

April 1962

The Extraordinary Conference of the IV International, held under the leadership of the Latin American Bureau (BLA), hereby addresses this appeal to all the International's Bolshevik militants and cadres in Europe, Asia and Africa. At the moment of doing this, we have also taken the historic step of assuming the provisional leadership of the International.

This Extraordinary Conference with agreed resolutions - under BLA leadership - had acquired the character of an urgent and imperious necessity for the very life and continuity of International. What happened was that we had reached a critical stage in the process of the decomposition of a sector of the International's leadership. The latter had become conservative and sceptical, demoralised and vacillating. Crushed by the pressure of world events, it was now paralysing criminally the life and activity of the International. This was the critical point in the growth crisis of the International. It had become therefore historically urgent and concretely necessary to take measures so as to unblock the way for the overcoming of this growth crisis. This was in order to enable the International to develop on a world scale, and to fuse with new and growing trends: those in the colonial revolution, those in the political revolution in the workers states, and those in the world revolution. Such have been the aims of this Extraordinary Conference of the IV International, held under the leadership of the Latin American Bureau.

### VIOLATIONS OF THE 6TH WORLD CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

The resolution of the 6th World Congress had decided to integrate a "Colonial Majority" (i.e. a majority of members from the Colonial countries) into the International Secretariat. But the sector of leadership that had become conservative, capitulationist and liquidationist - made up of Germain, Franck, Livio Maitan, Pablo, Sal, Edouard and Renée - violated this resolution bureaucratically, effectively paralysing the leadership of the International. At the 6th World Congress and in opposition to the capitulationists, the BLA-led Latin American delegation had defended the strategy of concentrating the main forces of the International in the field of the colonial revolution. Congress had approved with this strategic concept, and in order to get on with it dynamically, it had set up an International Executive Committee with a "colonial majority" on it.

During a whole year, the above mentioned sector of the International leadership did little to try and integrate this "colonial majority". It decided instead to maintain the leadership as it had been before, where the 'colonials' were in the minority. This is the way in which the resolution of the 6th World Congress was violated and this, by bureaucratic manoeuvres, where Pablo joined in. His "open letter" of March 1962 where he said that the 'colonial' delegates would be represented ... in a future International leadership, bears witness of this.

Busy usurping the so-called 'majority' in the International's leadership, this capitulationist and liquidationist group completely paralysed the political life of the International. Whilst our movement had never known such favourable conditions in its history, this group hindered its

development and made even worse the growth crisis the International had been undergoing since its 6th World Congress.

### THE LATIN AMERICAN BUREAU ASSUMES THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL

As this sector of the International leadership was producing only silence about the fundamental world problems, the BLA had to bring out its own pronouncements, keeping alive the International's directives, and taking the resolutions necessary to maintain and continue action.

The BLA adopted resolutions on key questions, such as:

- The Evian Accords between the RPGA (Revolutionary Provisional Government in Algeria) and France
- The Sino-Soviet Disagreement
- Atomic War and the USSR's Nuclear Tests
- The Threats of Yankee Imperialism against the Cuban Workers State
- Escalante's Expulsion from the Chilean Communist Party
- The 22nd Congress of the CPSU (Communist Party )

In each case, the BLA maintained the International's revolutionary concepts of Marxism. This liquidationist group prevented the International from intervening on the fundamental issues; and when it acted, it was in the most evident spirit of capitulation – as in the case of the 22nd Congress (mentioned above). It abandoned the intransigent line of the revolutionary struggle to bring down imperialism in the course of a process of the final settlement of accounts, inevitably to be accomplished through the atomic war, followed by the world triumph of the proletarian revolution. The capitulationists advanced the positions they had already hinted at in the 6th World Congress, like what they termed the 'nuclear holocaust' or the condemnation of the USSR's nuclear tests. Pablo went as far as to publicly oppose the right of the Workers States to organise their own defence against imperialism that was preparing for atomic war.

One of the main themes raised by the Extraordinary Conference was: the Bolshevik of today is the one who gets ready for the final settlement of accounts capitalism throws up by means of its atomic war against the world socialist revolution and the Workers States. The group made up of Germain, Franck and Pablo entirely caved-in on this fundamental point. It took on board the sense of panic that gripped petty bourgeois public opinion when war loomed. This group denied the USSR its right, as a Workers State, to make its own nuclear tests and shore up its defences against atomic war – denying, of course, the right of the Workers State to attack imperialism first.

On this capital matter of changing the international balance of forces, the Extraordinary Conference approved unanimously the Resolution on International Policy and a Manifesto of the First of May, which clearly outline the strategy of the IV International in the face of nuclear war.

The capitulationists felt disheartened by unrolling events and gutted by the perspective of a final settlement of accounts. They had lost confidence in the Communist future. They abandoned the

Bolshevik principles on the plane of organisation, where they started developing a hybrid and eclectic concept regarding the organisation of the Party, and that of militant life.

This group then sought an ally in the old Ceylonese section of the International – section which had been separated in Ceylon from the International, for the support it had given to the Bandaranaike's bourgeois government. Today, this group acknowledges that small are the divergences between it and the SWP (Socialist Workers Party of the United States) - an organisation that has nothing to do with Trotskyism, or even with Marxism. The capitulationists are the same who quite paralysed the International leadership when they decreed "the dissolution of the BLA", even though the BLA had been the most active and mature of our organisation, the most conscious part even. Having cast off from the International Executive Committee the comrades Luis, Ortiz, Lucero and Miranda, they went on to recognise as a section of the International the Germain's group who had betrayed the heroic Belgian strike (General Strike of 1960-1961)! We do not consider that there is any such thing as a section of the IV International in Belgium!

The matter of the Bolshevik conception of the Party had been at the centre of the divergences during the 6th World Congress. We must build Bolshevik sections in Belgium and in Europe. We must build a Bolshevik International in Europe, in Asia and in Africa: the IV International. It is urgent to take on this historic task. The precipitation of events and the rise of the world revolution demand it.

TODAY, THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD IS TROTSKYIST

Comrades,

The colonial masses are either already triumphant, or they are preparing to triumph and make new Workers States. Millions of exploited people are joining revolutionary action in a profound spirit of victory. In the Workers States - starting with the USSR - immense forces are feeding the expansion of political revolution; and the latter, together with the forces of the colonial revolution, are leaving their marks – and will leave even more - in the arena of the metropolitan countries of Europe and in the United States. Effects of this can already be felt strong and vigorous in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain.

In one way or the other, Trotskyism is present in each of these processes. The masses clamour for the organised activity of the IV International because they require it more and more. And it is in such a situation that the capitulators and liquidationists choose to relay back to our movement the petty bourgeois, and bourgeois, feeling of atomic terror! The ideological and political line they favour cannot be reconciled with that of the International. On top of being incapable of displaying continuity in thought or action, they adopt an arrogant attitude which underscores their contempt for the revolutionary mass movement in the backward countries. Such is the sense of Pablo's "open letter" about which the Extraordinary Conference passed a special resolution. The same conclusion goes for their decision to dissolve the BLA and suspend from the International's leadership the cadres of the 'colonial minority', cadres who always fought to keep the International alive and running.

Those who cannot accept the building of true Bolshevik parties and will not organise their lives around Bolshevik notions, find each other dumped by the road side. This is an animated and dynamic stage in the process of the world permanent revolution. The revolutionary leaderships and cadres who understand politically but who cannot organise the action of the masses or fuse with them, cannot have any concrete support: they stand on sand and will surely fall.

### IMPULSION AND FORCE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

This Extraordinary Conference of the IV International, realised under the leadership of the BLA, took the historic resolution to set itself up as the International's provisional leadership - up until the Extraordinary World Congress that it will soon call for. Our Conference is profoundly convinced that this decision corresponds to an objective reading of the world process and to the necessity of guaranteeing the continuity of the IV International.

The Extraordinary Conference supports itself on our movement in Latin America, movement that gains daily more positions and forces because it coincides with the revolutionary masses. During the last few months, there have been important advances made in Peru, Argentina and Chile. In Brazil, in Uruguay, Mexico and Cuba, Trotskyism has known an important development and in the Dominican Republic, the bases for a section have been put in place.

We have no doubt that by audacious and resolute action to organise the activity of the working class in Asia, Africa and Europe; an action grounded both in theoretical and political consciousness and tempered by the will to struggle for power, the International will soon have the ability to share with, or lead, other tendencies of the mass revolutionary process; thus merging with the most forward, the most politicised and those most decided to advance.

Comrades, it is with conviction in mind that we have decided to maintain live and dynamic the action of the International. We do no more in this than continue the struggle we conducted since our origins in the cause of the Bolshevik development and maturing of the International. The way to overcome our growth crisis is to fuse with the mass movement in each country by positioning resolutely the best of our forces in the process of the colonial revolution. Latin America is an obvious place as epicentre of world colonial revolution and where we can put ourselves at the head of the masses and of the revolution.

### CONVOCATION TO THE 7TH WORLD CONGRESS

It is with this conviction in mind that we are going to call an Extraordinary World Congress. It will be open to the cadres of all the sections of the International. In launching this appeal, we mean to encourage all the cadres and militants of the IV International in Europe, in Asia and Africa, to increase the revolutionary and militant action of the International on those continents.

We encourage them to do battle against the liquidationists in preparation for their participation in this World Congress. It is necessary to come out in support of a firm resolution in support of the invincible thrust of the IV International, the Latin American Trotskyist movement, the BLA and the provisional leadership of the International.

The latter is determined to put an end to the crisis of growth by bringing new blood into the leadership of the International with the resolutions of the 6th World Congress following those from this Extraordinary Conference. This Extraordinary Conference opens up a new stage: that of the impulsion of the development of the IV International on a world scale.

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Extraordinary Conference of the Fourth International.