

Second and Third Internationals Lead Workers Only to Disaster

but contaminating and poisoning this class-consciousness.

The official propagandists of each of the belligerent camps expose, sometimes quite correctly, the crimes of the opposing camp. Goebbels tells a good deal of truth about British violence in India. The French and English press says a great many penetrating things about the foreign policy of Hitler and of Stalin. Nevertheless this one-sided propaganda by itself represents the worst chauvinist poison. Half-truths are the most dangerous kind of lies.

The entire present propaganda of the Comintern belongs to this category. After five years of the crudest fawning upon the democracies, when the whole of "communism" was reduced to the monotonous indictment of Fascist aggressors, the Comintern suddenly discovered in the autumn of 1939 the criminal imperialism of the Western democracies. Left about face! From then on not a single word of condemnation about the destruction of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, the seizure of Denmark and Norway and the shocking bestialities inflicted by Hitler's gangs on the Polish and Jewish people! Hitler was made out to be a peace-loving vegetarian continually being provoked by the Western imperialists. The Anglo-French alliance was referred to in the Comintern press as the "imperialist bloc against the German people." Goebbels himself could have cooked up nothing better! The emigre German Communist Party burned with the flame of love for the fatherland. And since the German fatherland had not ceased to be Fascist it turned out that the German Communist Party held—a social-fascist position. The time had finally come when Stalin's theory of social-fascism took on flesh and blood.

At first sight the conduct of the French and English sections of the Communist International appeared to be diametrically opposite. In contradistinction to the Germans they were compelled to attack their own government. But this sudden defeatism was not internationalism, but a distorted variety of patriotism—these gentlemen consider their fatherland to be the Kremlin, on which their welfare depends. Many of the French Stalinists behaved with un-

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, STALINISTS, AND THE COLONIES

Parties tied up with the exploiters and interested in privileges are organically incapable of carrying on an honest policy with respect to the most exploited layers of the toilers and the oppressed peoples. The physiognomy of the Second and Third Internationals, therefore, is revealed with especial clarity in their attitude towards the colonies.

Acting as an attorney for the slaveholders and a shareholder in the profits of slavery, the Second International has no sections of its own in the colonies, if we ignore casual groups of colonial functionaries, predominantly French free-masons, and "left" careerists in general who sit on the backs of the native population. Having renounced opportunely the unpatriotic notion of rousing the colonial population against the "democratic fatherland" the Second International has gained for itself the prerogative of supplying the bourgeoisie with Ministers for the colonies, that is, slave-drivers (Sidney Webb, Marius Moutet, and others).

In a brief period of time the Third International, which began with a courageous revolutionary appeal to all the oppressed peoples, has likewise prostituted itself completely on the colonial question. Not so very many years ago when Moscow saw an opportunity ahead for an alliance with the imperialist democracies, the Comintern advanced the slogans of national emancipation not only for Abyssinia, Albania, but also for Austria. But for the colonies of Britain and France it modestly restricted itself to wishes for "reasonable" reforms. At that time the Comintern defended the Indians not against Great Britain, but against possible attacks by Japan, and Tunis against the fangs of Mussolini. Now the situation has changed abruptly. Complete independence for India, Egypt, Algiers—Dimitrov will accept no less. Arabs and Negroes have found their best friend in Stalin once again, not counting, of course, Mussolini and Hitler. The German section of the Comintern, with that brazenness characteristic of this gang of parasites, defends Poland and Czecho-Slovakia against the plots of British imperialism. These people are capable of and ready for anything! With a new change in the Kremlin's orientation towards the Western democracies they will again respectfully solicit London and Paris to grant liberal reforms to their colonies.

In contrast to the Second International, the Comintern, thanks to its great tradition, exercises unquestionable influence in the colonies. But its social base has altered in accordance with its political evolution. At the present time the Comintern in countries of a colonial nature rests on the stratum which is the traditional base of the Second International in the metropolitan centers. The crumbs that drop from its super-profits have enabled imperialism to create the semblance of a native labor aristocracy in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Insignificant in comparison with its prototype in the metropolitan centers it stands out, however, against the background of general poverty and maintains a tenacious grip on its privileges. The labor bureaucracy and aristocracy of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, together with the state functionaries, provide especially servile recruits for the "friends" of the Kremlin. In Latin America one of the most repulsive representatives of this type is the Mexican lawyer, Lombardo Toledano, whose intimate services the Kremlin has

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE WAR

While the magnates of monopoly capitalism stand above the official organs of state power, controlling them from their heights, the opportunist trade union leaders scurry around the footstool of state power, creating support for

The Old Leadership Bear the Historic Responsibility For Repeated Defeats of Great Revolutionary Movements Which Could Have Re-Made the World After the Last War

questionable courage under persecution. But the political content of this courage was smirched by their embellishment of the rapacious policy of the enemy camp. What must the French workers think of it?

Revolutionary internationalists have always been portrayed by reaction as agents of a foreign enemy. The Comintern created a situation for its French and English sections that made them provide the very grounds for such an accusation and thereby forcibly drove the workers into the patriotic camp or condemned them to confusion and passivity.

The policy of the Kremlin is simple: it sold Hitler the Comintern along with oil and manganese. But the doglike servility with which these people allowed themselves to be sold irrefutably testifies to the internal corruption of the Comintern. Neither principles, nor honor, nor conscience have been left to the Kremlin's agents—only a supple spine. But people with supple spines have never yet led a revolution.

Stalin's friendship with Hitler will not endure forever, nor even for any length of time. Before our Manifesto reaches the masses the foreign policy of the Kremlin may undergo a new turn. In that case the character of the Comintern's propaganda would also change. If the Kremlin draws close to the democracies the Comintern will once again dig out of its warehouses the Brown Book of National Socialist crimes. But this does not mean that its propaganda will assume a revolutionary character. In changing labels it will remain as servile as before. Revolutionary policy demands that above all, the masses be told the truth. But the Comintern lies systematically. We turn to the toilers of the world and say: Do not believe the liars!

rewarded by elevating him to the decorative post of Chairman of the Latin American Trade Union Federation.

By posing the questions of the class struggle point-blank, the war creates for these jugglers and weather-vanes an increasingly difficult position, which genuine Bolsheviks must utilize in order to sweep the Comintern out of the colonial countries forever.

Centrism and Anarchism

By testing everything that exists and discarding everything rotten, war represents a mortal danger to the out-lived Internationals. A considerable section of the Comintern bureaucracy, especially in case of reversals for the Soviet Union, will unfailingly turn to their own imperialist fatherland. The workers, on the contrary, will move more and more to the left. Under such conditions splits and crack-ups are inevitable. A number of symptoms also indicate the possibility that the "left" wing of the Second International will break away. Centrist groupings of different origin will merge, break up, create new "fronts," "camps," etc. Our epoch will disclose, however, that it finds centrism intolerable. The pathetic and tragic role played in the Spanish revolution by the POUM, the most serious and honest of the centrist organizations, will always remain in the memory of the advanced proletariat as a terrible warning.

But history is fond of repetitions. The possibility is not excluded of new attempts to build an international organization on the pattern of the 2½ International, or, this time, the 3¼ International. Such beginnings merit attention only as a reflection of far more profound processes taking place in the working masses. But it can be stated with certainty in advance that the centrist "fronts," "camps," and "Internationals," lacking any theoretical foundation, revolutionary tradition, or finished program, will have only an ephemeral character. We shall assist them by mercilessly criticizing their indecisiveness and half-heartedness.

This sketch of the bankruptcy of the old working-class organizations would be incomplete if we failed to mention anarchism. Its decline constitutes the most incontestable phenomenon of our epoch. Even before the first imperialist war the French anarcho-syndicalists succeeded in becoming the worst opportunists and the direct servants of the bourgeoisie. In the last war most of the international anarchist leaders came out as patriots. In the heat of the civil war in Spain the anarchists took posts as Ministers of the bourgeoisie. The anarchist phrase-mongers deny the state so long as it does not need them. In the hour of danger they, like the social democrats, become agents of the capitalist class.

The anarchists entered the present war without a program, without a single idea, and with a banner dirtied by their betrayal of the Spanish proletariat. Today they are incapable of introducing anything into the ranks of the workers save patriotic demoralization flavored with humanitarian lamentations. In seeking a rapprochement with the anarchist workers who are really prepared to fight for the interests of their class, we will at the same time demand that they make a complete break with those leaders who in war as well as in revolution serve as the messenger boys of the bourgeoisie.

it among the working masses. It is impossible to perform this filthy chore so long as workers' democracy within the trade unions is maintained. The regime in the unions, following the pattern of the regime of the bourgeois states, is

becoming more and more authoritarian. In war time the trade union bureaucracy definitively becomes the military police of the Army's General Staff in the working class.

But no zeal will save it. War brings death and destruction to the present reformist trade unions. Those trade unionists who are in their prime are mobilized for the slaughter. They are replaced by boys, women, and old men, that is, those least capable of resistance. All countries will come out of the war so ruined that the standard of living for the workers will be thrown back a hundred years. Reformist unions are possible only under the regime of

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL SWIMS AGAINST THE STREAM

The proletarian vanguard is the irreconcilable enemy of imperialist war. But it has no fear of this war. It accepts battle on the arena chosen by the class enemy. It enters this arena with its banners flying.

The Fourth International is the only organization which correctly predicted the general course of world events, which anticipated the inevitability of a new imperialist catastrophe, which exposed the pacifist frauds of the bourgeois democrats and the petty-bourgeois adventurers of the Stalinist school, which fought against the policy of class collaboration bearing the name of the "People's Fronts," which pilloried the treacherous role of the Comintern and the anarchists in Spain, which irreconcilably criticized the centrist illusions of the POUM, which continued to steel its cadres unceasingly in the spirit of the revolutionary class struggle. Our policy in war is only a concentrated continuation of our policy in peace.

The Fourth International builds its program upon the granite theoretical foundations of Marxism. It rejects the contemptible eclecticism now dominating the ranks of the official labor bureaucracy of the different camps and which most frequently serves as a cloak for capitulation to bourgeois democracy. Our program is formulated in a series of documents accessible to everyone. The gist of it can be summed up in two words: *proletarian dictatorship*.

Our Program Founded on Bolshevism

The Fourth International stands completely and wholeheartedly on the foundation of the revolutionary tradition of Bolshevism and its organizational methods. Let the petty-bourgeois radicals whine against centralism. A worker who has participated even once in a strike knows that no struggle is possible without discipline and a firm leadership. Our entire epoch is permeated with the spirit of centralism. Monopoly capitalism has brought economic centralization to its ultimate limits. State centralism in the guise of fascism assumed a totalitarian character. The democracies more and more attempt to emulate this pattern. The trade union bureaucracy is ruthlessly defending its powerful machine. The Second and Third Internationals are brazenly utilizing the state apparatus in their struggle against the revolution. Under these conditions the elementary guarantee of success is the counterposing of revolutionary centralism to the centralism of reaction. It is indispensable to have an organization of the proletarian vanguard welded together by iron discipline, a genuine selection of tempered revolutionists ready for self-sacrifice and inspired by an unconquerable will to victory. To prepare the offensive systematically and painstakingly, and when the decisive hour strikes to throw the entire strength of the class on to the field of battle without faltering—only a centralized party which does not falter itself is capable of teaching this to the workers.

Shallow sceptics delight in citing the degeneration of Bolshevik centralism into bureaucratism. As though the entire course of history depended on the structure of a party! As a matter of fact it is the fate of the party that depends on the course of the class struggle. But in any case the Bolshevik party was the only party which proved in action its capacity for accomplishing the proletarian revolution. It is precisely such a party that is needed now by the international proletariat. If the bourgeois regime comes out of the war with impunity, every revolutionary party will suffer degeneration. If the proletarian revolution conquers, those conditions which produce degeneration will disappear.

In the conditions of triumphant reaction, mass disillusionment

CONDITIONS FOR WORKERS' REVOLUTION ARE PRESENT

The basic conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution have been established by historical experience and clarified theoretically. (1) The bourgeois impasse and the resulting confusion of the ruling class; (2) the sharp dissatisfaction and the striving towards decisive changes in the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie without whose support the big bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself; (3) the consciousness of the intolerable situation and readiness for revolutionary actions in the ranks of the proletariat; (4) a clear program and a firm leadership of the proletarian vanguard—these are the four conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution. The main reason for the defeats of many revolutions is rooted in the fact that these four conditions rarely attain the necessary degree of maturity at one and the same time. In history, war has not infrequently been the mother of revolution precisely because it rocks superannuated regimes to their foundation, weakens the ruling class and hastens the growth of revolutionary indignation among the oppressed classes.

bourgeois democracy. But the first to be vanquished in the war will be the thoroughly rotten democracy. In its definitive downfall it will drag with it all the workers' organizations who served as its support. There will be no room for reformist unions. Capitalist reaction will destroy them ruthlessly. It is necessary to warn the workers of this at once and loud enough for everyone to hear.

A new epoch demands new methods. New methods demand new leaders. It is possible to save the trade unions in only one way: by transforming them into fighting organizations which will set as their goal victory over capitalist anarchy and imperialist banditry. The trade unions will play a paramount role in building socialist economy, but the preliminary condition for this is the overthrow of the capitalist class and the nationalization of the means of production. The trade unions can escape burial beneath the ruins of war only if they take the road of socialist revolution.

isolation and mass fatigue, in a political atmosphere poisoned by the malignant decomposition of the traditional organizations of the working class, in the midst of heaped-up difficulties and obstacles, the development of the Fourth International of necessity proceeded slowly. Isolated and at first sight much broader and more promising attempts at unifying the left wing have been undertaken more than once by centrists who disdained our efforts. All these pretentious attempts, however, crumbled to dust even before the masses had a chance to memorize their names. Only the Fourth International, with stubbornness, persistence, and increasing success keeps on swimming against the stream.

We Have Withstood the Test!

What characterizes a genuine revolutionary organization is above all the seriousness with which it works out and tests its political line at each new turn of events. Centralism is made fruitful by democracy. In the fire of the war our sections passionately discuss all questions of proletarian policy, testing methods and brushing off in passing those unstable elements who joined us only because of their opposition to the Second and Third Internationals. Separation from unreliable fellow-travelers is the inevitable overhead expense in the formation of a genuine revolutionary party.

The overwhelming majority of our comrades in different countries have withstood the first test of the war. This fact is of inestimable significance for the future of the Fourth International. Every rank and file member of our organization is not only entitled but is duty bound to consider himself henceforth an officer in the revolutionary army which will be created in the flame of events. The entry of the masses into the revolutionary arena will reveal at once the insignificance of the opportunist, pacifist and centrist programs. A single real revolutionist in a factory, a mine, a trade union, a regiment, a warship, is worth infinitely more than hundreds of petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionists steaming in their own juice.

The politicians of the big bourgeoisie are far better at orienting themselves on the role of the Fourth International than our petty-bourgeois pedants. On the eve of breaking off diplomatic relations, the French ambassador Coulondre and Hitler, seeking during their final interview to frighten each other by the consequences of the war, were in joint agreement that the "only real victor" would be the Fourth International. Upon the launching of hostilities against Poland the major press of France, Denmark and other countries carried dispatches saying that in the workers' quarters in Berlin placards appeared on walls: "Down with Stalin, Long Live Trotsky!" This means: "Down with the Third International, Long Live the Fourth International! When a demonstration was organized by the more resolute workers and students of Prague, on the anniversary of national independence, the "Protector" Baron Neurath issued an official declaration placing the responsibility for this demonstration upon the Czech "Trotskyites." The correspondence from Prague which appears in the newspaper edited by Benes, the former President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, confirms the fact that the Czech workers are becoming "Trotskyites." As yet, all these are only symptoms. But they indicate unmistakably the trend of development. The new generation of workers whom the war will impel on to the road of revolution will take their place under our banner.

Already the disorientation of the bourgeoisie, the alarm and dissatisfaction of the popular masses are intense, not only in the warring but also in the neutral countries; these phenomena will become intensified with every passing month of the war. In the last twenty years, it is true, the proletariat has suffered one defeat after another, each graver than the preceding one, became disillusioned with its old parties and met the war undoubtedly in depressed spirits. One should not, however, over-estimate the stability or durability of such moods. Events created them, events will dispel them.

War as well as revolution is made first and foremost by the younger generation. Millions of the youth unable to find access to industry began their lives as unemployed and therefore remained outside of political life. Today they are finding their place or they will find it on the morrow: the state organizes them into regiments and for this very reason opens the possibility for their revolutionary unification. Without a doubt the war will also shake off the apathy of the older generations.