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COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

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MANIFESTO
OF THE

*Fourth
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AGAINST
WALL STREET
AND THE
KREMLIN

FOR THE PROGRAM OF THE
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO AND THE
WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

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*Against
Wall Street
and
The Kremlin*



**Manifesto of the Second World Congress
of the Fourth International to the
Exploited Masses of the World**

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Congress of Fourth International



The Fourth International was founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution. He was murdered in Mexico by a GPU assassin on August 20, 1940. The Fourth International held its Second World Congress in Paris during the first three weeks of April, 1948. Approximately 50 delegates representing 22 organizations from 19 different countries, took part. Among them were representatives from most European countries under U.S. or Soviet occupation, from the American continent, Africa, the Middle and Far East.

The Presidium of the Congress is shown above. From left to right: Comrades Favre Bleibtreu (France), S. Santen (Holland), Pierre Frank (France), Jock Haston (England), Colin R. DeSilva (Ceylon) and Munis (Spain).

Congress of Fourth International



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Against Wall Street and the Kremlin! For the Program of the "Communist Manifesto!"

For the World Socialist Revolution!

The Second World Congress of the Fourth International, meeting in Paris on the hundredth anniversary of the Communist Manifesto, with representatives from 33 sections attending, considers it necessary to give, on the basis of its communist ideas, aims and tendencies, its answers to the problems now facing the revolutionary vanguard and humanity as a whole.

After living through two world wars, an unprecedented economic crisis and terrible experiences under dictatorial regimes, humanity is now confronted with the threat of a new economic catastrophe and a new world conflagration.

The present situation is the inevitable culmination of the capitalist system. With unequalled clarity, the authors of the Communist Manifesto a century ago described the laws of motion in capitalism. They revealed its tendency toward unlimited expansion, and its need to refashion the whole world in its image. Today capitalist production has penetrated the most backward countries of the globe. It has unloosed miraculous productive forces. It has constantly revolutionized its own technique, substituting the combustion motor and electricity for steam, and breaking down matter to feed its insatiable need for energy.

Capitalism has made these advances between economic crises, by means of its own contradictions. Having previously destroyed the former modes of production, the industrial bourgeoisie, as it advances, continually destroys the most inefficient of its own.

After completing the entire cycle of its existence, capitalism has begun to reject the very principles attendant at its birth. The merging of trusts and cartels into veritable industrial and banking monopolies eliminates free competition within a country and even between countries in many branches of industry. Just when its feverish advance appeared free of all obstacles, capitalist expansion imposed artificial restrictions upon production. Having reached its natural limit toward the creation of the world market, all its explosive force turns upon the bourgeoisie itself. Then the system begins to decline, as the two authors of the *Manifesto* predicted.

Economic crises succeed one another at an ever faster pace, paralyzing the life of whole nations, and reducing entire layers of society to complete ruin. Social crises convulse all countries, undermining governments and precipitating revolutions, counter-revolutions and civil wars.

The immense technical achievements are diverted from general use or utilized exclusively for destructive ends. The sudden spurts in production which periodically still take place no longer enrich but rather impoverish the vast majority of mankind. The perfecting of the division of labor on a world scale shatters the world market. The evolution of history completely changes its course. Instead of bringing civilization to the backward peoples of the world, capitalism in its decline destroys the political conquests which marked its rise in the more advanced countries. A fetter upon human progress, the bourgeoisie becomes a reactionary force in every sphere.

War epitomizes all the destructive and barbaric features of declining capitalism and dominates all human activities today. Technique, science, industrial production, politics and literature, all place themselves more and more exclusively in its service.

Danger of Total Destruction

The global character of the imperialist war is derived today from the world character of capitalist production and its crises. The war of 1914-18 was still essentially a European war. Referring to the Second World War, which left the three Americas as well as large sections of Africa and Asia intact, Trotsky stated in 1938 that the South Pole alone would be excluded as a base of operation. It is profoundly significant that the present strategic preparations for a Third World War point to a desperate struggle for the domination of the Antarctic continent. In such a war no people or continent would be spared, no national capital would be left intact, not a single oasis of civilization would be overlooked. The unchained forces of destruction would destroy in a few years what it has taken centuries of labor to build and would cover the whole globe with flaming ruins.

Mankind is horror-stricken at the rapidity with which the military alliances for the next carnage are being forged even before the last war is formally ended by a peace treaty. This horror is focused upon the atomic bomb in particular. Just as the war seems to divest itself of all human control, and follow its own sinister logic, independent of the activity of thinking human beings, so the innumerable implications

of the atomic bomb elude the plans of both experts and diplomats, upsetting the calculations of generals as well as of the stock market sharks. Never has man stood so aghast before one of his own creations, never has the worker been dominated by so formidable an object, never has living labor been so subjugated by dead labor. But at the same time that atomic energy leads capitalism with all its contradictions to the total destruction of human civilization, it also opens up the perspective of a new epoch of peace and well-being in a society ruled by the working class.

Intellectuals and petty bourgeois scholars are seeking a palliative for this permanent threat, which imposes a reign of terror over mankind, in the form of a "world government." For some this proposal is simply a theoretical justification of Wall Street's thirst for power. Others are sincerely striving for a magic formula to control the forces of destruction constantly unleashed by declining capitalism. Neither of them grasps the chain that links the global war with the decline of capitalism.

Only production for war is capable today of creating new outlets for capital, which is stifling in its own world market. War is nothing but the special mechanism with which the declining bourgeoisie tries to surmount its own contradictions. Far from succeeding, it can only provoke new contradictions while striving to eliminate the old ones. Far from eliminating competition, the monopolies give it a more sharpened form, manifested as much in the struggle between the monopolists themselves as in the competition between the middle men, who are being ruined in the process. Far from ending international conflicts, the epoch of the Big Four, Three or Two aggravates the conflict between the dominant powers.

To eliminate Germany and Japan as independent powers, American imperialism had to permit the rise of Russia and the revival of previously eliminated countries like France and China. To fight Russia effectively, it will be obliged to return independence to Germany and Japan tomorrow. This is not a question of errors on the part of Roosevelt or of the Machiavellian nature of MacArthur, but expresses the fundamental laws of capitalism. A single world power like the United States which hypothetically might survive all others, could only leave the globe in total ruins, a prey to endless convulsions in national and colonial conflicts. "The war to end all wars," proposed by Burnham today, like the war led by Wilson yesterday, will not lead to Pax Americana, but to general chaos.

Just as capitalism at its zenith was incapable of controlling the forces of production, so in the period of its greatest decline it is equally incapable of controlling the forces of destruction. In the period between the two stages, it has dug its own grave and created its own gravedigger—the working class. The revolutionary struggle of the latter is the struggle to give conscious direction to society, as opposed to the blind forces which are inevitably dragging the capitalist world into global war. The fate of capitalism is already decided; its knell has already sounded. But if it is not to vanish into atomic dust, its fall must give way to the world communist revolution.

For over a century, capitalism was an expression of the most brutal negation of all human relationships. Its rule has been extended solely through the mechanism of its laws of production. The state was cherished by the capitalists insofar as it interfered as little as possible with the free functioning of these laws. All servitudes and all freedoms were, respectively, imposed and realized in the one freedom of trade—the worst of human bondages.

But this very mechanism of the laws of capitalist production which permitted the bourgeoisie to deny all human relationships so long as its merchandise played a revolutionary role, compelled it to make desperate efforts to modify the operation of these laws as soon as they became an obstacle to the development of the productive forces. Born under the sign of "laissez faire," capitalism now clings to the most parasitic kind of regimentation. It came to power in fierce struggle against absolutism, but today seeks the establishment of the totalitarian state.

Totalitarian Nature of Capitalism

Living for four decades on the narrow ledge between collapse and prosperity, terrified by constantly renewed threats of revolutionary overthrow, sensing in their balance sheets the repercussions of the disintegration of their economy, the monopolists inevitably must subject all spheres of social activity to their rigid control. The state, whose progressive disappearance the liberal attorneys of capitalism celebrated a century ago, is becoming a monstrous machine controlling men before birth and coining their corpses into gold after death. Liberal parliamentarianism and imperialist democracy are succeeded by the epoch of totalitarian dictatorship.

Through the continually expanding mechanism of the capitalist state, the monopolists subject all economic life to

their rigid control. By forced trustification, state distribution of raw materials, state control of credit, and nationalization of certain inefficient branches of industry, they impose their autocratic control upon the bourgeoisie itself as well as on the petty bourgeoisie. By incorporating the trade unions in the state, by forced arbitration, the restriction or total suspension of the right to strike, company unions, corruption, spies, and terrorism, they try to bridle the labor movement where they do not succeed in destroying it altogether. Through control of the educational system and with the assistance of their obliging ally, the Church, they try to prevent the development of class consciousness in working class children and to mold them for their own sordid interests. The press, the movies, and the radio have become gigantic institutions for molding public opinion, that is, for deceiving and corrupting the public for the benefit of the monopolists. They do not stop at enrolling the doctor, the lawyer, the poet, and the scholar as wage workers. They also dictate to them their own concepts of public health, law, literature, and science, stifling cultural life under the weight of their social conservatism. Rising capitalism reduced human values to exchange values. Declining capitalism crushes them under the heavy boot of its totalitarian police.

The Examples of Germany and China

The totalitarian character of present-day capitalism shows itself in finished form in the fascist dictatorship. Organizing the desperate and impoverished middle classes, and utilizing all the crude age-old prejudices, German monopoly capitalism built a barbaric state which instituted the assassination in cold blood of seven million prisoners in concentration camps. But, as the Fourth International predicted, the "war to end fascism" has itself led to the introduction of totalitarian methods in the remaining democratic countries. The inability of the British Labor Party to solve the social crisis by miserable reforms, is throwing thousands of petty bourgeois into the arms of fascist demagogues. Under the leadership of Attlee, Bevin and Morrison, the British government, so proud of its liberalism inside the country, dismisses scientists suspected of communist sympathy. The penetration of military men in the main government posts in the United States, the close fusion of the "Sixty Families" and the "Brass Hats" in the diplomatic apparatus, the anti-Communist hysteria, the spy scares, the reactionary offensive of the church even within the trade unions—all these phenomena mark the progress of the totalitarianization of the

capitalist state in the United States. What remains of bourgeois democracy in the different countries takes on an increasingly rotten and putrid form, with generals and adventurers in the service of Big Capital invited in to help give it the finishing blow.

The totalitarianization of capitalism is the clearest proof that the social contradictions are henceforth incompatible with the "normal" realization of capitalist profit. Far from signifying a new stage of capitalist stabilization, it is the most violent expression of the death agony of this system.

Organization of Bloody Chaos

Beneath its leaden crust, all the forces of decomposition within capitalism are continually at work. The system reels from social explosions which are leading to an international conflagration. The "highest" stage of capitalist organization is revealed as the organization of bloody chaos, which places the communist revolution on the order of the day.

Germany and China are mirrors in which humanity can see its fate if capitalism continues to exist.

Germany today has ceased to be a political, economic and social entity. With five provinces amputated, its body is divided into four zones of occupation. Its cities are in ruins, its fields impoverished, its inhabitants have taken to the roads by the millions to escape hunger or fear. Its economic structure is broken down and its national wealth destroyed or removed from the country; its labor force is pauperized and its trade paralyzed.

Scarcely 20 years ago, in spite of its defeat in the war and the crushing of the revolution that followed, Germany still possessed the most powerful industry, the most rationalized agriculture, the most highly skilled labor, and the most extensive trade on the European continent. On three occasions the German working class clearly wanted to take the fate of the nation into its own hands. Its seizure of power would have permitted the peaceful alliance of German technique with Russia's vast economic resources. The barriers which prevented the constructive use of its enormous productive power would have burst asunder. Devoted mainly to the satisfaction of human needs, this power would have ushered in an epoch of peace and well-being on the old continent. But on each occasion, an incompetent or treacherous labor leadership uselessly wasted the magnificent fighting energy of the German working masses. Exhausted after 15 years of futile effort, the workers were finally delivered with-

out a struggle into the clutches of the Nazi dictatorship. The bourgeoisie then organized the powerful German economic machine for its own greedy purposes and developed it to such formidable and explosive strength that it finally buried all Germany in ruins, while overturning all Europe and sowing devastation in every country.

China has been floundering for two decades in the convulsions of an aborted revolution. To the innumerable victims of natural catastrophes are added the millions of victims of social cataclysms. Wars, civil wars, insurrections, and punitive expeditions continually ravage this vast country. The old handicraft industry is falling more and more into ruins, but modern industry fails to grow. Usury devours the harvests, but capital fails to build roads. Inflation ruins the cities, but the landless and starving peasants continue to pour into them by the thousands. The government posts are offered to the highest bidder, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek exploits the national economy as if it were a family enterprise. Ruin, stagnation and decay are to be seen everywhere.

In the crucible in which the new Chinese society took shape, under the shock of imperialist penetration, a young industrial proletariat came into being which rapidly acquired a communist consciousness. Supported by tens of millions of poor peasants wanting emancipation, the workers had a remarkable opportunity to overturn the whole rotting structure of Chinese society, and at the same time, rid the country of the domination of foreign imperialism and of the national bourgeoisie. By unifying the country and rationally utilizing its immense national resources, the Chinese revolution would have been the signal for revolt throughout the entire colonial world, and would have sounded the death-knell of imperialism in all countries. Thus humanity would have been spared the Second World War and its disastrous consequences. But the Stalinist leadership caused the defeat of the Chinese revolution, so rich in promise, and thus condemned the country to an epoch of endless convulsions, while the living forces of the nation decayed.

In Germany and China are to be seen the horrible effects of the destructive forces unleashed by declining capitalism. While it reduces the most advanced and civilized nations to a state of brutish barbarism, it also bars the backward peoples from the road of progress. During the rise of the bourgeoisie, the advanced countries mirrored the future of the backward countries. Today Germany and China mirror the fate of whole continents if society does not free itself

from the yoke of the decadent bourgeoisie.

If all the decaying tendencies in contemporary society seem concentrated in Germany, all the unspent powers of resistance to declining capitalism seem to be concentrated in the United States. While the American bourgeoisie emerged immensely enriched from two world wars, the old European continent was impoverished by the wars. The ruin of the European nations resulted in an unprecedented expansion of Yankee industry, agriculture and finance. The United States holds two thirds of the world's gold and capital investments today; half of the world's commerce passes through her gates. The Yankee dollar dominates the stock markets, the Yankee air force controls the heavens, and the Yankee navy rules the seven seas. From Nanking to Paris and from Athens to Rio, governments can maintain themselves thanks only to American credits. U.S. bankers divide up Latin America, while American oil companies buy up Arabian Sheiks. American military advisers direct the armed forces in Turkey and Greenland, and American merchants mete out the rations for Rome and Tokio. The Pope and the British Labor Government, the Franco dictatorship and the Australian democracy vie with one another for Wall Street's favors and the White House blessings. American films, dances, books and canned goods determine the mode of living in all countries.

Perspectives of American Revolution

But if the power and wealth of the United States are carved out of the stagnation and decline of the rest of the capitalist world, this decline in turn reacts irrevocably against the United States. The American bourgeoisie is today in danger of suffocating from its own wealth in the midst of a world dying from want. The entire planet does not suffice as a market for American industry. Wall Street is affected by every shock in every part of the world. It is difficult to believe that less than ten years ago the American bourgeoisie was still seriously discussing isolationism. Today the Italian elections, the trouble in Palestine and the strikes in Japan have become vital questions for American imperialism. Just as monopoly capitalism tends to totalitarianize the life of a nation, so the dominant imperialism increasingly strives to Americanize the world. "*One world or none*"—these words of a politician mean, above everything, the ultimate transformation of the world crisis into an American crisis.

American economy, politics and culture show all the

signs of an approaching crisis. The terrible burden of public debt devours the nation's reserves. A raging fever of inflation, speculation, and unproductive investments, which always precedes a severe financial crisis, has gripped the nation. The decrease in profits will soon put a brake on production, which in turn will experience a decline as violent as its previous rise was unparalleled. Moreover, the crisis of the two-party system, the slow political development of the workers' movement, the growing influence of the Catholic Church, the pro-fascist tension charging the atmosphere (heightened chauvinism, anti-communism, race prejudice) forecast a complete overturn in the next ten years of the traditionally accepted concepts of American politics. Just emerging from their provincialism, the American imperialists find themselves confronted with the task of protecting capital throughout the five continents. Their enormous wealth can never compensate for their manifest lack of political experience. British imperialism was able to maintain world supremacy through economic power alone. American imperialism is today obliged to equip mercenary armies in every country. The British capitalists, in their period of ascendancy, were able to corrupt their own working class movement with crumbs from their world profits. But Yankee imperialism in the period of capitalist decline cannot establish world domination without completely militarizing its own country and housebreaking its own proletariat. That is why the world offensive of American imperialism serves, at the same time, to educate the American proletariat in world politics. The forces liberated by the American crisis will line up in direct opposition to Wall Street's imperialist policy. The American working class will find itself for the first time face to face with its communist destiny.

The American bourgeoisie, concentrating the world's most powerful industry between New York and California, has created a numerically very large and highly skilled working class. The U.S. proletariat faces a stormy development that will make up for the historic backwardness of its labor movement. Under the whip of the great crisis of 1929, the working class made a formidable leap ahead, and attained a very high level of trade union consciousness. With the magnificent rise of the CIO, the American trade union movement became the most powerful in the history of capitalism. Under the whip of the next economic crisis, the consciousness of the American workers will make a new leap forward and will acquire political consciousness. The politicization of the American working class movement will be the most ex-

plosive and the most threatening that capitalism has known since the Russian Revolution. This development confronts American capitalism from now on. To prepare themselves for boldly taking over the leadership of this movement is the duty of the American Trotskyists. The absence of a strong reformist and Stalinist tradition provides them with an unusual opportunity. The country which today concentrates within itself the whole capitalist development will tomorrow give the revolutionary movement its highest expression. The sweep of American imperialism throughout the world will surely cause the American revolution to be the signal and the motive force of the world revolution tomorrow.

Role of the U S S R

Today one country alone stands up against American imperialism. That country is the Soviet Union. Soviet wealth is shut off from U.S. imperialist control and Soviet citizens are not subject to its exploitation. The old, decaying empire of the Czars has been swept away. In its place has risen the Soviet Union, the second greatest world power.

If a historical justification of the October Revolution is still required, suffice it to compare the fate of Russia with that of China! The history of the last 30 years has demonstrated the extraordinary solidity of the new social relations resulting from this revolution as compared with the uncontrollable centrifugal forces which have accumulated in all capitalist countries. The superiority of the planned economy has been expressed not alone in terms of steel, coal and concrete, as Trotsky said, but it has also been proved on the battle field against a concentration of the entire capitalist power of Europe.

At the same time, however, history has shown that within the framework of these social relations, so superior to capitalism, degeneration and reaction have grown to a fearful extent. All spheres of Soviet life are today infected by the bureaucracy.

Its frauds, its parasitism, its embezzlements impose increasingly intolerable burdens upon collectivized production, constantly reducing the rate of accumulation of the country's basic capital funds.

As the greed and appetites of the bureaucratic upstarts grow, the social inequalities and the privileges arrogated by a tiny minority become more and more accentuated. The Bonapartist dictatorship replies to the growing social tensions with the most savage police terror, chaining the workers to the factories, crushing peasant resistance in blood, and

liquidating considerable layers of the bureaucracy itself by wholesale purges.

Amid the misery and degradation of the masses, the bureaucracy has revived all the customs the revolution had abolished. Where the October Revolution had introduced a Spartan equality, a revolutionary devotion and sacrifice for the benefit of the community, the Soviet bureaucracy has installed titles, uniforms, gold braid and the sordid spirit of greed.

In place of proletarian internationalism it has substituted an infamous mixture of Great Russian nationalism and mystical Pan-Slavism. The terrible consequences, of the defeats of the world proletariat thus manifest themselves in Russia as well.

The totalitarianization of capitalism and the totalitarian dictatorship of Stalinism are not identical things. They have different material foundations and different class character. But they are two symmetrical expressions of the price that humanity is paying for the delay of the international communist revolution.

The theory of "socialism in one country" has cruelly revenged itself on Stalin. The petty bourgeois conservatism of the Soviet bureaucracy first led it to strangle the revolution in Europe in return for a fleeting *modus vivendi* with the world bourgeoisie. Then, with implacable logic, the bureaucracy found itself extending its domination beyond Russia's frontiers, in order to find a temporary solution to its economic difficulties and an equally fleeting protection against imperialist encirclement.

The policies pursued by the bureaucracy in the countries under its control serve to reveal its contradictory nature. Unable to share its privileges with the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy eliminates the capitalists from control of the government and the economy. The measures adopted in these countries, the nationalizations, the agrarian reforms, are hardly dictated by a love for socialism, but rather by the bureaucracy's desire to consolidate its exclusive control over the economic and political life of the buffer countries in order to secure its own privileges. Once it attains its ends, it invariably turns upon the masses, curbing their movements and organizations and establishing absolute control over them.

After seizing part of the key industries in the buffer countries, and after promoting the nationalization of big business, the Kremlin seeks to appropriate the maximum share of each country's resources for its own needs, without

regard for the interests of the masses. When it encounters a stiffening resistance from the national bourgeoisies, it resorts to a limited mobilization of the masses and full scale police action in order to bring them to heel.

The political regimes of these countries thus assume a Bonapartist form, delivering blows on the right, against the weakening resistance of the bourgeoisie, and blows on the left, against the hesitant efforts of the workers to defend their living standards and elementary democratic rights,

Viewing the results of the bureaucracy's expansion, some short-sighted petty bourgeois "theoreticians," who have long ago lost all faith in the proletarian revolution, marvel at the "successes" of "Stalinist realism." "Haven't the nationalizations been extended to all of Eastern Europe?" they say.

Others, mortally frightened by the "increasing strength" of Stalinism, see in it the representative of a new monstrous exploiting society headed for world domination. The hysteria of both sides is strangely in harmony with Stalinist propaganda, the product of the most vulgar impressionism.

Crimes of the Bureaucracy

Stalin's "socialist conquests" in Eastern Europe were in reality conceded to him at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. In exchange for these "conquests" Stalin betrayed the August 1942 uprising in India, ordered the disarming of the partisans in Greece, delivered the mass movement in France to de Gaulle, returned the tottering bourgeoisie to power in all the countries of Western Europe and helped crush the German proletariat.

By his infamous practices of dismantling, looting, deportation and terror, Stalin succeeded in arousing even within the world labor movement, deep feelings of hostility toward the Soviet Union such as Hitler had never been able to produce. This is the impressive balance sheet of Stalinist "victories."

On a far larger scale, Stalin's policy is thus leading the USSR into the same impasse as in 1939. Incapable of basing itself on the revolutionary fighting spirit of the masses, the bureaucracy resorts to expansionism and power politics. Thereby it only aggravates the general conditions which are precipitating an inevitable test of strength with imperialism; thereby it only lends aid to the unification of imperialist forces under Washington's banner.

Stalin has utilized the breathing spell he gained for the

most abominable crimes. Whatever may be his further successes, he is rushing headlong to his ruin.

As long as it remains locked in the dilemma of choosing between the Stalinist bureaucracy and American imperialism; as long as it does not rise to the level of struggle for the socialist revolution, the entire world will face not the perspective of reconstruction and progress but, on the contrary, that of accelerated disintegration and decay.

For the last four decades, Europe's history has been the history of the revolt of the productive forces against the boundaries of national states. The two world wars have been nothing else but a desperate effort of the imperialist powers to "organize" this revolt for their own benefit.

French imperialism in 1918 possessed neither the industrial power nor the political vitality necessary to grasp this organization in its own hands. Through the Versailles system, it "organized" Europe by means of traditional diplomacy: peace treaties, military alliances and financial credits. At the first economic disaster, this system collapsed without leaving a trace.

Then German imperialism, resting upon a superior technology and productive capacity, launched the Second World War with the aim of organizing the old continent for its own needs, not only politically but also militarily and economically. In spite of its overwhelming military successes, the "New European Order" collapsed even more quickly than the Versailles system before it. Its organization was only a gigantic enterprise for pillage and destruction, draining all the economic resources of the people to feed its insatiable war machine.

Today American imperialism, driven by the implacable logic of its dominant position, strives in its own way to resolve the old problem. The political and economic methods which it employs (the Marshall Plan and the Western Bloc) seem to be of a different nature from those of the other two powers. Instead of taking away, Yankee imperialism appears to be giving. In place of a society of ruined satellites, it seems to want to form a corporation of grateful debtors. That is why crafty adventurers like Churchill and petty bourgeois like Guy Mollet are gathered together under the "Made in USA" slogan of the "United States of Europe," hoping that American manna will permit them to preserve the memory of old Europe for a while longer.

In reality, the organization of Europe under the aegis of Washington does not pursue aims fundamentally different from those of French and German imperialisms and it will

inevitably collapse for similar reasons. To be sure, Yankee imperialism wants to abolish barriers, put finances in order, and stabilize the currencies. But solely in order to "organize" the purchasing power of its clients and the solvency of its debtors. At the same time it is forced to "organize" the contraction of their markets and the increase of their debts. No conferences can save it from the contradictions inherent in this policy. The Europe of the Marshall Plan, like the Europe of Versailles and that of Hitler, can only be an impotent and pauperized Europe.

Threatened with strangulation if its credit is cut off, the European bourgeoisie accepts all American conditions today, just as in 1940 it accepted the ridiculous decrees of Hitler and the Wehrmacht. But the very day the American crisis breaks out and the flow of dollars is shut off, every bourgeoisie will seek desperately for its own salvation and the "unions" will dissolve in even less time than it took to build them.

Just as the unity of the modern nation came into being through the instrumentality of a victorious revolutionary class, so the unity of the continent, now on the order of the day because of the high level of the technology, can be realized only as the fruit of a triumphant new social revolution. Just as it was necessary to sweep away absolutism and all vestiges of semi-feudalism in order to make France one and indivisible, so will it be necessary to sweep out the bourgeois state and its profit system in order to create a unified, socialist Europe.

For A Socialist United States of Europe

It is now a question of drawing up a unified plan for the reconstruction of the old continent which will bring together Silesian coal, Lorraine ore, Catalan tin and Roumanian oil on a rational basis. It is a question of linking up the steel mills of the Ruhr with Czech building machinery and the Swiss precision instrument industry in a unified effort to provide all of Europe with the most modern technique. It is necessary to electrify the Polish countryside, to irrigate southern Italy and to rationalize French agriculture so that bread will not be lacking in Vienna, Berlin or Madrid.

This plan must be drawn up with the aim of satisfying the needs of the masses, and not for the construction of a new war machine. It is necessary not only to abolish capitalist profit, but also the parasitic bureaucracies and the crushing burden of the over-expanded state apparatus. It is necessary to rely upon the creative power of the masses, not com-

pel them by force of hunger nor terrorize them with machine guns. That is why the only plan for Europe which will really organize production for the general welfare and abolish misery, looting, and debt, is a plan elaborated, executed and tested by the masses themselves, organized into thousands of workers' councils covering the whole continent. That is why the unity of Europe is inconceivable without the actual exercise of power by the workers and poor peasants.

A Europe thus unified by the revolutionary action of the proletariat will permit all nationalities the freest development of their respective cultures. With a single blow it will free all colonial peoples and will thus open up a historic epoch of free collaboration between continents. It will hasten the constructive use of atomic energy and will show the working masses of the Soviet Union and the United States a positive alternative to the armament race which can end only in war. It will offer the proletariat of these two countries a concrete plan for the harmonious development of world economy, and will undermine by virtue of experience alone, the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as that of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

That is why the Fourth International today resolutely counterposes the program of the *Socialist United States of Europe* to the Marshall Plan, as well as to the "defense of the national industry," and to all the quack remedies with which the desperate bourgeoisie, the demoralized petty bourgeoisie, and the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy strive vainly to cure the foul plagues besetting European economy and politics.

If the crumbling of the old imperialist powers encourages the outbreak of liberation movements in the colonies, the development of colonial revolutions accelerates in its turn the decomposition of the imperialist systems and of the bourgeois "democracy" which rests upon them. The tremendous convulsions provoked by the Second World War, the accelerated industrialization of Manchuria, India and the Middle East, the irreparable collapse of the prestige of the "master races," the anguish and the maddening hunger of millions of coolies are shattering the structure of colonial exploitation which for four centuries has fed the capitalist wealth and progress of Europe by the frenzied exploitation of three-fourths of humanity.

With the foundations of their own metropolitan society shaken by the beginnings of colonial revolution, the old imperialist powers tend to change the form of their domination in order to maintain its essential content, that is, their

super profits and strategic control. "Trusteeships," "equality within the framework of the French or Netherlands Union," the grant of dominion status, and even the proclamation of the independence of Iraq or Burma, the partition of Palestine and India represent merely successive lines of retreat by imperialist reaction in the colonies. It continues to hold the peoples in its power by a thousand bonds of economic and military servitude. In order to demonstrate in action how their traditional civilizing role is maintained under the new "liberal" form, the imperialist exploiters engage in brutal repressions (Viet Nam) or in cynical provocations ("police action" in Indonesia, the Jewish-Arab struggle, etc.). Colonialism's new road, abandoning direct domination, is marked with murders, famine and bloody chaos as was the road of its original penetration.

In this period of the disintegration of the colonial systems, the native bourgeoisie, marked from birth by the stigma of the decaying system, strives for a favorable partnership with imperialism. Functioning today as an agent of its imperialist masters, it comes into continual collision with the colonial masses, struggling to defend their vital interests. It finds itself torn between the desire to secure new privileges and the fear of losing the old ones. That is what gives its actions a particularly rapacious as well as abject character. Crawling before the corrupt royal clique and periodically selling out their country to the London bankers, the Egyptian bourgeoisie dreams at the same time of annexing the Sudan, Libya, and even Eritrea. Capitulating miserably to the princes and the Moslem landowners, the Indian bourgeoisie at the same time dreams of conquering the markets of the Far East.

Upheavals in the Colonies

Amid the shocks convulsing the colonial empires, American imperialism alone has been able to realize profits without risks. The colonial bourgeoisies loosen their ties with the mother countries only to fall under the domination of Yankee imperialism. But at the same time Washington rightly fears the inevitable social catastrophes within the mother countries which the final collapse of their colonial empires will precipitate. The American bourgeoisie knows it is incapable of replacing in time the cadres of the colonial apparatus while at the same time maintaining the governments of old Europe.

Utilizing in turn economic extortion, military pressure, and the organs of the United Nations, American imperialism strives to promote the penetration of its capital at the same

time that it utilizes the native bourgeoisie to crush the uprising of the masses and supports the attempts of the imperialists to maintain the framework of their old empires. In the case of Indonesia and of the Sudan, American imperialism has consciously played the role of the defender of colonialism. It understands better than anyone that imperialist domination over the world today is indivisible, and that any local collapse risks becoming the point of departure for the collapse of the entire system.

Utterly worthless are the arguments of all philistines who refuse to support the liberation movements of the colonies under the pretext that their independence would mean their submission to American imperialism or the Soviet bureaucracy. The sacred duty of the proletariat of all the mother countries is to support unconditionally all movements of revolt in the colonies. It is necessary to utilize every opportunity to publicly denounce the crimes committed daily by the "democrats" in the insurgent countries, to call upon the workers to boycott military expeditions and wars of conquest, to conduct in the imperialist army intelligent propaganda for fraternization with the colonial masses, and to force the bourgeoisie to cease hostilities and reprisals.

The complete abandonment by imperialism of all its colonial positions can come only as the result of a revolutionary struggle unfolding simultaneously in the mother countries and in the colonies. The Fourth International is able to state that many of its sections (France, Holland, Great Britain) are the only organizations of the working class to carry on such agitation today. At the same time, the Fourth International has demonstrated that the revolutionists in the mother countries are ready to assist unreservedly the workers and advanced students of the colonial countries to build their own Bolshevik organizations in their own countries.

During the so-called "war against fascism," the Stalinist parties buried the struggle for the independence of the colonies. At the present stage, their reversal of policy has brought them to a complete capitulation before petty bourgeois nationalism. The sections of the Fourth International, on the contrary, have always pursued in the colonial countries everywhere an intransigent struggle against colonial oppression while maintaining the complete organizational, political and ideological independence of the colonial proletariat from its own bourgeoisie. In India, in the Viet Nam, in Egypt the Trotskyists are to be found in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist masses. For the same reason they are

the only consistent defenders of the interests of the colonial workers. Their policy is inspired by the theory of the permanent revolution, tested by four decades of revolutionary struggles.

Boldly making the demands of the national bourgeois revolution its own, the proletariat must place itself at the head of all the exploited masses and lead them in the struggle to solve the agrarian question, drive out the imperialists, expropriate foreign capital, and conquer revolutionary political democracy. It will be able to bring this struggle to a successful conclusion only provided it is able to eliminate its own "national" exploiters, expropriate native capital, and pass over to socialist planning by basing itself on working class power.

Defend the Colonial Revolutions

The revolutionary conquest of power by the proletariat constitutes the strategic goal of the Fourth International both in the colonial countries as well as in the mother countries. In default of this conquest or the extension of the revolution on an international scale, the various cliques, such as the bourgeois parties in India, the petty bourgeois groups in Indonesia, and the Stalinists in the Viet Nam, who have seized the leadership of the movement and are trying to dissipate the revolutionary energy of the masses, can only lead the colonial revolutions into the impasse of impotent guerilla warfare or to rotten compromises with imperialism.

The rise of the working class movement in the period of ascending capitalism was limited almost exclusively to Europe. Lenin was the first to understand the vital importance of the colonial countries in the strategy of the world proletarian revolution. But long before the task of building revolutionary parties in the colonies could be completed by the Third International, the Stalinist degeneration of their leadership transformed them into bureaucratic machines, and into a serious obstacle to the communist development of the colonial workers.

Upon the Fourth International now falls the task of building the first genuine revolutionary working class parties in the colonial countries. It can fulfill this task—similar to the one which the *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed for Europe—by relying on the whole past experience of the movement. It must spare the colonial proletariat the tragic defeats which the European workers were unable to avoid. That is why the Fourth International is the first organization

to boldly proclaim the foremost role of the colonial countries in the world revolutionary struggle. That is why it is the first International to actually enlist within its leadership the most qualified members of the young colonial proletariat. That is also why its ideas are spreading today with astonishing rapidity, beyond the iron curtains, across the jungles and the oceans, from North Africa to Japan, from Korea to Egypt. Recording today its first successes among these three-fourths of humanity—the most exploited section of mankind—the Fourth International is preparing upon this ground, which still knows no working class defeats, the most sweeping overturns that history has known.

Wall Street in Latin America

For four centuries, the immense territories of Latin America have been the favorite prey of international brigands, serving as a most important source of their wealth. After the Spain of the conquistadors, came England of the Manchester era to uncover a gold mine in the shape of unlimited markets, cheap sources of foods and raw materials. Next came American imperialism—to flood the continent with its agents, bankers, oil prospectors, and rubber planters. After eliminating its German and Japanese competitors and compelling its English partner to confine itself to Argentina, Yankee imperialism rules today as absolute master over the Latin American peoples. Through “Good Neighbor” and “Western Hemisphere Defense” conferences, and by standardizing armaments and cleverly distributing credits, Wall Street and the State Department play, as best suits their interests, with semi-dictators (as in Brazil) or pure “democrats” (as in Chile). Through their diplomatic agents and AFL labor flunkies, they brutally intervene in the native labor movement, buying up wholesale, journalists, deputies and statesmen, organizing communist witch hunts and forcibly splitting the trade unions.

Stifling within narrow national boundaries which block the establishment of a domestic market, lacking an adequate demographic base, tied to the landowners through large-scale foreign trade and to foreign capital through the banks, the miserable and belated Latin American bourgeoisie is incapable of solving any problem whatsoever. They have not been able to integrate into the orbit of capitalist production the huge Indian and Negro communities which dot the entire continent like so many islands of backwardness. They have been unable to tear the different countries away from the bondage of single-crop production, leaving each country's

economy vulnerable to severe shocks from world economic crises. They have not succeeded in seriously resisting imperialism but have for a century furnished imperialism, through the various native political cliques, with countless servile agents. They have not succeeded in uniting into one single Latin American nation all these different countries which speak the same language, whose economies are interdependent, whose existing divisions and mutual quarrels serve only to enslave peoples and strengthen international capitalism.

In every Latin American country the specific weight of the proletariat surpasses by far that of the native bourgeoisie. Eking out their existence, often under the most intolerable conditions, as among the miners and agricultural workers, these workers periodically engage in revolutionary movements—fierce and desperate in their violence. Terrified by the elemental power of these mass movements, the bourgeoisie finds itself again and again compelled to establish dictatorial regimes, which follow in the wake of democratic interludes (Cardenas, APRA, Bettancourt). In the course of the latter, the native bourgeoisie frequently exploits the working class movement in order to blackmail and exert pressure on foreign imperialism. Most often the state in Latin America assumes a Bonapartist form of a peculiar type, tacking and veering between this weak, heterogeneous but rapacious bourgeoisie, foreign imperialism, and a wide layer of the petty bourgeoisie on the one side, and the young proletariat, which grows in numbers and confidence on the other.

It is upon this young Latin American proletariat that falls the task of solving the historic problems which the bourgeoisie has failed to solve.

The Bolivian revolution, the great strikes in Chile and Brazil, the upsurge of the labor movement in Venezuela, the recent bloody days in Bogota are proof that the working masses of Latin America are no longer willing to remain the eternal victims of capitalist hucksters. Advancing its candidacy for power, the Latin American proletariat will assume the leadership of each national anti-imperialist movement and—around its program of national and social emancipation—will unite the impoverished city poor as well as the peasants who are eager to free themselves from the big landowners. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in every given country will learn in every social crisis, and in every conflict between the masses and imperialism, to advance boldly the program of the Socialist United States of

Latin America. It is the duty of the proletariat in the U.S. to assist their Latin American brothers with all the forces at their command. At the very moment when Yankee imperialism is reaching out for world domination, the base of its power in Latin America will be found shattered. Before the workers in the United States engage it in decisive battles at home, Yankee imperialism will receive the most unexpected blows from the workers south of the Rio Grande.

"The Third Force"

If humanity is still beset by the havoc and terror unleashed by the explosion of the productive forces, if mankind has not yet solved its tasks, the fault does not lie with the workers. They have launched attack after attack on the old system of production. They have long furnished the most eloquent proofs of devotion, sacrifice, abnegation and initiative. The responsibility does rest on the treacherous leadership of the working class, and solely on them.

To blame was—and is—the Social Democracy. It was the Social Democrats who in 1914 deserted to the service of the bourgeoisie; and in 1918 they assured the ruin of the German revolution; and ever since, they have proved themselves to be, in the words of Leon Blum, the "loyal managers" of capitalism. Equally to blame is Stalinism. After causing the disintegration of the parties of the Third International, Stalinism, by a whole series of turns has led these parties to adopt the methods of class collaboration, sometimes cruder, sometimes more refined, but at all times as pernicious and perfidious as the class collaboration methods of the Social Democracy.

And now today, both of these movements, under the pretext of avoiding the "unnecessary overhead expenses" of the proletarian revolution, adopt, each in its own way, the reformist solutions of the "Third Force" and of the "New Democracy." These "solutions" can lead the working masses only to new catastrophes.

Caught in a vise between the pressure of world imperialism and that of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the sorry heroes of the Social Democracy distinguish themselves by all the traditional follies of the enraged petty bourgeois. In brief, their folly expresses itself in their trying to "delimit" themselves from the two world powers who are today pitted against each other.

As a matter of fact, speeches and articles backing a "Third Force" are merely a smoke screen to cover up the actual participation of the reformist chieftains in one or

the other of the contending camps. The Mochs and the Van Ackers break strikes for the benefit of the corporation owners; the Fierlingers and the Cierankievichs are the accomplices of the Stalinists in suppressing what still remains of the workers' rights. This is the fundamental contradiction in the "Third Force." It has given birth to the "Information Committee" of the Socialist parties. Today both Washington and Moscow have "their own" socialists just as the monarchs of old used to have "their own" Jesuits, each medieval prince "his own" jesters and so on.

Even as war today tends to assume a more and more totalitarian form, just so the process of preparing for war increasingly involves the establishment of absolute control over the labor movement. American imperialism pursues its aims by leaning on both the Pope and the Social Democracy. Under its magnanimous wing, there also "regroup" themselves all the invalids of the labor movement, united by their blind fear of Stalin and by their acceptance of Yankee domination as the "lesser evil." While Washington's ideological front is thus reinforced by petty-bourgeois panic, specialists far less fastidious organize the Marshall Plan propaganda; cause the "reds" to be driven out of the factories and public administration; destroy the unity of trade unions.

The Social Democracy, however, is able to accomplish its tasks only because the far greater crimes of the Stalinists periodically drive new layers of the working class in its direction. Compared with Stalinist bureaucratism and corruption, the reformist betrayers by no means represent a more "democratic" variety. They are merely a breed of bureaucrats who are very closely integrated in the apparatus of their respective national capitalists.

As in 1919, the Social Democratic leaders are trying today to divert the instinctively revolutionary upsurge of the masses with the myth of "economic democracy." Actively supported this time by the Stalinist chieftains, they preach to the workers that there is no need for revolution so long as they are able to occupy such posts as that of Minister of Economic Affairs, so long as they nationalize — with full indemnities — the coal mines, establish labor-management committees, and introduce other reforms by legal means. Like Hilferding who wanted to couple the Soviets with the German bourgeois constitution, the Bevins and the Morrisons are hailing the progress of "socialist" economy within the framework of the British Empire.

After World War I capitalism was still able in certain historically favored countries to grant the workers the forty-

eight hour week and other social legislation as a means of diverting them from the revolutionary path. Today the champions of "economic democracy" undertake to compel the workers to accept the cynical super-exploitation on which the whole economic recovery of Europe now rests. The policy of the British Labor Government is the clearest expression of the present-day mission of the labor bureaucracy, namely, to permit the workers to rebuild with their sweat the capital that had been previously destroyed by shedding their blood.

The shameful policy of the reformist leaders to integrate themselves completely in the campaign of reconstruction and to assist in the material and ideological rearmament of Big Capital can only continue to provoke discontent and revolt on the part of their socialist proletarian following, especially among the youth.

Stalinism is incapable of attracting those layers of workers who are today searching for a new pole of attraction. The parties of the Fourth International, firmly based on their program—the only one that offers a new road to the younger generation of workers—seek to approach these currents which are detaching themselves from the Social Democracy, without prejudice or sectarianism. By working closely together and by patient comradesly education, they will guide them through their own experiences to surmount all the contradictions of centrism and embrace the organization and political principles of Bolshevism-Leninism.

"The New Democracy"

The powerful revolutionary wave which erupted simultaneously in Europe and Asia with the end of World War II raised the Stalinist parties to the peak of their power. As in all previous revolutionary movements, the masses surged in great numbers to the parties which, by their tradition, their past activity, and their cadres, were solidly rooted in their class, and most closely corresponded to the level of radicalization among wide layers of the working class. Transformed by a single stroke into government parties in fifteen countries, the Stalinist organizations are just as responsible for the liquidation of this first post-war revolutionary wave as were the parties of the Social Democracy for the liquidation of the revolutionary movements after 1918. The reformist betrayal of those days was carried out in the name of "Economic Democracy"; the Stalinist betrayal of 1945, in the name of "the New Democracy."

The defense of the "bastions" conquered within the framework of imperialist democracy—in reality, the defense

of the privileges of the labor bureaucracy—that is the immediate aim in the name of which the old-line reformists abandoned the historic goal of the proletariat. The defense of the “Russian bastion” — in reality, the defense of the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy—that is the aim in the name of which Stalinism abandoned the world communist revolution. But experience invariably proves that to abandon the final goal is to inescapably end by losing the very “bastions” which are allegedly being defended. Involved here is not a lack of “understanding” of these self-evident lessons of history on the part of the leaders. What is involved is rather the defense of their own special interests. Just as it is the function of reformism to reconcile the existence of the labor bureaucracy with the existing national bourgeoisie, so, too, it is the function of the Stalinist bureaucracy to reconcile the existing Soviet bureaucracy with the existence of world imperialism.

The practice of Soviet expansion, gives the theory of the “New Democracy” a semblance of justification for all the crimes committed by the Kremlin in the countries which it dominates. The application of the theory of the “New Democracy” to the countries outside the Soviet sphere of influence, serves only to complete its basic function: The open abandonment of the Leninist strategy of the conquest of power and its replacement by a policy of compromises or adventures, for seizing the “levers of power in the bourgeois state.” All this is an open expression of the attempt to reduce the world proletariat to the status of a pawn in the maneuvers of Soviet diplomacy, of its army, of its police-spy system, completely in the spirit of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Stalinist Traitors

On the basis of this general orientation, the Stalinist parties are less capable than ever of arriving at a consistent political line. As in the past, their tactics fluctuate from the lowest brand of opportunism to the other extreme of the most frightful adventurism, frequently combining the features of both extremes. Yesterday the Comintern is dissolved; today the Comintern is reconstituted. Yesterday they called for “Production First”; today the call for sabotage of the Marshall Plan. Yesterday they denounced strikes as the “weapons of the trusts”; today they bureaucratically incite strike actions. All these shifts and turns, which so disorient and stupefy the working class, express one and the same desire of the Stalinist leaders—to reach a favorable compromise with world imperialism. They also express a supreme contempt for the workers, for their feelings, for

their interests, for their integrity.

The power of Stalinism in the working class is a product of the material power of its apparatus combined with the revolutionary tradition of the past which it still represents in the eyes of the broad masses. As Engels pointed out a century ago, tradition represents one of the greatest forces for inertia in history. To wrest from Stalinism the leadership of the working class, it is necessary to begin where the Social Democracy and the Communist Party left off. It is necessary to build powerful workers' organizations. It is necessary to educate a new generation of revolutionary worker cadres, who through numerous successive experiences in struggle, will succeed in rooting themselves in the working class and gaining its respect and confidence. It is necessary to build a genuine party which, through ever wider activities, will eventually appear in all mass movements as the real alternative to the bankrupt leaderships. By relying firmly on its revolutionary program, by orienting itself toward the most exploited layers of society, by maintaining complete confidence in the profoundly revolutionary combat power of the proletariat—that is how the Fourth International will finally destroy the obstacle of Stalinism within the working class movement.

For thirty years humanity has paid for the delay of communist revolutions with a terrible crisis—wars, counter-revolutions, totalitarian dictatorships, nations decimated, civilization dragged into decadence. But this entire tragic period does not at all express any congenital incapacity of the proletariat to become conscious of its historical mission. On the contrary, from the civil war in Russia up to the Spanish civil war, from the insurrection of Canton to that of Athens, millions of workers have shown in action an enthusiasm, combativeness and revolutionary devotion without equal in history.

All the qualities rising from the working class's specific function in capitalist society—its capacity for suddenly displaying enormous creative energy, its keen sense of voluntary discipline, its profound selflessness, which is the clearest expression of its own deepest historic interests, are already inscribed in the most moving pages of the history of the Twentieth Century. The analyses and forecasts of the *Communist Manifesto* on this subject have not alone been confirmed; they have become established as the major reality of our times.

The Crisis of Leadership

But the spontaneous revolutionary upsurge of the pro-

letariat is today confronted by a bourgeois society which, with every step of its decline, exhibits a new defensive reflex characteristic of classes condemned to disappear. Confronted by the army, police, spies, scabs, press, radio, school and church, which constitute so many ramparts around the threatened citadels of capital, the spontaneous but uncoordinated attacks of the proletariat are inevitably condemned to bloody defeat. Against the centralized and scientifically organized leadership of the counter-revolution, which for decades has directed all capitalist countries whatever their political regime, the proletariat cannot conquer unless in its turn it selects an even more qualified leadership: that of its class party. The crisis of humanity is today the crisis of revolutionary leadership, for along with this instinctively revolutionary movement of the proletariat there remains the openly counter-revolutionary character of its leadership.

That in three decades the proletariat has been unable to select an adequate world leadership—a task which the young European bourgeoisie, infinitely more educated and better prepared, was able in its time to achieve only after two centuries of groping—can bewilder only those who have lost all sense of proportion in appraising history. Disposing of incomparable wealth and experience, the bourgeoisie succeeded, better than preceding ruling classes, in making its own ideology and morality into the dominant ideology and morality of the epoch.

In the ascending period of capitalism, successive working class leaderships gradually won some small reforms for the proletariat and substantial privileges for themselves. But one after another they rose above their own class and thus became the principal agents for the transmission of bourgeois ideology into the workers' movement. It was only when the decline of capitalism precipitated the first powerful revolutionary waves in Europe and Asia that the material conditions for selecting a genuine revolutionary leadership, free from the ideological influence of the ruling class, were established. But, because of the lack of an adequate leadership, these first struggles were inevitably condemned to defeat. Selection of the revolutionary leadership has been proceeding since then under the burden of these defeats. The Russian Bolshevik Party, the only one which succeeded in leading the workers to the conquest of power, has itself become the first victim of the lack of a genuine Bolshevik international. To build such an organization in the extremely difficult conditions of a period of decline—that is the historical mission of the Fourth International.

A World Movement and an International Leadership

The world general staff of the proletariat must assimilate in its entirety the program of communist revolution. It must enrich this program with a full revolutionary experience which makes it capable of meeting all sudden turns in the situation. It must inculcate this program and experience into great working masses by means of an organization which is closely linked to the working class. These three tasks were able to be accomplished only with the greatest difficulty in the period in which the Fourth International was born.

The program of revolution is assimilated only in the course of mass struggles. Political experience is acquired only in the course of an entire historical period of multiple activities. The workers' organization can be built only by uninterrupted work within the factories and the workers' neighborhoods. But the conditions of declining capitalism shatter again and again with an incredible brutality, the continuity of revolutionary ideas, generations and organizations. That is why the selection of a genuine world leadership proves so long and so arduous a task. That is why it must be undertaken consciously and must be consciously planned and executed.

The dialectic of history is such that the objective conditions which make so difficult the building of a world party of socialist revolution are likewise the sole conditions which make its construction possible. Thanks to the epoch in which it was formed, the Fourth International is free from reformist illusions, from parliamentary cretinism, from fatalism, from adventurism, from naive faith which becomes transformed into disillusioned pessimism—in short, from so many of those feelings and ideas which formed and shattered preceding generations of revolutionists.

The Fourth International has surmounted the contradictions between the national origin of working class militants and the world mission of the proletarian movement; it is the first organization which has begun to produce a genuine international leadership. The Fourth International is the first world organization of the proletariat which combines a complete revolutionary program with the experience gained by past revolutionary movements. That is why the proletarian defeats of the past will appear on the historical scale as the inevitable conditions for the formation of a scientific technique of revolution just as epidemics were the necessary conditions for the development of a scientific tech-

nique for cures. That is why the tragic period in which we are living will prove with the passage of time to be, nothing but a pause of history in order to forge an adequate tool for the emancipation of humanity.

The cadres of the Fourth International gain the experience necessary for becoming the real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat only by indefatigable and organized participation in all the struggles and all the movements of the masses, the real school of strategy in the class struggle. For this participation, the Fourth International finds itself armed with its *Transitional Program*, the sum of the teachings of all past workers' struggles.

The activity of the Fourth International has as its first objective to express clearly and consciously the deep but confused aspirations of the exploited masses. If the latter rise against the crimes of inflation or unemployment, if the burdens of wars or of national oppression seem unbearable to them, if they demand peace, more bread or more freedom, the Fourth International is at their side, stimulating their critical spirit, sharpening their discontent onto the road of socialist consciousness, educating, organizing and directing the exploited so that they will pass over from latent revolt against the *effects* of the capitalist regime to open revolt against the *cause* of their troubles: capitalism in decay.

Confronted by each anxiety or each demand of the masses, the Fourth International launches appropriate slogans to mobilize them with the aim of solving the problems which agitate them. That is why the Fourth International with all its might combats skepticism, fatalism and passivity as the worst brakes upon the development of class consciousness in the proletariat. That is why it explains over and over again that all decisions upon vital questions which are posed before the working class depend in the last analysis on the clash of forces between the classes, in which the proletariat can be the victor in the factory as well as on the street.

Capitalism can no longer live save by increasing the burden of poverty which is crushing the laboring masses. Whether deflation and inflation; whether in the policy on prices and the policy on taxes; whether campaigns for export and restrictions on consumption; whether insufficient food and overproduction—in all countries, under a thousand different succeeding forms, there is but one and the same attack on the buying power of the masses. Guaranty of a *minimum living wage*, based on the consumption needs of workers' families, through the system of a *sliding scale* of wages, salaries, unemployment compensation, pensions and

social insurance—such is the immediate objective that the sections of the Fourth International propose for the workers' struggles. The examples of Japan, Korea, Italy, France and the United States, clearly demonstrate that this slogan has already been assimilated by millions of workers who have inaugurated tremendous strikes to bring it about.

In the midst of general under-consumption among three-fourths of humanity, there already appear everywhere the signs of capitalist glut. Today only a secondary threat, tomorrow unemployment will bear down as the principal burden upon the proletariat. Constantly warning the masses of the crisis which is inevitably approaching, the Fourth International calls the workers to the struggle for the forced re-opening of shut-down plants and for restoring production in them under workers' control; for the progressive decrease in working hours without reduction in take-home pay; for prevention of lay-offs and the sharing of available work among all workers for whom a minimum living wage will remain guaranteed.

For Workers' Control

Questions of prices, wages, profits, business volume and volume of employment are, however, dependent on the entire economic life of the country. If the workers want to attack the problem of buying power and of full employment in an effective way, they cannot leave the task of determining the cost of living index or the rate of employment and unemployment to the bosses or their government. That is why none of the preceding slogans have value unless they are tied up with workers' control. The sections of the Fourth International overlook no opportunity for awakening the workers' distrust regarding the good faith and capacity of the capitalists and their State. The workers must be able to see the books, so they may observe in living form how capitalist economy really functions and may get a good look at the whole mechanism of exploitation, at the sordid parasitism and wastefulness which are the explanation of their own privations. Only on this condition does the struggle for immediate economic objectives become, in effect, a bridge towards the *revolutionary* mobilization of the proletariat against capitalism.

After the experience of the great economic crisis, of mass unemployment, of the black market, the great mass of workers understands today that no degree of economic security is compatible with the preservation of private property in the means of production. The domination of the economy of all nations by a limited group of monopolists has

now become common knowledge. However, in the face of the experiments with bourgeois nationalizations, especially those of England and France, it is necessary to explain again that the revolutionary demand for *expropriation of the banks and key industries* is fundamentally different from the miserable reformist patching up of decaying capitalism. To demand that nationalizations take place without any compensation except to small stockholders; to demand workers' control in the nationalized enterprises; to demand the grouping of all expropriated industries within the framework of a reconstruction plan set up and executed by workers' committees; and to tie up the struggle for these nationalizations with the struggle for the Workers and Farmers Government—in that way we counterpose the program for the communist and revolutionary transformation of society to the tenacious will of the bourgeoisie to preserve its rule under a modified form.

Unity of the Laboring Masses

The epoch of decaying capitalism is likewise the epoch of the continuous pauperization of *the middle classes*. Carefully distinguishing between the exploiting strata and the exploited strata of the urban and peasant bourgeoisie, the sections of the Fourth International launch slogans suited to uniting the laboring masses in action against big capital. In contrast with the Stalinist and reformist parties—for whom “alliance” with the middle classes is a cheap pretext for abandoning the revolutionary proletarian program in order to ally themselves with leaders and parties who actually betray the interests of the petty bourgeoisie—the sections of the Fourth International seek support in the deep discontent of the hardest-hit middle strata (functionaries at starvation salaries, landless farmers, artisans crushed by taxes, ruined small businessmen, etc.), in order to guide their desire for a social overturn along the socialist road. This is the surest way of avoiding, in countries like Italy, Japan or France, the development of new semi-fascist organizations supporting themselves on the despair of the middle classes.

All economic, trade union, and social questions are today political questions. Everything that the proletariat can force out of the boss class through the strike is systematically taken from it by the government, which, whatever may be its form, remains the real administrative council of the ruling class. That is why we counterpose the **WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT** to any bourgeois government, whether it be an outright reactionary one, or a coalition government of “working class” leaders with bourgeois parties.

For the Proletarian State

To the unflagging propaganda for this slogan we add, in periods of violent governmental crises or generalized battles of the working class, a precise agitation addressed to the parties which claim to be working class and in which the masses still have confidence. To these parties the Fourth International launches the appeal: "BREAK WITH THE CAPITALISTS ! TAKE ALL THE POWER !" in order to apply a genuine workers' program with the support of the mobilized masses and under their control.

But it is not enough that the "workers" parties be alone in the government for the government to be a true workers government. There must also be a genuinely anti-capitalist program, a revolutionary mobilization of the masses, overflowing the framework of bourgeois legality. Therein is posed the question of the State. The labor ministers of Great Britain, Scandinavia or Australia have only the illusion of power. The real power remains in the hands of the administrative bureaucracy at the orders of the all-powerful monopolists. The governments change, but the police, generals, judges and high functionaries, the entire bureaucracy in the service of the bourgeoisie, remains the same. This obstacle can be broken only by creation of the real power of the masses, organized into factory, neighborhood, village committees.

The cost of the state bureaucracy, with its military budgets, its wastefulness and frauds, bears down increasingly on the blood-white national economy, and is the primary source of the inflation which is devouring the incomes of the common people. Following the incomparable example of agitation put forward by Lenin, the Fourth International unceasingly denounces the oppressive, exploitive and parasitic character of the bourgeois State. Starting out from thousands of concrete examples, we constantly oppose to it the low-cost State, the State in which the bureaucratic machine has been completely smashed and where executive functions pass over into the hands of the entire working population: **THE PROLETARIAN STATE, THE STATE OF COUNCILS, THE STATE OF THE COMMUNE AND OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.**

Following upon the great French strikes of 1947, the Italian elections of 1948 definitively confirmed that at the present stage unity of the proletarian front can no longer be established around one of the two traditional leaderships of

the workers of the terrible lessons of workers' defeats in Germany, Austria and Spain at the hands of the fascists. It constantly propagandizes for setting up the *United Front* of all workers' organizations in order to bar the road to the De Gaulles, Mosleys, Almirantes and other candidates of big capital for the executioner's role. The formation of rank and file United Front committees must be accompanied with a constant propaganda, based upon daily events, for setting up the United Front among organizations claiming to be proletarian. Constitution of a *workers' militia* based on factories, trade unions and neighborhood committees must constantly be posed in opposition to the legalistic cretinism of the treacherous leaders, who slavishly repeat the errors of their predecessors by demanding of the bourgeois State that it disarm the fascist bands. But it is above all necessary to follow attentively all the spontaneous actions of the masses in the anti-fascist struggle, actions which are taking on the boldest forms, especially in Italy. Only when the revolutionary vanguard will have learned to adopt these spontaneous actions, widen them and multiply them unceasingly, will a real, fundamental integration be established between the conscious struggle and the spontaneous upsurge of the workers, and only then will it effectively win the confidence of its own class.

For a New Revolutionary Youth International

After the First World War, the young communist parties of Europe issued from the cadres of the Socialist Youth following the glorious example of its great international leader, Karl Liebknecht. After the Second World War, it is again in the cadres of the Socialist Youth of several countries that the first breaks with the treacherous leaderships are taking place and the first searchings for a new revolutionary International. That the youth is the motive force of all revolutionary movements is not at all a simple empirical observation. The conditions of existence of decaying capitalism weigh most heavily on the young generations of workers, whether of hand or brain, who find themselves from birth cut off from any hope of a future. Bureaucratic sterility and the stifling atmosphere of intrigue and hypocrisy, which now rule in the old workers' organizations, likewise drive the most gifted of the youth, and the most devoted to their class, to violent revolt. It is not by accident that the Fourth International, itself deriving from an opposition which in part came from the youth, is now an organization which is composed in its great majority of young workers and students in

all countries. This is, at the same time, the surest pledge for its future development.

The organizations of bourgeois youth (Catholics, semi-fascist) and those which claim to be working class (reformist and Stalinist) intensify their efforts with the aim of promoting systematic de-politicization of the young workers. The disgust inevitably provoked by the policies of capitulation and compromise of the traditional organizations also tends to operate in the same direction. That is why the Fourth International systematically instructs the exploited youth in political understanding of their miserable lot. Education of revolutionary youth cadres is the indispensable pre-condition for assuring that the emancipating struggle of the proletarian youth will be centered around class objectives.

The Fourth International completely rejects every condescending attitude towards the young workers and their problems. It neither puts on protective airs nor does it peddle professional speeches. It begins by itself applying the principle which it unceasingly proclaims: Emancipation of the working youth, like that of the proletariat in general, can only be accomplished by the young workers themselves. That is why the Fourth International fully recognizes the right of the revolutionary youth to its own class organization, whose activity is centered in the very first place on the problems of the working class youth itself: The struggle for the right to work and to education, for the right to life and leisure. The revolutionary policies of the youth and the organizations which embrace them take a place of prime importance in the struggle against militarism, imperialism and war, a struggle which is itself one of the central revolutionary tasks of our epoch.

But at the same time that it fully recognizes this right to a specific organization, policies and program for the revolutionary youth, the Fourth International appeals to the working youth to understand that its own problems make up an integral part of the general problems which are today posed before humanity. In the factory and in the barracks, in the yards and the universities, the working class youth collides with enemies which are the enemies of the collective proletariat and laboring masses: Monopoly capitalism and its increasingly totalitarian State. That is why the revolutionary organization of the youth cannot act independently of the revolutionary organization of the proletariat, but must work in close collaboration with it. That is why the new **REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL** which is to be built can only be built on the granite program of the Fourth International.

For the Overthrow of the Stalinist Bureaucracy For the Defense of the October Conquests Against Imperialism

Confronted by the incredible degeneration of the Soviet Union, a number of disillusioned revolutionaries identify the Stalinist dictatorship with what still remains of the October conquests and refuse to defend the latter. On the other hand, all the "fellow travelers" who, only yesterday, sang praises to the "victorious Red Army" when it was a question of "fighting the anti-fascist war to the end," suddenly again become conscious of Stalinist barbarism at the moment when it collides with the interests of their own bourgeoisie. The militants of the Fourth International, who were the first in the labor movement to denounce all that is monstrous and reactionary in the Stalinist regime, are the only ones who conduct a genuine struggle against Stalin within the rigid framework of defending the interests of the Russian proletariat and the world proletariat.

The war which Washington is preparing against the USSR does not at all pursue the aim of introducing political democracy or respect for the rights of man in Soviet Russia. On the contrary, in the face of the ferocious resistance which the Soviet workers and peasants would put up if American troops occupied Soviet territories, Yankee imperialism would install a regime of terror there similar to Hitler's.

The imperialist war not only would not liberate the workers from the totalitarian dictatorship, but it would prevent them from going further along the socialist road. Imperialism would all the more combine its search for capitalist profits with the wastefulness engendered by the bureaucracy. Far from thoroughly cleansing the structure of planning and eliminating the gangrene of profiteering from it, imperialism would bring the whole structure down with the hammer blows of its own exports and capital.

The violent ejection of the bureaucratic regime is today an urgent task of the Russian working class, otherwise what remains of the October conquests is in danger of being stifled under the weight of this parasitic regime. That is precisely the reason why the Russian workers cannot farm out this task to imperialism and will fiercely defend the remnants of the October conquests against imperialism without for a single moment relaxing their revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the Stalinist Bonapartist clique.

By his reactionary policies in the countries occupied by the Russian army, Stalin primarily defends the privileges of the bureaucracy. Just as the bureaucracy undermines the foundations of the workers state in the USSR, so, too, its counter-revolutionary policies outside the USSR constitute a permanent threat to these same conquests. The Fourth International defends what remains of October solely by revolutionary class struggle methods. Everything which weakens the proletariat inside and outside of the USSR; everything which poisons its thinking or lowers its consciousness, is a direct blow against the revolutionary defense of the USSR. That is why to defend the conquests of October today means to struggle against the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy, against its oppression, looting and occupation of "buffer-zone" countries, against its secret treaties and deals on the backs of the people. The only form of defense of the USSR advocated by the Fourth International is the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in each country against its "own" bourgeoisie—the struggle to smash all obstacles in the path of socialist revolution, even when these consist of Russian occupation troops.

In the absence of a powerful revolutionary pole of mass mobilization, the war, the defense of the Soviet State, and the pressing needs of reconstruction have assuredly brought about an acceptance of the bureaucracy by advanced workers as the unavoidable, lesser evil. On the other hand, the partisan struggles, the military victories and contacts with the advanced countries of Europe have also undoubtedly increased the critical spirit of the Soviet workers, their hatred of the parasites responsible for all the frauds and thefts; and has tempered their will to take the direction of the state into their own hands again. The further reconstruction proceeds, the further the rate of accumulation declines as a result of bureaucratic leadership, all the sharper will be the economic difficulties and all the more exasperating will social inequality become. In the course of constant upheavals which Soviet society will experience, the young worker generations will gain consciousness of their own interests. With the assistance of the revolutionary movements in capitalist countries, they will find the way to overthrow the bureaucracy and will open up a new revolutionary chapter in the history of Russia.

For the Overthrow of Capitalism

The Fourth International does not pose for itself the task of patching up the capitalist regime or of seeking substitutes for "too radical" revolutionary solutions. Its pro-

gram is that of mobilizing the masses for the overthrow of capitalism. That is why the transitional demands bear no trace of a "conformist" or "evolutionist" spirit. Leaping over the old antithesis of minimum and maximum program, these demands, on the contrary, link up each day-to-day pre-occupation with the most burning problem of our epoch, *the revolutionary conquest of power*. Sectarian is all propaganda which limits itself to repeating this general goal of the movement like a ritualistic formula, without supplying the working class with the means of acquiring an understanding of it in the course of its own experience. All propaganda is opportunistic which introduces, even if surreptitiously, a conception of struggle by stages, "momentarily" limiting itself to immediate demands, transforming each transitional slogan into an end-in-itself, and considering the workers as too backward to have the program of communist revolution explained to them right from the start.

In the face of the frightful prostitution of communism by the Stalinist bureaucracy and the innumerable distortions and falsifications which resulted, it is necessary today to reaffirm the fundamental characteristics of the communist revolution.

The Program of the Communist Future

It means the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and its destruction as a class; it means the taking over by the proletariat of the means of production and exchange. It means destruction of the bureaucratic state machine of the bourgeoisie and its replacement by the *proletariat organized as the ruling class* into workers councils, in which proletarian democracy rules.

Collectivization of the means of production and exchange, concentration of all credit establishments into a single State bank which is collective property; setting up a monopoly of foreign trade; establishment of a planned economy: these are not in themselves the goals of the revolution; they are merely the means of progressively raising the standard of living and of culture of the masses, of decreasing the length of the work day to the point where the immense majority of the workers will be able to administer the economy and public affairs, where the division of society into classes will disappear and where the State will wither away. That is why there must be: the establishment and development of workers control of production; active participation of the masses in elaborating, executing and verifying production plans; intervention of the human factor on an

ever more decisive scale at all levels of economic life; ever greater subordination of production norms to the needs of consumption. These are the indispensable elements in the economy following upon the overthrow of capitalism; and they constitute so many indices of the real progress of society towards socialism. That is why a drastic reduction of the body of professional functionaries, the fusion of legislative and executive functions and their exercise in rotation by a growing number of educated workers constitute the clearest indices of the definitive liquidation of counter-revolution, of stabilization of the new society and of the radical decrease in its internal contradictions.

The program of the communist revolution is that of the emancipation of all nationalities, of the positive granting of the right of self-determination to all peoples, including the right to secession. Eliminating all exploitation and all oppression of one people by another by conjointly eliminating the exploiters in each nation; giving each nation the possibility of freely developing its own cultural entity, the revolution will at the same time destroy the sources of chauvinism, will pursue nationalistic and racist mysticism down into its last refuge and will extirpate everything which could prevent realization of a genuine universal federation of the peoples of the whole world.

The communist revolution will not only release the enormous productive energy of the masses on the economic plane. It will penetrate into all spheres of society and will everywhere liberate the great creative potential pent up among the masses. Education, scientific and technical training, the artistic and literary movements, organization of public health, building cities and shaping human behavior, will for the first time be opened to millions of proletarians and peasant poor whose economic slavery now systematically cripples their countless talents. Thereby the very nature of all these activities will in their turn undergo a radical and continuous transformation. Upon finally becoming the master of its own fate, humanity will by means of critical thought and method penetrate beyond the last remaining shadows of the unknown and the spiritual growth and transformation of man's own nature will become the ultimate object of the permanent revolution. From the kingdom of necessity mankind will pass into the domain of freedom.

In a society which is running the risk of foundering into barbarism, but which is still pregnant with all these glorious possibilities, the Fourth International considers as

realistic only that program which firmly sets for itself the goal of communism. To consecrate one's life today to the cause of the revolutionary emancipation of humanity is the only way to preserve human dignity amid the nightmare of the world in agony. To bewail the decline of civilization without offering the peoples a way to a better future is in reality to convert oneself into one more factor in the prevailing process of social decomposition. Only the program of communist revolution merits today sacrifices for its realization. Only this program gives the Fourth International the right to appeal today to the advanced workers of all countries to group themselves under its banner.

Twenty years ago Stalin brought the heavy hammer of his state machine down upon this program. Fanatically brutal, Stalin allied himself with the police of all countries in order to pursue, jail, and assassinate the precious revolutionary cadres who remained faithful to Leninism. A reactionary wave without parallel submerged the world. Today, after countless sacrifices and on the eve of new blows, the fighters of the Fourth International in twenty-five countries can proudly state that they have passed the test of this dark period of history. The example of the heroes of the civil war who refused to capitulate to Stalin's police; the example of the militants of the Russian Left Opposition struggling to the last breath of their lives in solitary prison cells in Siberia, and the example of young Komsomols (Russian YCL'ers) dying before GPU execution squads with the cry of "Long Live Trotsky" on their lips—all this has not been in vain. Today Bolshevism lives again on five continents, its ideas are spreading and its organizations are gaining strength. For every lost martyr, ten new militants are arising. Having survived the terror of Stalin and the fury of Hitler, the Fourth International is confident of its future, for in it lives all the Marxism of our epoch, all the unconquerable emancipating will of the world proletariat. On the scale of a human life-span, its progress may seem slow. On the scale of history, its victory is already assured.

Locked in a life-and-death struggle with the Stalinist bureaucratic usurpers, the Fourth International proudly lays claim to the traditions, ideas and lessons of the October Revolution. All the crimes of Stalin will not succeed in stamping out from the hearts of workers everywhere the memory of the most titanic overthrow in the history of humanity. Confronting capitalism and its ever more hideous decay; the Fourth International raises on a world scale the central idea of the Bolshevik revolution: "*All power to the workers*"

and poor peasants." Confronting the miserable agents of the class enemy inside the labor movement, the Fourth International forges the decisive instrument of proletarian victory: the world Bolshevik party. Confronting wars, ruins, and devastation the Fourth International firmly follows its historical mission: TO PREPARE THE WORLDWIDE OCTOBER.

Under the Banner of the Fourth International

Today, in these proud days of celebrating the first centennial of scientific communism, on this May Day 1948, the day of combat-rally of the workers of the world, the Fourth International, amid gathering of its best militants from all the continents in its World Congress, pauses in remembrance of all the heroes who have fallen in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. The fighters on the barricades of June, 1848, the soldiers of the Paris Commune, the workers of the First Petrograd Soviet, the victors of October and the Russian Civil War, the Spartacists of Germany and the fighters of the Hungarian, Bavarian and Cantonese Communes, the dynamiters of Asturia, and the militiamen of Barcelona, the warriors of the Vienna Schutzbund, and the Greek and French partisans, and all the countless soldiers of the colonial revolution — they will remain forever enshrined in memory as proof of the determined effort of the exploited class to tear the world out of the chaos of exploitation. The memory of all these warriors together with the already long list of its own martyrs, the Fourth International entrusts to the young generations of the world working class. To be worthy of their example means today to take one's place under the banner of the Fourth International.

The Second World Congress of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, calls upon the exploited and oppressed of all lands to unite in the struggle against all forms of slavery, against all governments and their agents. The struggle of the workers throughout the world is today one and the same—it is the struggle for the communist revolution.

Workers of the old revolutionary citadel of Paris, unite with the unconquerable young revolutionists of the Viet-Nam who are in revolt !

Miners of the Urals, unite with your fellow warriors of the United States !

Break out of your ruins, German workers, and unite with the workers of Great Britain !

Unite, workers of China, India, and all the colonies with the workers of the mother countries in a single battle against imperialist slavery !

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE under the banner of the Fourth International, so that this old war cry of the **COMMUNIST MANIFESTO** will become on the morrow the sovereign emblem of Communism triumphant !

Second World Congress of the Fourth International
May 1, 1948.

Trotskyist Organizations

ARGENTINA

Grupa Cuarta Internacional publishes Voz Proletaria.
Grupa Obrera Marxista publishes Frente Proletario.
Uniona Obrera Revolucionaria publishes El Militante.

AUSTRALIA

Revolutionary Workers Party publishes The Militant.

AUSTRIA

Internationale Kommunisten Osterreichs (Austrian section of the Fourth International) publishes der Spartakist.

BELGIUM

Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Belgian section of the Fourth International) publishes La Lutte Ouvriere.

BOLIVIA

Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Bolivian section of the Fourth International) publishes Lucha Obrera.

BRAZIL

Orientacao Socialista.

BULGARIA

International Communist Party (Bulgarian section of the Fourth International).

CANADA

Revolutionary Workers Party (Canadian section of the Fourth International) publishes Labor Challenge.

CHILE

Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Chilean section of the Fourth International) publishes El Militante.

CHINA

International Communist League (Chinese section of the Fourth International) publishes Struggle, Red Flag.

CUBA

Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Cuban section of the Fourth International).

CYPRUS

International Communist Party (Cyprian section of the Fourth International) publishes Ergatis.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

International Communists of Czechoslovakia (Czech section of the Fourth International).

DENMARK

Revolutionaere Kommuniste, publishes Det Ny Arbejderblad, Arbejderpolitik.

EGYPT

Revolutionary Communist Party, varied publications.

ENGLAND

Revolutionary Communist Party (English section of the Fourth International) publishes Socialist Appeal, Workers International News, Solidaritaet (in German).

FRANCE

Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French section of the Fourth International) publishes La Verite.

GERMANY

International Communists of Germany (German section of the Fourth International) publishes Die Internationale, theoretical organ, and Unser Weg, der Marxist.

GREECE

International Communist Party (Greek section of the Fourth International) publishes Ergatike' Pale'.

HOLLAND

Revolutionair Communistische Partij (Dutch section of the

Trotskyist Organizations (Cont.)

Fourth International) publishes **SOUTH AFRICA**
De Tribune.

Fourth International Organization
of South Africa publishes **Work-**
ers' Voice.

INDIA

Bolshevik Leninist Party of In-
dia (Indian section of the Fourth
International) publishes **New**
Spark and several local organs.

SPAIN

Grupa Comunista Internation-
ista (Spanish section of the
Fourth International) publishes
Lucha de Clases.

IRELAND

Revolutionary Socialist Party
(Irish section of the Fourth In-
ternational) publishes **Workers'**
Republic.

SWITZERLAND

Marxistische Aktion Schweiz
(Swiss section of the Fourth In-
ternational).

ITALY

4a Internationale (theoretical
journal).

UNITED STATES

Socialist Workers Party publishes
The Militant and a theoretical
organ, **Fourth International.**

MEXICO

The Mexican section of the
Fourth International publishes
Lucha Obrera.

URUGUAY

Ligua Obrera Revolucionaria
(Uruguayan section of the Fourth
International) publishes **Contra**
la Corriente.

PALESTINE

Revolutionary League of Pales-
tine (Palestinian section of the
Fourth International) publishes
Kol Hamaamad in Hebrew and
At'tali'ah in Arabic.

USSR

Bolshevik-Leninists (Soviet sec-
tion of the Fourth International).

PERU

Partido Obrero Revolucionario
(Peruvian section of the Fourth
International) publishes **Revo-**
lucion.

VIET-NAM

Bolshevik Leninist Group (Viet
Nammese section of the Fourth
International) publishes **Vo San.**

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