

# INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

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OF THE WORLD'S PARTY  
OF SOCIALIST REVO-  
LUTION (4<sup>TH</sup> INT'L)  
BY THE .....

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

OF THE U.S.A.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
I. The Emergency Conference	1
Note: Full text of the Manifesto on War adopted by the Conference will be found in the SOCIALIST APPEAL of June 28, 1940.	
II. Declaration on the Status of the Resident I.E.C.	5
III. Resolutions of the Conference	7
1. Greetings to Natalia and Leon Trotsky	7
2. Solidarity with Class War Prisoners	7
3. Supplementary Statement on I.E.C.	10
4. Unification of British Section	12
5. Internal Struggle in S.W.P.	13
6. On French Section	14
7. Correspondence with W.P.	15
IV. Reports of Three Sections	17
1. Spanish Section	17
2. German Section (IKD)	20
3. French Section	23

Note: We present below the leading documents and resolutions of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International. Certain materials have been deleted from the Section reports because of their confidential nature.

## THE EMERGENCY CONFERENCE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, attended by mandated delegates of ten national sections, has been successfully concluded!

Called on the initiative of its United States, Mexican and Canadian sections, the Conference addressed the working class of the world in a resounding manifesto urging the toilers of all lands to make an end of the imperialist war by initiating the world socialist revolution.

The mandated delegates to the Conference represented sections of the Fourth International in the United States, Germany, Belgium, Canada, Mexico, Spain, Cuba, the Argentine, Porto Rico and Chile. Fraternal delegates were seated from the Australian and Chinese sections and from the editorial board of the Bulletin of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition. Organizations affiliated with the Fourth International in England, France, China, Switzerland, and Bulgaria, unable to send representatives or mandates because of conditions of illegality and other adverse factors, sent declarations of solidarity. The ravages of war and of ruthless internal suppression made it impossible for the affiliates of the Fourth International in Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia, Palestine, Lithuania, Rumania, Indo-China, South Africa, and Brazil to be contacted in time to obtain representation.

The World Emergency Conference met in strictest secrecy, due to the conditions engendered by the war, "somewhere in the Western Hemisphere" on May 19-26. Gathering in the tense atmosphere of the engulfing war, the Conference constituted the genuine voice of proletarian internationalism.

Neither the decrepit Second International nor the perfidious Third International, nor the international federation of centrist squeezed lemons known as "International Workers Front" have made themselves heard by as much as a whisper in this gravest hour in the history of the working class, for the second time within a generation, when the monstrous tanks of militarism and a thousand new horrors of war sweep over the battlefields, crushing the bodies of millions of workers in uniform and scattering millions of others in civil life to the four winds, in search of refuge.

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

Meeting two years after the founding of the world party of Socialist Revolution on September 3, 1938, at Geneva, Switzerland, the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International drew the balance sheet of the intervening period of war preparations and the outbreak of war itself. It was able to establish the gratifying

fact that the overwhelming majority of its sections and members throughout the world had withstood the test of these trying times in exemplary fashion. The Conference unanimously reaffirmed the principles adopted at the first World Congress and elaborated for fifteen years preceding it within the "Trotskyist" movement.

While the organizations of the opportunist internationals were everywhere showing signs of deep-going disintegration and complete paralysis, the Conference was presented with evidence that the Fourth International not only held its own, but could register a distinct increase in numbers and activity in the two years past, despite the illegalization of several of our sections since the conclusion of the Munich Pact.

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

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

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

In France, despite the outbreak of the war, our section has been reinforced by the adherence to it of the bulk of the active members in the left wing of the Centrist PSOP (Workers and Peasants Socialist Party).

In England, our section obtained such significant successes in the labor parties that the reformist bureaucracy felt impelled to ban our members from affiliation even before the war had entered its critical stage and brought with it governmental repressive measures.

In Ireland, the organization report indicated, a substantial group has been formed, requesting affiliation with the Fourth International. Similar developments are reported in numerous other countries with which the Fourth International previously had no contact.

In general, the Organization Report presented a picture of a live international party growing despite tremendous obstacles and functioning as a single unit, a veritable organized vanguard preparing to lead into battle the millions of toilers everywhere whose backs are even now straightening up from under the heel of capitalism.

The chief work of the Conference was the preparation of a Manifesto to the World Working class. After considerable discussion, the draft proposed by the Executive Committee was adopted with only minor amendments. This document is a unique revolutionary achievement. It comprises an all-sided panorama of the world in the throes of war; an analysis of the factors making for the transformation of this war into a civil war for a Socialist United States of Europe on the road to a World Federation of Socialist Republics; as well as a call to action which contains strategic and tactical directives.

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

Recalling the great names of such martyrs in the struggle of the Fourth International as Leon Sedov, Rudolph Cloment, Ernst Wolf and Ignass Reiss, heroes felled by the hand of Cain Stalin's gunmen and killers, the Conference paused to send greetings to the stout-hearted and fearless militants of the Fourth International now languishing in the concentration camps and prisons of Hitler's Germany; to comrades Rigal, Steve, Weitz and their friends in the jails of French Imperialism; to the heroic soldiers of the Fourth International imprisoned by Vargas' Brazil, Metaxas' Greece, Franco's Spain; to our brothers in the British colonies, clamped into dungeons by Churchill's England; to the dauntless Bolshevik-Leninists tortured but unyielding, in the grip of the Kremlin oligarchy; to our brave comrades placed behind prison walls in Minnesota by Roosevelt's F.B.I. and to the class war prisoners everywhere whose name is legion.

Meeting in the main to arm the Fourth International for the coming great battles against capitalism, in its hideous fascist as well as illusory "democratic" imperialist armor, and for the struggle to win the world working class over to this great, relentless and exacting cause against the lackeys of the bourgeois in the Second International and the tools of imperialism in the Third International, the Emergency Conference also had another task: To pass judgement upon those weak-kneed petty bourgeois elements formerly in our ranks who at the first test of the unfolding war run for cover. It had to deal with those who deserted under the pretext of proposing a "concrete" revision of our program on the question of unconditional defense of the USSR, which developed into an open surrender of the Marxist theory and the principles and traditions of Bolshevism, upon whose foundations the International had been constructed.

The Conference unanimously condemned this revisionist, petty-bourgeois tendency as represented by Burnham and Shachtman in the Socialist Workers Party of the United States and by Lebrun, Johnson, Trent and Anton in the International Executive Committee. It charged them with betraying the trust placed in them by the organizations of the Fourth International. The conference denounced their futile effort to split the international organization as contemptible treachery. It called upon the Socialist Workers Party of the United States to set a time limit of one month, within which all those suspended for participating in the split action are to signify their acceptance of the decisions of the S.W.P. convention or else suffer unconditional expulsion from the party.

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

The decisions of the Conference, representing the will of every active section able to send delegates or mandates, were declared in a resolution as implementing the program and principles of the first World Congress and consequently binding for all sections. The Conference noted that every section and group which had taken a decision in the matter and communicated with the Executive had already unreservedly declared themselves for the maintenance of the slogan of the Unconditional Defense of the USSR and against all attempts to revise her program of the Fourth International, undertaken by the petty-bourgeois opposition.

Based upon this authority, the Emergency Conference decided to elect an International Executive Committee with representatives from all sections, charged with executing the program and policies of the Fourth International in the course of the war, and with the calling of a full world Congress as soon as conditions make such a step feasible. With the presentation of the reports on activity from the sections and the election of the incoming International Executive Committee the Emergency Conference of the World Party of Socialist Revolution closed its sessions, firm in the conviction that the work of consolidating the international organization of providing it with a functioning and authoritative leadership; and of arming it with a line of action which alone can initiate the workers' own emancipation from the toils of horrifying war and ruthless exploitation had been successfully accomplished.

DECLARATION ON THE STATUS OF THE RESIDENT I.E.C.

In view of the fact that the resident International Executive Committee has virtually ceased to exist as such, the undersigned must make known the following information:

1. The resident I.E.C. was set up in N.Y. immediately after the outbreak of the war, its composition being determined solely by presence in that city; an administrative secretary was assigned to work with the committee by the Political Committee of the S.W.P.
2. That committee was to serve as a secretariat with the fullest possible participation of other members of the I.E.C. present on this continent.
3. Immediately following the opening of the discussion in the S.W.P., a majority of the members of the resident committee tended to align themselves factionally with the Minority in that party; failing to utilize their function on the committee in order to mitigate the struggle and, in fact, ignoring the existence of the I.E.C. for all practical purposes.
4. This non-functioning of the majority of the members of the resident committee was conclusively proven when I.E.C. members Crux and Fischer and the representative of the Mexican and Spanish sections, Munis, addressed it on February 20 with the proposal to intervene in the Socialist Workers Party discussion for the purpose of preserving unity. The secretary of the committee forwarded this communication with Comrade Martel's and his own endorsement. In spite of the extreme gravity and urgency of the situation, no reply was received from Comrades Trent, Anton, Johnson and Lebrun.
5. Comrades Trent and Anton participated in the Cleveland split conference of the Minority as members of that faction in the S.W.P.; Comrade Johnson--without any authorization from the British section and most certainly without any authority from the I.E.C. Comrade Lebrun endorsed the actions taken there, likewise without the approval of his own section and without consulting the I.E.C. The only communication received by the I.E.C. from Brazil in the recent period informs us that the section there retains the position of "unconditional defense of the "U.S.S.R.", accepting the discipline of the Fourth International despite differences of opinion within its ranks. It also reprimands Lebrun for neglect of duty in relation to his own party. All these comrades have thus acted behind the back of the International Executive Committee and in utter disregard of their duties as members of that body.
6. All our information says that the overwhelming majority of the Fourth International remain true to Marxist theory, to our Program, to our

political tradition and to the organizational principles of Bolshevism. The connections with Europe are very difficult. But we can and should immediately create a genuine Pan-American center based upon the active sections, with the purpose of reestablishing as early as possible a new International Executive Committee really representing the Fourth International and capable of continuous revolutionary activity.

7. To that end, and in view of the de facto non-existence of the resident I.E.C., we fully endorse the initiative taken by the American, Canadian and Mexican sections of the Fourth International in calling a Pan-American Conference. The conference, with the participation of all sections that can furnish mandates, can and must establish at once a representative body which will replace the defunct resident I.E.C.

Endorsed by:

(Signed)

Munis,  
Representative of  
Spanish and Mexican  
Sections

Crux  
Fischer

.Martel  
Jones

Stuart, Administrative  
Secretary, I.E.C.

Richardson,  
Representative of  
Canadian Section

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BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST PARTY OF CUBA

(SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party, Cuban Section of the Fourth International, after a thorough analysis, adopts on the point of defense of the Soviet Union, which has been discussed in our North American section, the following

RESOLUTION:

To maintain the programmatic slogan of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union until such a time as events will make necessary a reevaluation of said slogan.

Plenum of the Provisional Executive Committee  
(signed) Bode - General Secretary

Alonso

Andrade

Duran

Santiso

Kamayen

Rufo

P.S. - In the opinion of the Cuban section the conduct of the opposition, in appropriating to itself the official organs of the S.W.P. must be condemned as disloyal, but at the same time we reserve for future discussion other points dealing with said minority in the S.W.P., on which we will likewise express our opinion.

Havana, May 1, 1940



...RESOLUTION OF GREETINGS TO NATALIA AND LEON TROTSKY

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, concluding its final session with all its tasks successfully accomplished, sends you heartfelt greetings. Your fortunate escape from Stalinist assassins is a great victory for the international proletariat and for the oppressed people of the whole world. As capitalism in death agony wages a second world war, all its reactionary hatred and venomous spite of its tools is turned upon the working class, particularly its vanguard. The attempt upon your life is a measure not of the strength of reaction but of its ever-deepening weakness and the consciousness that its mortal enemy is the Fourth International. Your and Comrade Natalia's unswerving devotion to the cause of the world working class despite the greatest personal danger inspires all of us to increased courage and self-sacrifice for the coming period. On behalf of every section of the Fourth International we pledge ourselves to all the greater efforts to end the rule of Cain Stalin and to extend the October revolution throughout the world.

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RESOLUTION OF SOLIDARITY WITH CLASS WAR PRISONERS

Our revolutionary greetings go first of all to our comrades everywhere in the world who are victims of the repressions of capitalism and of totalitarian dictatorships.

Capitalism in its death agony vents its full fury above all upon its most intransigent opponents, the Fourth Internationalists. Our organization is the object of the most brutal and relentless persecution by all the reactionary forces of the dying capitalist society. Our comrades have been thrown into prisons and concentration camps in the "democratic" countries as well as in the fascist countries. Wherever the Fourth International is even a potential threat to the existing order its cadres have been hounded, jailed, and tortured.

During the sessions of this Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, Stalinist assassins raided the home of Comrades Natalia and Leon Trotsky and riddled their bedroom with machine gun slugs. Robert Sheldon Harte, secretary-guard in Comrade Trotsky's home was kidnapped and his fate remains unknown.

We dip our flag at the graves of Comrades Rastrollo, Galan, Martin, Llarza, and Cid who were executed in the Spanish Civil War. Forty other comrades have disappeared - in all probability executed by the butcher Franco. Others are in the prisons in Madrid and Barcelona and in the forced labor brigades. To those hundreds of our comrades who are refugees now suffering in the concentration camps in France we send our warmest greetings. The time will not be long when they will be freed by the proletarian revolution.

Fauconnet, Pasque, Medeiros, Scalaios, Hans Freund, Isidor Fassner, Erwin Wolf, Reiss, Rossini, Leon Sedov, Klement, Rigal, Schmit, Boitel, Liber! Your names are written across our banner!

In the United States we salute especially those militants in Minnesota who have been persecuted by the FBI and sentenced by the bourgeois courts to the federal penitentiary.

Throughout Latin America under bloody and arch-reactionary dictatorships which continue to exist only by virtue of support from Washington, D.C., and Wall Street, our comrades are in exile, serving long prison sentences, or have been murdered. But far from weakening, their voices speak out, reaffirming their unshakeable faith in the victory of our cause.

From Indo-China oppressed by French imperialism, our comrades, hounded, imprisoned, driven underground, nevertheless make their voice heard - the unconquerable voice of the colonial slaves who are even now gathering strength to break the chains loaded upon them by democratic imperialism.

In China, our comrades, even while in the front ranks of the Chinese armies facing the Japanese invader, are stabbed in the back by the agents of Chiang Kai-Shek and Stalin.

Our heroic Greek comrades, dozens and dozens of whom still languish on the prison-islands of Metaxas, hold aloft with magnificent valor the banner of socialist revolution.

The concentration camps and prisons of Nazi Germany are full of devoted militants, implacable Trotskyist revolutionists who are standing resolutely against the executioners unleashed by Hitler. Our comrades in Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium and Holland are suffering under the heel of Hitler. Some of them have been transported from the newly conquered territories into Germany where their fate remains unknown.

We salute those young unknown revolutionists who in Russia fall under the Mausers of the GPU still crying "Long Live Trotsky!"

None of these repressions, these tortures, these assassinations shall stop us, for our task is laid out for us by history and we are guided by our invincible program of socialist revolution and not by the activities of sadistic police or of state terror-machines, no matter how powerful and totalitarian.

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International sends its greetings and its solidarity to all revolutionary militants thrown into bourgeois prisons, both the fascist and the "democratic," as well as the Stalinist prisons. It calls on all comrades, sympathizers, and class-conscious proletarians to put into practice their feelings of solidarity with all the militants who have fallen victim to Stalinist terror and capitalist oppression. The very salvation of the socialist revolution requires that those militants who are so sorely tried should feel that they are supported by an

international solidarity which is active and effective.

Today's sacrifice is tomorrow's guarantee of triumph. The proletarian revolution, victorious under the banner of the Fourth International, will avenge the comrades who have fallen, and rescue from their prisons those who languish there.

PUERTO RICO - RESOLUTION ON THE POSITION AND CONDUCT OF THE MINORITY IN THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OF THE U.S.A.

The Independent Communist Party of Puerto Rico (Section of the Fourth International):

1. Disavows and condemns the minority of the S.W.P. for abandoning the official program of the Fourth International on the question of the defense of the USSR by putting the Soviet Union in the same imperialist camps as the capitalist countries which are fighting for the redivision of the world, and proposing only conditional defense.

2. Condemns and repudiates the said minority for its conduct after the convention decisions of the S.W.P. and declares that said minority, by acting as it did, not only placed itself outside the ranks of the Fourth International but in open struggle against it, weakening the fighting ability of the only genuine revolutionary vanguard, sowing confusion and throwing mud at our outstanding leader Comrade Trotsky, who is recognized even by the bourgeois world as Revolutionist No. 1 of the present-day working class.

3. Reaffirms once more the decisions adopted in Switzerland by our last International Congress and rejects the idea that these decisions can be changed and revised in an anarchistic manner, without an international discussion, by an international center, through the election of delegates of all sections. Reaffirms once more its agreement with and acceptance of democratic centralism which was violated in a typical petty bourgeois manner by the said minority which, after six months of free discussion refused to accept the decisions of the majority and instead took up an open, public struggle, anti-proletarian in character, against the decisions of the International, trying to arrogate to itself powers most arrogantly, to give directives to other sections, deprecating in its writings such sections as the Mexican and Canadian, calling them insignificant.

4. Considers necessary the immediate convocation of an international conference which will examine the situation and resolve it on the basis of the already adopted principles which will serve best the World Socialist Revolution and its vanguard, the Fourth International.

-Independent Communist Party of Puerto Rico  
(Section of the F.I.) Central Committee

San Juna, Puerto Rico (Signed) Louis Vergne Ortiz, Polit. Sec.  
May 5, 1940

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT ON THE I.E.C.

The Conference takes note of the following additional considerations: in endorsing the Declaration of Crux, Martel, Fischer, Jones, Stuart, Munis and Richardson on the status of the resident I.E.C.:

1. Lebrun, Johnson, Trent and Anton constituted an accidental majority of the resident I.E.C. The outbreak of the war put into effect automatically the proposal adopted by the first World Congress, i.e., that the work of the International be transferred to this side of the ocean. The four above-mentioned plus Martel were the only I.E.C. members present in New York at the time when the change of seat took place. It was understood, however, that as many I.E.C. members as could be reached would be participating in the deliberations of the Executive. Unfortunately, only Jones, Crux, and Fischer of the I.E.C. could be gotten in touch with for consultations. War censorship and other difficulties that arose made it impossible to maintain correspondence with others.

2. Lebrun, Johnson, Trent and Anton took advantage of their accidental majority to betray the trust placed in I.E.C. members by the World Congress. It is obvious that the International Executive Committee and consequently any working body of it had as its primary duty to defend the program of the Fourth International as adopted by the Congress until such time as a new congress could be called to change that program. Lebrun and Co. proposed that the slogan of unconditional defense, to begin with, be dropped and later even advocated a change to a position of outright defeatism in the USSR. They thus violated the program and decisions of the Congress by whose authority alone they hold positions on the I.E.C.

3. Aside from their programmatic violations, this majority of the resident I.E.C. completely abdicated any authority which it might have had immediately after the initiation of the discussion in the S.W.P. in the United States. Although having a majority in the resident I.E.C., they not only did not see to it that meetings were held and questions of international discipline or of international aid in moderating the struggle in the S.W.P. were taken up, but on the contrary, failed to respond when called to order by the administrative secretary of the committee whose selection they unanimously endorsed.

4. When the danger of split threatened in the S.W.P., they took sides with the splitters and joined them in the unheard-of proposition of allowing a group within the International to issue a public organ with a line of policy contrary to the principles of the Fourth International. This they did instead of acting responsibly as trustees of the International organization when they were requested on February 20th by I.E.C. members Crux, Fischer and Martel to join them in an attempt to moderate the tendency toward split. That was a final act of abdication of duty and responsibility on their part and made necessary emergency action on

the part of the sections of the Fourth International and all those within it loyal to its program.

5. It is important to mention that Lebrun and Co. represent absolutely nothing within the ranks of the Fourth International now. The authority of Trent and Anton rested upon the mandates given to them by the American section. The American section has since completely repudiated them by an overwhelming majority. The authority of Johnson rested upon the mandate given him by the British section but the British section in its organs and in all communications received condemnations of defeatism in the Soviet Union and continues to endorse the entire program of the Fourth International, including the position of unconditional defense of the USSR. Lebrun's authority rested upon the mandate given him by the World Congress as representative for the Latin-American sections. All of the Latin-American sections, to our knowledge, have expressed themselves in favor of maintaining the position of unconditional defense, that is, of remaining loyal to the decisions of the First World Congress, and to the principles of the Fourth International. Even his own section the Brazilian, in a letter mentioned in the Declaration declared itself ready, although a strong defeatist tendency exists within its ranks, to continue to advocate the slogan of unconditional defense until an international decision is reached. Thus all of the above-mentioned have become individuals without any authority in the ranks of the Fourth International. They represent nothing and nobody but themselves now that they have betrayed the trust placed in them by the last World Congress.

6. The Emergency Conference, because of the fact that a majority of the previous resident Executive Committee violated the principles and decisions of the Fourth International and have actually participated in helping to split the most important section of the Fourth International, considers justifiable the action of the United States, Canadian and Mexican sections in calling the Conference for the purpose of designating an authoritative and functioning Executive Committee to carry on the work of the International.

7. The Mexican, United States and Canadian sections together with the loyal members of the I.E.C. in calling an emergency congress to elect a new executive organ, acted as they were duty-bound to act in order to guard the Fourth International against disruption in the trying period of wars and social convulsions that we have now entered upon. Their action is to be commended as a service to the entire International and to the revolutionary vanguard of the working class of the whole world.

8. The composition of the Conference which includes the mandated representatives of the United States, Canadian, Mexican, Spanish, Belgian, Puerto Rican, Cuban, German, Australian, and Chilean sections, and has received statements from Argentina and Uruguay, is proof that our International is ready indeed to meet emergencies as they arise. Its unanimous decision to repudiate the splitters and to uphold the program of the Fourth International car-

rics with it the backing of every active section of the Fourth International. It therefore feels fully justified in placing <sup>the</sup> authority of the International in an executive committee elected by it, whose duty it shall be to speak in the name of the World Party of Socialist Revolution and to carry on its work with full power to act until such a time as a full congress of the Fourth International is once again made possible.

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#### RESOLUTION ON UNIFICATION OF THE BRITISH SECTION

Taking cognizance of the fact that all reports from England point to a rapid revolutionary development in the labor movement of that country, and

That a broad unorganized Trotskyist sentiment already exists within the latter's ranks, and

Furthermore that the British official section of the Fourth International, the Militant Labor League, has achieved substantial progress by its work inside the British Labor Party,

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International deplures the fact that no less than four groups claiming adherence to the Fourth International exist outside the ranks of our official section in Great Britain, and that tremendous efforts and useful energy are wasted in maintaining four separate organizations as well as publications outside of the organization - energy and material resources which could be of immense value to a unified British section - developing the already growing influence of Trotskyism in England into a powerful, united, organized revolutionary force.

The Conference calls upon the Revolutionary Workers League (R.W.L.), the Workers International League (W.I.L.), the League of Labor Youth (L.L.Y.) and all other groupings claiming adherence to the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky to realize the serious need of a single section of the Fourth International in Great Britain, to give up their separate organizations and to merge with the Militant Labor League into one powerful organization.

The Conference furthermore calls upon the Militant Labor League to make such organizational concessions to groups claiming adherence to the Fourth International as will help them find their way to a unified organization without giving up any of the principled positions and without contravening any of the decisions made by the First World Congress of the Fourth International.

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International hails the coming unified British section. It greets in it the vanguard in the struggle for the revolutionary socialist solution for the war: the overthrow of its rotten, decayed, imperialist bourgeoisie.

RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE IN THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

1. The recent split in the Socialist Workers Party, official section of the Fourth International in the United States, came as the result of an attempt by a petty-bourgeois minority to revise the fundamental program of the Fourth International upon unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and the refusal of this minority to abide by the decisions of the majority in the convention called to decide the issues in dispute.

2. In attempting to revise our program calling for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union without at the same time relating the proposed revision to the question of the class character of the Soviet Union, which the Fourth International has exhaustively analyzed as a degenerated Workers' State, the petty-bourgeois opposition was guilty of a fundamental revision of the methodology of Marxism. On the party of James Burnham, ideological leader of the group, this attempt at revisionism was extended to complete rejection of the basic principles of scientific socialism as first propounded by Marx and Engels and subsequently developed by Lenin and Trotsky.

3. The attempted revision of our fundamental principles was begun by the petty-bourgeois opposition immediately after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact and gained impetus with the outbreak of the second World War, thus clearly indicating that the force pushing the petty-bourgeois elements of the party into opposition to the Fourth International was the war pressure of the democratic bourgeoisie.

4. Not only did the petty-bourgeois opposition attempt to revise the fundamental principles and political conclusions of the Fourth International; it attempted also to revise Bolshevik organizational methods. The opposition participated in the April convention of the Socialist Workers Party, thus recognizing the authoritativeness and validity of the convention. Nevertheless it rejected the majority decisions and in flagrant violation of democratic centralism launched an independent press in order to appeal to the public in its attack against the Fourth International.

In view of the previous discussion which was conducted with the fullest democracy in accordance with the best traditions of Bolshevism, and in view of the guarantees for the minority to continue its factional existence, to present its views to the party in an Internal Bulletin even after the convention adjourned, and to hold posts in all the leading bodies regardless of the views of the members of the opposition and without penalty for their previous infractions of party discipline, this rejection of the convention decisions by the members of the opposition and their subsequent desertion from the party can be interpreted in no other way than as additional evidence of the petty-bourgeois character of the opposition.

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International endorses the action of the American section of the Fourth International in

suspending all those who violated the decisions of its April convention.

The Conference suggests to the N.C. of the S.W.P. that it set a definite time limit of one month after publication of Conference decisions within which the suspended members must signify their acceptance of the Convention decisions under penalty of unconditional expulsion from the party.

5. The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International views the struggle of the proletarian majority in the Socialist Workers Party as a struggle in defense of the program of the Fourth International from the heights of its Marxist theory right down to its Bolshevik organizational principles. The Emergency Conference calls upon all the sections of the Fourth International to solidarize themselves with the Socialist Workers Party in this struggle.\*

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#### RESOLUTION ON THE FRENCH SECTION

Having taken cognizance of the Political Report as well as the report on activity submitted by the central committee of the Committees of the Fourth International (French Section) the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International resolves:

1. To greet the French comrades and to assure them that every effort will be made henceforth to aid them in every possible way.
2. To commend them for their energetic work carried on heroically under illegal conditions.
3. In view of the political line expressed in the letters of Gilbert,
  - a) To condemn the Gilbert tendency of the central committee for its defeatist position with regard to the USSR and for its attempt to contravene the line of the first World Congress of the Fourth International in this respect.
  - b) To commend the Gilbert tendency for its organizational loyalty to the Fourth International as expressed in the comments of Gilbert regarding the factional struggle within the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.
  - c) To inform the French section that the democratic guarantees proposed in their Political Report for a solution of the struggle have been met by the convention of the S.W.P. held at the conclusion of a seven months' discussion and have been rejected by the splitters of the Shachtman-Burnham minority.
  - d) To request the Gilbert tendency to publicly disassociate itself from the splitters in the S.W.P.

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\*See correspondence with Workers Party on Pages 15, 16.



4. To inform the French Section of the circumstances surrounding the holding of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International and to inform it further that until such a time as a full-dress congress of the Fourth International is made feasible, the decisions of the first Congress, further confirmed by this Emergency Conference, are binding upon all sections.

5. To remind the French section that the American minority, completely supported by Gilbert in its defeatist position on the USSR, challenged the whole conception of Marxist politics and revealed itself as a centrist tendency; to advise the French Section that a continued pursuit of the line contained in the Gilbert letter can lead only to the same centrist swamp.

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CORRESPONDENCE WITH WORKERS PARTY

a. Letter from National Secretary of W.P.

Dear Comrade S.:

By decision of the Political Committee of the Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International, I am authorized to request you to inform us of the time, place, and agenda of the International Conference which the recent convention of the Socialist Workers Party in collaboration with the Canadian and Mexican Sections, decided to convoke.

The Workers Party, despite its views on the manner in which the contemplated conference was convoked, is desirous of sending delegates who can participate in the conference in what, in our view, are the best interests of the Fourth International.

Fraternally yours,

May, 1940

(Signed) M.S., Nat'l Sec'y.

c. Letter to Workers Party from Emergency Conference

Dear Comrades:

In reply to your letter of -- I have been instructed to convey to you the following resolution adopted by the conference:

RESOLUTION ON THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, organized on the initiative of the United States, Mexican and Canadian sections, is now in session. The following sections are represented by mandated delegates:

Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Cuba, Germany, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Spain, the United States, and the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition.

The Conference has received and considered the request of the Workers Party to participate in the Conference. On this point the Conference adopts the following regulations:

1. The Socialist Workers Party, United States Section of the Fourth International, is participating in the Conference by mandated representatives. It is the only organization in the United States entitled to voting rights.

2. If the Workers Party of the United States desires to participate in the Conference it may do so on the condition that it recognizes the authority of the Conference and agrees to accept its decisions. On that basis the Workers Party is invited to send fraternal delegates to the Conference.

On receipt of a declaration from the Workers Party that it accepts the above condition, its delegation will be notified of the time and the place of the next session of the Conference.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J.S.,  
Secretary of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International

May, 1940

ON THE SITUATION IN SPAIN AND THE TASKS OF THE BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS

Since the declaration of the war, the political work of the Spanish Bolsheviks has been almost completely suspended. All our comrades are scattered in the concentration camps, work brigades, with few working<sup>ing</sup> freedom. The possibilities of political contact among them are very rare. Each group must carry on independent work and discuss by itself those problems which arise. According to recent reports our comrades in different camps have been putting out bulletins written by hand containing discussion material on the war and on the POUM. The problem of the nature of the Soviet State and of the defense of the USSR has been discussed also wherever conditions have permitted. The reports indicate resolutions favoring the point of view of the Fourth International.

Despite this forced condition of political dispersement our comrades maintain continual personal contact among themselves and wherever a few Bolshevik-Leninists manage to reunite their immediate constitution into a political group gives them a superiority over whatever other political formations still exist. (POUM, anarchists, socialists). This has enabled us to win over at last some militants from the POUM. Contact between the Spanish and the French comrades is assured by one of our militants who acts as a directing and coordinating center.

This is certainly not an important balance, but it demonstrates at least the political homogeneity and the militant spirit of our comrades. The POUM with economic means and a much greater number of militants than we, has not been able to do anything better. Their militants have been completely abandoned and some scarcely maintain amicable relations. In regard to this same party, shortly after war was declared, it affiliated with the J.A.R.E., Indalecio Prieta's organization, under pretext of helping the refugees, which of course is a cover. They are giving effective support to Anglo-French imperialism. No official declaration of the POUM concerning the war is known. All information from our comrades is in agreement concerning a tendency among the party heads to consider the reestablishment of the monarchy in Spain as a favorable fact. Such a tendency leans, as in the socialists and Republicans, toward support of the Allied imperialisms which could gain by restoration. Thus, through its silence, if not through declarations, the POUM is very far from having adopted an internationalist position. The presence of Gorkin in the Congress of the American Socialist Party accentuates still more the tendency towards democratic imperialism.

In reality, all the political tendencies are non-existent among the refugees living in France. For the right of asylum, the Socialist and Anarchist leaders pay France with their support, the consideration of which makes them ever the object of the French government. In regard to the rank and file, the best militant fighters, who are still found in France in the majority, have been completely abandoned and this induces them to loan their services to the "democracies" in the brigades of forced labor. A part of the anarchist leaders, among them the former military heads, Garcia Olivar and Santillan, are trying to form a political party with all the charac-

teristics of the old reformist parties. The opposition encountered among their own bottom ranks has held back this effort. But Spanish anarchism is unmistakably headed toward an important split in which I consider it possible to win over to our tendency excellent revolutionary militants. On one side there will be the worker and revolutionist base of the CNT. The apolitical prejudices encountered in this section are mixed with a deep revolutionary spirit and the balance which they instinctively drew of the Spanish events is not as a whole favorable for the anarchist principles. In Mexico, Santo Domingo and France we have anarchist worker contacts who view our activities with the greatest sympathy, taking an interest in discussions with us and beginning to draw from their reflections on the Spanish experience revolutionary political conclusions. I consider it important to cite my personal experience in Mexico with a leader of the Anarchist Youth with whom I had discussed many times in Barcelona since the May days. His first words upon recognizing me in one of the Spanish refugee locals in Mexico was to recall our discussion in Spain: "I have thought many times about what you said then and I consider that you were completely correct," were his words. The anarchist principles have lost their hold on these comrades. His entering the Bolshevik camp is solely a question of time and of good work on our part. I consider that there is a serious perspective of gaining a considerable number of anarchist workers in the emigration.

Within Spain itself they have begun to reestablish contacts. Already we have connections with Madrid and Barcelona, for example, comrades who have been imprisoned or detained in the Franco concentration camps. In Madrid all the comrades who have not been detained have begun their activity again. They have contacts with the anarchists and are discussing with them, but their personal situation is very precarious. Being known in the majority, they are compelled to live under assumed names and it is impossible for them to find work. In Barcelona a young comrade is in danger of being condemned to death. He is of peasant origin and with excellent political qualifications. According to information from Comrade Carlini, who lived in Barcelona under the Franco regime for eight months, the demoralization of the proletariat is great and is accentuated still more by the miserable conditions, which are worse than during the war. But the spirit is evidently of passive hostility to the regime and in some regions such as Asturias and Andulasia, active hostility. This

passive hostility extends even among certain elements of the rural and urban petty-bourgeoisie. Proof of this is furnished by the fact that Comrade Carlini was able to make the trip from Barcelona to the French frontier on foot without money, asking hospitality from the peasants and directions in order to avoid the vigilance of the Civil Guard.

In the mountains of the provinces of Andulasia and Asturias numerous groups of armed men still exist who are hostile to the Civil Guard and who conduct audacious acts against fascist elements. I myself have seen a proclamation of the Franco authorities directed "To the fugitives in the mountains", inviting them to surrender and trust in the "clemency of the chief". It seems to be absolutely evi-

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dent that in some small villages all the able-bodied men are in the mountains and the authorities are powerless to break up the solidarity of the towns.

Although the regime of Franco encounters other difficulties in addition which it is not necessary to enumerate here, this does not mean to say that its near downfall should be expected. It is possible that the evolution of the European war will bring about the reestablishment of the monarchy, but as for this eventuality, as in that of the consolidation of the system of the Spanish Falange, everything permits us to hope that the Spanish proletariat will be capable of maintaining a strong illegal movement against Fascism. And for our part we must direct all our forces to help in the creation of active illegal nuclei of the Fourth International.

We have the essential basic factors necessary to accomplish this. Some capable militants have remained in Spain: excellent comrades are among the emigres. In addition, the Anarchist, Socialist and even Stalinist sectors are sufficiently accessible for arritical constructive work. The first state, which consists in the reuniting of the principal comrades in Mexico, is on the road to being realized. Upon ourselves, and the solidarity of the international organization depends the successful realization of the following stages. It is necessary to create a strong Bolshevick-Leninist movement among the emigres and to work out the ways of penetrating Spain. We need, as an immediate minimum, material aid which will permit us to sustain our regular weekly organ. We take upon ourselves the rest including our own economic maintenance.

It would be an error to underestimate the Spanish work because the Spanish revolution has been liquidated. The revolutionary spirit of the proletariat is living and Spain will be the country in which the illegal revolutionary struggle will acquire major intensity. On the other hand, an organization is not constituted hastily on the eve of the revolution, but only after a long period of successful struggles and experiences. We wish and we shall reestablish in Spain the tradition of the illegal revolutionary struggle of Bolshevism. The Spanish proletariat will sieze the first opportunity which presents itself in order to break the yoke of Franco. It is necessary that we hold ourselves in readiness and for that we need the initial aid of the International organization.

New York, April 27, 1940

G. Munis,  
Representative,  
Spanish Section of F.I.

ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT OF THE IKD

(International Communists of Germany, Section of the Fourth International)

The outbreak of the war made more difficult the close collaboration of the groups as well as the National Committee members of the I.K.D., who have refuge in several different countries. Reorganization was necessary. The administration and organizational direction was transferred to New York. The following report is intended to give information regarding the relations with the different groups and their position on the American faction fight which has made necessary this extraordinary conference.

All of the twenty comrades in France have been interned. Among them is N.C. member J . He has expressed himself against the position of Shachtman.

The group in Antwerp, Belgium, has until very recently functioned especially well. In its hands were entrusted the administration and production of Unser Wort, but this responsibility had to be given up after the arrest of H. They have adopted a majority resolution as against the Held (Oslo) resolution with which they are acquainted. Other comrades in Belgium and Holland are in close contact with the Antwerp group. They are fifteen comrades all told.

The London group previously counted four people, but has lately reported a recruitment of a whole batch of new young friends. Comrade M who corresponds with us in the name of this group has declared himself against the American minority.

The Scandinavian groups in Copenhagen, Stockholm, etc. have been in close contact with Oslo. N.C. member H is at present safe. The Oslo group is the only one in the IKD which, although retaining the position of unconditional defense of the U.S.S.R., adopted a position on the Finnish-Russian war to some extent comparable with the position of Shachtman. At the same time, Held in correspondence, has energetically opposed any split in the S.W.P. because of these differences and "for unity with the Cannon faction".

There are furthermore groups in the Argentine, Bolivia, and Mexico. Only the last-mentioned has declared itself on the American factional struggle, adopting a position along the lines of the majority. Our comrades in Switzerland work together with the Swiss section there.

In New York, the group has recruited a number of young friends with whom a systematic activity in other emigrant groups has been initiated. The majority of this group is for the position of the American majority.

seems to get on the nerves of the Germans themselves more and more. Here's an extraordinarily interesting symptom: The churches, Protestant as well as Catholic, have such over-flow crowds every Sunday that many are turned away, whereas the official Nazi meetings and affairs are attended rather sparsely.

"Through a woman comrade in S. who has just got through serving three years imprisonment, we have once again established connections with a number of our comrades in the prisons, above all in X. and Y. Our friends remain as before firmly with us and have even won new friends in the prisons."

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LETTER FROM COMRADES IN ARGENTINA (Excerpt)

"We have followed through the pages of the APPEAL and the NEW INTERNATIONAL and from the documents of the minority, the discussion that terminated in the April 5th congress. Even before the Congress took a position we translated the position of the majority on the USSR and gave it (in the form of typewritten copies) the greatest distribution among our comrades and sympathizers, because it seemed to us that it is one of the documents which has expressed with the greatest clarity and precision the position of the Fourth International on the USSR. All the comrades of this region (Rosario and Santa Fe) have followed step by step the discussion in all its consequences (the triumph of the majority and the ignoble behavior of the minority); they are all for the position of the majority....

With cordial greetings,

(Signed) M.P.

ROSARIO (Argentina).

June 7, 1940

Note: The above letter arrived from our comrades in Rosario and Santa Fe in the Argentine, as the Bulletin was going to press.

The publication of Unser Wort as a bi-monthly organ is assured. U.W., as well as the published pamphlet of H. David on the war, has greatly increased our influence in America. The Nazi victories in Czechoslovakia and Poland, Scandinavia and in the present war in Belgium and Holland, as well as the acute censorship in France and in the English colonies, have naturally curtailed the European circulation of Unser Wort considerably, but by no means prevented the paper from reaching into those countries.

We hope that our friends in the countries occupied by the Nazis will be able to overcome the present difficult situation. It is to be regretted that the International Labor Aid has not shown the necessary understanding and the required energy to help our comrades who are all tested militants, in avoiding this dangerous situation.

At the time of the seizure of power by Fascism, the German section had 1,000 members. Only 50 of them emigrated. In Germany itself there was at first close contact among the groups themselves as well as with the leadership abroad. Unser Wort had a comparatively broad circulation despite conditions of illegality. For several years now, however, regular connections with our comrades there as well as among the groups themselves have been disrupted. It must be assumed that half of the membership has withdrawn. At least 150 are under arrest.

From the others we have received up to the time of the outbreak of the war information that gave evidence that they are far from giving up the struggle, and that they are preparing themselves for the coming upsurge.

We have even heard from a comrade that at his place of work he has organized several former K.P.D. (Stalinist) members into a group. It is to be assumed that other comrades have found similar contacts.

Herewith is an interesting excerpt from a letter which we received last month from a member of the I.K.D.:

"Recently I received a rather lengthy report from my home in the Rhineland. According to this report feeling in all layers of the population is extremely depressing. The war of nerves



FRANCE -- POLITICAL REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SECTION

The Committee to the I.S.

Middle of March, 1940

The Situation in France

I. The spirit of the masses in France is best described as a general defeatism in all layers of the population, principally in the working class. The restrictions, the increasing misery, the dictatorship, oppressive measures - all this has contributed towards the development of an as yet inarticulate opposition, primitive but violent, against Daladier and his regime.

Already at the beginning of the war, we pointed out several movements in the factories, several mutinies at the front. Since then this state of affairs has developed considerably. Only the blind can fail to see the explosions which will come in the process of preparation. To be sure it is not a matter of a movement developing gradually, for each strike raises itself upon the shoulders of those preceding it, as was the case in June 1936. As these events are hardly being prepared we may expect movements which will break out violently, in the midst of chaos, uprisings, resulting in partial defeats and cruel experiences. Our task as the February conference pointed out, consists in preparing the cadres to intervene in the movements at the front as well as in the factories.

II. Within the working class the reformists have been deeply separated from the masses. They have only succeeded in reorganizing skeleton trades unions. In the Socialist Party, completely shaken up and in full flight of disintegration, oppositions are beginning to develop. On the other hand the Stalinists, after having suffered a severe blow from the Russo-German pact and the Finnish war, have regained considerable influence, mainly in the factories, because they appear as a symbol of the opposition. Undoubtedly there is a great deal of repugnance towards them among the soldiers at the front ("the Russo-German pact provoked the war".) It is also beyond all doubt that the Stalinist organization has been deeply disorganized particularly in the provinces but it has behind it today, popular sympathy.

The Committees of the Fourth International

III. III. Events have practically cleansed the vanguard of all anarchist and centrist groupings. Among the latter the PSOP has simply exploded under the pressure of its contradictions, of its lack of technical preparations, its pacifist and democratic illusions which it shared with the liberal bourgeoisie.

We tried in vain to save this party. The Free Mason leaders opposed all illegal work, at the same time as the "left center" had itself arrested at the very first chance. Today there remains practically nothing of the PSOP which has been reconstituted under the leadership of the Free Masons. But unfortunately the war surprised the Fourth Internationalists who were engaged in a deep crisis: the Bolshevik-Leninists were divided into several groups. Their former "leaders" were deeply demoralized. Difficulties were not lacking: the necessity of improvising, lack of material means, increasing misery in the country, lack of cadres due to mobilization, imprisonment, defections, political terror, etc.

Along with the lack of cadres we suffered from the heterogeneous character of our grouping: comrades coming from the JSOP, ex-POI, left and center of the PSOP, from the "old generation of Bolshevik-Leninists" as well as recently from the Communist Party.

Nevertheless we succeeded in reconstituting an organization numerically almost equal to the former POI - without counting our contacts at the front - a young but active and evermore homogeneous organization whose seriousness has been evidenced in the little action that government oppression has left us today.

Our literature appears regularly. The "Peuple" admits the increasing influence of the "Trotskyists". "Syndicats" polemicalizes with the illegal Bulletin of the Fourth International. Together with its valets, the bourgeoisie attacks us in its press, on the radio and in the Chamber (speech of Frossard). At the same time, the prefecture of police announces "general inquisition within Trotskyist circles".

Regarding the small dissident groups we have attempted to establish unity - particularly for reasons of morale. Unfortunately the ex-POI (the most numerous) pursues an adventurous policy. As to the "leaders" of the ex-POI, they are attempting to justify their total inactivity by discovering "differences" with us as to perspectives, that is to say, by making a whole theory out of skepticism, pessimism and abstention. Regarding them our February conference has been forced to specify our perspectives, our means of action in a document published in #6 of the Bulletin of the Fourth International, together with a text presented by the ex-POI. On this document we request the criticism of the International. In addition we want to point out that within the two dissident groups (mainly the ex-POI) there is developing a current in favor of our organization. Their most active militants circulate our material, work with us often and are pushing for affiliation with the Committees of the Fourth International.

## The Crisis in the S.W.P.

As can be seen the American crisis dominates the life of the International itself. The American comrades seem to consider the problems of the International and even of the war from the perspective of a crisis in the S.W.P. For us, on the other hand, the crisis in the S.W.P. must be resolved as a function of the general situation and as a task of the International.

But the comrades must understand that the problems discussed in America are being discussed also in the other countries: the perspectives of international capitalism and the possibility of development toward bureaucratic capitalism in particular, the nature of the Workers' State in the light of present events - and the strategy flowing therefrom. These problems are posed not by American psychology but by the events. They cannot be resolved either by instituting camps of reeducation for minorityites nor by splitting with the majority. A split in America (especially on such problems) would signify a catastrophe for the International, its discreditment, and undoubtedly its pulverization. We are neither a philosophical sect nor a faction, but, in its embryo, the international of the revolution.

The crisis must be resolved in a progressive sense by eliminating personal problems and references to Saprnov, in deepening the discussion opened by Trotsky in the USSR and the War, in developing it internationally by the workers' vanguard. The facts will tell.

That is why, independently of the position taken by the majority of our central committee on the Finnish question (see Bulletin #6) and the position taken by one or another side on the Russian question we insist urgently that, on one side or another, the unity of the party (which means International unity) must be safeguarded. We believe that this unity can be achieved on the following bases:

- Continuation of the theoretical discussion publicly:
- Democratic rights to the minority (in the leading bodies, free expression, etc.)
- Respect in action for majority discipline and democratic centralism.

In case agreement is not possible we demand that no splitting measure be taken before a world conference is called in six months.

## For a World Conference

Even aside from the crisis of the S.W.P., a world conference would be very important in the present circumstances, in order to conclude the discussion on world perspectives, to put a period to it, to confront it with the results of experiences and - since events will certainly have developed substantially - to arm the International for the struggle to come.

The congress could become an important factor in revolutionary regroupment. You can tell better than we can to what extent such a congress can be organized in common or with the participation of other organizations, such as the groups of the left wing of the POI (in contact with Oslo). If from here the circumstances appear favorable, wide latitude may be left to the organizing committee to enlarge a part of the congress and to meet there representatives of Communist, Syndicalist, colonial organizations, etc., ready to struggle with us against imperialism.

In any case, there will probably be a great international repercussion. We know full well the immense difficulties. We propose to surmount them by taking the necessary measures for political and material preparation (six months, nine months; a year if necessary).

### Conclusions

Aside from the problem of the S.W.P. we therefore make the following proposals:

1. In America effective support of the European comrades. We do not ask for material aid from the "\$6,000 war chest". We ask that the American press follow our struggle and support it.
2. The I.S. - Break with routine. Organize actively and responsibly the contacts, follow and guide our political struggle, a comrade of the I.S. being specialized for relations with France.
3. In Europe to approve the establishment of a European committee and to aid us in realizing this.
4. World Congress - to decide for it and to prepare it.