

**The United States
and the
Second World War**

**The European Revolution
and Tasks of
The Revolutionary Party**

**Resolutions of Eleventh Convention
of the
American Trotskyist Movement**

15 Cents

FOREWORD

CONTAINED in this pamphlet are the two main programmatic documents adopted by the Socialist Workers Party at the Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyists, held November 16-19, 1944, in New York City.

The international resolution entitled "The European Revolution and Tasks of the Revolutionary Party" is motivated by the Trotskyist position that the European masses desire a decisive change and are groping for the revolutionary Socialist way out of the blind-alley of capitalism; and that the decisive instrument to this end is the revolutionary party—the party of Trotskyism—able to offer them a bold and realizable program for the Socialist transformation of Europe and the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

The American resolution entitled "The United States and the Second World War" deals with the current domestic problems and tasks of the American workers, especially in the light of the Big Business offensive against labor and the drive to Prussianize every aspect of American social life.

Published by

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

for the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

MARCH 1945



Set up, Printed and Bound
by Union Labor

The United States And The Second World War

Resolution unanimously adopted by the Eleventh Convention of
the American Trotskyist Movement — November 16-19, 1944

When the United States entered the second World War, Roosevelt, chief spokesman of American capitalism proclaimed that this war was a crusade for democracy, for the "Four Freedoms," for the destruction of fascism and totalitarianism. The labor bureaucrats, recruiting sergeants for the war machine, volunteered their services to sell the war as a conflict between "free labor" and "slave labor."

After three years of America's participation in the war, the demagogic slogans under which the people were dragooned into the slaughter have been stripped bare. Democracy and freedom are among the first casualties of the war. The slogans of "national unity" and "equality of sacrifice" are a snare. The pledges to take the profits out of war to prevent a new crop of wartime millionaires, are proved a monstrous hoax.

The capitalist government logically began its reactionary campaign by striking its first blows at the class-conscious vanguard of the American working class. On the very day war was declared, December 8, 1941, sentence was passed on the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. They were convicted under the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act for their uncompromising and outspoken opposition to the war program and because of their firm adherence to the principles of revolutionary Socialism. The conviction and imprisonment of the 18 was accompanied by a whole series of measures designed to throttle the unions and paralyze labor's resistance to the onslaught of Big Business.

The right to strike, basic to the freedom of the labor movement, has been virtually outlawed. Workers have been frozen to their jobs at frozen wages while the cost of living continues to rise. A "modified" version of forced labor has been imposed by executive decree. An increasing weight of taxes is being saddled on those least able to pay while corporation profits soar to the highest levels in history.

The war immediately strengthened the most reactionary groups and institutions. The surge of reaction, especially the persecution of minorities and the spread of race-hatred, is a wartime continuation of tendencies inherent in capitalist decay. Brutal discrimination and humiliating segregation of the Negro people in the armed forces as well as in civilian life reduce the slogans of "democracy and freedom" to a hideous mockery for 13-million American citizens. The wave of anti-Semitism unloosed by capitalist reaction has already risen to alarming proportions. Jim Crowism and anti-Semitism march hand in hand with the assault against the organizations of the working class. This is the reality behind the demagogic facade of the "Four Freedoms."

Prior to America's entry into the war, this reactionary trend was analyzed and forecast in the Manifesto of the Fourth International on *The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution* which stated:

"Seeking to gain the advantages of a totalitarian regime, the imperialist democracies launch their own defense with a redoubled drive against the working class and the persecution of revolutionary organizations. The war danger and now the war itself is utilized by them first and foremost to crush internal enemies. The bourgeoisie invariably and unswervingly follows the rule: 'The main enemy is in one's own country.'"

One of the consequences of the war is the emergence of the Military Staff as the spearhead of reaction. The ruling capitalist circles demand unquestioning subservience to the military caste. The intervention of the brass hats in various spheres of civilian life is an integral part of the growing regimentation of the American people. It is part of the enormous strengthening of reactionary tendencies in American life and politics and the unmistakable trend toward totalitarianism.

The Capitalist War Program

The American capitalist class is coining fabulous profits out of the second World War. Corporation profits in 1942 mounted to \$19-billion or twice what they were in 1929 and four times the average of the prewar period 1936-39. In his "hold-the-line" report, April 1944, Roosevelt boasted that: "Corporation profits, both before and after taxes, rose in 1943 even above the record-breaking levels of 1942." The same report emphasized that: "The level of basic factory wage rates has been raised less than 1½ cents an hour by actions of the War Labor Board. Wages have been stabilized (frozen)." Soaring profits, frozen wages, taxing the poor instead of the rich — that is the real content of Roosevelt's fraudulent "equality-of-sacrifice" slogan.

The war has brought the direct representatives of Big Business to Washington. The war agencies are staffed with corporation lawyers and executives, bankers, stockjobbers and speculators. Wall Street is represented in all key positions of the war administration. Thus the war serves to accelerate the fusion of monopoly capitalism with the state.

The American capitalist class stands united in pursuit of its imperialist program to establish its hegemony over the world. Its aim is to make Wall Street the center of world tribute. To secure its domination American capitalism plans to maintain armies of occupation in Europe and Asia. Its most authoritative spokesmen speak of establishing naval and military bases all over the world, building a five-ocean navy, policing the world for 100 years, establishing an era of "peace by force," etc. The plans of US imperialism call for maintaining a military machine before which all previous world militarisms pale into insignificance.

Let none imagine that imperialist domination will spell well-being for the American masses. On the contrary the maintenance of a gigantic military establishment will mean the imposition of back-breaking taxes on the working masses. The creation of a powerful military caste can only lead to the Prussianization of American life and the further regimentation of the American people. This program of regimentation aims to clear the road for Big Business; It strengthens the forces of reaction which seek to impose their open-shop program by crushing the unions and instituting a regime

of hunger and repression for the many, and wealth and privilege for the few.

War is inevitable as long as capitalism continues to exist. A society free from exploitation, oppression and profits can alone put an end to war. Only the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist society will spare the American people the horror of continuing war.

As part of their military program the ruling capitalist circles have projected the plan of conscripting the youth for compulsory peacetime military training. We have nothing in common with pacifists and muddleheads who are "against" military training. In this epoch of wars and revolutions all great questions will be decided arms in hand. In order to fulfill their historic mission the workers must become skilled in the use of arms. Against the capitalist program of placing the military training of the workers under the control of a reactionary military caste, we advocate our proletarian military policy: military training of workers, financed by the government, but under the control of the trade unions; special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.

Trade Unions and the War

The trade unions have been in retreat since Pearl Harbor. They have been unable to maintain their positions against the unrelenting pressure of the employers. The surrender of their most effective economic weapon — the strike — in favor of compulsory arbitration through the employer-dominated War Labor Board has deprived the unions of their independence of action and has inexorably led to their subservience to the capitalist state. The capitalist government has carried through the program of the exploiting class, under the cover of the lying slogan of "national unity."

The tripartite labor board is an instrument of class collaboration whereby the interests of the working class are subordinated to those of the capitalist class. To create an illusion of impartiality the personnel of such tripartite bodies as the WLB is composed of an equal number of representatives of the unions, the employers, and the "public," that is,

the government. But in a capitalist society the government functions as the executive arm of the ruling class. As an impotent minority the labor representatives on the War Labor Board, therefore, serve only to perpetuate the fraud that the WLB is an "impartial" agency.

With the connivance of the labor bureaucrats the WLB has assumed the role of super-arbiter of the labor movement. Following the promulgation of his "seven-point-stabilization" program on which the wage freezing Little Steel formula is based and the adoption by Congress of the Smith-Connally Act, Roosevelt issued his sanctions decree empowering the WLB to take punitive measures against "recalcitrant" unions. The War Labor Board has become an agency for policing the unions, enforcing the wage freeze, hog-tying and housebreaking the union movement for the benefit of the bosses. With the collaboration of union officials, WLB decisions are imposed by threats, intimidation and force; the use of troops has become part of the "arbitration" procedure of disciplining the workers and keeping the unions subservient to the war machine.

Wages are kept frozen while rising prices and soaring profits enrich the exploiters. Workers are frozen to their jobs to prevent "competition" between employers in a tight labor market. Labor conscription, as imposed by executive decree under the Roosevelt-McNutt "Labor Referral Plan," places the workers at the mercy of the dollar patriots. While the use of troops to break strikes has become a regular procedure, the rabid labor baiters in Congress and State Legislatures vie with one another in sponsoring repressive anti-labor legislation. Such are the products of the policy of class collaboration.

It has become impossible for the unions to cope with their problems, defend their interests or preserve their existence by the outworn methods of "pure and simple" trade unionism. The capitalist state intervenes and acts as the outright agent of the employers even where the most elementary "economic" demands are involved. Therefore, the fight for the most elementary demands entails a direct conflict with the capitalist state. The traditional "non-partisan" political policy of the trade union bureaucracy dooms the working class to impotence. The trade unions can survive only by breaking with the bankrupt policy of class collabo-

ration, by regaining and strengthening their independence of action on the economic field, by formulating labor's own political program and organizing labor's own political party with the goal of establishing a Workers and Farmers Government.

From the outset the labor bureaucrats proceeded to prove, by word and deed, how indispensable they are in harnessing the workers to the chariot of war. They declared a moratorium on labor's right to strike. They espoused the policy of compulsory arbitration. They installed labor representatives on the employer-dominated War Labor Board—thereby lending their prestige to the anti-labor actions of the WLB. They accepted and circulated Roosevelt's counterfeit "stabilization" promises as good coin; they acquiesced in the freezing of wages; and as part of the War Manpower Commission's "labor-management" committee, they shared the responsibility for the job freeze. They remained on the WLB after the passage of the infamous Smith-Connally "anti-strike" law, and even after Roosevelt's executive decree authorizing sanctions against the unions. They continued to participate in the WLB even after this body emerged as an outright strikebreaking agency in the service of the employers.

Role of the Labor Bureaucracy

The labor bureaucracy has joined in a conspiracy with Roosevelt against their own rank and file. They strive with might and main to refurbish the tarnished "liberal" reputation of their "friend" in the White House, whitewash his crimes against the labor movement and screen his responsibility for a whole series of anti-labor measures by focusing their vapid criticism upon his hirelings. They disarmed the unions and sacrificed their independence on the altar of "national unity." Functioning as obedient agents of the capitalist administration, the CIO-AFL and other labor bureaucrats have rendered yeoman's service in propping up the structure of deceit and repression upon which Roosevelt's labor policy rests.

These outright labor lieutenants of the war administration have taken on the job of policing the trade union membership. Workers' democracy in the trade unions is incompatible with their policy of betrayal. The bureaucrats therefore utilize the no-strike pledge as a pretext for depriving the

membership of their democratic rights; they install dictator-receivers over locals; victimize and purge union militants who resist employer provocation. The employers and their government use all means at their disposal to further the work of the labor lieutenants in bureaucratizing the unions.

As a reward for their services, the Roosevelt administration has granted the labor bureaucrats, not cabinet posts, as in Great Britain, but "maintenance of membership" and the "check-off" — through the War Labor Board.

The treacherous role played by the labor bureaucracy is paving the way for capitalist reaction. Roosevelt's pronounced swing to reaction has served notice that the era of "New Deal" reforms is over. The capitalist rulers not only oppose new concessions but aim to cancel out those gains made by labor in the past decade. The bureaucrats are confronted with insoluble contradictions. As reaction deepens the workers grow more restive, increasing their pressure on the leaders. Any show of resistance by the top bureaucrats provokes a stormy movement of the working masses which threatens to topple the Rooseveltian labor structure. The bureaucrats whine and complain of their increasing inability to "hold the line" against their membership; and plead with their "friend" for concessions.

Resistance to Reaction

The resistance to the onslaught of reaction is growing despite and against the top union leadership. The struggle against the no-strike pledge, that is, the struggle to regain the unions' independence of action, is gathering momentum. The plans of the labor bureaucrats to convert the unions into auxiliary tools of American imperialism are meeting with increasing opposition from the ranks.

Since Pearl Harbor, "unauthorized" strikes have increased each year in number. The strike curve reached a new peak in the months prior to the European invasion, June 1944. After a slight recession in June, the strike curve resumed its upward spiral. Betrayed by their top union leaders, the workers have been attempting, through direct economic action on the job, to break out of the straitjacket of the no-strike pledge.

These sporadic strikes, usually lasting only a few days, have been in the majority of cases unable to achieve the objectives for which they were called. The striking workers lacked leadership and were immediately subjected to the combined pressure and intimidation of the government, the employers, and their own union officialdom.

The most advanced workers, as in the auto union, have come to realize that labor cannot break out of the strait-jacket of class collaboration simply by engaging in uncoordinated departmental or plant strikes. In increasing numbers they are realizing that this is a *national* as well as a *political* problem. These advanced workers, drawing the lessons of their struggles, have formed a progressive wing to lead the fight to rescind the no-strike pledge. This marks a significant step toward the adoption of a militant program and the development of a new union leadership.

The American working class is today strongly trade union conscious. The lessons of the 1929 economic crisis, the traditions of the heroic strike struggles of the last period and the emergence of the CIO have penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the working class. Despite the uninterrupted retreat of the trade union movement since the outbreak of the war; despite the loss of its former independence and the cynical betrayal of the labor movement by its whole official leadership, the trade union movement remains a mighty power. In the past decade the trade union membership has almost tripled. The membership rolls stand today at an all-time high of 13-million and are still growing. Once this giant of a labor movement arms itself with a correct program and a militant leadership it will reveal its unconquerable power.

Trotskyist Trade Union Policy

The trade union policy of the Socialist Workers Party since Pearl Harbor has been confirmed by the experience of the past three years. It retains all its validity today. We fought and continue to fight for the following program:

For the Independence of the Trade Unions! Free the unions from all domination or control by the capitalist government and its agencies. The first step in regaining the independence of the unions is to demand that the labor repre-

sentatives resign from the employer-dominated War Labor Board.

Rescind the No-Strike Pledge! In the face of an intensive campaign of repression it is suicidal to surrender labor's most effective weapon of defense against the employer-government assault on the unions.

Scrap the Little Steel Formula! For a nation-wide conference of all trade unions regardless of affiliation to draw up a program of independent action against the wage freeze. The central slogan in the fight against the wage freeze should be the demand for:

A Rising Scale of Wages to Meet the Rising Cost of Living! For an escalator clause in all union contracts. Roosevelt's promises to stabilize the cost of living have proven a gigantic fraud. Only the escalator clause can afford the workers a measure of protection against the worst effects of inflation.

For Democracy Within the Unions! There can be no effective independent action without the fullest internal democracy. The subservience of the labor bureaucrats to the program of the exploiting class inexorably leads to the attempt to crush the democratic rights of the rank and file.

For an Independent Labor Party Based on the Trade Unions! Labor must break decisively with the program, parties and candidates of the capitalist ruling class. Only through its own independent class action on both the economic and political field will the trade union movement be able to save itself from destruction at the hands of Big Business and its political deputies in the government.

CIO Political Action Committee

The formation of the CIO Political Action Committee is an attempt by Hillman-Murray to duplicate John L. Lewis's technique (Labor's Non-Partisan League) of perverting the sentiment for labor's independent political action into support for Roosevelt.

In organizing the workers in the basic mass production industries, the CIO found itself involved from the outset in bitter struggles with the most powerful monopoly interests in the country. The epoch of imperialism is characterized by a fusion of monopoly capitalism with the state. The govern-

ment's role as a strikebreaking agency of monopoly capitalism and the growing recognition of the inadequacy of "pure and simple" trade unionism, impelled the CIO mass production workers along the road of independent political action. The organization by John L. Lewis of Labor's Non-Partisan League, represented a systematic attempt on a national scale to mobilize the political strength of the working class, separate and apart from the existing apparatus of the two capitalist parties.

In 1938 the Socialist Workers Party correctly characterized the LNPL as "*a stage in the development of the labor movement from complete subservience to the political parties of big capital to an independent labor party.*" The CIO bureaucrats, headed by John L. Lewis, frustrated the political aspirations of the workers by supporting Roosevelt for the second-term. Their purpose? To mobilize the workers as a political force independent of the Wall-Street-controlled Democratic and Republican parties in order to wean Roosevelt away from his dependence on Big Business. A utopian dream! Shortly after his reelection in 1936 with the aid of Labor's Non-Partisan League, Roosevelt issued his infamous "plague-on-both-your-houses" statement at a time when the steel barons unleashed a murderous attack on the steel workers in the 1937 Little Steel strike.

The development toward an independent labor party was thus retarded by the false policies of the leadership and above all by the mitigation of the economic crisis attendant on Wall Street's feverish preparations for war.

The hypnosis of "national unity" is being dispelled by a sharpening of class conflicts in the course of the war itself. The 1943 strikes of the coal miners, which evoked a series of strikes in the automobile, rubber and other industries, threatened to topple Roosevelt's labor relations edifice. The workers, more and more disillusioned with Roosevelt's "equality-of-sacrifice" fraud, began pressing for wage increases. The passage of the Smith-Connally Act; the unrestrained labor baiting in Congress; the increasing intervention of the government on the side of the employers in labor disputes; the disarming of the unions by the no-strike pledge; the inadequacy of relying on trade union methods in an essentially political struggle — all this gave added impetus to the movement for an independent labor party.

It was during this period of labor struggle that the CIO Political Action Committee was organized. Its formation was announced one week after the Michigan CIO State convention went on record for the organization of an independent labor party. The CIO-PAC was formed for the express purpose of heading-off the growing sentiment for labor's independent political action. But so discredited are the capitalist politicians and parties, that Hillman-Murray had to pay lip-service to the *idea* of labor's independent political action in order to divert the movement into the channel of the two party system.

Movement for Labor Party

Despite a superficial resemblance to the traditional "non-partisan" policy of the labor bureaucracy, the CIO-PAC, like its predecessor Labor's Non-Partisan League, represents a departure from the Gompers school of politics. The essence of the Gompers policy consisted in keeping the working class politically atomized and wholly subordinate to the political bosses of the Democratic and Republican machines. The CIO-PAC attempts, on the other hand, to organize the workers as a political unit. Inherent in this attempted political mobilization of the workers by the CIO-PAC is a tacit threat to the political monopoly of America's Sixty Families. That is why it calls forth the venomous opposition of agents of Big Business. By singling out the CIO-PAC for special attack, reaction is in actuality waging war against labor's right to organize on the political field.

All the factors which gave rise to the movement for an independent labor party will become more and more compelling in the next period. The need for a solution to the problems of the labor movement will become more acute. The perfidious Hillman-Murray policy of converting the CIO-PAC into an auxiliary of either of the two capitalist parties can only lead the unions further into a blind alley.

Despite the bitter opposition of the top labor bureaucrats the movement for a labor party is gathering adherents among the more advanced sections of the labor movement. The emergence of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, the adoption of resolutions by a number of local unions calling for the formation of an independent labor party, the growth

of labor party sentiment among the more conscious union militants, testify to the dynamic character of this movement. The genuine left wing in the trade unions will crystallize around the struggle for a labor party, and lead the movement forward to a decisive break with the political parties of the capitalist class.

In the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact the Communist Party conducted a pseudo-radical, essentially pacifistic agitation from the "left" against the imperialist war. Large sections of the labor movement were duped by the leftist coloration which served to camouflage the reactionary character of Stalinism. After Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union and the Kremlin's shift in foreign policy, the Stalinists became the most vociferous warmongers. The imperialist war of yesterday was metamorphosed into a "war of liberation." Following Stalin's dissolution of the Comintern, the Stalinists announced the formal dissolution of the American Communist Party, disavowing all Socialist aims and objectives. Through the "Communist Political Association" they step forward as the avowed defenders of the capitalist *status quo*.

Role of the Stalinists

That the Communist Party is an agency of Stalin's foreign policy, that the Stalinists change their program overnight in compliance with the demands and needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy, was in the past understood only by the class conscious workers. Today this is widely recognized by large sections of the labor movement. Thus great sections of the trade union movement, from a trade union standpoint, oppose the Stalinists today from the left.

Today the Stalinists operate as a strikebreaking agency in the service of the employers. While the entire labor movement opposed Roosevelt's proposal for labor conscription, the Stalinists rushed forward to endorse this measure. In the Montgomery Ward Strike the labor movement lined up solidly behind the union with the notable exception of the Stalinists who proclaimed their readiness to scab and break the strike. Their latest campaign, ballyhooed by the *Daily Worker*, for a permanent no-strike pledge, their unremitting agitation for the speedup, their lynch incitation against union militants who resist the employer-government union busting

drive, their organization of a vigilante assault on a pacifist Quaker group in Seattle, etc., etc., expose the Stalinists as the spearhead of reaction inside the labor movement.

Eager to convince the ruling circles that they are the most dependable agents of the employing class, the Stalinist flunkies have not hesitated to come into conflict with the conservative union bureaucracy. It must be recognized that the Stalinists are on an increasing scale addressing themselves directly to the capitalist class. They are trying to demonstrate how indispensable they are in ferreting out the militants and keeping the trade unions firmly in the vise of the war machine. The capitalists remain cautious toward the Stalinists today. Tomorrow, when the crisis of capitalism becomes more intense, they may decide to utilize the services of the Stalinist strikebreakers more directly.

Despite growing opposition the Stalinists still remain a power in the American labor movement. They still remain the greatest single obstacle in the path of the revolutionary party. They have an effective, well-organized national apparatus. They control a number of International unions in the CIO, numerous CIO local unions and central labor bodies as well as many AFL locals. Corrupted to their very marrow, the cynical agents of the Kremlin bureaucracy are ready for anything.

The Socialist Workers Party will continue to mercilessly expose the traitorous program of Stalinism. The Trotskyists will work indefatigably to destroy Stalinist influence within the labor movement, both by propaganda and organization work, as well as by timely appeals to the worker elements within the Stalinist ranks.

Capitalist "Post-War" Program

Deriving from the Baruch-Hancock report, the "post-war" plans of the capitalist class have taken legislative form, and are being administered by Big Business tycoons. The Baruch-Hancock report was drawn up by Wall Street bankers, endorsed by Roosevelt and supported by both the Republican and Democratic parties. This plan is based on the preservation of the "free enterprise" system; that is, on the perpetuation of monopoly control of production and distribution.

It envisages a return to the era of planned sabotage of production and monopoly prices, the era of mass unemployment and mass poverty. The Baruch plan is a Bourbon plan — its authors have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

In addition to untold millions amassed from war contracts, the cost-plus patriots are planning a gigantic steal of billions-worth of government-owned land, industrial plants, equipment and "surplus" commodities. This government-owned property is valued at approximately \$100-billion. Comprising one-quarter of the country's productive capacity, the government-owned plants alone are valued at 20 to 25-billion dollars and represent 20 percent of all capital invested in American manufacture. Under the Baruch-plan, "free enterprise" disposal of government-owned property, for which legislation has already been adopted, most of these plants will go to a small group of some 25 corporate giants, to enormously strengthen the financial oligarchy's strangle hold on the economic and political life of the nation.

The monopolists view the industrial empire newly created by the government as a source of "over-production" and therefore as a potential threat to their monopoly control. Under the Baruch plan, the sabotage of production, planned and practised by the "New Deal," when premiums were paid for plowing under cotton, corn, livestock and so on, is to be repeated on a gigantic scale with the plowing under of plant and equipment.

Under a rational economic system, the resources and productive capacity of American industry would be capable of assuring an economy of abundance for all. The government-owned land, plants, and other productive facilities can become the key to the future. If utilized for the benefit of the people this government-owned industrial empire is capable of feeding, clothing and housing millions. This new productive capacity will be so utilized only if the producers themselves, i.e. the workers establish their own control over these vast means of production.

With the military collapse of Germany there will be an officially-estimated cutback in war production of 40 to 70 percent with a corresponding decline in employment. The Federal Reserve Bulletin for May 1944 asserts that a return to prewar level of production of 1939 — a relatively "pros-

perous" year — will mean from 15 to 20-million unemployed. "Reconversion" to civilian production under monopoly control will yield the largest army of unemployed pariahs in history. Congress legislates generous cash payments to war contractors and insures the profits of the corporations during the "reconversion" period; but the only provision made to cushion the shock of unemployment is the "states rights" Starvation-Bill which provides "relief" for workers as low as \$2.00 a week.

A Labor Program

To the capitalist breadline-and-soup-kitchen plan the workers must counterpose their own plan for the "post-war" period. Such a plan, if meant seriously, must be advanced in the form of a political program. To solve the problems of "post-war" security this transitional program must provide:

For the full utilization of all productive capacity. To the sabotage of production for the sake of monopoly profits the workers must counterpose the slogan of continued operation of all government-owned plants and equipment under the control of workers' committees. This must be the first step toward the expropriation of all industry and its operation under workers' control. No plant should remain idle while workers are unemployed.

For full employment and job security. Against the plague of unemployment the workers' program must advance the slogan of a sliding scale of wages and hours. The 30-hour week at no reduction in pay. For each increase in the cost of living a corresponding increase in wages. As the productivity of labor increases the hours of work must be reduced with no reduction in wages.

For the political instrument to advance the program. Against the Democratic and Republican parties, both representing the interests of the monopolists, the workers must organize their own Independent Labor Party. Against the self-styled "free enterprise" system — a system of planned economy. Against a government of America's Sixty Families — the Workers and Farmers Government.

The essence of capitalist "planning" is to artificially create an economy of scarcity. The parasitic capitalist class has lost all justification for its continued existence. It can no

longer advance the productive forces, it can only retard and sabotage production as a whole. It is the task of the American working class to free the productive forces from the strangle hold of private ownership and institute a planned economy under the Workers and Farmers Government.

The crowning slogan of the Trotskyist transitional program is the Workers and Farmers Government. Each of our transitional demands leads to one and the same political conclusion: the workers must break with the political parties of the capitalist class and organize their own political party in order, jointly with the working farmers, to establish their own power. Through the program of transitional demands elaborated by the Socialist Workers Party the Workers and Farmers Government can assure the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The Socialist Workers Party strives to mobilize the working class around its transitional program as the only way out of the morass of unemployment and hunger, of artificial scarcity in the midst of abundance.

Perspectives

The colossal war expenditures will raise the national debt of the United States above the astronomical figure of \$300-billion. This unprecedented debt is accelerating the process of inflation. The cost of living continues to rise, additional and more burdensome taxes are imposed on the masses, the workers' standard of living is depressed to ever lower levels. Despite the favored position of the United States the war will have a ruinous effect on American economic life. Unemployment, that capitalist-bred social plague, will scourge the land. The arch-reactionary measures of repression against the labor movement adopted under the pretext of war necessity will be extended to the "post-war" period. The drive toward totalitarian rule will continue under the demand for a "strong" government in Washington.

The United States, the very nerve center of the world capitalist order, is sensitive to every dislocation and shock to the social system. The contradictions and growing antagonisms breaking through the "unity" surface of the "United Nations"; the clash of imperialist interests and the fundamental antagonism between world imperialism and the Soviet

Union; the intensification of class conflicts within each nation; the tremendous social convulsions shaking the European continent, all have profound repercussions within the United States. Trotsky wrote:

"We must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that the might of American capitalism rests more and more upon a foundation of world economy with contradictions and crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive a good deal sooner than many think, and have a feverish development from the beginning. Hence the conclusion: It is necessary to prepare."

The war, which in the beginning hindered the radicalization of the masses, is giving a tremendous impulse to this radicalization. The indignation of the working masses will rise in a tidal-wave of revulsion against those parties and leaders who deceived them. The need for a solution to their problems will impel the workers along the road of revolutionary struggle. Our transitional program will meet with an increasing response from ever broader layers of the American working class.

We already see the first signs of this awakening in the growing sentiment for labor's independent political action and the increasing opposition of union militants to the no-strike pledge. In many instances union militants have adopted parts of our transitional program and advanced our slogans in the struggle against the labor bureaucrats. These manifestations demonstrate that our transitional program conforms to the workers' needs and, when properly applied, is the indispensable medium for carrying out our political tasks in the mass movement.

Only the Socialist Workers Party has advanced such a program and can provide the necessary leadership. Many of the best, most intelligent and most politically conscious of the union militants will draw the proper conclusions from their experiences and will join the ranks of our party in the coming period. Only on the basis of our transitional program can the trade unions break out of the impasse into which they have been led by the labor bureaucrats and really become a powerful lever for advancing the interests of the working class.

The Alternatives

It is our task to penetrate more deeply into the unions, extend our influence in the mass movement, reach those militants groping their way toward a revolutionary solution, rally the vanguard round our banner. Our program has met the test of experience, our banner is unsullied, our cadre is prepared. We can look forward with complete confidence to a rapid growth of our party in the period ahead.

The profound crisis of the social system and the sharpening of the class struggle will pose before the American people the alternative: *Either* fascism *or* socialism. There is no "third" alternative. Confronted with a threat to their privileges and profits, monopoly capitalists will call upon their fascist gangs to preserve capitalist "law and order." Functioning as the agents of Big Business, the fascists get their recruits from sections of the population rendered desperate by the economic impasse into which capitalism has driven society. The dissatisfaction, indignation and despair of the unemployed; the disillusionment of war veterans and the frenzy of the lower middle classes ruined by big capital, are diverted by the fascists away from their real source of misery and against the workers.

The Socialist Workers Party teaches that the labor movement can combat the fascist menace only by organizing the unemployed in alliance with the trade unions and championing their struggle; that the labor movement must unite the war veterans in organizations allied with the unions and fight for their demands; that the labor movement must elaborate a bold program which provides a solution to the burning needs of the working farmers and ruined urban lower middle class. Only by putting itself at the head of all those sections of the population, exploited and oppressed by monopoly capitalism and by fighting for the fundamental solution embodied in our transition program can the working class destroy fascism and lead the people to a society of peace, security and plenty.

It has been established as an historic law that fascism cannot come to power unless and until the working class party fails to provide a correct leadership in the revolutionary struggle for power. The American working class has demonstrated its fighting capacity in numerous class battles.

It is relatively free from the Social Democratic and Stalinist traditions that paralyzed the will of the European workers before the fascist onslaught. The initiative lies with the American working class. Our party, the *only* revolutionary party on the political arena, will have its chance. We shall not fail!

The European Revolution and Tasks of the Revolutionary Party

Resolution adopted by the Sixth Convention of the Socialist Workers Party — Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyist Movement — November 16, 1944

The events of the past nine months have served to underline the validity of our previous analysis of the world situation and of the perspectives in Europe as embodied in the resolution adopted on November 2, 1943 by the Fifteenth Anniversary Plenum of the National Committee. The Plenum resolution has guided our analysis of the unfolding events and helped to formulate the slogans for our agitation. This resolution is a reaffirmation and an extension of the Plenum resolution.

The Italian experiences have provided the proving ground for the development of revolutionary events in Europe, of the revolutionary temper and power of the European masses, of the status and role of the European capitalist class, as well as a preview of Anglo-American aims, methods and plans. Italy provides a key to the understanding of events in France, in Germany, in all Europe.

One year ago in August, the Italian capitalist class, faced with the prospect of a revolutionary overthrow of its rule, proceeded, through the Badoglio regime, to call in the aid of the foreign imperialists. The ruling circles decided their best chance for survival lay in throwing in their lot with the Allies, and on September 3, 1943, an armistice was signed

between the Badoglio Government and the Allies. At the same time, Badoglio's generals in the North turned over the revolutionary proletariat to the Nazi wolves. With guns and bayonets, the workers were pushed back into the factories. By the timely assistance of Allied and Nazi imperialism, the Italian revolution was, for the time being arrested.

In September 1943 Allied airmen dropped leaflets in Southern Italy which stated: "*We are coming to liberate you and not to conquer you.*" But the Allies soon revealed themselves to be not liberators but tyrants, exploiters and conquerors. First, they imposed on Italy "Armistice" terms reputed to be more Draconian than those Hitler imposed on France in 1940. To this day, neither the Allies nor the successive Italian governments have dared make public the full Armistice terms. After the Armistice, Italy was converted into a battleground of the second World War. The Allied military campaign was organized on the basis of a twofold objective: (1) to destroy the Nazi armies, and (2) to convert Italy into a semi-colony of Allied imperialism, imposing on the Italian people a military dictatorship based on the monarchy, the Vatican and the capitalist and landlord cliques.

Allied Policy

In pursuit of their program the Allies systematically employed all their power, prestige and armed might to impose on the Italian people the dictatorship of Badoglio and the House of Savoy. To this end they conducted virtual warfare against the civilian population. While systematically disarming the fighters of the independent anti-fascist militia, they supported Badoglio in his attempt to reconstitute an army under the leadership of monarchist and ex-fascist generals. The Allies shielded the Black Shirt cutthroats from the wrath of the people and returned to public office many of the self-same rascals, crooks and tyrants who had lorded it over the Italian masses under the Mussolini regime. A new brazen attempt was launched to refurbish the power of the Church. Thus far the AMG has permitted only religious schools to reopen and education to be conducted under the direction of the ecclesiastical authorities. At the same time a reign of terror was carried on against the Italian masses: the suppression of strikes, the disarming of anti-fascist militants, the arrest of

political opponents. Such is the sum and substance of Allied political "liberation" of Italy.

In the economic field, the Allies quickly dispelled the illusion that under their rule living conditions would improve. With Italy a battleground, her cities destroyed and fields devastated, with the Italian people paying the full costs of Allied occupation, if not additional huge war-indemnities, the economic situation in Allied-occupied Italy has not improved but drastically *worsened*. One year of Allied rule of Italy has made it unmistakably clear that the Anglo-American imperialists, in this sphere, will continue the robbery, looting and oppression practised by Nazi imperialism in its rule of occupied Europe. The Allies moreover will take advantage of the hunger of the masses and utilize their control of the food supplies at their disposal as an additional lever for counter-revolution.

Inflation Accelerated

The first important economic measure introduced by the Allies—in emulation of Hitler's occupation of France—was the setting of the exchange rate at 100 lire to the dollar. This measure immediately accelerated the inflation. All metal currency vanished. The Italian farmers, losing all faith in the currency diverted their produce to the black market.

Prices immediately soared, goods were unobtainable except on the black market, the daily bread ration was reduced to 100 grams per person—three slices of bread—about a third of what the average Italian received under Mussolini. The daily food ration in Allied-occupied Naples is reputed to be one of the lowest in Europe—lower even than the food ration in Warsaw under the Nazis.

The Allied authorities declared all wages frozen as of September 1, 1943. These wages had been set under contracts during Mussolini's regime. With prices soaring, with goods obtainable only in the black market, and black-market prices averaging ten times the legal maximum prices, the working class is reduced to abject starvation. The white-collar, salaried and professional workers, ruined by the inflation, suffer a similar fate. Conditions are further aggravated by mass unemployment. Over 100,000 workers are unemployed in Naples alone. Disease is ravaging the population. The death rate has

increased about fourfold. The masses of Naples are facing famine.

In Rome the cost of living, which has gone up 749 percent between November 1940 and June 1944, registered a further sharp increase, as soon as the Allies entered, owing to the same causes that operated in Naples. Pietro Nenni, pro-Allied Social-Democratic leader in Rome, declared: "*If eight or ten more Italian cities get into the state of Naples, where three-quarters of the citizens live by beggary, prostitution, peddling and black marketing, Italy will cease to exist.*"

Hunger grips the land. The thieving fascist officials and businessmen who made price control and rationing a mockery under the Mussolini regime, continue, with Allied blessings to fleece the Italian people and pile up profits through black market operations. *Such is Allied "liberation" of Italy in the economic sphere.*

And Italy, it must be remembered, has become a "cobelligerent" of the Allies and thus comes under the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. What the Allies plan for Germany can well be imagined from the fact that the German people have already been declared outside the pale of humanity and the Atlantic Charter declared not applicable to Germany. The projected dismemberment of Germany spells economic ruin and starvation not for the German masses alone, but for the masses of all Europe. The highly developed German industry constitutes the indispensable backbone of Europe's economy.

The Political Crisis

The Allied program of counter-revolution and the conversion of Italy into a semi-colony of Anglo-American imperialism has produced a political crisis of the greatest tension and explosive power. The early sympathy of the Italian people for the Allies, based on the hope that conditions would improve, soon turned into consternation, bewilderment, distrust and hostility. Today the masses of Allied-occupied Italy understand that Roosevelt and Churchill are not liberators, but imperial plunderers and enslavers. Even the capitalist correspondents report that the political temper of the Italian masses is white-hot, that the masses are turning to Communism.

Politically, this is translated into the fact that of the six "opposition" parties that make up *The Committee of National*

Liberation, only the two "working class" parties, the Social Democratic Party and the Stalinists, have any measure of mass support and following in the cities. The fact that the liberal politicians of the Sforza type continue to walk the political stage is to be explained solely by Allied support of those politicians and the perfidy of the so-called working class parties.

The Italian masses are today ready for another gigantic step forward on the road toward their political and social emancipation. What, then, accounts for the present slow tempo of development of the Italian revolution? This is explained primarily by the treachery of the so-called working class parties that at present dominate the political stage in Italy, *and by the absence of a mass revolutionary party.*

Role of the Proletariat

No sooner did the workers begin to participate actively on the political arena after the fall of Mussolini, than they brushed aside the liberal capitalist parties and politicians (who paved the way for fascism after the first World War) and in the main gave their support and allegiance to the traditional parties of the Italian working class—the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party. (Under the fascist regime the Italian masses were for twenty years forcibly deprived of the opportunity of testing the various programs, leaders and parties through their own experience.) In this was revealed the leading role of the proletariat that has characterized every revolution of modern times; it also testifies to the fact that the Italian working masses ardently desire a *decisive revolutionary change*. They give their backing and support to the parties that in their minds stand for Socialism and Communism, in the mistaken expectation that these parties will lead them in revolutionary struggle.

How terribly have these so-called working class parties betrayed the Italian proletariat! The workers supported the "Socialists" and "Communists" because they wanted a leadership in their fight for peace, bread and freedom. The Social Democratic and Stalinist traitors assumed the leadership of this struggle only to behead it.

Organized in the underground, the Social Democrats and the Stalinists emerged in the open immediately after Mus-

solini's downfall as part of a five-party (later six-party) coalition: *The Committee of National Liberation*. This miserable replica of the People's Front—the bloc of the working class with the liberal bourgeoisie—lacks even the alibi given in 1935 for the formation of the People's Front of France. The primary power and mass following in Italy reposes in the so-called working class parties. The liberal bourgeoisie enjoy no mass support. Actually the "People's Front" bloc has only one purpose—to rehabilitate the liberal capitalist politicians of the Sforza-Croce stamp and to use their presence in the coalition as justification for the policies of upholding capitalism and supporting the war.

Allied Lackeys

In the course of a single year, *The Committee of National Liberation* has piled up a long record of sellouts. The Stalinists, who comprise the most important party in the coalition and exercise the most extensive influence over the working class, have already emerged as the spearhead of the counter-revolution inside the working class movement.

When in June the Badoglio government simply melted away under the hostility of the masses, it was the six-party coalition with the Stalinists in the van, who stepped in to break the deadlock for reaction. For a brief period they served to prop up the Badoglio dictatorship by providing the facade of a six-party "coalition" cabinet. When the Allies entered Rome, the city was already under the control of a working-class anti-fascist Junta which refused to tolerate a government of Badoglio and the monarchy. After the Allies disbanded the anti-fascist Junta, they called in their lackeys of the six-party coalition. A new government, headed by the liberal Bonomi, made up of the representatives of the six-party coalition, again stepped in to fill the political vacuum. In other words, the Stalinists, Social Democrats and their liberal allies directly took over the task of keeping the Italian masses subservient to the Allied invaders, of carrying through the infamous Armistice terms and acting as lackeys, helping prop up the disintegrating rule of Italian capitalism.

Already in this initial stage, the Anglo-American imperialists have been compelled in Western Europe and the Kremlin bureaucracy in Eastern Europe, to call in the Stalin-

ist and Social Democratic lackeys in order to provide a "democratic" veneer for their hand-picked cabinets. This creation of class-collaboration coalition cabinets to screen their military dictatorships testifies not to the "popular" or "democratic" character of these regimes, but to the cynicism and corruption of the Stalinist and Social Democratic misleaders, to the shakiness and decay of capitalism in Europe and to the revolutionary temper of the masses.

The Bonomi government, like its predecessor, is a shadow government. It is a miserable caricature of a coalition government. First, it has no power. It is merely the servant of the Allied military authority, pledged to carry out the conqueror's demands and terms. Second, it is a hand-picked government, with no mandate from the people or even its own party constituencies. It "rules" by decree. The real power continues to reside first, in the Allied military authority and in the second instance the officer corps, the monarchist camarilla, the church hierarchy. The new coalition merely serves as a screen for the military dictatorship of the Allies and their Italian accomplices.

A Government of Betrayal

The Bonomi government is no more able than its predecessors to solve one single problem which confronts it. It cannot give the people bread because it is committed to supporting Allied looting of Italy under the terms of the Armistice. It cannot abolish the black market and fight the high cost of living because the Italian capitalists, with Allied protection, are making fortunes in the black market. It cannot purge the fascists and give democratic rights to the Italian people because the Allies are returning the fascists to the seats of power and are determined to prevent the masses from exercising their democratic rights and electing a government of their own choosing. The Bonomi government cannot abolish the monarchy smeared with the crimes of fascism because it is pledged not to raise the question of the monarchy until after the war. The Bonomi government cannot struggle for peace. It openly and brazenly demands that the Allies equip a new army so that the Italian people may again be hurled, as full participants, into the imperialist slaughter. The Bonomi government is a government of betrayal and impotence.

Masses learn very rapidly in a revolutionary period. In Italy they have seen several changes of ministries; they have even seen the representatives of the supposed working class parties enter the capitalist government. And yet everything remains as before. The people are still starving, they have no freedom, Italy remains a battleground. The wrath of the masses is sure to rise against the new government of repression and hunger, the pitiful lackey of the Allied imperialists and the Italian capitalists. The Bonomi government will prove no more stable or durable than did its predecessors.

The Paramount Task

The proletariat of the Northern cities has for many months fought with the greatest heroism against the Nazi butchers and their Black Shirt accomplices. In March this struggle culminated in the calling of a general strike. 6,000,000 workers downed tools and presented their demands to the Nazi command. Despite the Nazi terror, they won significant concessions.

As soon as the separation between Northern and Southern Italy ends, the Northern proletariat, imbued with the ideas of Socialism and comprising the most militant and decisive section of the population, will take its rightful place at the head of the struggle. Italy stands on the verge of a new forward development of the revolution.

This makes the creation of a new revolutionary party the most immediate and unpostponable task for the Italian proletariat. The pernicious influence of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists must be fought and destroyed. For victory in the struggle, the Italian proletariat must have a firm, honest, devoted, revolutionary leadership. Such a leadership can be provided only by the Marxist revolutionary party.

The sources for the formation of the new revolutionary party exist and are numerous: among revolutionary elements inside the Communist and Socialist Left who have become disillusioned by the treachery of their leaders; among the leading militants of the trade union movement; in the ranks of the anti-fascist militia.

The advanced workers of Italy do not have to invent a new program and a new banner for the revolutionary party of Italy. Such a revolutionary program and banner exist. The

revolutionary working class party will be organized on the tested program and methods of Lenin and Trotsky, the program and methods of the Great Russian Revolution of 1917. The revolutionary workers party of Italy will be a Trotskyist party, because Trotskyism is the only movement of genuine Marxist Internationalism today.

The Trotskyists have prepared themselves during the years of reaction for the revolutionary upsurge. The Trotskyist movement has a tested program, a firm cadre and an international organization. Upon its shoulders rests an historic responsibility. It must render every assistance to our Italian and European co-thinkers to assemble the forces for the revolutionary Marxist parties and strengthen those that already exist. Toward this end, the Trotskyists will pay the closest attention to all the new manifestations of the European labor movement, and work with the greatest energy to attract all leftward-moving groups to the Trotskyist program and banner. This work the Trotskyists will carry through with the greatest tactical flexibility and in a comradely spirit. At the same time the Trotskyists intend to wage unremitting struggle against centrist charlatans, professional confusionists and sterile sectarians. Through all the abrupt turns and tactical readjustments necessary to aid the rapid crystallization of the revolutionary forces, the Trotskyists will remain programmatically irreconcilable.

Today the Fourth International is confronted with tremendous tasks, opportunities and responsibilities. The decks must be cleared for action. There is no room for careerists, adventurers, cowards, philistines, petty-bourgeois windbags and quacks or sectarian incorrigibles. Long ago the Fourth International turned its back on these political invalids. The Fourth International turns its face toward the fresh revolutionary forces of the European proletariat. All its time will be devoted to rallying the fresh layers of workers in the struggle for socialist emancipation. That is how the Trotskyist parties will grow strong!

The Italian revolutionary party, unfurling the glorious banner of Trotskyism, will call on the masses to struggle for the program of Socialist revolution and working class Internationalism. The party will explain that Italy can avoid disaster and famine only by a program that leads to the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of a

Socialist Italy based on the workers' and peasants' councils; that only by a firm alliance with the revolutionary masses of the rest of Europe can the imperialist invaders be driven out and peace, economic security and freedom be achieved in Europe. Herein lies the motive power of the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe.

The Central Unifying Slogan

The *Socialist United States of Europe* is the central unifying slogan of the European revolution; the cooperation of the European proletariat and their combined forces are needed to drive out the imperialist invaders and oppressors; the proletariat of any single European country will be forced to safeguard and secure their victorious Socialist revolution from the military assaults of the imperialists by calling for immediate revolutionary assistance and support of the European proletariat, by boldly disregarding the outlived and reactionary national boundaries and working to extend their revolution on a continental scale. The *Socialist United States of Europe* is the revolutionary answer, the only alternative to the imperialist schemes of Balkanizing Europe and enslaving its peoples. It corresponds to the needs and experiences of the European masses who are learning that only by the destruction of the outlived and reactionary national state and through the economic unification and Socialist collaboration of the free peoples of Europe can the menace of recurrent, devastating wars be abolished and freedom and economic well-being assured. The slogan, *Socialist United States of Europe* will become the great rallying cry to unite the European masses against the despotic schemes and counter-revolutionary designs of Anglo-American imperialism; and to inspire and guide the working class, through every stage of the struggle for Socialist emancipation.

To rally the masses for the revolutionary struggle, the revolutionary Marxist party will elaborate a bold program of transitional and democratic demands corresponding to the consciousness of the masses and the tempo of developments, e.g. free election of all officials, freedom of the press, armed workers' militia, nationalization of industry under workers' control, etc. It will audaciously put forward those partial, sharp fighting slogans dictated by the circumstances of the day

and the mood of the masses in order to advance the struggle and prepare the proletariat for power. It will become the leader of the masses in all their partial struggles, strikes, demonstrations, protests. It is in the tumultuous revolutionary battles that the proletariat will gather experience, cohesion and strength, that the revolutionary party will win the masses to its program and establish its right to revolutionary leadership.

The revolutionary Marxist party will be the leader in agitating for and building Soviets (Workers' Councils). Soviets may begin on a very modest and elementary scale. They may begin with Consumers and Price Committees to fight the black market and the high cost of living. They may be set up as factory committees to establish workers' control and to fight unemployment. They may be set up as committees to fight for the free election of all officials. They may be set up as unions of farm workers to confiscate the landlords' estates and to operate them cooperatively or to combat and resist the disarming of the masses and to organize an armed workers' militia.

Thus in the very process of propaganda, agitation and struggle, the revolutionary fighters will become not only the propagandists but the foremost organizers of the Soviets (Workers' Councils). The Soviets, in the course of the struggle, will clash with the government apparatus and the Allied military authorities. They will be forced to reach out ever further in their fight for the people's rights. Thus, and only thus, will real meaning and revolutionary significance be lent to the slogan, "*All Power to the Workers' Councils!*" Only through the struggle and in the struggle will the Italian revolutionary party grow, learn how to lead the masses and how to conquer. There are no blueprints on how to make a revolution. We do have, however, the program, strategy and tactics which brought victory to the Russian Revolution. These need to be mastered and correctly applied. What is necessary *now* is to organize the party and plunge into battle!

Let skeptics shrug their shoulders! The Trotskyist fighters will conduct their revolutionary struggle with the conviction that they have every opportunity to build, in the crucible of events, a revolutionary party, fully capable of leading the revolution to victory. The Trotskyists need only display the necessary programmatic intransigence and loyal

adherence to Marxist principles, the necessary audacity and energy in action, the necessary flexibility in their agitation and organization.

Trotsky taught us that:

"The October Revolution also once began with its swaddling clothes. . . The mighty Russian parties of Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks who made up the 'People's Front' with the Cadets [the Russian Sforzas] crumbled into dust in the course of a few months under the blows of a 'handful of fanatics' of Bolshevism."

The Trotskyists in the United States, as well as our British co-thinkers, bear an especially heavy responsibility. They must expose and struggle relentlessly against the counter-revolutionary aims of American and British Big Business. Around the slogans: *Hands Off the Italian Revolution! Hands Off the European Revolution!* the Trotskyists will conduct an energetic campaign to rouse the working class to fight against all counter-revolutionary intervention.

Stalinist Degeneration

Despite the degeneration of the Soviet Union under the rule of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, the Red Army and the Soviet masses have found sufficient resources within the economy nationalized by the October revolution to deal devastating blows to the Nazi military machine and to smash Hitler's attempt to destroy the Soviet Union and subject this one-sixth of the earth to capitalist exploitation and oppression. The heroic feats of the Red Army soldiers and the Soviet masses in the field of battle have revealed to all who have eyes to see that the Russian Revolution, though stifled and desecrated, still lives. The Soviet masses who have rallied to the defense of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution, have proved that their instinctive understanding of the class nature of the Soviet Union is far superior to that of all the renegades, skeptics and turncoats who deserted the Soviet Union in its hour of mortal peril and gave up the Russian Revolution for lost.

The Trotskyists stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. Despite Stalin's crimes and betrayals, the Trotskyists everywhere urge the

masses to work and fight for the victory of the Red Army against the military forces of imperialism, for the preservation of the nationalized property relations of the Soviet Union against all imperialist assaults from without or counter-revolution from within.

Counter-Revolutionary Program of the Kremlin

The victories of the Red Army have inspired the masses of Europe and provided a powerful impulse to their revolutionary struggle. The Stalinist bureaucracy, nationalistic and counter-revolutionary through and through, has utilized its enhanced prestige, derived from these victories, to seize control of the liberating movements in Europe in order to betray them and sell them out to the capitalists as chattels of Stalinist diplomacy.

In Yugoslavia, the Stalinists, headed by Tito, took the leadership of the revolutionary mass movement under the guise of aiding and organizing it and then proceeded to bend it to their own reactionary purposes. They were able to do this because they are still able to cloak their reactionary designs with the moral authority of the October Revolution. The Yugoslav Partisan movement originated as an indubitable movement of the masses, whose worker-peasant sections aspired not only to drive the Nazi conquerors out of their country, but to abolish the rule of the rapacious and reactionary landlord and capitalist cliques represented by King Peter and his Government-in-Exile. The determination of the masses to drive out the imperialist invaders and to win national freedom was fused with the social struggle against the native exploiters. The Stalinists have betrayed the aspirations of the masses; they have already united with the hated regime of King Peter, set up a class-collaborationist government, and have proclaimed their intention of preserving the capitalist setup, dominated by the same old crew of monarchists, landlords and capitalists. Utilizing the slogan of national liberation, the Stalinists are working to deliver the Yugoslav masses into the hands of their oppressors.

The Stalinist program of betrayal is not, however, proceeding unchallenged. Already in Greece active opposition and resistance has appeared in the ranks of the Greek Partisan movement to the Stalinist leaders who have conspired to perpetrate a betrayal similar to Tito's and to unite with the Greek Government-in-Exile, representative of the Greek capitalists and landlords. Undoubtedly, similar developments, to one degree or another, are taking place in all the movements of struggle which the Stalinist head in order to behead.

In Rumania, the Stalinists are carrying through the program proclaimed by Molotov in April 1944 when the Red Army first entered Rumanian territory. Molotov assured the capitalists that the Stalin bureaucracy will not alter "the existing social structure of Rumania." Stalin is keeping this promise. The Stalinist military authority is preserving the totalitarian filth of the semi-fascist regime of the Rumanian landlords and capitalists. The Stalinists are pursuing similar reactionary aims in Poland and are pledged to the same policy in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. Stalin thus assures the Allies that under his rule the Red Army will be used in Europe as a gendarme of capitalist property.

The catastrophic defeats which the Red Army has dealt the Nazi military machine, the impending defeat of Nazi Germany and the emergence of the Soviet Union as a first-class military power has dazzled many and provided the Soviet Union with the appearance of unlimited strength. The appearance does not correspond with reality.

Stalin's foreign policy was based on an attempt to avoid war, to secure for the Soviet Union neutrality in the coming world conflict. For this, Stalin perpetrated his worst betrayals of the international proletariat. In the utopian quest for "peace" in a world dominated by imperialism, the Kremlin's agents were assigned the task of organizing pacifist show congresses, pretentious disarmament conferences, "Peoples Front" Leagues against war—all for the sake of currying favor with the "democratic" imperialists. This "peace" program was crowned by the Soviet Union joining the "thieves kitchen of imperialists," the League of Nations. Stalin's policy thus consisted in selling out the proletarian masses, the only reliable allies of the Soviet Union, for the sake of illusory "Peace Pacts" with the "democratic" imperialists. This course of betrayal was carried through under the high sound-

ing slogan "Collective Security Against Aggressors." The Kremlin's "Peace" policy collapsed ignominiously at the 1938 Munich Conference. Stalin then frantically turned to Hitler. He granted impermissible concessions to Nazi Germany in the shameful Stalin-Hitler Pact, which provided the signal for the opening of the Second World War. All of Stalin's treacherous maneuvers and betrayals proved impotent, however, in securing peace for the Soviet Union. It was precisely the Soviet Union that was converted for more than three years into the main battlefield of the second World War. As in all other spheres, Stalin's foreign policy proved thoroughly bankrupt.

The Soviet Union is emerging from the war a devastated country. Millions of the flower of its manhood are dead, wounded or missing. A great section of its industry is destroyed, and innumerable cities as well as great sections of the countryside lie in ruins. Far from having increased its independent strength, under Stalin the Soviet Union has been debilitated and is today weaker than ever in relation to the capitalist world.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is fully aware of the fact that with the defeat of the Axis, their ability to maneuver between the imperialist groups becomes very sharply restricted and the Soviet Union will face the concentrated pressure of the victorious Anglo-American imperialist camp. Stalin attempts to secure himself against this new threatening danger by guaranteeing the preservation of the capitalist system in Europe while employing the Soviet military power to establish "friendly" governments under its influence on the periphery of the Soviet Union (Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, etc.).

At the same time, fearing the independent action of the masses and the approaching Socialist revolution, Stalin has given guarantees to Roosevelt and Churchill—and that is the major significance of the Teheran Conference—that he will join with them in their program of trying to strangle the European revolution, dismembering Europe, subjugating its peoples and propping up subservient regimes.

Paralleling his program of counter-revolution and capitalist rehabilitation in Europe, Stalin has taken further steps inside the Soviet Union toward the destruction of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution and toward arrogant-

ing to the Kremlin bureaucracy added powers and new privileges. In the past year the Stalinist bureaucracy has issued new reactionary decrees governing education and other fields; the Bolshevik divorce laws and much of the progressive legislation for women have been abolished. Alongside of this increased regimentation of Soviet life, Stalin is making renewed frantic efforts to build up stable bases of support for the parasitic bureaucracy. The past year has witnessed a monstrous extension of the highly privileged officer caste, standing above the population. The bureaucracy is further attempting to strengthen its hold on the most backward sections of the population by encouraging the Holy Synod and Greek Orthodox Hierarchy to extend its influence and by facilitating the campaign of glorification of the church institutions and "holy places."

Danger of Stalinism

Stalin seeks to preserve his rule by reintroducing, encouraging and propping up all that is most reactionary and backward. In place of the liberating internationalist ideas of Bolshevism, Stalin disseminates among the Soviet masses the doctrines of Pan-Slavic chauvinism and *war revanche*, deifies the old Czarist butchers and oppressors, glorifies a privileged military caste, reintroduces the obscurantism of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Stalin's program both internal and external is reactionary through and through. It represents a terrible danger for the European revolution, and to the further existence of the Soviet Union itself. This program only plays into the hands of world capitalism and, if successful, would help convert Europe into the vassal of Anglo-American imperialism. If the dastardly conspiracy which Stalin hatched with Roosevelt and Churchill at Teheran to crush the European revolution were to succeed, it would simply open the road to capitalist restoration inside the Soviet Union itself, by internal counter-revolution or military intervention or both. The Anglo-American imperialists cannot—any more than could the Nazis—reconcile themselves to the existence of nationalized property for any extended period in the territory comprising one-sixth of the earth's surface. As for the "friendly" coalition capitalist governments, which the Kremlin bureaucracy

is propping up with the Red Army bayonets, they will prove no more trustworthy than the alliance with Anglo-American imperialism. In the event of future conflict, these spurious "friends" of the Soviet Union, representing the capitalists and landlords of Eastern Europe, will act in accordance with their *class* interests and needs: they will join with the Anglo-American imperialists in the assault against the Soviet Union. Stalin's elaborate structure will collapse like a house of cards. The alliance of the Soviet proletariat with the insurgent masses of Europe is thus indispensable for the preservation of the Soviet Union.

The Bolshevik fighters inside the Soviet Union face the paramount task of organizing the revolutionary forces to oust Stalin and his arch-reactionary gang and to restore the Soviet Union on the principles of its founders, Lenin and Trotsky. In the words of the 1940 Manifesto of the Fourth International on *The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution*: "*The preparation of the revolutionary overthrow of the Moscow ruling caste is one of the main tasks of the Fourth International.*" We call on the Soviet workers to organize the forces for the revolutionary overthrow of the oligarchy in the Kremlin and set up a genuine Soviet democracy as the essential condition for the preservation of the Soviet Union and of Socialist construction.

Character of the Bureaucracy

The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a new class with a historic mission to perform, but simply a parasitic caste, transitory in nature, which has no future. This caste came to power only as a result of an entirely exceptional conjuncture of historic circumstances. The theory of the emergence of a new "bureaucratic class" — the managers — who will interpose themselves between defeated capitalism and the Socialist society has received annihilating refutation with the collapse of Italian Fascism after a rule of twenty years and the imminent collapse of German Nazism after a rule of eleven years. This theory of Bruno R., Burnham etc., not to speak of their Shachtmanite imitators, with their "theory" of the new managerial class "only in one country," has already been consigned by events themselves to the garbage heap of history.

The Social Democrats and renegades from Marxism who

propagate the idea that the Kremlin bureaucracy intended to "Sovietize" Europe under Stalin's Bonapartist dictatorship misrepresent both the nature of Stalinism and the meaning of Stalinist foreign policy and they slander the European proletariat. The European revolution cannot be harnessed by any bureaucracy. If Stalin with the aid of his henchmen succeeds in betraying and beheading the proletarian revolution, he can do so only for the benefit of the bloodthirsty capitalists and the Allied imperialists. Out of a defeated revolution will arise not a Stalinist dictatorship but the most savage capitalist military dictatorship. This theory of the Social Democrats, which can only disorient the proletariat and divert it from its necessary tasks, represents in essence a theoretical "justification" for their own abject surrender to Allied imperialism.

Danger Signals

Stalin is betraying the European revolution through his agents from within and has given clear warning that he will if necessary attempt to drown it in blood from without. The decisions of the Teheran Conference as well as the actions of Stalin's agents in Yugoslavia, Greece, Rumania, Poland, Italy, etc., constitute unmistakable danger signals that Stalin is prepared to repeat his hangman's work in Spain on a continental scale.

To be forewarned is to be forearmed. The advanced workers of Europe must sound the alarm! They have the clear duty of warning the working class against the counter-revolutionary schemes of Stalin and his native henchmen. The working class must be prepared to combat Stalinist treachery and sellouts. *The Fourth Internationalists will work unceasingly to destroy the Stalinist influence in the labor movement.* This is an indispensable prerequisite for healthy growth and all future successes.

In the countries under Red Army occupation, the advanced workers will have to organize workers and peasants councils, factory committees, trade union bodies, etc. in a spirit of deepest distrust of the Stalinist agents. They will warn that Stalinist promises of fundamental reforms are lies. They will urge the masses to organize their *independent actions* to confiscate the landlords' estates, to place factories under workers' control, to arm the masses. In this *independent activity of the masses* lies the only guarantee for the success

of the European revolution and its protection from the Stalinist hangmen.

Through these measures and in no other way, will the European masses be able to approach the Red Army soldiers and organize fraternization with them in order to protect the European revolution. Only in this way, and in no other, will the European proletariat be able to forge bonds of solidarity with the Red Army soldiers and the Soviet masses and help the latter settle accounts with the murderous Stalinist bureaucracy.

And what if Stalin nevertheless succeeds in using Red Army troops to suppress workers revolts? How will we reconcile our position on the defense of the Soviet Union with support of the European revolution? There is no contradiction between the two. The Trotskyist movement has long since given a precise answer to this question.

Trotsky wrote in 1939:

"What does 'unconditional' defense of the USSR mean? It means that we do not lay any conditions upon the bureaucracy. It means that independently of the motive and causes of the war we defend the social basis of the USSR, if it is menaced by danger on the part of imperialism . . . And if the Red Army tomorrow invades India and begins to put down a revolutionary movement then shall we in this case support it? . . . Is it not simpler to ask: If the Red Army menaces workers' strikes or peasant protests against the bureaucracy in the USSR shall we support it or not? Foreign policy is the continuation of the internal. We have never promised to support all the actions of the Red Army which is an instrument in the hands of the Bonapartist bureaucracy. We have promised to defend only the USSR as a workers' state and solely those things within it which belong to a workers' state. . . In every case the Fourth International will know how to distinguish where and when the Red Army is acting solely as an instrument of the Bonapartist reaction and where it defends the social basis of the USSR." (*In Defense of Marxism*, pp. 29-30.)

The independent revolutionary action of the European masses, in deadly combat against the Stalinist scoundrels, will assure the victory of the European revolution and the survival and further development of the October Revolution inside the Soviet Union.

Of all the "programs" and "theories" on the Soviet Union and the Kremlin bureaucracy, only the Trotskyist analysis and program have been confirmed by events and have provided the revolutionary vanguard with a correct guide to action. The fair weather "friends" of the Soviet Union, the petty-bourgeois confusionists and cowards turned their backs on the Soviet Union in its hour of mortal peril, thereby going over to the other side of the barricades in the class struggle. Only the Fourth International remained true to the program of revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union.

The Art of Politics

Our active political slogans of the day are always consistent with our program and are derived from it, but express *that phase of the program* which has the greatest urgency. Therein is the art of politics; to apply the general program to the specific questions of the day.

Throughout the period when the Nazi military machine threatened the destruction of the Soviet Union, we pushed to the fore the slogan: *Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union Against Imperialist Attack*. Today the fight for the defense of the Soviet Union against the military forces of Nazi Germany has essentially been won. Hitler's "New Order in Europe" has already collapsed. The present reality is the beginning of the European revolution, the military occupation of the continent by the Anglo-American and Red Army troops, and the conspiracy of the imperialists and the Kremlin bureaucracy to strangle the revolution. We therefore push to the fore and emphasize today *that section* of our program embodied in the slogan: *Defense of the European Revolution Against All Its Enemies*. *The defense of the European revolution* coincides with the genuine revolutionary defense of the USSR.

The Soviet Union is today more than ever confronted with the sharp alternative: *Forward to Socialism or Backward to Capitalism*. The present transition period cannot long endure. We, mindful of the counter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin bureaucracy both inside and outside of the Soviet Union, remain ever vigilant to all developments in the Soviet Union. Our policy of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack retains all its validity, how-

ever, while the nationalized property relations remain. The struggle for the preservation of the first workers' state remains an essential task of the world proletariat. *We fulfill this task by working to develop and heighten the European revolution and to secure its victory.*

Revolutionary Perspectives

European capitalism has been in a state of sharp decline since the first World War. Today, after five years of slaughter, Europe is in the throes of disaster.

Hitler, as the representative of resources-starved and colonies-hungry German imperialism, attempted to unite all of European industry and agriculture around the highly industrialized economy of Germany. Despite German economic and military hegemony in Europe and the tremendous initial victories, which established Nazi Germany as the temporary master of the continent, Hitler could only bring havoc to the occupied countries. Nazi imperialism could not unite Europe and stimulate economic development. It only enslaved the European masses, further wasted the resources of European economy and converted the unhappy continent into a prison-house of tortured peoples.

Today, the Allies, under the hegemony of the Wall Street plutocracy, enter Europe as the new imperialist overlords. For their part, they aim not to unify Europe, but to keep it Balkanized. The Allied imperialists do not desire the revival of European economy to a competitive level. On the contrary, the program of the Allies calls for the dismemberment of the continent to render impossible the revival of an economically strong Europe. Their program of dismemberment, despoliation and political oppression can only deepen Europe's ruination. Allied occupation, as already demonstrated in Italy, spells not the mitigation of Europe's catastrophic crisis, but its aggravation.

This cold-blooded program of the Anglo-American imperialists is supplemented by Stalin's program of chauvinism, oppression and brutality. Stalin proposes to plunder Germany and her war-partners by the imposition of war reparations and slave labor. Stalin has joined with the imperialists in their efforts to plunge Europe into permanent ruin.

The program of the economic and political unification of Europe, under the aegis of the Socialist United States of Europe is today the only alternative to a descent into barbarism. Working class internationalism is thus no academic issue in Europe today, but an imperative necessity. By their combined efforts the European masses will drive out the foreign conquerors and succeed in tearing power from the hands of the capitalist exploiters. Economic and political necessity push the masses of Europe toward the acceptance of the *Socialist United States of Europe* as the only program that can save Europe.

The Italian proletariat was the first to take the revolutionary road. One year after the downfall of Mussolini and the destruction of the fascist apparatus, Nazi Germany finds itself in the throes of a similar mortal crisis. A group of Junker generals, fearing the collapse of German capitalism, organized a *coup d'etat* to remove the Nazi leaders and make peace with the Allies. The fact that this initial conspiracy failed does not detract from its deep symptomatic significance.

Role of the German Masses

That section of the German ruling class which seeks to overthrow Hitler, aims solely to preserve German capitalism by setting up a Badoglio-type dictatorship in order to forestall the maturing uprising of the German masses. The fact that the Junker and capitalist circles have initiated and carried through this desperate conspiracy, in the midst of Germany's colossal military defeats, is an unmistakable indication that the pressure of the masses is reaching the bursting point and that the revolutionary explosion is near.

The German revolution is the key to the European revolution. Because German industry is the backbone of European economy and above all because of the dominant position of the German proletariat, by virtue of its numbers, its revolutionary traditions and organizing capacities.

Both the imperialists and the Kremlin bureaucracy are fully aware of the preponderant position of Germany in Europe and the decisive role which the German proletariat is destined to play in the coming revolution. That is why they attempt to saddle the German masses with responsibility for

the crimes of Hitler and German imperialism. The formula of "unconditional surrender" is directed first and foremost against the anticipated workers' revolution.

The German masses, who have been tortured by Nazism for eleven years, are not moving to overthrow Hitler in order to accept the rule of foreign dictators. In 1918, over twenty-five years ago, the German toilers first proceeded to take their destinies into their own hands and set up Workers' Councils. The Social Democratic traitors aborted the revolution and cheated the workers out of their victory. This time the workers will secure their victory and carry through the revolution to the very end.

Proletarian Allies

The Anglo-American imperialists as well as the Kremlin bureaucracy, fearing the sweep of the proletarian revolution, are preparing in advance to isolate the German workers. They seek to utilize the hatred of the European masses toward Nazism and all its fiendish works as a weapon against the German masses, who were the first victims of Hitlerism. The German workers will break through this dike of hatred by raising the banner of the Socialist United States of Europe. The German working class will find allies in their revolutionary struggle throughout Europe, including the ranks of the occupying troops. The proletariat, not of this or that country, but of the entire continent is in a revolutionary mood. The German masses, as the masses throughout Europe, will frustrate the plans of the counter-revolution, by organizing systematic fraternization with the rank and file of the occupying forces.

The petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry, are likewise seeking a way out of the madhouse of capitalism, starvation and war. In the course of the last years they have lost faith and hope in the capitalist system. Fascism, the last bulwark of capitalism, has pauperized and disillusioned one layer of the population after the other. Bereft in its last days of all mass support, fascism could rule only as a naked military-police dictatorship. The leading capitalist circles have discredited themselves in the eyes of the masses by collaborating with Hitler and will disgrace themselves further by collaborating with the Allied invaders.

In the Twenties it was possible for American imperialism, whose economy was still rising and expanding, to stabilize capitalism in Europe on a lower foundation through loans and credits. This stabilization was achieved on the basis of the defeated revolutions and by means of a bourgeois democratic regime in Germany. American capitalism, however, began its absolute decline in 1929 and for ten years thereafter found itself in the throes of a major crisis. Unable to extricate itself, it plunged into the war to secure world domination. Torn by its own contradictions and driven by its necessities, American imperialism today has no program for Europe other than its further dismemberment and degradation, and the propping up of the capitalist system with American bayonets. Here is a measure of the further terrible decay of world capitalism in the last 20 years.

Sharpening Class Conflicts

The disintegration of British imperialism and the insuperable contradictions of American imperialism have already led to the sharpening of the class struggle in both England and the United States, especially the former country. This sharpening class conflict will be increasingly reflected inside the armed forces. The American and British Trotskyist movements will conduct a bold propaganda exposing the reactionary aims of Anglo-American imperialism and will work in a spirit of international solidarity to defend the European revolution.

Bourgeois democracy, which flowered with the rise and expansion of capitalism and with the moderation of class conflicts that furnished a basis for collaboration between the classes in the advanced capitalist countries, is outlived in Europe today. European capitalism, in death agony, is torn by irreconcilable and sanguinary class struggles.

The Anglo-American imperialists understand that democracy is today incompatible with the continued existence of capitalist exploitation. Economic and political conditions forbid the restoration of bourgeois democracy for any extended period, even to the extent that it existed after the last war. Bourgeois democratic governments can appear in Europe only as interim regimes, intended to stave off the conquest

of power by the proletariat. When the sweep of the revolution threatens to wipe out capitalist rule, the imperialists and their native accomplices may attempt, as a last resort, to push forward their Social Democratic and Stalinist agents and set up a democratic capitalist regime for the purpose of disarming and strangling the workers' revolution.

Such regimes, however, can only be very unstable, short-lived and transitional in character. They will constitute a brief episode in the unfoldment of the revolutionary struggle. Inevitably, they will be displaced either by the dictatorship of the proletariat emerging out of triumphant workers' revolution or the savage dictatorship of the capitalists consequent upon the victory of the counter-revolution.

There will be no lack of opportunities in Europe to lead the masses in victorious struggle. The only question is: Will the advanced workers succeed in building strong revolutionary parties, and will the revolutionary parties display the necessary courage, energy, programmatic firmness and tactical flexibility to unite the masses behind their leadership and successfully lead the fight for the Socialist revolution?

The Struggle Decides

We cannot anticipate how long the revolutionary process will take. That will be decided only in the struggle. The European revolution is not to be viewed as one gigantic apocalyptic event, which with one smashing blow will finish with capitalism. The European revolution will probably be a more or less drawn out process with initial setbacks, retreats and possibly even defeats.

The might of the Anglo-American imperialists and the Kremlin oligarchy, and their joint plans of counter-revolution represent only one side of the European situation. Far more decisive is the other side: the continued disintegration of capitalism, the inexhaustible resources of the European proletariat and the power of the European revolution. There is absolutely no foundation for pessimistic conclusions.

The Trotskyist fighters build on the heritage of the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Party, as well as Leon

Trotsky's struggle for re-creation and rebuilding of the international revolutionary movement. The Trotskyist fighters of all countries are part and parcel of the programmatically grounded and organizationally stable international Trotskyist movement. They have the opportunity of telescoping their revolutionary tasks and building the revolutionary party by bold methods, in the very heat of the coming revolutionary battles.

The Fourth International stands today on the eve of its greatest struggles and triumphs. Europe is on the verge of stupendous revolutionary developments. The reserves of capitalism are melting before our eyes. Out of the agony of the battlefields, out of the devastation, horrors and ruins of the second World War, is being shaped the anger and determination of the peoples which will burst in a revolutionary storm. When that avenging storm breaks, it will sweep away all the tyrants and exploiters. The Trotskyist party of the Socialist revolution, like the Bolsheviks of 1917, will take its place at the head of the people and ride the revolutionary storm to victory. Under the banner of Trotskyism, the people of Europe will wipe out the rule of the capitalists and rebuild the continent on new Socialist foundations.

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