

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

BROAD ANTI-CAPITALIST PARTIES



WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

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Broad Anti-Capitalist Parties: TACTIC OR STRATEGY?

BY ALEJANDRO BODART

The rise of the far right and the rejection it provokes among broad layers of the population, combined with the deepening crisis of so-called “progressive” variants and the weakness of revolutionary forces, has led to a rekindling of broad anti-capitalist expressions in several countries. This, in turn, re-opens the debate on how revolutionaries should act toward these kinds of formations.

This new issue of *Permanent Revolution* is dedicated to analyzing some of these experiences and providing a framework for correct intervention — with the best tactics and orientations to strengthen our strategy: the national and international construction of strong revolutionary parties.

Around a decade ago, one of the “broad anti-capitalist” organizations that generated the highest expectations was Syriza in Greece. It ended up collapsing once it took office and betrayed the people’s mandate. At that time, there were endless debates over whether it was legitimate for revolutionary organizations linked to Trotskyism to participate in such experiences and, if so, what the objectives and limits should be, and how those organizations should act internally. It is essential to draw the best lessons from this and similar processes that emerged in the new century in order to define our orientation today and in the future.

The origins of these parties are diverse, but they share some common features: they emerge to the left of social democracy or the traditional center-left, and in some cases, from Stalinist Communist parties. They generally arise in periods of crisis and social upheaval, with a radical reformist program that questions the capitalist system without proposing to overthrow it, but rather to reform it. For some time, they often manage to attract considerable sectors of activism and influence broad layers of the masses.

In addition to the Greek left coalition, we have seen in recent years the rise and subsequent collapse of several similar experiences — like Podemos in Spain, the Left Bloc in Portugal, and the New Anticapitalist Party (NPA) in France, to name a few.

In Brazil, we participated in the correct decision to found Socialism and Freedom Party (PSOL) when Workers' Party (PT) fully crossed over to the bourgeois camp. But now, years later, we are witnessing PSOL's accelerated adaptation to Lula's new capitalist government.

Organizations once thought finished are also coming back to life. Such as Die Linke in Germany, which attracts a new wave of youth as part of the growing polarization between the left and the rising neo-fascist expressions.

In New York, Zohran Mamdani and the mass mobilizations across the U.S. against Trump may help revitalize the DSA, the left organization that operates within the Democratic Party.

Following the split and call to build one by major figures from Labour, there is a possibility for a new broad party to emerge in the United Kingdom. This process could finally begin to overcome the historic obstacle that the Labour Party has represented for the political development of the British working class.

The Workers Left Front Unity (FITU) in Argentina, due to its program and composition, stands out as something different. It has earned and kept considerable space among workers and youth for several years, but it has yet to evolve from a solely electoral front into a *Party with Tendencies*.¹ This limitation prevents it from breaking its self-imposed ceiling, advancing to organize tens of thousands and becoming a real alternative capable of contending for power.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

First, we must accept that there is no single recipe that can be applied in all circumstances. Our strategy is to build a revolutionary party and to advance the organization and mobilization of the working class until the bourgeoisie is overthrown and a workers' government is established. To achieve this, we must be open to all kinds of initiatives and tactics that allow us to move toward those goals, and reject whatever distances us from them.

Each case must be discussed specifically, defining our orientation based on the particular situ-

ation of class struggle, the scope and nature of the mass process taking place, and the strength of our own forces to carry out one tactic or another.

We reject both the orientation of currents that have made Broad Anti-Capitalist Parties their permanent strategy, and of those that always reject participating in such experiences as a matter of principle.

The former — such as the United Secretariat (USec) — have fetishized broad parties, abandoning or indefinitely postponing the construction of revolutionary parties. Skeptical of the possibility of confronting bourgeois power, they no longer see the need to build Leninist parties.

The latter, including many organizations claiming to be Trotskyist, suffer from the old infantile disorder described by Lenin: they refuse to adopt tactics which, when properly applied at certain moments, can be extremely useful in winning the best activists from reformism and building our own parties.

For revolutionaries, our participation in such parties must always be a tactical question. And if we do participate, we must never lose sight that our involvement has an expiration date: after a certain period of growth — which may be positive — the class character of the leadership and the reformist program of these organizations inevitably lead them to adapt to the bourgeois order. This process accelerates as the possibility of reaching the government increases.

A fundamental condition, if we decide tactically to enter such parties, is to never lose our political and organizational independence. Our objective must be to organize militants around our current, to fight every necessary battle against the reformist leadership's course, and to be prepared to leave when necessary.

Syriza, for example, during its rise, succeeded in bringing together the best of the mass movement. At that time, it was valid to adopt a tactic aimed at building a revolutionary current within it. The error of those revolutionary tendencies that did so was not initially being part of it, but rather abandoning their political independence and tailing Tsipras and his reformist majority. On the contrary, those who merely denounced Syriza instead of intervening, remained irrelevant and deepened their marginality.

PSOL and the NPA shared a particular feature: both were initiated by Trotskyist forces. It was correct to participate in those experiences. For some time it contributed to considerable political and

organizational advances. Unfortunately, the mistaken orientations later adopted by their leaderships caused both processes to go backward.

The original PSOL leadership gradually opened the door to reformist currents in order to “expand the party’s electoral reach.” In the end, reformists became the majority and imposed a capitulatory course toward Lula’s capitalist government. United Socialist Workers’ Party (PSTU), which stayed out of the process from the start, has gone from one crisis to another precisely because of its sectarian policy toward a phenomenon that had politically organized broad layers of the masses. It remains to be seen whether, after its latest split, the International Workers League – Fourth International (LIT-CI) will truly change — not by turning back to PSOL, which is losing its way, but by becoming part of a new regroupment of revolutionaries.

The French Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) took the initiative to found the NPA, but made the mistake of dissolving, and after its first electoral setbacks, it shifted toward an increasingly reformist policy. This led to divisions and loss of militants, until the party finally imploded.

Making a balance sheet of all these experiences, and deeply analyzing those that still exist, is essential to draw useful conclusions for acting in similar future situations.

The break with the Labour Party led by Corbyn

and Zultana in the UK, and their call to build a new party, would represent a major opportunity for British revolutionaries—provided they avoid infantile sectarianism and senile opportunism, and are able to apply a bold tactic without losing sight of strategy.

FIT-U is an extraordinary tool, but it stands at a crossroads: either it moves forward, breaks with its electoralist orientation imposed by PTS–Trotskyist Fraction, and becomes a unified party with democratic functioning centered on intervention in the class struggle and the organization of the hundreds of thousands who follow us; or its current stagnation will inevitably lead to a retreat.

The articles on Argentina, Brazil, the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and France in this new issue of *Permanent Revolution* aim to help better understand what is happening today, and debate with left-wing activists and beyond—on how to seize the opportunities before us.

Finally, this issue includes a special section on Palestine, to interpret the meaning of Trump’s deceitful “peace deal”, and to continue promoting solidarity mobilization and our proposals for a free Palestine, from the river to the sea, and a socialist Middle East. 

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1. A united party in which the parties that currently make up the front, or others, maintain their own organizational structure as internal tendencies.

Toward the Third ISL World Congress

Scheduled for the first half of December, the Congress will take place amid rising inter-imperialist tensions, regional conflicts, and deepening social polarization. In this scenario, key processes stand out — like the Palestinian struggle, which has sparked an immense wave of global solidarity, and the resistance of the Ukrainian people against Russia’s imperialist invasion, now nearing its fourth year.

The ISL approaches this Congress with significant growth: new sections in Europe and the United States, along with a stronger presence in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. This Congress will therefore reflect broader and qualitatively stronger representation, with delegations from countries across all five continents.

Most importantly, the Third Congress will

embody the coming together of diverse revolutionary traditions — a genuine step forward that proves revolutionary unity is not only necessary but possible.

This milestone will strengthen a renewed call to regroup forces to confront a decaying system. The ISL advances with the conviction that the deep global transformations underway demand an International capable of bringing together different experiences and forging a new tradition — one that rises above those currents now going through crises and divisions for failing to grasp this historical moment, the challenges of our era, and the tasks required to face emerging developments.

As always, the next issue of *Permanent Revolution* will present the main discussions and conclusions reached during this significant event. 

What Is the Strategy for the **LEFT FRONT?**



BY SERGIO GARCÍA

The speed at which changes and political turns unfold in Argentina are often surprising—this is no exception. Let's begin with a brief overview of the events, twists and turns that have defined President Milei's era so far.

It has been almost two years since Javier Milei took office. He defeated traditional political forces amid the people's exhaustion with successive austerity governments, including Peronist administrations. Riding an initial wave of high popularity, he sought to build a political framework that could allow him to carry out deep structural changes in favor of the pro-imperialist economic powers, sustained by an authoritarian and repressive regime that imposed deeply unpopular economic and social measures. In 2024 he achieved partial advances, thanks to the support of imperialism and of the

majority of the bourgeois opposition in Congress, which facilitated his legislative projects, while the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy allowed the austerity plan to pass without serious resistance.

At the beginning of 2025, everything began to unravel. Within a short time, the entire political edifice started to wobble like a house of cards. For several months, Argentina went through a political situation that exposed the decomposition of the Milei regime, marked by the convergence of three crises—economic, political, and social—that together placed the government in its weakest moment. A majority of the population was already having a hard time, with depressed wages; growing evidence of corruption scandals involving the president, his sister, and his main Buenos Aires candidate's ties to drug trafficking came to light; and there was a social response in the streets that won partial victories against austerity—most notably by healthcare and university workers, two social sectors that a

vast majority of society strongly defends but that Milei had believed he could crush.

The crisis of the ruling bloc became evident in September, when Milei suffered a clear electoral defeat in the strategic province of Buenos Aires. Alongside his political deterioration, loss of popularity, and steadily worsening poll numbers, his legislative allies began to desert him, and he started losing crucial votes in Congress.

The deepening crisis forced Trump to step in to rescue him before the entire situation collapsed. What followed was an unprecedented level of subordination to the United States: Washington now dictates Argentina's economic measures, announces them publicly, and intervenes directly in the country's financial markets. The U.S. offered millions to Milei, on the condition that he win the elections—a qualitative leap in the loss of national sovereignty, entailing new debt and expanded U.S. business interests in Argentina, which will only worsen the critical situation of an artificially sustained economy.

In this critical context, the national elections held on October 26 marked a new turning point. Against all the predictions of the bourgeois media, private consulting firms, and pollsters—surprising both the government and Peronism—an unexpected shift occurred: Milei secured a national victory, winning in fifteen provinces, including the strategic province of Buenos Aires where he had lost just a month earlier. He obtained 40% of the national vote, thereby achieving a significant increase in his bloc of Congress deputies and senators.

MOTIVES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE LIBERTARIAN VICTORY

Milei's victory changes the prevailing trends and opens a new political situation. He has managed to reinvigorate his administration, with U.S. backing and by capitalizing on the deep exhaustion of Peronism and other opposition forces incapable of winning or gaining genuine social support—which they clearly lack. Milei's win stems, among other reasons, from the ongoing crisis of the regime's main parties, especially Peronism, which has reached its limit. Amid widespread disillusionment, a significant layer of society shifted to the right, while another—torn between choosing “U.S. support or chaos”—opted, with false hopes and political backwardness, to believe that this government might bring some stability.

Now Milei is relaunching his reactionary agenda: a slave-like labor reform, a pension reform raising the retirement age to 70, a tax reform for the wealthy to pay less, and a judicial reform to persecute and punish the poor and any who fight back. He relies on his electoral victory, imperialist and bourgeois support, the destructive role of the opposition and the union bureaucracy, and the current lack of mass upheaval in the streets. He has a few months to attempt an advance.

This complex scenario cannot be underestimated, but it also contains counteracting factors that will make governing far from easy. These elections saw the lowest voter turnout since the return of democracy in 1983—32% of the population abstained, fed up with all parties. This means that, while Milei has significant social backing, it amounts to slightly under 30% of the population—a large minority, but not a majority.

Amid his offensive, two aspects of reality will assert themselves: millions who live in poverty and hate the government will maintain their social discontent, which could spark new waves of struggle—processes that we seek to strengthen and coordinate from below. Combined with a fragile and unstable economic plan, falling production and consumption, scarce dollar reserves, and enormous pressure from external debt payments due in 2026, the outlook is far from stable. The government has scored a point and will try to take advantage of it, but the overall situation points toward new conflicts and class-struggle dynamics that will inevitably set limits on its advance.

THE SPACE OF THE LEFT FRONT AND ITS LIMITS

Over recent years, a political space to the left has consolidated around the Workers Left Front Unity (FITU), an electoral coalition uniting several parties, including our Socialist Workers' Movement (MST) as part of the International Socialist League (ISL). The existence of a united left front on the electoral terrain is a strategic foothold for political struggles and for winning parliamentary seats for the anti-capitalist left. The capitalist regime has been unable to eliminate the presence of the socialist and anti-capitalist left in the national and provincial legislatures. We use these positions to support struggles and to put forward alternative proposals to those of the system's parties.

In the most recent elections, the FIT-U obtained 4% of the national vote—around one mil-

lion votes—and three national deputies, two of them MST comrades: Ana Paredes Landman from Buenos Aires and Cele Fierro from the Capital. This result confirms the positive fact that the FITU has managed to resist polarization and maintain its political-electoral presence. It is an important base, though at the same time it seems to have reached its ceiling, as it has not yet achieved a qualitative leap forward.

The FITU's current configuration reflects a dual reality: it demonstrates consolidated electoral value, yet it has not transcended that limit. Its inability to advance qualitatively—either electorally or through unified intervention in the class struggle—stems from the limitations of its electoral front format, which obstructs higher, non-electoral objectives.



Javier Milei and his sister, Karina Milei.

Breaking through these electoral limits and achieving a qualitative transformation is crucial. The front has stagnated, and this hinders the ability to win over larger working-class sectors from Peronism, which is trying to reinvent itself to prevent its base from moving leftward. It is urgent to change course so that the FITU does not fall victim to the law of “what fails to advance inevitably retreats”. Failing to move forward is even more dangerous given the global and national perspectives: a future of sharper political and social polarization, crises, and new turning points.

The parties that make up the FITU alongside the MST are: the PTS–Trotskyist Fraction, which holds positions marked by a blend of electoralism, sectarianism, and opportunism; the Partido Obrero (PO), a national-Trotskyist current with a closed, sectarian logic; and Izquierda Socialista–UIT-CI, characterized by rigid dogmatism and weaker implantation. All these organizations come from Trotskyist origins, yet in recent years none have proposed a way to move beyond the current stage of a merely electoral front—a serious political mistake that reflects parliamentary comfort and strategic mistakes.

We work in unity with them on the basis of political agreements wherever possible, while being fully aware of major strategic and political differences. The fact that only the MST has consistently proposed to advance beyond the electoral front format and confront the electoralism that weakens us is clear proof of the other forces' misguided strategies.

These differences also reflect an international problem, which is visible where their respective tendencies operate. A clear example is France, where the PTS's sister organization *Révolution Permanente* weakened the unity of the anti-capitalist and socialist left by choosing to separate from the left wing of the NPA and later refusing to consider a possible convergence with NPA–Revolutionaries. Behind these political errors lie deep theoretical debates. The PTS has increasingly adapted to political conceptions—some influenced by Gramscian ideas—focused on accumulating superstructural positions as an end in itself, given their inability to build something greater.

This conception, in our view, is incorrect and deeply questionable. While Gramsci's formulations made sense in his historical context and incarcerated under fascism, today such an approach is harmful—it disarms revolutionaries, preventing them from taking leaps forward, seizing opportunities, and carrying out bold policies to win over sectors of the masses amid great social and political crises.

ONGOING DEBATES: COMMON PARTY OF THE FITU, WORKERS' PARTY – WHERE TO BEGIN?

Within the current FITU, the PTS has recently shifted its position and has now made public its proposal to form a Workers' Party. It does so, however, at a moment when no independent workers' currents outside the FITU are calling for such a path, which makes the proposal difficult to put into practice. For a Workers' Party to emerge, there needs to be some intention from a significant independent working class sector, such as a trade union current that—while not necessarily anti-capitalist or socialist—aims to build political organization and take a step away from bourgeois forces. In countries where such a process is possible, it is correct and positive to have a policy to help it advance. But that is not currently the case in Argentina, where no independent working class sector is taking such an initiative.

We value the fact that new proposals are emerging and want to discuss with the PTS the need to advance toward a Broad Workers' Party. It is

positive to exchange ideas around this necessity. The key question, however, is how they envision such a proposal being carried out now, and through what steps. We invite them to link this debate with our own proposal, which aims at the same goal but has the advantage of being immediately feasible—if we can reach an agreement. The parties that make up the FITU are socialist and working class organizations; the front includes class-struggle currents that could play a key role in the initial steps toward a Great Revolutionary Workers' Party, with Trotskyism playing a leading role.

FOR A PARTY WITH FREEDOM OF TENDENCIES

From the MST, we are putting forward a proposal that can be implemented right now within the Left Front. Revolutionaries are serious and concrete, as is the working class. Therefore, we propose to our comrades in the PTS and to all who are part of the FITU that we convene and organize meetings to take the first steps toward forming a common party among those who make up the front.

This would not run counter to the proposal for a Workers' Party—on the contrary, it would be a leap forward in that direction. We are all workers' and socialist currents. A broader political unity would inspire anti-bureaucratic sectors and social activists. It would also provide a foundation so that, as new currents begin to take steps toward political organization, we would not be starting from scratch, but rather from the accumulated experience of the FITU—always open to incorporating new, progressive, working-class and class-struggle currents.

From the MST within the FITU, we insist that the very limited electoral front structure must be surpassed. We propose that the parties of the front build a common party of tendencies, composed of internal currents organized democratically—an organization that acts through political agreements and a democratic functioning, where positions are decided according to the real balance of forces on each issue, and where no one loses their identity or freedom to express their ideas.

A common party should collectively debate how to intervene in political events and the class struggle, and fight for leadership in the labor and student movements. It should challenge the bureaucracies and the regime's parties in every arena.

We also propose that, based on the anti-capitalist and socialist program of our front, we call on and incorporate anti-bureaucratic leaders, left-wing

intellectuals, social movement figures, independent individuals, workers, and young people who vote for or have participated in FITU electoral lists. We must open up channels for active participation and real political functioning, enabling collective intervention in all aspects of political and class struggle. We can build on our existing agreements while debating nuances and differences in the view of the working class and youth.

We stand at a crossroads: either the FITU adopts a revolutionary strategy capable of politically organizing thousands, or it will suffer the consequences of failing to do so—stagnation and decline. We therefore call for the FITU to convene a Great Congress or Open Assembly, a mass event of thousands of members and sympathizers. This is urgently needed. No more formality, electoralism, and sectarian closure. Let us mobilize thousands by taking a first collective step and organize a great united event.



In an anti-capitalist and socialist strategy, we cannot confine ourselves to the partial, electoral terrain, which is dominated by our class enemies. We must launch something new—a revolutionary policy for the FITU to become a useful tool and vehicle for a strategy that contributes to the struggle for political power, by promoting the mobilization of the working class, the people, and the youth for a government of the workers and the left.

The MST is waging this political struggle toward that goal. We invite everyone to join us in strengthening this indispensable political orientation in the face of the coming social and political upheavals. ✊

PSOL: Assessment and Perspectives for **REVOLUTIONARY** **REGROUPMENT** in Brazil



BY VERÓNICA O'KELLY

Why was the original project co-opted by reformism? What were the mistakes—and above all, could it have been different? In this new situation, which are the tasks that lie ahead for those of us who continue to uphold class independence? A key question arises with the growing adaptation of Socialism and Freedom Party (PSOL) to Lula-Alckmin government, the internal currents that defend class independence—such as Socialist Left Movement (MES)—and the new crisis of United Socialist Workers' Party (PSTU): is it possible to begin a revolutionary regroupment process in Brazil?

AN EXPERIENCE THAT MARKED AN ERA

The Socialism and Freedom Party (PSOL) was, without a doubt, one of the most important experiences of the Brazilian left over the past

two decades. Founded in 2004, it emerged as a necessary and progressive response to the Workers' Party (PT) betrayal: once in government, PT turned its back on its social base and integrated itself fully into the bourgeois democratic

regime. Founding PSOL was a correct decision by the most radical sectors—a unitary attempt to build a left political alternative to PT.

Since then, our current, together with other groups and activists from multiple traditions, joined this space, shaping a broad party with tendencies capable of linking electoral struggle with social mobilization. Two decades later, this experience has reached a turning point. PSOL is undergoing a deep process of adaptation to the bourgeois democratic regime. What began as an anti-capitalist break from PT reformism has quickly turned into a party that is benefiting the very regime it once claimed to fight against. Understanding how this process unfolded—and, above all, what tasks arise for those of us who continue to fight for class independence—is an urgent task for the entire revolutionary left.

FROM A BREAKAWAY PARTY TO A PARTY OF THE REGIME

Unlike PT in its early years, PSOL did not emerge from a mass uprising or a process of class struggle. Its origin shaped one of its particular structural aspects: being an electoral party with internal tendencies competing for control of its apparatus. Although there were attempts to overcome this, its structure consolidated, turning PSOL into a stable electoral front with an increasingly vertical and bureaucratic functioning.

There are plenty of examples. Sônia Guajajara, Minister of Indigenous Peoples, is a federal deputy for PSOL. The party's parliamentary bloc systematically votes in favor of the Lula-Alckmin government, even on initiatives that directly harm the working class—such as the tax reform or disguised austerity projects. At the same time, PSOL manages millions in state funds but does not allocate them toward building a revolutionary tool, reinforcing its dependence on the bourgeois apparatus. This adaptation to the regime deepened further in September 2025, when the National Conference approved a new program, effectively burying the founding text that had defined the party's anti-capitalist character.

Guilherme Boulos, the party's most prominent public reference, has recently joined the Lula-Alckmin government as the Presidency

General Secretariat. This marks a new stage: with each passing day, PSOL becomes more deeply integrated into the government, losing any trace of class independence.

HOW WE GOT HERE

When founded, revolutionary currents led PSOL. Those currents were the ones that opened the doors to reformist tendencies. Currents with broad influence, such as MES, led by Luciana Genro, played a decisive role. In the name of building a broader tool with greater electoral influence—a legitimate concern—they opened the party too much to reformist sectors without setting clear political limits. This unrestricted openness, combined with successive concessions and the refusal to confront adaptation, weakened the position of anti-capitalist sectors. This allowed reformism to become the organic and political majority of the party.

Currently, even MES finds itself marginalized within the leadership, unable to put a stop to the liquidationist orientation of the party. There were also sectarian mistakes, such as those of the General Confederation of Workers (CST) (International Workers' Unity-Fourth International, UIT-CI) led by Babá. CST was once a founding force with real influence—with a federal deputy and leadership of important unions across the country. Its sectarian traits and lack of political renewal in response to new processes led it into isolation and irrelevance. Over time, CST suffered several splits, lost cadres and militants, and currently remains a small group that left PSOL without anyone really noticing.

Unfortunately, throughout this entire process, PSTU (Brazilian section of the LIT) remained sectarian. First, it refused to participate in the founding of PSOL—a serious mistake, since they would have shifted the balance of forces in the debates that unfolded with the entry of reformist sectors. By doing so, PSTU rejected the opportunity to strengthen the anti-capitalist wing. PSTU would have contributed in gaining greater influence in the political and programmatic struggle against the tendencies advocating class collaboration and parliamentary electoralism over involvement in the real processes of class struggle. In addition, over all these years, PSTU has failed to promote



any unitary initiative to engage with the important left-wing vanguard that PSOL managed to attract. This attitude showed, in practice, its refusal to intervene to challenge reformists' influence—an orientation we consider deeply mistaken.

A CRISIS THAT MARKS A TURNING POINT FOR PSOL AND OPENS NEW DEBATES

No one can claim to have been entirely right. Different kinds of mistakes have brought us to this point. The co-optation of PSOL by reformist forces negatively affects the entire revolutionary left—as does the fact that no process of reorganization or regroupment has emerged outside PSOL. Both elements take us further away from the goal of building a revolutionary tool with mass influence in Brazil.

Our organization, *Revolução Socialista*, which is part of PSOL, always keeping its political independence and clearly expressing its differences and criticism toward the majority leadership, has long argued for the need to develop common initiatives among anti-capitalist currents. Our goal is to build an alternative pole that could become a visible political reference for the vanguard. So far, we have only achieved occasional agreements—to vote on specific resolutions or to be part of lists for the party congress—without even being able to draft a common thesis. The question is, can this change? Is MES, together with the other left-wing currents in PSOL, willing to open this discussion and promote joint actions to strengthen the anti-capitalist wing of the party?

Following the appointment of Guilherme Boulos as a minister in the national government, MES issued a statement rejecting that decision. In it, they correctly state:

“With a government of class collaboration, and a parliamentary base that includes even sectors of the center-right (as defined by former minister José Dirceu), the mass movement must keep its independence.”

We fully share this assessment. That is why, in this new situation, we hope MES will take another step forward and decide whether it is willing to confront PSOL's assimilation into the government and its policy of class collaboration, by promoting a process of left reorganization in the country.

IS PSTU-LIT WILLING TO BREAK WITH SECTARIANISM?

Within this context, the current crisis of PSTU-LIT raises a series of questions. Based on the texts released publicly, the main axes of debate that triggered it are the following: the rise of the far right, the approach to struggles against oppression, the characterization of China and Russia as imperialist powers, the position regarding capitalist restoration in Cuba, the evaluation of past analyses on Eastern Europe, and—from our point of view, the fundamental discussion on the tactics of left unity, that is, how to “offer a class alternative to the Broad Front and



reformism, engage with the vanguard, and recruit sectors of the working class” as stated in the PSTU–LIT leadership statement. In that same statement, the leadership affirms: “...we have begun a process of reviewing our own experience of the last 35 years, analyzing our achievements and mistakes in a critical and Marxist way.”

But is PSTU truly willing to break with the sectarian orientation that has characterized it for decades and begin a real process toward it? As of now, the sectarian and self-proclamatory orientation of LIT internationally—and in Brazil through PSTU—has repeatedly produced crises and splits, progressively weakening itself. The 2014–2015 crisis, which gave rise to Resistência (a current that later joined PSOL and rapidly adapted to its reformist leadership), marked a major loss of militants, cadres, and members of its leadership. In their current crisis—both in Brazil and other countries—LIT continues to lose membership and political influence, leading to shrinking and isolation. This can only be reversed through genuine self-criticism and a willingness to build revolutionary unity. Such self-criticism could become an important opportunity to advance toward a revolutionary regroupment if it translates into an authentic openness to dialogue with other anti-capitalist left sectors.

IS REVOLUTIONARY REGROUPMENT IN BRAZIL POSSIBLE?

The co-optation of PSOL by reformism and the absence, so far, of a revolutionary re-

organization process outside the party are undoubtedly serious obstacles. However, these same limitations could be transformed into an opportunity: to open a new cycle of debate, common initiatives, and regroupment that allows revolutionary currents and militants to reorganize around an anti-capitalist and socialist perspective. As the far right advances and “progressive” governments continue to submit to capital, the only truly transformative path remains the construction of a mass political tool with a communist horizon, capable of winning over working-class consciousness and offering a socialist alternative to capitalist barbarism.

The International Socialist League (ISL), promotes this debate on a global scale, for the convergence of organizations from different revolutionary traditions into a common political project. This experience shows that it is possible to overcome fragmentation and build a new international reference for the revolutionary left.

The question is whether we can do the same in Brazil. Are organizations willing to initiate a serious process of dialogue, coordination, and joint initiatives that could lay the foundations for a revolutionary regroupment in the country? It is not enough to denounce PSOL adaptation or sob at the dispersion of the revolutionary left. There is a challenge ahead. Whether we can turn it into a real possibility depends on us. 🐞

GOOD INTENTIONS Are Not ENOUGH



BY PETER SOLENBERGER

Polls project that Zohran Mamdani will be elected mayor of New York City (NYC) on November 4, 2025, with a plurality but not a majority of the popular vote. His website summarizes the theme of his campaign: “Zohran Mamdani is running for Mayor to lower the cost of living for working class New Yorkers.”

His platform is a set of municipal reforms to do this, including freezing the rent on rent-stabilized apartments, fare-free buses, and no-cost childcare, paid for by higher taxes on big corporations and the wealthy.

When asked by reporters, Mamdani acknow-

ledges that he is a socialist and a member of Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), but he isn't running as either. His website doesn't mention socialism or DSA, and in interviews he pointedly says that DSA's program is not his.

He has walked back his previously radical statements on the police and Palestine and presents himself as a loyal Democrat. He is running with the support of top Democratic Party leaders, including New York Governor Kathy Hochul and former presidential candidate Kamala Harris, and the acquiescence of the party-aligned media, including the New York Times, and major donors, including Mike Bloomberg.

Polls project that Mamdani will win about 45 percent of the popular vote. He will have the support of only a minority of the NYC City Coun-



cil, little backing from the state government, and hostility from the Trump administration. As a result, his administration won't have the resources to implement his program.

Mass mobilization could alter the balance of forces, make NYC ungovernable, and win major reforms. But there's no sign that Mamdani will take that road or that his supporters will take it without him.

Revolutionary socialists should, in my view, support Mamdani's reforms without supporting his electoralist strategy or his Democratic Party campaign. We should say that we would support him, if he were running independently as a DSA candidate against the Democrats.

We should propose mass mobilization and participate in any actions that jump off. We should help workers and youth inspired and then disappointed by Mamdani to come away from the experience more determined to fight and with a clearer vision of the political independence needed to win.

MAMDANI'S ELECTORALIST STRATEGY

Mamdani's reasoning is familiar: 1) to enact reforms, I must be elected to office, 2) to be elected to office, I must run as a Democrat, and 3) to run as a Democrat and be elected to office, I must moderate my positions and reassure the party leadership that I can be trusted.

If Mamdani is inaugurated mayor on January 1, as seems probable, his administration will face an impossible situation. Let's look at the three reforms listed above.

Rent control is a notoriously tricky business,

since it attempts to control the price of housing without controlling the supply.

Landlords and real estate developers have many ways to circumvent rent controls. The controls usually allow them to raise rents as their costs go up and as they make supposed improvements to the buildings. They can usually set rents for new units to market rates and reset rents for existing units to market rates when tenants move out.

Their ultimate power is that they control the supply of housing. They can choose not to maintain existing housing or to build new housing. Faced with that, especially in a tight housing market like NYC, rent control boards usually back down. Landlords and developers make big contributions to politicians to make sure they do.

With a minority on the city council, Mamdani may not even be able to get the rent-stabilization board to freeze rents. The state legislature in Albany may limit what the board is allowed to do. And the Trump administration may deny crucial funding and loan guarantees.

Mamdani's slogan is "fast, fare-free buses." Fare-free is easy, but fast requires that there be many buses and drivers and that the buses be kept in good repair. That requires money.

Mamdani proposes that corporations and the wealthy pay for his reforms. But the city has no control over that. Tax increases have to be approved by the state government, and Governor Hochul has already said "no."

Mamdani proposes both no-cost childcare and raising the wages of childcare workers to the level of public school teachers. Worthy goals and good public policy. But extremely expensive, unless the

ratio of children to providers is very high, in which case parents will look elsewhere. Again, the problem is money.

A mass movement could force through reforms, despite the inevitable opposition at the local, state, and federal levels. But a mass movement doesn't exist. We can hope that Mamdani's victory and the thwarting of his reforms will lead to a mass movement. But so far, none exists.

This is a fundamental problem of electoralism. Workers usually turn first to the relatively easy solution of throwing the incumbent politicians out and electing new ones. "Vote for me, and I'll set you free," however much the candidate may deny it. An election that is not the expression of mass action is likely to be an alternative to mass action.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

Electoralism in the US is channeled through the two-party system. The Democrats and the Republicans are both capitalist parties in the sense that they are committed to the fundamentals of capitalism. They're also capitalist parties in the sense that they depend on wealthy donors and the support of the capitalist media. At the top, they are a revolving door of business, government, the military, the media, and academia.

Historically, the Democrats have favored more government intervention to reduce the irrationalities and inequalities of unfettered capitalism. The Republicans have favored tax cuts, less spending on health, education and welfare, deregulation, law and order, and the promotion of family and religion.

Neither party can solve the problems of capitalist society. The result at the federal level is an alternation between them. In one electoral round, the Democrats win, enact policies that disappoint their base, and set up their own defeat. In the next round, the Republicans win, enact policies that disappoint their base, and set up their own defeat. Clinton, Bush, Obama, Trump, Biden, Trump...

At the state level, the East and West Coasts tend to be Democratic, the South and West tend to be Republican, and the Midwest is divided. Within those regions, the big cities tend to be Democratic, the small towns and rural areas tend to be Republican, and the suburbs are divided.

About a third of the working class votes for Democrats, a third votes for Republicans, and a third doesn't vote. Black, Latinx, and women

workers tend to vote for Democrats, while white and male workers tend to vote for Republicans. Incumbents are nearly always re-elected, but few workers have confidence in politicians, even the ones they vote for.

Since the 1980s, the workers' movement has retreated in the face of the capitalists' neoliberal offensive. This has led to a peculiar political polarization. The Republican Party has moved sharply to the right under Reagan, the two Bushes, and Trump, who merges traditional Republican conservatism with the cruel stupidity of Make America Great Again (MAGA).

The Democratic Party embraced neoliberalism under Bill Clinton and has shifted little under Obama and Biden since then. The left pole of the polarization is expressed in mass discontent, disbelief in the system, repeated mobilizations from the mid-1990s on, and the reservoir of support for economic and social reforms tapped by the campaigns of Sanders, AOC, and Mamdani.

The immediate problem for the working class is that it has no independent political representation. It needs a workers' party to represent the interests of the working class as a whole and to fight for the political and social equality of the oppressed. Both are essential. A party both leading mass action and contesting elections. Such a party could attract all but the most rabid sections of the working class.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA

Polls have long shown broad support for New Deal policies. Bernie Sanders rode this support in his 2016 Democratic Party presidential run. Workers and youth rallied to his campaign, as they had to Barack Obama's 2008 campaign, but with clearer political goals.

When Trump lost the popular vote but won the Electoral College, thousands of young people flooded into DSA, having found it on the internet. DSA's membership grew from 6,000 members in good standing in November 2016 to 79,000 in January 2021. It fell to 51,000 during the Biden administration, and rose again with Trump's re-election, reaching 80,000 at last count.

DSA has been moving to the left. It calls itself anticapitalist and socialist. It has clarified its position on Palestine. It has moved away from electoralism at the local and national level and focuses more on labor, immigrant rights, and Palestine solidarity. The old leadership lost the 2023 convention and



was replaced. The National Political Committee (NPC) has a nominally leftwing majority.

DSA's most pressing political problem is to actually break with the Democrats, not just talk about the need to do so. A majority of DSAers favor a "dirty break": use the Democratic Party ballot line now to prepare for independence in the future. In practice, this means no break.

Before Mamdani, electoralism had been losing ground in DSA. Mamdani's success has revived its fortunes, strengthening the illusion that being in office means being in power. To get past that, DSAers will need to see that the Mamdani administration, elected without a mass upsurge, is unable to carry out its reforms.

Chicago DSA went through a similar experience in 2023, when former school teacher and Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) organizer Brandon Johnson ran successfully for mayor of Chicago. The race was nonpartisan, so it didn't raise the problem of supporting a Democrat. But it did raise the problem of electoralism. Most DSAers who campaigned for him thought that Johnson elected was Johnson in power. Within a year, that illusion was shattered.

At the massive "No Kings 2.0" rally in Chicago on October 18, Johnson spoke in very different terms. Referring to W.E.B. Du Bois's famous observation that "the black worker won the [Civil War] by a general strike which transferred his labor from the Confederate planter to the Northern invader," Johnson said: "If my ancestors, as slaves, can lead the greatest general strike in the history of this country, taking it to the ultra-rich and big corporations, we can do it too!"

This isn't quite calling for a general strike, as some in DSA and on the left claim, but it's far from "Vote for me and I'll set you free."

TO ENGAGE OR TO IGNORE

Some revolutionary socialists argue that DSA is too reformist to be of interest. I understand that thinking, but I don't agree. Eighty thousand young people, mostly workers, identifying as socialists, wanting to build a working-class party, active in unions, immigrant rights, and Palestine solidarity, debating political questions, arguing whether to take the decisive step of running candidates against the Democrats. In my view, revolutionaries should be in the mix.

The US working class needs a revolutionary party, but revolutionaries in the US are far from being able to build one. Our numbers are too few. Our influence is too limited. We need to find ways to relate to workers and youth in motion. In the unions and the movements, first of all. But also in explicitly political spaces. From outside in the case of the Mamdani campaign, from inside in the case of DSA, or so I think.

The strategy of building a revolutionary party is clear. How to build it is a matter for debate, and not just in the US. The Party of Socialism and Liberation (PSOL) in Brazil, Die Linke in Germany, the New Popular Front in France, Your Party in Britain. To engage or to ignore? If to engage, from inside or outside? The December 2025 congress of the International Socialist League (ISL) will have a rich debate. ✊



DSA: Bridge to an **INDEPENDENT PARTY** or **LEFT WING** of the Democrats?

BY VINCE GAYNOR

The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) became a mass organization during the 2016 Bernie Sanders campaign.

Thousands of young people joined, inspired by the call for democratic socialism and a challenge to the political establishment. The DSA grew rapidly, reaching more than 80,000 members at its peak. It became the largest socialist organization in the United States in nearly a century.

Although its historic strategy was to pressure the Democratic Party to the left, many on the left began to see the DSA as a possible bridge toward building a new

workers' party. Sectors that came to lead a significant part of the organization raised the "dirty break" strategy.

This meant using Democratic ballot lines temporarily to reach a mass audience, while preparing a split to form an independent party in some undetermined future. But over time, the "dirty break" was lost in practice. The DSA moved deeper into Democratic politics instead of away from it.

By 2020, most elected officials backed by DSA ran as Democrats and stayed inside the party machinery. DSA members campaigned for Sanders again, then for Biden against Trump. The group's congressional members, such as Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Rashida Tlaib, became identified with progressive

Democratic politics, not with a break from them.

The leadership speaks about “building power” within the party rather than leaving it. Even the most left-leaning members rarely propose a concrete plan for independence. The debate over the “dirty break” has been replaced by vague calls for a “democratic socialist wing” of the Democrats.

Trump’s return to the White House and Zohran Mamdani’s primary win in NYC injected the DSA with renewed energy. There is more activism, more internal debate, and a growing rejection of Democratic Party compromises among some layers. But this has not produced a political break and the organization seems to be consolidating as the left wing of the Democratic Party.

Instead of offering a bridge toward an independent party DSA is playing the role of bringing radicalized activists back into the “big tent” of the Democratic Party. Meanwhile, the increasing political and social polarization in the country is such that thousands of radicalizing activists already see DSA as too moderate and simply part of the establishment.

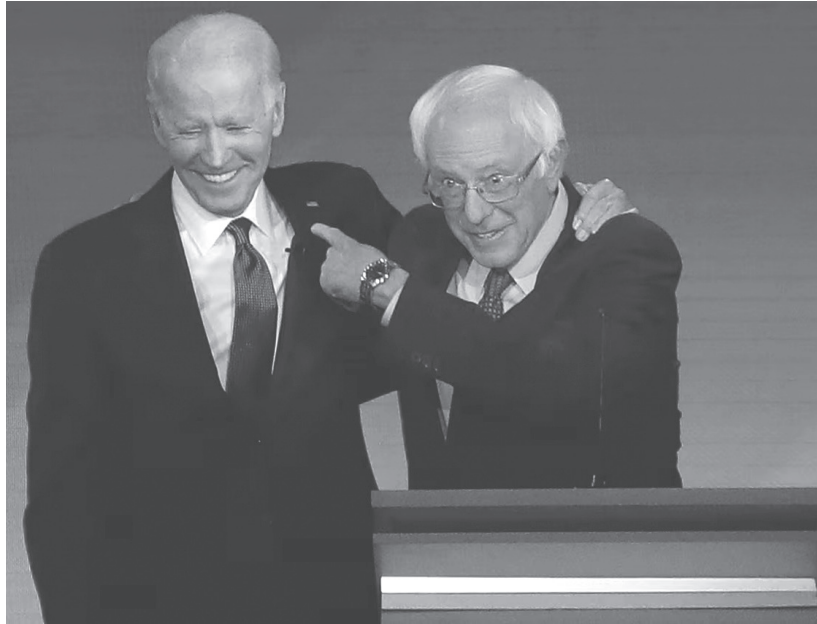
Today’s revolutionaries are in no better conditions to shift the DSA’s perspective from within than those who attempted in 2016-2020 under much better conditions. The perspective for building our own organization within DSA also does not appear to be any better than 5-10 years ago, when many revolutionaries moderated their politics instead of growing their numbers within the DSA.

There are better perspectives in the collaboration of socialist organizations with class independence, like the Left Unity Platform that was founded in July by Tempest, Workers Voice, Socialist Horizon, Solidarity and Marxist Humanists. The mutual defence coalition is spearheading the Committee to Defend Tom Alter,¹ debating a coordinated intervention in the broader struggles and has the potential to develop into higher levels of political unity between some of its members.

There are also perspectives in a regroupment of revolutionaries into a stronger united organization capable of organizing many newly radicalized activists who are not attracted to more moderate alternatives, as explained

in the Socialist Horizon Statement “Why we need a revolutionary party and how to build it”.²

Moreover, building a stronger independent revolutionary socialist organization can go farther in influencing the DSA or segments of its members towards breaking with the Democrats than what we could hope to achieve within its structures today.



Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders.

At the same time, the US left is in a dynamic and fluid state and may shift significantly under the pressure of intensifying attacks and struggles. Not joining DSA outright does not mean not exploring different tactics of collaboration and joint work with DSA and others on the left in various locales where it may make sense.

These are all valid and important debates that should aim to produce the most adequate tactics at each moment for the strategy of building a revolutionary party we need.

This November 8 and 9 the various components of the International Socialist League in the US, including Socialist Horizon, members of Tempest and other individual socialists, will meet in Chicago to determine our perspectives for the struggle against the MAGA offensive and for advancing revolutionary regroupment in the US and internationally. ✊

1. <https://defendtomalter.org/>

2. Puntorojo Editorial Collective. (2025, July 20). Why We Need a Revolutionary Party and How to Build it: A call for revolutionary regroupment | <https://www.puntorjomag.org>

THE LEFT PARTY: on the Way to an ORGANISING CLASS PARTY?



'We are the hope' – this is the opening sentence of the Left Party's central motion, which aims to be more than mere self-affirmation and was adopted at the party conference on 10 May. A sentence that hardly anyone would have uttered a year ago – but the success in the federal elections, the consistent poll ratings of 10% and the massive increase in membership to over 115,000 in May 2024 – more than doubling compared to April 2024 – form the basis for the new optimism. The majority of the new members are young and female, so that now 60% of the membership are 35 and younger and 44.5% are female (compared to 40% a year ago). The Left Party wants to not only 'propagate' hope in the struggle for 'a future beyond Trump, Merz and Musk,' but also to 'organise' it.

BY MARTIN SUCHANEK

The political success in the federal election and the continued growth has so far strengthened the left-reformist wing of the party, represented by the chairwoman, Ines Schwerdtner (former chief editor of Jacobin Germany Magazin) and the chairwoman of the parliamentary group, Heidi Reichinnek. This change in the party's internal dynamics was also reflected at the party conference. The traditional right wing, the so-called "Regierungssozialisten" (government socialists) are on the defensive, even though they hold on to their positions in the apparatus. The split of the 'campist', populist and racist wing around Sarah Wagenknecht has actually helped to attract new members, who want a socialist workers party rather than a populist one. Whilst term like class and socialism played little role for a long time, the party now sets itself the goal of building an "organising" and socialist working class party.

CHANGED POLITICAL SITUATION

The Left Party's growth has been an expression of workers and youth trying to find a political alternative to the traditional mainstream "left" parties, the right wing reformist and social chauvinist SPD and the thoroughly bourgeois-liberal Green Party. Whilst the party recognises the deep global crisis of capitalism – it fails to understand its roots. It is not the working out of the inner contradictions of the mode of production, which gives rise to a struggle for the re-division of the world between the old and new global powers, the rise of the right, the crisis of bourgeois democracy and which deepens the environmental catastrophe. Rather for Die Linke the core of the problem is neo-liberalism, the lack of "regulation" and "fair distribution". Therefore, for the left party, the main task is not to prepare for the system's overthrow, but to 'democratise' it.

And how will this be achieved? How can it be avoided, that left wing "transformatory" governments, which the party strategists say is their goal, once again implement neo-liberal politics? Via "rebellious governing", is the "new" and, fortunately, disputed formula. But most of the reformist leaders and strategists of the party around its think tank, the Rosa Luxemburg foundation, see the solution in a "popular front" with the Greens and SPD, with the trade unions, but also all "progressive" petit-bourgeois and bourgeois forces.

Since the party's strategists know that such a government would all too easily turn against its own base, they want to see it pressured by an allied, yet also "antagonistic" social and workers movement, so that the Left Party would be in government and in opposition at the same time. In reality this is only a left cover for a classical reformist strategy. All experience in situations of acute class struggle shows that bourgeois workers' governments (i.e., any government consisting solely of reformist parties) and even more so, popular front governments, i.e., coalitions of reformist and openly bourgeois-capitalist parties, they do not implement the agenda of the working class and the oppressed. In effect they ultimately defend the agenda of the ruling class and its system – against "rebellious" or even revolutionary attacks from their base.

Since the leadership and strategists of the Left Party regard revolutionary communist politics as "outdated", they cling all the more undaunted to the reformist utopia.

This becomes particularly clear when we

consider the issues of the EU, war and peace, and international politics in general. Just as bourgeois democracy is the be-all and end-all of the Left Party's politics in Germany, so is the EU at the European level. Why the EU, as an imperialist bloc, should become a pioneer of climate justice, social justice and democracy remains a Left Party secret. However, it is consistent with the fact that Germany and the EU are not referred to as imperialist states or blocs anywhere in the motion. Aggressive world powers are found exclusively outside the EU – in Putin's Russia and Trump's USA.

On the international level, the long standing positions of the Left Party are pacifist. Against the Gaza genocide, the Left Party leadership has distanced itself from the movement for almost two years and even voted for a number of reactionary, pro-Zionist motions in the German Parliament.

OPPOSITION FROM THE LEFT

However, the resolutions adopted, beyond the main motion and the controversial debates on rearmament and Palestine, also make it clear that not everything has remained the same. Thousands of new members can be won over to a different policy if we succeed in making the contradictions and limitations of reformism clear to them both in practice and in theory. The motion on the definition of anti-Semitism, which was passed against the majority of the party executive, shows that this is possible. In a number of regions pro-Palestinian Working Groups have been set up, how have pushed to support and mobilise for the solidarity movement. At the 100.000 strong demonstration in Solidarity with Palestine on September 27, thousands of members were mobilised and in her speech, Ines Schwerdtner, the chairwomen of the party, had to apologise for the silence and lack of support from the party for two years. Clearly, this is scandalously late, but it also shows a pressure from the movement and from within the Left Party, which the leadership has had to concede to.

In addition, there are promises to reorganise the party. To this end, several priorities have been identified in addition to activity in local groups and working groups. The aim is to promote workplace and trade union practices and roots locally, especially where the Left Party is already strong, such as in hospitals. The Left Party wants to launch a nationwide campaign for a rent cap, and to table bills on this in the Bundestag and organise an action conference.



And finally, there is also a debate inside the Left Party on the question of the state, its character and strategies to overthrow capitalism, challenging the reformist and popular frontist strategy. These are important political developments within the Left Party and within important parts of the German working class and radical youth. This raises the question for all revolutionaries who do not want to stand on the sidelines: How can we win motivated activists for communist politics?

WHAT SHOULD REVOLUTIONARIES DO?

Instead of standing on the sidelines and contenting ourselves, with smug self-assurance, that we always knew that reformists are class traitors, we must actively seek debate at a time when strategy is being discussed. For reformism is, in short, an ideological form in which wage earners express their interests under capitalist conditions, but within the limits of the system. It is the political reflection of economic struggles that do not question the system itself, but ultimately reproduce it. This is one of the reasons why it remains deeply rooted in spite of over 100 years of class betrayal. This is also one of the reasons why it will not reveal its nature “by itself”, but will reappear in various forms, and why we must therefore develop concrete tactics against reformism and intervene in processes of reorganisation that mobilise tens of thousands.

On the other hand, a revolutionary orientation within the Left Party only makes sense if reformism is consistently criticised and fought against in practice. Those who do not break through this illusion remain trapped within its limits. Without such

criticism, revolutionary intervention in the Left Party is impossible and doomed to failure from the outset. Furthermore, no one should harbour the illusion that the party in its totality is on the road to becoming a revolutionary party. On the contrary, reformism is not only deeply rooted as an ideology and in its daily parliamentary, municipal and trade union practice, but the party is dominated—despite all wishes for more control over its parliamentary representatives—not by its members, but by a well-entrenched apparatus. No one should harbour the illusion that even a significant layer of this apparatus, let alone its majority, can be won over to communist politics.

The 60,000 new members themselves certainly belong to different wings of the party and, overall, certainly hope that the Left Party will really help to stop the shift to the right and change social conditions. This process cannot and will not take place without opposition, but will inevitably give rise to conflicts within the party on many issues – anti-fascism, the question of war, rearmament, Palestine, the attitude towards the trade union bureaucracy, etc. – which must be brought to a head. The main areas of focus should be:

CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT!

The goal here must be to build a broad anti-crisis alliance of the working class and oppressed that a) mobilises against the government's coming attacks and b) fights for concrete demands, such as a higher minimum wage or a reduction in working hours for the whole of society. It must be made clear that the shift to the right cannot be stopped by fighting for



Lawmakers
Lisa Schubert,
Cansin Kokturk,
Vinzenc Glaser,
and Charlotte
Neuhauser
unfurled a
Palestinian flag in
the plenary hall
of the Bundestag.

economic improvements alone, but that active anti-racist mobilisations and an internationalist orientation must also be integrated into such movements in order to help overcome the divisions that have already arisen through joint struggles. On the other hand, the whole thing raises another, more immediate question: if we are against the Merz government, what are we actually for – and how do we get there?

CLASS-STRUGGLE POLITICS ON THE STREETS AND IN THE TRADE UNIONS!

The Left Party's policy that 'every member of the Left Party should also be a trade union member' is more than welcome. However, it is not enough to sneak your own members into the trade unions or to replace the SPD in its position as the dominant force in the trade union apparatus, only to ultimately pursue the same state-supporting policies that cause millions of colleagues to suffer real wage losses, or to fail to exploit the potential of social movements because you are afraid to strike. Instead, we need a consistent programme for the democratisation of the trade unions, the basic features of which we have set out in our action programme.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY, INTERNATIONALIST FIGHTING PARTY!

It means using the Left Party as a battlefield – not as a final goal – and raising awareness of the limits of reformist politics and the necessity of a revolutionary break. This means building a revolutionary faction within the party that openly criticises the party appa-

ratus while at the same time organising the basis for socialist politics. The goal is not to win 10 members for your own small organisation, but to wage struggles at a level where the question of revolutionary strategy is discussed at a higher level – with the aim of actually advancing the struggles. This is only possible if we unite and intervene on several levels:

- a) Programmatically: developing and jointly promoting a socialist action programme based on transitional demands.
- b) Organisationally: building up supra-regional structures of comrades with a revolutionary perspective – e.g. as a political platform.
- c) Tactically: Clear positioning in conflicts (e.g. Palestine, NATO, nationalisation) – including motions, initiatives for change and counter-proposals to party conference resolutions.
- d) Rooting in real struggles such as anti-fascist mobilisations, strikes, tenant protests, participation in the party's own projects on the tenant question or the initiative in the workplaces and unions, the establishment of strike and action committees in schools, universities and workplaces.

The window of opportunity for such debates is not permanent. Even if many members are currently impressed by the success and cohesion of the 'new' Left Party, the question of what the core of the party is will arise in all fronts of the class struggle: capitalist co-management or socialist revolution? It is the task of socialists to fight where life is – and to show how the latter can actually be achieved. 🇵🇸

United Kingdom: “YOUR PARTY,” STUMBLES BEFORE THE BEGINNING



BY RONI TURUS

Jeremy Corbyn and Zarah Sultana's attempt to found a new party sparked enthusiasm among a fragmented and demoralized left. But leadership disputes, ideological divisions, and old inertia threaten to thwart it. The working class needs an independent political project.

The English left, the word English here intentionally used to differentiate from other counties such as Scotland, Wales and Northern Irish, has been homeless for a long time. Since the defeat of the miners and neo liberalism of Margate Thatcher left fragmented and turned

into small an ineffective group. Throughout of 90s and 2000s the left at worst, it tailgated the Labour Party for a more social democratic path despite its criticism, at best it tried to change trade union movements into fighting and radical movement. It had failed at both aims.

However, when Zarah Sultana and Jeremy Corbyn decided to set up a new party the slim ajar of the door gave some hope and prospect for the left to reorganise and regroup. This exciting project galvanised people and in a very short time 800 thousand people declared their intention to be part/join the new party which is called 'Your Party.'

Failure of the Labour Party, complicity of trade union movements with the Labour Party, and lack of forceful working-class movement

have demoralised masses and did not allow opening of new avenues for radical politics and regrouping.

Could the 'Your Party' open new avenues for the radical working class, mass anticipation of the working class and people in this new organisation? It appears so.

The failure of the Labour Party has opened doors for a long time to a New Left Party. The Labour Party who courted wealthy elites since 1997, right wing media barons such as Rupert Murdoch, cosy up to the cons in Washington, declaring war against Iraq and Afghanistan by breaking international laws.

The current Labour Party came to power with low expectations, and they failed miserably in less than a year to meet the lowest expectation. Instead, the Labour has gone after pensioners, poorer families, disabled people, u-turned on environmental promises, targeted immigrants by raiding some restaurants, shops – where usually low paid immigrants work with no job security- show them on the TVs and newspapers to demonstrate that they will be harder on immigrants than Nigel Farage or anyone else.

Internationally, the Labour has provided full support for genocide against Palestinians by providing arms, weapons, logistic support and international credibility to Israel. Taking a photo shoot opportunity with Trump and getting his blessing became an international success despite being humiliated by Trump over and over again.

Competing with the hard-core right-wing Reform party, Labour is trying to show its teeth how it can be harder on immigration to appease Nigel Farage and his followers, consoling the business by not passing workers' rights bill in the parliament, appeasing Trump and Israel at international level.

Under these circumstances, it is an open field for the left to come together and mobilise its forces and take on reactionary politicians and parties.

All these seem to be a possibility with the launch of Your Party. Excitement, political discussion, slow involvement of some trade unions, open space for marginalised groups, taking environmental, gender issues in its core alongside just international politics appeared to be a right step in the right direction.



Jeremy Corbyn
and Zarah
Sultana.

Nevertheless, the elephant in the room was the question: who would be leading the 'Your Party'?

On July 24th, Zarah Sultana announced that she and Jeremy Corbyn were co-founding a new political party under the provisional name 'Your Party'. However, the announcement was met with a frosty reception from Corbyn and his inner circle.

Concerns arose within Corbyn's team that Sultana was attempting to dominate the leadership, centring it around herself and Corbyn. On the other hand, Sultana feared that Corbyn's circle was working to marginalise her role in the formation of the party. She felt compelled to go public in order to counter what she perceived as an emerging "collective leadership" structure that would sideline her.

Despite these tensions, both sides temporarily set aside their disagreements due to overwhelming public interest. A truce emerged—for a while.

In the meantime, the trade union leadership showed little enthusiasm for 'Your Party'. Only a handful of individuals and small independent groups—many of whom have long advocated for a new political formation—voiced support. The reluctance of major union leaders was not unexpected, as many have deep political and personal ties to the Labour Party. It is unlikely they will break away anytime soon. A few may offer nominal support or gestures to appease their rank-and-file members, but when faced with political pressure, most are expected to fall back in line behind Labour.

However, at the local level, some union branches have begun aligning themselves with a more class-oriented political vision. Notably, activists from the RMT (National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers)—arguably the most radical trade union in the UK—held a meeting titled 'Your Party – What is the Role of RMT?'. Similar discussions have been reported at the grassroots level, but nationally, the trade union movement has yet to engage significantly with the project.

The radical left, by contrast, has shown more enthusiasm. Groups such as the Socialist Workers Party, Counterfire,



and the Socialist Party have endorsed the initiative and committed to building it. The Revolutionary Communist Party went a step further, declaring their intention to join and transform the party into a revolutionary Marxist vanguard.

This, however, sparked internal conflict. Some figures within ‘Your Party’s’ leadership expressed opposition to allowing members of the radical left to join, revealing early cracks in the party’s unity. The question of who could join was postponed for future discussions over the summer.

There are also ideological rifts among the sitting MPs involved in the project. Their views differ significantly on key issues such as the environment, gender rights, class, and international policy. It seems that Palestine is one of the few issues where there is general agreement among the sitting MPs. However, even this consensus is largely limited to opposing the ongoing genocide. Deeper, more fundamental issues—such as a rejection of Zionism, and meaningful discussions about the future of both Palestinians and Jews—have been largely avoided by most of these MPs.

Some MPs even hold notably conservative stances on matters such as gender equality, environmental disaster, class, and international politics. These differences are likely to resurface periodically and could prove deeply divisive.

YOUR PARTY, OUR PARTY, WHOSE PARTY?

These underlying tensions came to a head on September 18th, 2025. Zarah Sultana and her team sent formal membership invitations to those who had expressed interest in ‘Your Party’. Just 20 minutes later, Jeremy Corbyn publicly disavowed the move, labelling the invitations “unauthorised” and stating he was seeking legal advice. The party also referred the incident to the Information Commissioner’s Office.

In response, Sultana accused Corbyn and other MPs of running a “sexist boys’ club” intent on locking women out of the party’s founding process. She claimed she

had been deliberately sidelined by members of the party’s working group and announced she was seeking legal counsel over what she called defamatory allegations intended to discredit her. What began as an anti-establishment initiative now appears to be descending into legal and bureaucratic wrangling. This would be comical—if it weren’t so tragic.

Amid the chaos, a new group calling itself ‘Our Party’ emerged, demanding that the leadership be transferred to a transitional committee comprising a trade union general secretary, a social movement lawyer, and a representative from the climate movement. ‘Our Party’ was now trying to take control of ‘Your Party’.

WHERE DID IT ALL GO WRONG—AND WHAT COMES NEXT?

What started as a bold attempt to build a new left-wing alternative is now mired in infighting, legal threats, and ideological splits. Without a clear democratic structure, a unified leadership approach, and transparency around membership and direction, the project risks collapsing before it ever truly begins.

The core issue facing the new party appears to be leadership—specifically, who will lead and how members will be able to influence the direction of the party. For it to be a genuine force for change, the party must centre the voices and experiences of the working class, young people, LGBTQ+ communities, environmental activists, internationalist movements, marginalised groups, and women.

To survive and thrive, the party must democratise its leadership structure and decision-making processes. It should establish transparent, democratic membership rules and foster a space for open, principled debate on its political direction.

The alternative is to leave the party in the hands of a small group of privileged MPs—many of whom cannot agree on core issues affecting the majority of people in this country. Without the active involvement of the groups mentioned above, ‘Your Party’ is likely to be plagued by internal conflicts—some as farcical and dramatic as a Greek tragedy.

There is no need for another Version 2 of the Labour Party. This project must be something fundamentally different—or it risks becoming irrelevant before it even begins. 🌱

YOUR PARTY and the Fight for WORKING CLASS Politics

BY KD TAIT



The mood in Britain today is heavy with a sense of abandonment: communities worn out by austerity, workers squeezed until something breaks, and entire generations gaslit into accepting decline.

The working class families, the youth and the marginalised, who once looked to Labour as a shield against the depredations of the neoliberal offensive, today only find it peddling more austerity, militarism, and enabling genocide in Gaza.

This is the background that has produced the enthusiasm for the new left wing party being formed by Jeremy Corbyn and Zarah

Sultana. It must be channelled into a fundamental task: forging a party committed not just to socialist policies, but to the method of socialist transformation rooted in the development of organised working class power in our communities, our trade unions, and our social movements.

While Corbyn is internationally known as the former leader of the Labour Party, Sultana herself was first elected to the House of Commons in December 2019 and has been sitting there as an independent MP since September last year, after the Labour parliamentary group revoked her status as an official party MP because she voted to abolish the two-child cap on benefits. In a statement at the time, she said she would “do it again” and accused the government of deliberately making people with disabilities suffer.

The Independent Alliance includes four other independent MPs, the so-called ‘Gaza independents’, none of whom have any background in Labour or working class politics.

HOPEFUL START... THEN WHAT?

The launch of Your Party generated real enthusiasm. After years of defeats, betrayals and demoralisation, it raised hopes of a genuine alternative. The anger on the streets, in workplaces and among young people shows that the demand for a mass working-class party is urgent and real. Against austerity, imperialist war and the growing menace of the far right, such a party could become the weapon our class needs.



If even a fraction of this number becomes active party members, the formation, provisionally called Your Party, could become a historic left break with Labour. Our task is to make it a break not only with Labour, but with Labourism – and to take the road to revolutionary socialism.

DEMORALISING MUDDLING

But to prevent this from happening, great efforts are being made. However, anyone who thinks that it is smear campaigns by the bourgeois press that make it difficult for the party to gain a foothold is mistaken. In recent weeks, both Corbyn and Sultana have done their best to sabotage the new party project itself, creating a situation that feels worse than any War of the Roses.

While it emerged early on that Corbyn was not very pleased with Sultana’s initiative, the disputes escalated in mid-September: After

ages of radio silence, Sultana sent an e-mail invitation with a link to membership fees; Corbyn and others consider the portal unauthorized, call on supporters to withdraw payments, and criticize that data is collected without a coordinated decision. Sultana makes accusations against Corbyn and his entourage: She accuses them of having been excluded and speaks of a “sexist boys’ club”. For a short time, both threatened each other with lawyers, but Sultana later announced that she would refrain from legal action “as an act of goodwill” in order to continue working on a democratic structure.

The differences between the two camps are opaque. But what is clear is that Sultana, in declaring the Labour Party ‘dead’ and taking the initiative to launch the party is opposed by Corbyn, who, at best, favours an electoral coalition of MPs and councillors which acts as pressure on Labour without crystallising a split in the wider movement.

SPLIT AT THE TOP

That’s why the split between Jeremy Corbyn and Zarah Sultana has sparked real confusion and anger among Your Party supporters. Local branches that have been mushrooming across the country now face a choice: paralysis or a serious debate on the way forward. The urgent task is to meet, discuss, and coordinate—not wait for warring ‘leaders’ to settle their feud.

Many Your Party supporters will be naturally sympathetic to Sultana’s combative defence of key principles. But the deeper truth is that neither side has given any clear explanation of how they see a new party’s programme and strategy making a clear break from Labourism or new Green Party leader Zack Polanski’s so-called ‘eco-populism’.

Instead, their methods from the outset were to bureaucratically outmanoeuvre each other and then resort to lawyers. Their split is the predictable outcome of a top-down project, conceived in the corridors of Westminster and stitched together by cliques of advisers.

With the Greens surging under a new left-wing leadership, and the trade union leaders under no pressure to break from Labour, a new left party has the responsibility of giving

a clear answer to why neither social-democratic reformism, nor Green middle-class environmentalism can provide fundamental solutions for the working class.

POPULISM WITHOUT DEMOCRACY

But what is on the table is James Schneider's (Progressive International and former Corbyn advisor) populist electoral project, which lacks real democracy, structure or accountability, and deliberately liquidates working class organisation into an atomised mass of individuals. Neither Corbyn nor Sultana have opposed the thoroughly undemocratic proposals for organising the conference.

The 15 September email declared that 'thousands' of delegates would be 'elected' by lot for the inaugural conference in November – ostensibly to ensure a fair balance of gender, region and background. According to the email, these delegates have 'a great responsibility: to debate the founding documents, to introduce amendments and to vote on them at the conference'. The final decision is then up to all members, via a secure online system based on the principle of 'one member, one vote'.

Certainly Corbyn is no supporter of accountability to the membership. As Labour leader he opposed mandatory re-selection of MPs, no-cuts budgets, ignored conference votes he didn't like, and threw principled anti-Zionists to the wolves of the antisemitism witch-hunt. When Momentum threatened to become a democratic vehicle for grassroots organisation, he and his allies shut it down. They centralised power, sidelined branches, and killed debate in the name of 'unity'.

The result was demobilisation and the destruction of the very movement that had swept him to leadership. That same hostility to grassroots democracy is being repeated in Your Party, dressed up now as one-member-one-vote.

OMOV is not empowerment but a cover for celebrity rule. Leaders decide which questions the membership gets to vote on. It atomises activists into passive individuals, while those with parliamentary platforms or media reach dominate. Real democracy means branches, delegates, and the right to debate and recall – not online ballots dictated from above.

A QUESTION OF POWER

This is not a technical issue but a matter of class strategy. Taking power away from the billionaire class cannot be done by parliamentary manoeuvres alone. Even if a left party were to win a majority in Parliament, the ruling class would resist through the media, the courts, the army and the police. The struggle demands not passive electoral support but an organised, militant working class.

That is why populist shortcuts are so dangerous. The danger is not that Your Party is 'too radical' but that it liquidates class politics into hollow populism – substituting celebrity spokespeople for real working-class organisation.

And yet the raw material for a real party exists: solidarity with Palestine, the strike wave, communities defending asylum seekers, youth radicalised through culture and protest. The potential is immense. A few thousand organised militants rooted in these struggles are worth far more than 800,000 online signatures.

'OUR PARTY' PLAYS 'JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM'

The online initiative 'Our Party' presented itself as grassroots renewal. In reality looks more like an undeclared faction, recycling the same failed model with a democratic gloss.

A handpicked 'handover team' of union officials, lawyers and 'trusted' activists—accountable to nobody—will oversee elections by OMOV to a Founding Stewards Committee. Branches are bypassed altogether. Conference documents will be drafted by unknown individuals, amendments sifted online, and a random lottery will decide delegates. This is not grassroots democracy. It is smoke and mirrors. It is less democratic than the Labour Party conference!

The truth is simple: neither Corbyn's camp nor Sultana's faction, nor Our Party, represents a way forward. Both cling to the same failed formula: top-down populism, plebiscites without debate, and electoralism without struggle.

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THE WAY FORWARD

What we need is not another shell party or clique warfare, but a real workers' party rooted in workplaces, communities and streets—a party built from the living struggles of our class. That means turning outward to build a party though the fight against fascism, imperialism and austerity.

Branches of Your Party should seize the initiative to organise the fight back now. We propose the following starting points:

- **A Workers' united front against fascism and in defence of migrants.** Organise in our communities, schools and workplaces. No reliance on police or courts – self-defence by workers and youth.
- **Mass direct action to break ties with Zionist genocide.** Occupations, blockades, boycotts and workers' action against Israel and the arms trade.

- **A national mobilisation before the austerity budget.** Fight for an emergency workers' programme: rent freezes, price controls, public ownership of energy and housing, taxing the rich to fund jobs and services.

Whether or not the feuding leaders and their hangers-on can agree some redivision of power and influence doesn't depend on begging letters from the grassroots. On the principle that the working class needs 'no saviours from on high' we think branches should demand access to resources and membership data to contact activists in their areas, and, without waiting for permission:

- Elect two delegates each to regional conferences who can elect delegates to a democratic conference arrangements committee.
- Demand a sovereign national conference of branch delegates to decide policy and elect leadership.

This is the democracy we need: one that empowers militants in the struggle and holds leaders accountable in practice.

The split between Corbyn and Sultana is proof enough that top-down populist projects end in paralysis and betrayal. But if even a fraction of the 800,000 sign-ups and the dozens of branches take the path of class struggle and grassroots democracy, that would be a real step forward – and one worth fighting for.

The response to Your Party shows that the time is ripe for an alternative to Labour, for a party that fights in the interests of the working class. So let's create it! 🐜

From the Communist League to the NPA: A HISTORY OF DEGENERATION



This critical reconstruction of the Ligue Communiste (LC) and the United Secretariat (USFI) retraces half a century of turns, splits, and capitulations of a current that—initially born as an expression of revolutionary Trotskyism—ended up dissolving in opportunism. We will focus on the emergence (2009) and subsequent degeneration of the New Anticapitalist Party (NPA), which ended in a split (2022) that gave rise to: NPA-A, as its opportunist continuity, and two new revolutionary organizations, NPA-Revolutionaries and Révolution Permanente (RP). Here we will address both the old and new debates that have arisen in the heat of political processes and class struggle.

BY GÉRARD FLORENSON

According to Lenin, ultra-leftism is the infantile disorder of communism. We may add that opportunism is its senile disease. Children grow and learn, and childhood illnesses are usually cured; the elderly, however, do not become young again. Except for a few individual cases, opportunists, those former revolutionaries who have given up on revolution, never return to the convictions of their youth. Marked by their own failures—since for them it is the “*Midnight in the Century*”¹—they cling to the illusory recipes of everlasting reformists and offer them their services, hoping that these, in gratitude, will grant them a seat at the table of the powerful where the distribution of parliamentary seats is decided.

This regression also deserves some linguistic clarification: from “reconstructing the workers’ movement on new axes,” to calls for

a new “union of the left.” Once class boundaries are forgotten, they accept without protest the shameful withdrawal of New Popular Front (NFP) candidates in the second round of 2024 legislative elections, allowing the so-called “republican” right to keep their seats—under the pretext, of course, of “stopping the fascists.”

THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE (LATER LCR), PILLAR OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (USFI)

To retrace part of the history of the Fourth International (United Secretariat) in France, we must go back to the period preceding the foundation of the Communist League in 1969.

In 1952, after Michel Pablo expelled the majority of the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), the minority adopted the tactic of entryism within the French Communist Party (PCF). The repression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 triggered ruptures and resignations within the Stalinist party, and Khrushchev’s report—initially concealed by the PCF leadership—sparked internal debates. Yet it was the party’s shy stance during the Algerian Revolution that shook the Union of Communist Students (UEC). When the PCF called for “peace in Algeria” without supporting the demand for independence, the youth were at the forefront of demonstrations against the deployment of troops sent to crush the insurgents—with whom they sympathized. Some of them even took part in solidarity with the National Liberation Front (FLN). When the Communist Party decided to support the bourgeois politician François Mitterrand in the first round of the 1965 presidential election—who had been involved in the repression of Algerian nationalists—the youth, once again, took the lead in protesting against this scandal.

Another test for these young revolutionaries came with their support for the Vietnamese Revolution, which provoked enormous demonstrations in most countries, including the United States. They participated, alongside other currents, in the National Vietnam Committee, which irritated the PCF—always wary of anything beyond its control—and eager to limit the slogan to “Peace in Vietnam” rather than “Victory to the FLN.”

The militants of the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI)—among them Alain

Krivine—took advantage of the Stalinist leadership crisis and the radicalization of broad sectors of the student youth to build a Marxist revolutionary current within the Union of Communist Students. The PCF leadership expelled them, simultaneously getting rid of the so-called “Italians”²—student militants who sought a genuine questioning of Stalinism—and of those who sympathized with Maoism.

In 1966, the expelled Trotskyist militants founded the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), which initially had 150 members, mostly high school and university students, and grew to about 300 by early May 1968. This article will not revisit the general strike of that year, but the push and commitment of the JCR allowed it to strengthen and gain great influence within the “May generation,” which would soon experience betrayal of the PCF (and of the General Workers’ Confederation, CGT leadership under its control) and the military intervention of the USSR and its satellites to crush the Prague Spring.

A radicalized youth thus emerged to the left of the PCF, expressing its support for the Vietnamese struggle and sympathizing with Cuba, which seemed to embody a different, combative, and internationalist communism symbolized by Che Guevara, murdered by the Bolivian dictatorship.

The Gaullist government had banned both the PCI and the JCR, along with other far-left organizations. Rather than going underground, they chose to take advantage of the moment by publishing their journal *Rouge*, which proudly claimed its color against the three-color flag of the Stalinists, and by organizing meetings on the journal with the perspective of creating a revolutionary party.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) and the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI) merged and decided to join the Fourth International. The Communist League³ was founded in April 1969 and immediately suffered a small split of militants from the JCR who refused to join the Fourth International, calling instead for an “opening” toward other revolutionary currents around the world.

The Fourth International (also known as the United Secretariat—USFI) was thus strengthened by a section far larger than the PCI, well-rooted among the youth and bringing new leadership members to its ranks.



Ernest Mandel, historical leader of the USFI, during a conference.

It should be noted that the USFI, at the time, included the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the United States, which had gained many militants and much influence within the anti-war movement, as well as parties in Latin America and organizations across Europe—some quite significant, such as those in Switzerland, Belgium, and Spain, where the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) operated underground under Franco’s dictatorship. Others were smaller, such as in Italy, where Maoist groups and especially autonomists were stronger, the latter having a strong working-class base.

The USFI was very different from its current caricature. Nonetheless, the majority of its leadership—of which the Communist League was a cornerstone—displayed a strong tendency to tail the petty-bourgeois and Stalinist leaderships of revolutionary movements, thus repeating the political mistakes of Michel Pablo. The Communist League took to the streets chanting the names of Ho Chi Minh and Che Guevara, forgetting that the former had murdered Vietnamese Trotskyists. In one of its pamphlets it even suggested that Cuba, Vietnam, and North Korea⁴ could form a new communist axis independent from both the Chinese and Soviet models. Within the so-called “Indochinese Revolutionary Front,”⁵ it praised the radicalism of the Cambodian Khmer Rouge.

FOR THE LEAGUE, EVERYTHING THAT MOVES IS RED!

There were two constants in the League’s positions during this period. The first was its

confusion between mass movements and their leaderships, be they Stalinist or petty-bourgeois. To criticize—or worse, to denounce—those leaderships was seen as equivalent to refusing to support revolutionary processes. The list is long: from the Vietnamese Communist Party to the Nicaraguan *Sandinistas* and many others, there was not the slightest warning of their betrayals nor any genuine self-criticism after supporting them.

The second constant was its uncritical exaltation of armed struggle—considered above any programmatic characterization. It is therefore unsurprising that the League’s leadership, as well as most of the USFI leadership (of which they had become the driving force thanks to their position in France), embraced the disastrous line of the guerrilla movement in several countries—particularly in Argentina with the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) and its armed wing, the People’s Revolutionary Army (ERP), and in Bolivia, where the task was to “take up Che’s legacy” by setting up rural guerrilla “*focos*.” This orientation turned its back on the construction of parties within the working class. The strategy—systematized by Livio Mai-tán⁶—was endorsed by the USFI’s 1969 World Congress.

Moreover, their ultra-leftist outlook prevented the USFI leaders from grasping the opportunities opening up for the workers’ movement during brief periods of “military reformism” (Velasco in Peru and Torres in Bolivia), as well as from immediately understanding the importance of the *Popular Assembly* in Bolivia (October 1971). For them, the continent was supposedly doomed to reactionary dictatorships.



This orientation was opposed by a strong minority within the USFI, grouped around the SWP and the so-called “Morenist” current. A fundamental text of this tendency, the Trotskyist Leninist Tendency⁷ (TLT), is worth consulting. There is little to add beyond this observation: at the 18th World Congress of the USFI, held in February 2025, Bolivia was not represented and Argentina was represented only by two small groups.

The Tupamaros (Uruguay), the FPL (El Salvador), the PFLP (Palestine), the IRA (Ireland), ETA (Euskera): armed struggle remained to be the main criteria—regardless of the program. Unsurprisingly, the League’s leaders ignored the fact that there can also be “armed reformism” and continued to confuse solidarity against state repression with uncritical political support.

A NEW PERIOD AND MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

First, it is worth highlighting the specificity of France, where the Trotskyist movement, until only a few years ago, had three relatively large organizations: The Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), *Lutte Ouvrière* (LO), and the Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI–Lambertist). These groups had trade union influence, significant electoral results

(10% in the 2002 presidential elections), and elected representatives (five European deputies from LCR and LO in 1979, plus regional and municipal councillors).

Comparable situations existed in Britain and Ireland (with organizations stemming from the Militant tendency) and in French-speaking Switzerland with *Solidarités*, a sympathizing group of the USFI. But such influence was absent in Germany, Italy, Belgium, or Sweden. In other countries, the USFI’s sections were integrated into anti-liberal or reformist organizations of varying radicality.

LO and the LCR thus evaded their responsibilities. *Lutte Ouvrière* (LO) quickly abandoned its call for a new party, launched in 1995 after Arlette Laguiller’s 5.2% in the presidential elections, to return to its traditional sectarian orientation—considering itself the only proletarian current and condemning the petty bourgeois elements of the League, whom it accused of dispersing themselves in secondary struggles (ecologist, feminist, anti-racist struggles, etc.). Paralyzed by the collapse of the USSR⁸ and the marginalization of the French Communist Party (PCF), and incapable of understanding the dynamics of the Arab Spring and other social uprisings, LO has adopted a thoroughly defeatist view

of the world situation. According to them, revolutionaries can only close ranks, attempt to spread their ideas (often in abstract propaganda), and wait for more favorable days⁹.

Faced with the same events, the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) took another path. Over five decades, France witnessed the reconstruction of the Socialist Party (PS), culminating in Mitterrand's election in 1981, followed by its long decline, which led to its near-organizational disappearance. The PCF—formerly, together with the PCI, the strongest party in Western Europe, controlling the CGT and holding significant positions in the teachers' unions—collapsed. Meanwhile, new social movements emerged or developed, and economic liberalism, which seemed to triumph after the disappearance of the “people's democracies” (the supposed “end of history”), came increasingly under question, through massive demonstrations and counter-summits opposing the G7, G8, G15, and others. ATTAC, the Copernicus Foundation, and other organizations embodied this rejection of neoliberalism, without fully challenging capitalism, maintaining the illusion that it could be controlled or even “civilized.”

Environmentalism and the struggle against global warming became important issues, especially among young people, often with reformist or even moralist illusions that could coexist with militant direct action. Reformist parties and union bureaucracies—by now in decline—tried to ride the wave of these movements without being able to control them.

Unlike LO and the Lambertists, the LCR understood the importance of these new social movements and became actively involved in them. Unfortunately, along with most sections of the USFI¹⁰, it reproduced—though backwards—the same serious mistakes of its ultra-left and guerrillaist period. Lula, then Chávez and Evo Morales, took the place once occupied by Che Guevara.

THE TURN TOWARD “BROAD PARTIES”

From one congress to the next, the LCR and the USFI turned this recipe into a central element of their political orientation—both in France and internationally—caricaturing all other approaches. In short, anyone

who did not adhere to the “broad party” orientation was dismissed as sectarian, devoted to maintaining small, isolated groups detached from reality. What could have been a tactic—a transitional step toward the construction of a revolutionary party—became instead a mantra and a screen for the worst opportunism.

Let us be clear: we do not advocate the creation of “narrow,” self-centered parties. We believe that genuine revolutionary parties can win significant militant forces and influence within the workers' movement. Of course, one might think of the Bolsheviks or the Spartacists, but Trotskyists too have built large and influential parties. Two examples stand out: the LSSP in Sri Lanka and the POR in Bolivia. Analyzing the reasons for their eventual failures lies beyond the scope of this article, but they clearly stemmed from issues of political orientation—not from the fact that they were not “broad parties” as the USFI would think. Argentine Trotskyist organizations, for instance, have built an electoral front—Left Front – Unity (FIT-U)—which has achieved certain successes.

There is also the question of *mediation*. It is absurd to try to impose the same tactic in every country, regardless of the political conditions, opportunities, or relative strength of revolutionary groups. If “entire sections” of reformist workers' parties—or even of radical petty-bourgeois parties—break away seeking a leftward path, it is perfectly conceivable (and even inevitable, when the revolutionary organization is small) to join the new party.

For example, in Brazil, where, as in other Latin American countries, bourgeois, conservative, and liberal parties alternated in power between military dictatorships, Trotskyists were right to help build a Workers' Party together with militant trade unionists—and later to leave and help found PSOL when Lula's PT consolidated itself as a reformist party, allied with the right and banning internal tendencies. Similarly, Italian Trotskyists participated in the experience of Rifondazione Comunista, when that party represented the break of tens of thousands of militants from the Italian Communist Party (PCI), which was shifting toward the center-right, abandoning any class reference. Today, similar questions



arise in Britain and Germany, and they must be addressed without hesitation.

Without fear—but with principles. First is that revolutionaries must maintain their independent organization within the “broad party,” without hiding their identity, and with the means—press and other tools—to spread their proposals and program. This implies that the leadership of the “broad party” must allow tendencies and factions, unlike PT or *Podemos*. Of course, under a dictatorship the means are different, but the organizational and programmatic independence of revolutionary Marxists is non-negotiable.

The second principle is that the objective must be to win the party to the revolutionary program. Depending on the strength of revolutionaries within the new party and its nature (whether centrist with potential evolution toward the left, or radical reformism), the methods may differ—but the foundations remain the same: fighting electoralism and, naturally, any alliance with bourgeois forces, and committing the entire party to support ongoing struggles. This is not something guaranteed in advance—history shows that right-wing leaderships often respond by organizing splits—but engaging in this political struggle is the only way to win the majority of the “broad party” to the revolutionary program.

THE FORMER NPA: FROM A CARICATURE OF A “BROAD PARTY” TO ITS POLITICAL DRIFT

Far from the examples we have mentioned, the New Anticapitalist Party (NPA) is a self-proclaimed “broad party,” though not a very broad one, since after a rather short period its membership and electoral results fell below those of the LCR.

Self-proclaimed—because neither “entire sectors” breaking away from reformist parties, nor groups of class-struggle trade unionists, nor significant sectors of social movements joined it. The LCR founded a new party solely on the basis of its own organized forces, attracting mainly individuals already close to it. It sought to broaden its base by softening its program, abandoning all revolutionary Marxist education for new members and even the most basic organizational criteria—exacerbating its traditional weaknesses such as irregular contributions, poor distribution (and even reading) of the press, weak participation in meetings and debates, and a general confusion between members and loosely organized sympathizers.

However, within the NPA, cadres and militants of the USFI also coexisted with those from other Trotskyist currents, which greatly unsettled them, since the latter were deeply skeptical of their conception of the “broad party.”

The launch of the Left Party (*Parti de Gauche* – PG) at the very moment of the NPA's creation represented formidable competition. This might have had limited consequences if the NPA had clearly asserted its character as an open party rooted in a revolutionary program. It could then have attracted militants disillusioned with the undemocratic functioning of the PG and later *France Insoumise* (LFI), or at least formed a revolutionary front with them.

But things turned out very differently. Even before the NPA was officially constituted, the right-wing tendency within the LCR—which questioned what remained of its revolutionary communist references—split to join the Left Front, the electoral alliance between the PG and the PCF. They were welcomed with open arms—not because of their strength, but because their defection seemed to weaken the NPA. Those who left, calling themselves Unitary Left (*Gauche Unitaire*), only anticipated by a few years the later drift of the NPA-A.

In 2018, another rightward split occurred. A large part of the historic leadership of the League, outvoted at the NPA congress, decided to leave the organization and, under the name Anticapitalist Left (GA), joined the Left Front.

One might have expected that these successive splits would have allowed the NPA to get back on track and become a tool for taking steps toward the construction of a revolutionary party. Unfortunately, that did not happen. The faction that later became the NPA-A, linked to the USFI, succumbed in turn to the siren songs of the New Popular Front (NFP), renouncing what remained of its Leninist and Trotskyist roots. This shift is astonishing coming from comrades who, for the most part, once belonged to the left-wing tendency *Révolution!*, which had advocated an alliance with *Lutte Ouvrière* (LO) rather than with pseudo-liberals and had opposed previous rightward deviations.

Now they have sworn allegiance to the NFP. As noted at the outset, this is the product of their defeatism—their abandonment of any revolutionary perspective, which they now consider obsolete. This capitulation might lead them to collaborate with reformist forces and union bureaucracies to channel social protest into institutional frameworks. One can

always hope for recovery, but the chances are slim, since when NPA-A members are active in struggles, it is mainly as militant trade unionists, while their organization provides them with no political compass.

BREAKING WITH THE LEAGUE'S DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS

To achieve their goals—and no doubt to keep up appearances in the eyes of their reformist partners—they had to get rid of the left-wing tendencies, rebranded for the occasion as “sectarian factions” that were paralyzing the NPA, using the same language previously employed by the Anticapitalist Left splitters against them. To do so, disregarding all democratic rules, they broke up the congress and attempted to keep the party's name.

Not long ago, the League's internal democracy bordered on laxity. During the 2007 presidential elections, some militants—including a member of the political bureau—publicly called for a vote for José Bové, even though Olivier Besancenot was the official LCR candidate. Not only were they not expelled, but they later regained their position in the political bureau.

The same thing happened with the “Claire” tendency, which called for a vote for Jean-Luc Mélenchon instead of Philippe Poutou in 2022.

In practice, this tolerance benefited the right-wing positions above all. For daring to propose a candidate for the NPA nomination, the comrades of the CCR were ostracized. The fact that this current—now *Révolution Permanente*—had already been preparing its departure does not change the scandalous character of the NPA leadership's methods.

What about the USFI? It has swallowed many other humiliations, endorsing shameful expulsions such as those of the militants of Anticapitalistas, who later founded *Izquierda Anticapitalista Revolucionaria* (IZAR), and—contrary to its own tradition—denied them even the status of a sympathizing group. If the NPA split was not openly organized with the USFI's approval, it is unlikely that it will ever be disavowed.

The NPA-A is now its French section, but the architects of previous right-wing splits remain



within its ranks, though without any official status as we wrote about its 18th World Congress held last February. The USFI today is an abstract structure with few official sections, where the “sympathizing organization” status has lost all meaning; in some countries, such as Brazil, up to eight groups coexist, and it boasts the number of guests it invites to its meetings. Meanwhile, some sections have simply dissolved, as in Portugal. The USFI also accepts individual members, in open contradiction with its own statutes. To think that this was once the self-proclaimed “World Party of Socialist Revolution”!

CONCLUSIONS AND DEBATES

The history of the United Secretariat (USFI) reveals a permanent oscillation between ultra-left deviations (guerrillaism, uncritical support for petty-bourgeois and Stalinist leaderships) and opportunist deviations (support for “broad parties” without class distinction, adaptation to reformist currents). It has moved further and further away from the construction of a revolutionary socialist program, dissolving itself into broader structures or movements instead of building Leninist parties.

This drift reflects an ever-greater distance from the perspective of a *world party of socialist revolution*.

The USFI bears heavy responsibility for what the NPA-A has become—the political liquidation of an organization that originally claimed to be a reference point for radicalized sectors of the French youth and working class. Yet, it must be said that the NPA militants who played key roles in international bodies share this responsibility.

The NPA-A has multiplied its weaknesses: the flight of militants toward electoralist variants and subordination to broad fronts with reformists.

Unfortunately, the departure of the *Révolution Permanente* comrades before the last NPA congress prevented the creation of a broader bloc capable of attempting to correct the situation. Their decision not to carry the fight through to the end and to prioritize self-affirmation was, in our view, a serious mistake.

DEBATES WITH NPA-R

The emergence of NPA-R, as a reaction to the split organized in the middle of the congress by the NPA leadership with the complicity of the USFI, opens up a possibility that must not lead to yet another frustration.

To achieve this, it is essential to:

- Reaffirm the revolutionary program: NPA-R must not limit itself to being a space of “re-

sistance,” workerist and centered on combative trade unionism—valuable but insufficient elements.

- It needs an explicit program of class independence and must defend the perspective of a workers’ government.
- Clearly demarcate from reformism. Build a Leninist party with democratic centralism and organic links to workers’ and popular struggles.
- Do so within an internationalist regroupment strategy for revolutionaries—far from the dogmatic sectarianism of LO and Lotta Comunista (Italy).

We base ourselves on the experience gained since the OTI-PCL’s integration to the International Socialist League (ISL) this year and the ongoing process of integration between the ISL, the League for the Fifth International (L5I), and MAS-Portugal, in preparation for the Third Congress, to be held in December 2025.

We aim to prioritize agreements on the main features and political international and national situations, based on a Transitional Program—without ignoring the nuances or divergences that persist, but addressing them through the method of democratic centralism within a single organization, while building trust and a new tradition that transcends the original currents.

We hope that in the future the conditions will arise for a deeper debate between NPA-R and the ISL, enabling us to take a common path toward the international regroupment of revolutionaries. 🌟

1. Title of Victor Serge’s novel criticizing the Stalinist regime. The title carries a strong connotation of failure. Editor’s note.

2. Reference to the Italian Communist Party, which distanced itself from Stalinism, unlike the French Communist Party, which initially concealed Khrushchev’s report.

3. The Communist League, dissolved by the government, was reconstituted in 1974 under the name LCR (Revolutionary Communist League).

4. For the League, unlike the degenerated or deformed workers’ states of Eastern Europe, there were certainly bureaucratic defects in these countries, but a political revolution was not considered necessary. As a result, what remained in exile of the Vietnamese section—massacred by the Stalinists—was neglected, and it was deemed heretical to want to establish a section of the Fourth International in Cuba (where the Trotskyist group of Posadist tendency had been dissolved and repressed). Furthermore, according to Ernest Mandel, the Soviet bureaucracy, in its own way, defended the foundations of the workers’ state against the threat of capitalist restoration. He was proved right.
5. This front was a product of the League’s leadership imagination, as revealed by the armed conflict between the Vietnamese leadership and the Khmer Rouge — the former backed by the USSR and the latter by China.
6. Livio Maitán was an Italian Trotskyist leader supported by Pierre Franck, a veteran of the PCI in the League’s leadership, along with Ernest Mandel, Tariq Ali, and Alain Krivine. Daniel Bensaïd’s position—quoted under his pseudonym *Jebrak* in the TLT text—expressed an even more radical form of guerrillaism.
7. The position of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency: *Argentine et Bolivie : le bilan*. Marxists Internet Archive. This lengthy document—signed by leaders of the U.S. SWP, “Morenist” leaders of Argentina’s PRT, and Hugo Blanco—should be read in full to grasp what was at stake in the debate. Hundreds of comrades lost their lives as a result of this political madness. The space devoted to the Communist League in the fourth part of the document illustrates the prominent role it played within the pro-guerrilla majority tendency.
8. LO characterizes the USSR as a degenerated workers’ state, but unique in the world. Everywhere else—in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, and Indochina—the petty bourgeoisie was in power.
9. LO expelled the tendencies that opposed this retreat. Organized under the names *Démocratie Révolutionnaire* and *L’Étincelle*, they joined the LCR and are now part of the NPA-R.
10. In Brazil, the vast majority of the USFI section, *Democracia Socialista*, agreed to participate in Lula’s government, merged into the Workers’ Party, and ultimately broke with the International. The leaders of the LCR and the USFI refused to wage a political struggle or to support the minority that opposed this drift and was forced to leave *Democracia Socialista* taking with it only a few militants. In Mexico, the majority of the PRT joined Cárdenas’s PRD and did not leave until that centrist, barely left-wing party had clearly become a pillar of the system, later placing its hopes in López Obrador.

PALESTINE: From Deceptive Agreements to the **HISTORICAL UNITY** of the **STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION**



BY RUBÉN TZANOFF

“War is nothing but the continuation of politics by other means. In the hands of imperialism, both war and peace are different forms of the same policy of oppression and plunder.”

Leon Trotsky, *War and the Fourth International* (1934)

This quote exposes the imperialist political orientation and the nature of the agreement signed between the United States, Israel, and Hamas. Using it as a guide, let’s start from the beginning.

OCTOBER 7, 2023: ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THIS HISTORIC CONFLICT

Hamas attacked Israel through a bold tactical operation that exposed Israel’s vulnerabilities and temporarily froze the *Abraham Accords* aimed at “normalizing” relations with Arab states under U.S. sponsorship. However, “Operation Al-Aqsa Flood” lacked a solid political strategy—it underestimated the scale of Israel’s response and overestimated Iran and the Arab regimes’ support, a miscalculation that would have serious consequences.

This attack was a landmark, but not the origin of the conflict, which dates back to May 14, 1948. Then, through an operation led by British imperialism and its accomplices, the colonial Zionist state was imposed by force on Palestinian land.

Palestinians, facing overwhelming oppression, have both the right and need to resist their colonizers by every means at their disposal. This does not imply political support for Hamas, but rather stems from a position of political independence before an organization with which we have deep ideological and methodological differences.

A CRIMINAL RESPONSE WITH HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS

The State of Israel was shaken by the blow but quickly recovered and used it as a pretext for revenge.

Although the conflicts between Israel, Palestine, and neighboring countries have taken place in different contexts and subjects, they are worth comparing. The Zionist offensives during the Suez Crisis (1956), the Six-Day War (1967), and the Yom Kippur War (1973) were relatively conventional. The current one is not. It is specifically characterized by mass crimes that recall the original onslaught on Palestine between 1947 and 1949.

When Netanyahu states that he seeks to “*finish the job*” and dominate a territory that will “*guarantee Israel’s security for generations*,” he is referring to the annexations of the West Bank, and parts of Lebanon and Syria. Thus, he stands as the faithful heir to the nightmare envisioned by Zionist “*high rabbis*” Theodor Herzl and David Ben-Gurion: to conquer “*Greater Israel*,” a Jewish state extending “*from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates*.”

IT’S NOT WAR, IT’S GENOCIDE

“Operation Iron Sword” was launched with Israel’s declaration of war and has produced a provisional balance sheet of sheer barbarism. Israel has dropped thousands of tons of bombs over neighborhoods, hospitals, schools, and refugee camps. It has murdered more than 65,000 Palestinians—mostly women and children—displaced over 3.4 million people, both internally and externally, and has used hunger, thirst, and illness as weapons of destruction.

Israeli forces have committed such blatant

crimes against humanity that multiple UN bodies and special rapporteurs have defined them as acts of genocide—a label previously applied only to the Holocaust, Armenia, Rwanda, and Srebrenica (Bosnia-Herzegovina). This recognition, however, is partial, belated, and hypocritical: they “noticed it” only after the catastrophe was carried out. They still refuse to acknowledge the Nakba as the first genocide perpetrated against the Palestinian people.

UNPRECEDENTED GLOBAL MOBILIZATIONS

The massacres of civilians provoked widespread horror. It clarified who the actual victims and perpetrators are, and triggered mobilizations that shifted global public opinion. Millions—especially youth—took to the streets across the United States, Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia in solidarity with Palestine. There are hundreds of examples such as the demonstrations across the “Arab Street”, student occupations, workers’ strikes, and the Global Sumud Flotilla attempting to break the blockade on humanitarian aid. These actions emerged despite the obstruction of union bureaucracies, reformist leaderships, and state repression.



This eruption of solidarity put pressure on governments to distance themselves from the massacres, criticize Netanyahu, and isolate Israel as never before. It was then that imperialism fully engaged in arranging a halt to hostilities, with two objectives: to appease the potentially explosive mass mobilization (remembering Vietnam very clearly) and to allow Zionism to advance using a “diplomatic” shield.

The ceasefire temporarily halted the full occupation of Gaza, enabling thousands to return—even if it meant only returning to the rubble of their homes and the search for the dead. The cautious joy of Gazans for surviving two years of barbarism is entirely understandable. But one cannot mistake this momentary respite for a victory of the resistance. The partial opening that allows them to breathe comes tainted by the foul air of a deceptive deal.



The ISL in the Global Sumud Flotilla Mission

Activists from multiple countries boarded small vessels and set sail from Barcelona bound for Gaza to break the blockade on humanitarian aid. Our comrade Cele Fierro, from the MST-Argentina, sailed aboard the *Adara*, representing the International Socialist League.

The State of Israel intercepted them in international waters, kidnapped all on board, prevented the delivery of food, and seized the boats. However, this solidarity mission played a very positive role by contributing to make what was happening in Gaza more visible and strengthening international solidarity.

- It was a collective feat, carried out by workers, teachers, students, journalists, artists, and activists—both party members and independent activists participated—each of them with different perspectives but a common goal. This highlights the value of collective effort over the individual selfishness fostered by capitalism.
- At sea but with their eyes on Palestine. The activists downplayed their own effort compared to that of the people of Gaza, focusing global attention on genocide and starvation.
- They exposed governments. The mission unmasked their inaction and hypocrisy, challenging them to break

relations with Israel and adopt measures to politically isolate Israel.

- They resisted slander. The Israeli lobby tried to discredit the crew as a group of “terrorists” sailing around the Mediterranean. It failed. The Flotilla drew strength from mobilization, nurtured it in return, and received support through actions and strikes.
- They did not yield to intimidation. Although they were threatened, attacked by drones, mistreated, and kidnapped, its members did not bow down and reaffirmed their commitment to a just cause.
- It embodied organized internationalism. Cele took part with great effort and courage, making the ISL and its member organizations proud. She gave continuity to our internationalist tradition expressed through actions in Nicaragua, Bosnia, Ukraine, Lebanon, and the Sahrawi refugee camps.

Read “*Cele Fierro on the Flotilla to Gaza.*”



A DECEPTIVE PLAN, BROKEN TRUCES. MORE QUESTIONS THAN ANSWERS

The agreement signed in Sharm el-Sheikh (Egypt) benefits Israel and harms Palestine, as stated in the “*International Statement: For a Free Palestine from the River to the Sea. No to Trump and Israel’s Agreement Trap*”, signed by the International Socialist League (ISL) and the League for the Fifth International (LSI).

Since the beginning of hostilities in 2025, there have been two truces: from January 19 to March 18, and from October 10 to 19—both violated by Israel. The latest was broken through a “proportional” action that was politely requested by the United States: Israel killed 73 people by dropping 153 tons of bombs in a single day, shot three more near the “yellow line” demarcating (without physical markers) the limit of the partial IDF

withdrawal, and suspended humanitarian aid to Gaza.

This instability prompted Trump’s negotiators to return to Israel and prepare the visit of Vice President JD Vance, who would attempt to save the plan. The conditional reciprocity clauses, vague definitions, and treacherous Zionist maneuvers raise many questions for the future: Will the plan be implemented fully, partially, or will it collapse entirely? Will Hamas be disarmed? Will the Palestinian Authority turn to a puppet government? How will the Palestinian population react? Will the West Bank remain neglected amid settler expansion? What will happen to Netanyahu? And what stance will be taken by its “reluctant neighbors”—Iran, Lebanon, and Yemen?

These uncertainties coexist with mounting political and social polarization, expressed by the millions of Americans who have mobilized against Trump's authoritarianism amid his false "pacifism", as well as the global continuity of pro-Palestinian protests.

PACTS THAT REINFORCE DOMINATION

The Camp David Accords (1978) and the Oslo Accords (1993) recognized the State of Israel and created limited Palestinian administrative structures, without ending the occupation or the expansion of settlements. The Abraham Accords (2020)—which Trump now seeks to bring back to life—aim to "normalize" regional political and economic relations while marginalizing Palestine. The Sharm el-Sheikh Accords keep and even deepen the negative impacts of their predecessors.

Local pacts do not take place without the interference of global powers and the endorsement of regional governments and leaderships which, in this case, serve Trump's imperial objectives. This is proved by the support of Chinese and Russian imperialism, as well as that of the Arab governments which represent their local bourgeoisies and seek stability in order to restore their business ties.

At this point, Trotsky's quote at the beginning of this article gains stark relevance—it is reflected on both the struggles and the role of leaderships.

GREAT STRUGGLES WITH NO LEADERSHIP UP TO THE TASK

The First Intifada (1987–1993), the Second Intifada (2000–2005), and the resistance against genocide (2023–2025) reflect a people with an unbreakable will to survive and to be free. Regionally, these struggles are part of the long trajectory of the Arab peoples of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, and others, who throughout the 20th century fought for independence—initially against British and French imperialism, and more recently through the Arab Spring uprisings (2010–2013).

Unfortunately, and primarily due to the responsibility of their leaderships and organizations, these courageous struggles for democratic and social rights achieved only partial victories—or suffered defeats—. Those leaderships and organizations proved themselves unable to rise to the historical circumstances.

In Palestine, the Palestine Liberation Organi-

Denouncing Genocide Is Not a Crime: Alejandro Bodart has been Acquitted



Israel, backed by capitalist courts, governments, and corporate media, seeks to criminalize solidarity with the Palestine people. Censorship, account closures, trials, and imprisonment have become commonplace. *Anti-Zionist* persons are falsely accused of being "anti-Semitic," for criticizing the reactionary ideas of the Zionist political current. Moreover, they are even labeled as "terrorists" for expressing solidarity with the oppressed and denouncing Israel's barbarism. These are false and misleading pretenses meant to attack freedom of expression.

In Argentina, the DAIA (*Delegation of Argentine Israeli Associations*) has led this "inquisition" against Alejandro Bodart (ISL coordinator) for denouncing genocide. It has failed in its criminalizing attempts. After several hearings, the latest court ruling acquitted Alejandro. As expected, Zionists appealed the ruling. United support is key for resisting, and provides the best tool to defend other persecuted leaders and activists.

Read "*Argentina: Alejandro Bodart has been acquitted by a new ruling. Denouncing a genocide is not a crime!*"



zation (PLO) under Yasser Arafat failed, and currently collaborates with Israel in the West Bank through the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), controlled by Fatah. Meanwhile, the fundamentalist leadership of Hamas, which replaced the PNA in Gaza with a bureaucratic and reactionary administration, has made political and military decisions that leave open the question of how the Palestinian masses will ultimately judge them.

DEBATES ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE STRATEGIC SOLUTION

The current situation arises debates that go beyond Palestine and the Middle East, including the national question itself. Some

Mobilization for the freedom of the Global Sumud Flotilla on October 1 in Buenos Aires.



organizations, such as *Lutte Ouvrière* (France) and *Lotta Comunista* (Italy), use “internationalism” as a shield to break with Leninism, which affirms:

“The right of nations to self-determination, that is, to form independent states and to secede from existing states, is a fundamental democratic principle.”

(Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, 1914. *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*)

In the Middle Eastern context, this teaching implies the defense of a Palestinian state, but the question remains: what kind of state? We polemicize against the “two-state solution,” i.e., the recognition of Israel and a limited Palestinian state confined to the West Bank and Gaza. It is a trap that has already fragmented and weakened the Palestinian cause. Nor do we share the illusion of a “binational Palestine,” supposedly united by “both working classes” in equal rights for Jews and Palestinians. Palestinians are a dispossessed majority who could not survive in a state ideologically designed for their extermination. In addition, religious-fundamentalist alternatives represent reactionary and authoritarian projects, increasingly challenged by their own bases.

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION: THE ONLY STRATEGIC WAY FORWARD

While Stalinism supported the imposition of the State of Israel through the former USSR, the Fourth International was the only current to oppose it—a legacy that the International Socialist League (ISL) re-

affirms today. We reaffirm that the only path to a just and lasting peace is through the defeat of the Zionist-fascist monster and the establishment of a free, united, secular, non-racist, democratic, and socialist Palestine, governed by workers and the people.

Achieving this will not be easy, nor will it fall solely upon the shoulders of the Palestinian people. At this point, a fundamental truth emerges:

“The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership.”

(Leon Trotsky, 1938. *The Transitional Program*)

To triumph, it is necessary to promote the emer-

gence of new leaders, build democratic organs of dual power, and forge strong revolutionary socialist organizations—both nationally and internationally—capable of providing mass mobilizations with a conscious direction toward socialist revolution in the Middle East. The future of humanity will be determined by the choice between socialism or barbarism—a dilemma which resolution demands that we take bold steps toward the regroupment of revolutionaries today. ✊



For a Free Palestine from the River to the Sea. NO TO TRUMP AND ISRAEL'S AGREEMENT TRAP

The massive mobilization that continues to grow and the shift of a majority of global public opinion in favor of the Palestinian people and against the genocide of the Zionist State of Israel have accelerated imperialism's efforts to achieve a new and precarious ceasefire, the objective of which is to dismantle the international mobilization and allow Zionism to continue advancing by other means, resting on a counterrevolutionary pact with the Palestinian leadership.

We understand and share the joy of the Gazan population for the cessation of the bombings they have suffered daily for two years and the possible end of the criminal blockade that has submitted them to a desperate humanitarian crisis. But we must be honest: this does not mean a victory of the Palestinian resistance, as various organizations are mistakenly claiming. The reality is much more complex.

This ceasefire is partially a result of the extraordinary global mobilization, as well as of the danger of Gaza's desperate situation becoming unpredictable. But the accompanying agreement that Hamas and Israel signed was negotiated under conditions imposed by the United States. Its 20 points, if materialized, would represent a setback for the struggle for the emancipation of Palestine. They propose accepting imperialism's policy for the region and legitimizing the Zionist occupation.

To reach this agreement, imperialism counted on the direct collaboration of Qatar, Egypt, and Turkey, and the complicit celebration of the entire Western bourgeoisie, the Arab autocracies, and even Russia and China.

The agreement, if imperialism manages to prevent it from failing before reaching its second



phase, in addition to the release of the Israeli hostages and Palestinian prisoners, which is already being finalized, proposes the transformation of Gaza into a US protectorate under the tutelage of a puppet government led by Donald Trump and Tony Blair.

It does not require Israel to completely withdraw its troops from Gaza or end its colonial advance in the West Bank. It does require Hamas to disarm and not hinder the formation of a new government of "apolitical" Palestinian technocrats and "international experts," nor the establishment of a foreign military force that would assume control of the Strip.

Zionism's genocidal response to Hamas's actions on October 7 sparked an international mobilization in favor of Palestine far and beyond anything that preceded it. The process extended beyond its historical epicenter in left wing sectors, erupting in the world's main imperialist countries. It was massive in the United States, with radicalized encampments in various universities and significant sectors of the Jewish community breaking with Zionism. Hundreds of thousands and millions marched in Australia and Europe, despite the fact that major trade unions and social democratic parties in the imperialist countries stood aside from this movement or actually continued their support for Israel and the regimes of the Middle East (minus the Houthis) prevented the so-called Arab Street from mobilising to force blockades against the Zionists and the western states arming the genocide. In a num-



ber of imperialist countries, Palestinian organisations have been banned an thousands of protestors criminalised or even charged with terrorism. But despite all this, the movement grew and the recent general strike and port blockades in Italy, in solidarity with the Sumud Global Flotilla, shocked the world and began to serve as an example that could spread.

It is a fact that the United States and Israel, despite the complicit support of the entire capitalist superstructure, lost the battle of global public opinion. This is the most significant result that the Palestinian cause achieved. Israel had never before in history been so isolated internationally, so notorious, and subjected to such widespread condemnation and criticism.

However, two years since the genocide deepened, the Palestinian people are not better off than they were before October 7, 2023. Gaza has been destroyed and militarily occupied by the Zionists, at least 67,000 Palestinian lives, possibly many more, have been lost, including 20,000 children, tens of thousands have been wounded and maimed. The West Bank continues to lose territory to Zionist settlers and life in East Jerusalem is increasingly difficult.

Hamas's October 7 action achieved its immediate objective of interrupting the process of "normalization" of relations between Israel and the Arab countries known as the *Abraham Accords*. But Hamas's expectation that the blow it dealt Israel would exert sufficient pressure to force them to negotiate an agreement did not materialize. Nor did the hypothesis that Iran would respond in strength to a brutal Israeli reaction. It became clear that the mullahs' regime only defends its own capitalist and caste interests. The Arab regimes also failed to support Palestine and are supporting the current agreement, which seeks the surrender of the resistance in order to return to the path of "normalization" of relations with Israel and imperialism.

Hamas's misguided gamble resulted in genocide, the destruction and occupation of Gaza, and now in a pact riddled with concessions, reminiscent of the one Arafat signed in Oslo over 30 years ago. It is no coincidence that, pressured by the mobilizations, several countries, such as Spain and the United Kingdom,

have revived the two-state fantasy, which is not even mentioned as an objective in the agreement.

No Palestinian state is possible while a colonial, expansionist, and genocidal state exists on its historical lands. It has been demonstrated that Israel will never allow this. On the contrary, its strategic project is the complete ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian people and the construction of a "Greater Israel" by conquering more and more territories.

To achieve peace, and for it to be lasting and just for the Palestinian people and all the peoples of the region, we must first defeat the Zionist monster and its ongoing colonialist expansion. As long as the terrorist state of Israel, built with blood and fire by the imperialists, continues to exist, the only possible peace will be that of the cemeteries.

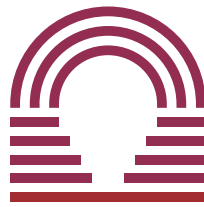
Only the construction of a single, free, secular, and socialist Palestine, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, can allow the region's peoples to live in peace again. But this solution will not come from the hands of the Arab capitalists or the Iranian mullahs, nor through pacts with any of the imperialist powers. It can only come from the Arab working masses leading a revolution that overthrows the capitalist governments of the region, defeats the Zionist monster, and establishes a voluntary federation of socialist republics throughout the Middle East.

In 1948, our political forebears of the Fourth International, the only organization of the global working class movement that fought against the creation of the Zionist state, declared:

"Thanks to the bourgeois and feudal leadership of the Arab countries—agents of imperialism—we have been defeated in one stage of the struggle against imperialism; and we must prepare for victory in the next stage, that is, the unification of Palestine and the Middle East in general, by creating the only force that can achieve these goals: the unified revolutionary proletarian party of the Middle East."

That is, today as well, the strategy on which those of us who have signed this statement are betting. Therefore, we commit ourselves to promote, help and build revolutionary parties in the region, regrouping without sectarianism the fighters who agree with these objectives.

***International Socialist League (ISL)
League for the Fifth International (LSI)***



la montaña
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PERMANENT REVOLUTION

**THE RISE OF
THE FAR RIGHT**
The tasks of the revolutionaries



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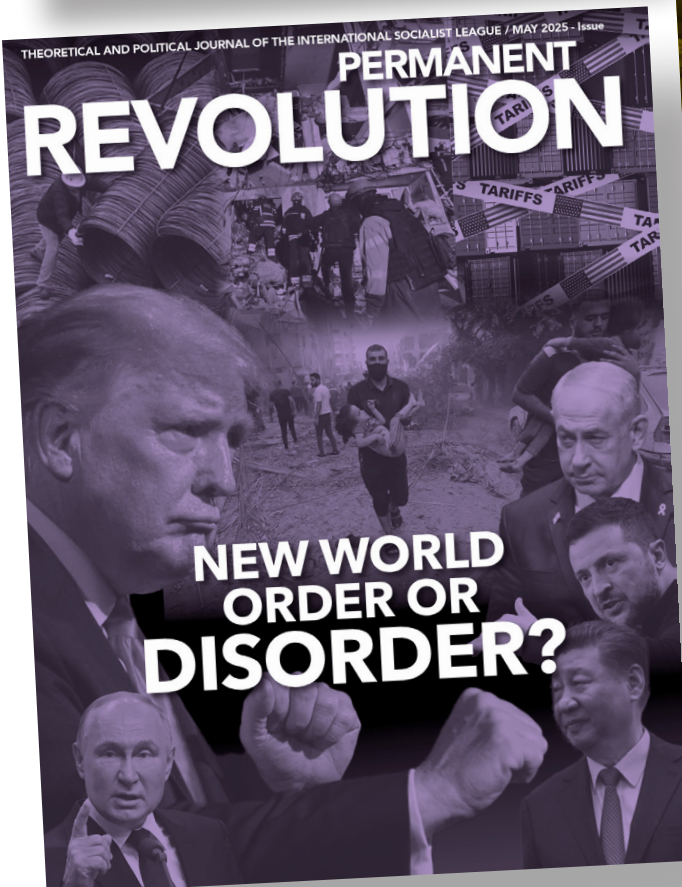
**MIDDLE EAST
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PERMANENT REVOLUTION

**NEW WORLD
ORDER OR
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**FREE PALESTINE
FROM THE RIVER TO THE SEA**