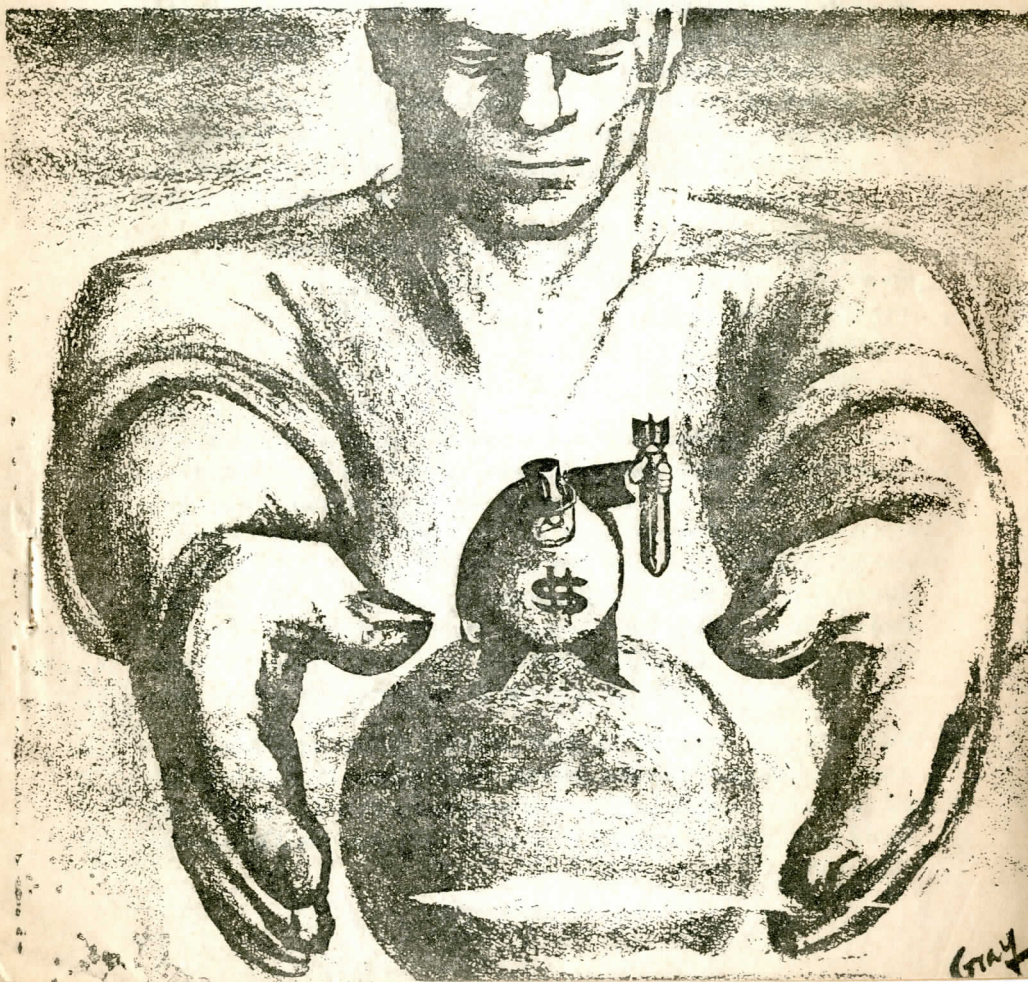
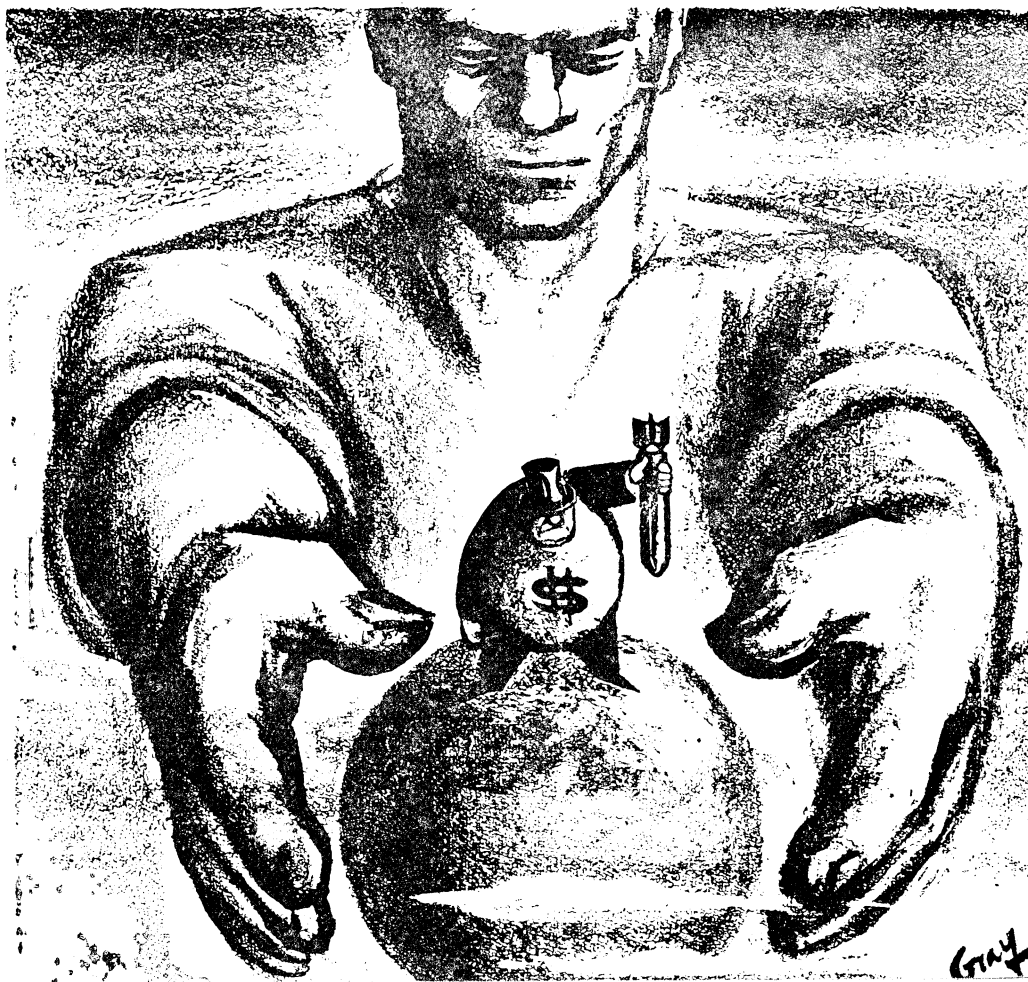


Stop Imperialist Warmakers by Fighting for Socialism!



189

Stop Imperialist Warmakers by Fighting for Socialism!



STOP IMPERIALIST WARMAKERS BY FIGHTING FOR SOCIALISM !

A third of a century after the end of World War I, and less than a decade after World War II, imperialist war again casts its ominous shadow over the world. Rearmament dominates social activity in every country. The failure of international conferences to come to any agreement heralds a settlement on the battlefields. "Localized" wars which flare up again and again in many parts of the world are so many fires building up to a general conflagration; a foreshadowing of the horrors and barbarism of the future.

The fundamental cause of the drive toward World War III is not the struggle between two "power blocs" for world domination, or the "hunger for profits" of a handful of munition-makers, but the internal and implacable logic of the capitalist system. From the viewpoint of the general interests of humanity, this war drive seems like an attack of collective madness. Statesmen, generals, scientists, all are profoundly convinced that human civilization runs the risk of perishing in this conflict, that tens of millions of human lives will be lost, and that entire cities and countries will be wiped out. If they, nevertheless, contribute personally to the preparations for this war, it is because the war does not depend on their understanding or will. It is capitalist society as a whole with its immense productive system which drags humanity into this cataclysm. Without the abolition of this society, the outbreak of the war is inevitable.

Capitalism cannot survive, that is, continue to provide the ruling class with "reasonable" profits, without constantly extending its base. For two centuries this expansion was realized at the expense of the "backward" people of Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa,

Oceania and Latin America. Our whole planet was divided between the great imperialist powers. From the moment this division of the world ended, capitalism could no longer expand without destroying itself.

After two global wars waged for a redivision of the world, the balance of power has been radically upset. All the former major powers have themselves become the object of American imperialist expansion and centralization. This new situation, far from solving the basic contradictions of contemporary capitalism, has still further aggravated it. The tremendous production machine of Yankee imperialism is being choked within what still remains of the capitalist world market. It needs the whole world as a market to stabilize its economic system. But the world is no longer open to it.

DWINDLING WORLD MARKET

The international capitalist market has dwindled by 800 million customers as a result of the October socialist revolution, the collapse of capitalism in Eastern Europe, the revolutionary movements in the colonies and the great Chinese revolution. The first stage of post-war economic reconstruction was hardly finished, before American imperialism, no longer able to extend its economic sphere, was threatened by a deep crisis. Its only way out was to create an artificial market through rearmament, in order by means of these arms to make possible the conquest of real new markets.

Like its predecessors who aspired to world domination—the German-Japanese imperialist bloc—Yankee imperialism came on the scene too late to be able to achieve its “historic mission.”

At the very moment when it launches its preparations for the next world war, new revolutionary movements are breaking out all along the periphery of the Asian continent from the Far to the Near East. The colonial peoples no longer permit themselves to be treated like mere chattels of the imperialist powers. The wars waged against them by their masters, and the factories which their masters were compelled to build on colonial soil, have made them conscious of their own power.

Hundreds of millions of colonial slaves are rising to throw off the yoke of hunger, forced labour and organized brutality of the

white overlords. The progress of the colonial revolution threatens to further narrow the part of the world that is still open to imperialist exploitation. That is why imperialist rearmament flows not only from economic considerations, but also from a very precise political objective to crush the insurrectionist movements of the masses—wherever they break out—by military intervention. That is why the third World War will be a war not only to destroy the USSR, the “People’s Democracies” and the People’s Republic of China, but also a war against all colonial revolutions, a war against the revolutionary workers movement of the entire world. It will be a counter-revolutionary war in the fullest sense of the word.

The minor imperialist powers, under the aegis of American imperialism, have formed a united front against the mortal danger threatening them. But the more American productive power chokes in a constricting world market, the larger is the sector of this market monopolized by American imperialism and the more these minor powers suffocate in the narrowness of the living space at their disposal.

PERMANENT SOCIAL CRISIS

The permanent social crisis provoked in these countries by the disappearance of the bases of their economic equilibrium, makes the power of their capitalist classes extremely unstable. They are compelled to live on the good graces of their American uncle, who at the same time serves as super-policeman over their workers. Without the constant support it has received from Yankee imperialism since the end of World War II, the capitalist regime would long ago have disappeared in all of Europe and Asia.

Those minor powers (Germany, Japan, Italy) who completely lack private preserves and whose reconstruction is due to the economic and strategic needs of American imperialism, support Washington most resolutely and with the least reservation. For British, French, Dutch and Belgian imperialism, the establishment of a united imperialist front means an ever-increasing grip by Wall Street on their colonial domains. Reluctant or not, they are obliged to go along with this solution, for any other course means their immediate suicide.

The huge imperialist armament program has set into motion an irreversible drift toward war. Even a slowing down of this rearmament would threaten to precipitate capitalist economy into a crisis graver than the one averted by rearmament. The enormous stockpile of strategic raw materials would cause a quick collapse of prices. Today, each "threat of peace" already causes an immediate drop on the stock markets.

The imperialists, to be sure, pretend that they are arming only to restore the balance of power. But all of history proves—and the common sense of the people confirms it—that one never arms to preserve peace but to wage war. The more the bourgeoisie succeeds in advancing its war preparations, the more will it be tempted to modify the course of international discussions by throwing the weight of its armaments into the balance.

No collection of signatures, no congress of "partisans of peace" can decisively stay the murderous arm of imperialism which has decided to settle its accounts with the anti-imperialist forces of the world. This war, hated by the workers, the colonial peoples and revolutionists—cannot be averted or stopped if it should break out, except by the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist regime. Only by wresting from the capitalists the factories which manufacture the engines of destruction and by smashing the states which mobilize soldiers for the bourgeois army, can the working people prevent the desperate imperialists from attempting to drown in blood the working people's will to emancipation.

For the last half century capitalism has been writhing in unremitting agony. The capitalist class defends itself desperately against its inevitable downfall, deploying for this purpose the immense means still at its disposal. Mass assassinations, white terror on a vast scale, militarization of entire peoples and continents, bloodiest fascist and military dictatorships, periodic unleashing of global wars—all these in the final analysis are only the successive stages in this struggle for self-preservation on the part of a class which senses that it is doomed by history. The bourgeoisie leaves the world as it came into it: "dripping blood and mud from all its pores."

The cataclysms unleashed by decadent capitalism could plunge the world into barbarism if humanity accepted them passively.

But there is within modern society a class capable of deciding the fate of the world, a class which has already shown in deeds the heroism and devotion with which it is ready to struggle for a new society: and that is the working class.

The revolutionary efforts of the proletariat to take its fate into its own hands were formerly separated by periods of a quarter century, and isolated in a single country or even a single city (1848, 1871, 1905). Right after the First World War, these efforts extended to the empire of the Czars and to Central Europe, but they were defeated everywhere except in Russia. The international bourgeoisie thus, for the last time, seemed all-powerful when it unleashed the Second World War.

SCALES OF REVOLT VASTER

Today the struggles and uprisings of the workers to destroy imperialism and to lead the world to socialism take place on a scale infinitely vaster than ever before. All Asia, All Europe, Great Britain, several countries of Latin America and even of Africa, are evolving under the impact of these tumultuous struggles, whether instinctive, conscious, or organized. They are the product of the unbearable burden which imperialism is compelled to impose upon the peoples, of its inability to satisfy the elementary needs of the masses, of its powerlessness to break the fighting spirit of the working people.

From these struggles will emerge a revolutionary power capable of destroying capitalism. The immense destruction which imperialism threatens to bring down upon humanity is no reason to bewail or despair of the fate of the world. On the contrary, it is necessary to work for the quickest possible socialist victory of the proletarian struggles so as to shorten the ordeals which capital is preparing for humanity.

The imperialists are preparing the war in the hope of smashing the power of their opponents by force. But this war, erupting at a time when the forces of the people everywhere are harassing the bourgeoisie, will begin by upsetting the very unstable equilibrium of the capitalist countries.

Everywhere, the struggle unleashed against rearmament, inflation, the destruction of the workers' rights, will continue and spread when general hostilities break out. Everywhere, proletarians and oppressed will openly defy the capitalist exploiters.

The Chinese people, the colonial peoples on the road to emancipation, and even the peoples of the USSR and the "People's Democracies"—despite their hatred of the abhorrent Stalinist regime—will tenaciously defend their conquests against the restorationist attempts of international capital.

In Latin America and in the Near East, the masses will take advantage of any weakening of their imperialist masters in order to rise in their turn and to shake off their chains.

The American proletariat, faced with the greatest crisis in the history of its country, will rise to political action under the impact of the war, and will join the decisive struggle for the downfall of the bourgeoisie in its last fortress.

Thus, by its very logic, the next World War will become a global civil war. The revolutionary upsurge in Asia, against which Wall Street will unleash the war, will extend itself in the course of this war over the five continents. Imperialism is preparing to crush the insurgent peoples, but it will reap world revolution as retribution for its crimes.

To fight for the defeat of imperialism does not mean to fight for a hypothetical "victory of the Kremlin" or a supposed "extension of Stalinism" with its police regime and its destruction of all proletarian democracy. The Soviet bureaucracy is the by-product of the counter-revolution which triumphed everywhere in the world with the exception of the USSR after 1923. The development of the world revolution will spell the inevitable end of the Soviet bureaucracy, just as it will that of imperialism.

HUMANITY'S SUPREME TEST

A victorious proletarian revolution in a small country like Yugoslavia proved to be incompatible with control by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Can one believe that hundreds of millions of proletarians, victorious against their own bourgeoisie, would willingly submit to the orders of the Kremlin? The sooner the proletariat

of the key countries of the world rises against the capitalists and gets rid of its exploiters, the sooner will the imperialist threat against the USSR diminish and the sooner will the Soviet workers themselves settle accounts with the parasitic bureaucracy which, for the past 25 years, has robbed them of the fruits of their conquests and of their tremendous efforts at reconstruction.

Humanity faces its decisive test. The capitalist enemies of the workers are feverishly preparing the weapons to crush under their iron heel the peoples who are thirsting for freedom. An ever-growing burden of privation, regimentation and lower living standards is falling upon the workers of all countries. Millions of youths are being uprooted to serve as cannon fodder for capital. What do the organizations which presume to speak in the name of the working class, propose under these conditions to the proletariat which is rising to defend its bread and its liberties ?

The Social Democrats and the reformist trade union bureaucracies have re-established international centres: the so-called Frankfort International and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. These two organizations are cynically and openly tied to the war chariot of Yankee imperialism. They call upon the people to accept the entire burden of rearmament, begging only of an "equitable" distribution of this burden among the different classes in society.

They are in the forefront of propaganda directed not against the crimes of Stalin but against the USSR itself, against every strike by communist workers which they label "political," against every uprising of colonial slaves which they label as "an expansion of Russian imperialism," against the magnificent struggle for freedom by the Korean, Chinese and Vietnamese masses.

The declaration of the Frankfort International (of Social Democratic parties) enumerates the contradictions of capitalism solely in order to draw the conclusion that capitalism must be reformed, controlled, regulated. The leadership of the British Labour Party, which came to power with an absolute majority in Parliament, has not utilized this exceptionally favourable opportunity to transform industrial England into a bastion of world socialism. On the contrary, it has endeavoured to save capitalism, to prevent the breakdown of the **Empire**, and capitulating to

imperialism, it is actively participating in the drive toward war against the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. Whenever the Social Democrats participate in government, they, just as in Great Britain, carry out the robber policies of the bourgeoisie against the working masses and direct the massacres of the insurgent colonial peoples.

The Stalinist parties which, after the ignominious dissolution of the Third International by Stalin, have regrouped into the Cominform, appear to be in the vanguard of the struggle against the preparations for imperialist war. Forgetting the citations for progressiveness and democracy which they had bestowed upon American imperialism during the Second World War, they now furiously denounce it as the principal fomenter of war. But the solution which they propose is not the overthrow of this imperialism but conclusion of a new treaty of alliance with it!

The "peace government" which they are advocating in so many countries is not a Workers and Farmers Government; it is a governmental coalition with a "pacifist" wing of the bourgeoisie. This is because the Kremlin, which is the conductor of this campaign, aims not at a victory for world revolution but solely at a favorable *modus vivendi* with imperialism. That is why the Stalinist parties return again and again to reaffirm "the possibility of a peaceful co-existence between socialism and capitalism," even though this "co-existence" means slavery for hundreds of millions of exploited who are burning with the desire to put an end to all exploitation.

STALINISM AND WAR

Nevertheless, the Stalinist parties which still retain a large mass base in many countries cannot under all conditions limit their political activity to a servile execution of the Kremlin's orders. Confronted by powerful insurrectionary movements of the masses, as in the case of China and in Yugoslavia, they may in turn under the pressure of their own mass base find themselves obliged to project a struggle for power. In so doing, they would be preparing the ground for an inevitable future break with the Soviet bureaucracy.

The transformations which the Stalinist parties might undergo in the course of the most acute revolutionary crises may oblige the

Leninist vanguard to readjust its tactics toward these parties. But this in no way relieves the proletariat from the task of building a new revolutionary leadership.

What is on the agenda today, is not so much the question of a projection of a struggle for power under exceptional conditions in this or that isolated country, but the overthrow of imperialism in all countries as rapidly as possible. Stalinism remains obstacle number one, within the international labour movement, to the successful conclusion of this task.

The Noskes and the Scheidemanns betrayed the revolutionary proletariat in Central Europe after the First World War in the name of rebuilding the bourgeois fatherland; the Thorezes and Togliattis consummated the same betrayal in Western Europe after the Second World War. But the objective possibility of these betrayals was fixed by the limited character of the revolutionary movements, by their isolation within the respective countries, by the lack of genuine revolutionary experience on the part of the rising masses. That is why the building of a new revolutionary leadership has proved to be such a long and arduous task.

The revolutionary struggles which are now developing will ceaselessly expand from continent to continent. The masses taking part in them have experiences which will be fresh in their memories. This will reduce, especially in the advanced countries, the possibilities for manoeuvres and betrayals on the part of the bankrupt old leaderships, and will create extremely favourable conditions for the formation of a new revolutionary leadership. The epoch of the permanent revolution will be the epoch of the flowering of the Fourth International.

Apart from Social Democracy and Stalinism, all the intermediate centrist formations have definitely proved to be incapable of creating an international tendency in the workers' movement, to prepare even the semblance of a programme, to set up cadres and maintain serious organizations. Only the Fourth International follows a firm course toward the abolition of the capitalist system by class action of the proletariat and poor masses.

UTILIZE EVERY CRISIS

It summons the workers to utilize every important crisis which the capitalist class of their own country will have to meet, as a means to establish the direct power of the working class by its own democratically elected committees and councils.

It summons the oppressed peoples to achieve their national and social liberation.

It summons revolutionary militants to enter everywhere into the real movements of the masses, to participate in their daily struggles and to share their experiences, demonstrating to them that they are the most courageous fighters, the best organizers, the most conscious guides and most patient educators for revolution.

Communism is not an ideal to which reality must conform. It is the real movement which is overcoming the repugnant reality of capitalism in its death agony. The revolutionists have no interests apart from those of the real movement of their class. Standing above all group or national narrowness, they represent the universal interests of the proletariat and the clear consciousness of the road which leads to socialism.

More than 70 delegates coming from 26 different countries and representing decades of experience in workers' struggles of all kinds and upon all the continents, assembled in the **THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, WORLD PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**, greet the workers of the entire world who are fighting for their class interests and who, despite all differences in ideology and consciousness, constitute a single and united anti-imperialist front which will overthrow the rule of capital and create the World Federation of Socialist Republics.

They greet warmly the revolutionary militants who fill the jails of imperialism and of Stalin, and all working class victims of repression. The victorious proletariat will soon open their cells and mete out due punishment to their jailers.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the Chinese proletariat, the poor peasants and their brave sons who are fighting imperialism in Korea. The first resounding victories of the

Chinese revolution constitute the most important event in world history since October 1917. The Fourth International calls upon the workers of all countries to defend in every possible way the Chinese revolution which is threatened by imperialist intervention. It calls upon the Chinese workers to pursue their struggle up to the complete destruction of bourgeois power and the establishment of a genuine dictatorship of the proletariat, based on committees democratically elected by the workers and poor peasants.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the heroic proletarians of Korea who, despite the avalanche of fire and steel which imperialism has hurled upon them, are losing none of their tenacious will to liberate and unify their country. It calls upon the workers of all countries to give the maximum material and political aid to the Korean proletarians, until the last imperialist soldier has left this martyred country.

WITHDRAW IMPERIALIST TROOPS

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the fighters in the colonial revolution of Vietnam, of Burma, of Malaya, of the Philippines and of Indonesia who today are fighting in the vanguard of the world anti-imperialist struggle. It is the duty above all of the proletariat of Great Britain, of France, of the U.S.A. and of the Netherlands, to assist and support the struggle of these class brothers, a struggle which deals a very heavy blow to the domination of the bourgeoisie at home.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the industrial and agricultural workers of India, of Japan and of Ceylon, who have built powerful trade union and class political organizations, and are seeking to wrest the leadership of their nations from the bourgeoisie. Only workers and peasants governments will cut the last ties with imperialism, will carry out a genuine agrarian reform, will expropriate the landed proprietors and big bourgeoisie and will create the necessary conditions for a real economic upswing in these countries.

The Congress greets in particular the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, which will lead the masses of its country in overthrowing the corrupt bourgeoisie.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the workers and poor peasants of Iran who by their powerful revolutionary mobilization have compelled the native bourgeoisie to take some steps in the direction of anti-imperialist struggle.

Unconditional support for the struggles of the Iranian, Egyptian, Iraqi, North African masses against foreign imperialism and its oil and mining corporations! Complete independence for Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, outside of the "French Union"! Complete independence for the Sudan! Total sovereignty for Egypt over the Suez Canal! Withdrawal of all imperialist troops! For a socialist federation of the countries of the Middle East!

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the Negro workers and poor peasants of Africa who have, in the course of the past few years, awakened to the anti-imperialist struggle. It calls upon them to build their trade unions and class parties everywhere, to combat all efforts of imperialism to transform their continent into bases for the coming war.

Down with the "colour bar" and all racial discrimination! Long live the unity of the African peoples in their goal to conquer political democracy and to throw off foreign imperialist exploitation!

OVERTHROW CAPITALIST TYRANNY

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the Bolivian proletariat and its courageous vanguard, the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), Bolivian section of the Fourth International. For years the Bolivian miners have been striving to overthrow the bloody tyranny which the mining corporations exercise over their country. By going through the joint experience of a great anti-imperialist united front alongside of them, the POR will be able to lead them to understand that only establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the support of the poor peasants, will bring about this emancipation.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the proletariat and all the poor masses of Latin America who do not want to be pawns of bourgeois and military cliques that serve as the instruments of Yankee imperialism. The Latin-American working-class vanguard, setting up its class organizations in all countries and integrating itself in the real mass movements which

are developing in all these countries, will know how to combine anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, democratic and national demands in its programme, and will raise the banner of the Socialist United States of Latin America.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the Yugoslav proletariat which by its heroic struggle during the war and by its courageous resistance against the Kremlin, placed itself at the head of the march of the European socialist revolution. Today the opportunist leaders of the YCP are capitulating to imperialist pressure and are imperilling all that the Yugoslav workers have won at the price of so many sacrifices. The World Congress calls upon all Yugoslav Communists to set up a *Leninist Opposition* in their party, to replace the present opportunist leadership, to join with the revolutionary forces developing throughout the world and to base their strategy of resistance to the Kremlin and to Wall Street on an intimate fusion with these forces which will defend proletarian Yugoslavia against all its enemies.

FOR INDEPENDENT CLASS ACTION

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the workers of Western Europe who have maintained all their class positions against the attacks of the bourgeoisie and have even begun to pass over to the counter-offensive. To fight against lowering the standard of living, against the attacks on workers' rights, against war preparations, a united front of all workers' organizations must be established from bottom to top, and every wave of struggle for improved conditions must be used to pose the question of power, of a workers and peasants government.

The Congress addresses itself particularly to the communist workers of France, Italy and Greece, struggling at the head of their class, and greets their determined resistance to the anti-communist campaign of the bourgeoisie. The militants of the Fourth International will fight alongside them against the Atlantic Pact, against imperialist war, for the defence of the USSR, of the "Peoples' Democracies" and of China. By this means the slanderous character of the accusations of their leaders against Trotskyism will be exposed, and the communist workers will learn from their own experience that only the programme of the Fourth International allows the pursuit of an effective struggle against the common enemy.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the German workers who are in process of overcoming the effects of the terrible ordeals imposed upon them by the 1933 defeat, the Nazi dictatorship, the war, and the continued prostration of their economy. Today, the German proletariat, regrouped in powerful trade union organizations which could seize the Bonn government by the throat as the bourgeoisie itself admits but confronted by foreign occupation and partition of the country, is carefully weighing the first steps to be taken along the road of independent class action. The whole future of Europe may depend on the development of these actions.

By struggling against the rearmament of their bourgeoisie, for the withdrawal of all occupation troops, for the constitution of a Socialist Republic of united, free and democratic councils, the German workers can make a powerful contribution to the formation of the Socialist United States of Europe, the sole means of arresting the disintegration and decline of the old continent and of assuring it of a new upswing.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the Spanish workers who showed by their magnificent strike wave last spring that they are beginning to overcome the effects of the defeats of the civil war. Complete solidarity with the Spanish proletariat! Down with the butcher Franco! Workers of all countries, prevent your governments from prolonging the martyrdom of the Spanish people under the Franco dictatorship! Long live the workers' and peasants' alliance which will overthrow Franco and will resolutely take the road toward the workers and peasants government, toward the new Spanish revolution.

BUILD REAL PROLETARIAN POWER

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the workers of Great Britain who, in their class organizations which are the most powerful in all of Europe, are today preparing themselves for a new stage in the struggle for socialism: the fight for workers' control of production and against imperialist rearmament. Attain consciousness of your immense possibilities, workers of Great Britain! Place yourselves at the head of the struggle for a Europe torn from the grasp of the capitalists! Transform the powerful industrial potential of your country into the bastion for a freely

concluded alliance with the colonial peoples who are freeing themselves from imperialism! Show the world proletariat how a real proletarian power can be built without either bureaucratic control or privileges.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the workers of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, who in their mass organizations are fiercely resisting capitalist pressure and are defending their standard of living and their trade union rights against the attacks and anti-communist hysteria of the bourgeoisie.

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the workers, peasants and soldiers of the USSR and of the "Peoples' Democracies." It assures them of complete and unconditional support by the whole worldwide revolutionary movement in the coming war against the restorationist efforts of the international bourgeoisie. Defence of collectivized property, planned economy, and of the workers' states, even though deformed and degenerated, is an imperious duty of the world proletariat.

At the same time the Fourth International resolutely supports all proletarian movements of opposition to the police dictatorship of the Soviet bureaucracy and fights for the constitution of new Bolshevik-Leninist parties in these countries, parties which will take the leadership of the necessary political revolution for freeing socialist development from its bureaucratic shell. Long live the defence of the USSR and of the "Peoples' Democracies" against imperialism! Long live the independent socialist Republics of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, of Hungary, of Rumania, of Bulgaria and of the Ukraine! Down with the Stalinist dictatorship! Long live Soviet democracy!

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The World Congress of the Fourth International greets the 16 millions of organized workers in the United States, spearhead of the largest and most powerful working class in the world. It greets the Socialist Workers Party which, within the citadel of world capitalism, has maintained the Leninist programme and organization against all pressures. The worldwide destruction provoked by the march of American imperialism toward world rule, will soon begin to destroy the rule of Yankee imperialism

within its own country. That will sound the hour of the American revolution which will liberate such immense creative forces that it will play the decisive role in the socialist transformation of the whole planet.

The World Congress of the Fourth International proclaims itself an integral part of this diversified and varied movement of the world proletariat toward socialism. It fights within their ranks for its revolutionary programme. In the course of the tumultuous years ahead it will attain the leadership of this movement. It will direct the efforts of toiling humanity to build a classless society, without exploitation or oppression of any kind — a society which will know universal peace and will assure abundance for all by means of an economy based on need, a society in which civilization will expand its benefits to include all humanity. It calls upon the workers of all countries to unite and fight for this great goal.

Down with imperialism and the murderous war which it is preparing!

Long live the world socialist revolution, whose triumph will be secured by our common efforts!

**(Manifesto of the Third World Congress of the
Fourth International, held in Switzerland,
August — September, 1951).**

Cover Drawing : L. GRAY

A LANKA SAMASAMAJA PUBLICATION

**49, Driberg's Avenue,
Colombo 10,
Ceylon.**

HASHIM PRESS, MARADANA.