

The Fourth International Sounds the Call to Struggle!

THE PROBLEM OF WORKERS' LEADERSHIP

There remains the question of leadership. Will not the revolution be betrayed this time too, inasmuch as there are two Internationals in the service of imperialism while the genuine revolutionary elements constitute a tiny minority? In other words: shall we succeed in preparing in time a party capable of leading the proletarian revolution? In order to answer this question correctly it is necessary to pose it correctly. Naturally, this or that uprising may end and surely will end in defeat owing to the immaturity of the revolutionary leadership. But it is not a question of a single uprising. It is a question of an entire revolutionary epoch.

The capitalist world has no way out, unless a prolonged death agony is so considered. It is necessary to prepare for long years, if not decades, of war, uprisings, brief interludes of truce, new wars and new uprisings. A young revolutionary party must base itself on this perspective. History will provide it with enough opportunities and possibilities to test itself, to accumulate experience and to mature. The swifter the ranks of the vanguard are fused the more the epoch of bloody convulsions will be shortened, the less destruction will our planet suffer. But the great historical problem will not be solved in any case until a revolutionary party stands at the head of the proletariat. The question of tempos and time-intervals is of enormous importance; but it alters neither the general historical perspective nor the direction of our policy. The conclusion is a simple one: it is necessary to carry on the work of educating and organizing the proletarian vanguard with tenfold energy. Precisely in this lies the task of the Fourth International.

The greatest error is committed by those who, in seeking to justify pessimistic conclusions, refer simply to the sad consequences of the last war. In the first place, the last war gave birth to the October Revolution upon whose lessons the labor movement of the whole world lives. In the second place, the conditions of the present war differ profoundly from the conditions of 1914. The economic position of the imperialist states, including the United States, is infinitely worse today, and the destructive power of war is infinitely greater than was the case a quarter of a century ago. There is therefore sufficient reason to expect this time a much more rapid and much more decisive reaction on the part of the workers and of the army.

The experience of the first war did not pass without deeply affecting the masses. The Second International drew its strength from the still almost untouched democratic and pacifist illusions of the masses. The workers seriously hoped that the war of 1914 would be the last war. The soldiers allowed themselves to be killed in order to spare their children a new slaughter. Only thanks to this hope could men have withstood war for more than four years. Today almost nothing remains of the democratic and pacifist illusions. The peoples are suffering the present war without any longer believing in it, without expecting anything more from it than new chains. This applies also to the totalitarian

states. The older generation of the workers who bore on their backs the burden of the first imperialist war and who have not forgotten its lessons are still far from eliminated from the arena. In the ears of the next to the oldest generation, which went to school during war time, the false slogans of patriotism and pacifism are still ringing. The inestimable political experience of these strata who are now crushed by the weight of the war machine will reveal itself in full force when the war compels the toiling masses to come out openly against their governments.

Our theses, *War and the Fourth International* (1934), state: "The exposure of the utterly reactionary, decaying and murderous nature of modern capitalism, the collapse of democracy, reformism and pacifism, the unpostponable and burning need of the proletariat to find a way to salvation from inescapable ruin places the world revolution with a new force on the order of the day."

Today it is no longer a question, as was the case in the nineteenth century, of simply assuring a more rapid and more healthy development of economic life: today it is a question of saving mankind from suicide. It is precisely the acuteness of the historical problem that completely cuts the ground from under the feet of the opportunist parties. The party of the revolution, on the contrary, finds a well-spring of inexhaustible power in the consciousness of the fact that it carries out inexorable historical necessity.

Moreover, it is impermissible to put on the same plane the present revolutionary vanguard with those isolated internationalists who raised their voices at the outbreak of the last war. Only the Russian party of the Bolsheviks represented a revolutionary force at that time. But even the latter, in its overwhelming majority failed, except for a small emigre group around Lenin, to shed its national narrowness and to rise to the perspective of the world revolution.

The Fourth International in numbers and especially in preparation possesses infinite advantages over its predecessors at the beginning of the last war. The Fourth International is the direct heir of Bolshevism in its flower. The Fourth International has absorbed the tradition of the October Revolution and has transmuted into theory the experience of the richest historical period between the two imperialist wars. It has faith in itself and its future.

War, let us once again recall, speeds up enormously the political development. Those great tasks which only yesterday seemed long years, if not decades away, can loom up directly before us in the next two or three years, and even sooner. Programs which are based on habitual peacetime conditions will inevitably remain dangling in mid-air. On the other hand, the Fourth International's Program of Transitional Demands which seemed so "unreal" to near-sighted politicians, will reveal its full significance in the process of the mobilization of the masses for the conquest of state power.

At the beginning of the new revolution, the opportunists will once again strive, just as they did a quarter of a century ago, to imbue the workers with the idea that it is impossible to build socialism on ruins and devastation. As if the proletariat is free to choose! It is necessary to build on those foundations which history provides. The Russian Revolution showed that workers' rule can raise even a very backward country out of deepest poverty. All the greater are the miracles open to the proletariat of the ad-

vanced countries. War destroys structures, railways, factories, mines; but it cannot destroy technology, science, skills. After creating its own state, correctly organizing its own ranks, drawing into the work qualified forces bequeathed by the bourgeois regime and organizing production according to a unified plan, the proletariat will not only restore within a few years everything destroyed by war, but will also create conditions for the greatest blossoming of culture on the foundation of solidarity.

WHAT TO DO NOW?

This Manifesto is adopted by the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International at a moment when, after overwhelming Holland and Belgium and crushing the initial resistance of the Allied troops, the German armies are rolling like a tide of fire towards Paris and the Channel. In Berlin they are already hastening to celebrate victory. In the camp of the Allies there is alarm, verging on panic. Here we have neither the possibility nor the need to engage in strategical speculations concerning the next stages of the war. Hitler's tremendous preponderance is in any case now placing its seal upon the political physiognomy of the whole world.

"But isn't the working class obliged in the present conditions to aid the democracies in their struggle against German fascism?" That is how the question is put by broad petty-bourgeois circles for whom the proletariat always remains only an auxiliary tool of this or that faction of the bourgeoisie. We reject this policy with indignation. Naturally there exists a difference between the political regimes in bourgeois society just as there is a difference in the comfort between various cars in a railway train. But when the whole train is plunging into an abyss the distinction between decaying democracy and murderous fascism disappears in the face of the collapse of the entire capitalist system.

By his victories and bestialities Hitler provokes naturally the sharp hatred of workers the world over. But between this legitimate hatred of workers and the helping of his weaker but not less reactionary enemies is an unbridgeable gulf. The victory of the imperialists of Great Britain and France would be not less frightful for the ultimate fate of mankind than that of Hitler and Mussolini. Bourgeois democracy cannot be saved. By helping their bourgeoisie against foreign fascism the workers would only accelerate the victory of fascism in their own country. The task which is posed by history is not to support one part of the imperialist system against another but to make an end of the system as a whole.

Workers Must Learn Military Arts

The militarization of the masses is further intensified every day. We reject the grotesque pretension of doing away with this militarization through empty pacifist protests. All the great questions will be decided in the next

epoch arms in hand. The workers should not fear arms; on the contrary they should learn to use them. Revolutionists no more separate themselves from the people during war than in peace. A Bolshevik strives to become not only the best trade unionist but also the best soldier.

We do not wish to permit the bourgeoisie to drive untrained or half-trained soldiers at the last hour onto the battlefield. We demand that the state immediately provide the workers and the unemployed with the possibility of learning how to handle the rifle, the hand grenade, the machine gun, the cannon, the airplane, the submarine and the other tools of war. Special military schools are necessary in close connection with the trade unions so that the workers can become skilled specialists of the military art, able to hold posts as commanders.

This Is Not Our War!

At the same time we do not forget for a moment that this war is not our war. In contradistinction to the Second and Third Internationals, the Fourth International builds its policy not on the military fortunes of the capitalist states but on the transformation of the imperialist war into a war of the workers against the capitalists, on the overthrow of the ruling classes of all countries, on the world socialist revolution. The shifts in the battle lines at the front, the destruction of national capitals, the occupation of territories, the downfall of individual states represent from this standpoint only tragic episodes on the road to the reconstruction of modern society.

Independently of the course of the war, we fulfill our basic task: we explain to the workers the irreconcilability between their interests and the interests of bloodthirsty capitalism; we mobilize the toilers against imperialism; we propagate the unity of the workers in all warring and neutral countries; we call for the fraternization of workers and soldiers within each country, and of soldiers with soldiers on the opposite side of the battle front; we mobilize the women and youth against the war; we carry on constant, persistent, tireless preparation of the revolution in the factories, in the mills, in the villages, in the barracks, at the front and in the fleet.

This is our program. Proletarians of the world, there is no other way out except to unite under the banner of the Fourth International!

Fourth International Holds Conference

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working class, when for the second time within a generation the monstrous tanks of militarism and a thousand new horrors of war sweep over the battlefields, crushing the bodies of millions of workers in uniform and scattering millions of others in civil life to the four winds in search of refuge.

Only the Fourth International, gathered in a World Conference, has raised its voice to explain to the workers everywhere in the clearest terms the situation confronting them; to show them the revolutionary way out of the crushing disaster that is overtaking society disorganized by capitalism; to speak out to them in the voice of courage and hope which is the voice of the coming world socialist revolution.

Growth In Latin America
Particularly heartening was the Organizational Report, which recorded considerable growth of our movement in Latin America, where in particular our Chilean comrades, after a process of unification with large groups of proletarians breaking with the reformist Socialist Party, are rapidly building a mass organization.

A new section has been constituted in Bolivia. In the Argentine and in Cuba, our sections are developing their influence in the mass movement and striking root in the trade unions. In other South American countries new groups have been formed or are in the process of formation.

In Australia our young Communist League has made particularly gratifying headway in winning over a whole leading cadre of militants from the Stalinist party.

The Manifesto
The chief work of the Conference was the preparation of a Manifesto to the world working class. After considerable discussion, the draft proposed by the Executive Committee was adopted with only minor amendments.

This document (printed in this issue) is a unique revolutionary achievement. It comprises an all-sided panorama of the world in the throes of war; an analysis of the factors making for the transformation of this war into a civil war for a Socialist United States of Europe on the road to a World Federation of Socialist Republics; as well as a call to action which contains strategic and tactical directives.

Sections Support Stand
The Conference noted that every section and group which had taken a decision in the matter and communicated with the Executive had already unreservedly declared themselves for the maintenance of the slogan of the Unconditional Defense of the USSR and against all attempts to revise the program of the Fourth International.

Based upon this authority, the Emergency Conference elected an International Executive Committee with representatives from all sections, charged with executing the program and policies of the Fourth International in the course of the war, and with the calling of a full world congress as soon as conditions make such a step feasible.

Condemns Deserters
Meeting in the main to arm the Fourth International for the coming great battles against capitalism, and for the struggle to win the world working class to our banner, the Emergency Conference also had another task: to pass judgement upon those weak-kneed petty-bourgeois elements formerly in our ranks who at the first test of the unfolding war run for cover. It had to deal with those who deserted under the pretext of proposing a "concrete" revision of our program on the question of unconditional defense of the USSR, a revision which developed into open surrender to the Marxist theory and the principles and traditions of Bolshevism, upon whose foundations the International had been constructed.

Salutes to Trotsky
The Conference met in the shadow of the Stalinist G.P.U.'s attempt upon the life of the outstanding leader of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky. In a resolution adopted by acclamation, the Conference congratulated Comrade Trotsky on his miraculous escape from the hands of the Kremlin's assassins. It greeted Comrade Trotsky and his companion, Natalie Sedov, in heartfelt words which expressed the profound appreciation of revolutionists the world over for their devotion to the cause of the world working class and anxiety for their continued welfare and safety.

Recalling the great names of such martyrs in the struggle of the Fourth International, as Leon Sedov, Rudolf Klement, Ernst Wolf, and Ignace Reiss, heroes felled by the hand of Stalin's gunmen and killers, the Conference paused to send greetings to the stout-hearted and fearless militants of the Fourth International now languishing in the concentration camps and prisons of Hitler's Germany; to comrades Rigal, Steve, Weltz and their

else suffer unconditional expulsion from the party.

Taking note of an extensive report from the French Section of the Fourth International, the Emergency Conference condemned the political line of the Gilbert tendency in that organization, a tendency which holds a defeatist view in regard to the USSR, similar to that of the Shachtman-Burnham minority of the SWP, as contrary to the program and policy of the Fourth International. But while warning against the defeatist character of this group, the Conference commended the Gilbert tendency for its organizational loyalty in condemning the announced split of Shachtman and Burnham and in declaring themselves categorically for "respect in action for majority discipline and democratic centralism."

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The Emergency Conference of the World Party of Socialist Revolution closed its sessions, firm in the conviction that it had successfully accomplished the work of consolidating the international organization, of providing it with a functioning and authoritative leadership, and of arming it with a line of action which alone can initiate the workers' own emancipation from the toils of robbing war and ruthless exploitation.

FRENCH GOV'T ABANDONS BRITISH ALLIES

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crushed Britain too. The British were furious and badly frightened. When it became clear after the fall of Paris on June 14 that the French armies were smashed and that the retreating French government would sue for peace, the British made desperate efforts to prevent it. They even offered France a "union"—an offer which amounted to inviting France to become part of the British Empire. But the French capitalists were not buying any British Empire stock just then. They were all already thinking that Hitler, preferred, was a better buy. The British emissaries were turned back. Even Churchill himself, by report, flew over to plead. But to no avail. The armistice went through.

Thieves Fall Out
Then the dirt began to fly. Overnight, the gallant, heroic, indissoluble ally was transformed in the British press and in the speeches of Churchill into a venal and traitorous knifer-in-the-back. The positively faultless French High Command was uncovered as a gang of blunderers who were really responsible for the debacle of Flanders. The matchless leaders of the French people only yesterday were now revealed in unlovely nakedness as office-grabbers, grafters, do-nothings, and outright traitors who had been selling the country short down the river for years.

From Bordeaux came reports that the British were really responsible for the disaster because they hadn't sent enough men or guns over and were in no position to dictate to the French what to do. The British immediately set in motion a campaign to split the French colonies from France and to pull in such French warships

and fighting men as they could lay their hands on. Under direct British inspiration, a General de Gaulle began a movement in London to form a government-in-exile. British newspapers suddenly remembered there was a French parliament and pointed out that the Pétain ministry had acted without sanction of the chambers. Even the dead corpse of democracy has its uses! This split from the British was the prime card the French rulers had to play when they sat down at the far end of Hitler's table. And it is a card of no small use to the Nazi chieftain. With it his play against Britain becomes even more of a sure thing. France, totally stripped of resources and remaining fighting equipment, becomes now the jumping-off place for the invasion of the British Isles.

Speed Appeal Funds

A total of \$323.70 came in this week for the two-a-week Appeal—a good-sized amount if it were an early week in the campaign, but now we're on the last lap and way behind. Just read the scoreboard, see where your branch stands, and do something about it!

SCOREBOARD			
Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Chicago	\$ 100.00	\$ 105.00	105
Upstate New York	50.00	50.00	100
Akron	10.00	10.00	100
Rockville	5.00	5.00	100
Texas	5.00	5.00	100
St. Paul	200.00	200.00	100
Boston	177.00	154.00	87
Maritime Workers	780.00	645.00	83
Lynn	50.00	49.00	80
Flint	105.00	75.00	71
Minneapolis	300.00	200.00	67
Toledo	40.00	25.50	64
Detroit	75.00	46.35	62
Newark	100.00	60.20	60
Philadelphia	25.00	13.00	52
Los Angeles	100.00	51.50	51
New York City	950.00	422.00	44
Buffalo	5.00	2.00	40
Baltimore	25.00	10.00	40
East Chicago	50.00	20.00	40
Portland	7.50	2.50	33
New Haven	55.00	11.50	21
San Francisco	100.00	10.00	10
National Office	550.00	50.20	9
Omaha	25.00	0.00	0
Seattle	15.00	0.00	0
Indianapolis	10.00	0.00	0
Oakland	10.00	0.00	0
Lorain	5.00	0.00	0
TOTAL	\$323.70	\$213.75	56