



Forging the World Revolutionary Leadership

This is the fourth installment of the Manifesto issued by the Second World Congress of the Fourth International.

The "Third Force"

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.

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.

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.

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.

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."

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.

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 proletariat 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.

"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.

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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 practices employed in Soviet expansion, which invest the theory of the "New Democracy" with a semblance of justification for all the crimes committed by the Kremlin in 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."

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.

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.

The Selection of New Revolutionary Leadership

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.

All the qualities which rise from the workers' 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.

But the spontaneous revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat 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.

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 only bewilder those who have lost all sense of proportion in appraising history.

In the ascending period of capitalism, successive working class leaderships gradually won some small reforms for the proletariat and substantial privileges for themselves.

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.

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.

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 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.

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 Struggle for the Transitional Program

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 activity of the Fourth International has as its first objective to express clearly and consciously the deep but confused aspirations of the exploited masses.

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.

In the midst of general under-consumption among three-fourths of humanity, there already appears everywhere the signs of capitalist glut. Today only a secondary threat, tomorrow unemployment will bear down as the principle burden upon the proletariat.

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 has 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.

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 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.

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.

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.

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.

(Continued Next Week)

THE MILITANT ARMY

1,000-Sub Campaign Opens in Detroit

Comrade Sy of Detroit sold seven one-year subs in Morristown, N. J., and Pittsburgh, Pa., while on his way home from the SWP convention in New York.

one new sub. "Of course I try to get a sub, but more important, I think, is to get the reader to the Dobbs meeting on Aug. 1."

Five St. Paul comrades got 10 renewals in a couple hours of callback work. "We tried," wrote Winifred Nelson, Militant agent, "to get full year subs, as we have always tried, but the best we could do was four. Even one of the 50c subs would not have been obtained if the sub-getter had not contributed 25c of it. People haven't got the money—people who like the paper and have taken it for years. They are still friendly but often cannot subscribe for lack of money."

One of the recent renewals—after a lapse of six months—was for 50c wrapped in a Toledo church offering envelope.

A British Guiana church asked for free papers for members who could not possibly pay anything.

Los Angeles Branch, which turned in 9 subs in June, was accidentally left out of the table published last week.



