African is worth a hundred black Africans or Cubans, casualties have the corresponding demoralizing effect on their armed forces.

Talk about a "state-supported international terrorist conspiracy"! Consider the sinister Washington-Pretoria anti-Soviet axis. Ever since Angola and Mozambique won independence, South Africa routinely has engaged in terror raids, sabotage, espionage and economic warfare to turn these and other economically backward neighboring black states into vassals of South African imperialism. For example, in Mozambique disruption of communications by South African-backed rebels combined with a drought produced 40,000 deaths from starvation.

Sections of the American and West European ruling classes fear that Pretoria's imperial appetites could destabilize the region and the apartheid citadel as well. U.S. assistant secretary of state Crocker warned that southern Africa could "end up a replica of the worst aspects of the Middle East." These "enlightened" imperialists point out that Angola's two biggest industries, oil and diamonds, are still owned and controlled by U.S. and South African capital respectively. They propose to woo Luanda's bourgeois-nationalist regime away from Havana and Moscow. But the African nationalists know all too well that Reagan's "linkage" ("independence" for Namibia in exchange for withdrawal of Cuban troops) would only "link" Angola to South Africa in a Namibia-style colonial relationship.

In any case, however distasteful the apartheid butchers may be to liberal imperialists, South Africa has become an increasingly important ally of America's global anti-Soviet war drive. The necessary connection between hideous racist oppression and anti-Communism is graphically underscored by the thousands of Polish Solidarność-lovers who have emigrated from "totalitarian" Poland to South Africa where whites are "free" to live off the superexploitation of enslaved black labor.

The Soviet-backed Cuban military forces not only protect Angolan independence and the struggle for freedom in Namibia. They also shake South Africa from within. Every time they give the white supremacists a bloody nose in Angola, it emboldens the brutally oppressed non-white masses of South Africa to fight to throw off their shackles. The stinging defeat of South Africa's 1976 invasion was followed by the Soweto rebellion and a rising tide of black proletarian militancy and unionization struggles. From the gold mines of the Rand to the docks of Durban, this awakening black proletariat is the revolutionary powerhouse for the smashing of apartheid and for full emancipation throughout southern Africa through socialist revolution. ■

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## Cuban Troops Defend Black Angola

### South African Racists Driven Back

"If Americans can afford a Grenada, so can we," bragged South African army chief Constand Viljoen. No doubt the sight of those white boys with guns pushing around black Grenadians and overpowering dark-skinned Cubans stimulated the salivary glands of Pretoria's apartheid hutchers. In December they launched another major military offensive, the fifth in recent years, against black-ruled Angola, complete with Reagan-style denunciations of the Soviet "menace" and Begin-style calls for the blood of guerrilla "terrorists." According to Pretoria 2,000 of its troops (Luanda stated 10,000) drove 150 miles into Angola while its warplanes bombed villages. South Africa claims its targets were guerrilla bases of the South West



Salgado/Gamma-Liaison

Thousands of Cuban troops, armed with Soviet weapons, stand as border guards of Angola's hard-won independence against South African imperialists.

African People's Organization (SWAPO) who have been fighting for 18 years to liberate neighboring Namibia from the boot of South African colonialism; in fact, the hundreds of victims of the apartheid state's *blitzkrieg* were un-

armed villagers.

But Angola is not going to be another Grenada, where a few hundred poorly armed but tenacious Cuban construction workers were finally subdued by 6,000 "crack" Yankee troops, 30 war-

ships and dozens of warplanes after one week of fighting. When Angolan nationalists finally won independence in 1975 after a bloody decades-long struggle, South Africa launched a massive invasion, backed by the U.S., attempting to install its puppets in power. U.S. imperialism, fresh from its humiliating military defeat in Vietnam, was unable to intervene directly, and the apartheid terrorists were driven out of Angola through the introduction of thousands of dedicated Cuban troops. Now numbering between 25,000 and 30,000, these Cuban troops, armed with Soviet tanks and SAM missiles, are the border guards of Angola's hard-won independence against the apartheid regime in Pretoria and its big brothers in Washington.

As Pretoria's troops drove towards Luanda, Moscow initiated consultations with Cuba and Angola to further strengthen Angola's "defenses, independence and territorial integrity" (*New York Times*, 13 January). On January 15, South African troops withdrew from

*continued on page 15*

### Freedom and Jobs Back for CWA Militants!

## Supporters Fill Courtroom for Lauren and Ray

On January 6, 50 supporters of victimized phone-strike militants Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero filled the Hayward Municipal courtroom in Alameda County, California. It was the third time that unionists, socialists and other opponents of the government's vindictive frame-up were mobilized by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) to make their determined presence felt in the courtroom. In the fighting tradition of class-struggle defense work, the PSDC is pursuing every avenue of legal defense while placing no confidence in the class "justice" of the capitalist courts. It is through militant protest and public exposure of the racist anti-union frame-up that pressure can be brought to bear on the D.A. and the phone company to *drop the charges* and reinstate the militants in their jobs.

Lauren and Ray, an interracial couple, were targeted because they did their duty as unionists on the picket line during last summer's national phone strike. On picket duty in the Klan-infested suburb of San Leandro, Lauren was assaulted by a racist scab/manager, Michelle Rose Hansen, who called her a "black nigger bitch" and struck her in the face. Lauren defended herself, and Ray came to her assistance. For defend-

ing themselves and their picket line against racist attack, Lauren and Ray were fired and brought up on multiple felony charges that could put them in state prison for years.

As we go to press, Lauren and Ray are awaiting a court ruling, now scheduled

for January 17, on a defense motion demanding the charges be dropped. The motion also asks for extensive "discovery" from the District Attorney's office of materials accumulated by various agencies before, during and after the strike. The defense charges that

such materials will show the massive *conspiracy* between the police agencies (cops, D.A.'s office, FBI, California attorney general, etc.) and the phone company, whereby the cops and courts have acted as strikebreakers in the direct service of Pacific Telephone, picking out and framing up picket-line militants while helping scabs intimidate and assault strikers.

In addition to the defense attorneys' declaration arguing the "discovery" demands, the defense motion includes 29 pages of testimony from phone workers active on the picket lines during the strike. These depositions reveal how the phone company used the cops as their private army of strikebreakers. They document a pattern of cop-protected management violence against picketers, for which *no scabs have been prosecuted*. (Excerpts from defense counsel Anne Flower Cummings' "Declaration" appear on page 6; excerpts from the phone workers' testimony appear on page 7.)

On this basis the defense is asking that all charges against Lauren and Ray be immediately dismissed on the grounds of "discriminatory prosecution": "The grounds for this Motion are that these charges are the result of intentional and purposeful discriminatory enforcement of the law" and violate constitutionally protected due process rights. The precedent for this motion in California is a similar challenge brought by the farm workers union in 1975.

The defense motion constitutes a forthright political counterattack against the union-busting cops and courts. It is because Lauren and Ray have taken a clear class approach, basing their political and legal strategy on the crucial right to have *real* picket lines and defend them, that unionists have rallied to their side. Among those

*continued on page 6*

