

Only Victorious Socialist Revolutions Can Prevent The Third World War!

Manifesto Of The Fourth International Addressed To The Workers, The Exploited And The Oppressed Colonial Peoples Of The Entire World

(The following is the full text of the manifesto issued by the historic international conference of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, held last month in Belgium. See Page Eight of this issue for a special editorial on the conference and a detailed report of its decisions.)

The first world-wide conference of the Fourth International since the conclusion of the second imperialist war meets at a time when the crisis of society has reached unprecedented depth and breadth.

In the very sight of the smoldering ruin and devastation and blood-letting of the last holocaust, the third world war is being prepared! The empires of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Japan have been destroyed by the "United Nations." But already the victors are engaged in a furious race among themselves for the possession of the most perfected weapon of destruction, the atomic bomb. What the totalitarian war fought with flying fortresses and super-tanks, buzz-bombs and bazookas, flame-throwers and katinkas has still left standing, faces complete annihilation by this most dreadfully thoroughgoing of all death-dealing inventions. Thus the crisis of humanity has become a life-and-death question in the deepest and most literal sense of the words.

The Fraud Of The "Four Freedoms"

The second imperialist war was solemnly consecrated by the governments of the "United Nations" and their flunkies at the head of the "socialist" and "communist" parties as well as the trade-union bureaucrats, as a war against fascism and for democracy. It was a war for the "Four Freedoms" in the words of its foremost protagonist, the late leader of American imperialism, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Instead of "Freedom from Fear," mankind faces the threat of atomic self-destruction.

Instead of "Freedom from Want," three-fourths of the world is plagued with starvation and disease.

Instead of "Freedom of Speech," the vast majority of the peoples are forced to obey the dictates of military governments or the puppets of the victors.

Only the spurious "Freedom of Religion" remains, in the hands of the rulers always a pious tool by means of which to create rancor and strife among the ruled.

That is the true face of the promised freedoms. Meanwhile, under the benevolent eye of the victors, fascism raises its head again under new forms, as in Italy with the "Uomo Qualunque" movement, and elsewhere.

These were the alleged aims of the war, the promises brandished before the masses of the people. They have proved to be a pack of deceitful lies. In the Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International in May 1940, we branded these lies in advance. The Fourth International alone told the truth!

"Contrary to the official fables designed to drug the people," the 1940 Manifesto written by Trotsky said, "the chief cause of war as of all other social evils — unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppression — is the private ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeois state which rests on this foundation."

Like Lenin during the First World War we warned: "But as long as the main productive forces in society are in the hands of the trusts, that is, of tiny capitalist cliques, so long must the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for the rule of the world inevitably take on a more and more destructive character."

These were the real aims. These remain today the motive forces leading to the next war.

If victorious revolutions of the working class do not supplant the rapacious system of private property and establish a planned socialist order of production for use, we repeat with Lenin and Trotsky, imperialist war is sure to follow once more. This time, accompanied by atomic annihilation of the entire industrial areas of whole countries at once.

This manifesto is therefore directed to the workers, the exploited, the oppressed. The fate of mankind rests in their hands and in their hands alone. It is to them that this conference of the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, turns with its explanation of the situation we face together and it is them whom we summon to action against the rulers of the world.

Results Of The First World War

The real aims of the war were the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for hegemony of the world economy. Two sets of capitalist powers faced each other in the conflict.

There were on the one side the old and bloated imperialist nations like England and France, who had long ago divided up among themselves the lion's share of the world's markets into colonies, but whose antiquated industrial technique made their economic hold very tenuous.

On the other side were the younger imperialist nations like Germany and Japan, which rose late in capitalist development, benefited from that fact in order to equip themselves with the most modern industrial plant, but

Smashing The Chains Of World Capitalism



found the world market already divided and colonies only obtainable by force of arms from the older powers.

In the sphere of the former were also such "sated" secondary powers as Belgium and Holland. In the sphere of the latter, such "hungry" powers as Italy. Their alignment was predicated upon their early or late arrival on the scene of capitalist development.

Hovering over the lot was the threat of the newest capitalist giant, the United States of America. Although it too came late on the scene, America possessed a vast internal market, which enabled it for a long time to enrich itself without coming into direct clash with the other powers and at the same time to build the most modern productive plant in the world. In the First World War, which was only a prelude to the second, the United States had participated only as a preventive measure. It wanted to forestall the threat of Germany's swallowing up all of Europe.

Meanwhile, the productive apparatus of world capitalism as a whole had expanded to such an extent as to make even the existing market shrink by comparison. The struggle for markets thus brought every imperialist nation into conflict with every other imperialist nation. Resort to war was determined only by the degree of desperation for markets. "Export or die" was the battle-cry of Nazi Germany in its struggle for "living space."

Already in the First World War, while defeating Germany, both England and France became greatly weakened economically to the great benefit of America, which came out of the war with the greatest gains.

But a factor of the first importance which reduced the market for capitalism as a whole was the great proletarian revolution in Russia in October 1917. By abolishing private property and socializing all industry, the revolution led by the Bolshevik Party at one stroke withdrew one-sixth of the earth from capitalist exploitation.

Under the impact of this event, the first great colonial uprisings took place in the Far East, warning imperialism of the coming universal revolt against its rule. All capitalist powers, after vain attempts to crush the young socialist republic by armed intervention from 1917 to 1921, cast greedy eyes upon this lost market. Their fear of further loss by the spread of the revolution to Europe and their desire to recoup the original loss, attenuated for more than twenty years the struggle they were conducting among themselves. That is why all the victors of 1914-1918 aided in rebuilding capitalist Germany. They meant to use Germany as a battering ram against the USSR. At the same time, England hoped by doing her share toward this end to keep her French competitor weakened and to find alliances against the American colossus. France and America had similar aims.

Rise And Fall Of Nazi Germany

But German capitalism, once helped to its feet, with the high degree of technical culture it had attained,

would not rest content with this role. Since the unification of Europe had not been accomplished by a victorious proletarian revolution throughout the continent, the German capitalists undertook this task by reactionary means. That was to be their springboard in the struggle for world domination. To carry out these ambitions, they chose the most murderous and barbaric form of government yet known — the Nazi state of Adolf Hitler. The task of the Nazi state was to subjugate the working class at home, crush the USSR and enter into struggle for hegemony of the world with the USA.

The initial phase of this task was directly aided by the "democratic" powers. It was facilitated by the bankrupt, cowardly, and treacherous policies of the Social Democracy, the Stalinists, and the trade-union officialdom. Even when their own skins were at stake, the latter could not form a united front of the working class to struggle against Nazism. The later phases brought on the clash with the Western powers, on whose side first the Social Democrats and later the Stalinists then participated in the war.

In the Far East, the imperialists similarly looked upon Japan as a bastion against the USSR. There, too, Japan was not content with its role. Swallowing up half of China, with the toleration of the other powers, the Mikado's empire set out to challenge British and American domination over the markets in the Pacific, with the aim of creating a Japanese "Greater East Asia."

The economic resources of Italy, Germany and Japan proved insufficient for the vast totalitarian second imperialist war that ensued. One after another, they finally succumbed in the struggle. But England, France, and the other secondary powers were not any more equal to this struggle of world proportions. Both have come out of the war vastly reduced in stature, their economy weakened as never before, their empires threatened with disintegration. Their real aims in the war — to retain their markets, to continue and increase their colonial exploitation, to safeguard their age-old profit system — were not attained any more than were Germany's and Japan's.

The Capitalist Victors And Their Prospects

Only the United States came out of the war tremendously strengthened. Its rivals, Japan and Germany, lie in ruins. Its allies, France and England, have become indebted to it to the point of vassalage. But what price victory for the American imperialists?

The USSR, that great sector of the world market withdrawn from capitalist exploitation in 1917, still stands. It even threatens to engulf numerous other countries around its borders, thus further causing the capitalist market to shrink.

The remaining world under capitalist rule has been vastly impoverished and devastated by the war and the purchasing power of its population reduced by half. At the

same time, American productive capacity has, in the course of the war, more than doubled.

Even if its domination were absolute and unchallenged in the capitalist world, American imperialism could gain profits only during a short boom, while the shelves at home and abroad are still altogether empty because of the conversion of all industry in the past period to war production. Once reconverted industry begins to satisfy pent-up demands, American capitalism must face the crisis of "overproduction": a depression so acute as to put in the shade the memories of 1929-33 with the 15,000,000 unemployed at that time.

But Wall Street's domination is neither unchallenged nor absolute. The other capitalist states, with their lower standard of living and lower wages, still retain a certain degree of importance as competitors to harass it.

A resumption of planned production in the USSR, and particularly its acceleration with a revolutionary overthrow of the Stalin regime and reinstatement of workers' democracy, is an ever-present threat.

Meanwhile the colonial world is rife with revolts — beginning with Indonesia and Indo-China and penetrating India and China as well, not to speak of the Near East and Africa.

The masses of Europe have entered into a sweeping swing to the left, challenging the whole system of capitalism including that of the oldest bourgeoisie in the world, England. Only the cowardice and treachery of the traditional workers' parties (Labor Party, Socialists, Stalinists) to whom the workers turned in the first phase of this swing, and the continued absence of mass revolutionary parties, have for the moment arrested its transformation into successful revolutions.

Wall Street's own army, reflecting the moods of the toiling masses from whom its ranks hail, clamor to go home from all the outposts of the world. The GIs do not want to serve as overseers of a world of slaves. And at home, Big Business has initiated a wage-freezing and union-breaking drive in order to prepare for cheaper production with which to consolidate the markets won by military might. But the masters face a rebellious wave of millions upon millions of strikers resisting this drive, fighting to bring their earnings in line with the rising cost of living.

The Results Of World War II

Even as regards their real aims, the second imperialist war has resolved none of the basic problems of the world's rulers. On the contrary, they have become more acute than ever. As long as private ownership of the means of production, as long as production for profit, as long as the search for the elusive market amidst a constant decline of the masses' purchasing power continue — that is, as long as capitalism continues to exist — so long must misery and chaos and the inevitable and futile recourse to war persist.

The second imperialist war, with its 50 million dead and 50 million crippled victims, with its hundreds of millions uprooted from hearth and home, with its immense destruction of cities and devastation of fields, solved nothing. But it was inevitable. The coming third world war, whose only conclusion can be the atomic annihilation of the human race, is just as inevitable as long as capitalism exists.

Make no mistake about it. The third world war is on the way. The anti-Soviet, anti-Communist harangues of Churchill; the spy-scapes around the atomic bomb; the orders reestablishing secrecy of troop movements and reactivating air forces in the American army — all these are drum-beats announcing it. In their greed for super-profits the capitalist rulers are entirely heedless of the fate of mankind. The two world wars since 1914 have demonstrated this with shattering effect. Only successful proletarian revolutions which will transform society into a planned socialist order can prevent the third world war and the barbaric self-annihilation of humanity.

Power Of Marxist Prognosis

When the Nazi panzers rolled over Europe to the English Channel and Hitler still maintained his pact with Stalin, certain impressionable people, rejecting Marxist theory, drew "innovating" conclusions. Europe, according to them, faced a whole epoch of the "New Order." Some even went so far as to see in the events, and in the fact of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the rise of a new class replacing the entrenched capitalists as well as the challenging proletariat for the hegemony of society. They spoke of the new "managerial society," which bracketed under one head: the National Socialist Party of Hitler, the Fascist Party of Mussolini, the New Deal of Roosevelt, and the Stalinist bureaucracy. These innovations found wide currency among the petty bourgeoisie and even penetrated into the ranks of the workers' vanguard. The Fourth International, defending Marxism against the revisionist "innovators," wrote in its Manifesto in 1940:

"In return for the enslavement of the peoples Hitler promises to establish a 'German Peace' in Europe for a period of centuries. An empty mirage! The 'British Peace' after the victory over Napoleon could endure a century — not a thousand years! — solely because Britain was the

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pioneer of a new technology and a progressive system of production. Notwithstanding the strength of her industry, present-day Germany, like her enemies, is the standard bearer of a doomed social system.

How quickly this evaluation has been verified! How quickly have the evaluations of the revisionists been refuted! The power of the Fourth International lies in its program, which is capable of withstanding the test of great events.

The fall of Nazi Germany as well as that of Fascist Italy merely proved that even the most brutal and open form of state dictatorship cannot solve the tangled contradictions of the capitalist class. Frantic fascism, like decadent bourgeois democracy, are doomed because they are merely different forms of the same decayed social system long ago condemned by the development of the productive forces.

The Fourth International in 1940 also castigated the fact that the United States, victorious in the war, would sponsor a democratic European federation of states, sharing the world market with it.

"The state is not an abstraction," the Manifesto said, "but the instrument of monopoly capitalism. . . . Voluntary renunciation by the most powerful state of the advantage given by its strength is as ridiculous a Utopia as voluntary division of capital funds among the trusts."

As to the future of the USA itself, the Manifesto declared: "However, the industrial, financial and military strength of the United States, the foremost capitalist power in the world, does not at all insure the blossoming of American economic life, but on the contrary invests the crisis of her social system with an especially malignant and convulsive character."

Compare these prognoses made six years ago with the reality of today. In every important respect the analysis of the Fourth International has stood the test of time!

Basic Antagonism In World Today: USSR Versus World Imperialism

At that time, conjunctural considerations based on the Stalin-Hitler pact aroused speculations about the "fundamental" alignment of the USSR with the fascist states, just as the rupture of the pact and the unleashing of the war between the partners later gave rise to allegations of a "fundamental" alignment of the USSR with the "democratic" states. The theses of the Fourth International long ago gave an evaluation that remains valid:

"Episodic agreements between the bourgeoisie and the USSR do not alter the fact that taken on the historic scale the contradiction between world imperialism and the Soviet Union is infinitely more profound than the antagonisms which set the individual capitalist countries in opposition to each other."

Only on the basis of this evaluation could the unleashing of Hitler's war against the USSR be explained after the Stalin-Hitler pact. Only on the basis of this evaluation can the current violent war-mongering campaign of American imperialism and its British junior partner against their Soviet ally of yesterday be explained today.

The whole period of world politics before us is characterized by this basic contradiction. As long as the USSR exists with its present social structure, despite the ever more monstrous degeneration it has undergone under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy, it remains an obstacle on the path of the imperialist greed for markets. The second world war did not solve this contradiction, but only sharpened it.

The laying waste of the whole industrial western regions of the USSR has weakened the Soviet Union tremendously from an economic point of view. The reactionary, chauvinistic, and pillaging policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy has weakened the USSR politically by alienating wide strata of its natural allies, the masses of Eastern Europe. But the very fact that the USSR has survived the war, that the bureaucracy has not been able to destroy its social foundations from within, and has even been forced to give an impetus toward the social transformation in varying degrees of the economies of the countries occupied by the Red Army under its command, has increased the acuteness of the problem of imperialism. That is why the imperialists have posed the settling of accounts with the USSR as their most pressing task.

The Fourth International remains unreservedly for the defense of the USSR against imperialism. But this defense, now more than ever, can only be a revolutionary defense. Consequently, it can have nothing in common with the counter-revolutionary policies of the Kremlin.

Role Of Stalinist Bureaucracy

"The defense of the USSR coincides in principle with the preparation of the world proletarian revolution. We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

From 1924 on, when this nefarious theory of "socialism in one country" was first proclaimed by Stalin, the policy of the Kremlin has served to prevent the establishment of socialism in any country. In practice, this theory was meant to justify the entrenchment of a privileged caste of nationalist bureaucrats. Basing itself on the isolation of the young Soviet State amidst the decline of the first revolutionary wave in capitalist Europe, and on the fatigue caused by years of civil war in Russia itself, the bureaucracy sought to assure itself a privileged position at the expense of the masses on whose backs it climbed to power. Rejecting the international policy of Lenin which, with the aid of the workers in all lands, saved the USSR in its first years against imperialist intervention, the Stalinist clique utilized the Communist International he founded to undermine a whole series of revolutionary opportunities.

Thus, in 1926, at the time of the British General Strike, it made opportunist deals with the Laborite trade-union council to prevent the revolutionary development of the great strike wave. In China, from 1925 to 1927, it bound the Communist Party hand and foot to the politics of the bourgeois Kuomintang, which eventuated in the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek, the hangman of the Chinese proletariat. From 1929 to 1933, it promulgated the concept of "social-fascism" to lump Social Democrats and Nazis under one head, preventing a united-front struggle of the workers' organizations and thus permitting Hitler to come to power. In 1936, when the wave of sit-down strikes raised the question of power in France, the "People's Front" which it had created with the reformists worked to tie the working class to the capitalists. When the civil war broke out in Spain that year, the "People's Front" did everything in its power to restrain the revolutionary action of the masses and to confine them within the stranglehold of bourgeois democracy, thus making possible the victory of Franco. The development of this whole policy was motivated by

World-Wide Voice Of Fourth International



These are reproductions of the mastheads of some of the publications—newspapers, magazines and pamphlets—which are published in almost every written language of the globe by the parties of the Fourth

International. They all speak one message—the message of emancipation from capitalism through international socialist revolution.

the desire to ward off attacks from without and permit the bureaucracy to entrench itself within the USSR, by currying favor with the capitalist rulers and their petty bourgeois agents among the masses. In the process the Communist parties were transformed into mere tools of the Kremlin's foreign policy. The natural allies of the USSR, the masses in all capitalist countries, were led by the Stalinists from defeat to defeat.

Within the Soviet Union itself, the Kremlin oligarchy developed a violent wave of repression against the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky. For Trotsky pointed out each step in the growing betrayal, from the proclamation of the theory of "socialism in one country" to the strangling of the Spanish revolution. Only the advanced Communist militants in all countries, rallying to the banner of Trotsky and the International Left Opposition, could at first grasp the counter-revolutionary import of this evolution of the clique which usurped power in the first workers' state. But the Moscow Trials and the blood-purge of the whole generation of Lenin's co-workers in 1937 began to open up the eyes of ever wider strata of workers to the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism.

The Stalin-Hitler pact was accompanied by the partition of Poland and the whitewash propaganda picturing Nazi imperialism as "peace-loving." Fascism became, according to Molotov, "a matter of taste." Broad masses of workers everywhere were repelled by this vile self-debasement of the Kremlin. When Hitler repaid the Stalin clique for the service which inaugurated the war, by unleashing his whole war-machine against the Soviet Union, the Kremlin made an about-face. In a campaign of the wildest chauvinism, Stalin branded not only the "peace-loving" Nazi band of yesterday, but the whole German people, for the crimes of Hitler!

Kremlin's Policies

Today, with the military action concluded, the Red Army under Stalinist orders is directed to plunder and pillage industry and homes in Germany, in Austria, in all conquered Eastern Europe. The aim is allegedly to rebuild ruined Soviet industry. That is a foul lie. The pillage and plunder are intended solely to cover up the bankruptcy of the Stalin regime, against which the Soviet masses are growing increasingly restive.

The present foreign policy of the Kremlin, which serves only the bureaucracy and its privileges, is directed ostensibly to strengthen the USSR against imperialism, just as the whole prewar policy was directed toward "neutralizing" the capitalist states and preventing war. But the bloc with the British trade-union fakery, the capitulation to Chiang Kai-shek, the betrayal of the French and the Spanish revolutions, the allowing Hitler to come to power without a struggle, and finally the Stalin-Hitler pact—all these "clever" maneuvers—did not prevent Hitler's war and the devastation of half of Soviet industry. They weakened the Soviet Union tremendously and threw back its progress for years. In exactly the same way, the present counter-revolutionary policy of pillage and plunder in Eastern Europe and Asia, and of outright suppression of the movement of the masses in these countries, cannot but lead to the inevitable strengthening of American imperialism and the preparations it is making for the ultimate crushing of the USSR.

In 1940, Trotsky wrote:

"As a consequence of the first period of the war, the international position of the USSR, despite the window-trimming successes, has already obviously worsened. The foreign policy of the Kremlin has repelled from the USSR broad circles of the world working class and the oppressed peoples. . . . Meanwhile Germany has obtained the most important and the most industrialized section of Poland and gained a common frontier with the USSR, that is, a gateway to the east."

A year later, this warning was completely borne out!

Today the Fourth International warns: in spite of the advances in territory, in spite of the wholesale looting, the policy of the Kremlin has in this latest phase of the conflict still further weakened the international position of the USSR. The peoples of Eastern Europe smart under the criminal policy of the Kremlin and turn, as the elections in Austria and Hungary have shown, to the most backward parties as an expression of their anger. In the Far East, the insurrectionary mood of the masses is making itself felt not only in the territories under British and American domination, but also in Korea and Manchuria, where the Red Army rules. Meanwhile, American imperialism has penetrated the very outposts of the USSR everywhere, strategically encircling its territory from Eastern Europe to China, the whole stretch of the globe.

The Kremlin oligarchy thus only facilitates the aims of imperialism against the USSR itself and at the same time undertakes the task of directly suppressing the in-

dependent movements of the masses for their emancipation, hatred and fear of which it shares with the capitalist rulers.

Only the revolutionary action of the masses can forestall the plans of predatory imperialism, defend the USSR by extending the social overturn of October 1917. But the revolutionary action of the masses is possible only in struggle for the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist regime in the USSR itself and its replacement by Soviets elected freely by workers and peasants. The defense of the USSR thus implies directly the defense of the European and world revolution against Stalinism.

Present Revolutionary Situation

Are the conditions ripe for the revolutionary action of the masses? Will not Stalinism on the one hand, and the Social Democratic helpers of world imperialism on the other, prevent revolutionary developments once more from reaching a successful conclusion? Will the Fourth International, with the small forces at its disposal today, succeed in overcoming these obstacles and in giving leadership to the masses? These are questions that no doubt are bound to be raised by serious-minded workers.

The past defeats of the working class, under Social Democratic and Stalinist leadership, hang heavy indeed. These were grave blows. The great weight of Stalinism today undoubtedly remains a grave obstacle. But as against these, there must be weighed the fact that today the "critical situation of world capitalism is by far graver than ever before. That is the point of departure for revolutionists, for those who seek to point out the road to action to the masses.

Long ago the Fourth International enumerated the conditions for the workers' revolution:

"The basic conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution have been established by historical experience and clarified theoretically: 1) The bourgeois impasse and the resulting confusion of the ruling class; 2) the sharp dissatisfaction and the striving towards decisive changes in the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie without whose support the big bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself; 3) the consciousness of the intolerable situation and readiness for revolutionary actions in the ranks of the proletariat; 4) a clear program and a firm leadership of the proletarian vanguard—these are the four conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution."

Never has the impasse of capitalism been more tangled or the confusion of the ruling class more widespread. In one country after another, inflation is rampant. The burden of the state debt reaches astronomical figures. The decline in the standard of living and the impoverishment of the masses of the population as a whole reaches unprecedented proportions. In spite of a degree of government regulation and control never before attained, the economic crisis continues to rise in a dizzy spiral and, being already acute in Europe and in the colonies, threatens to overtake the most stable economy in the world, that of the USA.

After the First World War the bourgeoisie, in order to re-establish the class equilibrium in society threatened by the revolutionary wave that commenced in Russia, resolved to make considerable economic concessions to the masses. It thus lent a certain degree of stability to the political regime of social reformism, which was called upon to save it from destruction. After this war such a strategy is a luxury which the capitalist class can no longer afford. Particularly in Europe, where unproductive expenditure for war needs and the vast destruction of capital values have enormously reduced the specific weight of the economy in the world market, the bourgeoisie can hope to rebuild ever so slightly its profit-making capital only by a further onslaught on the wages and living standards of the masses. But this holds true in a broader sense of England and the USA as well.

If the government is therefore permitted to fall into the hands of the Labor Party in England, or of a coalition of the Socialists and Stalinists with bourgeois democratic parties in a "People's Front" in France, Belgium, etc., that is not the design of the bourgeoisie. The ruling class tolerates these "leftist" regimes because the pressure of the workers and the mass of the population is too strong, their own forces are as yet too weak, for an open dictatorship. The capitalists reckon that the consequences of the economic breakdown will heap discredit upon the traditional parties of the masses which have been driven to take power. They correctly assess the cowardice of these parties, who fear to go beyond the limits of the bourgeois structure of the state, who leave the reactionary army and police set-up unchanged, who stand in awe of private property which is so sacred to the bourgeoisie.

While the hatred of the trusts leads the workers and peasants to clamor for the socialization of industry, the reformist parties in power are forced to take measures of

"nationalization." But these measures do not touch the property rights of Big Business. They assure the owners of "nationalized" plants full compensation, thus imposing new burdens on an already over-burdened economy. By means of government bonds issued to them in place of their former stocks, the capitalists are assured continued profits. The direction of "nationalized" industries, instead of being turned over to workers' committees, is in effect left in the hands of the old managers who serve the trusts. By means of these fictitious "nationalizations," the bourgeoisie thus aims to concentrate ever more the power over the whole economy in the grasp of monopoly capitalism.

While the Socialist and Stalinist ministers disarm the independent militias of the workers and peasants which sprang up in the course of the Nazi occupation, while they put down all manifestations of class revolt in the armed forces, the bourgeoisie concentrates the permanent apparatus of the state (army, police, secret service) in its own hands. Behind the scenes it prepares and conspires with royal dynasties and reactionary generals for the proper moment to seize full control of the state and set up new Bonapartist dictatorships.

Meanwhile, the whole policy of the bourgeoisie, based on the aggravated economic situation, is marked by indecision and vacillation. After more than a year of efforts to bolster his position by authoritarian ultimatums, de Gaulle steps aside and into the background in France. In Belgium the bourgeoisie alternately pushes forward and retreats in its campaign for the return of King Leopold. In Greece, the attempts to reinstall the monarchy under the protection of British bayonets foreshadows open civil war. And so forth, and so on.

Fate of Petty Bourgeoisie

At the same time, the petty bourgeoisie, upon whose support monopoly capitalism has in the past depended both for its internal aims (fascism) and for its foreign policy, (war) has been torn loose from the control of Big Business. In the countries where fascism has been the state form no less than in the "democratic" countries, the process of proletarianization and pauperization of the urban middle class has not only not been halted, but accelerated by the wiping out of savings and the absolute decline in the standard of living brought about by inflation. On the other hand, the peasantry which, as in every war, seems to have profited from the black-market conditions, is in reality no better off than before. Its profits are mainly in devaluated currency. With its paper riches it cannot buy the necessary and increasingly more costly agricultural machinery, fertilizer, cattle, etc. Thus a new and more acute agrarian crisis looms ahead.

Furthermore, the war has blown up the old petty bourgeois illusions of national unity. The big bourgeoisie has revealed itself to be thoroughly "collaborationist." The discontent of the petty bourgeoisie and its efforts for a decisive change are revealed in the mass swing to the parties traditionally known to it as labor parties. The tremendous victory of the British Labor Party, the huge vote for the Socialists and Stalinists in France, in Belgium and in Italy, the mass support for the EAM in Greece, etc., etc., cannot be understood except in this light.

Meanwhile, the mounting wave of strikes, which involve one country after another in Europe and in the Far East, reaching their highest points in the American citadel of world capitalism itself and spreading into its semi-colonies in South America, attest by their persistence and high degree of militancy as by their advanced slogans ("for the sliding scale of wages," "open the books of the big corporations," etc.) to a growing consciousness of an intolerable situation in the ranks of the working class. The incipient formation, during the first period of the war's end, of workers' militias and factory committees in Italy, in France, in Belgium—for the time being thrown back through the connivance of the Stalinists and reformists with the bourgeoisie—were clear indications of preparations for revolutionary action.

If these elements in the preparation for revolutionary action have not yet matured actually in Europe, this is in no small measure due to the unprecedented physical collapse of Germany. The signal for the intensification of the revolutionary struggle all over the continent was expected in the form of the outbreak of the German revolution. The criminal campaign of chauvinism unleashed during the war by the Kremlin against the German people including the working class—and supported by the treacherous reformist and Stalinist parties in all the "democratic" countries—served to bewilder the German masses in the course of the catastrophic military developments and to paralyze their action with the increasing debacle of the Nazi regime. At the same time the "Big Three" connived to prevent the outbreak of revolution by concerted physical destruction never before known to history (on a much larger and vaster scale than the bombardments against insurrectionary Turin and Milan after the fall of fascism).

Perspectives in Germany

Before the German working class, potentially the most powerful in Europe and the one with the longest revolutionary traditions, can take the road to revolution which it undoubtedly will, the physical prerequisites (reestablishment of a minimum of food, shelter, communications, and the return of its millions of young men from the prison camps) will have to be fulfilled. But the failure of the revolution to break out immediately in Germany has only slowed down the tempo of development. It has not in the slightest altered the trend.

In spite of this fact, in spite of the disarming of the workers' militias, in spite of the crushing of the armed struggle of the masses in Greece, we have not witnessed a turn toward reaction. None of these defeats has been decisive. On the contrary, all attempts of reaction to entrench itself (through the monarchy in Greece, Italy, Belgium, through the establishment of an authoritarian executive in France) have thus far met with the greatest resistance on the part of the masses, and failed of their purpose.

On the other hand, the workers do not confine themselves to combating all these reactionary attempts. They go over to the offensive. The strikes against the freezing of wages, directed against the bourgeois regimes in which their "own" parties participate, objectively pose the question of state power.

While the revolutionary developments show a slackening of tempo in Europe, they take on a more accelerated pace elsewhere. The waves of strikes and soldiers' demonstrations in the USA testify to a speedy development of the revolutionary consciousness of the American masses, in the past much more backward than those in Europe in this respect. But of even greater importance is the present ripening of the revolutionary struggle in the colonies. Starting out with tenacious insurrections against British, French, and Dutch imperialism in Indonesia and Indo-China, and with an incipient revolt even against hypocritical "liberating" American imperialism in the Philippines, the wave of struggle in the Far East has penetrated the Indian masses,

(Continued on Page 7)

Millions March In Big May Day Demonstrations

By Ruth Johnson

On the first "peacetime" May Day after six years of war-horrors, millions of workers throughout the world demonstrated their determination to fight for a decent life.

In Japan, under the menacing watch of Wall Street's occupation army, two million workers jammed the streets. Half a million marched in Tokyo alone, where only the day before, the army had launched a "scare campaign" to minimize the demonstration.

ACCUSE CAPITALISTS

The Japanese workers carried banners demanding "A Minimum Wage Regulated by Living Costs," "People's Foodstuff Control!" "No Discharges!" They defied their exploiters by placards accusing: "Production sabotage and inflation are caused by the capitalists who drink our blood!"

Around the world in Germany, hundreds of thousands of Berlin workers flooded Unter Den Linden for a march to the Lustgarten. Though thousands collapsed en route from hunger, the gigantic parade bore its scarlet banners and placards to the meeting place.

In Vienna, great numbers of workers staged what one observer, according to the N. Y. Times, called "the biggest hunger parade" in his experience.

French workers centered their demonstrations on the proposed new constitution. "Virtually

Truman Leads Vicious Drive Against UMW

By Art Preis

As the power of the 400,000 soft coal miners in the fifth week of their national strike made itself increasingly felt throughout American industry, the Big-Business government last week launched an open drive to intimidate the miners.

President Truman on May 4 took the lead in an intensified strikebreaking pressure campaign when he issued a statement which claimed that the mine strike constitutes a "national disaster."

This scare-head report was clearly designed to throw responsibility for the strike and its economic consequences on the miners. Truman has remained silent, however, about the criminal disregard of safety rules and measures by the coal operators. He has tacitly upheld their arrogant refusal to consider the just demands of the miners.

Among other vital demands, the miners are asking the operators to include in the new contract a specific agreement to put into effect promptly all safety recommendations of the U. S. Bureau of Mines and the various state mine inspection agencies.

FEAR "INSURRECTION"

On the same day as Truman's statement, a group of Senators representing the wealthy mining interests launched a savage attack on the mine union and its leaders. Headed by Senator Lucas, the senatorial reactionaries frothed at the mouth about the strike being a movement that could "easily become an insurrection against the government."

Every hypocritical argument is being used to smear the militant miners. The leading spokesman for the Southern soft-coal operators, former Senator Edward R. Burke, even said over the radio that "the Lewis strike means continued misery for millions of unhappy men, women and little children in foreign lands whom he has deprived of the coal we promised . . ."

Of course, that misery was created by the imperialist war in whose blood-profits the mine owners shared. Moreover, promised shipments of relief coal have been curtailed for months by the Wall Street government.

Neither Truman, the Senators nor any coal operators have yet shed a public tear, for instance, about the 12 new widows and 55 orphans left in misery and destitution by the hard coal mine explosion in McCoy, Va., two weeks ago.

everything in Paris except the subways and basic utilities was shut down," said the Times.

In Cuba, "throughout the republic work stopped, with the exception of partial transportation service," while thousands of toilers presented their May Day demands.

PROTEST JIM CROW

Panama workers observed the day by mass protests against Wall Street's policy of racial discrimination which has made the Canal Zone a replica of the Deep South in this country.

Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, was "subjected to the equivalent of a one-day general strike as practically all workers laid down their tools in celebration of May Day."

Sixty thousand workers thronged through Mexico City carrying banners attacking the high cost of living.

Wall Street's "democratic" ally, Brazil, forbade all open-air demonstrations, striving to hide opposition to its rule.

In the Soviet Union, millions of workers observing May Day, saw Stalin's travesty upon the holiday of workers' internationalism.

MARCHING LEFTWARD

It is true, the great masses of workers who participated in this tremendous observance of May Day, celebrated it mainly under the false leadership of the Stalinist and reformist Social Democratic parties. Yet the militancy of the workers everywhere shone through the official pall of "discretion."

When the leftward-marching millions break with their betrayers, they will make of a future May Day, a day of socialist fulfillment of their deepest aspirations.

COLORFUL MAY DAY RALLY HELD BY NEW YORK SWP

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, May 11—In a colorful atmosphere, with revolutionary music and drama adding a vivid note, more than 500 workers assembled tonight in the Hotel Diplomat here to celebrate May Day 1946 with the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party.

A color guard of Trotskyist Youth, holding red banners, flanked both sides of the platform. The new Militant Chorus, a splendidly-trained mixed chorus of workers, inspired the audience with stirring revolutionary labor songs.

William F. Ward, Associate Editor of The Militant, in his powerful main address of the evening denounced the schemes of U. S. imperialism to plunge the world into a third world slaughter and called for international solidarity of the world's toilers and oppressed. He declared:

"These criminal capitalists and their accomplices in Washington are contemplating and preparing at this moment the worst atrocity in all history . . . They are preparing a war of atomic annihilation, a gigantic slaughter on a world scale to wreck what is left of civilization after the Second World War."

The audience greeted with enthusiastic applause the speakers' tribute to the Japanese workers, nearly two million of whom had been reported marching and demonstrating on May Day in that conquered country. "Only we Trotskyists defended these Japanese workers, who did not want the imperialist war, just as the workers of the rest of the world did not want war."

Other speakers included David Weiss, returned veteran, who explained the meaning and importance of May Day, and William S. Farrell, organizer of the Harlem Branch of the SWP, who showed the leading role played by the Socialist Workers Party in the struggle of the most oppressed sections of society. Gloria Wall, of the Trotskyist Youth Group, called upon the youth and the Negro people to take their places in the fight against capitalism and for world socialism.

A dramatic sketch, representing the Negro soldiers' experiences in the war for the

freedoms," was an interesting feature of the rally. The enthusiastic audience contributed \$288 for relief to impoverished working-class fighters in Europe and the colonial countries.

Ford 600's Flying Squadron Aids Vultee Plant Strikers

By Roy Weston

(Special To The Militant)

DETROIT, Apr. 29—The Flying Squadron of Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, composed of more than 400 unionists in a caravan of over 100 automobiles, effectively blockaded the state highway entrance of the Stinson Division plant of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation at nearby Wayne early today.

The plant has been struck since April 2 as the result of a wage and job-classification dispute. State police have been on guard at the plant since last Wednesday after strikers militantly resisted the Wayne County Sheriff's provocative efforts to herd scabs into the strike-bound plant.

Local 600's Flying Squadron's sympathetic gesture on behalf of the Stinson workers followed reports that the company was contemplating flying strikebreakers into the plant, which is situated one quarter mile from the highway and has paved runways alongside the shop.

Leaving Ford Local at six this morning the motor caravan arrived at the Stinson plant shortly before seven o'clock. While more than 100 State police and deputy sheriffs, patrolling the highway in front of the plant, stared at the approaching caravan in bewildered fashion, the Ford Flying Squadron members swung their cars two abreast along the highway, parked them, locked the motors and then joined the picket line.

There was no violence and no scab chase to make an appearance, much less attempt to enter the plant.

Shortly after the plant was successfully blockaded, the Ford Local 600 sound truck appeared on the scene and entertained the pickets with recorded music. Not to be outdone, several petty girls, striking members of Stinson Local 786, moved in on the sound truck and proceeded to entertain the pickets by singing union songs, with the pickets frequently joining in the singing. The police appeared to be a bit baffled by it all.

Excellent coffee was furnished the pickets from the Stinson Local's soup kitchen. The Ford workers showed their appreciation by taking up a collection on the picket line which amounted to well over \$100.

Later, the Ford pickets disbanded and the motor caravan departed with heartfelt thanks from the Stinson strikers.

Meanwhile, company-union negotiations in the month-old strike were adjourned until April 30. Federal Conciliator Walter F. Gantz said the company had made a new proposal retaining an earlier offer of an 18-cent hourly wage increase.

Refusing to be hoodwinked, Stinson Local 786 charges that the company hedged its wage offer with job-classification conditions making it inoperative. The strike will continue.

Paris "Peace" Conference Haggles Over Spoils Of War

A Job Coal Operators Never Have To Do



The grim work of identifying the victims in explosion that snuffed out twelve miners' lives at McCoy, Va., on April 18. The bodies were so burned and mangled that identification was extremely difficult. Fellow miners are shown here lifting the burlap shrouds to peer at the faces of their dead comrades.

Operators Ignored Safety Rules At McCoy Mine Where 12 Died

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

McCOY, Va., Apr. 29—State and Federal mine inspectors have joined in a whitewash of the safety conditions existing in the Great Valley Anthracite Company's mine here, where 12 miners were killed in an explosion on April 18. (See on-the-spot reports in The Militant, May 4).

New Jersey SWP Opens Campaign

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

NEWARK, N. J., May 7—Members and friends of the New Jersey branches of the Socialist Workers Party are now busily engaged in securing 3,000 signatures to place four SWP candidates for the November general elections on the New Jersey ballot. Under terms of state election laws such petitions must be filed by May 29.

The four prospective candidates are George Breitman for U. S. Senator; Alan Kohlman for Governor; William E. Bohannon for Congress, 11th District; and Arlene Phillips for Congress, 13th District.

Breitman's opening campaign statement was released to the local press today. Recalling he had represented the SWP in the 1942 election campaign, he said: "At that time I warned the workers of New Jersey that they were being deceived, that this war would not bring genuine peace or freedom. Today it is possible to compare our predictions with our opponents."

WORKERS MUST RULE

"Half the world is in ruins. Starvation is not merely a threat but a horrible reality for a quarter of the world's population. The people have not even had the time to dress the wounds of World War II. But already a more terrific, annihilating World War III is being prepared. No one seriously expects the UN to secure or preserve peace."

"The world will never know peace until the working people everywhere replace the rule of the capitalists with their own governments. To explain the need for such a Workers and Farmers Government in the U.S.; to expose every maneuver and step toward war; to demand that the war-making powers be taken out of the hands of Wall Street's Congress and that the people shall have the democratic right to vote on war—these will be among the chief aims of our 1946 election campaign."

be more ventilation in order to reduce methane to "not more than 5 per cent." It was also stated that "an explosive mixture (of methane) was found at the face of 15 West entry." The explosion took place at 16 East entry.

The Federal Inspector found many other faults with the safety set-up of the mine. Needless to say, his recommendations were disregarded by the company. For instance, it was suggested that immediate measures be taken to control the coal dust. Coal dust can be just as explosive as dynamite.

RECOMMENDATION IGNORED

To quote the report, "Working places were dry and considerable coal dust was thrown into suspension during blasting and loading operations. The dust is not allayed at any of its sources. Water or a wetting solution should be used to allay the coal dust at its principal sources . . . Rock dust is not used in this mine."

"It is recognized that the low methane content, ranging from .22 to 1.6 per cent, existed in the mine. It recommended that there

Why The Lichfield Trials?

By George Breitman

Readers of The Militant are already acquainted with the main facts about the Lichfield trials; with the reports of brutal beatings and sadistic treatment of American prisoners—many of them wounded and decorated combat soldiers—at the Army's Tenth Reinforcement Depot guardhouse in England; with the proceedings of the first two courts-martial, which ended in the conviction of two sergeants. Even the capitalist press is finally beginning to give a little space to these atrocities (along with the much greater space they give to advertisements seeking enlistments in the armed forces).

These facts have given rise to certain questions which must be answered before one can see the Lichfield case in its proper perspective:

What is the Army's aim in holding these trials? Does it want to really punish the guilty parties? Does it aim by these trials to prevent similar brutality elsewhere?

The Army was thus faced with an unwelcome choice: Take the chance of perhaps letting it get to a Congressional committee and having an investigation by some outside body—or of proceeding on its own and trying to make the best of a bad business. Its hand was forced, and naturally it took the second course.

But the Army did not intend to do more than make a face-saving gesture. This was demonstrated beyond any possibility of doubt when it confined its charges to a number of enlisted men and the two junior officers at the Lichfield guardhouse. One of them was admittedly a psychoneurotic, the other a lieutenant who had so disliked his job there that he made repeated efforts to be transferred to some other post. It omitted charging the commanding officer, Col. James A. Killan, who was responsible for setting the guardhouse policy. It was demonstrated again in the middle of the first trial when the War Department had to withdraw its recommendation to the Senate of a promotion for

Power Politics Dominates Secret Parley Of "Big 4"

By Charles Carsten

At the end of last week representatives of the "Big Four," meeting in Paris to draft "peace" treaties with former Axis satellite countries, had reached a stalemate. The Paris conference is following the pattern established at London in September 1945 when the Foreign Ministers of the victorious powers first attempted to divide the spoils of war.

From the very beginning the nature and purpose of the meeting was made clear by the subjects placed on the agenda. As at the preceding London and Moscow conferences the main issues involve the division of the conquered countries and the establishment of respective spheres of influence.

None of the peoples whose fate is being decided will have anything to say about the way their countries are cut up, nor any voice in the method chosen for ruling their country.

Like the previous conferences, the "Big Four" meeting was heralded by government spokesmen and the capitalist press as a giant step toward establishment of world peace. But the failure of the two preceding conferences has disclosed what tremendous obstacles are blocking even the drafting of a peace treaty. The very necessity for calling a third in a series of meetings in an effort to come to some sort of agreement testifies to the depth of the differences that divide the conferring nations.

ARENA OF STRUGGLE

Furthermore, UN which was to have laid the basis for world peace and provide a forum for settling disputes between the nations, has from the very start been an arena for the Anglo-

American imperialists to sharpen the dispute between the Western powers and the USSR.

The UN was to have assured the smaller nations a voice in the decisions on major issues. Yet, at Paris the "Big Powers" are not only conducting their real business apart from the UN but connive in the strictest secrecy.

What possibility is there that this conference will lay the foundation for real world peace?

Even the Big Business press, which is anxious to give the impression that the conferees earnestly desire peace and have some chance of achieving their objective, has been filled with pessimism since the very beginning of the meeting. Such pessimism is neither ill-founded nor without an aim of its own.

BLAME USSE

First, the imperialist propagandists are attempting to lay the entire blame for the present deadlock on the Soviet Union and thereby use it as a factor in their war-mongering campaign against the USSR.

Secondly, the basic conflicts which exist between Anglo-American imperialism and the Soviet Union do not permit any real or enduring agreement. Fundamental political and economic differences make all agreements between them extremely tenuous and temporary.

Wall Street imperialists are out to dominate the world, to resolve their own economic contradictions.

(Continued on Page 6)

Detroit Workers Demonstrate Against Fascist G.L.K. Smith

By Kay O'Brien

(Special To The Militant)

DETROIT, Apr. 30—Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith, America's Number 1 fascist and race-baiter, sneaked into Detroit last night to address a meeting of his followers at the Fort Shelby Hotel. But in spite of both his and the Stalinists' efforts to keep the

meeting a secret from the labor movement, Smith was greeted by 150 determined pickets, who assembled at the hotel on less than three hours notice.

Prominent in the picket line were representatives of the Socialist Workers Party, the Wayne County CIO Council, the American Youth for Democracy, the Institute of Applied Religion, and the Amvets. There were also a number of members of the CIO United Automobile Workers and the CIO National

Maritime Union, who had hurried to the hotel as soon as they learned of the picket line.

For two hours the anti-fascist workers marched, undaunted by the police who outnumbered them and who committed many provocative acts in the hope of a pretext to use their clubs and guns against the pickets.

STALINIST ROLE

The Stalinists, who knew of Smith's secret plans, did absolutely nothing to inform and rally the organized labor movement. As late as yesterday afternoon, in answer to a phone call from the Socialist Workers Party, the Stalinist secretary of the Wayne County CIO Council, Sam Sage, denied Smith's meeting would take place.

Presidents of a number of militant UAW locals, who called in wanting to take action, were given the same incorrect information. Only when confronted with the report given to the Socialist Workers Party by the Fort Shelby Hotel management that Smith's meeting would be held as scheduled, did Sage finally and reluctantly remark, "I guess we'll have to do something about it."

This was in sharp contrast to his blustering statement only the day before, as reported in today's Daily Worker. Referring to Smith's plans to hold a meeting, Sage said "Any time this tinhorn, would-be fuhrer attempts to stick his nose into Detroit and start talking, we will have the biggest picket line this town has ever seen, and you know Detroit is famous for its mass picket lines."

SMITH'S ADMISSION

That a mass picket line, had it been called by the Wayne County CIO Council, would have been effective in stopping his meeting was tacitly admitted by Smith himself.

(Continued on Page 6)

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Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky

May Day In Japan

Under the red banners of the international working class, the starved and tortured masses of Japan marched in huge parades on May Day 1946 before the bayonets of their American imperialist conquerors and demanded an end to the monstrous agonies heaped on them by continued capitalist rule.

The spirit of working-class struggle and solidarity that imbued these tremendous masses has given the lie direct to the vile slanders that the propagandists and racial chauvinists of American imperialism hurled at the Japanese workers and peasants during the Second World War.

The whole Japanese people were pictured as brute sub-humans blindly following the Emperor and willingly dying on his behalf. They were represented as eager supporters of the ruling Japanese imperialists and "equally guilty" for the crimes of their rulers. But while the May Day marchers called for an end to Hirohito's rule, it is American bayonets which today keep him in power.

Throughout the war, The Militant alone in the United States defended the Japanese workers. We exposed the vicious propaganda being used by Wall Street imperialism to incite the American workers against their Japanese class brothers and to justify the unparalleled atrocities committed in the blasting and burning to death of millions of Japanese workers, men, women and children, by American bombs.

We said that the Japanese toilers, like the masses in every capitalist land, were dragged into the war against their will. The Militant reported the facts of the bloodily-suppressed struggles, the strikes and demonstrations, which the Japanese workers organized against their war rulers in the very midst of the war. We held out the hand of international fraternity to the Japanese workers in the struggle against all the capitalist imperialists.

How deeply the feeling of international solidarity imbues the Japanese masses, despite their long years of terrible repression and the present domination by the American imperialist armed forces, was demonstrated on May Day by the very songs of the hungry marchers. One of these was the "Red Flag," sung to the tune of "Maryland, My Maryland"—a song traditional in the American socialist movement.

Demands raised by the May Day marchers in Japan disclosed the fundamental identity of interests between the exploited Japanese workers and the workers of America. These demands included: "A Minimum Wage Regulated By Living Costs" and "Peoples' Food-stuffs Committees." How closely these demands correspond to key slogans of The Militant and Socialist Workers Party!

The most advanced militants of the American labor movement are today raising similar demands in struggle against the Big Business profiteers, the common enemy of both the American and Japanese workers.

That is why American labor is duty-bound to help the Japanese workers in their struggle for emancipation. The greatest service we can render them is to insist that the Wall Street government—guardian of the Emperor and the Japanese capitalists—withdraw at once all its armed forces from Japanese soil.

Aid 'The Militant'

We take justifiable pride in reporting in this issue the results to date of our \$15,000 Militant Sustaining Fund Campaign.

At the mid-point of the campaign, The Militant has received well over the amount set as the quota for the first half of our drive.

This generous response of our readers to our financial appeal speaks volumes for the genuine regard which thousands of the most class-conscious and advanced American workers hold for The Militant.

The Militant has earned this support by its uncompromising adherence to the truth, its fighting exposures of the crimes of Big Business, its unyielding struggle on behalf of the workers and its undeviating devotion to the principles of international socialism.

The Militant, as scores of thousands of workers on the picket lines have learned in the past year, is the foremost defender of labor's interests. Time and again our paper has spoken out and revealed facts which the kept capitalist press has sought to bury and suppress.

To cite the most recent instance. Only The Militant carried the full story of the McCoy, Va., mine disaster, which the Big Business press tried to play down because that tragedy focused a glaring spot-light on the terrible conditions in the mines and underscored the current demands of the coal miners for safety conditions and a union health and welfare fund.

Our readers appreciate the fact that The Militant is sustained entirely by the contributions of workers. We neither solicit nor accept any advertising or other forms of financial aid from interests outside the labor movement.

We extend our heart-felt thanks to all those who have thus far contributed to our \$15,000 Fund. At the same time, we remind our readers that the quota is still far from fulfillment. Therefore, we urge you to send in your contribution as soon as possible. The Militant needs your aid—and you need The Militant.

While Millions Starve

A Philadelphia shipyard worker has sent The Militant an eye-witness account of the burning and destruction of a boat-load of food and other precious consumer goods by order of the federal government. His story appears on page six of this issue.

This story corresponds to reports that have seeped in about the deliberate destruction of huge quantities of supplies at American military establishments all over the world.

This policy is being pursued at the very time when half the world's people are facing the greatest catastrophe in human history—a famine which is expected to wipe out a hundred million lives in Europe and Asia. It is being pursued while the American masses themselves suffer drastic shortages and are being gouged by the profiteers and black marketeers.

This criminal policy is being furthered by the very Truman administration which is now demanding that the American people "tighten their belts" and share their rations with the starving all over the earth.

Here we have the essence of capitalist barbarism and anarchy. The capitalist profiteers thrive on scarcity. They don't want huge supplies of commodities thrown on the market, with the "danger" that these might "adversely" affect the soaring price inflation.

During Roosevelt's "New Deal" era, we recall, the capitalist government "plowed under" pigs and wheat and cotton while millions in this country were going hungry and ill-clad. The American ruling class deliberately destroyed vital necessities in order to "bolster the price structure."

Today, behind the screen of "humanitarianism," the capitalist rulers of America are "plowing under" vast stocks of government-owned supplies while hundreds of millions starve, in order to "bolster the price structure" and protect profit interests.

The American labor movement must take the lead in demanding the immediate discontinuation of this planned destruction of life-giving necessities which the American people produced and paid for during the war. Labor should call for the turning over of all such surpluses to committees of the unions, farmer and consumer organizations for immediate distribution to the starving millions abroad.

A Perfidious Slogan

On June 6 the Stalinists in New York will rally in Madison Square Garden to celebrate the first anniversary of "D-Day." An advertisement in the April 29 Daily Worker announced that this celebration will be held under the auspices of the Council of African Affairs of which Paul Robeson, well-known spokesman for the Stalinists, is chairman.

The advertisement listed the central slogan of this Stalinist-dominated celebration as "Big Three Unity for Colonial Freedom."

It would be difficult to select a slogan from the arsenal of imperialist war propaganda that expresses a greater lie than this one. Not a single colony has been granted freedom as a result of the war and "Big Three Unity." On the contrary, the Big Three are doing their utmost to maintain the despotic and oppressive regimes still shackling the colonial peoples.

In Java, for instance, the western imperialist powers have ruthlessly employed mass murder to put down the aspirations of the Javanese people for freedom.

The same brutal means have likewise been employed by the imperialist powers in Indo-China and in the Arab world in response to the growing movement for colonial freedom.

The irrepressible struggle of India's teeming millions for liberty from Britain's despotic grip has been met with machine guns. And throughout Latin America and the Philippines, Wall Street has tightened the economic, political and military noose strangling these lands.

This picture is not different in the areas dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy. In Eastern Europe the heel of Stalinist totalitarian rule presses down on the aspirations of the masses there to determine their own fate.

"Big Three Unity" in the colonial world means unity against the aspirations for freedom of the colonial and colored peoples. It means continued famine and mass murder.

The only hope for the colonial peoples lies in joining the struggle of the working class to break the stranglehold of the Big Three and set out on the road to socialism. Colonial freedom can be won only through the most heroic struggle against the imperialist ruling class and the perfidious Stalinist bureaucracy.

Thus the slogan of the Stalinist celebration over the first anniversary of "D-Day" is not designed to help win the freedom of the colonial world. Quite the reverse. It is part and parcel of a treacherous policy calculated to bolster the regimes of the imperialist colonial rulers on the one hand and the reactionary power politics of the Kremlin despots on the other.



BOOKSHELF

THE DEATH AGONY OF CAPITALISM AND THE TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL: The Transitional Program adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International, published by Pioneer Publishers, 1946, 64 pp., 25 cents.

This pamphlet is a reprint of the basic document of the world Trotskyist movement, popularly known as the "Transitional Program." It was adopted unanimously at the Founding Conference of the Fourth International which convened in 1938 "somewhere in Switzerland" and was attended by 30 delegates representing 11 countries. Pioneer Publishers is to be commended for bringing forth this document at a time when, more than ever, it fills an urgent need of the world revolutionary socialist movement.

TROTSKY, CHIEF AUTHOR

The Fourth International was founded at the height of the preparations for the second imperialist world war, when "the traditional parties of the working class—the parties of the Second and Third Internationals—had completely succumbed to chauvinism. . . . Alone and in the face of tremendous obstacles, the Trotskyists met in a world conference to raise the banner of working-class internationalism and the revolutionary struggle for socialism."

Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International, and chief author of this document, wrote in 1938: "The acceptance of this program, prepared for and assured by a lengthy previous discussion, or rather, a whole series of discussions, represents our most capital conquest. The Fourth International . . . is armed with a system of transitional demands which are capable of uniting the masses

for a revolutionary struggle for power."

Seven and a half years after its adoption by the Founding Conference, "the Transitional Program, retaining its full validity, has been officially reaffirmed by the Fourth International," states the Foreword to the pamphlet. The recent World Conference of the Fourth International, held in Belgium in April 1946, asserted once again "the necessity of centering the political work in all the world sections, and especially the European sections, around the Transitional Program."

The first section of the document establishes the fact that "the politics of the bourgeoisie and its international relations are completely blighted by a social crisis, characteristic of a pre-revolutionary state of society."

It rejects "all talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism" as "the product of ignorance or conscious deception." The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution, it states, "have not only 'ripened,' they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period, at that—a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind." It is undeniable that today this catastrophe looms as a grim reality.

BRIDGE TO REVOLUTION

"The historical crisis of mankind," the document sums up, is today "reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership." This crisis is the product of the degeneration of the leaderships of both the Second and Third Internationals.

In order to overcome the political immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard, in the face of the maturity of the ob-

jective revolutionary conditions, the document emphasizes that "it is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of transitional demands stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class, and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

The various key transitional slogans are fully elaborated and explained in this document: the "Sliding Scale of Wages and the Sliding Scale of Hours," "Factory Committees," "Business Secrets and Workers' Control of Industry," "Expropriation of Separate Groups of Capitalists," "The Picket Line—Defense Groups—Workers' Militia—The Arming of the Proletariat," "The Alliance of the Workers and Farmers," "The Struggle Against Imperialism and War"—all leading up to the final slogan: "Workers' and Farmers' Government," which is a popular designation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Transitional slogans are elaborated in the document for backward, colonial countries, for fascist countries, for the USSR, now dominated by the reactionary Kremlin clique. The document warns against all revisionist tendencies, and points the road for the woman worker and the youth.

This important pamphlet is printed in convenient pocket book size. It is the first of a series of outstanding Marxist works to be published in this size by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Reviewed by Larissa Reed

Congressmen At Work

Congress is a happy hunting ground for assorted wolves in sheep's clothing. Here labor's enemies not infrequently masquerade as its "friends" and warmongers romp in the habitations of "peace-lovers." But for grand-prize attainment in false-pretense costumery, the latest semi-annual award should go to Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, who last month pronounced himself not less than "the Negro's best friend!"



Bilbo, that genial and lovable throw-back to the slave-owners of the cotton-belt, was pierced right through his tender hide (to where some allege a heart resides) by an article in the March 11 Life magazine, entitled "Senators Face Election." Life had characterized Bilbo as the worst man in the Senate, an imputation which a sensitive soul like Bilbo was bound to resent.

With the noble fury of a Southern gentleman hurling a fire-brand at a bound and gasoline-soaked Negro, Bilbo leaped to his own defense. Among other self-laudatory remarks, the Mississippi statesman sanctimoniously averred: "I have not been attacking the Negro. I have been the Negro's best friend. . . . I believe in giving him what he is entitled to."

Not unexpectedly, what this "best friend" of the Negro people thinks they are entitled to coincides precisely with what the Southern white ruling class has traditionally accorded them—with hangings, shootings and burnings as a generous addition. "I believe in segregation . . . I do not believe in social equality with the Negro. . . . If you want to call that white supremacy, all right," asserted Bilbo challengingly.

ly, that "Life may think I am 'bad' now, but when I am re-elected in July and map out my plans for good government for the next six years, they will think that I was an angel before, but a devil now."

Expatiating on these larger plans for future "good government," Bilbo revealed himself the "best friend" of other oppressed minorities as well as the Negroes. "Today our country is flooded with all the refugees and rabble of war-torn Europe. . . . When I come back here after July 2, I shall see whether we can do something about getting rid of them and deporting them. They are contaminating."

Bilbo's qualifications for initiating large-scale pogroms against the helpless refugees are highly regarded by no less auth-

orities than his own political henchmen down in Mississippi, whose "testimonial" on his virtues Bilbo inserted into the Congressional Record for the benefit of posterity. The "testimonial" states:

"Senator Bilbo . . . has successfully defeated a number of bills designed to destroy southern ideals and customs. . . . The anti-lynching bill, the anti-poll-tax bill, and the Fair Employment Practices Committee are three of the most infamous pieces of legislation which have gone down in defeat largely because of Bilbo's astuteness and filibuster."

"The anti-poll-tax bill . . . has twice been defeated by a filibuster conducted by southern Senators, led by Senator Bilbo."

"In June 1945, Senator Bilbo filibustered against the appropriation for the Fair Employment Practice Committee and succeeded in practically killing this . . . cleverly designed attempt to legislate social equality. . . ."

In view of these not inconsiderable accomplishments, Bilbo could not help but conclude with incomparable logic: "The Negroes in Mississippi are my friends and I am a friend to the Negroes everywhere."

NEW YORK FORUM
"Wall St.'s Plans To Rule World"
 Speaker:
THOMAS RICARDI
 Sunday, May 12
 116 University Place 8 p. m.

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

The Atlantic City Outrage

"The shortage of veteran hospital beds has assumed the proportions of a national crisis," declared Milton Alexander, writer on veterans' affairs, in the April 25 Veterans News Service.

"North and South, East and West—overtaxed veteran facilities are breaking their seams to meet the crushing tide," he continued. The Veterans Administration estimates that by 1950 the need for general medical and surgical beds will be increased by 80,216.

Even now all VA hospital facilities are filled to capacity and thousands of veterans are awaiting admission. At the Bronx hospital in New York, to cite but a single instance, 2,000 veterans are on the waiting list.

"The present outrageous shortage of beds," Alexander goes on, "can be ascribed to an assortment of causes. Some of them are historical. . . . Others are most recent and threaten to perpetuate the tragedy."

While World War II raged, taking its toll in dead and wounded, the Veterans Administration did nothing to make provisions for the hundreds of thousands of men it knew would need treatment.

"Pork Barrel Politics"

Even now, with a major crisis in hospitalization in the offing, squabbling over hospital sites, red-tape and "pork-barrel" politics are delaying and impeding hospital construction.

The Veterans Administration, with its top-heavy bureaucracy of Brass and ex-Brass, has done practically nothing even now, eight months since the end of the war, to facilitate hospital construction.

The government's failure to act in the interest of the disabled veterans is in sharp contrast to its actions in mobilizing the country's resources for war. Before and during the conflict, the war chiefs took over hotels throughout the country to house the expanding Army and Navy.

Some of these hotels were converted into hospitals. One of them, the Chalfonte-Haddon Hall Hotel in Atlantic City, known as the England General Hospital, has been maintained as a center for the treatment of amputees.

Despite the shortage of veterans' hospitals, the Army has made known its intention of closing this hospital on June 30. This move is in response to demands from wealthy hotel owners, both the owners of the Chalfonte-Haddon Hall and others, who object to having disabled veterans on the Boardwalk in Atlantic City.

Government Indifferent

Amputee patients of the hospital gathered on Atlantic City's Boardwalk around Easter to ask promenade signers to sign a protest petition. They have inaugurated a campaign to have the Chalfonte-Haddon Hall properties retained as an Army hospital throughout the summer.

In one day, Friday before Easter, the amputees obtained 10,000 signatures and on Easter 20,000 more. The amputee patients planned to forward the petitions to President Truman in a direct appeal for his intervention to prevent the Army from shutting down the Boardwalk hospital.

The fact that war-disabled men are forced to take such action points up the callous indifference of the government toward disabled war veterans.

Not only should the hotel in Atlantic City be retained for the treatment and care of the war-wounded, but other hotels should be made available. Veterans' organizations and the union movement must raise a mighty shout of protest against the Army's shameful action. They must demand that sufficient suitable hotels and other appropriate buildings be taken over by the Veterans Administration and converted into hospital facilities to care for the thousands of war-veterans desperately waiting treatment.

One-Third Of Nation Are Still Ill-Housed

About one-third of this country's families are unable to find homes or to move, according to a survey reported by Fortune magazine in April. Nearly half of those who want to buy a home can afford only \$6,000 or less. Three-quarters of the prospective renters can afford less than \$50 a month rent. The vast extent of this housing crisis is revealed by the fact that 60.2 per cent of the nation's families are forced to double up or share their already crowded living space. Returned servicemen and their families are hardest hit.

New York City furnishes a typical example of the official runaround on housing given the homeless veterans and non-veterans. According to a series of articles last week in PM, these distressed families "can look forward to at least another five years of house-hunting, doubling-up and living in uncomfortable and unsuitable quarters."

In the past 10 years the number of dwellings in New York City has increased by only 188,935, while the number of families has increased by 431,000. The result is a net shortage of 342,065 housing units. The deterioration of dwellings now occupied by poor families is augmented by still further deterioration every year.

In 1910 New York had 636,138 old-law tenements (built before 1901 when modern health and safety regulations were made law.) Last year there were still 457,000 of these vermin-infested fire traps still standing and occupied.

Shockingly Inadequate

The do-nothing official housing plans guarantee that the millions of New York City slum-dwellers can look forward to "another ten or twenty years" of living in these slums, reports P.M. "The Mayor's Emergency Committee on Housing . . . recommended not one single plan or suggestion which was not already on the books." And the program now "on the books" is shockingly inadequate.

The program of the New York City Housing Authority for 23,000 low-rent, subsidized housing projects was held up when "postwar construction costs" were found to be 70 per cent higher than was estimated when plans were made. Now instead of low-cost houses, the homeless are getting bureaucratic red tape and buck-passing.

A trickle of privately built houses may be built but only under the regulations of the Civilian Production Administration, which places a minimum rent of \$82 for three rooms on this type of construction. Half of New York's population of homeless and ill-housed can afford no more than \$25 a month rent. Another third can pay no more than \$40.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Combat Veteran Contributes \$500 To The 'Militant' Fund

Dear Editor: I am sending you \$500 for the Militant fund. To tell you why would really require an autobiography. I have just returned from three years overseas. In this period, I "visited" England, Africa, Italy, France, Germany and Austria. Leaving aside the horrors of the war itself, the shellings, bombings, and killings that make one insensate with fear, and psychopathic in mind, I saw the great "benefits" of capitalism.

I saw the emaciated common people of England, almost all of them are afflicted with decayed teeth because their food was never sufficient. And I saw the wealthy who live in luxury, and buy whatever they can choose.

In Africa I witnessed the great "benefits" of "democracy," where the Arabs have the privilege of living in huts made of cow dung and straw. They are also fortunate in their wearing apparel — a sack cloth.

Then I saw Italy. "Sunny Italy" — where mothers are out looking for soldier customers for their daughters. The squalor and misery cannot be described. Again, landlords and respectable business people were well provided with wine, and such.

Then France — "la belle France" — where prostitution and black markets flourish — amidst terrible scarcity of food — which the wealthy can easily procure.

And in Germany, MPs would tell me how Nazis were released by the Military Government to continue their rich lives and their economic domination over the common people. Again there, too, terrible destruction and poverty.

Only touching Austria, I cannot speak too much of this overrun country, but I don't think it requires great imagination to say that it would be little different.

And in the wake of the Allied advance came ruination of crops and factories on the one hand, and great demands by the "liberating" soldiers on the other. This resulted in tremendous inflation and black market activities. Freedom from want? For the rich, yes. Not for the working people — not for the poor!

And now why did I send a contribution? Anybody who saw all this, and can understand it, would be a spineless coward if he didn't do everything he could to change the economic system capable of wreaking such havoc.

H. Lamont

Billions Spent On A-Bombs While Cancer Victims Die

Editor: Upon completion of the A-bomb which destroyed a half-million people, the capitalist press played up the atomic energy age, everybody began to think how wonderful life would soon be with atomic energy. But people who understand the operation of capitalism realized that this was just another capitalist lie.

The government is spending over a million dollars a day building A-bombs. For what? To help society? No, to further destroy it. They've experimented with it on buildings and on human beings.

Not thoroughly satisfied with their cold-blooded methods of destruction, they now intend to blow up a half-billion dollars worth of anchored ships in the mid-Pacific. Is it any wonder we'll have to pay high taxes for many years to come? I am using this illustration to

show that under capitalism the necessary things in life on which intensive study and research should be done, are given very little financial aid by the capitalist government.

For example, 170,000 or more people will die this year from cancer. The capitalist government appropriates very little for research of this type. Once again the method of procuring money for this work has begun in theater collections, placing the burden upon the masses.

Just think! This big, rich capitalist government which can blow up millions of dollars, pushes the cost of cancer research onto the public, by collecting their pennies, nickels and dimes in the theaters!

The recent exposure of General Electric's suppression of the Betatron, a machine which scientists declare can aid in curing the dread disease of cancer, is worth remembering. They kept this machine from the people for four years, and over a half a million cancer victims have died in that time.

Under capitalism it is really easy to die, but we sure have to struggle to keep alive.

Joe Donalds
Reading, Pa.

Youth Group Activities

NEW YORK — For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 110 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Open Forum: Every Friday, 7 p.m., at 116 University Place, Harlem: Weekly discussions on current problems every Friday, 8 p.m., at 103 West 110 St. (Lenox Ave.) Room 28. Dancing, refreshments.

BROOKLYN: Class on "Struggle for Negro Equality." Instructor: Harry Robinson. Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. at Brooklyn headquarters, SWP, 635 Fulton Street.

BUFFALO — Militant Youth Club meets every Sunday, 7 p.m. Discussion, music, dramatics. Refreshments served. Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

PHILADELPHIA — Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard, 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES — Write to SWP headquarters, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. For information on Youth Group activities.

'Militant' Sustaining Fund Drive Hits \$8,987 In Seventh Week

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

\$8,987.58 at the halfway mark! The Militant Sustaining Fund Drive is now on the home stretch. The last lap is the most important and if the past seven weeks are any indication of the Bolshevik spirit prevailing in this campaign, there will be a fine finish.

Clearing the halfway hurdle by a wide margin, \$1,349.41 was received this week to give us a total of \$8,987.58 to date. This sum represents 60 per cent of our quota of \$15,000 to be reached by June 15, the closing date of the drive.

In fact, figuratively speaking the halfway total was never actually reached. It was bypassed a week ahead of the halfway mark, when we oversubscribed our goal at the end of the sixth week of the Militant Drive with the attainment of \$1 per cent.

Again, too, the minimum of \$1,000 needed weekly to insure our reaching the \$15,000 goal on time has been surpassed. This week, members of the Socialist Workers Party, readers and friends have contributed a total of \$1,349.41. It is indeed a laudable achievement to oversubscribe our weekly goal by 135 per cent.

YOUTH STILL LEAD

Our New York Trotskyist Youth maintain their lead for the fifth consecutive week. With their determination to stay on top, it will take a lot of work from our other branches to give them some competition. With 185 per cent reached, and their consistent weekly contributions, it'll be no effort for them to reach 200 per cent soon.

The Youngstown Branch of the Socialist Workers Party warrants special commendation this week. They have climbed from eighteenth place last week to join the group of "100 per centers." As explained previously, this special category represents those branches who have either completed, or gone above their quotas.

C. Peters of Youngstown on the Militant Fund Raising Committee writes: "On Sunday, April 28, the Youngstown Branch held a very successful fund raising banquet. Many friends of the party came to help and attend the banquet. Our friends took complete charge of preparing the spaghetti, meatballs and chicken — and were they good!

"The program consisted of short talks by three comrades; first the present world situation and the progress of the Socialist Workers Party; second, the huge job of publishing The Militant, all the way from the source of news to distribution at mill gates; third, the role of The Militant and the party in the present world struggle. Two accordionists and a soloist entertained.

"Then came the contributions — and together with previous money, over \$400' cash is now collected.

"This banquet completes the first stage of our campaign. Second comes concentration on friends. And finally we are going to combine a Militant renewal campaign with requests for contributions from these readers. This detailed planning is netting excellent results for branch spirit as well as for funds. The campaign method does the trick!"

Duncan Conway, Local New York Militant Campaign Director sends us the following information: "The Roof Garden Party and Dance which is being held by the Harlem Branch this Saturday, May 11, is the first large-scale social affair in New York to raise funds for The Militant. "Comrade Bill Morgan reports that the comrades in Harlem have been working enthusiastically in preparation for this affair, and are confident it will be highly successful. Many new readers are expected to attend."

SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p.m. Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

Friday Classes: "Introduction to Marxist Economics" 7:30-8:30. "Fascism" 8:30-9:30.

SEATTLE — Visit our Headquarters, 1919 1/2 Second Ave.

ST. LOUIS — Visit our Headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p.m. Forums every Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

TACOMA, Wash. — For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO — Forums every Tuesday, 8:00 p.m., 213 Michigan St. Open evenings, 7-9.

YOUNGSTOWN — Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., open to public Tuesday and Saturday afternoon from 2 to 5; also 7:30 to 9:30, Monday to Thursday.

\$15,000



MAY 2 - \$8,987.58

SCOREBOARD

	QUOTA	PAID	PER-CENT
NEW YORK YOUTH	50	92.62	185
PORTLAND	25	26.00	104
ROCHESTER	50	50.00	100
BALTIMORE	25	25.00	100
READING	100	100.00	100
BOSTON	400	400.00	100
YOUNGSTOWN	400	401.00	100
Minneapolis	500	410.00	82
St. Louis	50	40.00	80
Buffalo-Lackawanna	500	376.50	75
Connecticut	100	70.75	71
San Francisco	1000	688.00	68
Newark	300	200.40	66
Flint	100	65.00	65
New York City	3500	2257.37	64
Milwaukee	100	62.05	62
St. Paul	250	155.00	62
Cleveland	250	139.00	55
San Diego	100	55.00	55
Los Angeles	2000	1065.50	53
Pittsburgh	100	53.75	53
Philadelphia	500	230.98	46
Detroit	1250	547.00	43
Philadelphia Youth	25	10.55	42
Akron	300	128.25	42
Cincinnati	25	10.00	40
Toledo	200	69.66	34
Chicago	1500	472.60	31
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	20.00	26
Seattle	500	106.50	21
Bayonne	75	15.00	20
Los Angeles Youth	75	8.75	12
General	575	645.35	112
TOTAL	15,000	8987.58	60

NEWARK FORUM

Speakers:
GEORGE BREITMAN
on

"Lichtfield Army Prison Camp"

LARRY CARTER

on
"Jim Crow In The U. S. Army"

FRIDAY, May 10, 8 p.m.

Socialist Workers Party

423 Springfield Avenue

DETROIT

"Recent Wave Of Anti-Negro Terror"

Speaker:

CHARLES JACKSON, 'Militant' Columnist

Sunday, May 12, 3 p.m.

Socialist Workers Party

6108 Linwood Admission Free

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."
—KAMU MARI

by CHARLES JACKSON

Legalized Lynching in Lumberton

Although unbelievable injustices and atrocities against Southern Negroes are an every day occurrence, only once in a while do the "white supremacists" come up with such a glaring frame-up that it gains widespread attention.

Southern "justice" for the black man was typified in the mass arrests of Negroes in Columbia, Tennessee, after the state police terror in that city.

Another such case has now broken through the wall of silence erected by the Big Business press. It concerns four men sentenced to die in North Carolina's gas chamber on July 26 for the "rape" of a white prostitute in the town of Lumberton.

From facts brought out at the trial, it appears that on March 17, Dorothy Frye, 29, had been out drinking with Frank Straughn, white, whose driver's license had been revoked for drunken driving. When they ran out of whiskey, they went out on Lovett Road to the house of Granter Thompson, 21, a Negro Mrs. Frye had known closely and from whom she had bought drinks for over a year.

The car stalled and Straughn went into town for help. Mrs. Frye, having no money, tried to buy drinks "on the cuff" and was turned down by Thompson. According to Thompson's testimony, she then agreed to sexual intercourse with him for \$2.50 to get money for whiskey. They went to an unfinished house across the road and the bargain was transacted.

Mrs. Frye then asked if any of the boys in the neighborhood had any money. Soon she had also done business with Stacy Powell, 23; Calvin Covington, 18; and Cliff Inman, 36. Covington, however, left without paying, and Powell came up \$2 short. The four Negroes agreed that she then left angrily, with the threat: "I'll get even with you."

When Dorothy Frye reported the multiple "raping," local officers immediately picked up the accused. Before taking them to jail, they brutally beat each one. Details of the six-day trial

which ended April 20 reveal even the "defending" attorneys, J. S. Bowman and L. P. Harris, had a good hand in lading out this specimen of Dixie justice. They waived by default the systematic and illegal exclusion of Negroes from the jury. Furthermore, they did not even call as defense witnesses Dr. E. L. Bowman and Dr. S. M. Wrenn, who had examined the woman immediately after the alleged attack and declared she showed none of the signs one would expect after the type of brutally-enforced relationship that she insisted had occurred.

But what is the word of four Negroes and the weight of all other evidence compared to the accusation of one white woman in Dixie? The jury answered that with rapid conviction.

And what is the value of life for four young colored men as compared with the "honor" of one WHITE prostitute in the land of magnolias and moonshine? Judge Clawson L. Williams answered, when he pronounced the sentence: "Death by asphyxiation."

The lives of these four men must be saved. For them to die for such a "crime" would be an atrocity. They must be freed. It is partly through such vicious practices of "white supremacy" that the wealthy land-owning class in the deep South is still able to keep poor whites and poor Negroes hating each other and divided, and thus unable to fight against poverty and squalor.

The first step in cleaning out the Southern social swamp will be taken when the CIO embarks on its projected drive to organize the Negro and white workers in that area. It could fire its opening gun by rallying now to the defense of these Lumberton men, to demonstrate to all that the CIO is interested in protecting even the most oppressed and persecuted sections of the toilers of America.

OUR PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!

Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

No restriction on the right to strike!

3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

Down with Jim Crow!

5. Build an independent labor party!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions! Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

9. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

I would like:

To join the Socialist Workers Party.

To obtain further information about your organization.

To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

NAME _____ (Please Print)

STREET _____

CITY _____

POSTAL ZONE _____ STATE _____

Diary Of A Steelworker *By T. Kovalesky*

In every man is the longing of the earth in the springtime. When the dark winds of winter lose their knife points and become soft, when the ore-stained, smoke-darkened snows broaden into pools of dirty water and taper into brown little streams trickling down the gutters, gurgling into the drains, when the miserably trees of the steel towns spring lightly into bud, like a poor woman decking her toll-worn body with a little hard-earned brightness; then a man feels the longing of the earth in his blood.



In the springtime, they say, bears come out of their caves, and water creatures rise from the cold-stiffened mud of the river bottoms. Birds return to the trees and mountains of the north. And man is no different from other living creatures. But there is the beginning and the end. The fields and forests lie green beneath the sun. The massive rocks rise from the rivers, the breezes beckon, and the longing of the earth is in the blood, but the worker is chained to the factory and bound to the shacks of the steel towns, the tenements of the cities.

Jimmy and I sat side by side on a log, the warm rays of the sun boring into our backs. Jimmy said, "Seems like every time we go fishing it's harder to go back to work next day." "Don't worry," I answered, "we don't go often enough to make us good and lazy." "Yeah. Then there's that man pushing you right back into that gate!" I smiled. I didn't have to ask Jimmy who "that man" was. That was an old joke. "That man" was hunger. He was rent and worn-out clothing. He was hungry little mouths at home that had to have food. So "that man" pushed you right inside the factory gate to sweat for the money he demanded. Jimmy took a big breath of the clear air that blew from the lake up the little stream where we sat with our fishing poles. "We're gonna go fishing more often this year," he promised. "Sure," I said. Each year Jimmy said that, and I agreed with him. But each year it was seldom that we man-

aged to get away from the furnaces and the town. We said it each year, but I don't think either one of us believed it very much. The sun reddened. We began to shiver. We gathered up our stuff and stowed it into the back of Jimmy's old car, his "struggle-buggy," as he called it. The outing was over, and the next day would see us back on the furnace on the night shift.

"You know," Jimmy mused as he let out the clutch, "a lot of fellows don't ever get out like this, just stay on the job or in town all the time." "We wouldn't get out either if you didn't have this limousine," I said, shifting my weight away from the broken spring in the seat. "And it's falling apart. It won't be long before it goes to the junk yard." We drove silently through the early evening back toward town, toward the Jim Crow section where Jimmy lived and the other part where Mary and I have our place. It had been so brief, our little fishing trip, one day yanked out of the sweat of the steel plant and the grime of the steel town.

It was spring, and the longing of the earth was in our blood, and for one little day we had felt the sun and the wind and smelled the green things growing . . . one day, a few hours, and then once again the job, heavy and sickeningly hot, and the worries of trying to make ends meet. . . . But, for most, the longing and the surge of springtime in the blood is a beginning and an ending all at once. Spring isn't spring to the millions of piled-up human beings in the tenements and shacks of capitalist America. Springtime is stillborn. The longing of the earth quickens the pulses of the gray millions, then it is dead, even before it is born, crushed down into the rut of time-clock and lunch-hour existence. Spring is spring only to those who can afford it. The beasts of the field and the birds of the sky, even the frogs and snakes, stir with renewed life, as the green things rise up out of the ground. But for the workers there is no spring, no summer, no day, no night. There is only the time-clock, the first, second, or third shift, the landlord, and the grocer. There are the worn streets with dirt and broken glass in the gutters, the pools of ore-brown water, the poor relaxation of the bar and the sick fatigue of the job.

Notes Of A Seaman *By Art Sharon*

I want to say a few words about the current campaign to raise a \$15,000 Sustaining Fund for *The Militant*. These words are for the seaman who picks up the paper occasionally when he is in port or for the one who sees the paper for the first time. The regular reader of *The Militant* is by this time familiar with the special importance of this campaign.

The Militant has appeared on the waterfront of the principal American ports for a long time. From the very beginning of the resurgent seamen's movement in 1934 the paper has made the great cause of the seamen's struggle its own. Its columns were always open to news and articles that in any way could help clarify the critical problems facing union seamen in their struggles against John Shipowner and his stooges, both big and small.

But *The Militant* goes further. *The Militant* links the battle of the seamen against John Shipowner with the battle of the working stiffs everywhere against the bosses. In the pages of this paper the seamen receives class education. In it he will find the arguments and the facts to counter the vicious employer propaganda that seeks him out everywhere—even at sea thousands of miles from port.

John Shipowner is always aware of the importance of confusing and confounding the minds of the seamen who man his ships. He subsidizes institutions like the American Merchant Marine Library, in the hope of counteracting the influence of straight, clear working-class thought.

Just the other day on the floor of the Maritime Exchange in the heart of Wall Street the

Shipowners had a rally to raise funds and collect books for the AMML. And Basil Harris, principal reactionary spokesman for the shipowners, minced no words on the importance of the library's work. He called for support to the library drive in order to "educate" the seamen in the ideas of "Americanism," etc. He warned his fellow shipowners of the influence of radical literature that appeared aboard ship.

While he used the opportunity to blast the leaders of the NMU as being responsible for a flood of "communistic literature," this shouldn't fool any intelligent seaman. The literature put aboard ship during the past years by the Stalinist Communist Party is of the type that could evoke only the admiration of the shipowners. It brought confusion twice confounded to the minds of those who took it seriously.

What Basil Harris had in mind were union papers that strengthened union loyalties and literature like *The Militant* which speaks for the working class as a whole against all of capitalism.

The shipowners can afford to spend thousands of dollars in anti-union propaganda. They would like to kill every live thought in the minds of the seamen and replace it with boss propaganda. To that end they like to see seamen read senseless comic books and books on "Americanism" that are anti-unionism covered with the American flag.

That is why *The Militant* calls for your support. This is a national "tarpaullin muster" and all hands are invited to pitch in. In so doing you are buying ammunition for that never-ceasing battle against John Shipowner, his brothers everywhere and his stooges of every type and variety.

Send in what you can afford to *The Militant* today. Use the coupon on Page 5.

Ship-Load Of Food Burned And Destroyed By Government As Irate Workers Look On

By C. Blake

(Special To The Militant)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., May 1—Since Monday the government has been destroying and burning 2,000 tons of fresh meats, butter, flour, canned goods and linens which are packed in the holds of the U.S.S. "Exchange" an American troop transport, owned by the American Export Lines, and docked at the Cramp Shipyard for reconditioning.

While the nation is told to tighten its belt and eat less, this ship-load of fresh beef, mutton, lamb, chicken; 1500 lbs. of butter; one hold full of canned corned beef, salmon, vegetables, fruit juices; hundreds of bedsheets, towels and blankets—all of these items are being removed from the ship and are being spoiled and burned by government order.

Sailors are kept busy all day long punching holes in the canned goods to spoil the contents while all the other foods and dry goods are being unloaded and burned.

New Quarters For Los Angeles SWP

The Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party announces that it has succeeded in obtaining a larger and more suitable headquarters.

The new hall, located at 316 1/2 West Pico Blvd., has a seating capacity of between 175 and 200 in addition to several offices and kitchen facilities.

The headquarters will be open to all, every day except Sunday, between 12 and 5 o'clock, beginning May 15.

Vets Demand Homes In Illinois



More than 400 veterans recently marched on the capitol building at Springfield, Ill., pitching their tents on the lawn. Their signs assailed the National Association of Manufacturers.

"Peace" Parley Haggles Over Spoils Of War

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tions at the expense of the entire world. This brings them into conflict with all the other nations, not excluding their present junior partner the British Empire.

At present Washington is able to keep the other capitalist countries of the world in line by the weight of its economic and military might, plus the fact that all the capitalist countries share its hostility toward the Soviet Union.

GROWING CONFLICT

The growing conflict between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world is the most immediate and pressing issue. The Soviet Union, covering one-sixth of the earth's surface, is closed to capitalist exploitation and its system of nationalized economy is in diametrical opposition to the system prevailing in the capitalist world—this is the underlying source of mortal antagonism between the USSR and the Anglo-American imperialists.

At the same time the extension of the Kremlin's domination in Eastern Europe and Asia prevents stabilization of capitalist relations and power. It impedes Anglo-American imperialism in its efforts to secure a foothold in these areas.

As always, Stalin attempts to cover up these basic sources of conflict. He continues to advance and to rely on a policy based on the utterly false idea of the indefinitely "peaceful co-existence" of the Soviet Union and its nationalized property with the capitalist nations.

At the same time, the Kremlin fears and suspects the capitalist powers—especially U. S. imperialism with its growing stock of Atomic Bombs. But having long ago betrayed the world proletariat, the Stalinist bureaucracy resorts to the same reactionary methods of ruthless power politics as the capitalist states in an attempt to secure defensive advantages.

FUTILE MANEUVERS

Stalin and Molotov haggle over spheres of influence, strips of land, strategic bases, etc., all in the vain hope of building an effective buffer between the USSR and the imperialist powers. That was the same futile hope that motivated the Kremlin's treacherous pact with Hitler in August 1939.

It is not at all excluded that this or some subsequent conference may patch up a temporary deal or postpone the showdown between the western imperialists and the Kremlin. But such diplomatic deals have proved in the past to be worthless.

Thus, instead of creating the conditions for peace the Paris conference is actually sowing the seeds of a Third World War.

Operators Ignored Safety Rules Before McCoy Blast

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explosibility ratio of this coal dust tends to reduce the likelihood of coal dust explosion; however, this possibility would be further reduced by the use of rock-dust. Therefore, it is recommended that the mine be thoroughly rock-dusted in all open unsealed places that are not wet to within 40 feet of the working faces.

Needless to say, this company has never bought a pound of rock-dust for its mine nor does it intend to. Inspector Caylor also noted "the failure to test for gas immediately before and after shots (of explosives) are fired." He recommended "a test for gas should be made immediately before and after the firing of shots." Had the company taken this advice offered them almost a year ago, the 12 miners who died on April 18 might be alive today.

The mine officials now falsely claim that a permissible-flame safety lamp test was made one half-hour before the explosion took place. The miners who escaped, however, have established that the last safety lamp test was made a full hour before the explosion. And the usual practice in the mine is for two safety lamp tests a day.

Bill Johnson, who barely escaped with his life, and whose brother died in the explosion, when asked if any safety measure might have prevented the disaster, replied that a safety lamp test immediately before the shot was fired might have prevented the accident.

UNION SUGGESTIONS

John Howell, president of the miners' union local, had made a number of suggestions for making the McCoy mines safer. Number one on his list was testing for gas immediately before and after the firing of dynamite charges. However, as he pointed out, the company was loath to

WORKER INFURIATED

"Even if it went on the black market it wouldn't be as bad as burning it," was the comment of one shipyard worker who was infuriated at the sight of this ordered destruction of wholesome, valuable, and scarce food. The sailors when asked about how they felt merely shrugged their shoulders and told us that they had seen so much waste that by now they were calloused to it.

By directive no one is permitted to walk out of the yard with



Can Exchange Value Be Measured?

By V. Grey

Exchange value, unlike usefulness, can be measured quite exactly. The fact that things are always exchanged in definite proportions is a proof of this. Prices prove this in a special way. Commodities are exchanged for fifty cents in money—fifty-one cents—fifty-five, etc. If one commodity sells for fifty cents, and another for a dollar, we say that the second is twice the value of the first and will exchange for two of the first.

But some people think that all the grocers and storekeepers get together and cook up the price-lists every so often and foist them on an unwary public. No doubt, the storekeeper tries his best to get a high price out of us. But what is a "high" price?—higher than what?—"Why higher than the real value," you will say.

There we are again—back to value itself. How can we measure this real value? If we tried to exchange a bicycle across the table for an automobile, we'd find the bicycle not remotely able to balance the automobile in the scales of value. But a little diamond only an ounce or so in weight would exchange very readily for the car.

But what is the measuring meter on this scale of value? It isn't pounds or ounces. It isn't yards or inches. Is it dollars and cents?—But a dollar is only a certain amount of gold—today 35 to the ounce. If a diamond and a car are both worth 560 dollars, then they both have the value of a pound of gold.

"Well, gold has value because it is rare," people will say. "It's hard to get." But how rare is it and how hard to get is it? What determines that? Automobiles aren't so rare. How come they exchange with diamonds, gold, boats, tractors and so on? There must be something in them all that is common to each.

What Gives Commodities Their Value?

Perhaps it would be easier to discover this common thing which determines value if we looked at the simple exchange of commodity for commodity before gold and money were in universal use. Take a couple of farmers of an earlier century who were craftsmen on the side. One made plowshares and the other made axes. When the first one wanted an ax, he would offer the second a plowshare and expect, say, two axes in return. Suppose the second would give him only one ax?

Right then and there number one would balk. And why? Because only a few years before he had been making axes himself, and he knew that two could be made in the same time he made one plowshare. He would go back to making his own axes again. Or if a third farmer made axes he would take his business there.

Even if number one had never made axes before, he could soon find out that it took less labor to make axes than plowshares, and he wouldn't dream of exchanging the product of two days' labor for the product of one day's labor. If he should do this, then the more days he labored, and exchanged the poorer he would get.

Without seeing gold, dollars, dimes or cents from one year's end to the next, he would know quite well when he was getting gyped. He would have an excellent scale on which to weigh the value of the article he traded. He would measure the value by the amount of labor-time it took to make it—and the other trader would do the same.

It takes a great deal of labor, on the average throughout the world, to find, mine and refine gold. It takes as much labor for an ounce of gold as for a half ton of cast iron. And whether you call the ounce of gold 20 dollars or 35 dollars, that's what the half ton of iron will exchange for—one ounce of gold. It's the amount of labor in a thing that determines its value.

The rarity of a thing is only incidental. Commodities are not rare moths or butterflies that you catch only once in thirty years or so. They are made in mass production. Automobiles are much more plentiful on the streets than rare butterflies. But they are also more expensive. The number of autos could even be doubled under certain conditions, and the value of each car would still be the same.

It isn't how pretty or ugly, how big or how little, how rare or how plentiful a thing is that determines its value. It's how much labor under average conditions is necessary to produce it. A commodity, as Marx said, is nothing but crystallized labor so far as its value is concerned.

Behind The Lichfield Trials

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this same Kilian, although the War Department had known the facts about Lichfield long before it submitted this recommendation.

Kilian and some of the other officers at Lichfield are now also facing trial. This happened because the Lichfield guards, who had been perjuring themselves at the beginning of the trial on Kilian's orders, began to tell some of the truth after they saw their case was hopeless. But even after Kilian was charged, a member of the Western Base

Section general staff contacted the enlisted defendants and tried to make an out-of-court deal favorable to the officers. If Kilian faces trial, it is not because the Army wanted it but because Kilian's conspiracy to silence the guards could not survive the testimony of soldiers who had been beaten at his orders.

On top of this it must be remembered that the Army has shown no intention of going higher than Kilian—of investigating, for example, the eight generals who in one month inspected the Lichfield guardhouse at the time of the atrocities and found it very satisfactory—of inquiring, for another example, into the statement to a guard by Major General Brown, commander of the Ground Forces Reinforcement Command: "You're not tough enough on these men. You're not running a hotel, sergeant."

This leads to another series of questions: Was Lichfield unique? Was it an exception in the Army? Were other guardhouses, stockades and detention centers operated on other, more humanitarian principles? To these questions it is possible to answer with a categorical No! Lt. Granville Cubage, one of the junior officer defendants, testified that Kilian had told him Lichfield could be "as tough as any DTC" (Disciplinary Training Center). The defense counsel asked him: "Did other DTCs use methods similar to Lichfield that the guards at Lichfield might have

been aware of, supporting their belief that they were carrying out a legal order?" To which Cubage replied:

"Yes. When I took prisoners from Lichfield to the DTCs, I took guards with me from Lichfield. . . . The commandant at DTC 2913 at Langford, England, for instance, took myself and the guards through their solitary confinement cells in October, 1944, and showed us the punishment the men got there. . . . Also when we returned from DTC 3 at Sudbury, England, I told our guards that the commandant there had told me his men used clubs for beating prisoners. I told the men that at Langford they had a dungeon far below ground, you couldn't see the light and the officer in charge laughingly told me that occasionally someone fell down these stairs on his face."

Here is some additional evidence from George Fielding Elliot, military commentator of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune: ". . . there is strong reason to believe that Lichfield is only one among many. There are too many other reports of similar tenor from other parts of the world where American soldiers have been serving to make it possible to think that the conditions at Lichfield were exceptional. Bitter stories come back by various means—stories of the 'Black Hole' of Le Mans, stories of men staked out naked in the African sun at the detention center of Casablanca, stories of men 'on the rock pile' in the Pacific theater, stories of club-

bings, stringing up by the thumbs, of worse—and nameless—brutalities practiced by American soldiers." (Feb. 2, 1946.)

Surely the Army, equipped with an Inspector General's Department whose job is supposed to be the investigation of all "irregularities," knows as much about these hell-holes as Elliot. Yet no one anywhere has heard any plans for courts-martial involving them. Why?

The truth of the matter is that the Army has something to conceal—and that is its own policy. Elliot, whose only fear is that the Army may go too far and thus discredit itself, admits the existence of a policy: "There seems to have been a consistent Army policy to make detention so dreaded that men would avoid it like a plague. . . . And his counterpart on the N. Y. Times, Hanson W. Baldwin, who apologizes for the Lichfield brutalities on the grounds of military necessity—that old alibi used to cover up most crimes and blunders in wartime—also admits there was a policy; even calls it official: ". . . the men on trial (with definite exceptions) probably are not so much the sadists they have been pictured as exultors of an official Army policy of toughness. . . ." (April 24.)

Any conclusion of the Lichfield case which does not bring the indictment, trial and destruction of this Army policy will expose the Lichfield courts-martial as a whitewash, no matter what happens to the individual defendants.

MILITANT UAW STRIKERS SHUTDOWN MACK PLANTS

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

ALLENTOWN, Pa., May 3—Two days before their originally-scheduled strike date, CIO United Auto Workers members at three Mack Manufacturing plants in this area shut down the factories. They are still shut tight.

The strike call came at 11 a.m. on Monday, April 29, to workers at the New Brunswick and Plainfield, N. J., and Allentown, Pa., plants of the Mack company. Jubilant over advancement of the strike date from the May 1 deadline, workers cleared the plants within a half hour.

Their action climaxes nearly a year and a half of futile negotiations with a stubborn corporation. Major demands of the union are an 18 1/2-cent an hour wage increase; vacations of which workers were deprived last year; and reinstatement of two stewards fired by the company in a union-busting attempt.

When the May 1 deadline had been "set 45 days ago, the company still continued to stall on negotiations. Now the workers are backing up their demands with action.

Only a few top company officials and firemen carrying special passes authorized by the union, are getting the union's permission to enter the plant. For the first two days only a few office workers were permitted to

enter to complete the previous week's payroll. Hundreds of other office workers at the Allentown plant who showed up for work on April 30 and May 1 were turned away by the picket lines. No further attempt has been made by office workers to enter the Allentown plant.

Firm picket lines are maintained 24 hours a day. Coffee, doughnuts and soup prepared in the excellent strike soup kitchen are always available for the pickets.

Confident that by maintaining their picket lines and continuing their fight they will win their just demands, all Mack workers are in high spirits and prepared for whatever may come.

BRONX
"Danger of Fascism In America"
speaker:
LOU COOPER
Sunday, May 12
Questions Discussion
1034 Prospect Ave. 8 p.m.

NEW YORK
Roof Garden Party
For The Militant
Saturday, May 11
Dance To The Tune of
Karl Taylor and
His Orchestra
9:30 p.m. to 3 a.m.
Elks Hall
15 W. 126 St. New York
Auspices:
Harlem Branch, SWP
Tickets:
103 W. 110 St., R. 23
SWP City Office
116 University Place

Manifesto Of 4th International -- Cont.

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where great political strikes and mutinies foreshadow the outbreak of nation-wide insurrections with the object of overthrowing all imperialist rule. The effect in China, and later in Japan, is certain to make itself felt. In the Near East as well, the persistent mass demonstrations and strikes of the Egyptian masses are the prelude to the revolutionary uprising of the masses in all the Arab lands.

The world situation thus shows all the earmarks of fulfilling the first three conditions for a victory of the proletarian revolution, which were posed in the Manifesto of 1940. What about the fourth—is there a "clear program and a firm leadership of the proletarian vanguard?"

Posed differently, the question is: In a situation which is undoubtedly more favorable for revolution than ever before, both because of its profound crisis character as well as its universal extent, does the party exist which is necessary to lead the revolution successfully? Shall we, in other words, succeed in transforming the present revolutionary minority into mass parties of the working class? Or will the old parties, the reformists and Stalinists, once again be able to betray the revolution?

To answer this question, we must put it in its proper setting. The present situation is not one of a conjunctural crisis. It is not a question of a single uprising in a given country. It is a question of a whole revolutionary period taking place on a world-wide scale. The capitalist world has no other way out except its prolonged death agony. In such a period the programs of the old parties—the Socialists and the Stalinists—cannot have the slightest validity among the masses. That is why they are bound to clash with them. On the other hand, our program is built precisely for this epoch. In the turbulent developments occurring before us, our program has already found and will continue to find growing response.

Only a few short years ago, skeptics and dilettantes ridiculed the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. Today its main slogans—"For a Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours," "For Nationalization Without Compensation," "Open the Books of the Big Corporations to Inspection by Workers Committees," "For Workers' Militias," "For a Workers' and Peasants' Government"—are beginning to echo from the lips of millions in all parts of the world. The program is clear. The growing response it receives shows the great possibilities that open up for the building of mass parties of the Fourth International.

The building of mass parties, however, even in the most favorable situations, is a process that entails great difficulties. A whole complex of organizational problems requires mastery. Confidence must be established in the relationship between the leadership and the party, between the party and the masses. Not everywhere is the process even. Undoubtedly there will be situations still where the failure of a mass party, of a revolutionary leadership to develop in time, will cause a partial defeat. But it is precisely because a whole epoch is involved that such defeats are partial, that the task of rapidly building mass parties is constantly posed before us anew, that the opportunities increase. That is the perspective on which the young parties of the Fourth International base themselves.

A firm revolutionary leadership is developed, in the first place, in defense of the program. If the program of the Fourth International is today beginning to penetrate millions, if it is beginning to be verified in the test of action, that is due first and foremost to the ability of the young cadre parties of the International to withstand all assaults on its foundations and to survive against all the obstacles placed in their path.

Fourth International Has Survived The Test Of War And Reaction

The cadres of the Fourth International were gathered in the bitter struggle against the stream, in the years of reaction that followed the decline of the revolutionary wave after the First World War. The slogan of Trotsky, the founder of the Fourth International, was from the beginning of its development in 1923: "Back to Lenin!" That was the original battle-cry of the Trotskyist Left Opposition against Stalin and the whole clique that then began its counter-revolutionary course by revising the internationalist, class-struggle theory of Lenin and Marx. That was the battle-cry which in the years that followed signified the devotion of the Trotskyists to the program and concept of the Bolshevik party, the first and only party in history which showed how the proletarian revolution can be successfully achieved.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, the Fourth International once again had occasion to fight other attempts to revise the foundations of the revolutionary program. This time in its own ranks. It was in that struggle that the Fourth International armed itself from within against the trying test of the war years that ensued. "Back to Lenin," back to proletarian internationalism, to fraternization between the warring peoples, to the revolutionary defense of the USSR, to the continuation of the class struggle, to the preparation for the coming revolutionary tasks—that was the battle-cry of the Fourth International in the dark years under the Nazi terror and amidst "Allied" persecution.

The Second International disappeared without a trace and the Social Democratic parties within it became transformed into miserable propaganda agencies of Anglo-American imperialism. The collapse repeated in more grotesque form its performance of 1914-18.

The Third International, after being corroded by years of betrayal, was merely traded out of existence by Stalin in exchange for Wall Street's Lend-Lease.

All the centrist organizations, like the London Bureau, simply broke up into their component parts.

Only the Fourth International held high the banner of proletarian internationalism, of the revolutionary struggle against war. Only the Fourth International withstood the test of war. Only the Fourth International remained true to the program of Marxism, to the traditions of the October Revolution. "Back to Lenin" remains our battle-cry, for that is the battle-cry of proletarian victory.



LEON TROTSKY

The war has been a terrible trial for the Fourth International. Aligned against it were all the powers of present-day society, from imperialism and its war machines to the Stalinist bureaucracy and its GPU.

In the very first year of the war, in August 1940, the Fourth International was bereft of its founder and organizer, of the great revolutionary genius of our time, Leon Trotsky was foully assassinated by an agent of the GPU in Mexico. It was a monstrous blow. Our enemies thought that it was fatal for the young International. But Trotsky had built better than they knew. Trotsky was dead, but the International he built took the dastardly blow as a challenge. The Fourth International honored the memory of its great martyr by expanding and growing more than ever before.

In France, in Belgium, in Holland, in Greece, on the whole European continent the cadres of the Fourth International were submitted to the murderous terror of Hitler's Gestapo.

Leon Lesoll, Marcel Hic, Pantelis Paliopoulos and their friends, a whole generation of heroic Trotskyist leaders, fell victims to Nazi and Fascist bestiality.

Right in the midst of the Nazi domination of Europe, French and German Trotskyists together organized fraternization between soldiers and workers. They published and spread within Hitler's Wehrmacht the remarkable newspaper "Arbeiter und Soldat" which held high the banner of proletarian internationalism even as the storm of chauvinism was still raging. Sixty Trotskyist soldiers and workers under the leadership of the dauntless Victor Widelin paid for this work with their lives. Their memory will be cherished by all workers when the Fourth International triumphs.

In Greece, the vile agents of Stalin murdered over a hundred of the best fighters of the Fourth International right in the midst of the civil war of December 1944.

But they could not kill the world party of the socialist revolution. In spite of the frightful and debilitating losses, the sections of the Fourth International have grown all over the European continent.

In England and America, the "democratic" bourgeoisie clamped the Trotskyist leaders, alone among all the working class parties, into the jail of Roosevelt and Churchill. They sought to decapitate the parties. But the British and American Trotskyists, no less than their European brothers, took the persecution as a challenge and redoubled their energies.

Even more vicious were the persecutions and jailings meted out to our comrades in India and China, in the colonies. But there, too, the fighters of the Fourth International proved equal to the challenge of the rulers.

In the very midst of the war, with terror and persecution at their fiercest, new sections of the Fourth International arose in India, in Egypt, in Italy, and in South America.

The fact that neither Stalin, nor Hitler, nor the "democratic" imperialists, were able to suppress the onward march of the Fourth International is a token for the future. It shows the workers that the surest way to overcome the treachery of Stalinism and reformism lies in rallying to the new parties, to the parties which learned to swim against the stream with the program of the Fourth International.

The test of the war has shown that the Fourth International is not only a living reality but possesses such vitality that not even the most adverse conditions can impede its growth. This Conference, calling the roll of the sections after years of interrupted relations, can proudly say to the workers of the world:

Your International lives! The Fourth International has survived the worst years of reaction and imperialist war! The parties of the Fourth International are everywhere in a process of growth and maturing!

More than that, this Conference can report to the workers of the world that, despite isolation and lack of direct communications during the war, the parties of the Fourth International find themselves in greater programmatic solidarity than ever! The strength of the Fourth International, its own experiences have shown, lies in its unshakable Marxist program. The survival and growth of the Fourth International in the struggle against reaction and war augurs well for the development of its sections into the mass revolutionary parties which are needed to transform the present favorable revolutionary situations into successful revolutions. The overthrow of capitalism, the next steps toward the establishment of the world federation of socialist states which alone can prevent the annihilation of another war and solve the crisis of humanity—that is the task for which the Fourth International has been prepared by its whole past.

Program Of The Fourth International

This Conference of the Fourth International meets after the so-called "United Nations Organization" has

adjourned its sessions in London and as preparations are being made to hold their "Peace" Conference at secret sessions next month in Paris. The U.N.O. Conference was marked by clashes between the representatives of American and British imperialism on the one hand, and of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the other. Hypocritical concern over the fate of small nations served to cover up the clash. The "Laborite" Bevin bemoans the fate of Iran, Rumania, and Bulgaria at the hands of the Kremlin while continuing in full the arch-imperialist Churchill's policy in the British Empire and in Greece. The representative of the Stalinist bureaucracy, Vyshinsky, bemoans the fate of Greece and Indonesia at the hands of Britain while the Kremlin violates the conscience of the workers of the world by its shameful actions in Eastern Europe and in Asia. Two bureaucrats, raised on the backs of the workers to power, play the game as "world rulers" according to the prescriptions laid down by rotten imperialist diplomacy. The U.N.O. even elects the "Socialist" Spaak of Belgium as its chairman and the "Laborite" Lie of Norway as its general secretary.

But none of this "leftist" camouflage can hide the fact that the U.N.O. is merely a new edition of that imperialist League of Nations which Lenin dubbed the "thieves' kitchen." Not a single act in this assembly aroused the slightest enthusiasm among the masses of the world. Its debates were watched with fear and apprehension, or at best apathy, by the world's peoples. No one expressed any hope that it would solve any of the problems facing humanity. It was simply accepted as a new arena of combat among the warring powers, completely belying its name. The "Peace" Conference in Paris is not regarded with any greater optimism.

But even while the diplomats are heckling each other in London or in Paris, the revolutionary storm is brewing in India, in Egypt. Developing events there follow the pattern set forth by the program not of the aborted U.N.O. or of any of its participants—but by the program of the Fourth International. That is why we can say with assurance that the deliberations of our Conference are of infinitely greater importance than those of the bourgeois "International" with all its imposing facade and for all the labor-camouflage lent to it by the treacherous reformists and Stalinists.

This Conference of the Fourth International calls upon all workers, all the exploited and oppressed, not to despair at the handiwork of their masters, but to take up the struggle against them. Not merely to disdain their misdeeds, but to impose upon them their own will. The present masters of the world dangle the threat of the horrendous atomic bomb to cow mankind. But they forget that atomic bombs, too, need the hands of workers to be produced. They forget that workers in uniform will be required to handle the dread weapons. Workers, filled with distrust for their greedy bosses, will know how to strike in atom-bomb factories as well as at other points of production. Soldiers, filled with hatred for their imperialist rulers, will know how to prevent the utilization of this weapon of self-annihilation. They need but the consciousness of the power of the world-wide solidarity of the working class and of its revolutionary socialist goal. That is the only way to face the threat of the atomic bomb.

Call To Action

The World Conference of the Fourth International, in summoning the international proletariat to action, hails first and foremost the heroic struggle of the Indian and Egyptian masses who, as the Conference convenes, have entered upon the path of revolutionary overthrow of the yoke of British imperialism. It notes with satisfaction that in these mass upheavals signs are already evident that the attempt of American imperialism to profit from the dilemma of its British rival is being met with open hostility and demonstrative resistance. It warns against the attempts of the colonial bourgeoisie, tied to imperialism by its capitalist interests, to curb the struggle and sell it out. No trust in Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, and their counterparts! The struggle in India, Egypt, Indonesia, Indo-China, and every other colonial people for national independence, for complete freedom from imperialist oppression, can be successful only by an uncompromising fight against the oppressors. Only the young working class, supported by the peasant masses, can lead the struggle to a victorious culmination!

Form your own workers' and peasants' council to organize the struggle! Seize the land for those who till it! Establish control over the factories by workers' committees! Do not permit the bourgeois leaders and the Stalinist betrayers to conclude a rotten compromise with imperialism! Demand the immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly which will freely express the will of the people and their right to govern themselves as they wish!

The struggle of the colonial masses for freedom is part and parcel of the struggle of the workers in England, in Europe, in America, against the same imperialist masters. The Fourth International calls upon the workers of the great metropolitan countries to rally to the defense of the colonial masses!

Hands off the Indian Revolution! Hands off the revolution in Indo-China, in Indonesia, in Egypt, the Far East and in the Near East! That must become the determined cry of the workers in England, America, and Europe against the machinations of their capitalist masters!

The oppression in the old colonies is faced with revolt just as the imperialist masters in accord with the Kremlin bureaucracy, are attempting to foist the same kind of predatory oppression upon the masses of the defeated imperialist nations—Germany, Japan, Italy. The Fourth International calls upon the workers of the "democratic" nations to rise up against these reactionary plans.

Against the chauvinist lies which attempt to cast the war guilt of all the imperialists on the shoulders of the German, the Japanese, the Italian proletariat, the Fourth International calls upon the American, the British, and the European workers to demonstrate their class solidarity with the workers in the defeated countries. Withdraw the troops from Germany, Japan, Italy! Full freedom for the masses of these countries to decide their own fate—freedom of speech, of press, of assembly, free elections!

Only by raising these demands against the imperialist oppressors and their Kremlin henchmen can the German, the Japanese, and the Italian masses be won by the workers of the "Allied" nations for their common goal: the Socialist United States of Europe and the World!

In all countries, the raging inflation and enormous tax programs, by means of which world capitalism is attempting to shift the burden of its war debt upon the backs of the masses, must be met by the counter-offensive of the masses led by the working class. The Fourth International calls upon the workers to defend themselves through these slogans:

For the Sliding Scale of Wages to Meet the Rising

Cost of Living! Tax the Rich, Not the Poor! Confiscate the War Profits of the Big Corporations!

At the same time, the bourgeoisie is planning to cast off the burden of the coming depression by throwing countless millions out of work, thus demoralizing the working class and dividing it against itself. The Fourth International calls upon the workers to combat the depression plans of the capitalists through the slogans:

For a Sliding Scale of Hours! Share the Work Among all Able to Work! Reduce the Work-Week Without Any Reduction in Pay!

The war has revealed what prodigious feats of production modern industry is capable of. But under capitalism these great productive efforts all go for war, for destruction. With the end of the war, factories stand idle—capitalism cannot produce for peace. The Fourth International calls upon the workers in every country to demand: Open the Idle Factories! Operate Them Under Workers' Control! To the laments of the bourgeoisie that these measures would "ruin the economy," the Fourth International calls upon the workers to demand: "Open the Books of the Trusts to Inspection by Workers' Committees! Abolish the Business Secrets! In this way the robbery and plunder of monopoly capitalism will be revealed to all.

In Great Britain, in France, in the other Western European countries, the leftward swing of the masses has put the monopoly capitalists and their trusts on the defensive. To the rising demand for the socialization of industry, the Labor government and the coalitions of social reformists and Stalinists with the bourgeois parties are replying with "nationalizations" which leave the profits of the capitalists untouched. Thus the monopolists are in a position to utilize the cover of such "nationalizations" to increase their strangle hold over the economy. The Fourth International warns against these fake measures and calls on the workers to demand:

Nationalizations Without Indemnity and Without Compensation! For Workers' Control over the Nationalized Industries!

To put through these necessary measures, without which there is no way to prevent world-wide crises from plunging humanity deeper into the death-agony of capitalism, the workers' organizations must break with the capitalist parties, must carry on independent working-class politics. The Fourth International therefore calls upon the masses to demand of their traditional organizations:

Break the Coalition with the Capitalists! Take Full Power! Form Workers' and Peasants' Governments! Apply a Genuine Anti-Capitalist Program under the Control and Protection of Workers' and Peasants' Committees!

The Fourth International puts forward these slogans while participating actively in the daily struggles of the masses, while going through their experiences with them and drawing the lessons of these experiences. In the course of the common struggle, the parties of the Fourth International unfold its full program, the program of the socialist revolution and the establishment of free workers' republics within the world federation of socialist states. In the fight for this program the Fourth International calls upon the workers to combat chauvinism, both of the reformist and the Stalinist variety. In the Eastern European countries, particularly, it calls upon the workers to combat the fierce chauvinism of the Kremlin by fraternization with the troops of the Red Army. To combat the reactionary bureaucratic policy of pillage and plunder, they must unfold their independent movement of workers' and peasants' councils to enforce socialization of industry and the division of the land among the poor peasants, to fight for their democratic rights, for the right of all nationalities to self-determination. To fight successfully for these demands, the toilers of Eastern Europe will join forces with the workers of the USSR to overthrow the reactionary bureaucracy under Stalin and re-establish the workers' state as a genuine Soviet democracy.

In opposition to social reformists and Stalinists, the Fourth International constructs its policy, not on the basis of the military and diplomatic designs of the capitalist states, but upon the crying needs of the workers, the exploited, the oppressed. Its program is the program of full emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation, of the colonial peoples from imperialist rule, of the Soviet masses from the blight of paralyzing bureaucracy. The Fourth International supports none of the existing regimes. It calls upon the workers to overthrow these regimes and to establish their own power. The overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers' power is a task that can be fulfilled only on a world scale.

Only socialist states, united in a world federation of socialist republics, can banish war for all time, organize production for use with plenty for all, and bring about the society of the free and equal. Only a socialist world federation can transform atomic energy from its present position as a threat of annihilation against mankind into an unprecedented boon for the progress of humanity.

This is our program, Workers of the World, there is no way out but this: to unite under the banner of the Fourth International!

The International Conference of the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution

Brussels, April, 1946

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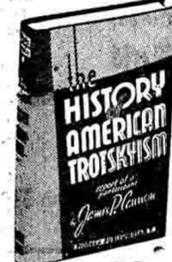
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An Historic Conference

By The Editors

The Militant hails the International Conference of the Fourth International, held last month in Belgium, as the most inspiring and important event for the working people of the world since the end of the Second Imperialist World War.

This Conference was composed of tested revolutionary communist fighters, representing parties which have been subjected to savage persecutions for their devotion to the cause of labor.

It aimed to solidify the forces of revolutionary socialism and to arm the oppressed with a scientific program of action which can guide them to victory in the decisive struggle of our epoch—the emancipating battle against world capitalism.

Concurrently, in New York City, the conquering capitalist powers, their satellites and Stalinist accomplices met in the first formal sessions of the United Nations.

Through that conference the Big Powers are continuing the evil deceptions they practiced throughout World War II. While repeating catch-phrases about "democracy" and "freedom," they are buttressing the most reactionary and oppressive forces. Instead of indicating the road to peace, they are engaged in paving the way for World War III.

The International Conference of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, represented the leading forces which stand in irreconcilable opposition to the capitalist bandits and imperialist war-makers.

While all other claimants to leadership of the world working class have linked their fates with either these imperialist rulers or the Kremlin oligarchy, the Fourth International alone has remained true to the independent struggle of the oppressed masses for the overthrow of capitalism and the building of world socialism.

The vitality of the Fourth International, its ability to withstand hostile attacks and to emerge with ever greater strength and confidence in its future, is again exemplified by this conference and its work. It showed the indestructible power of the ideas, traditions and program of living Marxism. This is the cement which has bound the world Trotskyist movement so firmly together and enabled it to survive and grow despite unprecedented repressions and years of war-enforced isolation.

The Militant, which expresses the views of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, is in complete solidarity with the views of the Fourth International's manifesto and aims to educate the American workers in these ideas. For the Socialist Workers Party is an avowed Trotskyist organization, although not formally affiliated to the Fourth International because of the anti-democratic Voorhis Act.

We urge all our readers to study carefully the historic Manifesto of the Fourth International in this issue. It points out the only road to real peace, plenty and security.

What The 4th International Accomplished At Conference

Great Fighters Participate In FI Conference

Many experienced and devoted revolutionary fighters who have participated actively in the most important struggles of the European workers during the past 20 years, took part in the recent World Conference of the Fourth International.

A majority of them had been imprisoned at one time or another for these activities—by either the fascists or the "democratic" imperialists. They were worthy representatives of the hundreds of Trotskyist martyrs of all countries in World War II.

Some of them had played a leading part in the inspiring anti-fascist work among the German troops in France and Belgium long before the invasion of June, 1944—long before the capitalist-dominated "resistance" movements were more than a name and a few top committees. For this work numerous Trotskyists had been arrested by the Gestapo and either executed or sent to the terrible camps for political prisoners. Even in the horror camps, the survivors had continued their revolutionary work among the other prisoners.

ANTI-FASCIST FIGHTERS

Others of the Conference participants had been soldiers in the Spanish civil war and still bore upon their bodies the wounds that testified to their heroic struggles against fascism.

One of the British delegates was Jock Haston, secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party, who had been railroaded to prison by the Churchill government for the Trotskyists' anti-war activities and militant defense of the workers' interests in England.

Among the French representatives were M. Favre-Bleibtreu, secretary of the French party and former editor of *La Verite*; Pierre Frank, who was interned in England during the war and even now faces trial on an old charge rising out of his anti-war activity; Albert Demaziere and Marcel Beaufreire, both political deportees who played a leading role in the underground struggle against Hitlerism. And the long records of the other delegates were no less honorable.

This Conference of tested revolutionaries represented a real and a great step forward for the Fourth International—and for the toiling masses of the world whose interests it represents. It was a necessary step for it made possible the mobilization of the world revolutionary forces as a single, united, striking force.



LEON SEDOV
Martyred son of Leon Trotsky

LEON TROTSKY — FOUNDER OF 4th INTERNATIONAL

Leon Trotsky was the founder and leader of the Fourth International. From the age of 18 until the day when he was assassinated 42 years later by an agent of Stalin's secret service in Mexico City, Trotsky devoted his life to the emancipation of the world working class from capitalist slavery. The founding of the Fourth International was the crowning achievement of a lifetime filled with heroic service to the world working class.

Two years after Lenin and Trotsky, at the head of the Russian Bolshevik Party, led the Russian workers to victory over the capitalists and landlords in the great October 1917 Revolution, they helped create the Third (Communist) International to organize the fight against capitalist rule on a world scale.

FIRST WORKERS' STATE

In common with all the great Marxist leaders, Trotsky was an international socialist. Socialism, he taught, could be built only upon world economic foundations. He warned that unless the first successful revolution in the Soviet Union was followed by the victory of the working class and the elimination of capitalism in other and more advanced countries, the first workers' state would inevitably be undermined and eventually overthrown either through internal reaction or through imperialist attack.

In opposition to this genuinely socialist program and perspective, Stalin in 1924 brought forward his fatal theory of "socialism in one country," which discarded the program of the international revolutionary struggle of the world working class. This led to a wave of nationalist reaction within the Soviet Union, the betrayal of the revolutionary struggles of the workers in other countries, and the prostitution of the Communist International to the narrow interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

For ten years the Left Opposition, headed by Trotsky, struggled against the Stalinist machine and bringing it back to its original Leninist foundations. Even after Trotsky and his co-thinkers were expelled from the Third International in 1928, they continued to struggle for five more years to save the Third International.

But in 1933, when Hitler marched to power through the divided ranks of the German workers, betrayed not only by the Social Democrats but by the conservative nationalist policies of the Kremlin, Trotsky proclaimed that the Third International had completely perished. He then raised the slogan: "For the Organization of a New International Conference of the Fourth International."

The recent International Conference of the Fourth International vindicated the confidence that Trotsky expressed on his death bed: "Tell our friends I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go Forward!"

The International Conference of the Fourth International which was held in Belgium early last month was the first international gathering of the Trotskyists since the end of World War II. Convoiced under difficult and trying conditions, it was nevertheless a genuinely representative conference, with participation from as many sections as at the Founding Conference in 1938, and speaking for a far greater membership and number of sections.

Among the European delegations present were the French, British, Dutch, Belgian, German, Spanish, Irish and Swiss sections; in addition, there were representatives from the Western Hemisphere and the colonial sections.

The task of organizing the Conference had been entrusted to the European Executive Committee by the International Secretariat. The European Executive Committee fulfilled this responsibility and proposed the following aims for the Conference:

a. On the political plane, to define a preliminary general political orientation of the International.

b. On the organizational plane, to elect a new representative leadership of the International which would have the task, among others, of carrying on a discussion in the International on all questions where agreement might prove to be impossible or difficult at the time of the conference and of preparing, when conditions permitted, a World Congress of the International.

To serve as the basis of the discussion at the Conference, the European committee prepared and distributed a political document, "The New Imperialist 'Peace' and the Building of the Parties of the Fourth International."

AUTHORITY CONFERENCE

Among the first motions adopted by the Conference was one introduced by the British delegation: "to establish the authority of this Conference and of the executive bodies elected by it."

With but one vote in opposi-



D. VOUSOUKES
Greek Trotskyist Martyr

inspiring indication of the will of the revolutionists in Europe to carry on their work despite the worst conditions of illegality and repression.

It also stressed the need for a centralized leadership composed of the most capable and energetic members at the disposal of the International so that the leadership could be effective and take advantage of growing opportunities.

In addition to its organizational report, the European Secretariat presented a criticism of its theses of February 1944. After discussion, the Conference adopted the report, with two votes opposed, and characterized the mistakes in the 1944 theses "as errors in estimating tempo, not as errors in fundamental perspectives." The new IEC was instructed "to publish as quickly as possible a document expounding completely and clearly the self-criticism of our past policy."

POLITICAL DISCUSSION

The main question on the agenda of the Conference, and the one which naturally received the greatest attention and debate, was the political discussion. Among the important questions on which differences appeared were the Soviet Union and perspective in Europe. A number of amendments were introduced.

Before voting on the text of the main document, the Conference reaffirmed in a resolution introduced by the Belgian delegate:

"1. The fundamentally revolutionary character of our epoch on a world scale and chiefly in Europe.

"2. The increasingly favorable objective conditions for the building of revolutionary parties of the Fourth International.

"3. The necessity for centering the political work in all the world sections, and especially the European sections, around the Transitional Program."

This resolution was adopted by a vote of 22 in favor, one opposed, one abstention.

AMENDED RESOLUTION

The text of the main political report was then adopted, and the IEC was instructed to elaborate it in final form, incorporating all the amendments which were in conformity with its general line. Those amendments not in conformity with this line were to be submitted to the international discussion.

The vote on this motion was 18 in favor, 2 against, 4 abstentions.

The text of the amended resolution will appear in the June issue of the *Fourth Internationalist*.

The IEC was also directed to complete and issue the Manifesto introduced by the ES. This Manifesto is printed in this issue of *The Militant*.

In addition, the Conference adopted a resolution on the reorganization of the German section and elected a new International Executive Committee.



N. ARAVANTINOS
Greek Trotskyist Martyr

Our Martyrs In Fight For World Socialism

Eternally honored are the names of our martyrs who marched in the ranks of the Fourth International in all lands and gave their lives in uncompromising struggle against the enemies of the working class. Subjected to terror at the hands of both Stalin's GPU and fascist gangsters, these fighters never retreated, never compromised, never betrayed in word or deed the struggle for world socialism—though in the end it meant for them death!

We list below only a few of the most outstanding Trotskyist martyrs who gave their lives in recent years that capitalist exploitation and war might be wiped from the face of the earth:

Leon Trotsky—Co-leader with Lenin of the Russian revolution, architect and leader of the Red Army, founder of the Fourth International, slain by Stalin's GPU August 20, 1940.

Leon Sedov — Trotsky's son, secretary, co-worker and fighter. Slain by Stalin's GPU February 15, 1938.

Rudolf Klement—Collaborator of Trotsky, secretary of the bureau of the Fourth International. Slain by Stalin's GPU, July 1938.

SOVIET UNION

Stalin murdered the entire generation of Bolshevik fighters, among them many thousands of Trotskyists.



LEON LESOIL
Belgian Trotskyist leader killed in Nazi concentration camp

FRANCE

Marcel Hic—General Secretary of the French Trotskyist Party. Murdered by Nazis in Buchenwald Concentration camp. Jean Melchior—Slain by Gestapo during occupation of Paris. Marc Gueguen—Murdered by Nazis in 1941. Henry Kunstlinger—Shot by SS Troops in 1944. Henri Souzin—Member of the Central Committee of the party, arrested 1941, died in deportation. Robert Crusan—Felled by Gestapo in street fighting in 1943. Van Hulst—Killed by Darnand's fascist militia in 1944.

GREECE

Pantelis Pouloupoulos — Murdered by Italian fascists in 1943. Demosthenes Voursoukes—Murdered by Stalin's GPU. Stauros

Venouchis—Murdered by Stalinists. Nikos Aravantinos—Murdered by Stalinists in ELAS. Stergios Stergion—Murdered by Stalinists.

On May 1, 1944, twenty leaders of the Greek Trotskyists were mowed down by fascist firing squads. In the next few months another 10 were murdered by Hitler's Gestapo and Mussolini's Ova.

In December 1945 and January 1946, Stalinist agents in the EAM-ELAS murdered more than a hundred members of the Greek Trotskyist Party.

CHINA

Chen Chi-Chang—Murdered by Japanese imperialist troops during occupation of China.

GERMANY

Martin Widelin—Organizer of the International underground work in the German Wehrmacht. Murdered by Gestapo in Paris during German occupation.

AUSTRIA

Joseph Jakubowic — Slain by Gestapo in 1943.

BELGIUM

Leon Lesoil—Died in Nazi concentration camp, 1942. A. Leon—Secretary of the Belgian Trotskyist Party. Died in a concentration camp at Auschwitz.

UNITED STATES

Robert Sheldon Harte—Slain by GPU in Mexico, 1940.

ITALY

Nicola Bartolomeo—Secretary of the Italian Trotskyist Communist Workers Party. Died in 1946.

World Conferences That Marked Progress Of Fourth International

The Founding Conference of the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, met "somewhere in Switzerland" on September 3, 1938. The conference conducted its historic work almost simultaneously with the Munich crisis which opened the period of final preparation for World War II and signaled the complete collapse of the Stalinist People's Front.

30 delegates directly representing 11 countries—the United States, France, Great Britain (England and Scotland), Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, Latin America, Poland, Belgium, Holland and Greece—gathered to discuss and adopt a program of struggle for world socialism.

Twenty sections and groups were unable to send delegates but pledged themselves to the program of the Fourth International. Thus, at its founding conference, the World Party of Socialist Revolution had the assurance that parties or groups in 30 countries, virtually every major country in the world, would fight for its ideas.

MOBILIZED FORCES

The Founding Conference mobilized the forces of the proletarian vanguard for struggle against imperialist war. Victory in this struggle along with the preservation of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution in the USSR, declared documents of the conference, could only be achieved by seizure of power by the proletariat in capitalist countries, the overthrow of the Stalinist oligarchy in Russia, and the establishment

of world socialism. One of the most significant achievements of the Conference was the elaboration and adoption of a program of transitional demands to arm the masses in the struggle for power. The Conference pointed out that the traditional parties of the workers—the Socialists and the Communists (Stalinists)—had misled and betrayed the masses in the struggle for socialism.

The treachery and bankruptcy of the traditional workers parties had disoriented the masses and created a huge gap between the revolutionary tasks and needs and the level of political development of the workers. While the objective social conditions are ripe for revolutionary change, the workers need above all the right leadership to help them fulfill their historic mission—the seizure of power and creation of a socialist society.

The Transitional Program provides a bridge between the present political level of the masses and the socialist program of the revolution.

Many wisecracks and cynics scoffed at this program of transitional demands as an expression of "sectarianism" and once again claimed that the Marxist revolutionists lacked "realism." But sections of this program are becoming the program of the masses. Millions of workers instinctively find their way to the acceptance of its major propositions.

During the recent United Auto Workers (CIO) strike against General Motors the demand to "open the books of the corporation" was raised. Thus one of

the most powerful unions in the world advanced one of the slogans of the transitional program, which declares not only the workers' right to know such capitalist "secrets" but that "the abolition of 'business secrets' is the first step towards actual control of industry."

During recent strikes in Japan, many unions demanded "workers' control of industry." In the huge May Day demonstrations of the past week the Japanese workers called for "A Minimum Wage Regulated by Living Costs"—a slogan analogous to the demand put forth in the transitional program for a "Sliding Scale of Wages."

Throughout Eastern Europe workers' committees in the factories have been established and exercise varying degrees of control over the management. In calling for establishment of factory committees the transitional program states that they give an organized expression to the question of who is the boss of the establishment—the workers or the capitalists.

WITHSTOOD TEST

The program of the Fourth International alone has withstood the test of events. It is based on the realities of the class struggle and provides the only effective answer to the pressing questions posed by the deepening decay of the capitalist system.

Just as the Fourth International was the only organization to hold an international conference and take action aimed at preventing the imperialist slaughter, so during the war it

was the only organization to hold an international conference.

The Emergency Conference of 1940 prepared the cadres of the Fourth International to withstand the onslaught of the war and the heightened repressions that were in the offing. The delegates declared their solidarity with the program of the World Party of Socialist Revolution and reaffirmed the prediction that imperialist war would continue as long as capitalists ruled the world. Again, the international revolutionists called for uncompromising struggle for power, for the creation of a socialist world.

In the midst of the war, when all Europe was under the heel of Hitler's savage Gestapo, the European sections of the Fourth International held a conference in Paris, in February 1944.

Although the parties had been isolated for years by war conditions, they had retained their programmatic unanimity and continued to work despite the most vicious repressions.

The Fourth International has thus demonstrated a prodigious vitality. Its comparative casualties have been greater by far than those suffered by any other political group in history. Hundreds of its leaders and best fighters were imprisoned, hounded, and murdered by the agents of reaction.

In spite of these terrible blows, in spite of persistent persecution by every government and reactionary force in the world, the Fourth International not only continues to live but to grow and expand its activity. Just as it was the only organ-

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