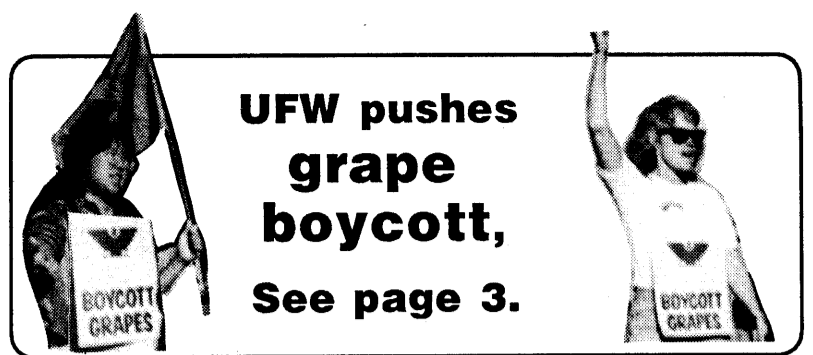


# A Socialist ACTION



UFW pushes  
grape  
boycott,  
See page 3.

SEPTEMBER 1988 VOL. 6, NO. 9 50 CENTS

## Workers, students revolt from Poland to Burma



### Democrats vote new contra aid

By MAY MAY GONG

Last month the Senate narrowly approved a plan sponsored by the Democrats to provide the Nicaraguan contras with \$27 million for humanitarian aid—food, clothing, and medical supplies—for six months beginning Oct. 1.

The plan is almost identical to one written by the Republicans. The one difference is that the Republicans would send the contras the \$16.3 million worth of arms and ammunition now, whereas the Democrats would send it "later" if the Sandinistas created an "emergency situation" in Central America.

The Sandinistas have now had the imperialist guns at their head for over nine years. The Nicaraguan economy is in a shambles. In 1987, the inflation rate was 1800 percent. But despite the constant pressures of contra attacks and economic embargoes, the Nicaraguan people and their revolution have not yielded.

The aim of the U.S. ruling class is to pressure the Sandinista government back to the negotiating table with the contras, where, it is hoped, the Sandinistas would make all the political concessions demanded by the contras.

One contra official told the U.S. press that the approval of contra aid would send a clear signal to the Sandinista government that it should "open up its political system" and resume peace talks beginning in September.

#### Talk peace, wage war

The contra-aid plan just passed in the Senate is just one more indication that the U.S. ruling class is unwilling to let the Nicaraguan Revolution live. While hypocritically talking about "peace" and "democracy," Democrats and Republicans alike keep propping up a savage and criminal mercenary army.

Even loyal Democratic Party supporters are beginning to see through the sham "debates" between the two twin parties.

"The Democrats are no longer trying to

(continued on page 5)



S.F. nurses waged a militant battle before settling.

See story on page 3.

May May Gong/Socialist Action

By ADAM WOOD

"Peace is breaking out everywhere" according to just about every T.V., radio, or magazine commentator you hear.

The capitalist media would like us to believe that in Nicaragua, Angola, Palestine, and elsewhere around the world, unruly workers and peasants are coming to their senses and realizing that American imperialism is just looking after their best interests.

Even the Soviets are coming around, they say with glee. Gorbachev and the other bureaucrats are no longer willing to stick out their necks for "regional conflicts" like

### Palestine uprising grips Jordan, See pp. 8-9.

the Nicaraguan and South African revolutions.

In Nicaragua, the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN) put forward the demand "To the Streets for a Government of National Salvation" as the front-page headline of its newspaper, *Avance*, stated on June 29, 1988.

This is the same demand pushed by the U.S. State Department and the contras. U.S. Ambassador Richard Melton was expelled by the Sandinistas for advocating this demand and supporting the internal capitalist opposition behind the back of the Sandinista government.

A "government of national salvation" would mean that the Sandinistas would have to share power with the political representatives of the contras and accept their demands to dismantle the gains of the revolution. What a "peaceful" situation that would be!

The Soviet foreign ministry, the guiding light of the Nicaraguan Stalinists, announced in mid-July to a meeting of over 1000 top Soviet diplomats, ministers, and key party officials that "the class struggle is no longer the decisive factor" in world politics and that foreign policy is really just about "economic development." (London's *Financial Times*, Aug. 13)

If this kind of "peace" smells funny to you, you're on the right track. The kind of peace we're being sold is a settlement of conflicts in the interest of the bosses, landlords, and financiers—at the expense of the world's workers and peasants. It is the peace of the graveyard.

#### Millions in the streets

One of the reasons that the capitalist media is selling this line so hard may be that there aren't that many buyers. A brief look at the real world, visited only occasionally by most capitalist editors and station managers, shows a real heating up of the class struggle.

In Burma, opposition sources estimate that 3000 students and workers have sacrificed their lives in the current struggle

(continued on page 7)



Esteban Volkov, Leon Trotsky's grandson

Rally  
honors  
50 years  
of the  
Fourth  
Int'l,  
See  
special  
8-page  
section  
inside.

# We don't need studies. We need action!



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

All clever politicians know that when a problem exists and they don't want to do anything about it, the best thing to do is order a "study" to be done.

This is supposed to keep everyone happy. The politicians' "hands are tied" until the study is done, the people who are hired to

do the study are getting paid, and the people who have the problem must wait until it's all over—and then, as a rule, wind up empty handed.

Recently, I read an article in *The New York Times* about a study done in Boston that made me want to run out into the streets screaming, "The sky is falling! The sky is falling!" It concerned food and poor children. After months of "study," this report concluded that poor children did much better academically when they had a good breakfast.

It was not reported how long this study took—just that it was done among low-income children in Boston. Nor did the report indicate whether some children were denied food in order to measure the differences between the fed and the underfed children of Boston in academic achievement.

(The report indicated that while

many children got a free lunch, the group selected to compare academically with the others also received a free breakfast.)

The people making this study concluded that many children who received free lunches could do better if they also had a free breakfast, since many poor children were not receiving a breakfast at home.

### Picking their teeth

Now don't get the idea that this government will rush out and begin providing a good breakfast to all children who need them. That would be too simple. Very likely they will want to repeat this "study" on poor children in Philadelphia, San Francisco, New York City, and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, as the study goes on and on, the politicians in our city, state, and national governments can sit by and pick their teeth while waiting for the results

(before doing something about it—if ever).

I was mentioning this study to a teacher friend of mine, and she reported that she had just read a "study" that proved that children from middle-class schools received a better education than children from low-income schools. Of course, this news really startled me!

I asked her if the study showed that children from middle-income schools wore better clothing than children from low-income schools? She said this was not included in the study she had read, but she was sure that this would be taken up in the next "study."

### More action!

If all the "studies" on education were laid end to end, they would circle the globe many times over. The reason for the studies is to avoid taking the steps necessary

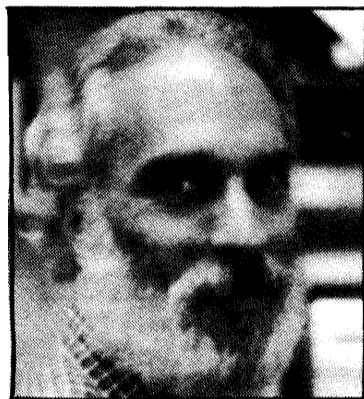
to provide adequate nourishment and a decent education to all of our children.

Certainly we know that children who do not get enough to eat are malnourished and do not do well at home or school. We also know that children who are packed like sardines into classrooms will not get the education they need. We know, too, that "latchkey" children need after-school, education-oriented childcare while their parents are working.

What this country needs very badly is less "studies" and more action. We know what must be done to help our children now! Let's stop fooling around and get on with the job. In order to do that, we as parents, teachers, and workers must organize and kick out the political scoundrels—Democrat and Republican alike—who "study" at the expense of our children. ■

## Behind the lines

# Rich candidates wax proletarian



By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

About 450 years ago, John Heywood wrote a comedy called "The Four P's." As some of you might remember from literature class, the play's title referred to four liars and scoundrels, each of whom practiced a trade beginning with the letter "P."

Now "The Four P's" have returned. Each one of the modern "P's" is a liar, a scoundrel—and a PROLETARIAN!

That's right. The Fab Four rave about their proletarian roots. Michael Dukakis (the AFL-CIO's favorite) sings ballads to his immigrant father, teenage love, grocery shopping, and mowing the lawn on a summer's day. Meanwhile, George Bush salivates over pork rinds and country music.

Bush recollects how he packed his two kids and "everything we had" into the family Studebaker and headed west for the Texas plains. There he says, they "lived the dream—Little League, you know, football on Friday night." Very touching.

Even Dan Quayle and Lloyd Bentsen have carried their blue-collar rhetoric to wherever workers congregate—labor meet-

ings, county fairs, and union picnics. Speaking before the United Food and Commercial Workers convention, Bentsen drawled that the theme of his campaign was "a good job and good wages."

The Democrats charge that the Republican administration has "treated the working men and women of America with disdain." But the Republicans are not to be undone. In their party platform, they profess that "the bosses of the Democratic Party have thrown in the towel and abandoned the American worker."

As Jimmy Durante said: "Everybody wants to get in on the act!" Each one of our "Four P's" wants to be the friend of the worker. But, given their record, the Republicrats will find it tough making friends.

Under the recent administrations of both Republicans and Democrats, poverty has increased. In 1973, 11 percent of the population lived under the poverty line. Now poverty is officially around 15 percent. Over 30 million people are listed as "POOR," another dreaded "P" word.

### How much are they "worth"?

At this point, another kind of capital "P" comes to mind. Lest any X-rated words leap out at you, let me tell you what "P" really stands for.

Each one of our "Four P's" is a PLUTOCRAT. Rather than describing a Mickey Mouse character, a plutocrat is defined by the dictionary as "a member of a wealthy ruling class." Most of us, dear reader, will probably never have the opportunity to shake the hand of a plutocrat in our lives, even if we should wish to. We just don't move in the same circles.

Generally, what a plutocrat has that we seem to lack is money. *Newsweek*, in its Aug. 29 issue, lists the assets of the presidential hopefuls. Spendthrift Dukakis seems to be the poor man of the lot. He is

only "worth" \$464,365 but stands to inherit another \$1 million after his mom's death.

It appears, furthermore, that George Bush—after packing the kids into the old Studebaker—went on to earn a bundle in the Texas oilfields. He is worth \$2.6 million, according to *Newsweek*.

When fellow Texan Lloyd Bentsen entered politics, he stepped down from the corporate boards of Lockheed, Continental Oil, and several other banks and corporations. But he happily still retains his ranch, a farm, a \$1 million townhouse, and investments for a total of at least \$10 million in assets.

Meanwhile, J. Danforth Quayle hangs in with \$50 million to his name—though Quayle admits he sometimes requires a CARE package from his family (with assets of from \$600 million to over \$1 billion, according to most accounts).

### The ruling class

Thus our "Four P's" rank within the wealthiest 0.1 percent of the population. This small sector, not coincidentally, owns close to 30 percent of all privately owned wealth in this country.

Of course, none of the candidates, with the possible exception of Quayle, is quite in the category of the Mellons, Morgans, and Rockefellers—families that control fortunes equal to the assets of many countries. But as members of the same economic class, the candidates' interests are intimately linked with those of the top leaders of American capitalism.

A review of the hefty contributions that the capitalist class makes to the political campaigns of the Democratic Party may raise suspicions that the party's agenda does not exactly coincide with the theme of "a good job and good wages" for working people.

Lloyd Bentsen's contributors, for example, include airline tycoon and union-buster Frank Lorenzo, ultraright tabloid owner and fellow union-buster Rupert Murdoch, chicken magnate Frank Purdue (employer of thousands of underpaid Black women), and corporation buyout artist Henry Kravis—who is also a member of George Bush's national finance committee. (*Left Business Observer*, Aug. 2, 1988)

### Greasy palms and sticky fingers

The way that the capitalists and their political representatives grease each other's palms may be glimpsed in the case of Lloyd Bentsen and Temple-Inland, a Texas holding company.

As chairman of the Senate Finance

Committee, Bentsen helped engineer a "technical corrections" tax bill by which Temple-Inland will hold on to a \$3-million tax break that had been disqualified in 1986. Bentsen will now help guide the act through the Senate.

Meanwhile, a subsidiary of Temple-Inland contributed \$10,000 to Bentsen's Senate campaign. Members of the Temple family pitched in another \$2875. But that's not all. In addition, Bentsen now admits that he owns as much as \$50,000 worth of stock in Temple-Inland.

Of course, \$10,000 or \$50,000 is small potatoes on the table of the capitalist class. But every corporation that plunks \$10,000 into a campaign chest does so with the assurance that the candidate, once elected, will vote in its favor—or in that of the capitalist class as a whole.

This kind of shady dealing goes on every day in the White House and the halls of Congress. And who pays for such politics-as-usual? (As if you couldn't guess.) Now I know the word that best describes the four candidates. It's PICKPOCKET. ■



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## Socialist Action Forums:

### Chicago:

"Somewhere after the Rainbow: Do working people have a choice in the '88 elections?"

Speaker: Adam Shills

Fri., Sept. 16, 7:30 p.m.

Resurrection Lutheran Church, 3309 N. Seminary. Donation: \$2.

For info call: 327-5752

### San Francisco:

"Homeporting the U.S.S. Missouri: What are the consequences?"

Speaker: Joseph Ryan, S.A. candidate for Board of Supervisors.

Others to be announced.

Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m.

3435 Army St., Rm. 308  
Donation: \$3, \$1.50 stud/unemp.

For info call: 821-0458



# Nurses, hospital workers fight company takeback demands

By MAY MAY GONG

After a month-long strike, nurses at six private hospitals in San Francisco and Daly City, Calif., ratified a new contract on Aug. 28 with Affiliated Hospitals, the management group representing the six hospitals. The new contract calls for a 21 percent pay increase over 34 months.

Earlier, on Aug. 19, the 2200 nurses had overwhelmingly rejected a contract from Affiliated Hospitals that offered a 20 percent increase over a three-year period. Both contracts offer a \$5-per-shift weekend differential.

Better wages was the key issue of the strike. Said one nurse at Mt. Zion Hospital, "We're dealing with life and death decisions all day long, we should be fairly compensated for it. The \$5-a-shift weekend pay is an insult."

Despite approving this contract, nurses have still expressed a lot of dissatisfaction with it. "There's a lot of anger in there right now," said one nurse at St. Francis Hospital. "A lot of people feel they didn't give us a good enough contract. I think they're frustrated that they can't push any further."

Earlier in August, nurses at San Francisco's public hospitals narrowly accepted a one-year contract by a margin of only 13 votes. Hospital workers, organized by Service Employees International Union, Local 250, also ratified a contract in August—after a 20-day strike—with the same private hospitals that were struck by the California Nurses Association (CNA).

Nurses and hospital workers—which include dietary workers, housekeeper and laundry employees, surgical and psychiatric technicians, and janitors, as well as some licensed vocational nurses—are the backbone of any hospital. Like workers everywhere, their paychecks have steadily shrunk as their hours and workloads increased.

Adding insult to injury, hospital managements have demanded that healthcare benefits and paid sick leave be given up by these workers. Healthcare benefits was a key issue in the Local 250 strike. The hospitals wanted a \$30-a-month co-payment for the most basic health insurance plan, and up to \$100 a month for more expensive plans.

In addition, the hospitals sought to impose a wage freeze and to take short-term sick days out of hospital workers' vacation



Although they accepted latest offer by wide margin, many nurses believed they could have won more if their leadership had fought hard enough.

days. As one CNA nurse noted, "Hospitals are not caring for the people who care for patients' health." Even the local news media couldn't help but observe the irony of healthcare workers being asked to sacrifice their healthcare benefits.

## Hospital bosses betray

The hospital workers in Local 250 ratified their new contract because management backed off from its demand of co-payments on healthcare insurance and fewer sick days. But before the ink was even dry, hospital management was "reinterpreting" the new contract. Local 250 representatives explain that Affiliated Hospitals had decided to "lock" into their jobs the 100 union members who crossed the picketlines during the 20-day strike.

Union members who honored the picketlines would have to "bid" for work

without regard to seniority. But this attempt at union-busting was rebuffed by an arbitrator who ruled in favor of the union, stating that the seniority of striking workers would be respected.

Before the nurses settled, Local 250 hospital workers were given permission by the striking nurses to cross their picketline to return to work.

But the nurses were determined to continue their fight for better wages and working conditions against the profit drive of hospital management. Confronted daily by life and death situations, and job conditions filled with stress and a high "burn-out" rate, they felt they had nothing to lose and everything to gain.

Their acceptance of the latest contract offer was predicated on the recognition of the fact that they had pushed this struggle as far as it could go.

Quality healthcare should not be a luxury reserved only for those who can afford to pay for it. And nurses and hospital workers who provide the bulk of this care should receive decent salaries and benefits for the vital work they perform. The only way this will come about is when the medical system is turned around and quality healthcare is provided for people—and not for profits. ■

## Healthcare for profit

The hospitals involved in the San Francisco nurses' strike are all "non-profit" organizations that began at the turn of the century as charity or community institutions.

A good idea, but not one that would survive under capitalism. For hospital executives, caring for the sick is simply another business. And like any other business in this society, profits are the priority. This translates into cutting costs—easily done by cutting into the wages and benefits of its workers—and increasing income—by marketing their most profitable services such as sports medicine, plastic surgery, sleep disorder clinics, and the like. But the key to keeping any hospital's budget in the black is turning away those who can't pay—the uninsured.

The national trend of employers requiring co-payments and higher deductibles for health insurance has resulted in larger numbers of working people being uninsured. In just the last 10 years, 11 million people joined the ranks of the uninsured.

Thirty-seven million people in this country don't have any form of health insurance. Sick people who have no insurance don't get the care they require, often ignoring the early symptoms of illness until the illness gets much worse.

The problem is even more tragic for uninsured children—one in 10 American babies dies before reaching its first birthday. And because 26 percent of women of childbearing age have no maternity coverage, the numbers can only get bigger. —M.M.G.

# UFW pushes grape boycott as Chavez ends 36-day fast

By HAYDEN PERRY

DELANO, Calif.—Agri-business in California is waging chemical warfare on farm workers and consumers. Their planes are spraying Captan, Parathion, Phosdrin, Dinoseb, and Methyl Bromide on table grapes and the workers who cultivate them.

The casualties are farm workers and their children, who die early from cancer, and deformed children born to women who have worked in the poisoned fields while pregnant.

These poisons are carried on the grapes into the markets, and onto the tables of unsuspecting consumers. Washing the grapes does not make them safe to eat. Only using safe methods of pesticide control can do that.

This is what the United Farm Workers (UFW) has been demanding for four years. The union calls for an immediate ban on these five deadly pesticides. It wants to set up a joint UFW/grower committee to check for poisonous residues on grapes sold in stores, with the results made public.

The growers have rejected any cooperation with the Farm Workers on this issue. Instead, they are permitting manufacturers to test yet another poison, Zolton, on human guinea pigs in their fields. They are testing the blood of selected workers each day, like laboratory animals, to see how they are standing up to this new pesticide.

The UFW is fighting back with the weapon that brought the growers to the bargaining table 20 years ago: a boycott of table grapes. The UFW hopes that the boycott of this crop will force the growers to stop using dangerous pesticides, and to start bargaining in good faith with the union.

## Union is weaker

The growers have not signed a single contract with table-grape workers. When workers in the fields have voted for the union, the growers have refused to bargain with them.

The California Farm Labor Relations Act provides for a state agency to certify farm-worker elections. But pro-grower appointees on the board simply stall certification till after the harvest and the workers have moved on. These pro-grower tactics have reduced the UFW from a high of 60,000 members to about 25,000 today.

To dramatize this situation, UFW President Cesar Chavez has put his health, and possibly his life, on the line to bring the cause of the farm workers before the public. He embarked on a fast on July 16, which lasted for 36 days. His doctors say his health may be permanently destroyed.

On Sunday, Aug. 21, over 6000 farm workers and their families traveled to UFW headquarters in Delano to celebrate the end of Cesar's fast. Also in attendance were actors Martin Sheen and Robert Blake, the Rev. Jesse

Jackson, Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, and labor leaders from the United States and Canada.

It was a day-long celebration of Cesar surviving his fast, and a rededication to the boycott. Jesse Jackson, Martin Sheen, Robert Blake, and Emilio Estevez declared they would individually take up the fast for three-day increments where Chavez left off to keep the issue before the public.

A representative of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said letters were going out to all 90 union affiliates calling for support to the boycott. Members of Local 2 of the San Francisco restaurant workers, and Local 11 from Los Angeles traveled to Delano to show their support.

## Boycott will continue

A Grape Boycott Committee has been set up in San Francisco, headed by Howard Wallace, a well-known gay rights activist and local organizer of the Coors boycott. Wallace will be organizing picketlines at supermarkets that refuse to take table grapes off their shelves. This will not be an easy task. It will take numerous picketlines outside many stores to make the boycott effective.

The Boycott Committee urges groups to adopt a store, call on the management, and, if need be, set up weekly picketlines outside the store. Only then will most store managers be persuaded it is not good business to sell table grapes that are not safe.

The highly successful rally in Delano should give a much needed public boost to this campaign.

For boycott kits or more information write to Cesar Chavez, P.O. Box 62, Keene, CA 98531-8899. ■

# Why Corporate Campaign's tactics can't win strikes

Below we are reprinting a chapter from the newly published pamphlet, "Lessons of the P-9 Strike," by Jake Cooper.

The strike by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 packing-house workers against George A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minn., began in August 1985 and lasted for over one year.

This struggle received exceptional attention from all sides concerned with the fight against employers' demands for concessions from the unions, and won wide support from union-conscious workers throughout the country. In the course of the strike, the P-9 workers had to face the combined onslaught of the cops, the courts, and the National Guard.

The strike was betrayed from the beginning by both the UFCW bureaucracy and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, who collaborated with Hormel in their role as strikebreakers.

The chapter reprinted below, titled "Corporate Campaign: an erroneous strategy," deals with the failure of the P-9 leadership to mobilize the membership in mass picketlines to close down the Hormel plant in Austin after it was reopened in January 1986.

Underlying this was the union's adoption of the strategy of the Corporate Campaign, Inc. Headed by Ray Rogers, who was hired by P-9 to plan strike tactics, the Corporate Campaign's "new tactics" were based on the premise that strikes could no longer be won on the picketline. Instead, Rogers and the Corporate Campaign sought to counterpose a public-relations campaign and civil-disobedience stunts to the vital necessity of closing down the Hormel plant through mass picketlines.

The chapter below is an analysis of the impasse the union found itself in after the Hormel plant was reopened under the protection of the Minnesota National Guard.

By JAKE COOPER

In defiance of the forces arrayed against them, P-9 was determined to carry on the fight. The members saw themselves—and rightfully so—as the vanguard against the concessions offensive of the corporations. As a result, they enjoyed the passionate support of class-conscious workers every-

Jake Cooper is a veteran of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike; was a personal guard for Leon Trotsky in Coyoacan, Mexico; was imprisoned under the Smith Act in 1944; was the chairperson of the Metro P-9 Strike Support Committee during the 1985-86 Hormel strike; and is a national committee member of Socialist Action.



P-9 strikers and supporters at the Jan. 29, 1986, mass picketline that shut down Hormel for one day. This was one of the few instances of mass picketing and it was primarily organized by solidarity activists.

where. But unfortunately, the union was saddled with an incorrect strategy for winning the strike.

The P-9 leadership—and the membership, although with some grumblings and reservations—followed the Corporate Campaign strategy to the letter.

Ray Rogers' "corporate campaign" or "new tactics" was based on the judgment that strikes in the past period, such as the Phelps-Dodge, Greyhound, Caterpillar Tractor, and Con Edison strikes, were defeated because the old methods of struggle no longer worked. Rogers believed that the way to defeat union-busting companies was to cut-off their power base at the banks, holding companies, and other industries that have a financial interest in the struck company.

"Corporate Campaigners," however, fail to appreciate the high degree of class consciousness of these masters of finance and industry. Their leaders—unlike the "leadership" of the workers—do not delude themselves with the myth of common interests between capital and labor. They see clearly what their interests require, and are not easily pitted one against the other.

What "Corporate Campaigners" also fail to take into consideration is the history of the labor movement and how it was built. The big union struggles of the 1930s, like the Teamsters strike in Minneapolis—the

Auto-Lite strike in Toledo, Ohio, the Longshoremen's and Seamen's strike in San Francisco, the Hormel strike in 1933, and the militant strikes of coal miners and mass production workers in the auto, rubber, electrical, and other giant industries—were won by closing down the plants and using the mobilizations of the workers to keep them closed.

One of the corporate campaign's justifications for "new tactics" is that anti-labor legislation enacted since the 1930s has eroded the power of the unions. This is less than half true. First, when the 1930s labor upsurge began, the laws in effect were no less anti-labor. Second, the much-deplored anti-labor legislation was enacted without any attempt at effective resistance by the labor bureaucracy. To this day, labor's misleadership meekly obeys laws that would fall like a house of cards in the face of determined mass defiance.

"Corporate Campaigners" are also under the misapprehension that "Corporate Greed," as they call it, is a "policy." But the irrefutable drive to constantly increase the rate of profit is not a "policy." It is intrinsic to capitalism, its categorical imperative.

## Fight at the point of production

The strategy of P-9's Corporate Campaign, led by Ray Rogers, boiled down to waging a serious fight everywhere but at the plant gate in Austin. Rogers' tactics for mobilizing financial and moral support wherever possible were a positive and traditional union strike tactic. But from the moment Hormel announced they would renew operations at the Austin plant, the P-9 leadership desperately needed to shift its emphasis to take up the challenge and mobilize mass support to meet this deadly threat.

From that moment, beefing up the picketline to keep the plant closed was a dire and irreplaceable necessity. But Ray Rogers' corporate campaign excluded the tactic of effective picketing to stop the strike-breaking. The P-9 leadership made the fatal error of believing they could win without shutting down the plant. In the last analysis, they were intimidated by the long string of defeats the labor movement had suffered.

While strikebreakers were being herded into the plant under National Guard protection, Ray Rogers outlined his plans for resistance at a P-9 membership meeting. His prescription was to emulate the tactics of the Gandhi movement in India and the Black civil rights movement in the United States.

"If it becomes necessary," Rogers told P-9 members at a union meeting after Hor-

mel reopened, "we'll be asking everyone in this room to lay down in front of those plant gates. Men, women and children will have to go to jail. But I guarantee your support will increase tremendously."

Rogers wanted P-9 members to block the gate a few at a time, and then be arrested. "The jails can't hold them all," he said. But the jails could hold them all. And workers can't conduct a struggle if they're in jail.

## Confusion about the stakes

While advocating the tactics employed by the civil rights movement, Ray Rogers failed to grasp the source of the enormous power of the Black struggle for equality. The Black civil rights struggle was a fight for social equality and justice against Jim Crow, the system of legalized segregation in the South. It was a mass struggle for elementary democratic rights against the Southern Jim Crow laws.

The moral authority of the civil rights movement was assured from the beginning because it exposed the hypocrisy of so-called American democracy. The tactic of mass civil disobedience and mass passive resistance employed by millions of Black men, women and children throughout the South in the early 1960s cannot be seen apart from the simmering anger of the urban Black working class, which was reflected in the massive and legal march on Washington, D.C., in 1963, and the explosions in the Black ghettos during the summer of 1965.

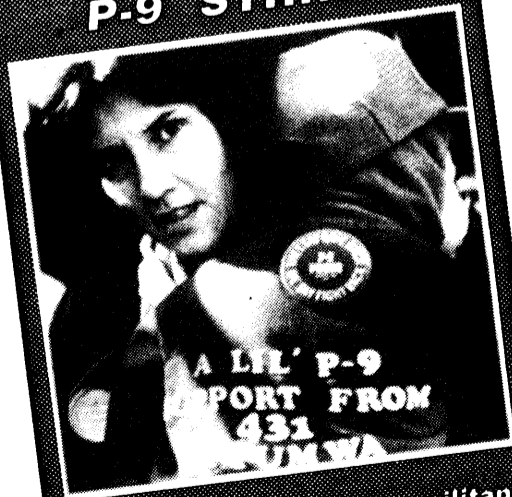
Moreover, the international context in which the Black civil rights movement took place should be examined. U.S. imperialism was locked in deadly struggle with millions of colonial people also fighting for the most fundamental human rights. The U.S. imperialist war against the Vietnamese, for example, was carried out in the name of "freedom" and "democracy."

But the racism directed against Blacks in capitalist America gave the lie to this rationalization for justifying the unmitigated repression directed against the Vietnamese freedom struggle. Capitalists were divided because of the conflict between their domestic and foreign policy.

Civil disobedience was a dramatic component of the mass civil rights struggle, but not its most powerful expression. The ruling class was forced to make concessions on civil rights because they were faced with potential social upheavals led by the urban Black masses. In that sense, the P-9 unionists, like Blacks in the 1960s, had to raise the stakes considerably before

(continued on next page)

## LESSONS OF THE P-9 STRIKE



A balance sheet of the militant struggle against Hormel by Jake Cooper

This pamphlet examines the main lessons of the 1985-86 P-9 strike against Geo. A. Hormel & Co. It focuses on the role of the company, the government, the courts, and the labor bureaucracy in helping to break the strike. It also examines the crucial questions of strike strategy employed by the P-9 leadership.

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## ... Demos vote contra aid

(continued from page 1)

defeat contra aid as a viable policy option but are instead trying to downplay contra aid during the election period," said Bruce Campbell of the Nicaraguan Network. "This has caused activists to start questioning whether the Democrats are really committed to ending the contra war."

Many activists, in fact, are admitting that it is becoming more and more difficult to distinguish between the two presidential candidates, Dukakis and Bush.

In a speech given in Paris on June 14, one of Dukakis's foreign-policy advisers,

Joseph Nye, reassured the members of the Atlantic Council that a Dukakis administration would continue research on Star Wars. He also endorsed the 1986 bombing of Libya as "reasonable and prudent" and approved the deployment of naval forces in the Persian Gulf.

Lloyd Bentsen, like Dan Quayle, is an ardent supporter of the contra terrorists. And while campaigning through the Southern states, he stated his support for "a strong military defense."

In this pre-election period, both parties and their candidates are busy trying to

accentuate their differences or rather, trying to create some differences where none really exist.

As Joseph Harsch noted in the Aug. 18 issue of *The Christian Science Monitor*:

"Anyone familiar with Washington knows that over the next four years, and perhaps longer, there is not going to be any major change in the new American system. ... America has reached a new equilibrium, which is certain to last for at least four years, regardless of which party wins."

Instead of supporting Democrats in the hope that, once elected, they will relieve the pressure on the Nicaraguan Revolution—a dangerous illusion—antiwar activists should begin organizing mass demonstrations in the streets against contra aid.

This is how the war in Vietnam was stopped. The "liberal" Johnson administration rained only death and destruction on the people of Vietnam. If it considered it necessary to defend imperialist interests, a Dukakis "liberal" administration would do the same thing against the people of Central America.

But beyond the issue of a mass-action strategy against the war, there is a more fundamental question confronting the labor movement and all other movements for social change: the need to break with the twin parties of capitalism.

At a recent convention of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), Tony Mazzocchi, a union leader who has long been outspoken in his opposition to the Democratic Party, told convention delegates: "If the November elections turn out to be a choice between Tweedledee and Tweedledum, then we should give the labor party idea more consideration."

There's no need to wait until November to find out there's no difference between the two major candidates. It's a foregone conclusion. We've seen time and time again that Tweedledee and Tweedledum, Democrats and Republicans, are indeed two sides of the same coin.

Only when we have an alternative to "lesser evil" voting will working people have a real choice in the electoral arena. And that will only occur through the formation of a labor party based on the unions and open to all the oppressed.

In the meantime, the presidential campaign of Socialist Workers Party candidates James Warren and Kathleen Mickells points in the direction of independent working-class political action.

The SWP platform puts human needs above profits. It calls for a 30-hour workweek with no cut in pay as a key means of combating unemployment. It also calls for a massive public-works program to provide more jobs and at the same time meet pressing social needs.

This is why working people should vote for James Warren for president and Kathleen Mickells for vice president in November. ■



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

## ... Corporate Campaign

(continued from preceding page)

the bosses would retreat.

The P-9 workers were involved in a struggle around class demands which united the employer class. A profit-hungry company like Hormel could not be "embarrassed" into acquiescing to the workers' demands. Nor could they have been divided from their class on moral grounds. Only the threat of a localized strike struggle triggering a generalized labor upsurge could impel the employers—the ruling class—to force one of their own to back down.

### Civil disobedience?

Ray Rogers' advocacy of the tactic of civil disobedience disarmed the P-9 workers because it appealed to what was perceived as a weakness: that the workers, by their numbers and determination, were incapable of winning a direct confrontation on the real field of battle—the picketline.

The substitute tactic of laying down at the plant gate and allowing police to escort scabs through was completely ineffective. Ordering strikers to meekly allow themselves to be picked up bodily and thrown into police vans was guaranteed to create the illusion of powerlessness. This mistaken defeatist policy underlying the "Corporate Campaign," steadily drained P-9 members of their self-confidence and steadily increased their sense of demoralization.

In early February 1986, Ray Rogers' naiveté was revealed when he attempted to negotiate a deal with local law-enforcement officials to allow the striking workers to challenge the injunction against mass picketing by committing civil disobedience (sitting down) at the plant gate, thus closing the plant. The P-9 members and their supporters, Rogers promised, would then allow the police to arrest them.

Sheriff Wayne Goodnature [sic], who was in charge of the cops, rejected this bizarre request. "I don't believe we can do

that, because our responsibility is to keep those roads open," the bemused sheriff told the press. "The company has a right to run its business and I don't see anyway that I can possibly participate in that kind of action."

It certainly is a "new" tactic to expect strikebreakers—the cops and the National Guard—to collaborate in efforts to shut down a plant. As Frank Ellis, a founding leader of P-9, said: Injunctions and cops are used only to defend property rights, not human rights.

### Weak forces for one-shot actions

After the police rejected Rogers' proposals, sporadic one-shot attempts to challenge and protest the "unfairness" of Hormel were organized. These actions eventually turned into symbolic acts, resulting in arrests and suspended sentences for the best of the P-9 activists.

For example, on Feb. 6, 1986, 27 P-9 members were arrested for blocking a Highway 90 off-ramp near the Hormel plant. Ray Rogers was among those arrested. In a token gesture, these unionists vainly attempted to challenge an injunction that was issued to keep striking workers away from the plant. But their numbers were woefully inadequate to do more than get themselves arrested.

The authorities charged Rogers with "criminal syndicalism." This law was a World War I sedition statute designed for the repression of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the Non-Partisan League.

The P-9 leadership was now facing stiff jail sentences. What should have been a misdemeanor was turned by the authorities into a felony. The police and the courts wanted to intimidate the strikers. Rogers faced a \$5000 fine and five years in prison for "criminal syndicalism." Rogers and the other arrested strikers were given suspended sentences. But the message was clear. If they were arrested again, the suspended sen-

tences would be invoked.

The severity of the charges was designed to intimidate other P-9 members from challenging the strikebreaking by Hormel, the cops, and the courts. In this regard, the authorities were somewhat successful. P-9 members were not inclined to make futile, symbolic "gestures" that would result in nothing more than their arrest and imprisonment. Furthermore, the central leadership of P-9 had to maintain a low profile to avoid the axe coming down on their own necks for the rest of the strike.

The leadership was victimized because they tried to substitute themselves for the 1500 strikers they neglected to mobilize. Throughout the strike, and particularly after Hormel attempted to open, the workers almost begged to be turned loose to shut down the plant. But the most the P-9 leadership did was to stand aside and permit

leaderless strikers to attempt this difficult task—a task which required the complete participation of a fully mobilized rank and file and its elected leadership to succeed.

"Corporate Campaigners" in the leadership of the P-9 strike against Hormel rationalized their passive picketing policy in the name of "non-violence." But violence against workers is inflicted every day by the boss. Violence is when the company and the laws prevent working people from earning enough money to properly feed, clothe, and house their families.

Isn't it violence when a scab with police protection crashes through a picketline and injures or kills a union worker? Isn't it violence when the police and National Guard crack workers' skulls so the boss can break their union? Isn't there a qualitative difference between this kind of violence and defensive action by the worker victims? ■

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Ernest Mandel in San Francisco

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# OCAW convention reflects pressure of rank and file

By DAVE CAMPBELL

A man cried and touched everyone's heart. Delegates were urged to read a radical account of labor history. A slate of officers, who not long ago were bitter foes, was elected. And no one put forth a resolution to endorse the Democratic Party. But a central question, that of merger, was ducked.

This, then, was the 1988 convention of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (O.C.A.W.), which concluded in Hollywood, Fla., on Aug. 19.

Make no mistake about it, it was not a turning point. Rather, it was a reflection of the pressures generated by the takeback demands of the bosses, on the one hand, and of the workers' resistance to those demands, on the other.

In 1981, conservatives won the election for O.C.A.W.'s top offices by less than 1 percent of the votes over the slate led by Tony Mazzocchi. Mazzocchi's slate had called for a break with the Democrats and urged the establishment of a labor party.

Now in 1988, some of those conservatives were allied with Mazzocchi. From 1979 (when Mazzocchi first challenged the conservatives) to 1988, the union has lost half its members—some 90,000. Most jobs fell to plant shutdowns and attrition due to automation and the contracting out of maintenance jobs.

The conservatives' initial solution to the crisis was to merge with the Paperworkers union. This merger would have protected their own positions and attendant privileges at the expense of rank-and-file control of the union. And there would have been little increased bargaining power with common employers. Two efforts to merge didn't pan out.

## Conservatives shift gears

Increasingly, the conservatives were forced to call for the abandonment of the status quo. For instance, last year President Joe Misbrenner wrote an editorial in which he stated that the challenge of the multinationals' growing power to roam the globe in search of the cheapest labor and the least restrictive safety and environmental conditions had to be met with worldwide industrial trade unionism.

The O.C.A.W. became the prime mover of the first world conference for nuclear workers. The conservatives then found themselves responding to stepped-up company attacks by having to do some of the same things Mazzocchi had advocated, such as forging coalitions with environmentalists.

One of the conservatives, Vice President Bob Wages, noted in his campaign speech for reelection that, although philosophical differences remained, time and events had shown Mazzocchi's vision to have been correct in many respects. Wages said that, for this, Mazzocchi's viewpoints were needed within the leadership.

In 1987, one of the conservatives elected in 1981, Secretary-Treasurer Mike Ricigliano, had a row with his fellow officers—President Joe Misbrenner and Vice Presidents Calvin Moore and Bob Wages. Ricigliano was charged with corruption in office. He in turn accused the others of squandering funds on international trips and legal expenses and of exhibiting favoritism in the allocation of organizing funds.

## Locals defend themselves

The locals who were attacked for receiving favoritism pretty much defended themselves at the convention. As Organizing Chair during the drive in my local, I spoke on the floor in our defense.

The local, upon being attacked, also sent a delegation of rank-and-file activists who

*Dave Campbell is an executive member of and delegate to the convention from Local 1-547 of O.C.A.W.*

had been the backbone of our efforts. They set up an attractive organizing booth which included displays of leaflets and newsletters used in our campaign, photos of plant-gate demonstrations, and a graph chart which showed month by month how many people were recruited in our open shop.

The rank and file pointed out that 305 new members brought in dues of \$6400 per month and, therefore, a campaign that spent \$13,000 was justified.

## Merger with the Mineworkers

Ricigliano reversed his earlier position in favor of a proposed merger with the United Mineworkers of America (UMWA), one

to make "us all beggars in our land" and that, therefore we should all unite in a common fight.

Trumka also spoke on the subject of the Democrats. He urged their election, but stopped short of posing them as labor's saviors. Trumka said, "We have to rely on ourselves."

## Lock-out in Louisiana

Next to speak were members of the Louisiana delegation. They described the situation in Geismar, La., where BASF, a German-based company, has locked out members of O.C.A.W. Local 4-620 for

BASF workers in other countries. It shows workers at the main plant in Ludwigshafen, West Germany, collecting funds for the Louisiana victims and holding demonstrations. The solidarity committee successfully pressured the German Parliament to send a delegation to Louisiana to investigate the situation.

## "Labor's Giant Step"

Tony Mazzocchi then gave a campaign speech. He said that the O.C.A.W. would be involved in political action but that if the November results proved to have been a choice between Tweedledee and Tweedledum, then his views on the labor party deserved fair consideration.

He went on to give a big plug to "Labor's Giant Step," a history of the American labor movement written in the 1950s by Art Preis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party. Mazzocchi called the book "Labor's Bible" and urged everyone to read it.

Mazzocchi said the labor movement had to be revitalized in order to recapture the power, passion, and hope best expressed in one passage of "Labor's Giant Step," which Mazzocchi then read.

This passage recounts the moments leading up to the time when a night-shift man reached over from his machine, threw the plant's power switch, and stopped the rhythm and noise of the plant. The workers in perfect synchronization all stepped back from their machines and stood in the "deafening silence." Finally, one of them yelled, "By God, by God, we shut it down!"

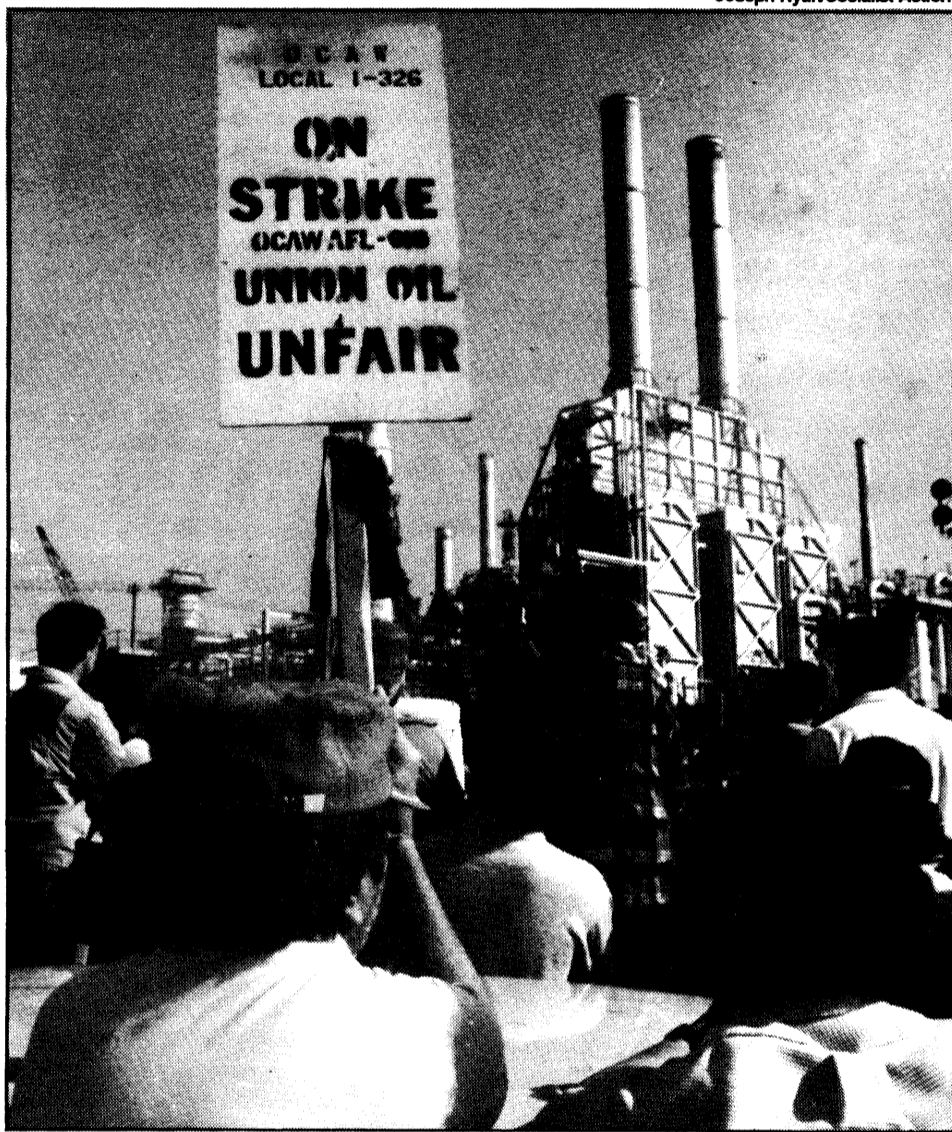
Mazzocchi said it is this spirit which will truly build the new world from the ashes of the old.

This reporter, one of 538 delegates, is now hoarse from the floor fights. District 1, representing the West Coast, started the roll call with solid block votes for international solidarity, for organizing, and for a leadership which espouses the call for a labor party.

As the roll call went through mid-America we picked up more votes. Then the East Coast finished it off. We elected a slate of international union officers which seven years ago no one would have thought possible.

The conflicting pressures on the union bureaucracy of the bosses' demands and those of the rank and file is causing cracks in the less-entrenched union tops' reformist programs. In order to retain their positions, they are having to align themselves with those who openly say the Democrats have no solutions for workers. They themselves, are very cautious about posing the Democrats as a solution to the rank-and-file problems.

This was the significance of the O.C.A.W. convention. ■



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

1983 Oil workers strike against Union Oil in Rodeo, Calif. The rank and file are fed up with giving concessions to the mighty oil conglomerates.

which would have preserved the concept of rank-and-file control and had the potential for increased bargaining strength with common employers. (The Oil Workers and the Mineworkers were, in another time, key forces in forming the CIO, whereas the Paperworkers' heritage was that of the AFL)

Ricigliano mobilized opposition to the proposed Mineworkers' merger in the coal regions—Southern Illinois, Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, and Alabama. It was in this region, in which miners would outnumber O.C.A.W. members, where local union elections dominated by miners were a threat to O.C.A.W. local officers' positions.

It was here that District Directors would no longer be appointed but would have to stand for election among all those miners.

At the convention, the issue of merger with the UMWA was avoided like the plague. Richard Trumka, Mineworkers president, was the only one to mention it. He reiterated his desire to collaborate with the O.C.A.W., whether it be in coordinated bargaining with common employers or in a merged organization.

Trumka said miners were no longer fighting Old Ben Coal Company but were now fighting multinationals. These multinationals who owned the coal, he pointed out, now owned the oil and uranium too. Trumka said that the multinationals sought

over four years. They thanked the international union and the various locals which had contributed to their Adopt-A-Family program. They also thanked the International for its leadership in generating international and regional solidarity.

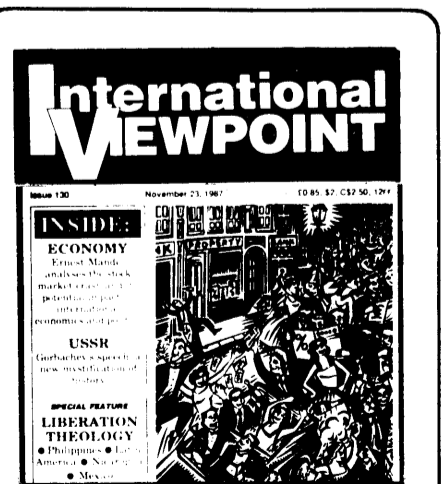
Upon returning to their seats, one of the Louisiana workers got the mike and said that he was scared of talking in front of so many people. The battle had been hard, he said. As he choked up and fought back tears, he continued:

"Thanks from the bottom of my heart to the brothers and sisters who made a real difference in making it so my family could eat, who showed they cared. I don't know if I'll ever get back to work, but I'll fight that company for the rest of my life, God willing."

Convention delegates got a chance to see an O.C.A.W. video production about BASF, which has not yet been released to the public. The video details the historical roots of the company, which under a different name had been a pillar of Hitler's fascist regime.

Nuremberg, with all its publicity, prompted the company's name change to BASF. Now BASF is trying to crush workers in Louisiana, displaying what one worker in the video calls an evil presence with no regard for human values—only for profit.

The video also details how Louisiana workers are forging international links with



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# ... Workers and students revolt

(continued from page 1)

against that country's one-party dictatorship. One million people demonstrated throughout Burma on Aug. 23, bringing the economy to a standstill and forcing the government to lift martial law.

The ruling party, which has appropriated the name "socialist" but in reality is capitalist, has been paralyzed by the movement for democracy, which has become the biggest challenge to its rule in over 25 years.

One Burmese journalist, Sein Win, was imprisoned by the government on July 29 and released on Aug. 25 as a result of the recent demonstrations. Win was caught up in a mass demonstration upon his release and commented afterwards with satisfaction, "When I left prison yesterday, I entered a new country." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Aug. 28)

## Mass strikes and occupations

In South Korea, the entire year has seen massive strikes and factory occupations by workers fighting for their share of the Korean "economic miracle." In early August, the first effective national rail strike in South Korean history shut the country down.

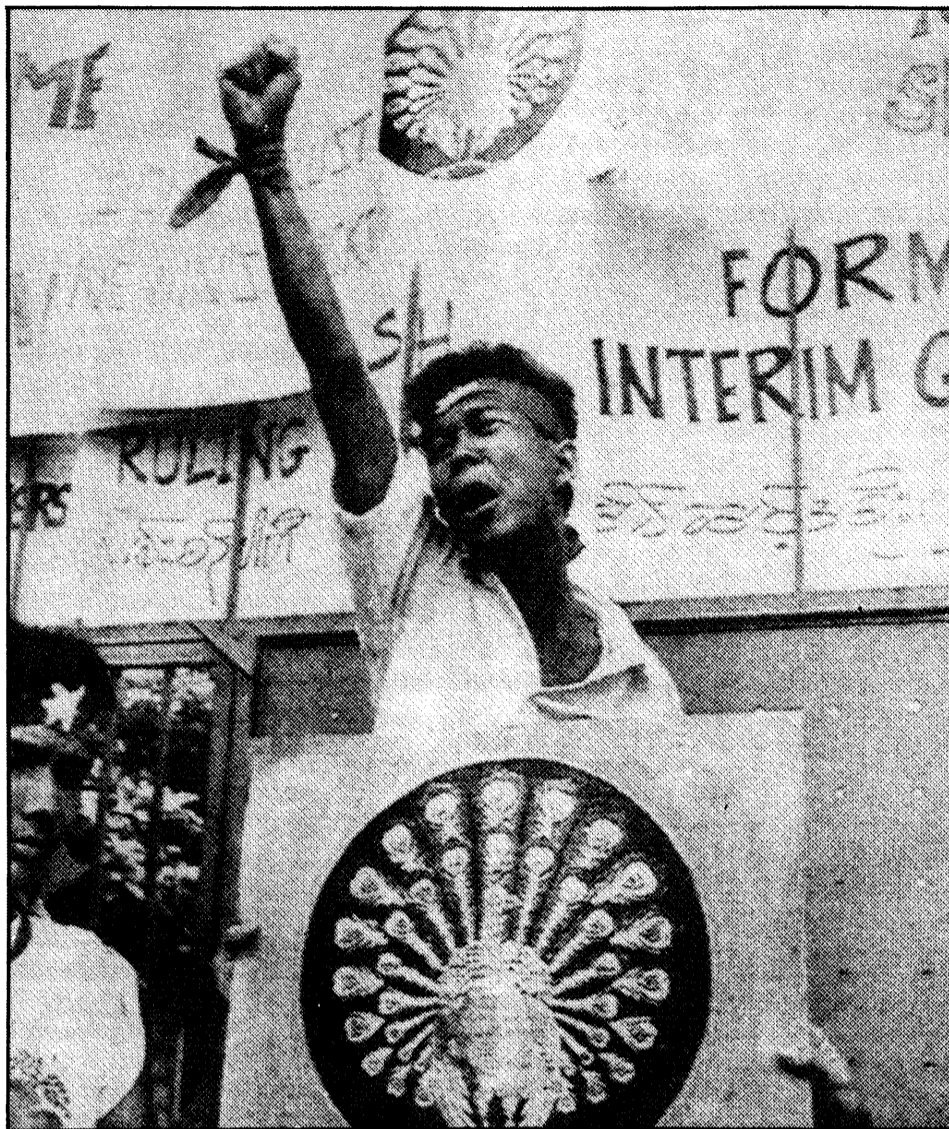
Along with the labor struggles, militant students have been waging a fight for North and South Korean reunification, trying to link up with their North Korean brothers and sisters. Both of these struggles have been met with police clubs and tear gas by the South Korean government.

The capitalist opposition parties have done nothing to aid these struggles, and the students and workers are relying on their own strength to move forward.

In Poland, the Stalinist bureaucracy is facing the biggest labor upsurge since the declaration of martial law in 1981. Almost 100,000 workers took over the shipyards, steel mills, and mines throughout late August demanding an end to austerity and the legalization of Solidarnosc.

Tanks, water cannons, and riot police were met with defiance by workers fighting for the gains of the socialist revolution—promised, but not delivered, by the Polish bureaucracy.

The struggle of the Polish workers has



Burmese student at Bangkok, Thailand, rally protests repression by military authorities in Burma.

been accompanied by demonstrations and strikes in the other workers' states. In Czechoslovakia, 10,000 demonstrated on the anniversary of the "Prague Spring" of 1968, which preceded a Soviet invasion of that country. It was the largest demonstration in Czechoslovakia since 1969.

A small but significant demonstration took place the same day in Moscow demanding "U.S.S.R. out of Czechoslovakia." Both of these demonstrations

were broken up by police.

In Hungary, over 300 miners struck on Aug. 24 against cuts in pay bonuses and a new income-tax law, both of which have been demanded by the International Monetary Fund. Strikes of this nature are rarely reported in Hungary.

## Need for socialist democracy

The thread running through all of these struggles is that "peace" without democra-

cy, without a decent standard of living, without control over one's own life is no peace at all. It is simply an empty phrase used to keep people from all that which is worth fighting for; all that which working people are entitled to.

But no amount of phrase-mongering or sweet-talking can get around the fact that society is divided between hostile classes which can't be reconciled through diplomacy. The tiny minority that owns the wealth of society is very happy with the current situation, and will not give up its position to the majority which produces the wealth—without a fight.

This is the class struggle which, despite periodic ebbs, rages continuously. It must end with the victory of the working majority, because defeat would be a mortal blow for humanity as a whole.

Despite the propaganda from the imperialists in Washington and the Stalinists in Moscow, working people from Poland to Burma to South Korea are seeing through the lies and fighting for their interests.

## A revolutionary leadership

What is needed now is a leadership which can struggle effectively against the capitalists, expose the Stalinist bureaucrats of the world, and provide the workers with a revolutionary socialist alternative.

The Fourth International was founded by Leon Trotsky 50 years ago for that purpose. Its program offers the only revolutionary perspective for the millions of people suffering under capitalist exploitation and Stalinist betrayal. In many countries, its partisans are in the forefront of the class struggle.

Socialist Action, which is in political solidarity with the Fourth International, held a meeting on Aug. 6 in San Francisco to commemorate 50 years of the Fourth International.

This meeting, which brought together revolutionary socialists from around the world, is a demonstrable example that it is possible to forge an international working-class leadership based on the historic program of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky, to fight for socialism on a world scale.

The coming world revolution will usher in a democratic socialist future, with the wealth of society owned and controlled by its majority. Only then can there be true peace. This is the task to which we in Socialist Action are committed. ■

## 'All Power to the Soviets!'



Under the title "Impatience," the semi-tolerated *Moscow News* of July 10, 1988, printed an interview with Vladimir Osipov, a first-class truck driver in the town of Kashin, located near Moscow. Osipov, shown in photo above, fastened a poster saying "All Power to the Soviets!" on his van. His explanation is revealing:

I kept waiting for them [the bureaucracy] to give up their power.... I saw they were not going to give it up. So I fastened a poster saying "All the Power to the Soviets!" on the radiator and ran. Imagine what happened after that. They started bullying me, threatening to take away my license. "Take the poster down!" I told them, "The slogan is Lenin's." They said, "We'll call the

militia...."

I said: "Only the bourgeoisie didn't like that slogan." They said, "All the power already belongs to the soviets."

But no! They have no power. Once a deputy, a lawyer by education, came to us. I asked her: "What have you done to solve our problems." Said she: "What can I do, who will listen to me...?" That's the kind of soviet power you have. No, power is what Lenin conceived it to be. We elect it and we ask from it or from those who hamper it. Otherwise it's not power, only semblance and verbiage.

They appointed everyone for us. Those who are allegedly wiser. But let's elect those who are not wiser than us, but who can hear us. We've seen enough wise guys who don't listen.

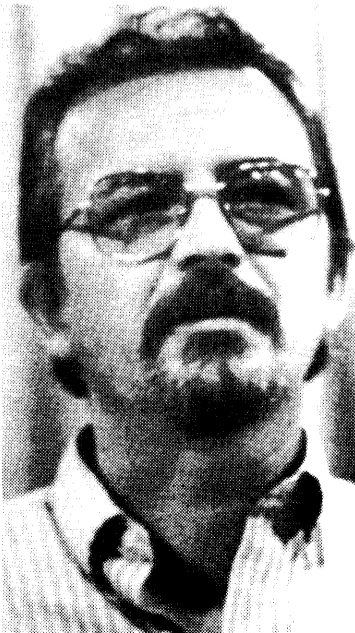
## Socialist Action launches fall fund drive

At its Aug. 6 rally in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Fourth International, Socialist Action launched its fall fund drive. The drive got a good start with \$28,000 pledged by Socialist Action members and supporters. This

drive will enable Socialist Action to expand its newspaper to 20 pages when necessary and publish more timely pamphlets (an additional 12 titles are projected). We need your support to make this drive a big success.

## Zbigniew Kowalewski to tour 10 U.S. cities

Zbigniew Kowalewski, author of "Give Us Back Our Factories: Solidarnosc and the Struggle for Workers' Self-Management in Poland" will tour the U.S. this fall to discuss the meaning of the recent events in Poland.



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New York:	Nov. 9-14

Tour sponsored by Socialist Action and Walnut Publishing Co.



# Why Hussein dropped claim to West Bank

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

The rebellion in Palestine has breached the sanctified "Green Line," which represents the boundary separating that part of Palestine occupied since 1967 from the territory occupied in 1948. The generalization of the uprising within Palestine has led to its extension to Jordan, confirming the worst fears of U.S. policy makers.

Charles P. Wallace sounded the alarm in *The Los Angeles Times* (July 24) with a lead ominous in its implications for the Hashemite regime of King Hussein. "Friction," Wallace wrote, "between East Bank Arabs and Palestinians tests Hussein."

Wallace's story detailed the extent to which the regime of King Hussein is reeling from the uncontrollable impact of the Intifada, the Palestinian uprising, resulting in "a deep sense of unease in the country." [See accompanying story on the crisis of the Jordanian regime.]

Tensions between the regime and the Palestinian population are assessed by Wallace as "higher than they have been in decades" at a time when "throughout the Arab world, sympathy for the Palestinians is at an all-time high."

Wallace reveals, however, that the universal hatred of Palestinians in and out of Jordan for the Hashemite Kingdom is but part of the problem.

"Perhaps the most significant concern for the Jordanian king, who has reigned for 35 years, is a sudden spate of reports from Israel and from supporters of the Jewish state suggesting that Jordan is increasingly viewed as a possible homeland for Palestinians now living under Israeli occupation."

This plan has been attributed by the established press to supposedly marginal groups such as the openly fascist movement of Rabbi Meir Kahane and his Kach party. The reality, however, is different.

## A longstanding plan

Since the start of the Palestinian uprising, discussion of the so-called transfer option—in effect the deportation of all or most of the West Bank's 750,000 Arab residents—has reached a serious stage. According to Western diplomats, such talk has left the Jordanians deeply fearful.

The Israeli government, faced with the deepening revolution of the Palestinian people, is preparing a new adventure.

Writing in *The Washington Post* (Feb. 7, 1988), Israeli writers Yossi Melman and Dan Raviv, reveal the longstanding Zionist plans to "transfer" or "resettle" the entire Palestinian population. [For greater detail on this plan, see article titled "Israel's answer to Uprising: 'Expel the Palestinians,'" in the July issue of *Socialist Action*.]

What emerges from the article on the



The Palestinian uprising on the West Bank is now extending into Jordan.

front page of *The Washington Post* is that public opinion is to be prepared for Israeli plans once again to drive out the people of Palestine. Now, however, the rationale for this brutal plan, which can only be implemented under the cover of another war, will be the resistance by the Palestinians themselves to their intended fate.

Melman and Raviv conclude with the following prognosis: "Kahane's message—expel the Palestinians or risk losing Jewish control of the land of Israel—remains a potent one. And in the absence of a political solution to the Palestinian problem, Israel may be pushed [sic] toward such desperate measures."

## Hussein surrenders claims

This then is the setting for King Hussein's dramatic speech of July 31, in which he announced that he was surrendering to the Palestine Liberation

Organization (P.L.O.) claims to the Israeli-occupied West Bank the Hashemite family had ruled between 1948 and 1967.

King Hussein's grandfather, King Abdullah, had been installed in the territory called Trans-Jordan by British imperialism, a land carved out of Eastern Palestine and Saudi Arabia.

After the Israeli state was declared on the land of Palestine in 1948—and nearly 90 percent of Palestinian towns and villages were razed to the ground by Zionist shock troops, forcing 85 percent of the Palestinians to flee—King Abdullah, in a secret pact with David Ben Gurion and other Zionist leaders, seized the West Bank and added it to the usurped territory of the Trans-Jordan.

Even without the West Bank, over 60 percent of the population of Trans Jordan is Palestinian. The Hashemite Kingdom, no less than Israel, has usurped Palestinian

sovereignty. This is the rationale for the increasingly favored Zionist scheme to expel the Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza to the East Bank, a resort to which the dependent Arab regimes of the region are giving tacit consent.

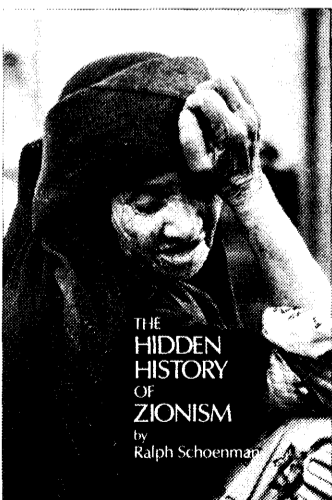
"Jordan is not Palestine," the King added in a rebuff to both Israeli rightists and Jordanian radicals who might call for a Palestinian homeland on his land.

Thus, King Hussein has sought to force the hand of his masters. "The independent Palestinian state," he declared, "will be established on the occupied Palestinian land."

## Ensuring Jordan's stability

The two objectives of the Hashemite king are, therefore, to prevent abandonment of his regime through the expulsion of the Palestinians from the West Bank and Israel to Jordan and, simultaneously, to make

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Editor, *Palestine Perspectives*

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by Ralph Schoenman

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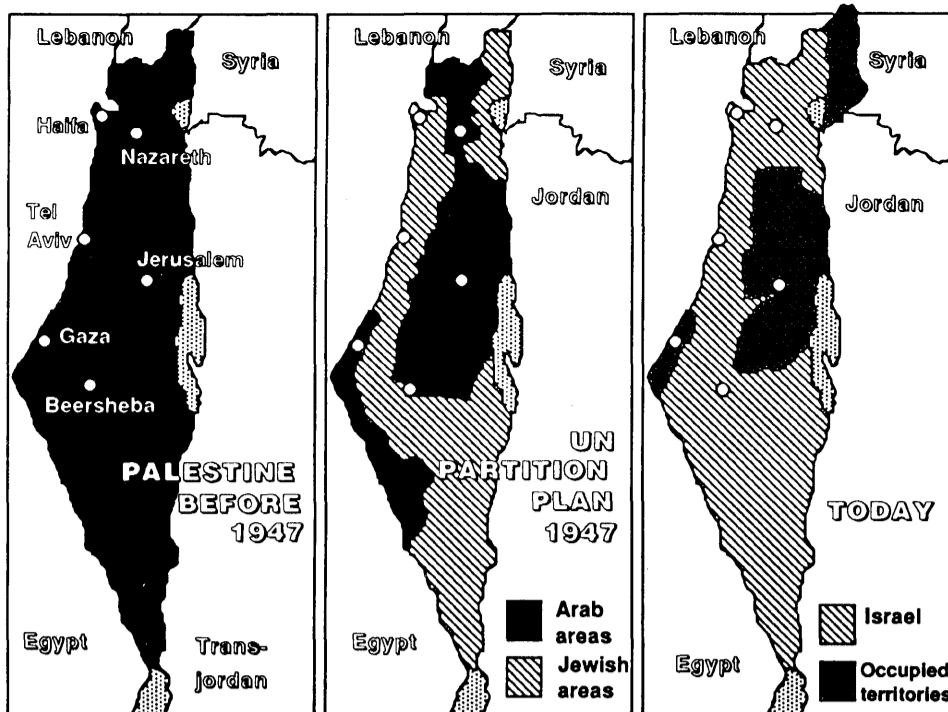
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## Economic crisis grips Jordan

The Jordanian regime is in jeopardy. Disaffection with the ruling Hashemite monarchy has reached such proportions that the merchants are bailing out.

An article by Charles P. Wallace in *The Los Angeles Times* (July 24) provides a glimpse into Jordan's crisis:

"Jordan has been gripped by its worst economic crisis ... according to Jordanian officials and bankers. Jordan's currency, the dinar, has been hit by panic selling twice in the past two months. ... The central bank was stuck with \$600 million in bad debt ... and refused to issue new credit to exporters."

The evidence was mounting that the Saudi monarchy and the Sheikhs of the Persian Gulf, on whose largesse the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is dependent, were abandoning the regime.

"Economists see major troubles looming because the two key components of Jordan's national budget—remittances from Jordanians abroad and Arab aid—are decreasing.

"Out of a \$3 billion annual budget, only \$500 million is financed from home. One Western economist said that remittances, such as salaries earned by Jordanians working in the oil-rich Gulf states, will ... decline sharply in the second half of the year." (Ibid.)

If Jordanians abroad suddenly stopped sending money home, the word must be

out that the regime is in trouble. Wallace explains:

"At the same time ... Saudi Arabia, which provides \$500 million a year alone, is upset over reports of official corruption and is reluctant to offer new assistance." (Ibid.)

Observers of both the Jordanian and Saudi monarchies, however, have long noted that pervasive corruption has been the hallmark of both regimes for decades. The Saudis subsidize every corrupt regime in the region and are hardly moved by such considerations.

The undermining, therefore, of King Hussein's faltering government must be due to other motives. Wallace reports: "The Jordanians are going to have to tighten their belts substantially, if they hope to weather the crisis."

Hussein has been reduced to begging in public for the support of his neo-colonial rulers in the region.

"At a summit meeting of Arab leaders in Algiers last month, Hussein made an impassioned plea for stepped-up assistance.... While expressing sympathy, the Arabs made no concrete offer." (Ibid.)

The sudden abandonment of Hussein, one of the principal satraps of imperialism in the Arab world, is tied to the growing perception that he can no longer be relied upon to govern a totally disaffected population.—R.S.

clear that he will use brute force against the Palestinian population, who already comprise two-thirds of Jordan.

Hussein stated:

"National unity is precious in any country, but in Jordan it is more than that. It is the basis of our stability. Safeguarding national unity is a sacred duty that will not be compromised."

At the same time, Hussein dissolved the lower House of Jordan's parliament, which gave nominal representation to figures from the West Bank. Hussein set forth his purpose:

"It has to be understood in all clarity, and without any ambiguity or equivocation that our measures regarding the West Bank concern only the occupied Palestinian land and its people. They naturally do not relate in any way to the Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan."

An editorial in *The New York Times* summed up the meaning of Hussein's move:

"He acted ... at a time when the eight-month-old uprising in the Occupied Territories has prompted more talk among Israeli hardliners that Jordan is the Palestinian state. Hussein's state is, in fact, 60 percent or more Palestinian. Continued unrest in the West Bank could send [sic] many of these people ... into Jordan.

"Hussein advanced that point directly: 'Jordan,' he said, 'is not Palestine.' ... The king has at least set the *legal* [emphasis added] basis for closing the border to prevent such an inundation."

### Pressure for mini-state

It is not the case, however, that Hussein is now somehow willing to see the establishment of a genuine Palestinian state run by the P.L.O. on his border. Far from it.

Professor Nadav Safran, a Jordanian government spokesperson now at Harvard University, told *The New York Times* (Aug. 1, 1988):

"The King [is] still firmly opposed to the creation in the West Bank of an independent state under P.L.O. control. King Hussein is playing his cards very smart. He is the elder statesman of the Middle East, and he has learned a lot during his 35-year reign.

"He knows that the United States and Israel will oppose a P.L.O. state, and they may have to come to Jordan for some concoction—for example, a Palestinian state associated with Jordan, in which Jordan has control over security and foreign policy.

"The American peace plan for the Middle East envisions a similar arrangement. When President Reagan first described the plan in September 1982, he said, 'Self-government by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan offers the best chance for durable, just, and lasting peace.'"

It is the maintenance of this posture in the face of the uprising that is the basis for the desperate move by King Hussein.

### Economic pressure on P.L.O.

A further indication that Hussein was in no way coming to the aid of the Palestinian people when he surrendered claims to the West Bank came soon after. *The San Francisco Examiner* (Aug. 7, 1988) examines the economics of the King's divest-

ment from the West Bank:

"Twenty-one thousand West Bank civil servants [were] dismissed. Analysts estimate 100,000 people—one out of eight West Bank Palestinians are affected. \$35 million of income has been lost. Jordan has spent \$100 million annually in the West Bank in addition to paying salaries of civil servants, teachers, and municipal workers.

"It maintained health, welfare, and religious institutions, provided pensions and housing loans, administered examinations in West Bank schools, and issued various licenses for West Bank farmers and merchants. All these arrangements are now in doubt."

*The New York Times* reported on July 29 that "Jordan cancelled a \$1.3 billion development plan for the West Bank."

Following Hussein's divestment from the West Bank, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir announced that Israel would not fill the void created by Jordan's dismissal of its West Bank civil service.

*The Los Angeles Times* reported (Aug. 2, 1988): "There is ... almost no hope that the P.L.O. will be able to make up the estimated \$100 million per year that Jordan pumps into the West Bank."

For Hussein, the divestment moves were clearly aimed at putting pressure on the P.L.O. to come to terms with the Israelis.

### Promoting Israel's legitimacy

The essence of United States and Israeli policy has always been to deny the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to assign either to Israel or the Jordanian king the role of "representation" for the Palestinian masses.

The leadership of the P.L.O. has been fixated on the possibility of proving to a wing of U.S. policy makers that the P.L.O. is a reliable partner, capable of stabilizing the region and of removing the cause of Palestinian challenge to the Middle Eastern status quo. What the P.L.O. leadership has sought is the same role assigned other bourgeois states of the region.

Israel, however, as a colonial-settler state is predicated upon the denial of an organized existence for the victim population. The Zionist movement can never accept any state role for a Palestinian movement. To do so is to pose the question of the legitimacy of a settler state on the territory of another people. This underlines the emphasis by the United States that the P.L.O. recognize the legitimacy of the Israeli state.

The population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip represent less than half the Palestinian people. Close to 1 million people live inside the "Green Line" and nearly 3 million Palestinians live in forced exile and refugee status in neighboring or far-flung territory to which they have been driven by massacre and the destruction of their towns and villages.

No small statelet, comparable to the Bantustans of South Africa, can fulfill the aspiration of the Palestinian people for the recovery of their usurped homeland. No little entity of nominal sovereignty, dependent upon Israel and the Jordanian kingdom, could answer the need of the Palestinian poor in the refugee camps for a decent life.

Appearing on the C.B.S. News program "Face the Nation," Secretary of State George Shultz said that King Hussein was now "registering the fact that the Palestinians living on the West Bank and Gaza have asserted themselves as wanting to speak for themselves."

Shultz then reiterated U.S. imperialism's longstanding objective of bludgeoning the P.L.O. into accepting Israeli power and legitimacy:

"The P.L.O., if it wants to be a partner in a peace process, has to change its ways. We need to keep the pressure on the P.L.O. to recognize that Israel is there. Israel is going to stay there. It is a fact of life, and they might as well accept the fact."

A new situation exists in the Middle East after King Hussein's move. As *The Christian Science Monitor* (Aug. 19) stated:

"It is reported that the executive committee of the P.L.O. is now considering a plan it may unveil at the next session of

the European Parliament in September. Under the plan, a Palestine government-in-exile would accept the partition of Palestine as voted by the United Nations on Nov. 29, 1947. ... Until now ... the P.L.O. has declined to recognize the right of existence of a Jewish state."

This then is the setting in which to understand and evaluate the proposals by Bassam Abu Sharif and Yasir Arafat of the P.L.O. to negotiate directly with Israel, accept an interim status for the Palestinian people, agree to a demilitarized state which will guarantee Israeli security, and enjoy a close relationship to King Hussein's Hashemite Kingdom. ■

*Part Three of this series will examine the role of Jerome Segal, the American Zionist who drafted the declaration for an independent Palestinian state, with its call for Israeli military presence to guarantee Israeli interests.*

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# Dan Quayle and the National Guard: 'Talkin' 'bout my generation'



National Guard troops attack antiwar demonstrators at 1968 Democratic Party convention.

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

Dan Quayle says he's proud of the six-year stint in the Indiana National Guard that his wealthy family procured for him. It's not that he didn't want to risk his life in Vietnam. He was gung-ho for the Vietnam War then, he explains, just as he is a supporter of the Nicaraguan contras today.

Filmmaker and Vietnam bronze-star recipient Oliver Stone comments: "Dan Quayle is everything I can't stand in my generation. Guys like him are willing to fight to the last drop of someone else's blood."

It appears that even 20 years ago, rich-kid Quayle was out of tune with the antiwar feelings shared by the majority of his generation.

At the time that Quayle joined the National Guard, in the spring of 1969, hundreds of thousands of young people in America were taking part in an explosive series of protests against the Vietnam War. Those months saw the most extensive wave of student strikes and demonstrations in the history of the United States up until that time.

The antiwar ferment among young people spread far beyond the campuses. GIs on bases around the country (as well as overseas) were beginning to organize against the war.

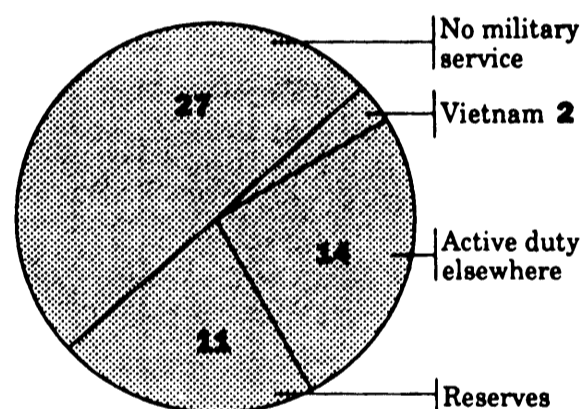
Out of these efforts grew a national organization, GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. The group was active (especially among Vietnam veterans) at Fort Bragg, N.C., when Dan Quayle was undergoing his National Guard basic training there.

## "Extraordinary military dilemma"

By that time, even the national media had been forced to comment on the government's attacks on GIs who had attempted to exercise their democratic rights to dissent

## What Corporate Chiefs Did During Vietnam

(Breakdown of 54 CEOs providing information)



Working people served as fodder for the U.S. war in Vietnam. But most young men from wealthy backgrounds were able to escape the wartime draft. This chart is based on a survey of 54 heads of major corporations who were of draft age during the peak war years. Only two reported Vietnam service. (*The Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 25, 1988.)

from official policy.

The May 18, 1969, issue of *The New York Times* asked, "Must the Citizen Give Up His Civil Liberties When He Joins the Army?" The May 23, 1969, issue of *Life* magazine, in an article devoted to the "Extraordinary

Military Dilemma," described "a widespread new phenomenon in the ranks of the military: public dissent."

On Nov. 9 of that year, the GI Press Service of the Student Mobilization Committee sponsored a full-page ad in *The New York Times*. The ad, which was signed by 1365 active-duty GIs (many of whom were stationed in Vietnam) appealed to Americans to attend the antiwar demonstrations scheduled for Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on Nov. 15.

When Nov. 15 arrived, over a million joined the protests in the two cities. Antiwar sentiment and activities continued to increase among the general population—especially after Nixon announced the U.S. invasion of Cambodia on April 30, 1970.

## National Guard massacres

In the events that were to follow, the National Guard played an infamous role. On May 4, 1970, students gathered on the central commons of Kent State University in Ohio in order to protest the invasion of Cambodia. The meeting was declared illegal by the authorities. National Guard units on the scene lobbed tear-gas cannisters at the crowd.

Several students, it was reported, threw rocks at the guardsmen. The front ranks of the soldiers got to their knees and opened fire. Four students were killed and many were wounded.

Within hours, millions had heard the news. Within days, students at some 350 colleges were on strike. The country was swept with the largest wave of political demonstrations to ever take place in the country.

Yet on May 14, a National Guard unit again swept a student demonstration with gunfire—this time at Jackson State, a Black school in Georgia. Two students were killed.

## What is the National Guard?

Quayle's supporters have praised the National Guard as a kind of rearguard military unit, citizen soldiers busy protecting the homefront. Many of Quayle's detractors, on the other hand, portray the National Guard as a team of Sunday paradeground stiff—next to worthless, but certainly harmless enough.

Both conceptions hide the primary purpose of the National Guard—suppression of dissent in America. This was clearly revealed in the massacres at Kent State and Jackson State.

After the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968, the National Guard was reorganized and retrained for rapid deployment against the Black rebellions that were shaking America's cities.

The fiscal year 1968 saw 104,665 National Guardsmen placed into action to counter "civil disturbances." The Detroit ghetto rebellion alone required 10,399 guardsmen—as well as 5547 active Army personnel.

In February 1969, the Guard was mobilized for the first time against student protesters, who were demonstrating for increased Black admissions at the University of Wisconsin.

Throughout the years, in addition, National Guard units have been called in to break trade-union strikes. Guardsmen are used to disperse picket lines, act as scabs, and generally intimidate workers by their heavy weaponry. In 1986, guardsmen were used against the Hormel packinghouse workers' strike in Austin, Minn.

Dan Quayle, the rich kid from Indiana, insists that he enlisted in the National Guard to better "serve his country." But it would be closer to the truth to admit that he served his class—the wealthy capitalists who control this country and who are attempting to hold public opinion in a lockgrip. ■

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# Our readers speak out

## Nicaragua

Dear editor,

I was glad to see Carl Finamore's lead article on Nicaragua in your July issue make the point that the contra war is not over and the U.S. government has not abandoned its campaign to overthrow the Sandinistas. The idea that the war is, in fact, over is a pernicious idea that needs to be refuted in the movement just as it is being refuted in life in Nicaragua.

Finamore is also correct when he points out in his article on the June 11 demonstrations the folly of the movement abandoning the streets for electoral politics. Finamore is right to note that U.S. policy on Central America is essentially a bi-partisan one with Democrats and Republicans only differing on how best to get rid of the Sandinistas.

Lastly, I also agree that the biggest weakness in the anti-intervention movement is the lack of any "authoritative" section of the movement proposing a strategy of consistent mobilizations.

We must all do all we can to get the movement back on track right after the November elections, if we can't do so now.

Jim Lafferty, ENC,  
(Emergency National Council)  
New York, N.Y.

## Volkov 1

Dear editor,

On Aug. 14, a meeting in support of the Moscow Trials Campaign Committee was held in Los Angeles.

It was attended by 50 people. Ralph Schoenman spoke about the heroic struggle waged by Leon Trotsky against the usurpation of power by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Esteban Volkov, Trotsky's grandson, then spoke about the campaign to rehabilitate all the victims of the show trials staged between 1936 and 1939, and stressed the importance for the Soviet working class to be exposed to the ideas of Trotsky.

Over \$450 was collected for the work of the Campaign Committee.

Bill Wilner,  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## Volkov 2

Dear editor,

On Aug. 4, around 8 a.m., driving from the East Bay to Marin County, I was fortunate to have tuned my car radio to KPFA's morning program. Philip Moldari was preparing to interview Esteban Volkov, grandson of Leon Trotsky.

I was pleasantly surprised that Moldari even exceeded his usual objectivity by his warm and understanding reception of the man he was speaking with. On a station that heretofore has treated the name of Leon Trotsky or Trotskyism in a manner that denied his and its very existence, this was a breath of fresh air.

Following the interview, the telephone lines were opened for questions and viewpoints. One questioner, evidently a still bitter and misinformed Stalinist, stated she had heard that Trotsky was killed in Mexico in

a steamy lover's quarrel. As a whole, however, what I did hear allowed people to participate in an area that has not been open for a long time.

The media coverage of Socialist Action's celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Fourth International was outstanding as a whole. TV Channel 4 interviewed Volkov and showed a sense of history in portraying the life of Leon Trotsky through newsreel clips.

A. Farrell,  
Moraga, Calif.

## Brawley

Dear editor,

Who said everyone has jumped on the "Dump on Tawana Brawley" bandwagon?

Pete Seeger, always courageous, has just written a ballad about Tawana Brawley after listening to witnesses testify. Some of Seeger's lyrics are worth keeping in mind to help us endure the barrage of barely veiled racism that permeates the mass media.

*"Tawana Brawley was 15 years old when she was found half-dead. Now opinion is divided: Is it true just as she said?"*

*"But I know one thing for sure, there's bad feeling in our land. And every child that's growing up will feel it's evil hand."*

J.S.,  
Daly City, Calif.

## P-9 pamphlet

Dear editor,

Jake Cooper, Mike Zukowski, and I, all of us members of the Twin Cities branch of Socialist Action, headed down to Austin, Minn., to a picnic of P-9 workers on Saturday, Aug. 20. We were uncertain as to how Jake's pamphlet on the P-9 strike would be received because the pamphlet is critical of Ray Rogers' strategy of the "Corporate Campaign." [See article in this issue, pp. 4-5.]

When we arrived, we immediately felt at ease. The mood of the P-9ers was one of optimism and openness. Jake was greeted warmly and was



Jake Cooper speaking at P-9 rally on Oct. 19, 1985, in Austin, Minn.

soon caught up in conversation with P-9ers.

P-9 workers eagerly flocked to Jake to purchase the pamphlet. Jake explained to each customer the reasons for his criticisms of the "Corporate Campaign."

Jake also gave out a special insert of *Socialist Action* published during the height of the strike, which gave suggestions on how to wage a successful strike based on mass action.

Our entire pamphlet bundle—over 60 copies—sold out rapidly. Eight people paid for copies in advance. Vicky Guyette purchased 25 copies for the P-9 support offices. A trade unionist visiting the P-9ers from Fremont, Neb., ordered 10 copies.

Jake was received with great enthusiasm when called on to speak during post-picnic announcements. He recounted his experiences in the labor movement, beginning with his role during the great 1934 Teamsters

strikes. He brought thunderous applause for himself when he said, "I hate to admit it, but I am an ex-con."

A teacher recently approached Jake for a discussion on trade unionism. He was very impressed with the pamphlet and gave Jake the names of 12 other teachers who would be interested in it. Jake sold him four pamphlets.

Four Teamster unionists also called on Jake to learn some Teamster history. After talking with Jake, the Teamsters ordered \$53 worth of literature, consisting of all the Teamster books by Farrell Dobbs, "Defense of Socialism" by James P. Cannon, and an assortment of Socialist Action pamphlets, including Jake's "Lessons of the P-9 Strike."

Workers are starting to ask questions, and we are the organization to provide the answers and a guide to action.

Brian Schwartz,  
Minneapolis, Minn.



This is a page where our readers can speak out. We welcome letters. But please keep them short. When necessary, for reasons of space, they will be abridged.

—The editors

## ... Education

(continued from page 12)

services available for children. Parents who work a full day often must leave sick children at home, unattended, because they might get fired from their job if they stay at home to care for them. The public-school system is the institution most able to meet the needs of parents who must work while their children are not well.

It is also important that services for disabled and handicapped children be increased at each school, becoming a regular part of the school program. Children who have no disabilities can learn compassion and caring at an early age when they are able to help other children who are less able.

Parents with handicapped or disabled children have been forced to be solely responsible for the care of these children. It's time society came to their assistance.

The educational programs must eliminate all sexist material and programs which continue to teach children that males are superior to females. Only when our society finally eliminates sexist practices, can we hope to eliminate sexism in our children.

Sex-education classes, taught by well-qualified teachers, can also help male and female students regard each other as equal human beings rather than as simply sex objects. Education about AIDS and contraception should be part of the program.

"But is all this practical?"

The improvements needed in education, some of which are mentioned in this article, may be called utopian or unrealizable. "We can't even protect the education

we have now, and you expect us to do all of this?" That will be the attitude of some teachers and parents who are demoralized and resigned to the attacks against public education.

This program cannot be accomplished without an effective course of action. Fortunately, we have at the present time all of the forces necessary in this country to bring about the essential changes in our educational system.

Teachers are organized into large, well-financed, national organizations with hundreds of thousands of members. If the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers organized a campaign leading up to actions like a massive march in Washington, D.C., to preserve and expand education, you can be sure that it would elicit an enthusiastic response.

Historically, it has been the powerful organizations of labor, allied with women's and minority organizations, which have ended the exploitation of child labor in the mines, mills, and sweat shops of this country. It has been these forces in united mass action that have forced this government to provide what educational and social services our schools have.

The teachers unions could initiate a massive campaign to get the support of the whole labor movement to join in this struggle. The labor movement, with its power, could be enlisted to help mobilize the entire working class—organized and unorganized, male and female, Black, white, brown, and yellow—to become part of a movement for the future of our youth.

This action would certainly be championed by women's and minority organizations such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the NAACP—as

well as by other community organizations.

Students themselves would enroll in this battle to preserve and extend the fundamental right of the children of working people to receive a quality education. Internationally—in Palestine, South Africa, Europe, Central America, and Asia—students are fighting for their rights.

### Build a labor party

Once again, as it has done in the past, labor must play its necessary social role of taking up the fight for our children's needs. The fight around social issues such as public education is a political fight. No force can bring about the necessary changes in our school system other than the labor movement.

However, it goes further than simply a fight around educational improvements.

The Democratic and Republican parties, acting in the interest of their political bosses, the capitalist class, are the enemies of our children and public education.

Labor must break with both parties and form a political party that would organize all of labor into a fight for full political and economic power for working people.

A political party of workers, based on the trade unions, would necessarily protect and expand educational services for all children. But, so long as labor continues to support capitalist politicians, this great potential power cannot be put to work—and labor will remain, politically, as weak as a sick kitten.

The fight for a quality education for the children of this country is an important component of a program for all workers. We must start now. ■

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# Our children must have free quality education

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

*Sylvia Weinstein is the Socialist Action candidate for San Francisco's Board of Education. She has been a leading activist in the fight to obtain expanded public childcare and educational facilities. She served on the San Francisco school district's Children's Center Expansion Committee and on the Health and Childcare Committee of the Commission on the Status of Women.*

*The following article is taken from a forthcoming pamphlet by Sylvia Weinstein on education in America today.*

Public education is a heritage handed down to today's children. Public education was fought for and won by Black and white workers many years ago. All of the improvements within the public educational system have been the result of struggle by working-class parents to give their children opportunities they themselves never had.

Today that heritage, limited though it is, is on the verge of being totally destroyed. Throughout the country, in one city after another, the public-school system has suffered severe cutbacks and lowering of quality. Graduation from high school with a third-grade or fourth-grade reading level is quite common. Overcrowded and segregated classrooms are the rule. Student dropouts are rising.

It is quite common for older people to deride today's education by comparing it to education in their day. "When I went to school," this argument goes, "we didn't have all the fancy trappings that today's schools have. But we still got a good education. We learned to read and write."

Of course, that's a fantasy—most dropped out of high school before they graduated. They did not exactly learn to read in school, they often had a lot of help at home.

In the larger family of 40 years ago, many younger children, not yet in school, were taught to read and write by an older sibling who was in school. In today's smaller family, many children do not even get a chance to play regularly with other children until they go to kindergarten.

As late as 35 years ago, one out of every five households had an older relative living with them—someone who would be there to see to it that the children got home from school on time, changed into their play clothes and did their homework. That is not the case today.

The majority of today's children come home from school to an empty house. Their parents, who work, usually do not get home until 6 p.m. or later. This is the case for the majority of today's urban children.

This drastically changed situation requires that the public-school system play an even greater role in meeting the educational and social needs of our children.

## Black parents' contribution

Not so many years ago, if a child did not make good grades in school, the blame was placed on the child—not the educational system. For example, in the 1950s, Black children in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn were graduating from high school with an average third-grade reading level. That was viewed by the school authorities as a natural condition.

In fact, it was Black parents from Bedford-Stuyvesant who first fought for and won remedial programs to make up for the segregated, low-quality education their children had been receiving for years. Their victory came about when the Black parents took advantage of the 1954 Supreme Court decision against segregated schools.



May May Gong/Socialist Action

White parents and their children shared in this victory. They had mistakenly assumed that it was just Black children who could not read. After a series of tests on white students, it was determined that the average white student in Brooklyn was graduating from high school with fourth-grade and fifth-grade reading levels. This shock brought a demand for remedial programs for all children.

Other contributions by Black parents in Brooklyn were: open enrollment, teachers' aides in the classroom, upgrading of teachers, and participation by parents in the classroom. Other educational improvements such as smaller class sizes, expanded kindergarten programs, and improved social services were also won through community and teachers' struggles in those years.

More recently, however, these programs have been gutted by Democratic and Republican politicians. It's as if this country were just too poor to provide a quality education for all of our children.

City governments around the country claim that "budget crises" are forcing them to close down schools and lay off teachers. Meanwhile, billions of dollars in interest on tax-free municipal bonds continue to flow to the banks and the wealthy.

Democratic and Republican members of Congress are just as ready to provide billions for war budgets that grow ever larger. It is no wonder that one of the popular slogans of teachers and parents has become,

"It will be a great day when our schools get all the money they need, and the Navy has to hold a bake sale to buy a ship".

## We need more childcare

In order to ensure every child a truly quality education, we must fight the cutbacks—and more. We must begin the fight to expand educational opportunities for our children. Public schools can become the support system to provide children with educational and social needs that their parents, who must work all day, cannot provide.

With more parents in the workforce, we must expand children's centers. Our children's centers must have early-childhood developmental programs and credentialed teachers. The school-entrance age must be lowered to the age of three.

Not many years ago, it was thought that children were not ready for school before the age of six. Studies have proven that very young children must have educational stimuli if they are to develop toward their greatest potential. One of their most necessary educational needs is interaction with other children.

We must begin to view children's centers as we do kindergartens, and make them available to all parents and children who are ready for them. Children's centers should be free and as available as public schools. All parents who need this service should have it available to them, whether they are work-

ing or not and regardless of their income.

These centers should be available as often as parents feel is necessary—for a full day, part of the day, a few days a week, and even on weekends for parents who are compelled to work on those days.

Children's centers and our public schools should be open, at least, from 6 a.m. until 6 p.m. with all meals provided—including supper. Seventeen percent of public-school students begin their day with a bottle of soda pop. Healthy food, served in the schools and centers, is a major need in this rich country.

Students shouldn't have to be from AFDC or low-income families to qualify for good, healthy school meals. School meals should be free and available to all students, just as water is available at the water fountains.

All schools should contain after-school centers for older students, with full recreational and educational programs. Bilingual programs should be made a regular part of the school curriculum and not relegated to the children of non-English-speaking parents.

## Infantcare centers

Infantcare centers with parent-education programs should be placed in every high school. These centers could provide care for infants from birth to three years of age. They should be open to all junior-high and high-school parents who have not yet finished their schooling.

Parent-education programs would help older students, as well as teen-age parents (teenage pregnancies are at rising levels) learn how to care for younger children. Most of today's young parents have not held an infant in their arms until they carry their own infant out of the hospital maternity ward.

Child abuse, an increasing crime under modern capitalism, would be reduced and eventually eliminated as ignorance and poverty are eliminated. Young parents, especially, need help if they are to become good parents. Infantcare centers, with parent educational programs, can alleviate the hardships caused by the constant care needed by infants and siblings.

With infantcare centers, teenage mothers would not have to face the tragic problem of being forced to give up their child for adoption. Even if infantcare centers were used only a few hours a week, it would help young parents relate to their children in a healthier way.

## Lower the size of classes

How can teachers be expected to do their job with class sizes of 30 to 40 students? It's like handing a brain surgeon a pickax to do a brain operation.

The class size should be reduced to no more than 12 pupils per teacher. This would enable the teacher to give needed individual instruction to each student as well as to develop an individual relationship with each one.

Improvements in the school site should be made to convert each school into a pleasant and clean place to learn and to teach in. Children's creativity can be considerably enhanced by having a good environment to work and play in.

Our schools should be open at night for adult education and other community uses. The whole population must be encouraged to participate in the public-school system. Young and old alike will develop a protective pride in their public schools when they realize that the system is there to genuinely provide the educational and cultural services they need.

Each school should have healthcare  
(continued on page 11)



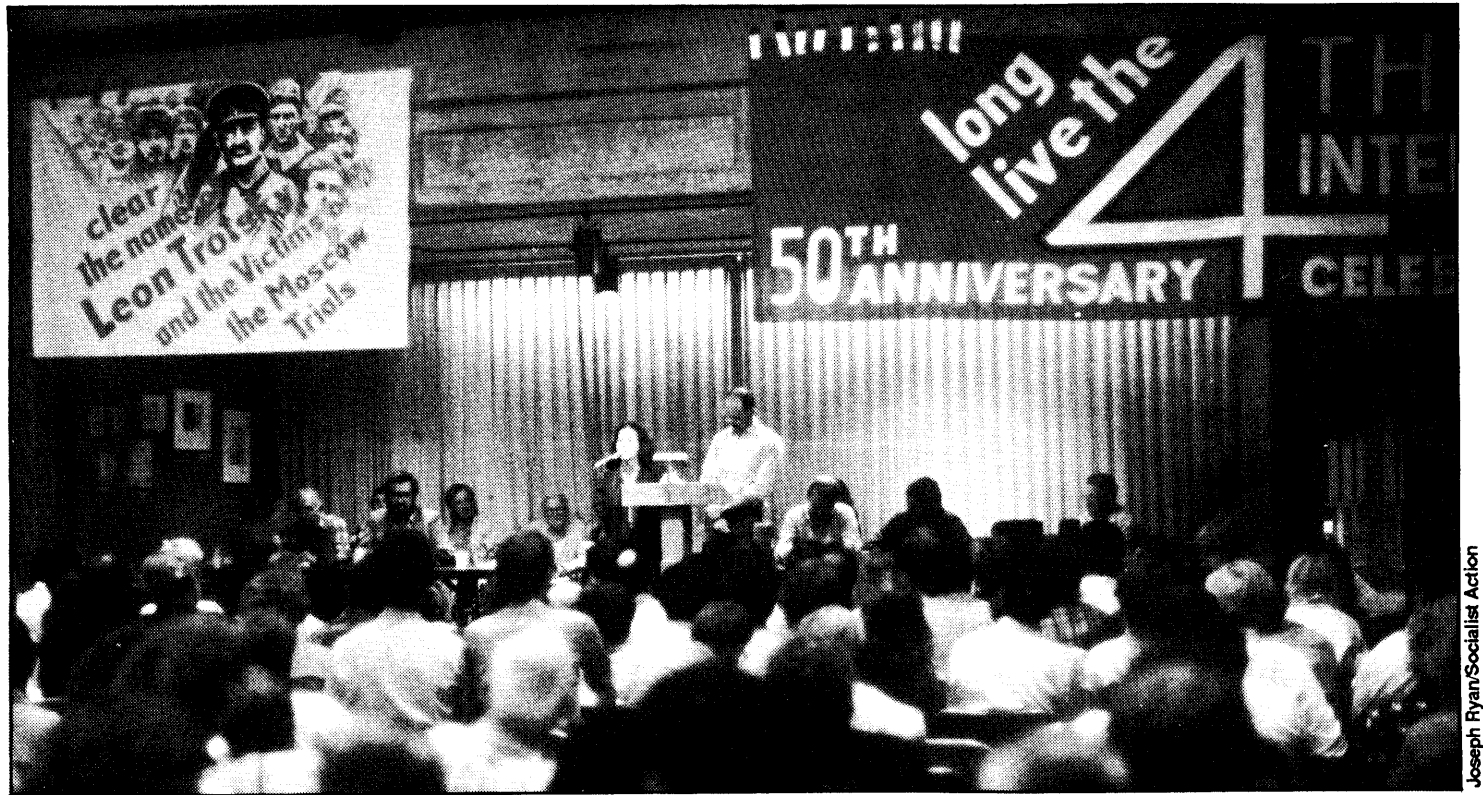
# Celebrating 50 years of the Fourth International

Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky and a group of supporters founded the Fourth International, a revolutionary party committed to the establishment of an international socialist society.

On Aug. 6, 1988, over 300 people gathered at the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco to hear leaders of the Fourth International and representatives from revolutionary movements throughout the world salute the 50 years of the Fourth International.

In this special 8-page supplement we are reprinting excerpts from all the speeches and greetings presented at this Socialist Action rally. In some cases, for reasons of space, the speeches and greetings have been considerably abridged.

This supplement also includes excerpts from an international report adopted by the Third National Convention of Socialist Action, which took place Aug. 4-7.—The Editors



Over 300 people gathered at the Aug. 6 Socialist Action rally to commemorate 50 years of the Fourth International.

## Jeff Mackler: 'The masses will rule in their own name'

Jeff Mackler is co-National Secretary of Socialist Action.

Leon Trotsky was driven from the country where he led the most powerful explosion of working class solidarity the world has ever seen. He was hounded and driven from nation to nation and finally assassinated by Stalin's agent in Mexico with a pickax through his brain.

Trotsky's co-thinkers who led the Russian Revolution were slaughtered. This includes virtually every member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party with the exception of Trotsky, who escaped and later was killed, and Stalin. Most of Trotsky's family was murdered.

And yet Trotsky's ideas survived. His

ideas are embodied in the program of the Fourth International, and they are alive today on every continent of the globe.

What are these ideas? What are the central ideas that bind the Fourth International today, that give it life, that make it the expression of the best aspirations of humankind?

Trotsky's idea, Lenin's idea, Marx's ideas, Engels's idea, was very simple. There is no more simple idea. It was that only the working class and the oppressed masses could liberate themselves from the chains of capitalist exploitation, racism, and oppression. No other class is capable of the liberation of all humanity.

That is the fundamental difference between revolutionary socialists today, on the one hand, and Stalin and all those who have followed him, including Gorbachev, who continue to preach the need for the oppressed to look to sectors of the ruling class for their liberation. This road has only led working people to bloody defeats.

Gorbachev is now posturing about rehabilitating some of those who died at the hands of Stalin and his heirs. But rehabilitation by the Stalinists means nothing because what was destroyed in the Soviet Union was not just a few names but the concept that was the very basis of the Russian Revolution: the concept that the working class should rule society, democratically, through its own organizations. That was the meaning of the word "soviets." The soviets were the first form of workers' rule.

Every time the masses rise, they give the lie to Stalinism and all its ideologues. When a single child hurls a stone at an Israeli oppressor in Gaza, the power of the oppressed, of the Palestinian people, goes far beyond the entire power of the Zionist, racist, colonial state of Israel.

The Palestinian youth had no guns, no planes, no tanks. Their country had been robbed from them with the help of imperialism and the vote of the Soviet Union. And they stood up against the mightiest military power, and they demonstrated to every person who loves freedom on this planet that their cause was just. Their cause is our cause.

When they told us that the Shah of Iran had the seventh most powerful army in the world, and that 60,000 Iranians were in his jails, and that nothing could stop him, four million workers in Tehran toppled that

regime in a second.

No, it wasn't the masses who were at fault in Iran, it was their leaders. It has not been the masses, since the day the Russian masses took power, who have been at fault. In every case, the crisis in a particular country has been the crisis of leadership of the working class and the oppressed.

That's the function of the Fourth International: to help resolve the crisis of leadership; to give expression to the power of the masses; to put forward the simple idea that we, the overwhelming majority, can rule this world in our own interest—that we will not kill ourselves from the "greenhouse effect" by destroying the environment, that we will not blow up the people of the world with nuclear war, that we will only be able to live together in a world without exploitation, racism, sex-

ism, national oppression, and oppression of gay people.

That's the program of the Fourth International. But this program can only be won by the oppressed themselves—not by the Democratic Party, not by Gorbachev and the "reformers," not by paper reforms, not by substituting one great leader for another—but by organizing the workers to build a revolutionary party and take the future into their own hands.

Trotsky's ideas live because the masses realize there is no other way out. That's why you're here with us tonight. That's why 20 comrades, founding members of the Fourth International, stood up to be recognized. Together they represent 1000 years of struggle. And they still believe the simple idea that the masses will rule in their own name.

## Charlie Van Gelderen:

### 'I was proud to be at that historic moment'

The following letter by Charlie Van Gelderen, a veteran South African Trotskyist, was read at the Aug. 6 rally.

Dear comrades,

As perhaps the only person still active in the ranks of the Fourth International who was present at that historic founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, I send you my warmest revolutionary greetings.

Throughout this half century, I have never doubted that, within the historical conjuncture of the time, we took the correct decision. The Third (Communist) International was dead—the victim of Stalin's policy of "socialism in one country."

In Germany, a heroic proletariat, betrayed by the leaderships of the Communist Party and the Social Democrats, was suffering under the jackboot of triumphant fascism. In Spain the civil war was drawing to an agonizing close, the sacrifices of the worker and peasant combatants not enough to overcome the misleadership of its traditional parties.

In the Soviet Union, scene of the first victorious proletarian revolution, the monstrous Moscow Trials were underway; the

leaders of October were being physically destroyed by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

It was in these conditions that, inspired by Leon Trotsky, the Fourth International once more unfurled the banner of revolutionary Marxism and proclaimed its faith in the ultimate victory of the international working class and announced a program which could meet the task of the day: the Transitional Program.

I was proud to be present on that historic occasion and I remain proud to still find myself in the ranks of the Fourth International.

Of those who were there with me, many are now dead; others proved too faint-hearted to withstand periods of retreat and defeat. Despite our still small numbers we can look back with pride on our achievements. The Fourth International and only the Fourth International has carried forward the red flag of revolutionary socialism unsullied to hand to the next generation who will surely carry it on to victory.

Long live the Fourth International, builder of the world party of the socialist revolution!



Jeff Mackler

Henry Snipper

# SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

ANNIVERSARY SUPPLEMENT 1



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

# Rosario Ibarra: 'We are fighting for revolutionary socialism'

Rosario Ibarra, a renowned human rights leader in Mexico, was the presidential candidate of the PRT, Mexican section of the Fourth International, in 1982 and 1988.

I first met members of the Fourth International in 1976. They were members of the Mexican Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT). I met them in the hunger strikes that we waged along with the families of the disappeared and political prisoners. I met them in the militant actions that we led at the plant gates. In every realm of struggle, they were there.

Later, as part of the international campaign to expose the tremendous violations of human rights of our people, I met members of the Fourth International elsewhere—in Europe, in Latin America, and especially here, in the belly of the beast, where it really counts.

Hearing comrade Jeff [Mackler] speak, I

found myself in great agreement with the words he expressed.

For me, the defense of human rights is also the struggle for women's rights, for the emancipation of women from oppression—especially in Mexico, a country where machismo is so rampant.

The comrades in the PRT focused their attention not on a young woman, but on an old woman like myself, to be their candidate. My being the PRT's presidential candidate [in 1982] was an historic moment in Mexico. It was historic because it was a victory to have a woman candidate for the left, for the PRT, in Mexico.

We have many points of agreement. As many of you know, I am not a member of the PRT or of the Fourth International. But I think that as long as we are rooted in the struggles of the oppressed, we will continue fighting side by side.

A major point of agreement between the PRT and me is that we both do not want any alliance with the bourgeoisie. We want to struggle consistently for democracy, for the independence of the working class, for socialist democracy, and it is precisely because of our principled position that a lot of pressure was put on us to line up behind the [1988] presidential candidacy of Cuauhtemoc Cardenas.

But it was precisely because we maintained our independence from Cardenas that we represented the only revolutionary socialist pole in the Mexican elections. We want the people to take the reins of government in their own hands. We want

the workers and the peasants to rule. We want "los de abajo," the downtrodden, to be the new masters of society—not only in Mexico, but throughout the world.

We were the only ones in the recent Mexican elections to say this—to say, "Yes we want to fight for revolutionary socialism." I am proud that everywhere we went we said that we were fighting for revolutionary socialism.

I want to talk about the current situation in my country. Cardenas, who represents a split within the ruling-class apparatus in Mexico, won the recent elections. We are convinced that he won the elections.

Cardenas is not a socialist. He is a nationalist. We want socialism. And because we want to fight for socialism, we must consistently struggle for democracy. It is for this reason that we created a limited alliance with Cardenas and with the right-wing National Action Party (PAN) to defend the vote.

Our time will come. But today we believe it is essential to consistently fight for the defense of that vote today.

We are the only ones who are struggling against the current. Many have said, "Don't go against the current." But it is because we are doing this that we feel so optimistic. We are optimists, just like Leon Trotsky was an optimist. He was a man who even under the most adverse conditions remained optimistic not only about the present but about the future of humanity.

It is because I am optimistic that I feel

so inspired by the work of the young Trotsky, who wrote:

"As long as there is life, there is hope. If I were one of the celestial bodies, I would look with complete detachment upon this miserable ball of dust and dirt. I would shine upon the good and evil alike. But I am a man.

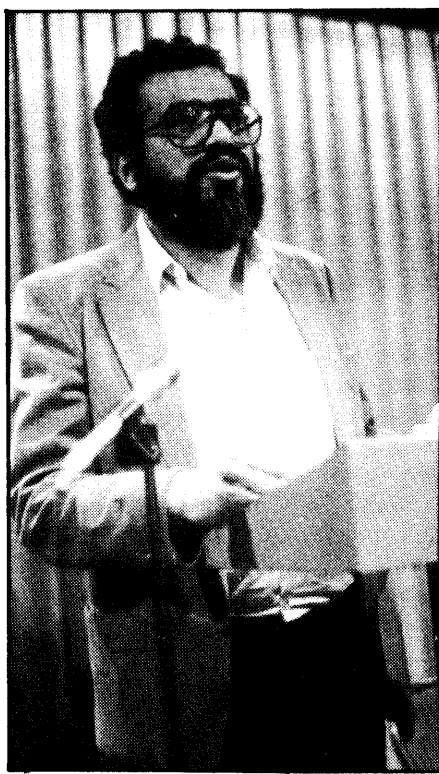
"World history, which to you, dispassionate gobble of science, to you, bookkeeper of eternity, seems only a negligible moment in the balance of time, is to me everything! As long as I breathe, I shall fight for the future, that radiant future in which humankind, strong and beautiful, will become the master of the drifting stream of history and will direct it toward the boundless horizon of beauty, joy, and happiness!"

These lines were written by the young Trotsky in 1901, when he was 22 years old. They remain a source of inspiration for us today. Just as Jeff said, the ideas of Trotsky have not only survived, but they will prevail.

Tonight, we have with us Trotsky's grandson. But even if Trotsky's grandson—or any other relative—were no longer with us, those very ideas would still prevail because they are right. They're the ideas of all those rebels who are struggling. They're the ideas of the Mexican revolutionary Ricardo Flores Magon, who died in jail in the United States.

As Jeff and the other comrades have said, the ideas of the Fourth International will prevail. Long live the Fourth International!

# Edgar Sanchez: 'The PRT actively opposes Mexico's Popular Front'



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

Edgar Sanchez is a member of the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International.

Comrades, we are celebrating not only the founding of the Fourth International, but the continuity and legitimacy of the program and the principles of our world party. Let me tell you how I feel about this continuity today in Mexico and about our contribution to that continuity.

We should remember that 50 years ago, when the Fourth International was founded, comrade Trotsky was in Mexico. He was given asylum by the Lazaro Cardenas

government—a populist, bourgeois regime.

The old Mexican Communist Party, and particularly Lombardo Toledano [a Stalinist union bureaucrat], organized demonstrations to demand that Trotsky be expelled from the country. The CP and Toledano were also responsible for tying the working class and the peasant movement to the bourgeoisie. It was the period of the Popular Front.

Because of this line, because of this betrayal of the working class, the bourgeoisie and its party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), won its famous stability for 30 years.

In the 1930s, no one opposed this line successfully in the mass movement. Of course comrade Trotsky was there. And he struggled against this line together with a relatively small group of Mexican comrades. But they weren't strong enough in the working class to change the course of events.

This situation didn't change until the 1968 student movement. A new situation was created. The old reformist, Stalinist ideas were defeated by the upsurge of the new movement. New left-wing and socialist organizations were created. Revolutionary organizations like ours were revitalized.

The youth repudiated the Communist Party and especially the line of Lombardo Toledano. Toledano and his party said that the '68 student movement was a bluff created by the CIA or by the Trotskyists—it was the same for them.

But Toledano didn't get the answer he used to get in the '30s. He himself died at the end of '68. Twenty years later, however, it seems Toledano came back for his revenge against the '68 generation. In this election, the party of Toledano and the absolute majority of the Mexican left are repeating the experience of the Popular

Front—this time behind another Cardenas. Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, the son of the general [Lazaro Cardenas], is the new populist bourgeois leader.

But now comrades—and this is the point I want to make—we are in a different situation. This is our contribution to the

continuity of the Fourth International

We in the PRT are a small but very active political party in opposition to the line of the Popular Front in Mexico. This is the difference. The situation created at the end of the '30s will not be repeated in Mexico. We are sure we are not going to have another 30 years of stability from the bourgeois regime in Mexico.

All those old times have been ended, and now there are more revolutionary organizations charting a correct way forward thanks to Rosario, thanks to the militants in the PRT, and thanks, of course, to the older generation in our movement who not only maintained their ideas, but their militancy and their activities. Long live the Fourth International!

2 Briefing (Z-1) \*\*\* San Francisco Chronicle Tuesday, August 23, 1988

**SPECIAL REPORT/MEXICO'S NEW POLITICS**

## PRI Victory Still Disputed

Opposition party candidate vows not to recognize elected president

BY ELIZABETH KIRKENDALL  
Special to The Chronicle

**T**he first woman presidential candidate in Mexico's history says that the momentum built up by the opposition parties in the July 8 election cannot be stopped.

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, candidate of the leftist Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) coalition, human rights advocate, two-time Nobel Prize nominee and, until the election last month, a deputy in the Mexican Congress, says that if the opposition remains firmly united the Institutional Revolutionary Party (IRI), which has ruled Mexico for almost 60 years, will have to deal with them.

Ibarra said that an official within the government told Cardenas that he won the election and that on July 16 at a "defend the vote" rally in the Zocalo (the main square in Mexico City) Cardenas had publicly announced that he "will make public the name of the person who informed him of this on December 1" when the congress convenes and the new president is officially received and delivers his traditional acceptance speech.

The opposition says it has documentation of election fraud from its own observers, who compiled data and tallied the vote.



Rosario Ibarra de Piedra  
Unidad Popular candidate

The phenomenon of Cardenas is total by new and different in Mexico. Ibarra

**'We are carrying out a number of joint activities to create a mass movement of the people to not recognize the government of Salinas de Gortari'**

— Rosario Ibarra

at the polling places independently from the government, and of intimidation and ballot stuffing from the labor unions and other organizations.

Why has this year's election been so different from the last elections? We are at the

and the people have followed him and lined up behind him because they think he represents change. I don't know if things will change or not. I am not a Cardenasist. I would have preferred to win myself," she said, throwing up her hands and laughing.

the defense of democracy. I have told Cardenas that if and when he becomes president I will become the most intransigent oppositionist to him," she added with a sparkle in her eye.

Another reason for the opposition strength, according to Ibarra, is that "the people are tired, they are fed up with the fraud, the cheating and the enormous debt. Just payment on the interest on the debt takes 30 cents of every dollar of the federal budget. This has meant cutbacks on all the social budget—education, housing, health. People who need to go to the doctor cannot. Housing, there is none. And unemployment is enormous!"

"I think, too—and this is very important—that the mentality of the people has changed. In 1982 when she first ran for president, the thing people most asked me to do, the verb that was most used, was 'help me.' My answer was 'I am not going to help you, you are going to help yourself along with me.' This year people say 'Rosario, we are going to do it together. You are on the right track Rosario.'"

All this has resulted in the growth of grassroots organizations to improve living conditions, in the growth of the opposition parties and smaller organizations and also in a greater participation of women in the political process.

Ibarra's own political career began after the kidnapping of her son, Jesus Piedra Ibarra, on April 18, 1975. She has had no word of him since and though it is...

In 1977, she founded the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, Fugitives, Exiles and Disappeared Persons, and in 1979 she was one of the leaders in the formation of the National Front Against Repression.

She is proud of the accomplishments of the committee for the "disappeared," but distressed that there is still much to do.

"This month we commemorate the anniversary of our first hunger strike through that strike we forced the government to decree an amnesty and 1500 political prisoners were freed," she said. "In 10 years we have been able to free 148 disappeared. We know of 547 more who are still detained. The government had never recognized that they held these people. Many told us they were freed to roam around on their own, but were threatened with further punishment if they told their stories."

A "number of political organizations took note of my work," and she was asked to be the presidential candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party in the 1982 election. She received enough votes to become a deputy in the Chamber of Deputies.

"I don't want you to get the impression that I have become egotistical," Ibarra said. "But I think that my candidacy in '82 was an important signal, a catalyst for women to take a more active role because they saw that a woman just like them could become involved, could run for office. They asked themselves, 'if she can do it, what can I

San Francisco Chronicle interview with Rosario Ibarra



Zbigniew Kowalewski is the author of "Give Us Back our Factories: Solidarnosc and the Struggle for Workers' Self-Management in Poland." He will be touring the United States this fall. See tour schedule on page 7.

I think it is necessary to remember that 50 years ago, at the very moment the Fourth International was being founded, thousands of partisans of revolutionary socialism and internationalism were being exterminated by the Stalinist terror apparatus in the concentration camps of Vorkuta.

I think it is useful to remember that 35 years ago, some months after the death of Stalin, in the camp of Vorkuta and in other concentration camps, tens of thousands of detainees waged a heroic strike that shook the Stalinist regime.

At about the same time, the working class of East Germany launched a general strike, a strike that was smashed by Soviet tanks.

Thirty-five years ago, the epoch of the anti-bureaucratic revolution began, as confirmed by the mass armed uprising of the Hungarian working class in 1956 and the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia in 1968, both of which were suppressed militarily by the Soviet Union.

But you remember what happened in Poland in 1980-81: a powerful uprising of

## Zbigniew Kowalewski: 'Polish workers fight for workers' power'

10 million Polish workers, self-organized in Solidarnosc, the first free trade union in the Soviet bloc. This movement, which was followed by farmers, students, and intellectuals, was able to wage giant mass struggles and factory occupations, to build the power of the workers' councils in the factories.

They were fighting for what the First National Congress of Solidarnosc called a "Self-Managed Republic"—that is, a state based upon socialized property and managed by the workers themselves with the fullest workers' and people's democracy.

Last April and May, 20,000 steel workers of Nowa Huta, supported by student masses in the city of Cracow and followed by the youngest workers of the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, raised the banner of the defense of the standard of living of the toilers, standards brutally attacked in the framework of the so-called

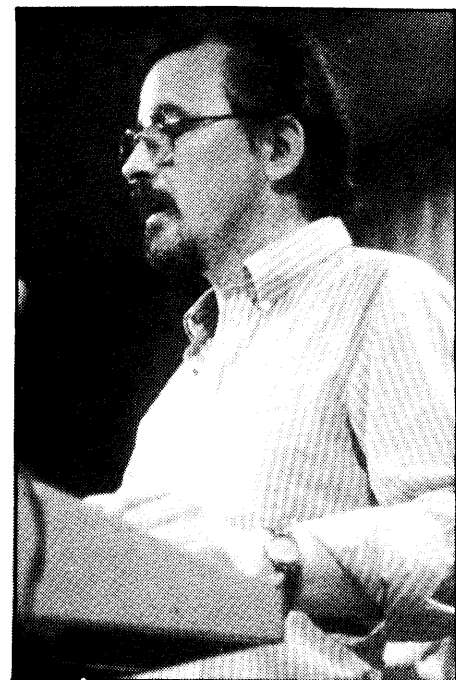
economic market reforms of the Jaruzelski regime.

A new generation of radical workers and students is emerging in Poland, struggling under the banner of Solidarnosc for bread, union freedom, and political democracy. On the basis of the radicalization of this young generation, a first independent class-struggle workers' party, the Polish Socialist Party (PSP), has been formed.

The PSP aspires to be a political party of free unionists, of Solidarnosc activists, who fight for socialism against the anti-working class, anti-socialist power of the bureaucracy.

Be confident in the Polish working class and youth! Today they are fighting for a sliding scale of wages and union freedom. Tomorrow they will be fighting for workers' and people's power!

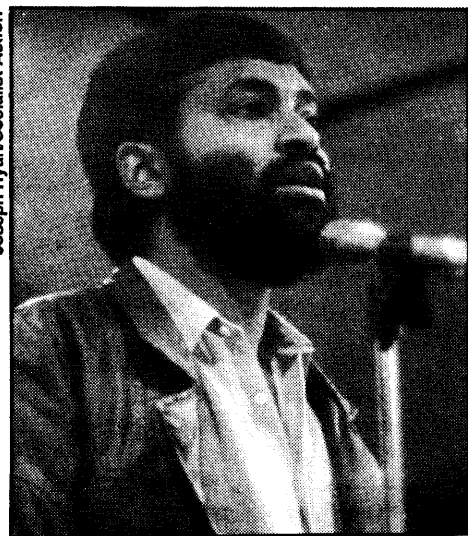
And they will be joined by the masses from other Eastern European countries and



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

from the Soviet Union itself. They will be joined by the people of Soviet Armenia, who are fighting for national freedom.

With international socialist support, the Polish, Eastern European, and Soviet workers will overthrow and destroy Stalinism. And be sure, this will occur long before the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Fourth International!



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

Saths Cooper is the former president of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) and the current chairman of the National Forum of South Africa. He was a close associate of Steve Biko.

## Saths Cooper: 'We can't overcome apartheid alone'

I greet you in the name of our common struggle. The struggle that I come from is not restricted merely to what has become internationally notorious as apartheid. Apartheid is a local phenomenon.

The ongoing struggle in South Africa is a tribute to the remarkable resilience of the human spirit. It's a tribute to a people who, despite the obstacles, despite the repression, despite the exploitation, have persevered.

This people, often alone, often in the bleakest moments of struggle, often ask themselves, "If a Black president, a Nelson Mandela, were sitting in Pretoria, and

thousands of white young people were being killed, would the rest of the world stand by and make pious statements about the horror of apartheid but do little else beyond that?" The answer that comes back is a very resounding "No."

Because this peculiar feature of apartheid, this form of racism present in my country, is not a phenomenon restricted there. Racism is alive and well in many parts of the world—and particularly here in the good old USA.

That racism called apartheid in my country is fueled by the national bour-

geoisie with capitalist exploitation. It is maintained through the imperialist connections in Bonn, London, Paris, and Washington.

The greatest support that can be given to my people is to engage the imperialist beast where it exists—not merely by doing support work, which is important, but by going beyond. It is necessary to actually engage the imperialists in their own territory.

It is not good enough for us to merely continue being in struggles, to pass good revolutionary, solidarity resolutions, and to do back-up support work. There needs to be an integral involvement in our struggle because apartheid is not something we alone in South Africa have to overcome.

We will only be able to successfully overcome apartheid, its capitalist exploitation, when imperialism has been dealt a death blow. And that is the challenge for all of us who have come to be in struggle wherever we may be.

Claudio Mangani represented the United Secretariat of the Fourth International at the Aug. 6 rally.

Comrades, the Fourth International was founded 50 years ago. But the fight to build the Fourth International started even before, in the early 1930s.

Two dramatic events led Trotsky to conclude that it was necessary to launch the Fourth International. One was the victory of the bureaucracy in Soviet Russia; the

## Greetings from F.I.

other was the defeat of the German working class and the rise of Hitler's Nazi regime in 1933. The effects of these two big tragedies, of these two working-class defeats, have not yet been overcome.

Today what is happening in the Soviet Union is a complete vindication of the

ideas and struggle of the Trotskyist movement. Of course, the bureaucracy will try to maneuver. We have no illusion that the fight of the Russian proletariat will be an easy one.

Comrades have mentioned the recent struggle in Poland. But in Poland, the workers were unable to succeed in overthrowing the bureaucracy because they didn't build a revolutionary party. In the Soviet Union, as well, if the working class does not succeed in building a revolutionary

party in time, it will be impossible to carry out the political revolution.

Our movement exists in 50 countries of the world, and we are struggling. The parties of the Fourth International are combat parties. The Fourth International is a combat organization.

The Fourth International was founded by the generation of the 1930s. The struggle to build the Fourth International is being continued today by a new generation. Just last week 700 youth from around the world came together at the summer camp of the Fourth International in France. This is the new generation that will guarantee the continuity of the Fourth International.

## Evelyn Martinez: 'Thanks for your support'



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

Evelyn Martinez, an award-winning Nicaraguan actress who works for Radio Sandino and the Asociacion Sandinista de Trabajadores de la Cultura (ASTC), was the

West Coast coordinator of the National Network in Solidarity with Nicaragua before returning to her country.

In spite of the U.S.-financed war, our people are creating, our artists are entertaining our combatants. This has helped us to resist the incredible aggression by the United States.

And our art always has a political role. We want to keep people informed about what is happening and helping them clarify the issues—through humor and drama. This was done primarily until 1985 through Radio Sandino. We put on two plays about Eden Pastora, for example, and about the elections under the Somoza dictatorship.

This year we held the first national video festival. This is an important tool to counter the disinformation that is spread about Nicaragua in this country. I want to end by thanking Socialist Action for its support to our struggle. Together we will win.

## Greetings from Britain

David Hudson represented the International Socialist Group, British affiliate of the Fourth International, at the Aug. 6 rally.

I bring you greetings from the International Socialist Group of Britain. We are a small organization, but we are building an organization that is committed to the program of the Fourth International.

I think it is very fitting that this platform includes comrades from many key areas of the world revolution today. It is the method of the Fourth International to extend unconditional support and build active solidarity with all national-liberation, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist

struggles throughout the world.

But we are not just cheerleaders of the revolution as it develops in the different sectors of the world revolution. We also have a program, and as genuine internationalists we engage in dialogue and a discussion around this program with these forces in order to build a genuine, mass revolutionary international. That is our task.

Britain today is not the center of the international class struggle, but it is still a major imperialist power, and Trotskyists in Britain well understand the responsibility we have to the struggle of the comrades in South Africa. We also have a special responsibility to the nationalist struggle in Northern Ireland.

August 1988-89 is a year of action in Britain. It marks the 20th anniversary of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland and of the sending in of the British troops. We are engaged in assembling a new withdrawal alliance based in the labor movement.



# 'Justice demands that Leon Trotsky be restored to his rightful place in the history of the Soviet Union'

By ESTEBAN VOLKOV

(The following speech was delivered at the Aug. 6 rally in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Fourth International. Esteban Volkov is Leon Trotsky's grandson.)

Human labor is the basis of our survival and progress. It produces almost all the goods that surround us. From very old times, it has been a cherished booty.

In almost all societies known by history, there have been individuals, groups, or parasitical classes that through strength, power, or cunning have been able to get hold of other people's labor. With the advent of capitalism and the growth of population, the appropriation of human labor in the form of surplus value became more sophisticated and widely extended.

In the present world, the development of

modern capitalism, with its ruthless financial imperialism, has widened the gap between the poorest, most vulnerable, larger sectors of population of the world and smaller groups of people who are accumulating inconceivable amounts of riches and power.

And we also have the development of the stratified societies of bureaucratic dictatorships, where on a lesser scale, you can still find great inequalities between the working classes and the power groups.

It is a universal law that every action provokes a reaction. The unfair and heartless exploitation of huge masses of people in the dreary and unhealthy factories of the rising capitalism of the last century gave birth to the response of Marxism. Capitalism, with its more sophisticated form of slavery—without lash or chain, but with the specter of hunger for the worker and his family—was nonetheless cruel.

Marxism, the human response to this cruelty, was undertaken by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, brilliant revolutionary thinkers with an inviolable sense of justice. They deciphered the dynamics of history, creating a rational and scientific methodology: historic materialism.

They thoroughly studied the capitalist system, discovering its laws and its unavoidable contradictions. They dedicated their lives to the goal of erradicating forever the exploitation of the working class by parasitic minorities holding power and capital.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, creators of scientific socialism, or Marxist theory, provided the working class and other exploited classes with a powerful ideological weapon to struggle against all forms of exploitation, oppression, and alienation suffered in present society.

Marxism is not a crystal ball nor a magic

wand. We don't have any MacGraw Hill book on "How to Perform a Successful Revolution." Marxism constitutes an essential analytical method of economic, political, and social phenomena and a basic tool for any revolutionary process.

One doesn't need to be a great strategist to understand the reason for more than a century of constant attacks and distortions against the so-called obsolete ideology of Marxism and for the persecution and extermination of many of its defenders and revolutionary leaders.

The exploited masses, according to the ruling minorities, must be kept away from dangerous ideas and loyal guides. This seems to be the simplest way to try to preserve the happy world of the fortunate minorities at the top of the social pyramid.

## Enemies within own ranks

Those who have damaged Marxism most, however, those who have most hampered the struggle of the oppressed, have been the disguised enemies coming from its own ranks. They have been able to confuse, mislead, and distract the oppressed working classes from their revolutionary goals.

As the ship of socialism had in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels its two greatest designers and constructors, it also had two expert captains, V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, to direct it across the foggy sea of conciliations, class collaboration, and reformism of the social democracy. They were able to direct the craft toward its true revolutionary road, arriving successfully at its port in October 1917 in Russia with its first triumphant revolution.

The revolutionary euphoria didn't last long. Ten years after the glorious October 1917, began the greatest betrayals and distortions of the Marxist principles of internationalism and proletarian dictatorship expressed in workers' democracy, disintegration of the oppressive state, and abolition of human exploitation.

These betrayals and distortions were brought about by the Stalinist counter-revolution, which consolidated itself during the lowering of the revolutionary tide of the exhausted and depoliticized masses in the context of the terrible scarcities and isolation of the Soviet Union. The cruel and bloody Czarist dictatorship of ancient Russia showed its repulsive face during the Stalinist dictatorship and its new court of ambitious mercenaries.



Leon Trotsky

bloody GPU [Stalin's secret police]. It constantly established treaties with the working-class enemies, aborting many revolutionary movements and facilitating the road for the triumph of Nazism and the Second World War.

The wounds bestowed upon the revolutionary Marxist Leninist vanguard and the exploited masses of mankind were too severe and painful. Because of this, many regimes of exploitation consolidated themselves for long periods of time, and the coming forth of a true socialism was postponed in the world.

The oppressed classes and their revolutionary vanguard had many ruthless visible enemies and others hiding inside their ranks. Fortunately, though, they also had men and women of great minds and of unusual heroism and dedication who gave their whole minds, their creative energy, and even their lives for the struggle for the abolition of exploitation.

## Indomitable revolutionary

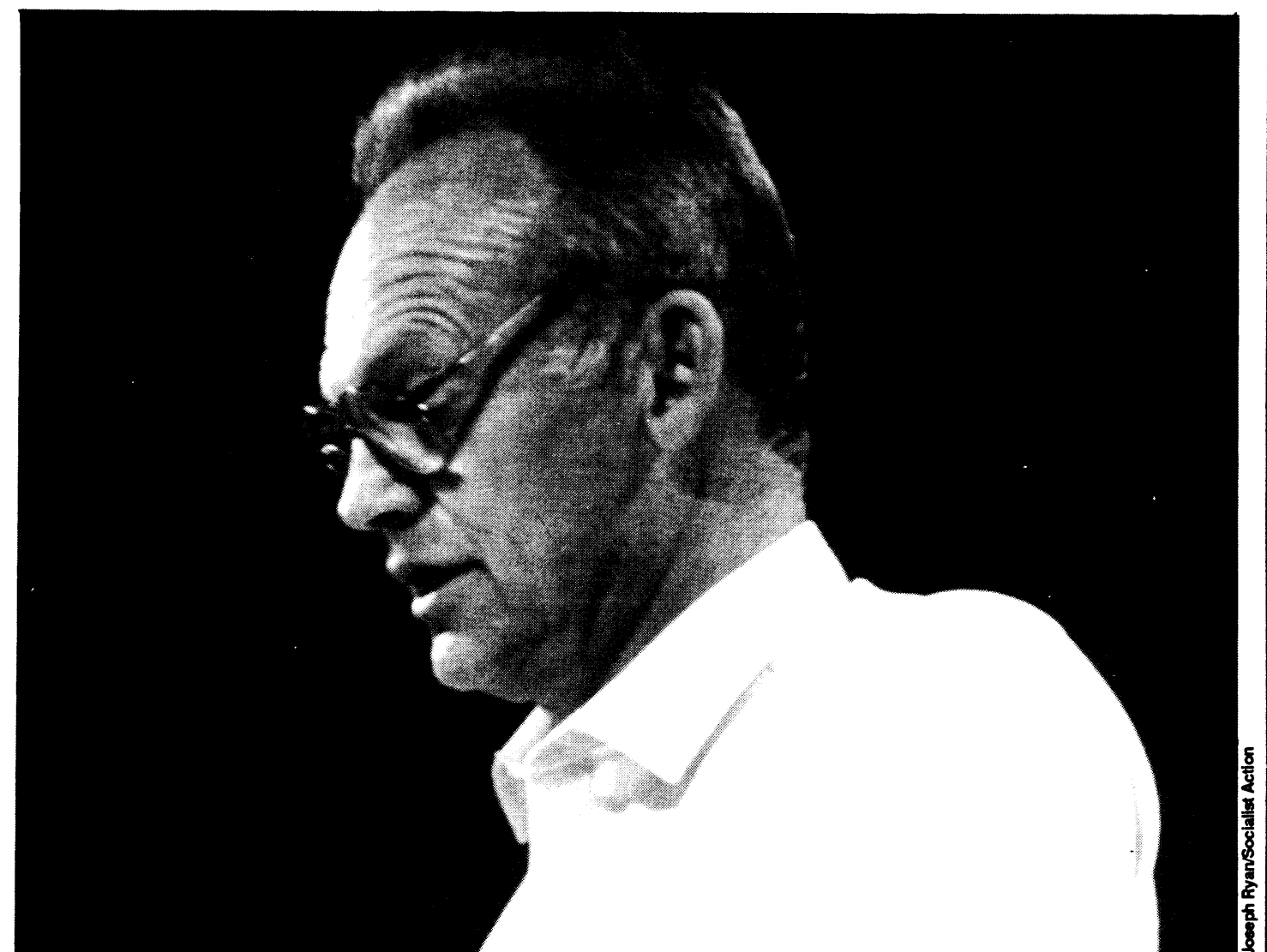
Leon Trotsky, indomitable revolutionary, great Marxist theoretician, close friend in struggle of Lenin and key element for the triumph of the Soviet Revolution, was one of these men.

His dedication, absolute loyalty to the socialist cause, mixed with his lucid and deep Marxist appreciation of his historical milieu, made him one of the first to understand in its whole severity the Stalinist bureaucratic counterrevolution; that is, the gradual transformation of the true Bolshevik Party, creator of the revolution, into a gigantic and obedient bureaucratic apparatus unconditionally under the orders of Stalin.

In 1923, Trotsky organized the Left Opposition along with other loyal and vigorous revolutionaries. He started the heroic struggle inside the party to restore the true Marxism Leninism, which was the ideological basis for the October insurrection, in defense of the exploited people.

Trotsky tried to save the Russian Revolution from its total distortion and deviation, but the counterrevolution was irresistible, and the Left Opposition, which wielded a difficult and heroic struggle, was ruthlessly repressed. It went underground, and its leaders were sent to Siberia in 1928 and expelled from Russia in 1929.

While Marx studied capitalism from all



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

**'The only other alternative before us is a socio-economic system in which humankind can master its own destiny...'**

—Esteban Volkov

its angles, disguises, and contradictions, Leon Trotsky studied the Stalinist bureaucracy exhaustively with a Marxist methodology in its morphology and physiology. Half a century later, it is almost impossible to modify his rigorous analysis and concepts of the Stalinist Bonapartism. Today Stalinism can hardly fool even a small child.

## Trotsky's most important task

In 1933, Trotsky considered it to be a lost cause to try to straighten the wayward roads of the Third International, which had definitively exchanged Marxism for pragmatism and opportunism and had totally abandoned and betrayed the working class.

Leon Trotsky gave himself to what he considered the most important task of his life: the creation of the Fourth International. This was a task which culminated in 1938, two years before he was assassinated.

Trotsky considered essential the creation of a new proletarian vanguard that could bravely wield the banner of Marxism Leninism and that could be prepared to take action in history. From the time of the Left Opposition, and then later in the Fourth International, Trotskyists have always been in the front lines of the fight against oppression.

Trotskyism is today the main crucible of Marxist thought and action in modern history.

I am moved by a deep emotion, by the fact that at this moment we have here

among us comrades, companions in struggle of Leon Trotsky and James P. Cannon, the pillars of the Trotskyist movement in the United States. They are for all of us and for the new generation a living example of courage, of full confidence in Marxism, and absolute loyalty to the working classes.

I want to convey my profound admiration and respect to all of them.

The duty of the new generation of revolutionary Marxists will be to retake the banner of the fallen in order to continue with the fight for socialism and reach it. In the words of Leon Trotsky: "Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression, and violence and enjoy it to the full."

## Clear Trotsky's name!

I would like to conclude my talk by taking up another subject: the question of the rehabilitations in the Soviet Union today.

If Gorbachev's *glasnost* [openness] is to have some credibility, it is vital that there should be no forbidden areas. Leon Trotsky must be now be rid of all the avalanche of false accusations, lies, slanders, and falsifications which have been leveled at him and his ideas in the Soviet Union and the other deformed workers' states for more than half a century.

Justice strictly demands that Trotsky be restored to his rightful place in the history of the Soviet Union. His works, writings, and political theses must be published,

freely discussed, and objectively evaluated, as must the writings of all the others who played a role in the Russian Revolution.

The analysis and basic ideas of Marxism have in no way lost their applicability. Capitalist society has been able to generate a wealth of knowledge and scientific development. Yet it has not found—nor will it ever find—a formula to eradicate hunger, misery, and injustice from our planet. On the contrary, it has placed the human race on the edge of an infernal atomic conflagration.

The only other alternative before us is a socio-economic system in which humankind can master its own destiny and is not just an object to be used and discarded.

Real socialism or barbarism, that is our dilemma.

I would like to end up with these words: I had a very difficult childhood, very lonely and full of suffering. But today, after more than half a century, I feel like a privileged human being. I had one of the most interesting and passionate lives to have been an actor and witness to one of the most important historical moments in contemporary history.

I feel that, in a way, I am a very lucky human being to be able to see, after these 50 years of absolute darkness, a change underway in history. I feel we are starting to see some light. Today I see closer the possibility of the advent of socialism. ■

A-2 Monday, August 8, 1988 ★★

## San Francisco Examiner

### Trotsky grandson watched history unfold

By Norman Melnick  
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

The grandson of Leon Trotsky, in town to support efforts to clear Trotsky's name, was present for a momentous piece of history — his grandfather's assassination.

Vsevolod ("Seva" for short) Volkov said in an interview with The Examiner that as Trotsky's 14-year-old grandson he saw the scene on Aug. 20, 1940, through a crack in the dining room door. He was not permitted in the room.

"Keep Seva away. He shouldn't see this," said the dying Trotsky, lying on the dining room floor with an inch-deep head wound sustained when an assassin struck him with an ice ax.

There is revived interest now in Trotsky, a key figure in the Russian Revolution, an intellectual giant and a brilliant speaker and writer who was also the leader of the Red Army.

In Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union, talk is rife that the Kremlin may "rehabilitate" Trotsky, cleanse his name of the evils charged to him by the tyrant Stalin, who forced him into exile in 1929 and then, as historians believe, had him murdered in Mexico.

The main newspaper of the Soviet Young Communists League has stated that Trotsky "was neither a spy nor a murderer" and was not guilty of any crimes. While his political views are still unacceptable, this important newspaper said, they should be published as part of the historical record.

Such comments are viewed as a possible signal that Trotsky's legal rehabilitation is forthcoming. Of those smeared by Stalin, the most prominent was Trotsky.

Already such stalwart Bolshevik figures as Nikolai Bukharin, Lev Kamenev and Grigory Zinoviev have been cleared of Stalinist crimes, though none has been restored to political grace.

But on that fateful day in 1940, the young Volkov had just returned from school to the guarded, fortress-like Trotsky home outside Mexico City.

"I knew something was wrong, so many policemen, so many people. My grandfather, on the floor, was surrounded by Natalia (his second wife) and by family and comrades. He was still able to talk. He said, 'Don't kill Jackson (the assassin). He has to talk,' and after that he told Natalia to keep me away. Then the ambulance came, he was taken away and the next day he died."

Volkov, whose unpronounceable Russian first name later was



VOLKOV LIVED WITH HIS GRANDFATHER IN MEXICO CITY. As a child, he saw aftermath of an assassin's attack on Trotsky

changed by his Mexican foster parents to Esteban (Steven), has matter-of-factly recalled that scene many times in recent months. As the most accessible of Trotsky's survivors, he has become a celebrity. He has spoken in New York, Mexico City, London (by telephone) and elsewhere, and he spoke Saturday night at a Socialist Action program in San Francisco. He has been pursued by the media, including Soviet correspondents.

In Mexico City, where he lives, Volkov is a chemist. Until recently he did not participate in politics. He honored the memory of his grandfather without the political trappings. At 82 he is a grandfather himself, lean and rawboned.

He came into prominence on a fabricated story, he said. A Paris magazine reported last November that he had been invited to Moscow for the 70th anniversary celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The story produced calls from

correspondents all over the world, Volkov said. "I had to tell them there was no official confirmation ... that the story was invented."

But his quiet, uneventful life had been shattered. As his grandfather's chief defender — "a duty I feel deeply" — he appears at meetings and rallies, focusing on Trotsky but also asking "rehabilitation" for all of Stalin's victims.

"Now, after so many years of darkness, after so many lies, distortions and falsifications about my grandfather, finally it seems a window is opening," he said. "We are very expectant."

He called himself a non-practicing Socialist.

"I agree with the ideals of socialism and I think Marxism is the only rational and scientific method for social change. I would say there is no other social technology available," he said.

He shook his head in dispute with historical accounts that depict

Trotsky as harsh and authoritarian. "He was a very warm and friendly person," Volkov said. "Of course, in the field of politics, he was very tough, very demanding. He was one of the greatest Marxists, on the same level with Engels and Lenin."

To a 13-year-old boy, life in the high-walled Trotsky home was exciting. The visitors' list was long and impressive. Comrades came "from around the world," Volkov said.

But he valued most the trips he made with his grandfather to cactus fields outside Mexico City. Trotsky, the social activist, the visionary, loved cactus. Volkov recalled that his grandfather carried heavy loads of the plants back with him, refusing aid from younger men. He believed that all work had to be shared, Volkov said.

**'I think Marxism is the only rational and scientific method for social change'**

—Vsevolod Volkov

Volkov first lived with his grandfather in Turkey in 1931. The next year, when he was 6, he was declared a "stateless" person by the Stalin regime. His mother, suffering from tuberculosis and unstable emotionally, killed herself.

The young Volkov was packed off to Berlin, then Vienna and finally to Paris to live with Trotsky's son, Lev Sedov. When Sedov died mysteriously after an appendix operation, his young charge went to live with his grandfather in Mexico.

In that year, 1936, the Trotsky residence was attacked by would-be assassins attired in military uniforms. Volkov, hiding under his bed, suffered a superficial wound. Trotsky and his wife were unharmed. Afterward the old Bolshevik joked about getting up each day to find that he was still alive. A year later he was murdered.

In Isaac Deutscher's classic trilogy on Trotsky, there is a photograph of the 13-year-old Volkov with his grandfather and Natalia in their Mexican rock garden. Behind his tortoise-shell glasses, Trotsky appears lost in thought as befits a deep thinker.

But Volkov said his grandfather was not preoccupied and could be interrupted — but never when he was working. "He was very emphatic: you had to be respectful of his work."

Lenin once said that the great revolutionaries, after death, are frequently transformed into harmless icons, canonized by the oppressors to cheat the oppressed masses, castrating their ideas and destroying their revolutionary cutting edge. This became especially true in his own case at the hands of the Stalinist counter-revolution. To the innumerable distortions and falsifications of the Marxist-Leninist ideals, one has to add the endless list of betrayals and crimes.

## No justification before history

The pain and suffering brought upon hundreds of millions of Soviet citizens by the backwardness in which they lived for more than half a century and by the stupid enclosure in a schizophrenic world of total misinformation, saturated with lies and monstrous repression brought about by the bloody bureaucratic dictatorship, cannot, nor will ever have a justification before history. Nor will the authors of such aberrations obtain forgiveness.

The Stalinist counterrevolution dedicated itself to the extermination of the revolutionary vanguard of the working classes mainly inside the Soviet Union, and on a smaller scale outside its borders through its satellite parties and the executioners and



# Stalinism yesterday and today: An agent for world imperialism

By ALAN BENJAMIN

(The following are excerpts from the international report adopted by the Third National Convention of Socialist Action on Aug. 4, 1988.)

Fifty years ago this month, in August 1938, Leon Trotsky and a small group of supporters founded the Fourth International.

There were many at the time who were members or partisans of Trotsky's international Left Opposition who opposed the launching of the Fourth International. Isaac Deutscher, Trotsky's biographer, was one of them.

Deutscher said it was folly for such a small group of cadre to take on such an immense task. He said the Fourth International would be born from the defeats of the

document of the Fourth International. It condenses the essence of the revolutionary socialist program in our epoch, the epoch of the death agony of capitalism.

The basic ideas and principles contained in the "Transitional Program" remain as timely and as essential to guide our political activity as they were when they were drafted 50 years ago.

Countless present-day examples could be given to demonstrate the relevance of our program today. I'd like to examine just one basic idea from our program—our historic position on the counterrevolutionary character of Stalinism—to demonstrate this point.

In the "Transitional Program," Trotsky wrote:

"The USSR thus embodies terrific contradictions. But it still remains a

traveled to Great Britain, where he openly expressed his admiration for the British prime minister's free-market orientation.

Numerous newspaper articles took advantage of Grosz's U.S. visit to hail the new innovative steps taken by the Hungarian bureaucracy in recent years. The reports reveal the following:

- "In September, Hungary will adopt a new 'law of associations' that will permit foreigners to buy shares in Hungarian businesses, or even whole companies. Next year, the Budapest stock exchange will reopen for the first time in more than 40 years. The Hungarian constitution is also undergoing extensive revision." (*New York Times*, July 31)

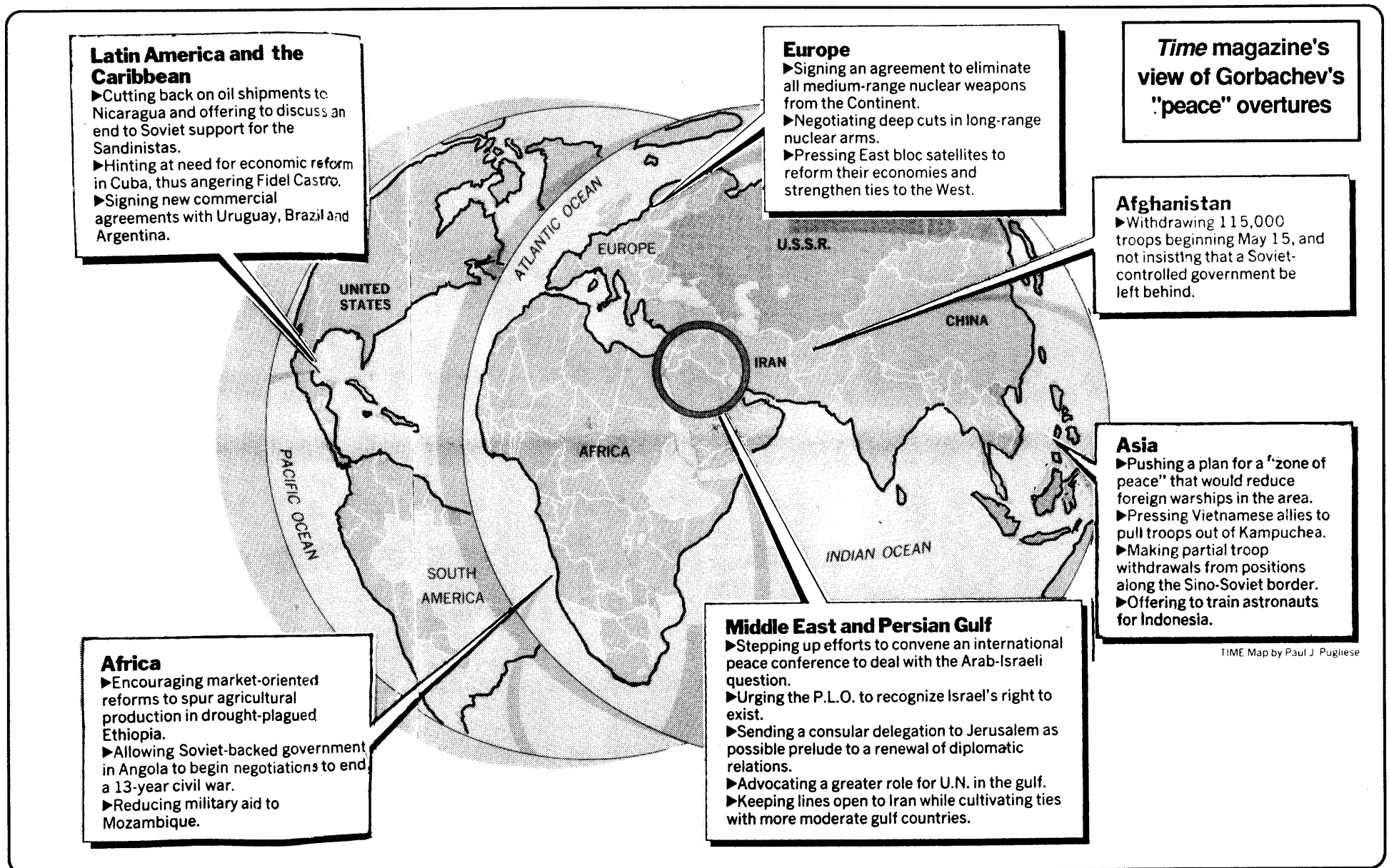
- "Hungary is already far ahead of the Communist Bloc in economic innovation. It has an actively functioning bankruptcy

garians are living beneath the subsistence level. Hungarian families cannot make ends meet with their dwindling incomes. Of the roughly 5 million wage earners, about 4 million have to work a second job. The average workday has been stretched to between 12 and 14 hours.

## Capitalist restoration?

Don't all these measures represent the gradual introduction of capitalist market mechanisms and forms? Of course they do. This does not mean, however, that quantity will gradually turn into quality—that is, the bureaucracy will continue its market reforms to the point where, one day, a new capitalist state will have been created.

To restore capitalism, and not just undermine the workers' state through capitalist mechanisms, the bureaucracy



revolutionary movements of the 1930s, and would therefore be unable to coalesce and inspire the new wave of radicalizing workers and youth.

Trotsky and his supporters—comrades like James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism—strongly disagreed with the faint-hearts.

Trotsky said the most important task of his entire political life—more important than leading the Russian workers to power in 1917, or building the Red Army, or founding the Third International—was transmitting the legacy of revolutionary Marxism that had been broken by the Stalinization of the communist movement.

Trotsky and the founders of the Fourth International firmly believed that the only hope for the future of humanity—the only hope that capitalist wars, exploitation, and barbarism could be stopped once and for all—was to build a new revolutionary international party to ensure the programmatic continuity of Marxism, of Leninism, of Bolshevism.

What is often referred to as "Trotskyism" is nothing other than the continuity of Marxism, of Leninism, today.

The "Transitional Program," drafted by Trotsky in 1938, is the basic programmatic

degenerated workers' state. Such is the social prognosis. The political prognosis has an alternative character: Either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers' state, will overthrow the new forms of property and plunge the country back to capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism."

Trotsky here pointed to the role of the bureaucracy as the transmission belt of imperialism in the workers' state. He noted the bureaucracy's historic tendency to seek the restoration of capital as its solution to the economic crisis caused by its own bureaucratic mismanagement and despotism.

## The example of Hungary

Let us examine the most advanced model of *perestroika*, or economic restructuring, taking place in the Eastern European workers' states today—the case of Hungary. Gorbachev himself has pointed to Hungary as the model he hopes to emulate in the Soviet Union.

Hungary's new prime minister, Karoly Grosz, was in the United States in early August to learn about the so-called virtues of the free-enterprise system. He had earlier

law, established well ahead of its Communist neighbors. A banking system has been established to compete with what was once a state banking monopoly. A small bond market is flourishing." (*Los Angeles Times*, May 25)

- "In 1982, Hungary was the second Comecon [Soviet economic bloc] country to join the International Monetary Fund. In joining, it adopted one of its notorious adjustment programs, which was designed to reduce demand throughout the economy by restrictive tax, wage, and interest policy, and by further compressing state investment.

"Price reform was instituted to let world prices operate also in the domestic economy. In 1986, another law was passed that provided for closing plants and introducing unemployment." (*International Viewpoint*, July 25)

- "Within the next 18 months, 100,000 Hungarian workers, or 2 percent of the active population, will be officially unemployed." (*Libération*, July 14, 1988.) Other sources estimate the number of unemployed at 200,000.

As a result of these *perestroika* reforms, the standard of living of the Hungarian workers has nosedived. A million Hun-

must defeat the working class in major class battles. At the same time, not all wings of the bureaucracy are willing to go as far down the path of capitalist restoration as others. Their own material interests are attached to the preservation of the bureaucratized workers' states.

At this level, we can expect more rifts and conflicts within the Stalinist bureaucracies. The path to capitalist restoration is therefore not automatic or without contradictions.

## Hungarian workers resist

The Hungarian workers, for their part, are not taking these attacks lying down.

On March 15, 1987, over 3000 people marched in the streets of Budapest in a commemoration of the defeated Hungarian revolution of 1848. This is how a Hungarian dissident described the march in an open letter published in France:

"Dear friends,  
"This year's March 15 commemoration represents an event of great significance. This year, the workers who have been laid off as a result of the economic reforms of the past five years, the youth, and all layers of the population who have been hard hit

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by the increased cost of living, protested openly in the streets for four days. They carried with them the ideals of 1848 and of the revolution of the workers' councils of 1956."

This reference to the "soviet" forms of organization—the workers' councils which sprang up throughout Hungary in 1956—is a sign that the workers in these states are renewing the traditions of the October revolution of 1917 in their struggle against the entrenched bureaucracies.

In Poland, the failure of the Jaruzelski bureaucracy to win popular support for its economic "reforms" and its failure to crush Solidarity is another indication of the depth of the movement for political revolution.

The struggle for political revolution is the struggle to defend the gains of the October revolution: nationalized property and the planned economy. It is the struggle to sweep away the rotten bureaucracy and revive the soviets as the fundamental decision-making bodies of the workers' state.

#### The Soviet Union today

Let us now look at what has been going on in the Soviet Union in recent months.

Take the recent 19th special conference of the Soviet Communist Party. Here it was made clear that what the Soviet masses mean by *glasnost* (or openness) is not the same thing as what the Gorbachev reformers mean.

Leading up to the conference, during the weeks of electing delegates, many Gorbachev reformers were kept off the lists by the so-called hardliners. In various cities, these reformers appealed to the masses to put pressure on the party officials to allow them to be delegates to the conference.

In the cities of Omsk, Sakhalin, Kuybyshev, and Yaroslavl, mass demonstrations of up to 10,000 people took place. But in most cases, these protests demanded more than the annulment of the mandates of the "hardline" delegates. They also called for the removal of despised party officials, the legalization of independent unions and political organizations, and an end to the monopoly on political power by the ruling bureaucracy.

On June 25, on the eve of the party conference, 1000 people held an authorized rally to demand a memorial monument in honor of the victims of Stalinist repression. The group which called the demonstration, Dynamo, had gathered 43,000 signatures on their petition. [This demand was ultimately met by the party conference.]

The following resolution was adopted by acclamation by the rally participants:

"The participants at this meeting address themselves to the Soviet Supreme Court to ask for the rehabilitation of all those who were persecuted for the political views, regardless of when they were convicted."

The resolution went on to call for the release of political prisoners under Gorbachev: "We also call for the release of all current political prisoners, that is, of all those who were convicted for expressing their political beliefs without committing acts of violence or calling on others to commit them."

Many of the rally speakers, such as writer Oleg Volkov, in line with the resolution, stated, "We should not limit our discussion to the repression under Stalin."

These demands, which hit at the very heart of bureaucratic rule, went far beyond the limits set by the Gorbachev wing of the bureaucracy. The specter of these movements moving in an increasingly independent direction is constantly raised by the party hardliners to warn Gorbachev against offering too many democratic openings.

And the hardliners and the Gorbachev reformers have reason to fear that the openings will be broken wide open by the Soviet masses. Over the past three years there has been a proliferation of independent socialist clubs and movements, some of which have actually called for the legalization of all socialist parties and formations, a demand which has been categorically rejected by both wings of the bureaucracy.

At the same time, the bureaucracy is becoming acutely aware of the fact that the Soviet workers are not going along with the economic reforms. There have been strikes against wage cuts and the



Gorbachev's foreign policy is in continuity with that pursued by Josef Stalin, shown here with Churchill and Roosevelt in 1945 at signing of Yalta agreements.

introduction of unemployment. There is grumbling. And more dangerous yet, there is motion for the creation of independent unions.

In 1977, the Ukrainian miner Vladimir Khlebanov founded the Association of Free Unions and then the Free Interprofessional Association of Workers (SMOT). Khlebanov was jailed in 1978 and has been there ever since.

There have been numerous reports in the last three years of unionists demanding Khlebanov's release and the legalization of the SMOT and other independent unions.

#### Soviet policy in South Africa

Another aspect of the current world situation which confirms Trotsky's characterization of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a counterrevolutionary force throughout the world is Gorbachev's foreign policy.

Gorbachev has taken the traditional Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism to new levels. Gorbachev wants stability and imperialist credits to attempt to resolve the political and economic crisis of the bureaucracy—within the boundaries of one country. This goal, of course, is impossible.

In exchange for the decreased military pressure from imperialism (which is a false and dangerous illusion) and for its increased economic collaboration, Gorbachev is fully ready to sacrifice revolutionary struggles throughout the world.

Dozens of articles in the mainstream media have pointed to the "positive" and "constructive" influence the Soviet leadership has had in settling "regional conflicts" around the world.

An article in *The San Francisco Chronicle* (June 7), for example, states:

"The Soviet view of South Africa, like its view of Israel, is changing. Over the past two years the Soviet Union has been broadening its contacts with Israel... Now they have started low-level contacts with South Africa's ruling whites....

"In 1986, a member of the Soviet Union's Africa Institute, Gleb Starushenko, proposed the idea of 'comprehensive guarantees for the white population' and special constitutional arrangements calculated to allay white fears.

"The Russians are holding out to both Israel and South Africa a tantalizing possibility of what the Americans once called 'constructive engagement.'"

You have here in a nutshell the terms of a political settlement in South Africa that would end the excesses of apartheid while retaining and reaffirming the capitalist system of exploitation, something like that which occurred in Zimbabwe.

The new "constitutional guidelines for a multiparty democracy and a mixed economy," presented by the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) on July 28 should be understood in this light. They represent a signal that the ANC's top leadership is willing to accommodate to the

white liberal wing of the South African ruling class. The ANC is highly influenced by the pro-Moscow South African Communist Party.

The new ANC guidelines, according to *The New York Times* (July 29), "are far more specific than the Congress' 1955 blueprint for South Africa, a document known as the Freedom Charter."

The *Times* continues: "The guidelines come in response to criticism by some Western leaders and white liberals in South Africa that the Congress' platform is too vague." The guidelines announced by the ANC include "specific guarantees for the preservation of a strong private sector in the economy."

#### Settling other "conflicts"

In an editorial dated July 31, *The New York Times* hails what the editors call the "Stirrings of Peace" throughout the world. "What is the reason for these stirrings?" the writers ask. They answer: "The Soviet Union's new foreign policy. Mikhail Gorbachev has ceased issuing blank checks to revolutionary regimes."

"In Nicaragua," the *Times* states, "a peace process has begun on terms close to those that Washington has long sought."

An article reprinted in *The World Press Review* (August 1988) makes the same point:

"Nicaragua's Sandinista government has been prompted by its 'natural ally' [i.e., the Soviet Union] to negotiate directly with opponents, the contras, in compliance with the peace plan of Costa Rican President Oscar Arias. And the Soviets have asked Yassir Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to recognize not only Israel's right to exist but also its security interests."

An article from the July 29 *San Francisco Chronicle* reports on the visit by an Israeli delegation to the Soviet Union, the first of its kind in nearly three decades:

"Until recently, Moscow demanded that

Israel had to leave all Arab territories it seized in the 1967 war before it would consider a restoration of diplomatic relations.

"Western diplomats also say that Moscow appears to have dropped its insistence on the creation of an independent Palestinian state as part of a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and may be open to other proposals. Israeli officials acknowledge a more conciliatory approach."

Already the Hungarian and Polish bureaucracies have renewed diplomatic relations with Israel, and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, the butcher of the Palestinian people, has met with Soviet officials to discuss doing the same.

Amazingly, this is taking place at a time when the Zionist state of Israel is being condemned worldwide for its brutal repression of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza.

[Elsewhere, in Angola, the Soviet bureaucracy has urged the MPLA government to "open negotiations and start a dialogue on the country's future" with the CIA-financed UNITA mercenary forces. An article in the Aug. 11 *Los Angeles Times* noted that "Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin's position appeared to be closer to that of UNITA than to that of the government that Moscow has supported for nearly 13 years."]

Can there be any doubt in anyone's mind about the counterrevolutionary character of the Stalinist bureaucracy? Hardly. Theirs is a counterrevolutionary policy—not just in a few countries of the world, but everywhere. That's what Trotsky concluded after Stalin permitted the rise of Hitler in Germany in 1933. That is what we believe today.

This assessment was the principal factor that led Trotsky to the decision to form the Fourth International. It is one of the principal justifications for the existence of the Fourth International today. ■

## 'Join Socialist Action!'

The following are excerpts from Jake Cooper's speech to the Aug. 6 rally. Cooper is a veteran of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes. He was a guard to Leon Trotsky in Coyoacan, Mexico, in 1939, and was imprisoned in 1944 under the Smith Act.

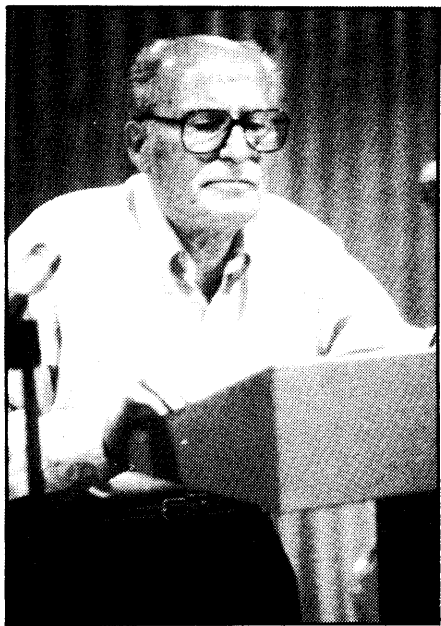
Comrades and friends, all of you here tonight who are struggling against the oppression of the workers: We welcome you. And not only do we welcome you, but we want you to join us.

I see a lot of eager fighters out

there who are looking at this crazy system, a system which is ruining our world, a system which in this last period of our lives, from the time I was born till now, has killed off millions upon millions of people in the interest of profits.

We're asking you to join us. If you want to stop the destruction of this world by the capitalist class, the place to be is with us, in Socialist Action, because this is the most noble struggle you could possibly become involved in. We want you with us. We need soldiers in this fight.





Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

Paul Siegel is the co-chair of the U.S. Moscow Trials Campaign Committee.

With the juridical rehabilitation of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Pyatakov, and Radek,

## Paul Siegel: 'Support Moscow Trials Campaign!'

all of the defendants of the Moscow Trials have finally been exonerated—all, that is, except the chief defendant, Leon Trotsky, and his son and co-worker, Leon Sedov, who, although not physically present at the trials, were declared guilty *in absentia*.

Trotsky was described in the trials as the mastermind of a criminal conspiracy. This conspiracy has now been officially declared to have been non-existent, but his name remains uncleared. It is as if the foundation of a building were to have been demolished with the building continuing to float in mid-air in defiance of the law of gravity.

The exonerations, nevertheless, are a great victory for Trotskyism, vindicating

the struggle against all odds of the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union in the darkest days of Stalinist terror and the certainty of Trotsky that history would overturn the verdict of the trials.

While the main impetus toward exoneration undoubtedly came from internal developments in the Soviet Union, pressure from abroad, it should be noted, helped. The international campaign for rehabilitation led by the Moscow Trials Campaign Committee obtained the endorsement of 97 representatives of socialist, labor, and radical parties in the parliaments of 19 countries and of leaders in the trade union, cultural, academic, and civil libertarian

fields in these and 17 other countries.

In the United States, the Committee's petition was endorsed by over 100 persons prominent in various fields, including Ed Asner, Philip Berrigan, Noam Chomsky, Norman Mailer, Michael Meerpol, Pete Seeger, Studs Terkel, and George Wald.

Now the U.S. Moscow Trials Campaign Committee is calling for the rehabilitation of Trotsky and the publication of the writings of the defendants. The writing of Trotsky, in particular, is feared by the Soviet bureaucracy, for it is at odds with its policy of solving the problems of the Soviet Union at the expense of the workers and of continuing the Stalinist policy of making deals with imperialism at the expense of revolutionary struggles abroad.

However, some intellectuals have already called for the exoneration and publication of Trotsky.

The U.S. Moscow Trials Campaign Committee urges all of you to join them in the struggle for that objective. If you'd like to add your name to the appeal or assist the campaign in any other way, please contact the Campaign c/o P.O. Box No. 318, Gracie Station, New York, N.Y. 10028.

## Greetings from France

Mathieu Thierry represented the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International, at the Aug. 6 rally.

I bring you greetings from the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR). This meeting today is one of the better examples of the determination of revolutionary socialists. It is a sign of our optimism and our confidence about the

strength of the working class.

Twenty years ago, in May '68, the working class in France, in a general strike of 11 million workers, showed us that revolution was possible in the developed capitalist countries. All the pessimistic theories about the integration of the working class into capitalist society were defeated.

At the same time, the Tet Offensive in Vietnam and the upsurge in Czechoslovakia in 1968 confirmed the new period of class struggle in all the sectors of the world. This was—and remains—a new period for the development of the LCR and the Fourth International.

racism directed against immigrants and refugees—was successful too, in spite of the fact that the 500 people in attendance had to leave the hall for a while because of a bomb threat.

Some racist elements have been doing wall paintings with slogans such as "White power—kill SAP." During the week following the rally, an attempt was made to set our party headquarters on fire.

We wish for you a successful rally and look forward to collaboration with you in our common struggle to build strong sections of the Fourth International and a strong International. Long live the Fourth International.

Fraternally, for the Political Bureau of SAP,  
Mogens Pedersen.

## Greetings from Canada

Susan Caldwell represented Gauche Socialiste/Socialist Challenge at the Aug. 6 rally.

I bring you greetings from Gauche Socialiste/Socialist Challenge, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in the Canadian state. We are a new organization which resulted from the fusion between Gauche Socialiste in Quebec and the Alliance for Socialist Action groups in English Canada.

At our congress in May, we also commemorated the 50th anniversary of the

founding of the Fourth International. We also proudly claim as our heritage one of the founding members of the Fourth International, Maurice Spector.

We see our organization as the continuation and the putting into action of their ideas. To give some specific examples from our work: We struggle for the self-determination of the oppressed minorities in the Canadian state, including Quebec and the native peoples. And our organization is actively building opposition to the imposition of a new law that would recriminalize abortion after the Canadian Supreme Court knocked down the old law.

Fundamentally, we feel the need for a revolutionary international and we believe it is both our responsibility and our privilege to be part of the Fourth International.

## Denmark

The following letter was read at the Aug. 6 rally.

Dear comrades,

We send revolutionary greetings to you from SAP (Socialistisk Arbejderparti), Danish section of the Fourth International. We ourselves celebrated the 50th anniversary of the FI in Copenhagen on May 14 at a rally followed by an anti-racist party sponsored by the Danish and Swedish sections of the International.

The rally gathered some 400 people. The anti-racist event—aimed at opposing the growing

## R. Bullock

The following letter was read at the Aug. 6 rally.

Dear comrades and friends,

I am an old comrade from North Vancouver, B.C., Canada, who has been associated with the Fourth International since 1945 and involved in all the struggles and some victories. So when I wish you well and express my pride in what has been achieved, you will understand I speak from the heart.

There is an expanding time ahead for the International and with it an awareness and appreciation of Leon Trotsky and those asso-

ciated with his struggle against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy.

Thank you for your fine contribution to continuing the struggle for the Workers Revolution. Dedicate your lives to it and you will not regret it.

Ruth Bullock,  
Vancouver, B.C.

## Australia

The following letter was read at the Aug. 6 rally.

Dear comrades,

Best wishes to your Third National Convention and for the Fourth International Rally. In Australia and in the United States many sectors of the left are in retreat from class-struggle politics. The work of regrouping revolutionary Marxists can sometimes be daunting.

Our forces here are small but we are inspired by recent mobilizations of Aborigines, teachers, high-school students, lesbians and gay men, pro-abortion forces, and trade unionists—all of whom have decided to come out fighting against the new right-wing government in New South Wales.

We are inspired, too, by the example set by the comrades of the Fourth International in the United States and around the world. The political and organizational contributions made by the Fourth International remain indispensably valuable in the class struggle in so many countries around the world.

Warmest greetings to you all in celebrating 50 years of proud and principled struggle. Long live the Fourth International.

Ken Davis,  
Sydney, Australia

## Rally honors 20 veteran socialists

On the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Fourth International, the following founding members of the Fourth International were recognized by those present at the Aug. 6 rally:

Milt Alvin, Henry Austin, Vicente Colay, Dave Cooper, Jake Cooper, Bertha Dertz, Ada Farrell, Asher Harer, Ruth Harer, Syed Kadri, Tiby Martin, Phyllis Miller, Esther Perry, Hayden Perry, Dot Selander, Ted Selander, Paul Siegel, Don Simpson, Henry Snipper, Augusta Trainor.

They have prevailed.

## Letter from Trotsky's grandson and family to Soviet Supreme Court

His Excellency Mr. Vladimir Ivanovich Terebilov  
President of the Supreme Court  
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
VL. Vorovskogo 15  
Moscow, USSR

We the undersigned—Vsievolod Volkow Bronstein, Veronica Volkow Fernandez, Nora Dolores Volkow Fernandez, Patricia Volkow Fernandez, and Natalia Volkow Fernandez, grandson and great-granddaughters of Lev Davidovich Bronstein, better known as Leon Trotsky—appeal to the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, rightfully and with all due respect, to definitively grant juridical rehabilitation and restore his honorable name to our grandfather and great-grandfather, Leon Trotsky, declaring all the accusations and slanders made by the Stalin regime against him, against his sons, Leon Sedov and Serge Sedov, and against other relatives to be totally false.

Even though these accusations, among which the most blatant, unbelievable, and inconsistent are that he was an agent at the service of various foreign powers or that he attempted to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, were always rejected and even considered to be ridiculous by all independent-minded individuals, it is nonetheless necessary that they be declared without foundation by the highest court of law in the Soviet Union. It is necessary in the interest of historical truth, of Soviet legality, and of the deep respect that is due to one of the principal and most untarnished heroes of the October Revolution.

For these reasons, and in light of the ample proof that exists to refute the calumnies against Trotsky—calumnies which were part of a political persecution that led to his assassination—we are confident that our appeal will be well received and resolved with justice by the highest tribunal which you preside over.

Sincerely,  
Mexico, June 13, 1988

Vsievolod Volkow Bronstein  
Veronica Volkow Fernandez  
Nora Dolores Volkow Fernandez  
Patricia Volkow Fernandez  
Natalia Volkow Fernandez

(The letter above was translated from the Spanish by  
Socialist Action.)