

The Only Road To Emancipation For All Europe

By The Editors

In September, 1938, one year before the outbreak of the second imperialist war, the founding conference of the Fourth International met in Europe and set forth a program of socialist emancipation for Europe and the world.

Today, after five years of war, capitalist Europe is disintegrating and falling into ruins. Amid the chaos of a dissolving social order the suffering masses are rising in revolt against their rulers and oppressors. In Italy, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, France, Denmark and Poland the insurgent workers and peasants are displaying increasing determination to sweep away the rotten system which subjected them to the horrors of fascism and war. Tomorrow this movement will spread through Germany and the whole of Europe.

The Allied imperialists have appeared on the scene in the guise of "liberators." But while conducting war against their German imperialist rivals, they have already made it abundantly clear that they have another purpose in view — to prevent the masses from taking their fate into their own hands and finding a way out of the bloody morass along the only possible road, the road of the socialist revolution.

THE AIMS OF ALLIED IMPERIALISM

Both in word and deed, Roosevelt and Churchill have shown that, far from liberating Europe, they intend to subject its peoples to perpetual capitalist slavery. Germany is to be dismembered and the whole European continent Balkanized in order to assure the ascendancy of Anglo-American capital. As in Italy the peoples are to be saddled with police-military dictatorships subservient to the Allied conquerors.

Aiding and abetting these would-be enslavers of the European masses are the Stalinists, the Social-Democrats and the liberals — all of them defenders of the rotten capitalist order. The Stalinists are agents of the sinister Kremlin gang which, fearing for its own rule, has allied itself with the "democratic" imperialists and reactionary capitalist cliques of Europe in a plot to abort and destroy the coming revolution.

The only alternative to the reactionary plans of the imperialists and their European allies is the program of the socialist revolution. Only by the utter destruction of the outworn capitalist system can Europe go forward along a new road leading to lasting peace and security. The program of the Fourth International alone offers real hope to the tortured peoples of Europe and the world.

Europe's crying need is for unification. The Anglo-American imperialists on the contrary want Europe Balkanized. Against this nefarious plan the workers must strive to erase the national boundaries and unite the various countries in a free federation of peoples, into a single political and economic unit. Only in this way can the European peoples survive and the basis be laid for peaceful collaboration and economic and social advancement. But the unification of the continent is unthinkable with capitalism in the saddle. The only realistic formula for such unification is the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE — the central slogan of the Fourth International.

The one force seeking a fundamental solution, the one force capable of defeating the sinister designs of the imperialists and creating a socialist Europe and a socialist world, is the working class allied with the masses of peasants and city poor.

In order to pursue a program of their own, a program which corresponds to THEIR OWN INTERESTS, a program which alone can save them from the barbarism that is inevitable unless capitalism is overthrown — in a word, to realize in life the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe — the workers must have their hands free. They must tear themselves loose from the capitalist and imperialist enslavers and their Stalinist and social-democratic agents and organize themselves as an independent class opposed to the ruling and exploiting class.

TASKS OF TROTSKYIST VANGUARD

The indispensable instrument of this process of class differentiation is the revolutionary party. Without it all the struggles of the workers will prove vain. Without it the victory of the socialist revolution is impossible. The building of revolutionary parties upon the program of the Fourth International is thus the task of tasks of the revolutionary vanguard in all the countries of Europe today.

The workers of Europe are thinking more and more in terms of a revolutionary solution of their problems. They have already turned against the capitalist parties. As the Stalinists and Social-Democrats continue to reveal themselves in action as corrupt agencies of counter-revolution, they will turn away from them too. By advancing the Trotskyist program of socialist revolution boldly, consistently, untiringly, the revolutionary vanguard will attract to its banner the leftward-moving workers and be able to build powerful revolutionary parties that will lead a victorious struggle for socialism.

The workers are already engaged in struggle against their oppressors. The more unbearable the old order becomes, the sharper will become their struggles against it. From partial actions — strikes for higher wages, protests against oppression, demonstrations against hunger rule, etc. — will develop assaults against the system of capitalism itself. The question of power, the question, "Who is to rule society?" will be and is already being posed with increasing urgency.

The revolutionary vanguard must participate in all these partial actions with slogans and battle-cries corresponding to the needs of the workers in order to build the revolutionary party and rally the broadest masses behind its program. It must propagate the need for forming Soviets as weapons of the struggle and instruments for the seizure of power by the working class. It must take the initiative in forming and strengthening these Soviets, which alone can coordinate the actions of the masses and raise them to the highest levels of revolutionary action.

In the coming great battles for socialism, the European working class will possess a great ally in the working class of the Soviet Union. Despite the degeneration of the Soviet Union under the rule of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist gang, the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union remains the most precious conquest of the world working class. For this reason it is the duty of all class-conscious workers to defend the socialized property of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack from without and the counter-revolutionary Stalin regime within.

With the coming defeat of German imperialism, the Soviet Union will confront — alone unless the European revolution comes to its aid — the colossus of Anglo-American imperialism, which always shared with Hitler the aim of destroying the workers' state which emerged from the October Revolution of 1917. The Soviet Union can make its existence secure only through an alliance with the socialist revolution in Europe.

The unfolding European revolution will encourage the Soviet workers to struggle against the counter-revolutionary Stalinist regime and regain mastery of their own destinies. Together the Soviet and European working-class will sweep away capitalism as well as the bloody Kremlin gang and proceed to build a socialist world — a world free of tyranny, hunger and war.

Forward to the Socialist United States of Europe!
Long live the Fourth International — leader and organizer of the struggle for a new socialist world!

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Allies Impose Dictatorial DeGaulle Regime To Subdue French Masses

'Liberals' Retreat Hastily in Conflict Over George Bill

By Art Preis

The handful of "liberal" Congressmen who loudly promised to make a "fight" against House adoption of the Senate's George "Post-War Starvation" Bill for unemployment compensation, are beating an ignominious retreat before the overwhelming pro-Roosevelt Democratic and Republican forces which last week shoved through a House version of the George Bill stripped even of its few minor "liberal" provisions.

Counterposing only the feeblest opposition to the supporters of the modified George Bill and then hastily "compromising" before the reactionary landslide, the "liberals" in the House and Senate have now abandoned all efforts to secure a measure which would provide even minimum subsistence relief for the unemployed. Their "fight" is narrowed down to an attempt to reintroduce into the George Bill the few mild secondary features slashed from it by the House.

Thus, in the legislative conflict over the "human side" of reconversion, the leader of the "liberal" forces has become none other than Senator George, viciously anti-labor Southern Democratic author of the big-business inspired unemployment bill which had previously been denounced as a starvation measure by all liberal and labor forces. George has announced his intention of seeking the restoration of the "liberal" version of his bill. This is all that the professed "liberals" in and out of Congress are now pleading to secure.

COWARDLY RETREAT

CIO President Philip Murray, representing the pro-Roosevelt union leadership, in a statement last week indicated that the CIO

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The Banner of Emancipation



Hiring Hall Rights Menaced In Longshore Negotiations

By Oscar Nelson

The reopening of the contract between the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Waterfront Employers Association of the Pacific Coast brings to the forefront again the decisive question of union control of the hiring hall. Delegates to the ILWU conference held on July 27-29 in San Francisco took a firm stand against granting any concessions on this decisive point. Representatives of the Portland local went a step further in opposing the re-opening of the contract unless assurances were given that the hiring hall would not be subject to negotiations by the employers.

The justifiable anxiety of the delegates was enhanced by the knowledge that the Stalinist-Bridges leadership of the union is prepared beforehand to compromise with the employers on the hiring hall. The conference rejected a proposal submitted by Bridges and his henchmen that dispatchers no longer be democratically elected by the rank and file but appointed by the union members of the Labor Relations Committee in each port.

An examination of the role played by the hiring hall reveals that it is the very heart of the ILWU and that any attempted restrictions of union control over hiring would undermine the basis on which the union rests.

HIRING HALL

The hiring hall was established by the heroic strike struggles of 1934 and 1936-37 on the Pacific Coast. Under the terms of the government award at the conclusion of the strikes the hall is jointly operated by the union and the employers with expenses shared equally. Preference in employment is given to members of the union.

The outstanding provision of the agreement relates to the personnel of the hiring hall. All personnel is jointly selected except for the dispatcher, who is selected by the union. For the rank and file this has always meant the election of dispatchers.

Prior to the establishment of the union hiring hall west coast longshoremen were the victims of the vicious "shape-up" system which was shot through and through with corruption, favoritism and discriminatory practices against militants. (This system still prevails in the Ryan-led AFL longshoremen's union on the east coast.) With the union hall and the election of dispatchers by the ranks, these corrupt methods were reduced to a minimum. If a dispatcher demonstrated any tendency towards playing favorites in sending men to jobs he could easily be removed either through immediate recall or at the next election.

In pre-war years, when shipping was slow, the equitable distribution of available work was safeguarded by the election of dispatchers from the rank and file.

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Increasing Misery Provokes Rebellious Moods And Unrest

Coalition "Provisional Government" Unable To Solve Any of People's Urgent Problems

By Louis Bonn

The Allied conquerors, who are seeking to replace the Nazi tyrants with their own imperialist rule in France, reveal increasing alarm over the continuing revolutionary ferment among the French working masses. Anglo-American authorities are maintaining a rigorous political censorship over news from France, in an endeavor to conceal the true state of mass unrest. The Allies regard the independent action of the French masses, who were set into motion by the insurrections against the Nazis and their French capitalist collaborators, as a grave threat not merely to their military-political control over France but to the whole capitalist structure.

Despite the severe censorship, disclosed in part by the protest of the capitalist press itself following the recent expulsion of six American correspondents from France, sufficient news has filtered through to provide a fairly clear picture of the rebellious temper of the French people. This mood of unrest is being aggravated as the growing demands of the masses for bread, jobs, peace and real freedom come into ever sharper collision with the predatory aims and counter-revolutionary plans of the Allied rulers and their French agents.

"The situation and the atmosphere are revolutionary," Ray.

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The Rich Are No Problem In Rome

In Collier's Magazine for Sept. 9 Frank Gervasi cables from Rome:

"The small upper class is well off. They have sold jewels, furniture and gold at enormous prices, and they have hoarded cured hams, chocolate and small luxuries. They survived Fascism and Nazi occupation and they will weather the present difficulties somehow. They can sell their automobiles for from 120,000 to 500,000 lire each, if they can't afford to run them with gasoline at 75 lire for a pint.

"That other special aristocracy Fascism created of already rich persons who became richer under Mussolini's graftism do very well indeed. They have opened their homes to Allied officers and entertain them as lavishly as yesterday they entertained the hierarchy of the Wehrmacht and the Storm Troopers. These two classes of people present no problem."

It seems that the only "class of people" who "present problems" to the AMG is the rebellious working class who are not content to starve while the rich ex-accomplices of fascism entertain Allied officers.

Pope Makes Appeal To Masses Not To Overthrow Capitalism

By Ralph Graham

With the tide of revolution steadily rising over all Europe Pope Pius XII has issued a frantic appeal to the European workers to respect the system of capitalist private property and not resort to "subversion and violence" in order to end the miseries imposed on them by their rulers and exploiters.

The Pope's speech, broadcast to the world from Vatican City last week, is the most significant admission to date by any spokesman of capitalism, that the old order, rotted to its very foundations, is tottering on the brink of collapse. In the clearest possible terms it voices the mortal fear of the criminal rulers of Europe and their imperialist allies that capitalism faces utter destruction at the hands of the insurrectionary masses.

Acknowledging that "after bitter years of want... mankind awaits at the end of the war a profound and final improvement of its conditions," the Pope warns against what he terms "a senseless hope of a millennium of universal happiness" which he finds animating "the victims of an unhealthy social and economic order."

SANCTIFIES CAPITALISM

Does His Holiness perhaps feel that the "unhealthy social and economic order" should be removed and replaced by a healthy system? By no means! That would be a sin, a violation of divine law.

He admits that the miseries of the war-weary peoples have created "a fertile ground for propaganda for a most radical program and prepares minds to an understandable but unreasonable

"those effective concentrations of economic wealth... that succeed in evading their social duties" and offered pity for the "innumerable multitudes of those who, deprived of any direct or indirect security in their lives, take no further interest in the values of the spirit" and follow revolutionary doctrines. The Church "does not intend to protect in principle the rich and the plutocrat against the poor."

In principle! But in practice? In practice, the Pope shows himself to be a defender of the system of capitalist private property and all the woes and evils that spring from it, the protector of the rich against the poor.

FEAR REVOLUTION

Not for nothing did Trotsky characterize the Vatican as the "world headquarters of obscurantism and reaction." The tie-up between the Vatican and the forces of counter-revolution can be seen from the fact that in the weeks preceding the Pope's latest defense of the system of private property a long procession of capitalist statesmen and diplomats had been visiting the Vatican to confer with Pius. Roosevelt's personal envoy, Myron C. Taylor, hotfooted it to Rome right after the capture of the city by the Allies. Secretary of War Stimson has been another of the Pope's recent callers. He was followed by Winston Churchill.

The real purpose of the discussions cannot be in any doubt. Ob-

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