

NEW LIFE

A SOCIALIST BULLETIN PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE LABOR PARTY MOVEMENT

NO. 24 • MAY 15, 1996 • 25¢ • BOX 441283, DETROIT, MI 48244 • PHONE/FAX: 313-584-6556

Over 1,000 delegates from trade unions and working class organizations throughout the United States are going to meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, June 6-9.

Delegates will come from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, the United Electrical Workers union, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers, Teamsters, SEIU, AF-SCME, and Labor Party Advocates chapters.

They are going to found a labor party to fight for the interests of the organized labor movement and the working class against the rich owners of the giant monopolies that dominate the U.S. They are going to adopt a platform, a constitution, and map out plans to build the new labor party.

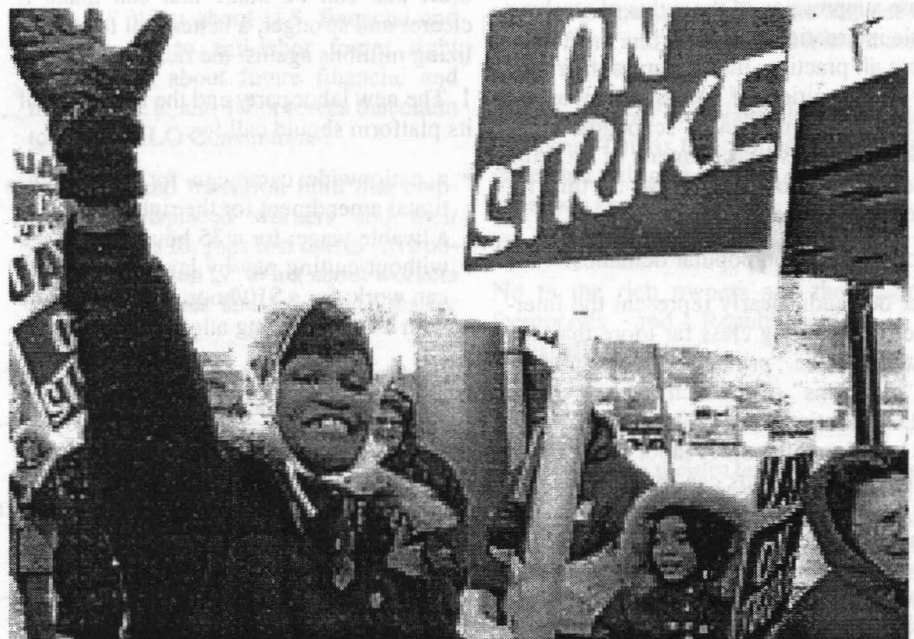
The foundation of the labor party is going to be a tremendous step forward for the U.S. working class. For the first time since the 1800s, U.S. workers are going to have their own political party in which they are going to have an opportunity to discuss and decide what they want and organize their resources to fight for it.

They are going to have a framework in which they are going to be able to see more clearly what kinds of things have been dividing the working class — like the differences between the most comfortable and the least comfortable workers, men and women, white workers and workers of color, native born and foreign born workers — and find ways to overcome these divisions.

The new labor party is going to be a terrible threat to the rich owners and their power. For decades they have relied on workers having a slave mentality and fighting among themselves, rather than organizing themselves and making a common fight for the things

(Continued on back page)

All out for the convention to found the labor party!



Solidarity with Lebanon! - Back page

Support the new labor party

In the last issue of *New Life*, we reprinted "Principles of the labor party platform: discussion draft," the document on the labor party's platform issued by the national leadership of Labor Party Advocates.

In this issue of *New Life*, we are printing a statement in support of the labor party and the draft platform and some proposals to strengthen the final draft.

The leadership of Labor Party Advocates (LPA) recently published a document called: "Principles of a labor party program: discussion draft."

This document is an extremely important step forward for the labor party movement and the labor movement as a whole.

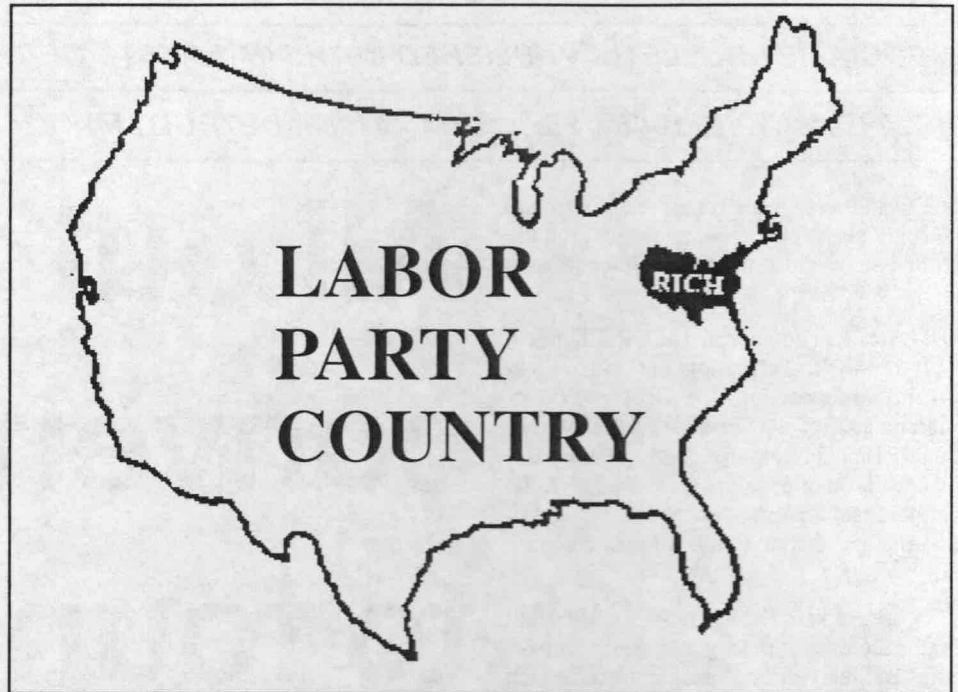
It calls for:

A constitutional amendment for the right to a job at a livable wage ...
a \$10 an hour minimum wage ...
permanent, unionized employment in a revitalized public sector ...
national health insurance provided by a single-payer national system ...
low-cost, subsidized day care ...
shorten the work week to 35 hours ...
cut public funds to the rich; tax the richest ...
no replacement workers of any kind ... scabbing should be made illegal ... the Taft-Hartley Act must be repealed...
oppose suppression of the rights of working people internationally ...
oppose all practices that suppress the rights and opportunities of American workers through discrimination or scapegoating ...
support vigorous enforcement of existing anti-discrimination legislation ... this includes affirmative action ...

and other labor and popular demands.

These demands clearly represent the interests of the working class far more than the demands in the "principles," "programs," and "platforms" of the rich owners of the giant corporations and their parties, Democrats and Republicans. A labor party fighting for these demands can make a tremendous contribution to mobilizing millions of working people against the rich owners, to undermining their power, and to beginning to build a new society in which working people will be comfortable.

All working people, young people, and labor activists should support the new labor



party and its platform against the rich owners and their parties. Join the new labor party. Work to make it as big and as successful as possible.

Proposed Changes

There are also some changes in the final draft that can be made that can make it clearer and stronger, a better tool for mobilizing millions against the rich owners:

1. The new labor party and the final draft of its platform should call for:

- a nationwide campaign for a constitutional amendment for the right to a job at a livable wage; for a 35 hour work week without cutting pay by law so that more can work; for a \$10/hour minimum wage with a cost-of-living allowance by law;
- a nationwide campaign to outlaw scabs and repeal Taft-Hartley.

The most serious problem facing the working class is the lack of decent jobs and wages. The rich owners use this situation to pit workers against workers and undermine the solidarity of the working class. The only way to overcome this problem is to fight for decent jobs and wages for all, for dividing up all the work that is available among all available to work, for cutting hours without cutting pay, and for a living wage that goes

up with prices. Workers also need more union rights and freedom to fight for these demands.

2. The final draft should say what workers can do to fight for and win their demands. For example, the final draft should call for:

- actively supporting labor and popular struggles already taking place, like the Detroit newspaper workers' strike and the fight for a national labor march on Detroit in solidarity with striking newspaper workers;
- meetings, demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, sit-downs, plant occupations, independent ballot initiatives and independent labor election campaigns to fight for and win labor demands.

There may be laws that may make it difficult for the new labor party to run its own candidates for office right now. But there is no reason why the new labor party cannot *advocate* that the labor movement as a whole run independent labor candidates to fight for labor demands. The labor party can also begin to take the steps necessary to run its own candidates for office in order to push for the labor movement as a whole to run independent labor candidates, offering to withdraw if a union or labor council puts forward an independent labor candidate that

and its platform!

might represent a larger number of workers.

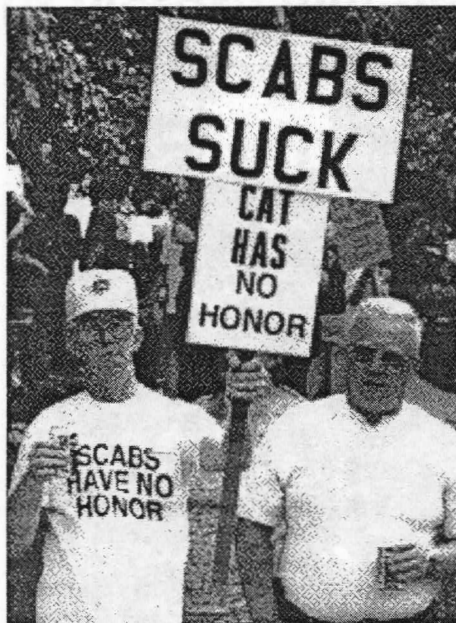
3. The final draft should put more emphasis on the demands that address the most serious and urgent problems facing the working class and that millions of workers can readily agree on: a constitutional amendment for the right to a job at a livable wage; a 35-hour work week without cutting pay by law; a \$10/hour minimum wage with a cost-of-living allowance by law; national health insurance provided by a single-payer national system; low-cost, subsidized day care; outlaw scabs; repeal Taft-Hartley. It should put less emphasis on demands that are not as urgent. The labor party should consider presenting its platform as a "Workers Bill of Rights" or a "Bill of Rights for Working People."

NAFTA

4. The final draft should call for repealing NAFTA, for a conference of labor delegates from the U.S., Canada and Mexico to map out plans for a common fight to repeal NAFTA. It should also put more emphasis on solidarity with workers of other countries fighting U.S. corporations in other countries.

5. The final draft should avoid statements and demands that many workers might not be sure about or that might divide the working class. For example:

- an Income Stability Fund like the one described could mean that workers could be working side by side, doing the same work, but one could be receiving minimum wage and the other \$45,000;
- "each *citizen* would receive a minimum livable wage for attending ... every *citizen* needs a package of benefits ..." What about residents who can't afford to buy citizenship?



- "seriously restrictive tariffs ... on all goods produced in workplaces where such minimum standards are not met and in countries that do not, as a minimum, support the International Labor Organization's Conventions ..." What about the workers in these workplaces and countries?
- "condition all future military and foreign aid on the above-mentioned ILO Conventions ..." What about U.S. financial and military aid to anti-labor forces right now? What about future financial and military aid to anti-labor forces that claim to support ILO Conventions?
- "a specialized transition fund that compensates displaced workers and their communities for jobs lost due to environmental transition ..." What about workers and communities that have lost jobs for other reasons?

The convention can establish commissions

to study different issues that workers might not be sure about. These commissions can prepare debate and discussion on these issues within the new labor party. In this way, the new labor party will be able to expand its platform in the future in a way that is working class, democratic, and unified.

Different views

There are many different views and tendencies within the labor party movement. Some think that the problems facing the working class can be resolved by reforming the capitalist system. Others think that a democratic revolution is necessary, along the lines of the American Revolution or the Civil War. Still others think that a working class and socialist revolution — in which workers establish their own government, takeover the banks and basic industries, and develop a planned economy — is necessary.

But, at this moment, there is no reason why partisans of these different views and tendencies should not work together, reach agreement on a common platform of labor demands, and map out plans to make a common fight for them in the biggest possible way.

The labor party needs to be a *united front* against the rich owners and their parties. The convention needs to define the basis of that united front and plan to build it in a massive way.

This is the way to advance labor's cause at this time. This is the challenge to the delegates that will gather at the convention. Let everyone rise to meet it!

Victory to the new labor party!

No to the rich owners and their parties, Democrats and Republicans! — M. Guttshall ☐

Subscribe to New Life!

Introductory: ☐ Five issues: \$3.00; ☐ Regular: Ten issues: \$6.00; ☐ Supporting: Ten issues \$12.00

Name _____

Address _____

Send check/money order payable to M. Guttshall to New Life, Box 441283, Detroit, MI 48244-1283

New Life is a socialist bulletin published in the interests of the labor party movement. New Life is a supporter of International Workers Unity, a tendency of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky and his co-thinkers. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of New Life. These are expressed in editorials. Editorial Board: Margaret Guttshall, Tim James, Kim Morgan, Fred Russo.

Independent labor action to shut the scab papers!

There was a mass rally in solidarity with Detroit newspaper strikers on Sunday, April 14, at Cobo Hall in downtown Detroit. About 3,000 strikers and supporters attended. Ron Carey, president of the Teamsters, and John Sweeney and Richard Trumka, the top officials of the AFL-CIO, addressed the rally.

Unfortunately, none of them said a word about any kind of independent labor action aimed at shutting down the scab papers. Nor did anyone from the floor.

The majority of the striking unions had voted in favor of a mass meeting in which strikers would have the right to discuss and decide what they wanted to do, but the leadership of the striking unions has refused to carry out this decision.

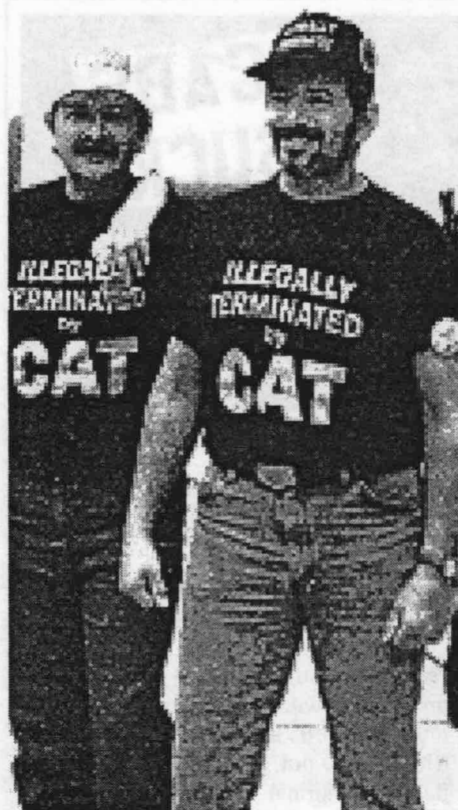
Since the rally, there has been more talk of various forms of "unconditional surrender."

A representative of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), the union that printers are affiliated with, said that the union might agree to go back under the terms of the old contract, but without a union security clause, dues check-off, and a grievance procedure. If the union did agree to go back in this way, there would be no guarantee that workers who have been terminated would get back in. There would also be nothing to stop the company from firing the most pro-union workers once they did get back to work.

Such an agreement is basically an agreement to dissolve the union.

Some members are speaking for this idea on the grounds that there is no alternative, that this is the only way that anyone is going to get back to work. This is not true.

The Teamsters and all the other unions involved in the strike can fight for independent labor action to shut down the scab papers. This could take many different forms — local, regional and national marches to shut down the scab papers; local, regional, and national strikes to shut down the scab papers. The French transportation and public workers' general strike showed that workers can push back the rich owners and bosses with big strikes. A leader of the Teamsters in Minnesota threatened to call a general strike of Teamsters in Minnesota if the directors of the public transportation system didn't back off their attempt to use scabs to



Over 500 Cat workers fired for union activity still fight for their jobs back.

break a transit workers' strike last October. The directors backed down.

Some top union leaders and some members say that independent labor action to shut down the scab papers isn't a viable alternative because there won't be enough labor or popular support for such actions. The actions won't be big enough and effective enough. They say the union leadership is OK, but the ranks of the unions don't care about the unions any more. They won't turn out for such actions.

It's true that there has been a decrease in union membership and union activism. But this can't be blamed on the ranks. The basic problem has been the policy of labor-management cooperation promoted by the top leaderships of the unions. The top leaderships have tried to convince the memberships that whatever is best for the company is best for the workers. You can't keep singing this song year after year, make vicious attacks on anyone who opposes it, and then come back and start talking about class struggle and class war and expect everyone

to jump to their feet instantaneously.

Nevertheless, in spite of, and perhaps even because of, years of "labor-management cooperation," there are still thousands and thousands of union workers in the Detroit area, Southeast Michigan, and the Michigan, Ohio, Indiana area in general, who would jump at the chance to fight the rich owners and bosses in a massive and militant way. Look at the turnout on Labor Day weekend and there was little effort to build it. Look at the turnout for Saturday night picketing and there was little effort to build it. In fact, it was precisely when the Saturday night picketing started getting bigger and more militant, that the union leaderships *shut it down*. Strikers speaking to various union and popular groups report that there is tremendous support for the strike.

What is missing isn't interest and enthusiasm from the ranks. What's missing is a call from the leadership of the striking unions. Striking workers and their supporters need to fight for all leaders of all unions involved in the strike on all levels to call for independent labor action to shut down the scab papers — including local, regional, and national leaders of the Teamsters, the CWA, and the Newspaper Guild. Union locals need to *elect* committees to prepare these actions. Leaders who refuse to call for independent labor action to shut down the scab papers must be *recalled* and replaced. Unions were founded to fight for the rights of workers, not to vote for and organize their own dissolution.

Some workers may be reluctant to take such a stand. They may be concerned that the company and the most conservative union leaders will retaliate. They may be thinking that their only chance of getting their jobs back is to "stay on the good side" of the company and the top union leaders. There may be some truth in this. The company and the most conservative top union leaders may be preparing some kind of a deal in which the most conservative top union leaders and their friends get their jobs back.

But what kind of life will this be? The *majority* will get back their jobs and decent conditions only with an all-out fight.

No to the destruction of the newspaper unions in Detroit!

Independent labor action to shut down the scab papers now!—M.G. □

Land and Freedom: Battles are lost but victory will be ours

Land and Freedom is a recent movie which tells the story of a young Englishman named David who went to fight against the fascists in the 1936 Spanish Revolution. The story reenacts what his granddaughter learns as she reads his letters and scrapbook after his death.

At a Communist Party (CP) meeting, David hears about the desperate fight of the Spanish workers and peasants to defend their elected government from the attacks led by the fascist Francisco Franco and supported by Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. He travels to Spain and joins one of the independent workers' militias being organized all over the country. David eventually encounters conflicts between loyalty to his party, the CP, and to his comrades in the militia when he sees the Stalinist CP's counter-revolutionary tactics. By the end of the movie, his loyalty to the revolution is clarified when he stands with his militia comrades against the Stalinists.

Stalinists work against the Spanish revolution

In the film, the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism is exemplified by their attempts to take control over the revolution by withholding food and decent weapons. Because of this, David is wounded in the militia when his cheap gun backfires and, while he's recuperating, is convinced to leave his unit and join the CP forces. But instead of fighting the fascist enemy, his CP unit is assigned to lay siege on a workers' militia. Ironically, at one point David has an exchange across the lines with another Englishman who asks him, "why are you over there?" and David can't answer — he doesn't know why. In a bar soon after, he overhears CP soldiers mocking the militia's democratic methods because they vote on tactics and women fight alongside men. After confronting them, David tears up his Party membership card and rejoins his militia comrades at the front.

Later, after losing many comrades in several days of holding an impossible position without food, ammunition or reinforcements promised by the CP, the militia was forced to retreat — even though the CP officers insisted that they stay (and be obliterated). Within moments of the militia's retreat,



Spanish workers organized militias to fight the fascists.

truckloads of CP soldiers suddenly pull up and demand that they surrender their weapons, allow their officers to be arrested, and disperse. When some of the militia resist, the CP soldiers fire on them and kill David's beloved comrade, Blanca.

One of the most valuable images in *Land and Freedom* is seeing workers from many countries converge to fight their class enemy together. In David's unit there were also workers from France, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Scotland and the U.S., as well as Spain. One German worker said it best, exclaiming, "When Hitler was gaining power, they [the CP] kept telling us to wait. We waited, and look where we are now!"

Everyone in the militia knew in their hearts that if the fascists won the war in Spain, workers' lives everywhere would suffer. That was why they were willing to risk their lives — it was their lives they were fighting for.

Another strength of the movie is its empha-

sis on the power of workers' democracy. Not only did women and men fight shoulder to shoulder, but the comrades in the militias debated and decided together their course of action. Participating in decisions rather than just obeying orders was the backbone of their struggle. It kept the fight true to the workers' goals, and probably would have given them victory against the fascists had the CP not interfered.

Workers' democracy

The film's clearest example of workers' democracy was a meeting of villagers just after they were liberated. Everyone had gathered in a reclaimed wealthy landowners' house to decide what to do next. Some thought that all the land should be divided up and each person should farm their own. Others argued that the most efficient way to farm the land was to collectivize. At one point, an American Stalinist attempted to convince people that collectivizing wasn't "realistic" and that it was "too soon," because it would alienate potential imperialist support. But, after everyone had spoken, and the vote was taken, the villagers agreed to collectivize the land.

The most stirring note of the movie was its optimism. At the funeral of a comrade during the war, one soldier pointed out that not only was the workers' cause just, but there would always be more workers than bosses, and eventually the workers would win. David's granddaughter carries this point forward at his funeral 60 years later when she raises her fist with those of his old comrades after she reads a poem from his scrapbook. by William Morris:

"Join in the only battle wherein no man can fail, for whoso fadeth and dieth, yet his deeds shall still prevail."

After this moment of solidarity, she drops dirt into his grave from the dirt that David had saved from the collectivized land of Blanca's grave. — K. Morgan and T. James

□
*Don't miss the chance to rent **Land and Freedom**, directed by Ken Loach, when it comes to local video stores. For more information on the Spanish Revolution, read about George Orwell's experiences in **Homage to Catalonia**.*

Lies about Lenin and Trotsky

The *New York Times* recently published a review of a new biography of Leon Trotsky, a leader of the Russian revolution and founder of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution.

The author

This biography of Trotsky was written by Dmitri Volkogonov, one of Boris Yeltsin's military advisors. So it is not surprising this biography gives a very negative impression of both Lenin and Trotsky and apologizes for Stalin and his persecution and assassination of Trotsky and his co-thinkers.

Yeltsin and his co-thinkers come from a faction in the old ruling Stalinist Communist Party in Russia that is working actively with U.S. businessmen and politicians to sell Russian property (natural resources, land, enterprises, transportation, communications, etc.) to U.S. and other capitalist businessmen. They aim to re-establish the domination of foreign capitalists in the old USSR, in exchange for a place in this operation for themselves.

Yeltsin and his co-thinkers want workers to think that the only choices that they have are U.S./European capitalism or totalitarian Stalinist dictatorship. They don't want workers to know about the long struggle of the working class to overthrow the power of all exploiters and oppressors, to establish a working class and revolutionary democracy made up of the workers and oppressed in arms, to develop a planned economy that serves the interests of the working majority. In other words, they don't want workers to know about the working class's struggle for socialism and, eventually, communism, a classless society in which everyone has what he or she needs. Still less do Yeltsin and his co-thinkers want workers to know about leaders like Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Leon Trotsky, who were honest and true, who devoted their lives to this struggle, who never abandoned it or betrayed it.

It has always been important to the exploiters and oppressors to try to convince workers and students that *everyone is corrupt*, that *everyone is going to sell them out*. In this way, the exploiters and oppressors convince workers and students to accept the status-quo, to be pessimistic, cynical, to think that there is no point in fighting or building organizations because sooner or later even the best representatives of the



Lenin and Trotsky salute workers.

working class are going to become corrupt and sell them out. The exploiters and oppressors have always made a special effort to try to discredit working class and popular revolutionary leaders.

Workers in the U.S. are familiar with these methods. The rich used them against Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. Workers also know how old conservative union leaders tied to the bosses try to discredit new, more working class, militant union leaders with lies and slander. Yeltsin and Volkogonov are trying to do the same thing to Lenin and Trotsky and, above all, to the thousands of revolutionaries throughout the world who continue to identify with them and fight for the same principles.

The reviewer

The author of the review of this "biography" of Trotsky is Richard Pipes, someone who evidently teaches "history" at Harvard University. Harvard is one of the exploiters' and oppressors' most important institutions in the U.S., so it is not surprising that Pipes' review contains one lie after another.

We don't have enough space in this issue of *New Life* to point out and refute all of Pipes' lies. But we will take up a few of them, and others as time goes on. We also urge readers to read Lenin and Trotsky themselves. No one who reads Lenin and Trotsky with an open mind and an honest heart can fail to see that they were very special men, extraordinarily honest and courageous, irreconcilable opponents of exploitation and oppression in any form. And, at the same time, they were nothing more nor less than two of the best representatives of the class that they fought and died for, the working class, which is destined to overthrow all forms of exploitation and oppression and build a new society in which everyone will have an opportunity to develop his/her highest qualities.

The lies

"Insiders, however, know that he (Trotsky) had no chance against Stalin. For one thing, Trotsky had joined the Bolsheviks late, in the summer of 1917; until then, he had relentlessly attacked them and made sport of their leader."

It's not true that Trotsky "had no chance against Stalin." What was going on in Russia and throughout the world at that time was not a struggle between Trotsky and Stalin as individuals. There was a struggle between millions of workers who wanted to continue and spread the working class and socialist revolution that had broken out in Russia, and increasingly conservative labor leaders who wanted to abandon this struggle under pressure from the capitalists. Trotsky represented the former; Stalin represented the latter. The struggles of millions of workers decided the issue. Unfortunately, the workers were pushed back. Stalin and other privileged labor bureaucrats took over in Russia. Hitler and Co. took over in Germany, and eventually much of Europe.

Trotsky and his co-thinkers didn't join forces with Lenin and the Bolsheviks until 1917. But it's not true that he "relentlessly attacked them and made sport of their leader." Lenin and Trotsky had important political differences, especially on the need to build a working class and revolutionary party that very sharply differentiates itself from all middle class, inconsistent, hesitating, vacillating tendencies. Lenin was for; Trotsky was against. But they also had very important areas of agreement that differentiated them from other tendencies in the Russian workers' movement, like the Mensheviks. They both thought that it was extremely important for the working class to be independent, and to not rely on the liberal capitalists or middle classes in any way, in order to overthrow the Czar.

"This record disqualified him from membership in the Bolshevik 'Old Guard,' which distributed among itself the highest posts in the Soviet Government."

Trotsky worked with "old Bolsheviks," like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, for several years. These forces didn't "distribute among themselves the highest posts." They had many disagreements among themselves, and some bitter conflicts. Eventually, Stalin had each and every one of them killed be-

cause the "old Bolsheviks," no matter what their views were, were incompatible with the old Czarist officials and careerists who staffed the Stalinist dictatorship. This is a fact that all capitalist and Stalinist propagandists try to hide: the dictatorship of the privileged bureaucracy led by Stalin in the old USSR arose on the dead bodies of thousands of Bolshevik workers, militants, and leaders. Those educated and trained in the revolutionary traditions and spirit of the Bolshevik party led by Lenin and later Trotsky had to be killed, wiped out, murdered, to a one, in order to establish a dictatorship of the privileged bureaucracy.

"Against him also was a disagreeable personality. Inordinately vain, arrogant, often rude, he was constitutionally incapable of the kind of disciplined teamwork that the Bolshevik Party required of its members. He saw himself as the conscience of the Revolution, and never missed an opportunity to criticize his colleagues. Lenin ignored most of his recommendations, routinely relegating the wordy memorandums with which Trotsky bombarded the Central Committee to the archives."

If Trotsky was so disagreeable, why was he the most popular leader of the revolution next to Lenin? If he was incapable of disciplined teamwork, how was he able to build and lead an army that defeated the 21 capitalist armies that invaded Russia after the revolution? Of course he and millions of workers and militants throughout the world saw themselves as "consciences of the revolution," that is, obliged to be true to the goals of the revolution and to fight for everyone else to do the same. What's the matter with that? It's not true that he "never missed an opportunity to criticize his colleagues." Some of his co-thinkers thought he should have spoken against Stalin and Co. more. Lenin didn't ignore Trotsky's recommendations. He asked Trotsky to take responsibility for some of the most important tasks, like building and leading the army. When Lenin was sick and dying, no longer able to wage a political fight himself, in person, he asked Trotsky to take up a fight against Stalin's policy of persecuting oppressed nationalities, on behalf of Lenin and Trotsky.

"... Lenin valued Trotsky's brutality and contempt for mankind ..."

It's not clear who's talking here, Volkogonov, Pipes or both. One, the other, or both, is trying to take a shot at Lenin and Trotsky at the same time. What can we say? Perhaps it is just best to suggest to the reader to



Trotsky works in the garden in Mexico.

consider the sources. Volkogonov, according to Pipes, "enjoyed a rapid rise in the Soviet Army as a specialist in charge of psychological and ideological warfare." This is the same army that sent thousands of Russian workers to concentration camps and psychiatric prisons; that denied guns to workers and peasants fighting fascists in Spain in the 1930s; that put down workers' uprisings in Berlin in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, in Poland in the 1950s, 70s, and 80s. Top officials in the Soviet Army live very comfortable, even luxurious, lives, and parade around with countless medals on their chests, while Russian workers lack basic necessities. Pipes, the Harvard history professor, also lives a very comfortable life, while Harvard turns out volumes justifying the U.S.'s wars on Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Iraq. Lenin and Trotsky, on the other hand, lived in a very modest way and devoted their lives to organizing workers to fight for their rights against the rich. Who is most likely to be brutal and contemptuous of mankind? Volkogonov and Pipes? Or Lenin and Trotsky?

These lies are from the first two paragraphs of Pipes' review. There are 12 more paragraphs like this. Pipes closes with another lie.

"Trotsky's implacable commitment to the mirage of world revolution... made him face the inevitable death at Stalin's hands confident of his place in history and glorying in the conviction that he was the last genuine 'Bolshevik-Leninist.'"

The Fourth International

Trotsky never saw himself as the "last genuine Bolshevik-Leninist." In the Fourth International's program, he wrote:

"If we are to examine 'Trotskyism' as a finished program, and, even more to the point, as an organization, then unquestionably 'Trotskyism' is extremely weak in the

USSR. However, its indestructible force stems from the fact that it expresses not only revolutionary tradition but also today's actual opposition of the Russian working class. The social hatred stored up by the workers against the bureaucracy — this is precisely what from the viewpoint of the Kremlin clique constitutes 'Trotskyism.' It fears with a deathly and thoroughly well-grounded fear the bond between the deep but inarticulate indignation of the workers and the organization of the Fourth International ...

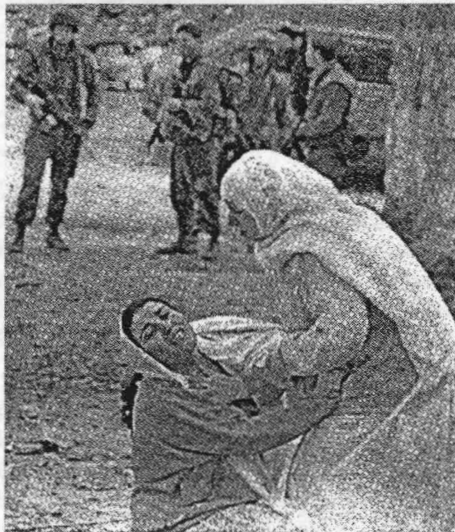
"... The Fourth International, we answer has no need of being 'proclaimed.' It exists and it fights. Is it weak? Yes, its ranks are not numerous because it is still young. They are as yet chiefly cadres. But these cadres are pledged for the future. Outside these cadres there does not exist a single revolutionary current on this planet really meriting the name. If our International be still weak in numbers, it is strong in doctrine, program, tradition, in the incomparable tempering of its cadres ... The advanced workers, united in the Fourth International, show their class the way out of the crisis. They offer a program based on international experience in the struggle of the proletariat and of all the oppressed of the world for liberation. They offer a spotless banner."

Are these the words of a man who considers himself the "last genuine Bolshevik-Leninist"?

It seems that Volkogonov and/or Pipes are engaging in wishful thinking. They wish that Trotsky was the last genuine Bolshevik-Leninist. Today, 56 years after Trotsky died, there are thousands of "Bolshevik-Leninists-Trotskyists" throughout the world — in the front ranks of the struggles in the old USSR and Eastern Europe against the privileged bureaucracies, for the renationalization of privatized industries and workers democracy; in the November-December 1995 French public workers' general strike; in the strikes and popular struggles in Bolivia, Brazil and Argentina; in the movements in solidarity with Chiapas in Mexico; in the movement to found the labor party in the U.S.

Unfortunately, the partisans of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Fourth International are still very much divided into different tendencies and factions. Let Volkogonov's and Pipes' lies remind us how much we have in common. Partisans true to Lenin's and Trotsky's fight need to join forces and rebuild the Fourth International.—M. Guttschall □

Solidarity with the Lebanese people! Stop U.S. aid to Israel!



A woman comforts a resident of a house burned by Israeli soldiers.

We would like to express our solidarity with the Lebanese people in the U.S. and throughout the world who are fighting U.S. aid to Israel and Israel's murderous attacks on the Lebanese people.

While children go hungry in almost every country, the U.S. government sends millions of dollars in aid to the wealthy Israeli state.

Many in favor of U.S. aid to Israel try to justify this by saying that Israel is some kind of "safe haven" for Jewish people who have been oppressed and persecuted for many centuries. There is no question that Jewish people have been viciously oppressed.

But the Israeli state is not helping the *majority* of Jewish people. U.S. corporations, the U.S. government, the most conservative Arab governments, and the Israeli state work together to see that the tremendous wealth in the Middle East stays in the hands of a small number of the richest. Israel's racist laws, which discriminate against Black Jews, which prohibit non-Jews from owning property, and its murderous attacks on Palestinians, Lebanese, etc., are turning people throughout the world against Jewish people, because they mistakenly identify the Israeli state and the Jewish people.

Workers and students of all ethnic and religious groups in the U.S. should make a common fight to stop U.S. aid to Israel and to

stop Israel's attacks on the Lebanese, the Palestinians, etc. Without U.S. aid, the Israeli state will fall apart, because it has little popular support. Workers and students of Lebanon, Palestine, and other Middle Eastern countries, of different ethnic and religious origins, will find ways to work together

and live in peace.

Solidarity with the Lebanese people!

Stop U.S. aid to Israel!

Stop Israel's attacks on Lebanon!

New Life ☐

Labor party ...

(Continued from front page)

that working women and working men of all ethnic groups need. The new labor party is also going to be a tremendous inspiration to workers throughout the world. For decades, many workers in other countries have thought that U.S. workers had been totally bought off, that they had sold out, that they would never take a strong stand against U.S. corporations that have been hurting so many workers throughout the world. Now they are going to see different.

Naturally, enemies of the organized labor movement and the working class, and their agents within the labor movement, have already begun to talk against the labor party and to try to turn workers against the labor party. Republicans say that the labor party is "nothing but a bunch of communists." Democrats say that the labor party is going to help the Republicans and hurt the Democrats. Well-off leaders of women's organizations and organizations of peoples of color say that the labor party is "nothing but a bunch of old white men" and that it is not going to do anything in the interests of women workers or workers of color. These forces are obviously trying to keep working women and working men of different ethnic groups divided and isolated from each other.

But the problem facing the labor party isn't just the enemies of labor. It's also well-meaning but confused friends of labor.

Even members of the labor party movement are saying that a "real labor party" isn't going to be founded in Cleveland on June 6-9. Even if a "real labor party" is going to be founded, it's not going to mean much. It's not going to be the kind of labor party we want, it's going to be weak, its platform isn't going to be adequate, etc., etc. Others say that the labor party should put less emphasis on fighting for *labor demands* — like

a constitutional right to a job at a livable wage, a shorter work week without cutting pay and a higher minimum wage — and more emphasis on equality for women and peoples of color.

These friends of labor fail to see that what women workers and workers of color need most is a labor party that fights for basic necessities — jobs, wages, healthcare, childcare ...

They forget that we live in a society divided into classes. Anything that begins to unite the working class, as a class, against the enemy class, the rich owners, is a tremendous step forward. It deserves the wholehearted and enthusiastic support and participation of everyone who cares about the working class.

Up until now we have been saying: "The bosses have two parties; the workers should have at least one." Now we can say: "The bosses have two parties; the workers are going to have at least one: the labor party." In Cleveland, Ohio, June 6-9, 1996. And that is going to be something to celebrate!

All out for the labor party convention!
Victory to the new labor party!

New Life, May, 1996 ☐

Labor Party Convention

June 6-9, 1996

Cleveland, Ohio

For more information:

202-234-5194