

For a General Strike Against Mitterrand's Austerity!

Steel Workers Rip Up France

Late last month, the government of France's "socialist" president François Mitterrand announced plans for "restructuring" the steel industry which will produce some 25,000 layoffs in the next two years. In the steel and coal producing region of Lorraine, where most of the layoffs are concentrated, factory sirens sounded in protest and workers took to the streets. In the town of Longwy, the tax collector's office was sacked, doors and windows smashed at the courthouse, and protesters battled the riot police. In Paris, the Communist Party was squirming as many members asked how long the CP would continue to remain in the popular-front government—a coalition of Communists, Socialists and bourgeois technocrats—which is tearing up French industry in the interests of maintaining French capitalism.

For over a year there has been a kaleidoscopic succession of protests against Mitterrand's brutal austerity plans. Many petty-bourgeois sectors, from travel agents to truckers, have been manipulated by ultra-rightist forces. Worker resistance, such as the bitter strike by immigrant workers at the Talbot auto plant near Paris, has been isolated and ground down due to the treachery of the union bureaucracy. But now the steel workers have taken the lead and their angry protests are reverberating through France. On March 31, steel militants in Metz sacked the Socialist Party headquarters, then burned seized documents on the square in front of the building; in the south at Marseilles, angry workers smashed bus stops. Steel workers began ripping up the rails on the Paris-Luxembourg line, leading to the derailment of a shipment

UPI
Angry Lorraine steel workers cut rail lines between Luxembourg and Paris.



of iron ore.

On April 4 a regional general strike was held in the Lorraine. Tens of thousands marched, transport was shut down, priests ordered church bells to ring throughout the region. That night steel workers again undertook "coup de poing" (punch) actions aimed particularly at symbols of state power and the bourgeoisie. In Longwy, militants assaulted the commissariat (now transformed into a police barracks) with a deluge of bolts, ball bearings, Molotov

cocktails and bottles of acid. A goon squad of the Communist-led CGT union federation protected city hall from an attack, but a chateau belonging to the Usinor steel company was burned to the ground. The workers' anger is also having political repercussions: already two Socialist deputies have resigned from the SP parliamentary delegation and a CP mayor resigned from the party in protest against its participation in the Mitterrand regime (several other CP mayors in the region have demanded an

end to the coalition).

But to mobilize the big battalions of French labor to defeat Mitterrand's "austerity" requires a political fight against the reformist misleaders. The Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency, last week sent a team to the Lorraine. The pro-SP Paris newspaper *Le Matin* (4 April) quoted our comrades' call (at a workers' rally) for a national steel strike and referred to their slogan for "a new May '68 that goes all the way!" This week a steel workers' march on Paris protesting the government's austerity/"restructuring" plans has been scheduled for April 13. Class-struggle unionists at Renault's Cléon factory near Rouen have issued a call for auto workers to join the mobilization and turn it into the kick-off for a general strike. The LTF is publishing a special supplement to its newspaper, *Le Bolchévik*, for the April 13 march, from which the following article is translated and adapted.

Reagan/CIA's Infamous Act of War

Defend Nicaragua— Sink the Minelayers!

APRIL 11—No wonder they call him Adolf Reagan down in Havana. Just what do you suppose would happen if they (the KGB? the Cubans? the Sandinistas?) mined New York harbor and the Potomac? Why, the United States would declare war in nothing

flat—it would be a worldwide red alert. Everyone knows it: the U.S. mining of Nicaragua's ports is a deliberate act of war...and a cynical act of hypocrisy. Even from the point of view of the American ruling class, as today's *New York Times* editorial put

it, this was "Illegal, Deceptive and Dumb." Very dumb. Already they have damaged a Soviet tanker (and the Russians don't take that sort of thing lightly). The French have offered to help sweep the mines. And Reagan

continued on page 8

PARIS, April 12—The Mitterrand government has declared war on the working class. Openly. For three years, this class-collaborationist government has served as the administrators of French capitalism, unleashing increasingly brutal attacks against the working class. Coal, shipyards, steel (and soon,

continued on page 9

Reinstate Victim of Witchhunt!

CWA Bureaucrats Squirm as Ranks Back Kathy Ikegami

SAN FRANCISCO—Bay Area phone workers have dealt another stinging rebuke to the attempt by their union bureaucrats to purge Militant Action Caucus member Kathy Ikegami. At the March 20 meeting of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410, over 70 members came out and voted two-to-one to reject the bureaucrats' frame-up of Ikegami which also set up this militant unionist for firing by suspending her from the union for six months as well as fining her \$300.

Ikegami has been targeted by the CWA tops, from national president Glenn Watts—who has vituperated against MAC's class-struggle policies from the podium of the CWA national convention—down to the local union flunkies who are doing the dirty work of trying to toss her out of her union. She is being hounded because MAC exposed the CWA leadership's collusion with Ma Bell's job-slashing offensive and for her support for the socialist political program of the Spartacist League. Since MAC's exposure of the phone company's plans, vehemently denied by the CWA brass, over 18,000 jobs have been lost in California alone, 50,000 nationally. But the CWA's witchhunting bureaucrats have spent two years, thousands of

Kathy Ikegami (right) marches through Oakland during last summer's bitter national phone strike.



union dollars and literally hundreds of hours to try to purge Ikegami while doing nothing to fight the layoffs, firings and grueling forced overtime.

Newly appointed local president Marie Malliett is determined to carry

through the purge of Ikegami begun by her predecessor, Jim Imerzel, now kicked upstairs to a staff job. Earlier, Malliett and Co. walked out of a March 9 special meeting called at membership initiative to hear Ikegami's appeal against her suspension and fine by a kangaroo court hand-picked by Imerzel. Faced with over 125 angry phone workers and more on the way in, Malliett declared the meeting adjourned for "lack of a quorum." Malliett's attempt to break up the meeting failed as the union members elected their own chairman and proceeded to unanimously support Ikegami's appeal.

At the March 20 meeting, militant phone workers again came ready to stop the purge. The minutes of the Executive Board and previous meeting were defiantly voted down. The Executive Board minutes contained the bureaucrats' motion suspending Ikegami, a blatant violation of the union rules which mandate her right to appeal before being suspended. And the minutes of the March 9 meeting simply lied, claiming no meeting had taken place!

Next, the members forced the agenda to bring to the floor the motion upholding Ikegami's March 9 appeal. Malliett once again resorted to the quorum rule, claiming no action could be taken. This quorum rule, requiring nearly 200 local members to be present to conduct official business, is invoked solely when the bureaucrats are determined to thwart the will of the membership. In the last ten years, quorums have only been attained at the once-every-three-year strike vote meetings, yet business is regularly conducted at all other meetings. In fact, the March 9 and 20 meetings were among the largest general membership meetings held in years. *Despite Malliett's insistence that the vote would have no effect, the members voted again to uphold Ikegami's appeal and reject her suspension and fine.*

Then, in an act of boundless cynicism, Malliett announced that the "official business" of nominations for delegates to the upcoming National Convention were to be taken even though she had just ruled a formal quorum lacking! Angry militants seized the opportunity and nominated Ikegami for convention delegate. Outnumbered and outvoted,

the bureaucrats accepted Ikegami's nomination despite their contention that she is suspended. According to Ikegami, the 9410 misleaders are now seeking to remove her from the ballot behind the backs of the membership.

MAC's counteroffensive against the CWA tops has shaken the local bureaucrats' already tenuous hold over the membership. A year ago MAC got over 1,000 signatures on a petition to recall the witchhunters and their Klan-loving buddy, then-secretary Joe McKenna—a petition the office-bound bureaucrats proceeded to ignore. The repeated demonstrations of membership opposition to the incumbent officeholders whetted the careerist appetites of a small group of small-time out-bureaucrats and assorted fake leftists in the local. Shortly after the recall petition drive, these elements hatched a grouping called Members United for Workers Rights (MUWR), seeking to occupy a reformist middle ground between the increasingly detested pro-company bureaucrats and the class-struggle program of the MAC.

In the fight against the witchhunt of Ikegami, MUWR has played a treacherous role clearly revealing its real character. Following the March 9 meeting, for example, MUWR put out a leaflet embracing the bureaucrats' "no quorum, no business" position: "Why wasn't Marie [Malliett] willing to stay and listen to the people present, *even though no action could be taken on the appeal?*" (emphasis added). Advice on how to appear more "democratic" while screwing the membership is exactly what this lash-up is all about. In a March 9 leaflet titled "Free Speech and Free Elections," MUWR quoted extensively from the notoriously anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act, citing precisely those sections that are used by countless aspiring bureaucrats and reformists to sue the unions. To ask Reagan's "Labor Department" to enforce democracy in the unions is not only stupid, but profoundly treacherous. It is the subordination of the labor movement to the capitalist state which is the principal obstacle to working-class struggle.

MUWR's faith in the capitalist state to enforce "free speech" in the unions is of a piece with its refusal to call for strike action last summer when the national contract expired, when it was clear that only determined and militant struggle could beat back Ma Bell's job-slashing plans. MUWR's most recent offering, a leaflet advertising one Jeff Woo for the vice president's slot in Local 9415, is the baldest kind of lowest common denominator "do-goodism," completely devoid of MUWR's early attempts to lift bits and pieces of the MAC program. It vaguely calls for turning "control back to the membership," "regularly scheduled visits to all work locations by Local Union Officials and Stewards," "surveys" of members to find out "their knowledge concerning trade unionists rights" and similar bunk.

It is up to the Militant Action Caucus to fight for class-struggle policies in the CWA. That means a struggle to oust the pro-imperialist bureaucrats, which the CWA—with its infamous ties to the CIA through its "labor" front, the "American Institute for Free Labor Development"—is richly populated with. Leaders who won't stand up to the anti-Soviet war drive of both the Democrats and the Republicans won't stand up to their anti-labor laws, their scabs and their union-busting. MAC has led the fight in the CWA for picket lines that mean don't cross; fought against racist terror, in supporting the successful Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. in November 1982; and put forward a program to sweep away the bloodsucking phone company monopoly and all the exploiters, for a workers party to fight for a workers government. Phone workers: Defend Kathy Ikegami—Win strikes! ■



TROTSKY

Trade Unions and the Capitalist State

Leon Trotsky foresaw that in both the "democratic" and fascist imperialist countries as well as in the former colonial countries the struggle against the subordination of the trade unions to the bourgeois state was key to proletarian revolution. Fragments for a major article on this question were found after he was assassinated in 1940 by a Stalinist agent.



LENIN

The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.* This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.

The second slogan is: *trade union democracy.* This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state.

In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* (1940)

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13 April 1984

Bring Bloody Thatcher to Her Knees!

Spread the British Coal Strike!

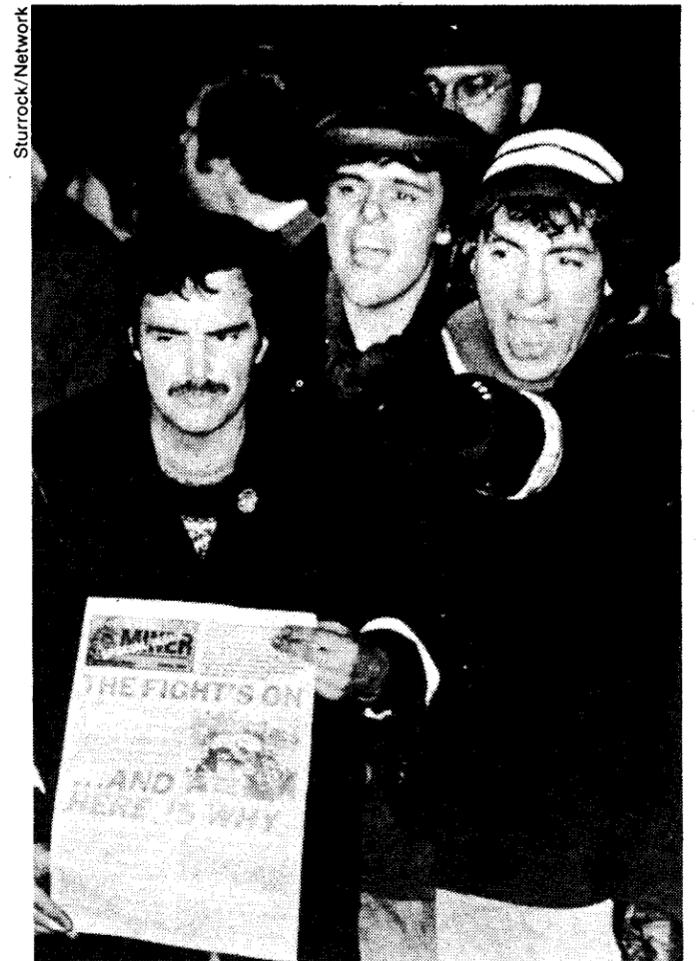
LONDON, April 9—The miners must not stand alone! That must be the rallying cry of every worker in Britain today. Four weeks of bitter struggle, ruthless police terror resulting in the murder of Yorkshire striker David Jones and insidious sabotage by scabherders within their own unions have not flagged the miners' fighting determination. The miners' flying pickets have descended on steel mills, docks and power stations in an effort to spread their strike. For three days, 600 strikers fought pitched battles with battalions of cops in an unsuccessful attempt to halt the importation of coal to Port Talbot steelworks. But the miners cannot do it alone, and the Labour misleaders are doing everything in their power to stab the NUM [National Union of Miners] in the back.

It is hardly a secret that Labour Party chiefs Kinnock and Healey are manoeuvring behind the scenes for a national ballot. Right-wing union leaders like Bill Sirs of the Steel Workers and Frank Chapple of the power workers openly ordered their members to cross picket lines. And while seamen, dockers, lorry [truck] drivers and railway workers have been officially instructed to black [refuse to handle] coal, the "left" union leaders have not made it stick and have sat on their hands while their members get victimised.

On April 2 in the Wirral, some 250 rail workers walked out, shutting down the Merseyside suburban rail network after a train driver was disciplined for refusing to move a coal train from a

siding. This single act of class solidarity pointed the way forward far more clearly than all the hot-air rhetoric coming from the railroad union leaders. Tens, even hundreds of thousands of other trade unionists have demonstrated their willingness to join this fight by their solidarity actions. Class-conscious militants must smash the bureaucratic sabotage and organise for joint strike action with the miners now! Spread the strike! Shut down the power stations! Bring out rail and steel workers! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees!

The Fleet Street capitalist press redbait [NUM president] Arthur Scargill for waging "war on democracy" and coal boss Ian MacGregor obscenely attacks strike militants as "Nazis" while his thugs in blue turn the coalfields into police states and drag hundreds off to jail. The kind of treatment meted out for years to Catholics in Northern Ireland and blacks and Asians in Britain's inner-city ghettos is now being used against striking miners. Thatcher wants to humiliate the miners in order to break the back of the entire union movement. Yet the NCB's [National Coal Board's] weeks old anti-strike injunction continues to sit on ice. As the authoritative Tory mouthpiece, the *Financial Times* (30 March), puts it, the government "has accepted the view that to press the order would unify a union which it is in its interest to split." Who are designated for this splitting operation? The same Cold War "new realists" who led the anti-Communist vilification of Arthur Scargill at Blackpool last September, who



Flying pickets from Yorkshire try to shut down mines in Nottinghamshire. Power workers, dockers, railwaymen must refuse to handle coal.

are the most open and vocal in their hatred for the Soviet Union.

Sid Vincent of the Lancashire NUM, who along with scabherders Chapple and Sirs sponsored the CIA-backed, pro-NATO, anti-Communist Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding, echoes the Tory-inspired campaign for a national ballot while keeping his men at work behind picket lines. What's needed is not a ballot but a national strike council, composed of elected strike delegates, to organise the picketing and spread the strike. The productivity bonus scheme which has fuelled regional fracturing within the NUM must be dumped in favour of a demand for equal pay for equal work, pegged at the highest rate. Disciplined workers defence guards must be formed to deal with cop/scab violence.

Treachery at the Top

From the beginning of the strike the NUM has rejected intervention from the TUC [Trades Union Congress]. And, given Murray's General Council majority, who would seriously believe that the TUC's "assistance" would be aimed at anything but selling the miners out? But Scargill's own version of "solidarity" centred on the so-called Triple Alliance has proved hardly more effective than its predecessor in 1919. Aptly termed the "Cripple Alliance" by one militant, this bureaucratic lash-up began to crumble almost the day it was formed when Bill Sirs and the Steel Workers exec stabbed the NUM in the back. And the "left" leaders of the seamen, transport and rail unions no more want an all-out confrontation with Thatcher than Murray & Co. Welsh miners report that lorry drivers are being victimised for respecting picket lines. John Bell, secretary of the NUR [National Union of Railwaymen] branch in the critical Notts area, told *Spartacist Britain* that two to five rail workers were being sent home every day for blacking coal, and said he had received reports that cops were riding shotgun on the trains. Yet the national union leaderships aren't even talking about strike action to defend their own members and back the miners. The treachery of the trade-union leaders

must be combatted. The Wirral rail workers showed the way: the road to victory is solid national strike action alongside the miners.

For International Labour Solidarity!

Militants must sharply differentiate between the necessity to stop scab coal being imported to break the strike and the protectionist policy of import controls pushed by "lefts" like Scargill and Tony Benn. Import controls do not save jobs but they do reinforce the nationalism and racialism which the ruling class uses to fuel anti-union reaction at home. Just as productivity deals divide workers in this country, protectionism undercuts the capacity to appeal to workers abroad for solidarity. Posed squarely in this strike is the need to call on American and Australian dockers to black the export of coal to Britain.

Scandalously, coal is still also arriving from Poland. NUM officials have called on the Jaruzelski regime to stop the shipment. As Kent area NUM secretary Jack Collins put it, the actions of the Polish government are every bit as disgraceful as those of the scab Notts miners. With their refusal to kowtow to the anti-Communist furor over Solidarność, the NUM leaders have some real authority to appeal to the government of the Polish deformed workers state, on the basis that Thatcher is the sworn enemy of both. It speaks volumes to the anti-working-class nationalism of the Polish Stalinist regime that it is scabbing on the miners' struggle today as it did in 1972 and 1974.

The Left and the Miners Strike

The Communist Party (CP), despite its significant base in the unions, is indistinguishable from its fellow TUC "lefts." *Morning Star* touted an April 5 conference of 800 shop stewards in Glasgow as a big step in building support for the miners. But the conference organisers didn't even present their earlier proposal for a token half-day general strike in Scotland. Instead, CPer Mick McGahey and other official

continued on page 8

SPARTACIST EDUCATIONALS

Wars and Revolutions

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM IN PRACTICE



From the Great French Revolution to the Paris Commune

World War I and the Russian Revolution

Germany 1919-1933: Revolution and Counterrevolution

New York City
April 14-15

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Lexington & 23rd St.

Sat. 10 a.m.
Sun. 11 a.m.

Bay Area
April 28-29

UC Berkeley
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105 North Gate

Sun. 11 a.m.
120 Lattimer

Chicago
May 5-6

Blackstone Hotel
636 S. Michigan

Sat. 10 a.m.
French Room

Sun. 11 a.m.
Embassy Room

Registration fee is \$10 (\$5 for students and unemployed).
For more information, call the SL/SYL local nearest you.

Racist, Anti-Semitic Terror: Rebirth of the KKK, 1915

Georgia Racists Lynch Leo Frank Again

Some 50 years after the end of the Civil War, Leo Frank, a Northerner and prominent Jewish resident of Atlanta, was lynched. As the race-terrorists screaming "Kill the Jew!" massed by the thousands outside the courtroom, the Frank case unleashed a wave of anti-Semitism and sparked the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan. That was the Old South, vintage 1915.

Last December, 70 years after Frank's frame-up conviction in the murder of 13-year-old Mary Phagan, an appeal "requesting the granting of a full pardon exonerating Leo M. Frank of guilt of the offense of murder" was rejected by the Georgia State Board of Pardons and Paroles. This is the "New South," circa 1983-84.

As it was back then, the case of Leo Frank remains a focal point for the Ku Klux Klan to this day. Last September 3 in the Atlanta suburb of Marietta where Frank was lynched (today the headquarters for church-bomber racist terrorist J.B. Stoner's "National States Rights Party"), 200 robed, hooded and armed Klansmen and uniformed Nazis paraded in opposition to the Frank pardon request. While the race-hate rally had originally been called against efforts to posthumously pardon Frank, it turned into an orgy of anti-Communism as a Soviet flag was burned in "commemoration" of Georgia arch-reactionary Congressman Larry McDonald who died aboard the Korean Air Lines spy plane KAL 007. The domestic shock troops of Reagan reaction leapt at the chance to make this criminal anti-Soviet provocation their cause célèbre.

That even a symbolic gesture like a "posthumous pardon" was too much for the State of Georgia is an indication of how intertwined the state apparatus is with the Klan and the upholding of the racist status quo. The liberals have been pushing the case in order to remove the "damning blight on the Georgia of our fathers and grandfathers" from the face of the "New South," as the *Atlanta Constitution* wrote (20 December 1983). But in fact there is a hideous resurgence of racist violence in the present Cold War climate from the fascist massacre of "reds," labor organizers and civil rights workers in Greensboro in 1979 to the KKK lynching of a black youth in Mobile, Alabama last year.

"From Savage Murder to Klan's Torch"

The case of Leo Frank has been widely known in American Jewish communities for years, particularly after its popularization by Southern Jewish journalist Harry Golden in his 1965 book, *A Little Girl Is Dead*. As the *Atlanta Constitution* put it, "The issue of Frank's innocence has been virtually settled for years." But the case remained largely dormant until March of 1982 when *The Tennessean*, a Gannett newspaper published in Nashville, dug up critical evidence in the case which had been withheld for decades. Headlining "An Innocent Man Was Lynched," *The Tennessean* published a ten-page special news supplement featuring the testimony of an eyewitness, Alonzo Mann, now 83 and ailing, who said, "I want the public to understand that Leo Frank did not kill Mary Phagan."

Frank, after graduating Brooklyn's Pratt Institute, had come south to Atlanta where he was supervisor and part-owner of a pencil factory, and had been elected president of the Atlanta chapter of the B'nai B'rith. Saturday, 26 April 1913 was "Confederate Memorial

Lynching of Jewish businessman Leo Frank in 1915 sparked rebirth of KKK. To this day this atrocious act remains a focal point for Klan nightriders.



Courtesy, Georgia Department of Archives and History

Day" and Frank was working on the books when 13-year-old Mary Phagan came by the factory to collect her paycheck—\$1.20 which represented ten hours of work fitting metal tips to pencils. Mary Phagan was never seen alive again; her bludgeoned, strangled body was dumped in the basement of the factory. Two years earlier the police had failed to solve any of the 18 murders of black women. But Mary Phagan was white, the cops were getting a lot of heat and they needed a scapegoat.

The case touched off a wave of anti-Semitism across the South. At Frank's trial a mob of 4,000-5,000 shrieking "Kill the Jew!" was barely held at bay by the National Guard. Both Leo Frank and his lawyer were advised not even to show up in court for the jury's verdict for fear they would be lynched on the spot. Frank was declared guilty and appeals to the State and U.S. Supreme Court were denied. When in June of 1915 then-governor Slaton commuted Frank's sentence to life imprisonment, this so enraged the racists that Slaton was forced to flee Georgia as mobs stormed his estate. On 12 August 1915, racist demagogue Tom Watson screamed in his *Jeffersonian* (circulation 87,000): "The next Leo Frank case in Georgia will never reach the courthouse. THE NEXT JEW WHO DOES WHAT FRANK DID, IS GOING TO GET EXACTLY THE SAME THING WE GIVE TO NEGRO RAPISTS" (C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson—Agrarian Rebel*).

After the death sentence was commuted, a crazed inmate had plunged a butcher knife into Frank's jugular. Amazingly he survived and continued his struggle to vindicate himself. But on August 17, a mob of screaming vigilantes stormed the prison farm at Milledgeville, Georgia where Frank was being held, dragged him out and lynched him. While always portrayed as "rednecks," a term of derision for poor white Southerners, in fact the racist mob was led by Marietta's most prominent citizens, calling themselves the "Knights of Mary Phagan." They completed their heinous work with cool, surgical precision and left the body swaying in the wind.

Word spread quickly as a horde gathered to tear pieces of cloth from the sleeves of Frank's nightshirt and cut

strands from the noose around his neck for souvenirs. Pictures were taken for tourist postcards which were available for purchase in Marietta. Sheriffs did not bury Frank until a mob in Atlanta passed his open coffin to revile him. Even in death Frank was hounded like an animal. Armed racists roamed the streets of Atlanta for days as Jewish store owners closed their businesses and hid behind boarded-up doors and windows. In the months following the lynching, half the 3,000 Jews in Georgia left the state. It was to counter this pogrom-like hysteria that the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League (ADL) was formed.

As *The Tennessean* reported in the article, "From Savage Murder to Klan's Torch," it was three months later, on 25 November 1915 when "William Simmons and 15 members of the Knights of Mary Phagan form the new Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan and burn a cross atop Stone Mountain in Georgia." This was reportedly the first Klan cross-burning in history. The KKK repeats this obscene "tribute" to racist terror yearly, and last September after their anti-Soviet rally for Larry McDonald, they trooped from Marietta to burn a cross at the base of Stone Mountain.

The main targets of the Southern racist terrorists were the literally thousands of black people lynched in defense of "white womanhood" and Jim Crow. In the month preceding Frank's murder, four blacks were lynched in Georgia alone; the period 1889 to 1928 saw more lynchings in Georgia than any other state in the union. And yet the very choice of Leo Frank as the scapegoat over a number of black "suspects" itself reflected this pervasive racism. Mary Phagan's minister and a member of the "Knights of Mary Phagan" had remarked that "An old Negro would be poor atonement" for her death. He added, "When the police arrested a Jew, and a Yankee at that, here was a victim worthy to pay for the crime."

"Convicted by Lies, Heaped on Lies"

In 1913 Alonzo Mann was the office boy for Leo Frank at the National Pencil Company. In a lengthy affidavit Mann described how black janitor Jim Conley had approached the teen-age boy on his way into work that morning for "a dime to buy beer." He told how that afternoon, "I encountered Conley with the body of Mary Phagan." Conley threatened Mann, "If you ever mention this I'll kill you." Years later Mann did reveal his secret to family members, to army buddies and reporters, but was always advised to let the matter lie. Until 1982 when *Tennessean* reporters Jerry Thompson and Bob Sherborne heard his story and began digging into the case. It was Mann's testimony which led the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee and the Atlanta Jewish Federation to mount their campaign for a "pardon."

The Georgia Parole Board acted as the genteel front men for the Klan. They concluded "that the only grounds upon which the board would grant a full pardon exonerating Leo Frank of the murder for which he was convicted would be conclusive evidence proving beyond any doubt that Frank was innocent." These dyed-in-the-wool racists, like their grandfathers 70 years ago, still demand a scapegoat because "somebody's got to swing" for the murder of Mary Phagan! A member of the board complained they were "subjected to some of the same outside influences—though not sinister—that ... influenced the jury in 1913" (*Atlanta*).

continued on page 10

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American Chemical Society Exposes

Reagan's Yellow Rain Lie

In another cynical and provocative move against the Soviet Union, Reagan announced at his April 4 press conference a proposed treaty to "ban" chemical weapons. (There already is a treaty, which the Soviets signed in 1928 and the U.S. refused to sign until 1975, after the Vietnam War was over. And in any case the United States has accumulated the largest stockpile in the world of chemical and biological weapons, an estimated 150,000 tons.) The "treaty" ploy is just a cover, as Reagan is pushing for a massive \$1.1 billion appropriation to build up America's own deadly arsenal of chemical weapons, including binary nerve gas. One reporter asked Reagan at the press conference how the U.S. would answer charges that it was "talking peace but preparing for war." And the next day TASS, the official Soviet press agency, rightly denounced Reagan's sinister plans, noting "his Administration in fact intended to block any agreement in this sphere by proposing methods of 'control' and 'verification' designed to be unacceptable."

Reagan also repeated the U.S. Big Lie that the Soviets have used chemical weapons in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia. Yet the State Department is now acting like it wished it had never heard of "yellow rain": a February 21 State Department report to the United Nations blandly stated, according to the *New York Times* (22 February), "there was no confirmed use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan last year and that the deadliness of chemical warfare attacks in Laos and Cambodia had diminished substantially."

What's diminished substantially in fact is any remaining shreds of credibility to the war-crazy Reagan administration's "yellow rain" charges, first launched by General Haig three years ago. Thus Harvard biochemist and chemical warfare expert Dr. Matthew Meselson recently returned from a field trip to Thailand with further evidence that "yellow rain" is really *bee excrement*—even sustaining a "direct hit" by defecating bees, yellow splotches which he called "indistinguishable" from the samples and descriptions of "yellow rain" Laotian refugees gave the U.S. government (*New York Times*, 29 March).

"The damned thing is ridiculous," says Saul Hormats, former director of the U.S. Army's chemical weapons program, with 37 years experience in the

field, about Reagan's charges. In a devastating attack from the strictly military viewpoint, Hormats ridiculed the bizarre "yellow rain" stories (see excerpts from Hormats' 26 February *Washington Post* article printed below). And the American Chemical Society's journal *Chemical & Engineering News* (9 January) also carried a detailed front-page refutation of the Reagan's claims, in an article by Lois Ember titled "Yellow Rain." *C&EN* made the basic point that the government hasn't got any real evidence:

"Sample pedigrees either are not known or suspect. . . . Except for the Afghan gas mask, and some autopsy material, all positive samples have been analyzed by one private laboratory and have not been confirmed independently. The Army laboratory analyzing environmental samples has never detected toxins in the numerous specimens from Southeast Asia it has tested—never. In fact, the one environmental sample that contained the highest level of T-2 toxin reported was reanalyzed by this Army laboratory and found to contain no toxin. There are no environmental and biomedical samples from a single alleged attack. And the U.S. has no physical evidence that trichothecenes have been used in a weapons system. Not one piece of military hardware—not a shell, grenade, rocket, canister, or weapon fragment—has tested positive for toxins."

Further, *C&EN* noted, the verbal reports the State Department used come from a pretty tainted source: "the majority of the 150 to 200 reports of yellow rain compiled by the State Department in two compendia come from the Hmong of Laos. . . . from the highly politicized Ban Vinai refugee camp to the southeast [of Thailand]. . . . The leadership of Ban Vinai is composed of former members of the old CIA-backed secret army in Laos. And the more military-oriented stories come from these former U.S. allies, not from Hmong male farmers, and not from Hmong women," says the article, quoting Australian sociologist Grant Evans and also Roger Rumpf and Jacqui Chagnon who actually went to Thailand to interview Hmong refugees and found gigantic discrepancies in their stories—particularly in one "star witness" who was interviewed by dozens of people and told them all different stories.

There is some basis for the stories of deadly chemicals dropping out of the sky, however: *Chemical & Engineering News* notes, "the government must



Der Spiegel

U.S. Army on NATO maneuvers in West Germany trains for chemical warfare.

explain why Hmong reported deaths from the herbicides sprayed by the U.S. in Laos in the early 1970s, and why the Cambodians accused the U.S. and South Vietnam of spraying a lethal yellow powder on some of its villages in 1964." As we said in "Yellow Rain: Bee Shit!" (*Young Spartacus* No. 110, Summer 1983):

"What's behind the U.S.'s bizarre hoax is deadly serious business: 'yellow rain' was a shameless justification for expanding America's already huge arsenal of poisonous binary nerve gases and other horrible agents of chemical warfare. All the Pentagon's screaming about supposed Soviet 'violations' of international conventions against chemical warfare are cynical, crude lies.

designed in part to divert attention from the Pentagon's own *ten-year* bombardment of Vietnam with deadly dioxins, Agent Orange, Agent White, Agent Blue—and napalm, Dow Chem's flaming gasoline jelly that sinks into its victims' skin burning flesh away down to the charred bone. Not to mention all the bombs dropped over Indochina—more than in all of World War II—by the war criminals of U.S. imperialism. "So now we know the truth about 'yellow rain.' But that's not going to stop the U.S. government's mad drive toward nuclear holocaust against the USSR. There's so much blood on the hands of the American ruling class that we doubt a little bee shit is going to bother them. The point is to stop them through socialist revolution before they kill again."

U.S. Military Expert Debunks Yellow Rain

We print below an abridged version of an article by Saul Hormats, former director of the U.S. Army's chemical weapons program, which was published in the 26 February 1984 Washington Post.

Thus far, the debate over yellow rain has focused less on whether the Soviets are using chemical weapons than on how they are doing it. Unfortunately, most of the testimony in the controversy has come from diplomats, politicians, analytical chemists and scientists with academic backgrounds. Almost completely lacking has been an assessment based on a military appreciation of chemical warfare agents, the munitions used to deliver such agents, and the logistics involved.

Such a military assessment raises grave questions about whether the Soviets have, in fact, engaged in the chemical warfare activities with which they have been charged.

In its report to Congress, the administration declared flatly that the Soviets had broken international agreements. It charged Moscow with "repeated violations" of the 1925 Geneva Protocol and of the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention. Chemical weapons were reported to have been used against the anti-Soviet guerrillas in Afghanistan, but primarily against Hmong villages in Laos. The chemical warfare agent is said to be a mold,

fusarium (popularly called "yellow rain"), found naturally in infected crops and poorly stored grain.

The evidence supporting these allegations consists of a large number of interviews by State Department officials with Hmong refugees, and "solid evidence" in the form of blood samples, twigs and leaves, rock scrapings and a contaminated Soviet gas mask purchased in Kabul, Afghanistan.

But the evidence seems less than solid to one who has worked in the chemical weapons field for 37 years.

To begin with, why should the Soviets or their allies have chosen chemical attack? Hmong villages are very small; 15 to 20 houses cover the equivalent of a city block. There are many conventional munitions (such as the antipersonnel shells used in Vietnam and Beirut) easily capable of destroying all the villagers. White phosphorus shells of the kind used in Beirut would not only destroy the villagers but the village itself. The Soviets must certainly have large quantities of these in their arsenal. Why, then, would they risk world condemnation by using chemical weapons?

Let us assume that the Soviets wanted to escape responsibility for attacking a village. They might then use a weapon that would not leave evidence of its use. This would rule out nerve agents and similar devices that leave unmistakable effects. As a result, they might choose a

continued on page 10



Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Former members of old CIA-run secret army in Laos, now in Thai refugee camp, are the source for "yellow rain" fabrications.

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

even pissed off Barry Goldwater, who is just about the best friend the CIA had on Capitol Hill.

Reagan's Central American policy is losing on the battlefield, and it's not doing very well on the home front either: CIA-directed "contra" terror raids and harbor sabotage against Sandinista Nicaragua are a resounding political failure as well as a military failure. Ever since Carter/Mondale started Cold War II, the rulers of this country have been unable to mobilize the mass of Americans for their anti-Soviet crusade. Yet the Sunday *New York Times* (8 April) reports that "Senior officials in the Reagan Administration say that contingency plans are being drawn for the possible use of United States combat troops in Central America..." This is supposed to be justified under that latter-day Monroe Doctrine, the 1947 Rio Treaty, used for the 1965 Santo Domingo invasion and conveniently forgotten during last fall's Grenada adventure.

Reagan's war-crazy frustration over Central America makes him especially dangerous, like a wounded animal. For him the decline of U.S. imperialism represented by the defeat in Vietnam must be met by escalating military

intervention and an increasing thrust toward bonapartism at home. Reagan ended his April 4 press conference by eulogizing General Douglas MacArthur and wishing the Vietnam War had been a *declared* war so domestic opponents could have been locked up for "lending comfort and aid to the enemy." But the U.S. public remains disinclined to sacrifice its sons for dictators who massacre thousands of their own people (as well as U.S. nuns) for the global war against Communism.

The Democrats in Congress and on the election campaign trail are trying to take advantage of this growing sentiment by presenting a more *sophisticated* war policy for U.S. imperialism in Central America. The Democrats are haunted by their defeat in Vietnam and they want a war they can win. Even as Congress coos like doves they vote like hawks for Reagan's huge military appropriations and the open-secret war on Nicaragua. The bloodbath that all wings of the American bourgeoisie are preparing for the worker and peasant fighters south of the border can be repulsed only with a struggle for a military victory for the leftist insurgents, to obliterate the death squads and sweep away the bloodsucking oligarchy, opening the road to workers revolution throughout the region. While the reformists cry, "No more Vietnams in Central America," revolutionaries re-

ply: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! No negotiated sellout of the Central American revolution!

Right now while the lights are flashing in the Pentagon war room, while the Yankee rulers try to "buy a little respect" by parading their aircraft carriers from Grenada to Beirut, and ramming Soviet subs from the Bermuda Triangle to the Sea of Japan, one thing stands out: antiwar protests at home have disappeared. Why? Because the rad-libs are caught up in Democratic Party electoral politics, getting sucked into Gary Hart's appeal to the "Vietnam generation" and Jesse Jackson's talk of "changing priorities." What's needed is some rip-roaring class-struggle "in the belly of the beast." For labor action to stop the imperialist slaughter in Central America: the unions must hot-cargo all shipments of military materiel to Reagan's butchers!

While Congress may fear that Reagan will stumble into a nuclear Armageddon, and the White House wants to pin the blame on the Democrats for "losing" Central America (as well as Lebanon), their differences are ultimately tactical. It's all part of the anti-Soviet war drive uniting liberals and conservatives, "doves" and "hawks." Senate Democrats have just given more-than-sufficient proof of a "bipartisan" foreign policy in voting \$60 million in

"economic" aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship and another \$21 million to the Nicaraguan *contras*. Reagan knows well that their "sense of Congress" resolutions are so much hot air. As Russell Baker put it, "In this way, Congressmen can keep financing a war while making speeches about the dreadful peril of going to war, and self-righteousness meets hypocrisy coming around the barn, to the political advantage of everyone concerned."

Sinking ships is dangerous business. Something blew up the *Maine* back in 1898, and when Teddy Roosevelt tumbled to the fact that there was some kind of insurgency afoot in the Caribbean he quickly whooped it up for the Spanish-American War. (Years later it was discovered that there was some kind of internal explosion aboard the *Maine*, but this didn't stop the war.) So the Soviet oil tanker *Lugansk* hit a mine planted by a team of CIA saboteurs operating out of a mother ship 12 miles off the Nicaraguan coast; as a result five crewmen were critically injured and the ship badly damaged. Do the Bonzos in the White House want a war against the Soviets who will be justifiably and honorably fighting to "Remember the *Lugansk*!" As communists—revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist—we say: Defend Nicaragua! Kill the CIA/*contra* invaders! Sink the minelayers! ■

Lankan Trotskyists...

(continued from page 7)

leadership! True labour organizations do not have money to throw about because they are not a part in the management of the economy. However for people in this country it will not be necessary at all to explain which organizations hire people for a ten rupee note, or a packet of lunch or a bottle of arrack, a buriyani or free musical shows. People in this country know quite well which class attacked the peasants, the workers, the students using money and thuggery, who destroyed their picket lines, crushed their strikes and even murdered those people who gathered to use their rights.

How comforting it would be if peace to bleeding Lebanon, wounded by religious, sectarian, racist, communalist conflicts, or peace to the whole of Europe, armed to the teeth with American imperialists' Pershing and cruise missiles and yet trembling in fear of war, could be brought after stabilizing these countries by ending terrorism. How nice if these things could be achieved at Don Mithuna's roundtable conference. But the working class understands that it cannot happen so. They understand that liberation for oppressed masses in various parts of the world rests upon the true socialist states that will be constituted in those various countries. Only thereby will the suppression of the Tamils from Sinhala communalists be halted, and the fear within the Sinhala

people over the 40 million Tamils in India and the hatred towards the Tamils in the North for attempting to divide the country be eased. How can one stop the countries in this region joining with imperialists to crush the first workers state on Earth—the USSR? That is only by making the socialist revolution possible in Lanka, India and in the whole of South Asia. To this the international Spartacist tendency and all its other sections are devoted; and it is no secret for Don Mithuna. Intentionally he hides this from the masses. The international Spartacist tendency is an organization with a perspective for a world Socialist Federation.

Finally, one thing should be said. Don Mithuna has dutifully served the purpose as an agent for the entire capitalist class to viciously attack, slander and destroy working class movements.

Patrick Fernando
Spartacist League/Lanka

Copies to:
All left organizations
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All newspaper publishers in Sri Lanka and abroad

Britain...

(continued from page 3)

speakers droned on about moral and financial support for the strike. But one NUR militant from London Transport, a supporter of the Spartacist League, intervened to demand, "shut down rail and power now"—and was greeted with

applause.

Against the right's open scabbing and the do-nothing talk of the "lefts," our supporters in the unions have fought to mobilise strike action. A week after the strike began two NUR branches in London Transport adopted motions put by Spartacist supporters demanding the blacking of all coal and a national rail strike (including London Transport) in the event of any victimisation. At BL's [British Leylands] Rover Solihull factory, the shop stewards' committee endorsed the resolution initiated by a Spartacist supporter calling not only for financial and picket support, but for shutting down open-cast mines.

We of the Spartacist League/Britain and our supporters in the trade unions have thrown our full resources into fighting to win the strike. More than 15,000 copies of our special strike supplement, as well as thousands more leaflets have been distributed up and down the country, from Scotland to Yorkshire, South Wales and Kent. Our banner on the March 29 "Democracy Day" demonstration in London stood out with its call to "Smash Tory Assault—Miners Must Not Stand Alone!" We have organised public meetings to get out the truth about the strike. In Dunscoft, South Yorks, striking miners turned out March 29 to see the film *Harlan County, U.S.A.* and hear speakers including Gene Herson, a seaman from the U.S. and organiser of a class-struggle opposition in the National Maritime Union.

The following night a London SL public meeting featured as guest speakers Kent NUM president Malcolm Pitt, and a militant from the NUR. A Spartacist spokesman laid out the central issues of this strike: "From a simply trade-union standpoint it should be obvious that if the miners are out on strike, the railwaymen don't handle scab coal, and the steel workers don't handle coal, and the lorry drivers don't handle coal, and the power workers don't handle coal. The problem is that if these simple tactics of trade-union solidarity are carried out then this country doesn't run. And the reason why these kinds of elementary solidarity actions which are being addressed in words, have not been implemented, is because the trade-union leadership and the leadership of the Labour Party are quite well aware that if they precipitate a general strike around the question of the miners, then they pose the question of power—and they do not want to get rid of capitalism.

"And the fundamental issue that I

want to address myself to is the question of the attitude towards the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union. It's quite obvious if one looks at this particular strike, that those elements in the workers movement who hate the Soviet Union the most are the ones that most violently talk about urging workers to cross the picket line. A classic example of this is Frank Chapple—but there are more than he. And that is why Blackpool was so important... When Scargill made that point [about Solidarność] and not one single delegate at the TUC congress got up to defend him when he was being rebuffed, then Margaret Thatcher knew she had a good chance of isolating this union. And that's why she provoked this."

Today the Labour Party leadership is openly trying to sell out the miners, while the "left" like Tony Benn, so keen to maintain unity behind Kinnock, refuses even to oppose a strikebreaking ballot. The British working class is today in the throes of its most decisive struggle for many decades against the raw naked power of the capitalist state. This battle must be won! The workers of this country desperately need a fighting revolutionary vanguard party forged through splitting the Labour Party, winning the working-class base away from the pro-capitalist leaders around the program of revolutionary class struggle. This is what the Spartacist League seeks to build, and why we say today: Victory to the miners! Spread the strike! Shut down rail, steel, and the power stations! Smash Tory attacks! Bring down Thatcher! ■

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French Steel Workers...

(continued from page 1)

automobile)—entire layers of the productive apparatus—are condemned, and entire regions, like Lorraine, along with them. Mitterrand is trampling on even those pale reforms promised by the Union of the Left to hoist himself above and independent of his own electoral majority. He is presenting himself as a candidate for the bonapartist strongman à la de Gaulle. Thus his debate with the bourgeois opposition only concerns the best methods for smashing the workers. This government is attacking its own base. But key sectors of the workers are fighting back.

Lorraine is a particularly flagrant case, since in a certain sense Mitterrand owes his presidential armchair to the battles of the steel workers in 1979, which were the beginning of the end for the right-wing bourgeois Giscard regime. It's not surprising that Mitterrand is increasingly hated in this region, as witnessed by the appearance of banners like "Mitterrand: bought by capital," or by the burning down of the Socialist Party headquarters at Metz (which was quite clearly carried out by the workers). These "minority" actions are greeted with approval by thousands of workers.

Fresh from his visit to the United States, Mitterrand seems starry-eyed over Reagan's "free enterprise": bloody smashing of strikes, hunger and misery for millions of unemployed. But in all the capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie attacks the workers—slashing of wages, massive layoffs, closing of factories and the chauvinist witchhunt against immigrant workers—in order to save their profits and accelerate their preparations for war against the Soviet Union. In Britain, it's the miners strike against Thatcher's austerity; in Germany massive layoffs provoked the occupation of the shipyards; in Italy, the "socialist" government of Craxi is trying to eliminate cost-of-living indexes and is encountering a massive revolt based on the factory councils.

Today, Mitterrand has made the liquidation of the steel industry in Lorraine his personal business. Even earlier he sent his CRS riot police against factory occupations, giving the green light to a campaign of police terror against our immigrant class brothers. Sticking with Mitterrand is suicide!

In 1981 the Ligue Trotskyste said, "Giscard, never; No to Mitterrand!" Elected with the implicit support of the Gaullist nationalists, on the basis of a flamboyant anti-Soviet campaign, Mitterrand never promised anything other than the restructuring of French capitalism. His policy of "revival" fell to pieces like a house of cards, leaving a mountain of international debts. Thus, to demand that Mitterrand "keep his promises" is grotesque; he never promised anything to the steel workers except a phony "reconversion."

This government has created an economic mess and has brought down everybody's wrath on its head: the peasants, small shopkeepers, truckers—and important sectors of the working class. In face of the mobilizations by the enraged petty bourgeoisie, which have been led by reactionaries of all stripes, the solution is not to stick with Mitterrand. If the working class shows its power in struggle it will be possible to split the middle classes and rally broad layers to the side of the working class. On 4 April at Longwy, the entire population was behind the steel workers, down to the last shopkeeper. Now is the time to unify those industrial sectors which are under the gun—coal, shipyards, steel, automobile—and to muster them around the only measure which can make this brutally anti-working-class government bend—a general strike against Mitterrand's austerity policies.

"Normal" trade-union struggle is not sufficient in the face of such far-reaching government attacks. To try to fight workplace by workplace like the bureaucrats tell us to do is a real recipe for defeat. All the more so since in many cases strikes would not do much to threaten bosses who are in any case seeking to reduce production. A general strike should be combined with the militant tactic of factory occupations. The dismantling of the steel industry in France and throughout West Europe has been ordered by the capitalist Common Market. The entire European bourgeoisie will support Mitterrand against the workers' resistance. Therefore it will be indispensable for dockers and the railway workers to boycott all attempts to import coal, ore, steel, etc. This is how the British miners have sought to extend their strike.

April 13 must become a jumping-off point, not for a protest action that merely blows off steam, but a general



Socialist Party headquarters in Longwy sacked and documents torched by enraged steel workers.

strike to *smash* Mitterrand's austerity, a real general strike which stops the factories, ports, airports and transport throughout France. This general strike which directly challenges the popular-front government cannot rely on the reformist misleaders and must overcome the bureaucratic divisions in the union movement, reaching beyond organized labor to the unorganized worker: For strike committees and committees of action—embryos of working-class political power. Such a strike will pose inevitably the question of power and the necessity to finish with the economic chaos of capitalism by installing a real workers government. And this perspective not only goes beyond regional and sectoral limits, but also beyond national borders.

Karl Marx Was Right

Nearly 150 years ago, the *Communist Manifesto* explained: "The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them." The results: cyclical crises which periodically destroy the productive forces. "Modernize or perish," they tell us. Every year for the last ten years the rate of productive investment in France has gone down by 2 percent. It is the bourgeoisie, and it alone, which is responsible for the dilapidation of its own productive apparatus. This is the result of the system of production for profit.

In earlier times, doctors "cured" people with leeches, by repeated bleedings. Their patients often died. Our "socialist" witch doctors of sick capitalism will not obtain better results. Their austerity program bleeds the working class, pillaging or eliminating social welfare programs. However, this massive transfer of resources will not restart capitalist investment, which is still blocked by the fall in the rate of profit.

Soon we will have 3 million unemployed at a rate of 86,000 jobs eliminated a year; zero growth. And all they give

us is blah-blah about reconversion. Last year at Longwy, of the 280 new jobs created, *seven* went to ex-steel workers. Years of experience and high level skills are threatened with extinction.

The disastrous situation of the steel industry today is the result of years of capitalist anarchy. There is massive overproduction and overcapacity of steel on the world market. To maintain the steel mills of France would mean ferocious protectionism and/or one hell of an armaments program producing a vast number of tanks. To get out of the impasse we need a real planned economy. Millions of workers know today that nationalizations by the bourgeois state change nothing. Nationalized enterprises are still run according to the profit criteria, and they speed up and lay off tens of thousands of workers.

As long as capitalism lasts, it is impossible to talk about the steel industry producing for the needs of society. All the "counterplans" offered

by the reformists are utopian (as utopian as Mitterrand's plan to transform France into one gigantic "Silicon Valley"); they run up against the insurmountable barrier of the rate of profit.

"Produce French" is a deadly trap for the workers. We lose on all sides: protectionist measures provoke a reply in kind and what is gained on the domestic market is lost in exports. This is to choose "solidarity" with the employers association, our class enemies, against our class brothers in other countries, who face the exact same problems as we do. It is to turn one's back on the only real solution—rational, socialist planning on the European level. Reactionary and utopian, economic nationalism kindles the fires of chauvinism, cutting French workers off from those who have been in the vanguard of struggle for the last two years: the immigrant workers, in particular those in auto. Defending them against deportations and racist terror is a defense of the spearhead of the struggle against Mitterrand's austerity.

For a New Revolutionary Leadership

Ever since 1979 the steel workers of Lorraine have demonstrated an unequalled combativity. Where is the leadership worthy of their struggles? For the three years of Mitterrand's government, the Communist Party and the CP-led CGT labor federation have smothered working-class discontent, thus rendering an incalculable service to the "Republic," that is to big capital. Today, they may well find themselves kicked out the door, and precisely for having done these favors for the bourgeoisie! Mitterrand is attacking the working-class base of the CP (what good are parliamentary posts if their bastions in heavy industry are liquidated), because the reformist bureaucrats have taken so many kicks in the teeth and have gone so far as to break strikes

themselves, like at Talbot this year, to cling to their ministerial back seats.

Dumping the whole responsibility for the crisis of the steel industry on German capitalism, the CP has objectively blocked with the Gaullists on the basis of "anti-Krautism." The reformists have set the steel workers of Usinor-Dunkerque, of Longwy, of Fos against each other. Even worse, their disgusting chauvinism prevented a common struggle with the Belgian and German workers (who have been fighting for a 35-hour workweek).

What we need is a leadership which takes decisions based on the fact that this government is a sworn enemy of the workers and which, armed with a class-struggle program, can lead to victory. We must fight like hell to take back the unions on the basis of a revolutionary program; and create through this struggle strike committees and factory committees, which will regroup broader layers of workers. The key is a new revolutionary leadership—a Leninist party, a Trotskyist vanguard party. We Trotskyists base ourselves on the lessons of the past—the bankruptcy of the Blum Popular Front which ordered the shooting down of anti-fascist demonstrators at Clichy in 1937. We warned the workers against the popular front of Mitterrand. CP leader Marchais prostrated himself before Mitterrand, while the "far left" transformed itself into cheerleaders for the popular front.

Today there is no recognized revolutionary leadership capable of giving resolute leadership in this class war. Yet as Mitterrand dismantles French industry, throwing tens of thousands of workers on the slag heap, the proletariat is pushed toward a general strike against the capitalist austerity program in order to ensure its very survival. To paraphrase Leon Trotsky on the 1926 British general strike, the working class cannot permit the bankruptcy of French capitalism to mean the bankruptcy of the French people. And the more far-reaching and militant the struggle, to the degree the stranglehold of the traditional, reformist misleaders of the proletariat is broken, the revolutionary energies of the workers can be unleashed for the decisive battles ahead.

The question of economic recovery is posed as the necessity for the conquest of power by the proletariat. The organs of dual power—strike committees, factory committees, mass pickets which will become workers self-defense detachments and ultimately workers militias—will be the bases for a real workers government.

Mitterrand's savage attacks upon the French working class cannot be separated from his aggressive support to Western imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. This French social democrat has served as Reagan's sergeant-major in NATO Europe. More rabidly than any other West European regime, Mitterrand sought to whip up anti-Communist hysteria over Polish Solidarność, that "free trade union" for the CIA, world bankers and Vatican. The struggle of the French working class against Mitterrand's austerity is inseparable from the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union.

A progressive solution to the economic crisis of Common Market Europe, most acute in Mitterrand's France, cannot be separated from the "other" Europe: the degenerated/ deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. We need a communist revolution against capitalist exploitation and anarchy in West Europe and a proletarian political revolution against Stalinist bureaucratic oppression and economic mismanagement in East Europe. This is the road to a Socialist United States of Europe. Neither a popular front nor overt rightists nor reformist workers parties, but only a workers government can make the adjustments and rationalizations of industry without willfully and grievously injuring the working people. ■

Yellow Rain...

(continued from page 5)

device whose effect could be construed as resulting from naturally occurring food poisoning. Yellow rain would be one choice—but not a very probable one. Whether evading responsibility was the attacker's intent—or whether the intent was overt terror—there are cheaper and more effective techniques at hand.

There are many substances, well-known and available to weapons designers, that fill this bill. For example, an aerosol container the size of the smallest found on a supermarket shelf, slightly strengthened and modified and containing a solution of botulinal toxin type A, would kill everyone in a village if the poison was released in or near it. Deaths would appear to have been caused by botulism food poisoning. The weight of such a munition might be less than half a pound.

Should the Soviets decide to engage in biological warfare, the agent might well be the microorganism *coxiella burnetii*, which causes Q-fever and is found in most parts of the world. The agent is easy to produce. Chills, fever, fatigue and weight loss can last for a month or longer and would be attributed to inadequate pasteurization of milk or milk products. Domesticated livestock and poultry would also be infected. The munition to do all this might weigh as little as two ounces.

Compared to these agents, yellow rain presents tremendous logistical problems. Yellow rain itself has been reported by the State Department to contain only very small percentages of the supposed toxic ingredient, called T-2. Since one part yellow rain is reported to contain only one ten-thousandth part or less of T-2, and T-2 is only one-fiftieth as toxic as our present lethal chemical agents, it would take some 500,000 times as much fusarium mold to attack a given target than if a standard lethal chemical agent were used. At a minimum, about 3,000 tons of yellow rain would be required to attack a village. To place this quantity on the target would require 20,000 to 30,000 shells—some two hours of fire from a full Soviet artillery division—or a minimum of 8,000 tons of bombs dropped from the air.

It is true the Soviets believe in massive air attack and artillery fire, but would they adopt this tactic in a remote mountain village of 15 to 20 families? A six-gun, 122mm howitzer battery of the kind attached to a Soviet infantry regiment, firing one salvo of conventional shells weighing in all about 1,000

pounds, would leave little of the village.

Since none of the State Department reports of yellow rain incidents give any indication of such physical destruction, one might assume that the agent was delivered as a cloud from large transport or cargo planes. However, fusarium is a solid and not a gas or volatile liquid. To be effective, it would have to be dropped from an aircraft as very finely divided particles and then inhaled by the people in the village. But if the necessary 3,000 tons was dropped in this way over a village, very little of the light, fluffy material would reach the target. Most of it would be carried away by the wind.

Evidence of chemical or biological attack is unmistakable to an experienced observer. Indeed, an experienced observer can come close to describing the munition and probably the agent used just from a description of the attack. However, the descriptions provided by State Department interrogators give no patterns whatsoever fitting any known type of chemical or biological attack.

Agents giving very different symptoms and effects are described. The colors of the toxins are not just yellow, but almost the entire spectrum. Delivery is by a variety of means, including plastic bags opened above the target, spray tanks, shells, bombs, grenades and rockets. The clouds of agents are composed of large granules, liquid drops and very fine clouds.

Taking the State Department evidence at face value, several hundred combinations of agents and delivery systems seem to have been used. But it is unlikely that the Soviet Union has such a large number. Judging by U.S. experience, it takes 10 years or longer to search for a new agent, research its toxicity and methods of dissemination, and develop, test and produce it. Given the number of munitions and agents that the Soviets are said to have employed, they must have devoted several thousand years to the development and production of them!

A very important part of a weapons development program is assuring reliability in combat. Judging from the very large number of incidents that have been reported, there should be a very large number of duds and malfunctions that could serve as indisputable proof of Soviet chemical weapons activities. Yet the best evidence put forward for the use of these weapons are moldy twigs, leaves and rock scrapings.

There are grave doubts, to say the least, about the validity of the allegations on which the administration's report and the Senate resolution rests.

Certainly, individuals at the Defense Department and CIA also must have expressed their doubts. So it is difficult to understand why the secretary of defense and the director of the CIA persist in their positions given the absence of acceptable evidence suggesting the Soviets have been or are engaged in chemical warfare. The State Department's allegations appear to be based on imaginative responses to naive and gullible interrogators.

Our country would be better served if the Senate reconsidered its resolution condemning the Soviets and turned its attention to another question: Has Congress been misled, and if so, by whom? ■

Leo Frank...

(continued from page 4)

Constitution, 3 January). Thus the Parole Board obscenely lumps together those seeking to exonerate the lynched victim with the racist mob who was his killer!

It has been clear for 70 years that Leo Frank was innocent. Governor Slaton was convinced of Frank's innocence at the time, but feared to free him. We don't know who killed Mary Phagan and at this point it is immaterial. No black or Jew could get a "fair trial" in the murder case of a young white woman in Marietta, Georgia in 1913—indeed, across the South few blacks ever saw the inside of a courtroom at all, as the racist mobs with their whips and lynch ropes rode high. And today the KKK/Nazis shoot down black ladies on the street in Chattanooga to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday, while in Montgomery the Taylor family is arrested, beat up and hauled into court for resisting a KKK nightriding armed attack by white thugs (who turned out to be the cops). In what is at best willful blindness, ADL national director Nathan Perlmutter remarked that the pardon had been defeated "not by Klansmen, but by bureaucratic insensitivity" (*Atlanta Journal*, 23 December 1983). Yet when the pardon was rejected, naturally the fascist filth sheet *Thunderbolt* crowed, "Thank God the power of the Jews in this country is not absolute."

A lot of bourgeois hypocrisy surrounds the efforts to exonerate Leo Frank. For the *Atlanta Constitution* (20 December 1983) a pardon for Frank means "Laying the burden down"! But deadly racist terror is on the rise, and no symbolic gesture is going to wipe the slate clean of the complicity of the capitalist state. From the night patrols which went after Negro freedmen as Black Reconstruction was waning to the lynchings of blacks in the 1920s to the present, the KKK killers have always lived in symbiosis with the bourgeois state. To put an end to the lynchings once and for all time, it is necessary to mobilize militant labor/black action to crush the fascist slime; and to draw the masses of workers and oppressed minorities into political struggle against all the capitalist politicians—from the liberal Northern Democrats who killed busing to the Dixiecrats and "New South" Republicans.

It is the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive which brings out the anti-Communist fascist killers and turns their patrons like Larry McDonald into "responsible" American politicians. Today everyone from Mondale to Jesse Jackson courts Alabama governor "Segregation Forever" Wallace as they echo the slogan of the defeated Confederate plantation owners, that "The South shall rise again." Socialists and all those who fight for black freedom must fight to "Finish the Civil War!" Only a third American Revolution will avenge all the victims of the lynchings. Only a workers state will achieve genuine racial integration which the liberal-led civil rights movement could not, by bringing down the racist capitalist system which gives rise to the murderous race-hate terrorists. ■

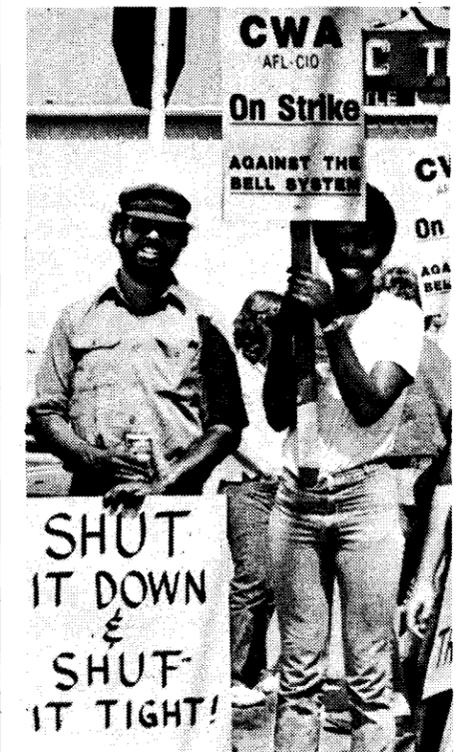
Lauren & Ray...

(continued from page 12)

town Oakland to demand "Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!" Initiated by the PSDC, the demonstration gathered wide-ranging support among labor, black and civil rights organizations and prominent individuals. The case of Lauren and Ray was becoming known throughout black Oakland—a symbol and rallying point against racist attack. The mobilization for October 29 forced the D.A. to drop the "great bodily injury" clause against Ray and Lauren, which shaved three years off their potential sentence. On March 1, some 100 supporters of Ray and Lauren demonstrated at the Hayward Municipal Court to demand a stop to the frame-up. At one court appearance after another, defense backers packed the courtroom to show that Ray and Lauren did not stand alone. On April 2, phone workers held a lunchtime rally at Pacific Tel's downtown San Francisco headquarters to expose Ma Bell's role in the frame-up.

While the phone company early on had tried to distance itself from the prosecution, claiming it was "not the party filing charges" (*Oakland Post*, 26 October 1983), when the pre-trial hearing began, Pacific Tel lawyers were at the D.A.'s side in court and PT&T security officials attended court sessions. Company management descended on Ray and Lauren's former work locations in the aftermath of the strike. Forced transfers, harassment and intensive overtime were directed at breaking up pockets of militancy among the workforce and intimidating phone workers. But these same workers were among the most active supporters of Ray and Lauren's defense. Not only did they come to rallies and court appearances, but they also made real personal and financial sacrifices to aid the defense, as well as helping to raise much-needed funds and spread the word throughout the labor movement.

Over 200 labor leaders endorsed the defense of Ray and Lauren. The Alameda County and San Francisco Central Labor Councils—representing over 100,000 AFL-CIO workers—passed motions demanding the dropping of charges against Ray and Lauren as well as the three other Bay Area phone workers arrested during the strike and facing misdemeanor charges. Many prominent individuals and political figures gave their support, including Congressman Ron Dellums, Muhammad Ali, Stokely Carmichael, Angela Davis, and Dorothy Healey and Manning Marable, vice-chairs of the Democratic Socialists of America. Numerous labor and civil rights attorneys, as well as black, Hispanic and student organizations endorsed the defense. Over two



Ray and Lauren on the picket line last summer.

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WV Photo

Marchers at Ray and Lauren protest in Oakland carry pictures of five-year-old Patrick Mason and trade unionist Charles Briscoe, victims of racist killer cops.

dozen local unions endorsed the case, including unions from Canada and Australia, with many making financial contributions. Dozens of union meetings, work sites, neighborhoods and shopping centers were canvassed. Jazz and blues benefits were held to raise funds for the case. These defense efforts received widespread coverage in the bourgeois media and particularly in the black press, including the national circulation magazine, *Jet*.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee were determined that Ray and Lauren would not go to jail. We made their defense a national priority. Issue after issue, *Workers Vanguard* hammered home the importance of this case. Not only were the efforts of SL supporters critical to the defense effort, but the SL's reputation for integrity was critical in many cases for winning support and endorsement of the case. Working relationships with a number of important labor organizations and black militants were gained particularly through our labor/black mobilizations against fascist terror, most notably the 27 November 1982 SL-initiated mobilization of 5,000 unionists and blacks that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. In the Bay Area, many of those active in the defense of Lauren and Ray came to understand the link between this frame-up and the racist, capitalist system and joined the now year-old Labor Black League for Social Defense. The LBL, initiated by the Spartacist League to fight in the interests of black and working people on an integrated, class-struggle basis, took part in every aspect of Ray and Lauren's defense, including holding several "rent parties" which contributed to the efforts to raise funds to help Ray and Lauren and the three children dependent on them to survive.

Following today's victory, Lauren told *WV*, "I would like to thank the Spartacist League, the Partisan Defense Committee, the Phone Strikers Defense Committee. If it hadn't been for these

people, in particular the Spartacist League, I don't think I would have come through this in one piece. I'd probably be doing time, because they were instrumental in letting people know how we were being framed."

The D.A.'s office, acting in collusion with the phone company, tried to jail Lauren and Ray to intimidate not only phone workers but all trade unionists who seek to defend their strikes on the picket lines. The union-busting corporations and their government have targeted the picket line, because without picket lines you've got no unions. But met with a broad-based, militant and determined defense of Lauren and Ray, this frame-up conspiracy was smashed. And through this victory, a message was sent out to phone company managers and other like-minded scabs: Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

To discipline the U.S. working class for the anti-Soviet war drive, the capitalists are employing union-busting, racist terror and rampant social reaction. Beating the attempt to frame up Ray and Lauren and put them behind bars is not only an important victory but a concrete demonstration of the necessity of a class-struggle program to defeat capitalist reaction. From stopping the Klan in Washington, D.C. to spiking the frame-up of Lauren and Ray, the key to victory is no confidence in the capitalist state—its cops, courts and politicians—and reliance on the mobilization of the workers and the oppressed. For those of you that want to put an end to this whole system of racist, frame-up injustice and exploitation, join us! As Ray Palmiero told *WV*: "So, while we've won a victory by keeping Lauren and myself out of jail, the final victory will come when the workers take power in their own hands, take state power. I want to thank all those people who defended us in this case, but we still have a lot of work to do—we still have a world to win!"

Victories like this cost money! Send your donation to: Phone Strikers Defense Committee, P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, California 94623. ■



WV Photo

Supporters filled courtroom against racist, anti-labor frame-up of Ray and Lauren. This support was key to victory.

AUSTRALIAN COAL AND SHALE EMPLOYEES' FEDERATION
(Miners' Federation)

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ATEA

February 22, 1984

Australian Unions in Solidarity With Lauren and Ray

Telephone Workers

February 22, 1984

S.L./A.N.Z.
SYDNEY, NSW, 2001.

Dear Sir,

The following telegram has been sent to Alameda County District Attorney and President, Pacific Telephone and Telecommunications.

"The Australian Telecommunications Employees' Association, (Technician's Union), stands in solidarity with the campaign to defend Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against the racist union-busting actions of Pacific Telephone Company. We demand all charges be dropped and racist anti-labour frame-up be stopped. Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray. No victimisation of any of the strikers. Injury to one is injury to all. Down with South Africa style justice."

Yours fraternally,
A. DOUGLAS,
Acting Secretary, ATEA.

Plumbers and Gasfitters

1st March, 1984

Plumbers and Gasfitters Employees Union of Australia declares support for demands of phone strikers defence committee.

Urge immediate reinstatement of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero without loss of any entitlements and that amnesty be granted to all victimised phone strikers.

International image of United States is not good in relation to South African type anti-labour and black frame-up cases.

The Plumbers and Gasfitters Employees Union of Australia expresses international solidarity with workers on picket line subjected to employers and their agency attacks.

Demand all charges against Lauren Mozee, Ray Palmiero and all phone strikers be dropped immediately.

George Crawford
General Secretary
Plumbers and Gasfitters
Employees Union
of Australia

Building Workers

23 February 1984

To: J.J. Meehan, Alameda
County District Attorney
Oakland, CA

& P.T. & T. Saenger, President
San Francisco, CA

Building Workers Industrial Union of Australia, Victorian Branch declares support for demands of phone strikers defence committee.

Urge immediate reinstatement. Lauren Mozee & Ray Palmiero.

Call for amnesty for all victimised strikers and dropping of all charges.

A.N. Zeeno
State Secretary
BWIU

Aboriginal Legal Service

CHIPPENDALE, N.S.W.

The Aboriginal Legal Service of New South Wales Australia records its solidarity with Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

We have seen 200 years of racist violence and oppression. We know too well what it is to be victimised in the struggle for freedom and justice. We stand together with our American brothers and sisters in their defence against the Alameda County D.A. and the Pacific Telephone Company.

We note that in persecuting black union members your system indicts itself. We add our voice to the call for all charges to be dropped and for an end to the racist frameup.

LYALL MUNRO JNR.,
CHAIRMAN, ABORIGINAL
LEGAL SERVICE

Sent telegrams to:
John J. Meehan,
Alameda County District Attorney

Ted Saenger,
President Pacific Telephone and
Telecommunications

Telegram copies to:
Phone Strikers Defence Committee,
SL/ANZ

Miners' Federation

27th February, 1984

The Secretary,
SL/ANZ,
SYDNEY, NSW 2001

Dear Sir,

Please find enclosed a copy of the telegram sent by this organisation. A similar telegram was forwarded to the President of PT & T.

Yours truly,
BARRY SWAN,
GENERAL SECRETARY

24 February 84

John J. Meehan
Alameda County District Attorney
Oakland, CA

The Miners Federation Australia stands in solidarity with the campaign to defend Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against the racist union busting actions of Pacific Telephone Company. We demand all charges be dropped and racist anti-labour frameup be stopped. Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray. No victimisation. Injury to one is injury to all.

B. Swan,
General Secretary,
Miners Federation

WORKERS VANGUARD

Lauren and Ray Won't Go to Jail!

OAKLAND, April 6—Lauren and Ray will not go to jail! The eight-month long vindictive conspiracy by the Alameda County District Attorney and Pacific Telephone to railroad Lauren Mozee and her companion and fellow unionist Ray Palmiero into jail has been stopped cold. Today, a presiding judge threw out the felony charges against Lauren; two weeks ago the felonies against Ray were dropped for "insufficient evidence." Confronted by the successful campaign initiated by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC), the government's racist frame-up was blown to pieces.

Here was a case that beat the big boys. At a time when the bosses take the picket line as an occasion for open season on striking workers, and increasing racist attack from the highest circles treat black lives as though they weren't worth a damn, the Lauren and Ray case took on the phone company and the D.A.'s office and won! The Lauren and Ray defense generated broad public exposure. It mobilized massive local labor-centered support as well as national and international support from as far away as Australia. This is a hard-won victory not only for Lauren and Ray and their many supporters and co-workers, but for every unionist who walks a picket line, for every black person resisting a racist attack, for every militant seeking to mobilize the working class and minorities for class struggle.

The frame-up of Lauren and Ray began during last summer's national strike against the phone company. While on picket duty in the Klan-infested suburb of San Leandro, Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by racist scab manager Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself, Ray came to her assis-



Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee with her two children.

no credit

Labor / Black Defense Defeats Racist Frame-Up of Phone Strikers

tance and, as a result, both were fired from their jobs, denied unemployment compensation and threatened with seven and a half years each in jail on stiff felony assault and battery charges.

The D.A.'s office and Pacific Tel singled out Ray and Lauren for persecution for reasons of calculated political racism. An interracial couple, Ray and

Lauren are both members of the Militant Action Caucus, the class-struggle opposition group in the Communications Workers of America, and were well known as union militants advocating mass picketing to shut the phone company down during the strike. In addition, Lauren was a former 10-year member of the Black Panther Party. The Alameda County D.A.'s office was at the center of the government's murderous war on the Panthers; both U.S. Deputy Attorney General Lowell Jensen and Reagan's Attorney General nominee Ed Meese were powers in the Alameda County D.A.'s office and up to their eyeballs in the FBI's COINTELPRO murders and frame-ups of Panther militants. A years-old mug shot of Lauren was flashed on Bay Area TV in an attempt to depict Lauren as a dangerous criminal and to intimidate other phone strikers. The D.A.'s office from the outset stated that they intended to see Lauren and Ray in state prison. Lauren told *WV*, "This all stems back to when I was in the Panthers. They decided, well, they couldn't get me then, so they'd try to get me now."

But the D.A./phone company vendetta against Ray and Lauren was defeated by a labor-centered defense campaign which exposed the frame-up. Despite eight months of prosecutorial scheming, even Judge David Hunter noted to the dismay of the D.A.'s office that the case had "publicity value" because it arose out of "a strike against

the phone company that might affect the D.A.'s office." The judge ruled: "I just don't think that it rises to a felony." Hunter reduced the felony charges against Lauren to misdemeanors, to which she pled "no contest" and was sentenced to eight weekends "community service." This is a clear admission that the D.A. had no case, that this was a grotesque frame-up from the start!

Following today's hearing, a lawyer representing Ray and three other Bay Area phone workers still facing misdemeanor charges from the strike congratulated Lauren's defense attorney on a "tremendous victory." Drop all the charges now!

They intended to put Lauren and Ray in the state pen for years and years. And if Lauren and Ray's supporters had relied on the courts they would have gone to jail. But these supporters knew that in this deeply racist, capitalist society, being innocent is never enough for minorities and other working people. Further, they knew they couldn't rely on the passive CWA bureaucracy to fight this case. Instead, a mass defense campaign sought to insure them the best possible legal defense while mobilizing broad support among labor and minorities to protest and expose this racist, anti-labor frame-up.

The power and appeal of this case was shown on 29 October 1983, when over 400 Bay Area unionists, blacks, Latinos and socialists demonstrated in down-

continued on page 10



WV Photo

Oakland, 29 October 1983—Bay Area labor/black rally chants: "Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!"