

F O U R T H
***i*INTERNATI*o*NAL**
WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

DISCUSSION TEXTS 18TH CONGRESS

At its meeting of 24 to 28 February 2024, the International Committee of the Fourth International adopted the resolutions proposed to the 18th World Congress scheduled for February 2025.

The IC approved the four resolutions presented by the Executive Bureau. Four alternative texts presented by two IC members were rejected. These texts were published in Bulletins #1 and #2 with updates, notably of the resolutions on the international situation, in Bulletins #4 and #5. In this bulletin, other contributions to the debate.

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Amendments to international political situation in bulletin #4

Add as new para 6 in section II, The far right challenges “neoliberal democracies”, workers and the oppressed

‘The extreme right can be particularly insidious when it puts forward a “modernized” gender and sexual politics, which claims a newfound commitment to women’s emancipation and to tolerance of LGBTIQ+ people while viciously targeting some of the most vulnerable groups. Trans people are particular targets of the far right, for example of US Republicans and Bolsonaro in Brazil, while the parental and adoption rights of same-sex couples are under concerted attack by for example the Meloni government in Italy. Resistance to these attacks needs to be an integral part of solidarity against the extreme right.’

Add in III/ The workers, the oppressed sectors and the peoples of the world responded with mobilizations. And now? In first paragraph, after ‘a renewed women’s movement’ ‘growing LGBTIQ+ movements’

Add in section II/ The far right challenges “neoliberal democracies”,

workers and the oppressed in para 3 as new second sentence Add at end of 1.2

: ‘The recognition of “gay families”, however justified on the basis of equality, can be part of this tendency towards privatization of state and social responsibility for care.’

In IV/ An era of war and geopolitical chaos. Towards a reconfiguration of the world order add new para before 4.1

‘The formation of these blocs has consequences for sexual politics as well, with US allies like Taiwan and Thailand introducing same-sex marriage while China rolls back earlier gains for LGBTIQ+ people, and a US adversary like Iran sponsoring an axis hostile to sexual emancipation (though there are certainly members of the US-led bloc, from the Vatican to the Saudi kingdom, that are equally reactionary in this field).’

Amendments to resolution on Ukraine in Bulletin 4

in para 2 new sentence 4:

‘Geopolitical alignments have led

Putin to portray the Russian war on Ukraine as a crusade in defence of Christian morality and the traditional family, and have led Ukraine to pose increasingly as a defender of LGBTIQ+ people. Russian repression of LGBTIQ+ people is all too real, and has intensified during the war.

In para 4 add new sentence 3:

The Ukrainian government’s claims to progressive social policy need to be critically scrutinized. Ukraine still has no law banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity, and Ukrainian trans women have been blocked from fleeing the country so they can be conscripted as men in the army. Like Ukrainian neoliberal policies and restrictions to trade union rights, these laws and policies need to be denounced as dividing Ukrainians and weakening their self-defence against Russian aggression.’

Terry (IC member Britain)
Olivia (IC member Denmark),
LGBTIQ Commission

Developing our international press and visibility

The purpose of this motion is to clarify and develop point A/ of the role and tasks text, entitled ‘International public profile’, and in particular the part concerning a more coherent international presence based on our various websites and social networks. As a reminder, the party-building tasks text says the following:

«(...) The next step is to create a more coherent international presence based on these websites.

This means developing a more coherent editorial policy between our websites, with the same general priorities for coverage of major questions of the current situation, theoretical and analytical questions.

This requires a more active coordinated editorial policy in soliciting articles from our organizations and our individual “specialists” that we can publish and promote, as well as monitoring the publications of our national organizations for material to translate and republish. Small steps have been taken in this direction following a meeting at the February 2024 IC of comrades interested and involved in our publications which will enable us to begin to broaden and strengthen the team around the website fourth.international. A broader editorial committee for Inprecor is also beginning to be put in place. Similarly, the English-speaking organizations have been invited to strengthen the team around International Viewpoint.

We should also consider how to have a

more coherent graphic presence in the design of the websites and our profiles on social media platforms. (...)’

To make concrete progress in this direction, we need to make this issue a priority for the next IC and the next Bureau. Better dissemination of our analyses and positions can only be beneficial for building the International. We propose to move forward in two phases, taking into account our real strengths (limited) and our financial resources (also limited).

1st phase: coordinate and strengthen existing teams

What is the current state of the forces behind our sites?

The **Fourth.International** website (in 8 languages) is updated by a group of 3 to 4 people, mainly in English, Spanish, French and Greek. Occasionally in Arabic, and more exceptionally in Portuguese, Italian and German. This group meets every fortnight or so to select the articles to be published, using existing translations or calling on a network of translators, mainly for the International's 3 working languages. The site receives around 4,000 visits per month.

Inprecor has a website and a paper magazine in French. Inprecor can count on the paid time of a member of the Bureau, as well as the voluntary support of a comrade for administrative matters and bookkeeping. For several months now, an editorial committee has been meeting once a month to define the themes for the next issue of the paper magazine. The website receives around 3,500 hits a month.

Alomamia (Correspondance internationale) is the Arabic equivalent of Inprecor. It has just been launched and translates and reproduces articles from Inprecor, until it has the capacity to encourage the writing of original articles. It is run by an editorial board made up of a number of comrades, notably from Al Mounadil and the former PST...

International Viewpoint (IVP) is the English-language website of the IV (the paper journal was discontinued in 2005, mainly because the postage costs were too high to send the journal to the four corners of the world, especially in countries where the readership could not afford a subscription) and is published by two comrades on the Bureau who also rely on a network of translators (including 2 very partially paid translators). There is an ongoing fund-raising campaign to make this possible. The site receives around 17,000 visits a month.

Punto de Vista Internacional (PVI) is the IV's Castilian-language website. It is run by an editorial committee made up of comrades from Latin America and the Spanish State and coordinated by a comrade who is a member of the Executive Committee. The site receives around 1,000 visits a month.

The **ernestmandel.org** website

brings together texts by Ernest Mandel in six languages. Initially created by the Belgian section, it was not updated for several years. The structure of the site is very old and a comrade is currently in the process of transferring the content to a more recent version. But it's a job that's impossible for just one person to do. So we need reinforcements, firstly to transfer the existing content. Secondly, we also need one or more people who can continue to feed and maintain the site. The site receives around 1,000 visits a month.

internationalcamp.org is the website dedicated to the International Youth Camp. It has been updated up to 2018 with RIJ programmes, recordings, etc. The current plan is for the Young Anticapitalists (JAC, the youth group of the Belgian section) to take over this site in order to publish the programme and content related to the 2025 Youth Camp, which will take place in Belgium. Management of the site will then be transferred to the section hosting the next camps. The youth comrades also want to set up a joint international communication system for the 2025 Camp. Although the site is not updated very often, it receives around 1,000 visits a month.

Our short-term objectives:

1) To strengthen the collective aspect of the management of these sites through more regular meetings of the various editorial committees.

2) Develop the distribution of these publications through newsletters and social networks (in particular Instagram, which allows us to reach a younger audience and publish short news videos, including live from mobilisations, public activities, etc.). This aspect could perhaps motivate younger comrades to join the editorial committees.

3) Give priority to the news websites (IVP, PVI, Inprecor and Alomamia) by setting up a multilingual press team to meet every fortnight. The aim of this team will be to coordinate the IV's editorial policy (which does not necessarily mean having identical sites in all languages) and to develop a network of correspondents for coverage of events such as major

mobilisations, international meetings, etc. At the last IC, a group of comrades met to make progress in this direction. This group could already form a nucleus for this work.

4) Reserve the use of the Fourth.International site for the IV's more 'institutional' publications (declarations, resolutions, congress texts, links to archives, to the sites of our organisations and our press, etc.).

5) Launch a financial campaign to move on to the 2nd phase.

2nd phase: taking a qualitative leap forward and harmonising our graphic identity

This second stage requires financial resources to be able to carry it out. When the fourth.international website was launched in 2020/2021, the sum of 10,000 euros was raised. It is essential to launch a new appeal for donations, both externally and within the sections, with a detailed estimate of the amount we will need.

We need to distinguish between two aspects that need to be tackled in order: first, the substance and then the form.

Substance:

The first priority will be to diversify our productions through more elaborate videos and podcasts (for example, by taking advantage of IC or Bureau meetings to interview comrades). This means investing in audio/video equipment, sponsoring certain posts on social networks to publicise our sites, etc.

Form:

The final stage involves revisiting the graphic identity of our main sites to come up with something that is visually attractive, consistent and immediately identifiable as part of the same international organisation, and which also allows videos and photos to be published on all the sites, etc. This stage should be based on the existing sites, so as not to lose the efforts made to date. At the same time, the graphic identity of the Inprecor paper magazine could also be redesigned to be consistent with the new version of the sites.

The preamble to all this will be **the organisation of a seminar on our press at the IIRE in Amsterdam before the IC 2026 meeting to allow for a more**

in-depth discussion at the IC. The aim of the seminar will be to bring together comrades ready to commit themselves to these tasks and to pool the know-how of the different sections on the press (print, web, social networks). This meeting will strengthen coordination between national sections and motivate comrades to join editorial committees. It should also serve to reflect collectively on the collaborative tools to be used to facilitate the use of the same production in different

languages (translating, subtitling videos, sharing photos, etc.).

An effort (organisational, militant and financial) must be made by the International to make this qualitative leap in the dissemination of our ideas, in accordance with our statutes:

'The IC is therefore responsible, through the bodies it appoints, for the publication of the official press of the International - if possible in three languages, English,

Spanish and French - which will publish the essential documents of the world congresses and bodies of the International, articles and documents on international events and the life of the sections and will relay international campaigns.' (Art. 15 of the Statutes of the Fourth International).

Antoine (IC member France),
Penny (IC member France),
Sébastien (IC member Belgium)

On Resistance and the main tactical issues in contemporary Brazil

We are observers of the Fourth International and here we respond to the document of the "Ecosocialist Rebellion", taking the opportunity to introduce ourselves to the comrades of the 2025 Congress.

(1) The Resistance presented by ourselves

Resistance was founded in 2018 under the banner of reversing the fragmentation and dispersion that marks the recent history of the revolutionary left. After all, we emerged from the merger of the MAIS group - originated from the rupture of more than 700 militants with the PSTU and the LIT-QI in 2016 and 2017, respectively - with the NOS (a faction of PSOL, also founded in 2016, with around 300 militants, many of whom had a long histories within the party), to which dozens of comrades from the MLPS soon joined. It was a merge of different trajectories and traditions because, after all, overcoming the crises we've faced requires new theoretical and programmatic syntheses, within the common ground of revolutionary Marxism.

Since then, new groups and activists, with distinct previous experiences, have joined the Resistance. This process of gathering forces is based on a permanent effort of elaboration and construction.

On one hand, we began to study and produce programmatic statements (1), the

1) <https://resistenciaapsol50.com.br/category/programa/>

most recent of which is on ecosocialism. The programmatic debate is reflected in our political practice, as can be seen, in this case, in the actions of Resistance and our mandate in the Legislative Assembly of Rio Grande do Sul during the tragedy that struck the state in the first half of this year, due to a series of extreme weather events. On the other hand, we are building a new revolutionary organization under construction - a deliberate concept that reinforces the view that we are not the only revolutionaries - completely financially self-sustained and with generational renewal in its leadership, including the presence of women and black people (in a parity manner, since the last congress) and LGBTI+.

We held four congresses, ensuring all broad democratic rights for expressing internal plurality, without compromising the criterion of unified action. Respecting all agreements and procedures, we integrated into PSOL and took on leadership tasks within the party. Today, we hold the position of International Secretary of the party for the second consecutive term.

In the social movement, our main intervention is in the trade union movement, and we are the faction of PSOL that leads the largest number of trade unions in both the public and private sectors. During this period, we fought to maintain and expand this intervention. We resumed our youth work (2), with an annual training course for cadres, and launched a women's collective, Resistencia Feminista. We also launched a

2) <https://www.instagram.com/afrontenacional/>

Marxist books publishing house(3), which this month has reached the milestone of 50 published books. We structured our press with the Portal(4) Esquerda Online(5). Until 2020, we had no parliamentarians and today we have eight: three state deputies (01 in Rio Grande do Sul and 02 in São Paulo) and five city council women in three regions of the country (01 in Aracaju/Northeast, 02 in Porto Alegre/South, 01 in Belo Horizonte/Minas Gerais and 01 in São Paulo/SP).

See how much this required us to play catch-up on the national front, and, as being internationalists by principle, how we also value the initiatives approach with the 4^a. All the meetings, dialogues and trips culminated in the approval of our request to be observers in 2024, for which we thank our comrades, affirming **that we do not seek to change this status now, and if we do, we will respect all the International's instances and procedures.**

(2) A matter of debate methodology

We regret the content of the text by Ecosocialist R. We reject the absurd accusation that our organization has supposedly abandoned revolutionary Marxism. Since the Resistance, what we have consciously fought to abandon is the idea of the immi-

3) <https://www.usinaeditorial.com.br/>

4) <https://www.instagram.com/esquerdaonline/>

5) <https://esquerdaonline.com.br/> which has more than one hundred thousand monthly views.

struggle against internal enemies or the imminence of betrayal, capitulation or liquidation.

As part of the Trotskyist movement, we are aware of the fractional nature of past and present struggles (which are not exclusive to our tradition). No one is immune to this cursed legacy, but it is necessary to be aware of the distortion to conclude that past experiences are enough for us, and that, in a period of fragmentation and the regression of strategy (Daniel Bensaid), the task of uniting revolutionaries based on a healthy regime is so necessary. But we also know that unity cannot be achieved through ultimatum or decree; it is necessary to respect statutes and traditions to avoid the interventions that are so common in the history of the Trotskyist movement, whose result is the destruction of groups in their respective countries.

(3) Tactical issues under debate in contemporary Brazil

We seek to interpret the international context as a key to understanding Brazilian reality. Thus, we start from the idea that there are five structural crises that are intertwined and characterize the transforming global scenario. Briefly, we are referring to the combination of the crises of capitalism, the emergence of the climate crisis with the imminence of collapse, the crisis of the imperialist order and bourgeois democracy, with the most relevant political fact being the rise of the far right, and the subjective crisis of the proletariat.

Clarifying this last aspect, the working class itself, in terms of its role in capitalist production and reproduction, has never been so numerous and socially relevant; but in what Marx defines as the class for itself, the delay in the level of consciousness regarding the emergence of the objective necessity to overcome capitalism has become more glaring. More than 30 years after the historical phase opened in 1989-1991, we are talking about a political crisis of the working class in a broader sense, its degree of organization and confidence for collective struggle and not only in relation to the limited influence of revolutionary organizations.

A key factor is that the defeat of the 2009-2014 uprising paved the way for the far right from 2015 onwards. If before, the liberal right and social-de-

mocratic parties, when challenged, lost ground to new formations on the left, in the most recent period, they began to be threatened by the far right. In this context, the traditional reformist left, integrated into the regime and politically moderate, which had suffered significant wear from leading limited class-conciliation governments or even for having carried out neoliberal attacks, has reestablished itself in the political-electoral sphere in several countries, by positioning itself as the main political option in the face of the advance of the far right. It is worth emphasizing that class-collaboration governments are incapable of solving the structural crises of capitalism or of strategically defeating the emerging neofascism. Whenever these governments, or generally moderate governments, fail and frustrate the masses, they pave the way for the advance of the far right or for the return of the traditional right. Trump's new election is a key fact.

This strategic consideration should in no way lead to a sectarian and leftist response toward these governments. It is necessary to recognize that the electoral victory of the moderate left against the far right opens up better conditions for the working class struggle. We cannot defend the criterion of 'the worse, the better' before the masses, nor appear indifferent to neofascism.

From the positive standpoint regarding the reconstitution of the proletariat's capacity to fight and organize, it is evident that there are struggles in Brazil and in other parts of the world. However, we cannot speak of a wave of rebellions capable of reversing the general sign of the political and social correlation of forces, which is still quite unfavorable.

The most relevant developments of this context for contemporary Brazil were the overthrow of Dilma's government (PT) in 2016, amid right-wing mass mobilizations, followed by the Temer government, which qualitatively deepened neoliberal reforms. The imprisonment of Lula in a lawfare operation that prevented him from running in the 2018 elections, in which Jair Bolsonaro from the far right was elected. Lula's return to the central government in 2022 with a narrow margin of votes. In 2024, new municipal elections took place, and their results indicated a resounding victory for the right and the far-right.

The problem is that our tactical differences in the face of all these facts were greater with the currents that today make up the opposition bloc in the PSOL than with the party majority: when it came to characterizing whether there was a progressive or regressive rupture (our position) with the PT in 2016 and, therefore, whether the PSOL should dedicate itself to raising the flag of corruption and cheering for Lava Jato⁽¹⁾ to participate in the demonstrations that led to the government's overthrow, or whether we should adopt a united front to resist the parliamentary coup and the new Temer government (our position); if in view of Lula's imprisonment, the PSOL should participate in the democratic campaign for his freedom (our position) or if this was capitulation to the PT; whether, in view of the Bolsonaro government, we should preserve the united front of struggles with parties of the reformist left, including the PT, PCdoB, etc. (our position), or whether we should break to form a new front only with parties from the former left-wing opposition to the PT, such as the PSTU, MRT/FT-QI, etc.; whether in the 2022 elections, PSOL should launch a candidate in the first round and the assessment of the real weight of Bolsonaro retained after COVID-19. Our position was to support Lula against Bolsonaro, presenting PSOL's own program, despite and criticizing the broad front.

Our tactical position during this period was the oxygen that allowed us to advance in construction in defensive circumstances - a characteristic of most struggles in recent years. As an example, we are currently facing, with very tough strikes, the threat of privatization of the São Paulo subway, scheduled by the far-right government of São Paulo for 2025; in the last strike of bus drivers in Recife, which we led, the police raided the house at midnight and detained the union president (our activist) in a completely illegal action; we just had a union leader from the education sector in the state of São Paulo fired

1) Operation conducted between a first instance court in Curitiba/PR and the Federal Public Ministry to overthrow the Dilma Rousseff (PT) government and arrest Lula. This operation was later unmasked by a series of news stories published by Intercept Brasil and most of the convictions were annulled by the Supreme Federal Court. It is one of the most famous cases of Lawfare known.

for just cause (for talking about gender in the classroom). When we achieve small wage victories, without layoffs, it is a joy, and that was the case with the 2024 strike in the construction industry in Fortaleza (which we led). But sometimes the defeat is deeper, as in the case of the metalworkers of São José dos Campos, where the main factory we led closed and thousands were left without jobs (Cherry). In the brewery and food factories union in São José dos Campos, which we also lead, we have to make a huge effort to understand how the base has become increasingly evangelical and contested by Bolsonarism.

It is in this sense that we do not disregard the need for the United Antifascist Front, as H. Canary states in Jacobin AL, based on a program of mobilization, education and class independence, in a much more basic and defensive sense in relation to what was done in the 1930s. In other words, in order to prevent further privatization of public services, to stop mass layoffs in the private sector and political persecution of union leaders in the public sector, to ensure that children who are victims of rape are not forced to continue with their pregnancies – here we are talking about concrete struggles in which we engage alongside the Front Povo Sem Medo or with unified strikes with other unions led by PT/PCdoB. It is “minimal” not in the sense of the stage-by-stage conception of a program, which we obviously do not share, but because the strategic task in the current historical period is not limited to the need to rebuild the political subject with a revolutionary alternative, but to rebuild, within the working class itself, the most basic bonds of solidarity and intervention.

Our main difference with the currents of the PSOL Popular (which have had an absolute majority of the PSOL leadership since 2023) during this period was regarding the veto on the PSOL taking positions in the new Lula government. We negotiated and voted together with the majority bloc and other opposition factions on a solution to the problem that would preserve the party's class independence, in the following terms: PSOL does not hold positions in class conciliation governments. If any member disrespects this resolution, he or she will not speak on behalf of the party, nor will he or she be allowed to hold positions in

party leadership.

At this moment, the following are part of the general criteria we defend for PSOL's relationship with the new Lula government, within the framework of maintaining the resolution on not taking position in the government: (1) PSOL should not align with the far-right opposition, not even in name – that is why we do not advocate that the party be a Left-Wing Opposition at this time. It is necessary to be on the front line of the fight against this opposition in the National Congress; (2) our experience in contemporary Brazil has shown that formulations such as “neither PT nor opposition” were not useful even against the FHC government, which was a traditional right-wing government. Against the far-right, this kind of formulation leads to a complete distancing from the best of the working class (3) the best for the PSOL is a position of independence, but this does not mean placing the defense of class independence as the center of the party's public line of agitation. PSOL approved that in the National Congress it is the base of the Lula government, but preserves its autonomy and independence of action (4) the center of the PSOL's public line on the government should be a tactical combination of support for positive measures, articulating demands in response to insufficient measures, presenting the need for structural reforms in a positive way, and being categorically against any attack on the working class.

The development of PSOL as a left-wing and socialist alternative capable of surpassing the PT is not a short-term task, and its outcome is not predetermined. Today, PSOL is a minority party within the working class and in the organized social movement. PT is in central government and, for this reason has not lost its appeal in the vanguard, as well as being a much larger party in an electoral sense than the PSOL, especially considering its national reach – as opposed to the PSOL's concentration in the country's largest urban centres. In 2024, the PT elected 3,118 city councilors and the PSOL elected 80.

In this context, we do not believe that the PT being overtaken by the PSOL is just a «matter of time», although we see the

party as a necessary instrument for the reorganization of the socialist left. There are many dangers and possible scenarios, including stagnation, fragmentation, discredit, etc. Broad parties like the PSOL around the world have suffered different setbacks in the last period, particularly since the defeat of Syriza. Therefore, we do not agree with the logic that the Ecosocialist R. seems to defend, that the only tactic they truly recognize is “delimitation and rupture” with reformism, that is, no tactic at all.

(4) Conclusion

We believe that maintaining the status of our relationship with the IV as observers can be very productive.

We also believe that the IV is a living and democratic space, where there is time and space for different political tactics to develop, without ultimatums, especially given the fragmentation of our movement, with different groups acting in the same section (the Brazilian case, although not exclusive, is an important example). Because if there is a healthy life, there is also a belief that the assessments, successes and mistakes if assimilated in an honest way can produce convergence.

We act within PSOL Semente and PSOL de Todas as Lutas, while other comrades operate in the PSOL's Opposition Bloc. Although this is essentially a tactical issue, this leads to a debate within the IV, which is whether both political tactics are appropriate in the International; and, further, whether they can develop freely (thus, the current situation of the Brazilian section remains) or whether it is necessary to impose a certain line over the other. The urgency for cohesion and for having an “official line”, in this case also present in the document “Complement of the Brazilian signatories” to the text “Let us build a broad, democratic and mass International!” in the 3rd BDI may be counterproductive to this.

Resistencia (Brazil)

Contribution to the debate on the implications of the *Manifesto of revolutionary Marxism in the era of capitalist ecological and social destruction* for the sections of the Fourth International

The approval of the *Manifesto* will have profound implications for the definition of the political line and action of the sections of the Fourth International. The aim of this contribution is to debate two of them to possibly arrive at a proposal for an additive amendment, which could perhaps be added to the text of the *Manifesto* for internal circulation.

First implication

The *Manifesto* emphasises that the global threats and challenges posed by the ecological crisis must permeate all struggles within/against the existing globalized order and require a reformulation of the socialist project. The relationship with our planet, overcoming the “metabolic rift” (Marx) between human societies and their living environment, and the respect for the planet’s ecological equilibrium are not just chapters in our programme and strategy, but their common thread. (INTR. 1.5.)

The fact that confronting the global threats and challenges posed by the ecological crisis requires both a reformulation of the socialist project and should be the **common thread** of our programme and strategy has a strong meaning: **the *Manifesto* makes it clear that this confrontation conditions the entire programme and, on some issues, requires a fundamental change in what we have defended until now.**

The *Manifesto* also emphasises that to respect the ecological-climatic limitation necessary to avoid catastrophe, the very orientation of the economy must change from top to bottom: science and the technological advances must be

used to satisfy the social needs of the humankind and regenerate the global ecosystem, instead of satisfying the race for profit by capitalists. It is the only solution that makes it possible to reconcile the legitimate need of wellbeing for all, and the regeneration of the global ecosystem. Just sufficiency and just degrowth – ecosocialist degrowth – is a *sine qua non* condition of rescue. (1.24.)

Ecosocialist just degrowth is a *sine qua non* of rescue. It not only implies eliminating unnecessary or harmful economic activities, but also reducing material production and energy consumption. Therefore, the **entire** economic orientation of our programme must be modified, since the pursuit of economic growth has always been a central concern.

The **justice** of this degrowth requires that it be differentiated according to variations in income, between countries and within each country. In the short term, it will be in the central capitalist countries that there will be degrowth. But certainly, also in those countries where growth will have to take place for a while, to make up for the great social shortages that exist, it will not have to be as it was until now (as the fifth chapter of the *Manifesto* develops).

Instead of relying on economic growth, meeting the needs of the population, including those who currently have an insufficient standard of living, will have to be achieved by redistributing income and resources between social classes and between countries. In the central capitalist countries, which will have to reduce their level of production, improving the living conditions of those in need will have to rely exclusively on income redistribution.

In the poorest countries, where there may be growth for a period, the fulfilment of needs will have to be guaranteed by resorting less to growth and increasingly to redistribution.

In addition to the issue of degrowth itself, there are several other aspects of the necessary economic programme that imply a profound reorientation, such as a strong reduction in working time (and the expansion of free time!). Unlike degrowth, reducing working time is nothing new; it’s a classic demand of the labour movement, which has always been harassed by the bosses. It turns now more centrally important and much more ambitious. It will happen faster in the higher-income countries, which will begin degrowth, but it will also happen in the lower-income countries.

Naturally, the ruling classes, especially in the imperialist countries, will fiercely resist the reduction of their privileges and power; the class struggle will become even tougher.

Second implication

A second implication of the approval of the *Manifesto* imposes even greater demands.

World capitalism is making strides towards war, ecological catastrophe (which could even make humanity’s survival impossible), genocide and neo-fascist barbarism; in other words, it is leading humanity towards the abyss. Therefore, an extremely profound ecosocialist, anti-racist, anti-militarist, anti-colonialist, feminist, anti-LGBTphobic revolution – a real change of civilisation – is not only necessary: **it is also urgent.**

The need to consume less energy and produce less worldwide to avoid worsening the environmental catastrophe – something that is clearly impossible under capitalism – reinforces this urgency. Without a revolutionary uprising, **and in a truly brief time**, the whole of human civilisation risks being destroyed.

In other words, **far from the historical conditions not being ripe for revolution, they make it urgent**. The *Manifesto* records that

Capitalism has plunged humanity into such a bleak situation before, especially on the eve of the first world conflict. Nationalist hysteria gripped the masses and social democracy, betraying its pledge to respond to war with revolution, gave the green light to the worst killings in human history. Nevertheless, Lenin defined the situation as “objectively revolutionary”: only revolution could stop the slaughter, he said. History proved him right: the revolution in Russia and its tendency to spread forced the bourgeoisies to put an end to the massacre. The comparison obviously has its limits. The mediations towards revolutionary action are infinitely more complex today. But the same awakening of consciousness is necessary. Yet in the face of the ecological crisis, an anti-capitalist revolution is even more objectively necessary. It is this fundamental judgement that must serve as a sub-base for the elaboration of a programme, a strategy and a tactic, because there is no other way to avoid catastrophe. (1.27)

It’s not about not knowing the immense difficulties in creating the conditions to make an ecosocialist revolution viable – in particular the retreat of socialist consciousness – nor is it to ignore the fact that at the moment, despite all the crises – or the ‘polycrisis’ – of capitalism, it is right-wing and far-right forces that are on the offensive, internationally and in many countries. But these difficulties must be confronted with the urgent need for revolution, a **greater urgency today than at any other time in history**. **‘It is this fundamental judgement that must serve as the basis for drawing up a programme, a strategy and a tactic.’**

This approach obliges us to avoid any stagism, more than at any other time. It makes no sense to emphasise the need to break with capitalism ‘at a later stage’. Any reformism becomes absurd.

How to act taking into

account the two implications pointed out – especially the second one?

All the sections of the Fourth International are called upon to draw up their political line and define their action based on the points and approach outlined.

The *Manifesto* takes up themes from the tradition of revolutionary Marxism that seek to identify ways of confronting the great contradiction between the urgency of the revolution (with the maturing of the objective conditions for it) and the delay in the development of socialist consciousness. It is necessary to create the conditions for the advancement of the struggles of the exploited and oppressed, which will pave the way for the development of consciousness. It is necessary to resort to the method of transitional demands and the tactic of the united front (the third chapter of the *Manifesto* deals with the method of transitional demands; the fourth indicates the general lines of a current transitional programme; the sixth adapts the search for unity of all those who struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression to current conditions).

In addition, it explains various arguments that should be part of the propaganda of ecosocialism. In isolation, arguments don’t have the power to convince the masses of the necessity and possibility of a revolution, but in combination with the presentation of demands for which it is clear that it is necessary to fight, with the development of struggles, and eventual partial victories that will bring more confidence, they fulfil a fundamental role.

The increasingly frequent and serious examples of the harmful consequences of the climate crisis can play a key role in convincing people. Since we began discussing the *Manifesto*, and even since the project was approved at the last meeting of the International Committee, these examples have become more abundant.

So, while it is true that, on the one hand, there is little development of a revolutionary socialist consciousness on a mass scale, on the other hand, the tendency is for the increasingly negative effects of the continuity of capitalism to become progressively more evident. It is becoming increasingly clear that to confront the climate catastrophe, capitalism must be confronted. **This creates the possibility that, in combination with the**

development of struggles that are not only ecological, but also social, feminist, anti-racist and anti-militarist, the necessary quality leap in ecosocialist consciousness can be made.

Naturally, this requires both a broadening of the conviction that the capitalist mode of production has become toxic and confidence that socialism is capable of avoiding ecological catastrophe (and defeating all the growth of barbarism), can be achieved and **will bring about a truly better life**, as the *Manifesto* develops in the second chapter.

We can’t be sure that this leap in consciousness will happen in time to prevent major catastrophes; we don’t control the future. What we can do is work as hard as we can to increase the chances of this happening.

Building the political line and action of the sections

These guidelines should form part of the construction of the political line and action of all the sections. The conditions in the countries are different, and the way in which these concerns and themes shall be included will vary greatly. But the urgent need for an ecosocialist revolution concerns the entire world.

National tactics will certainly have to differ according to the conditions in each country, but they must be integrated into a common international strategic vision: the struggle to bring about an extremely profound ecosocialist, anti-racist, anti-militarist, anti-colonialist, eco-feminist, anti-LGBTphobic revolution – a real change of civilisation – **in time to prevent the deepening of the climate and ecological catastrophe**, so that at least reasonable conditions for human life and civilisation are preserved.

The way to confront the far right, one of the priorities imposed on the left today at world level, must take this into account. This confrontation requires the adoption of a united front tactic, which is not exactly the same as the one mentioned above (and in the sixth chapter of the *Manifesto*). But the two must be articulated, and it is the need for a tactic to ensure that an ecosocialist revolution takes place in time to avoid major catastrophes that must serve as the guiding thread of our political line.

To this end, it is not appropriate to adopt an ultimatum stance, demanding

that forces that may be allied in the fight against the far-right renounce reformism, for example. But it is necessary to ensure that the programme of the united front against the far-right advances as far as possible on all the fundamental demands of the working class and the fight against all oppressions, with emphasis on the consequent confrontation of climate and ecological issues. Where progress cannot be made, it will be essential to make our

ecosocialist positions, and therefore also the urgent need to overcome capitalism, perfectly clear.

This understanding necessarily has consequences for the organisation of the activities of the various sections – which will be different in each country. It has consequences for the content of the press and all the communication of the sections, for the organisational priorities of the various militant fronts, for participation in

the various struggles, for denouncing the far-right, for the content of the electoral campaigns, always taking into account the differences imposed by the different conditions in the various countries. In all cases, the differences between countries will have to be considered in order to find the best ways of bringing the internationally defined strategic orientation to life.

João Machado – IC member, Brazil

Contribution to The Ecosocialist Manifesto

The Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant Accident is not over! All nuclear power plants must be shut down and decommissioned, and new construction of nuclear power plants must be halted in order to realize an eco-socialist society.

1. Nuclear power plants and an eco-socialist society cannot coexist

The Ecosocialist Manifesto (draft) mentions nuclear power in the form of «exit from nuclear and fossil fuels,» but makes almost no mention of the dangers of nuclear power plants themselves or the burden on the environment caused by the long-term disposal of spent nuclear fuel and nuclear waste that follows. This is a major weakness of the Manifesto. Even if an ecosocialist society is realized, the problem of disposing of spent nuclear fuel and nuclear waste will remain as a negative legacy of capitalist society.

2. The Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant Accident is not over!

The trigger for the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant accident on March 11, 2011 was the massive earthquake that occurred along the Pacific coast of eastern Japan and the massive tsunami that followed. However, this accident was not a natural disaster, but a human-made disaster. The government's investigative organizations and the Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) had predicted the tsunami that would be generated by the massive earthquake. However, TEPCO continued to operate the

Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant without taking any tsunami countermeasures in order to raise the repair cost of the Kashiwazaki-Kariwa Nuclear Power Plant suffered from the Niigata Chuetsu Offshore Earthquake that occurred in 2007. In other words, TEPCO's naked capitalist logic (of profit first) was lying under the terrifying accident.

Not only are the effects of this accident still ongoing, but in some ways the accident itself is still ongoing. The essential issue is how we could dispose of the nuclear waste that was created by the nuclear power plant accident.

2-1. Radioactive waste

Large facilities for the storage of enormous amounts of radioactive waste stand in rows on the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant site. Furthermore, there are intermediate storage facilities for decontamination waste surrounding the site. It is impossible to predict how much of the waste will be stored there, because the nuclear waste still has been continuously produced. The storage containers have a service life, and as they become fragile due to radiation exposure, replacement work has been carried out from time to time. The declaration of a nuclear emergency situation which the Japanese government declared just after the nuclear accident has not yet been canceled.

2-2. Spent nuclear fuel in the reactors

The decommissioning of the reactors that caused the accident has been blocked by multiple barriers. The first barrier is the radioactive material accumulated in the reactors and the radiation it continues to emit, and the second barrier is the waste

contaminated by radioactive material from the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant accident. Although it is impossible to predict how we could achieve the decommissioning of the reactors suffered from the accident, both the government and TEPCO are ignoring this reality. The roofs of the reactors still remain open, and the radioactive material continues to be released. The government and TEPCO should have prioritized protecting residents from damage by the accident, but they have not been trying to fulfill their responsibility.

2-3. The effects of the nuclear accident are still continuing

The local government (Futaba County) where the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant is located has set up a reconstruction base and carried out decontamination work in that area and residential areas. However, although the radiation levels temporarily decreased, they were rising again. This is because radioactive materials remain in the mountains and fields that were not subject to decontamination, and they move on the water and wind in various ways.

The effects on fishing has also been continuing. Coastal fishing has only just resumed full normal operations, but the catch is still only 25% of what it was before the nuclear accident. Some wild plants are still banned from being collected. Some animals (wild boars, deer, and bears) are still prohibited from being caught.

3. The potential Tonankai earthquake could bring catastrophic damage to the nuclear power plants

The Tonankai earthquake is a trench-type earthquake that is said to occur periodically in the sea area from the Kii Peninsula off the coast to the Enshu Nada Sea (east of the Nankai Trough). It is a huge earthquake that reaches a magnitude of M8 each time, and is thought to occur every 100 to 200 years and almost certainly in the near future. Several nuclear power plants (Ikata, Sendai, Hamaoka etc.) are located in the area where huge tsunamis caused by the Tonankai earthquake will reach. It is almost certain that we will have a catastrophe comparable to or even greater than the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear accident.

4. The Japanese government and capitalists are promoting the restart and new construction of nuclear power plants.

Currently, only nine of the 32 nuclear

power plants in Japan are in operation, but the Japanese government and capitalists are promoting to restart the nuclear power plants that are currently out of operation, to extend the operating period of old nuclear power plants, and to build the new ones, calling them a stable energy source. They also place nuclear power at the center of decarbonization energy policies, calling it a «green» energy source. The idea that nuclear power is «green» is a complete fake. Such movements to build new nuclear power plants can be seen not only in Japan, but also in the United States, France, the United Kingdom, China, and other countries.

5. Nuclear power plants are thoroughly harmful to ecosystem and cannot be established without the discrimination against the exploited and oppressed

Nuclear power plants are harmful to ecosystems and continues to destroy the environment at every stage, from the mining of uranium to the disposal of spent nuclear fuel and nuclear waste. Furthermore, the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear accident has proven that once an accident occurs, it can bring about catastrophic, long-term damage. In addition, much of the uranium mines, atomic bomb test sites, spent nuclear waste disposal sites have been located in the territories of indigenous peoples or the areas far from the imperialist countries, which was in some ways highly discriminatory. On the other hand, workers of the nuclear power plants, uranium mines, and engaging in decontamination work have been and will be exposed of danger of radiation exposure.

Japanese section (JRCL and NCIW)

Critique of three texts by Resistencia leaders on the international situation

We begin by saying that we agree with Resistencia's participation as a permanent observer in the Fourth International. We also believe that Resistencia should strengthen this participation by promoting the creation of a publication of the International in Portuguese (Inprecor en pt) produced collectively by the Brazilian organisations that wish to do so.

In this contribution, we express our disagreement with three texts published by Resistencia leaders during 2024, namely

- [Dez teses sobre o internacionalismo, por Valerio Arcary, publicado por Opera Mundi, el 16/08/2024](#)

- [La crisis subjetiva de la clase trabajadora por Henrique Canary publicado por Jacobinlat el 11/08/2024](#)

- [O que a cúpula do BRICS em Kazan revelou ao mundo? Gibran Jordão, Publicado em: 27/10/2024](#)

Part 1. Observations on the text by Valerio Arcary.

V. Arcary puts forward a position on Ukraine that is very different from that adopted by the majority of the International Committee of the FI. He clearly opposes support for the armed and unarmed resistance of the Ukrainian people to the Russian invasion and asserts that the correct policy was and is revolutionary defeatism.

This is expressed very clearly in thesis 4, which we reproduce in part below:

4- (...) The war in Ukraine cannot be reduced to a struggle between an oppressed nation and imperialist Russia.

Although it has a dual nature, because Ukraine is a peripheral country, what has prevailed is NATO's offensive against Moscow, in other words, an inter-imperialist war, because Kiev has given up its independence and accepted the status of an American semi-colony. As in the First World War, it was absurd for socialists to support either of the imperialist blocs, whether Anglo-French or German-Austrian: neither Russia's nor Ukraine's victory would have any progressive significance.

The right socialist policy was revolutionary defeatism. (...)

With regard to Venezuela following the July 2024 elections, the subtitle of V. Arcary's article emphasises just one aspect: 'The alternative in Venezuela is not between democracy and dictatorship: unfortunately, it is between national independence or recolonisation'. In V. Arcary's analysis, the Venezuelan people and, within them, the working class, are absent. In his view, there is one main contradiction: that between Venezuela and imperialism, and in fact only this contradiction really counts for him. This amounts to saying that the people must put up with Nicolas Maduro's authoritarian neo-liberal capitalist regime because if it fell, US imperialism would take over the country. This orientation is very different from that expressed by Luis Bonilla and Ana Carvalhaes, "[The pro-Maduro left abandons the workers and people of Venezuela](#)", published in [September 2024, which we support](#).

Moreover, in thesis 4, which deals with

the war in Ukraine, the Russian people and the Ukrainian people are also absent.

In both situations, what is taken into account are the imperialist actions, which are obviously to be denounced and combated, but they are not the only elements to be taken into account, otherwise we run the risk of sinking into campism.

A final comment on Valerio Arcary's text: his description of the political regimes in Israel and Gaza is totally schematic, Manichean and therefore inappropriate. He writes: 'The Hamas regime in Gaza was a theocratic dictatorship. In Israel, the Zionist regime takes the form of a liberal democracy.'

Hamas rule in Gaza is not theocratic whereas the Iranian regime is. We have no sympathy for the orientation of Hamas but we must avoid feeding the Israeli propaganda (taken up by US imperialism and the far right) which denies that Hamas was brought to government in Gaza by elections in 2006. It also denies that in Gaza, apart from Hamas, other components of the Palestinian resistance exist and are not victims of the Hamas dictatorship but of the genocidal war waged by Israel. This also ignores the fact that even before the events of October, Gaza was a veritable open-air prison because of Zionist policy. Furthermore, it is unacceptable to talk of liberal democracy for Israel's political regime when all the Palestinian people living on Israeli territory are victims of a genuine apartheid regime and are excluded from the game, victims of an occupation and, in the case of Gaza, victims of a veritable genocide.

Fortunately, despite this seriously erroneous description, Valerio Arcary condemns Israel's policy. We agree with Valerio (and this is the most important thing) when he writes 'But this should not stop the world left from relentlessly denouncing Israel's genocidal offensive in the Gaza Strip. Defending the Palestinian people does not mean offering political support to the Hamas leadership.'

Part 2. Critical observations on Henrique Canary's text entitled *The Subjective Crisis of the Working Class*

H. Canary writes: 'The assertion that the far right is growing exclusively because

of the economic crisis of 2008 does not seem to correspond to the complexity of the phenomenon.'" However, he does not say who is making this claim. Certainly, the rise of the far right is not the exclusive result of the 2008 economic crisis. Far from it.

H. Canary has a mistaken view of the relationship between the economic situation and class struggles. He writes:

'Moments of stabilization in capitalism are difficult for the left: general welfare, wage growth, concessions, full employment. Under these conditions, revolutionary crises do not occur, because they presuppose, among other things, that society has entered a period of decadence and regression.'

The general strike of the winter of 1960-1961 in Belgium, May 1968 in France, the creeping and prolonged May in Italy from 1969 onwards, the revival of workers' struggles in the United States in the 1970s, all took place during periods of prosperity and relative full employment. This shows that, contrary to what H. Canary writes, radical and massive struggles can occur in periods of relative full employment, economic prosperity and the accumulation of social advances, and these massive struggles can lead to pre-revolutionary or revolutionary situations. Ernest Mandel and the Fourth International produced numerous analyses showing that a period of economic growth and social conquests can lead to offensive struggles by the masses. They also demonstrated that, contrary to what Canary writes, a very serious economic crisis and a deterioration in the living conditions of the working class does not necessarily lead to major struggles, which is what we are experiencing in a large number of countries.

That aside.

We believe that the main factors to be taken into account in explaining the successes of the far right are, of course, the results of capital's offensive against labour during the long neo-liberal period which began more than 40 years ago. But in second place come the neoliberal policies pursued by so-called progressive governments and the reneging on a large part of their promises. This has been true of social democracy in Europe on numerous occasions over the last 20 years (think of the presidency of the French socialist

François Hollande from 2012 to 2017, who declared in his election campaign that his enemy was finance, or the socialist government in Portugal 2015-2024), of Syriza in Greece from 2015 to 2019, of Peronism in Argentina between 2019 and 2022, of the PT in Brazil, of Congress in India in the years following 2004, of the Democrats during the Obama presidency in the United States (2009-2017), etc. The political forces mentioned above are very different from one another, but what they have in common is that they have promised major changes in favour of social justice, the strengthening of collective solidarity mechanisms (Medicare in the case of Obama, for example), and in some cases, as in Argentina and Greece, the end of agreements with the IMF.

In his text, H. Canary does not deny that the denial of the left or of progressive governments plays a role in the strengthening of the extreme right. But for H. Canary the main factor is the evolution of the working class itself.

'Our hypothesis is that there has been a particular combination: for the first time in history, an economic debacle on a global scale has been combined with the apogee (or, if you like, the background) of a subjective crisis of the proletariat: a crisis of its identity, its organisations, its imaginary and its consciousness. This specific combination has prevented the left in general - reformist and anti-capitalist - from positioning itself as an alternative capable of challenging these processes. The economic crisis has found a proletariat that is dispersed, precarious, confused, divided, suffocated by competition between equals, ready to cast its bitterness onto its classmates, provided they are black, immigrant, LGBTQI, Arab or indigenous.'

Here the chain of causes described by Canary would be as follows: the retreat of the proletariat as a subject has prevented the left (reformist or anti-capitalist) from positioning itself as an alternative, and the disorientated proletariat has attacked the weakest in its own ranks.

But the sequence is quite different:

Yes there is a weakening of the proletariat and a retreat of consciousness but it has been aggravated by the evolution of the dominant forces of the left which have

adapted themselves in a reinforced way to the capitalist system. At many points over the last 20 years, mass sectors have supported political forces which promised a radical break with neo-liberalism. Once in government, these political forces reneged on their commitments and, in several cases, this allowed right-wing and extreme right-wing forces to make strong gains by riding on these renegades.

Henrique Canary does not completely deny the chain of events described above, but he focuses first and foremost on the subjective crisis of the working class and the fact that it has been won over by fascism. Here is what he writes:

'The naïve notion that the masses do not act against their own interests has been shattered, and its exact opposite has been demonstrated at every stage. Thus, with each new 'crisis', the 'alternative' is represented by the premodern forces of fascism, whether political or religious.'

Further on he writes: 'In the 1930s, being a worker was almost synonymous with being anti-fascist. Fascism was concentrated in the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Today, fascism is in our class.'

These assertions are clearly false or greatly exaggerated.

In the rest of his text H. Canary gives a false description of the political battles of recent years by making abusive generalizations. He writes:

'When the processes of struggle erupt, the forces of historical progress represented by socialism find themselves unable to contest the direction of events and are dismissed with the greatest ease by the ultra-right. 'He adds: 'In every process of struggle, the ultra-right succeeds in pushing the forces of the left out of the centre of the political scene.'

This is not the case in several countries. A recent example: France in June-July 2024.

Other recent examples include Sri Lanka in 2024 and, to some extent, Mexico and Bolivia.

What the case of France in June 2024 demonstrates is that a very strong rise of the far right produced a strong reaction from the left, led by one of its components, France Insoumise. The creation of the New Popular Front took the initiative

away from the far right. So at the time Canary's article was published, we had before our eyes a political experiment which shows that there is no fatality and that the will to take a left-wing initiative can thwart the far right's offensive.

Of course, in such circumstances, if the far left is too weak to influence events, the left can lose the initiative and the far right can ultimately win. In the end, the French case shows that it is possible to resist the far right if the left unites and adopts a proposal for a radical break with neo-liberalism. At the same time, it is likely that further denials on the part of French social democracy will provoke the break-up of the New Popular Front, which could allow the far right to regain the initiative.

Considering that the extreme right is everywhere at the initiative and not seeing that the left can score points if it wants and if it unites, risks leading to demoralization, passivity and/or adaptation to the government that represents a lesser evil in the face of the (very real) danger posed by the extreme right and fascism. This is true in Brazil and elsewhere.

We must avoid the two pitfalls of sectarian leftism on the one hand and followism/adaptationism on the other in the name of the lesser evil. A followist orientation in the name of the lesser evil and the danger of the extreme right risks favoring a victory for the extreme right.

The idea that there is no space for an organized left opposition to "progressive" governments leads to resignation or adaptation. The forces that apply it risk paying dearly for it themselves. Why defend the idea of an independent anti-capitalist party if there is no space to advance an orientation of radical rupture with the continuation of neoliberal policies?

Furthermore, we agree with the opinion expressed by Rébellion Ecosocialista in BDI 3 about H. Canary's article. Indeed, as the comrades of Rébellion Ecosocialista point out, H. Canary himself writes about the orientation he proposes:

«It must be recognized that this orientation is in contradiction with the orientations of the classics of Marxism who developed the anti-fascist struggle, especially Leon Trotsky in the 1930s. For the founder of the Red Army, the anti-fascist struggle was not only a united struggle of the

entire class (...), but also a direct anti-capitalist struggle, an attempt to translate anti-fascist resistance into proletarian revolution.»

«What we have is a tough ideological and political conflict, because part of the working class has been won over to fascism. By trying to impose an anti-capitalist program on reformist allies (the majority within the mass movement), revolutionaries only eliminate the possibility of unity and lose the opportunity to come into contact with a broad layer of the working class led by reformism.»

The comrades of Ecosocialista Rébellion emphasize that the orientation proposed by H. Canary moves away completely from the approach of permanent revolution and adopts a step-by-step approach. In the same sense, we add that H. Canary abandons any reference to the approach of transitional demands that aim to create a bridge between elementary demands and anti-capitalist demands. This transitional approach is however at the heart of the Ecosocialist Manifesto of the Fourth International adopted by the International Committee of the FI in February 2024.

We will end the part of this text devoted to the article of Henrique Canary by his description of events in Ukraine before the Russian invasion of 2022 because it is false:

«The uprising of the Maidan Square in Ukraine, which initially had a important presence of the left, has created a regime that normalizes Nazism historic and incorporates openly fascist forces into the country's army. «The left was present (...) fought on Maidan Square in January 2014, but was massacred to the cry of «Slava Ukraini» and ended up burning in the fire of the House of Trade Unions in Odessa in May of the same year. »

This description is false. Fortunately, the left that was present at Maidan was not subsequently massacred. Q. Would Canary consider that there has been a widespread fascist turn since 2014? We will not do him the wrong to say that this would be in the sense of the description given by Putin to justify the invasion of Ukraine with the intention of denazification.

Part 3: Gibran Jordão's text

on the BRICS summit in Russia in October 2024.

The text by this member of the leadership of Resistencia is clearly in favour of the BRICS and does not present any criticism of their policies. It expresses a totally different orientation from that set out in the Ecosocialist Manifesto in point

5.7. or in the following article: "The BRICS summit in Russia offers no alternative" by Eric Toussaint, published 26 October 2024,

Unfortunately due to lack of space in this bulletin we do not have the possibility to develop a critique of this text.

Alcebíades (Bid) Teixeira (from Insurgencia-Reconstruction Democratique, Brazil), Cheron

Moretti, member of the International Committee of the International IV (Centelhas, Brazil), Éric Toussaint, member of the International Committee of the Fourth International to take on international tasks

On the Entry of the Movimento Esquerda Socialista (MES, Socialist Left Movement) of Brazil as a Full Member of the Fourth International and the Question of the Statutes of the Fourth International

The 18th World Congress will consider the request for recognition of the Socialist Left Movement (MES) as part of the Brazilian section of the Fourth International. This issue raises several legitimate questions. Does the Congress have the right to take action on this request? What are the respective roles of Congress and the current members of the section in this decision, both in terms of the statutes and of the healthiest political functioning? What has been the relationship of the MES with the Fourth International? And, of course, as a balance of these points, whether or not Congress should respond affirmatively to the MES's request. In this text we want to briefly address each of these points.

To begin with, it is important to review several relevant points of the statutes of the Fourth International.

On the establishment of relations by the leadership of the International with political forces that are not part of the section in a country, Article 3 establishes that in countries where a section of the International exists, the leadership of the International may have "relations with other political forces in agreement with

the section." (1)

Regarding relations with organisations that "support the Fourth International" but are "not yet ready" to become sections, Article 7 establishes the status of sympathizing organisation. The same article states that "sympathizing organisations publish the positions of the Fourth International and promote its press, participate in its internal and external activities and make regular contributions to it." Finally, Article 7 defines the status of a sympathizing organisation as "a bridge

1) Article 3 In order for the International to be effective the ranks of revolutionaries identifying with the FI should be united in each country. For this reason members of the International should act in such a way as to bring about such unity within the framework of one unified section of the International. This section may be an independent organisation or a current within a unified party of anti-capitalist forces, in which members of the International can be active without giving up their programmatic identity. In countries where a section has been recognised by the World Congress the International leadership will conduct relations with other political groups with the agreement of the section. Members of national sections elected to bourgeois parliamentary bodies are to follow the guidelines laid out by the national sections and be accountable to the leading bodies and congresses of the formations they represent.

for the development of national sections in the countries in question." (2)

Regarding the World Congress and the sections, Article 9 states that "In matters relating to the national sections, the world congress serves as the final appeal and decision-making body." (3)

2) Article 7 To recognise that in varying conditions there will be organisations which support the FI and are not yet able or ready to assume the responsibilities of sections the World Congress, or its elected IC, can grant the formal status of sympathising organisation to such groups. Sympathising organisations publicise the positions and promote the press of the FI, support and participate in internal and external FI activities and make a regularised contribution to the FI. Representatives of sympathising organisations will be invited to meetings of the IC and to the World Congress where they will be granted voice, and are entitled to cast consultative votes in cases where the criterion of formal financial contribution has been met. The goal of the formal status of sympathising organisation is to provide a bridge to the development of national sections in the countries concerned.

3) Article 9 The International's highest decision-making body is its World Congress, which meets at least once every five years on the call of the International Committee at least six months in advance which is the minimum period of preparatory discussion. A special World Congress can be convoked at any time by the International Committee or one third of the sections.

The relations of the Fourth International with the MES have developed in accordance with the statutes.

The first relations between the MES and the Fourth International were established a little over twenty years ago, before the founding of the PSOL. After the founding of the PSOL, both the section and the MES joined this party.

In consultation with the section, as required by Article 3, the MES was invited to the World Congress in 2010. The IC then recognised the MES as a permanent observer in 2012, to which there was no opposition from either the section's members or the International Committee.

The XVII World Congress (2018) recognized the MES as a sympathising organisation without objections or votes against, including from the Brazilian section. The result of the vote recognizing the MES as a sympathising organisation was 88 in favour, 0 against, 0 abstentions, 4 did not vote.

Three years later, the International Committee (IC 2021) approved the MES as a permanent guest at the meetings of the Bureau. In this decision, the member organisations of the section voted in favour. The vote was 43 votes in favour, 2 votes against, 4 abstentions and 7 did not vote. See the motion adopted by the IC in the note(1).

As the climax of a process of democratic discussion and election of delegates among the national sections, the World Congress determines the political line of the International as a whole on all programmatic issues. On questions involving the national sections the World Congress serves as the final appeal and decision-making body.

1) Invitation of MES to Bureau – Vote 15 in 2021 International Committee

Permanent invitation to the MES for meetings of the Bureau of the IV International

After several years of permanent observer status at the IV International, the MES was recognized at the 17th World Congress, in 2018, as a Sympathizing Organization of the IV International. The Brazilian section of the IV International is divided into three organizations – Insurgência, Comuna and Subverta. The three organizations and the MES participate in the building of the PSOL (Socialism and Freedom Party).

Since the 17th CM there has been collaboration between the four organizations, especially with regard to activities of discussion and political formation and international initiatives of the IV International or in which militants of the IV International have an active participation (for example, in the articulation of the Assembly of the Amazon). Militants from the Brazilian section of the IV and MES coordinated international trips in South America. During the year 2020, the MES was regularly invited to the political points of the meetings of the Bureau of the IV International. To reinforce the integration of the MES in the inter-

In short, over the past twenty years the MES has progressed from establishing relations with the Fourth, to being recognised as an observer, then a sympathising organisation and then a permanent guest at the meetings of the Bureau, without any objections being raised on the part of the section. On the contrary, this progression indicates a growing confidence in the proximity and convergence of the MES with the Fourth International. How else can this evolution be explained?

The MES has fulfilled the duties that the statutes assign to a sympathising organisation. As the statutes indicate, the category of sympathising organisation is understood as a "bridge" to entry as a section. Preventing the MES from crossing the bridge now would require new reasons that did not exist when we approved its evolution from contact, to observer, sympathiser and guest to the Bureau.

We do not believe that these reasons exist. There are certainly political differences between members of the section and the MES. Members of the section have pointed out discrepancies regarding the emphasis on the issue of corruption, the position taken on the Lava-jato process in 2014-2016, the initial position on the first round of the presidential elections in 2022, among other issues. However, it must be remembered that the Brazilian section of the Fourth International is currently divided into five organisations. There are very serious political differences between them, so serious that their members consider the existence of five separate organisations necessary. Furthermore, the organisations that now make up the section participate in different fields or currents within the PSOL. From this universe of shared support for the International, joint militancy in the PSOL, but marked by serious differences, it makes no sense to exclude the MES, which also supports the International and is active in the PSOL, although it has differences with some components of the section, who already have deep differences among themselves.

Our goal, of course, remains to lay the

national activities of the IV International, and to contribute to the strengthening of the work of the IV International in Brazil, today there is an agreement by the three organizations that form the Brazilian section of the IV International for a permanent invitation to the MES for Bureau meetings.

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foundations for the reunification of the Brazilian section into a single organisation. By recognizing the MES as part of the section, we affirm our conviction that the MES must be part of that future unification process to which we aspire and that, therefore, for now, it will be part of the section divided into several organisations. It would be unreasonable if the MES, after a long history with the Fourth International, were not able to participate with effective voting rights in the life of the International. To deny the MES the right to vote would be to ask the organisations to carry out their functions in the same way as the member organisations of the section, without having rights equivalent to those of these organisations.

As regards the authority of the Congress, Article 9 of the statutes, already cited, clearly states that "On questions involving the national sections the World Congress serves as the final appeal and decision-making body." and here we are, without a doubt, faced with an aspect relating to the national sections. Of course, beyond the statutes, political wisdom advises taking into account the opinion of all the parties directly affected. That is why, as we know, a Brazil Commission was formed to meet with all the parties and take their opinion into account. The reality is that the division of the section is also reflected in the positions on the entry of the MES. Two organisations are in favour (Rebelião Ecosocialista / Ecosocialist Rebellion and Insurgência Reconstrucción Democrática/ Insurgency Democratic Reconstruction) and three organisations are opposed (Insurgência /Insurgency, Subverta/Subvert and Centelhas/Sparks), although in one (Centelhas) there is a minority that has expressed itself in favour. This reality accentuates the fact that on this issue it will be the Congress that, in accordance with the authority granted to it by Article 9, will make the decision as the "highest authority" on issues of this type.

For the reasons stated above (the MES's rise to permanent membership in the Bureau, without objections; its consistent work in collaboration and dissemination of the Fourth International's positions; the fact that the differences with the MES are not greater than those that already exist between the members of the section; and the fact that a very significant number of the Fourth International's sympathisers in Brazil are active in the MES) it seems to us that the World Congress should recognise

the MES as part of the Brazilian section of the Fourth International.

Taking into account the division of the section into several organisations, the Congress should, after consultation with

the different parts of the section, define a protocol for the future functioning of the section in order to avoid the hegemony of one organisation and to allow the representation of each part in the IC.

Rafael (member of the International Committee), Manuel and Jorge (delegates of Democracia Socialista, Puerto Rico)

Will the planned international anti-fascist conference in Brazil take place in 2026?

Plans for an anti-fascist conference to be held in Brazil date back to 2019 and should have been held in July 2020 had there not been a widespread lockdown due to the pandemic.

In October 2022, Lula's victory over Bolsonaro was narrowly achieved and the unity of the left from the first round contributed to this.

On 8 January 2023, the Bolsonarists attempted a coup in Brasilia, which rekindled the idea of taking an international initiative to try and hold a major conference against the far right. This was the subject of informal discussions in the IV from January 2023 onwards and was first raised at the April 2023 FI International Committee (IC) held in Amsterdam, followed by a discussion at the October 2023 IC in Amsterdam. I wrote a note on the subject as a member of the Bureau secretariat and this note was presented at a meeting of Latin American comrades held online on 17 December 2023. All but two of the participants (Lucas from Insurgencia Brazil and Martin M from Poder Popular, Argentina) were in favour of the following proposal: to try to get a local PT-PSOL unitary committee set up (with the support of trade unions and the landless movement) in Porto Alegre, the birthplace of the World Social Forum (founded in 2001), and to convene a first international conference in 2024, which could be followed by a larger conference elsewhere in Brazil in 2025. It should be noted that Lucas (Insurgencia) was not in favour of the conference being held in Porto Alegre, arguing that the MES chaired the Porto Alegre PSOL.

However, the initiative was all the more important given that Javier Milei had just won the presidential elections in

Argentina and that several electoral deadlines were looming in 2024 with likely advances by the far right, particularly in the United States with the possible victory of Trump.

In view of the favourable response at the Latin American meeting of the International IV in December 2023, a collective letter co-signed by Ana Cristina Carvalhaes, Francisco Louçã, Michael Löwy, Eric Toussaint and Miguel Urban was sent to members of the IV on 16 January 2024, and is reproduced at the end of this text.

At the beginning of February 2024, the PT and the national PSOL each agreed to the initiative that the PT and the PSOL in Porto Alegre had jointly called for.

This made it possible to start circulating the information internationally, in particular at the World Social Forum held in Nepal from 15 to 18 February 2024. The proposal was well received.

A joint working group was set up in Porto Alegre (including PSOL, PT, trade union organisations and with external support of the Landless Movement of Rio Grande do Sul) and began to put the initiative into practice by convening the conference 3 months later from 17 to 19 May 2024. I was invited to join this working group, which functioned regularly, communicating via whatsapp and holding face-to-face meetings, and I was able to see that it was indeed a united collective, debating and moving forward collectively in the preparations in a constructive manner. From the beginning of April, a website in 4 languages <https://www.antifas.org/> was online and registrations could begin.

The programme for the meeting consisted of three main parts: - an opening march attended by several thousand demonstrators; 8 plenary conferences with speakers from Brazil and the rest

of the world; dozens of workshops and self-organized conferences (in the tradition of the World Social Forum). Organizations wishing to register an activity could do so via the <https://www.antifas.org/> website.

Several local trade union organizations made their accommodation facilities available to participants, as well as minibuses to transport people from working-class neighbourhoods to the starting point of the opening march.

At the very beginning of May 2024, there were 1,400 registrations via the website.

A number of foreign organizations had decided to send delegates: several ATTAC organizations (France, Spain, Belgium, Argentina), CLACSO from Am. lat, Trans-National Institute (TNI Amsterdam), the Copernic Foundation (France), the Global University of Hong Kong (member of the World Social Forum), the Asian Social Forum, the CADTM international network, which was going to send a dozen delegates from 4 continents (North and Sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, Asia and Latin America/Caribbean), the CRID from France, AIDC from South Africa, etc.

In terms of political organizations: two deputies of France Insoumise had confirmed their participation, the Bloco de Esquerda from Portugal, the NPA-L'Anticapitaliste, Gauche Anticapitaliste from Belgium, the CUP from Catalonia, Miguel Urban MEP Anticapitalistas, leaders of DSA from the United States, comrades from Argentina (Marabunta, Libres del Sur, MST, CPI, MULCS...), Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Bolivia, a coalition of political organizations from Mexico, ... This list is incomplete.

The presence of members of the Fourth International at the Porto Alegre

conference from Puerto Rico, Portugal, Mexico, Argentina, Peru, France, Belgium, Spain, India, Morocco, South Africa, Brazil, etc. was confirmed.

On Wednesday 24 April 2024, an online conference was organized by the IV. The meeting was moderated by Tarzia de Centelhas (Brazil). Nineteen people took part. 8 Brazilian organisations were represented (in alphabetical order): APS, Centelhas, Insurgencia, Insurgencia RD, MES, Rebelion Ecosocialista, Resistencia, Subverta. All the organizations took the floor except APS. Ana C., Lucas and Éric also took part in the meeting as members of the Bureau Secretariat.

Among the points of consensus: -publish a Bureau statement in support of the conference on the fight against the extreme right; -attempt in an appropriate way to have an activity where the members of the International IV could meet; -disseminate information on the conference in all the organs of the IV or linked to it (see <https://fourth.international/en/latin-america/607> 'The singularity and importance of the 1st world anti-fascist conference which meets in Porto Alegre from 17 to 19 May 2024').

The problems encountered in Brazil: the October 2024 municipal election campaign dominated the concerns of a number of political forces and currents in the PT and PSOL. The fact that the conference was being held in Porto Alegre bothered certain organizations such as Insurgencia and Resistencia. Their a priori opposition to the MES led them to play down the significance of this initiative within the PSOL. The international secretariat of the PSOL, which is headed by a comrade from Resistencia, unfortunately considered that the Porto Alegre conference was a local initiative with no national or international scope. This view was shared by the leadership of Resistencia and Insurgencia. The enormous investment made by the MES and the very real support given to the preparation of the conference by Centelhas, Rébellion écosocialista, Insurgencia Reconstruccion democratica and APS was not enough to counterbalance the marginalization of the initiative within the PSOL.

The comrades of Resistencia and Insurgencia claim that the MES was using the Porto Alegre conference to give sectarian priority to their self-construction.

However, the MES was working very constructively in the local unitary organizing committee, which included the PT and the unions, and was in close contact with the Landless Movement. It should also be pointed out that no proposal was made for another city to host the conference on a united basis. However, in Sao Paulo or Belem, the PT and PSOL were in alliance and might have wanted to host the conference in 2024 or 2025.

It is possible that the MES, like other organizations that criticize it, will make mistakes and adopt a behavior that could be even more open than it already is. But it must be understood that it is not easy to give the floor in an international conference programme to all the representatives of the 8 organizations directly linked to the Fourth International in Brazil, as well as to comrades from other sections of the International, while at the same time making sufficient room for speakers from different horizons of the left in Brazil and elsewhere. An international anti-fascist initiative can only succeed if it goes far beyond the confines of the Fourth International.

In the end, the conference had to be suspended because of the catastrophic floods that hit Porto Alegre and the surrounding region ten days before the conference was due to take place.

Proposals for the future

Given the divisions in Brazil and the obvious reluctance to make the anti-fascist conference a success if it takes place in Porto Alegre, the discussion must be reopened with a view to 2026. From the point of view of the IV, Brazil is the country where the IV has the largest number of activists or sympathizers if we take into account the 8 organizations and their audience. Brazil is also a country where the danger of the return to government of the extreme right during the elections of October 2026 is particularly present. It should be possible for the 8 organizations to decide to agree to relaunch a process that allows the organization of a major conference in Brazil during the second quarter of 2026.

As proposed in another text published in this bulletin, the People's Summit that will take place in Belem in November 2025 as a counterpoint to COP 30 could constitute a springboard towards 2026. In the

coming months, Brazilian organizations willing to work together to promote the realization of an initiative against the extreme right and fascist forces could agree and organize activities in Belem in November 2025 against the climate denialism of the extreme right, etc.

This text therefore constitutes a call to all Brazilian organizations of the IV to overcome their disagreements because all are important and can contribute to success.

Regarding the date of an anti-fascist conference in Brazil 2026, it must be taken into account that the next World Social Forum will be held in Benin in West Africa at the end of January - beginning of February 2026, which is why the second quarter of 2026 may be the right time, knowing that the Brazilian presidential elections will take place in October 2026.

In conclusion, we can quote this passage from the end of the international resolution presented at the 18th World Congress:

«In this context, the initiative to hold, in Brazil, a broad militant conference against fascism in 2025 is of great importance for the International. It should be part of our priorities for action on all continents to support and strengthen this idea, working towards its realization, through regional or continental pre-conferences.» excerpt from the draft resolution on the international situation published in BDI No. 4

Addendum: Collective text sent in the IV from January 16, 2024 in favor of a global initiative to unite resistance to the extreme right

The text below proposed by Ana Cristina Carvalhaes, Francisco Louçã, Michael Löwy, Eric Toussaint and Miguel Urban is intended for the first discussions between the forces of the socialist left, with a view to constituting a broad front against the rise of the extreme right and increasingly repressive and authoritarian forms of government. As it becomes possible to broaden the political arc and concretize the idea, another text, aimed at a wider audience, should be written collectively.

For a global initiative to unite resistance to the far right

Following the attempted coup d'état

by the Bolsonarists on 8 January 2023 in Brasilia, the idea of convening an international meeting against the far right from Brazil has gained strength. With the turmoil caused by J. Milei's victory in Argentina and the offensive he has begun to launch against the popular movement, we owe it to ourselves to take an initiative. Let's not wait any longer, let's set in motion a process leading to a unitary meeting of social movements and anti-fascist political forces!

Even if it takes different forms, the danger of the far right and the strengthening of government violence is global. The constellation of totalitarian movements, governments and regimes brings with it reinforced neoliberal austerity policies, more racism, misogyny, homophobia, denial of the climate crisis, and even war and mass murder - as we are seeing in Gaza.

We must be ambitious if we are to rise to the challenges and dangers. We cannot limit ourselves to a meeting of a hundred or a few hundred participants. This is a major initiative aimed at bringing together thousands or tens of thousands of participants, at least by 2025. It must be an initiative that marks a milestone in the history of the beginning of international left-wing resistance to the rise of the far right and neo-fascism.

The political arc must include the socio-environmental movements, other international and national organizations, the Progressive International (Varufakis, Boulos, Petro, Bernie Sanders, etc.), the Fourth International and other international anti-capitalist organizations, the PSOL, the PT, the PCdoB, the PSTU, in other words the progressives, and the revolutionary left in all its diversity. In Argentina, the forces of the FIT-U, Poder Popular, Marabunta, CPI, MULCS, Libres del Sur, the left Peronists and many others. In the United States, the DSA, Bernie Sanders' movement, AOC, the Green Party, etc., are all involved. The list of political and social

organizations from Europe, Asia, Africa, etc. that could send representatives is long. Federations, trade unions, anti-fascist committees and campaigns, democratic artists and intellectuals, feminist organizations and international LGBTQI+ networks will play a key role.

Why Brazil?

Brazil, now free from the destruction wrought by Bolsonaro, is undoubtedly the most appropriate country to host this major meeting. Under a democratic government, with a strong institutional left and traditional social movements, Brazil offers one of the few opportunities in the world for building broad unity between activists, organizations, parties - such as the PT, PCdoB, PSOL, the REDE - parliamentarians, fighters from the city, countryside and forests, such as those organized in the Landless Movement (MST), the MTST and other urban occupation movements, the indigenous movement, the **quilombolas** - in order to set up this internationalist anti-fascist initiative.

It would be very important to hold the meeting in Porto Alegre, one of the capitals of southern Brazil, given the relative proximity of Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia and Chile. At present, it is essential to facilitate the massive participation of activists and organizations from Argentina in particular. An agreement has already been reached between the PT and the PSOL in Porto Alegre for the city, which was the birthplace of the World Social Forum in 2001, to host a major preparatory meeting this first semester 2024. As an easily accessible geographical destination for thousands of activists from Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and other countries, the capital of Rio Grande do Sul is the ideal place to launch the process. If agreement is reached with all the forces mentioned above, São Paulo is one of the candidates to host the meeting itself, in 2025. (Moreover, the real chances of the PSOL-PT alliance reaching the second round of municipal elections this year,

with Guilherme Boulos running for mayor of SP, will make these elections the priority of the local left).

We could imagine a first organizational meeting in Porto Alegre in April or May 2024 and a major Forum or Conference in the second quarter of 2025 in Sao Paulo or another Brazilian city, if the PSOL, the PT and the Landless Movement formed a local organizing committee (we could also imagine other continental initiatives preceding the world meeting - for example, a meeting in September or October 2024 in France. In this case, we could have a conference in Brazil in April/May 2024 and another in Europe, more specifically in France, at the end of September/October 2024).

The necessary steps

We could start by helping to launch a united appeal supported by around a hundred personalities from different political, social, intellectual and cultural backgrounds, from the anti-fascist, anti-racist, feminist and anti-colonial left around the world. (...)

It would require a representative local host committee (PT, PSOL, MST, etc.) based in the chosen city and an international sponsorship committee. Such an initiative would require a considerable budget (...). Once there is an international sponsoring committee and a clear and convincing unitary framework, it is certainly possible to obtain very substantial financial support from the major left-wing foundations, particularly those based in the United States.

If we succeed in convening a major international meeting, it will not be a question of stopping at success, but of launching a process.

Éric Toussaint, member of the International Committee of the IV to take on international tasks
29/12/2024

Ukraine and anti-imperialism

1. We start from three orientations:
a. Opposition to imperialism, recognizing that there is more than one imperialist power.

b. The right of peoples to self-determination.
c. Support for the working class and oppressed sectors in all countries.

2. It is not easy to apply them in a world of contending imperialisms that can be allied with just struggles of resistance against rival imperialisms. Lenin and

Trotsky already discussed this in the cases of Ireland and China, for example. Today it is raised in Ukraine.

3. The ISO document (“On the right of nations...”) states that the question of national self-determination ceases to arise when separate states already exist. But if the U.S. invades Haiti or Panama tomorrow, for example, will we not claim their right to self-determination? As long as imperialism exists, this problem will arise. Putin himself launched the invasion of Ukraine denouncing the Leninist doctrine of the right to self-determination: a clear sign that it is a key weapon to fight it.

4. We need an international perspective. For revolutionaries in NATO countries, it is a temptation to focus on Western imperialism, underestimating the struggle against other imperialisms. For those confronting Russian imperialism, it is easy to underestimate the struggle against its Western rival. In the global south it is tempting to see Russian imperialism as an ally against the US and its allies. We need an orientation that integrates the struggle against all imperialisms.

5. In a complex situation, we must avoid the one-sidedness that abounds in the left. For example:

a. Recognizing the imperialist character of NATO can lead to underestimate the Russian imperialist project of forging its own “zone of influence”. Conversely, pointing out the latter can lead to overlooking the former.

b. Pointing to the role of NATO expansion in Putin’s military reaction can lead to overlooking the imperialist character of that reaction. Conversely, pointing to the imperialist character of the invasion of Ukraine may lead to overlooking the imperialist expansion of NATO.

c. Affirming the legitimacy of the resistance to the Russian invasion, can lead to ignoring the neoliberal and reactionary character of Zelensky’s government or the presence of the extreme right in Ukraine. Conversely, denouncing Zelensky, etc., may lead to denying the legitimacy of Ukraine’s resistance to the Russian invasion.

d. Asserting Ukraine’s right to seek the weapons it needs may lead to underestimating NATO’s imperialist motivation in providing them. Conversely, pointing to that motivation, may lead to denying Ukraine’s right to seek the weapons it needs.

e. Raising the need to combat NATO rearmament may lead to denying Ukraine’s right to arm itself in the face of Russian invasion. Conversely, recognizing that right may lead to underestimating the need to combat NATO rearmament.

f. Acknowledging the will in Ukraine to resist the Russian invasion may lead to underestimating NATO’s attempt to subject this resistance to its objectives (to turn it into a proxy war). Conversely, pointing out this NATO objective may lead to denying the will of resistance in Ukraine.

g. Asserting the need to seek negotiations may lead to an attempt to impose on Ukraine the timing of negotiations, including through the cessation of arms shipments. Conversely, refusal to impose on Ukraine the timing of negotiations may lead to ignoring the need for negotiations.

h. Pointing out the need to avoid a nuclear confrontation may lead to yielding to Putin’s nuclear blackmail. Conversely, insisting on not giving in to nuclear blackmail may lead to denying the danger of nuclear escalation.

6. Campism is the extreme version of unilateralism: for campism there is only Western imperialism, which in 2014 carried out a coup d’état in Ukraine and which today conducts a proxy war against Russia together with the Zelensky government. This leaves out Russian imperialism, the diversity of forces present in the Maidan, the popular will to resist the Russian invasion and the legitimacy of that resistance, despite the reactionary character of Zelensky’s government.

7. Pointing out these errors in opposite directions does not mean that our task is to seek some sort of middle ground. A correct orientation depends on a concrete analysis: What should be done to not to give in to Putin’s nuclear blackmail while avoiding a nuclear confrontation? Answering this question requires careful and precise analysis. But whatever its outcome, it will have to combine both objectives and avoid the two mistakes outlined above. What motivated the decision to invade Ukraine? The perceived threat from NATO? There are good reasons to think that Putin tried to take advantage of what he understood to be a moment of NATO weakness (Afghanistan, internal divisions) for what he thought would be a quick operation. But in any case, it would be wrong to reduce any of these factors to zero.

8. Thus, we need to

a. Recognize the need to combat the imperialisms of both NATO and the Russian Federation.

b. Point out both the expansion of NATO as an element conducive to Putin’s reaction, and the imperialist character of that reaction.

c. Affirm the legitimacy of Ukraine’s resistance to the Russian invasion, while denouncing the neoliberal and reactionary character of the Zelensky government, as well as the chauvinist policies, etc.

d. Both affirm Ukraine’s right to obtain arms and warn against NATO’s imperialist motivation in providing them.

e. Affirm the need both to combat NATO rearmament and to provide Ukraine with the means to repel the Russian invasion.

f. Recognize both the will to resist in Ukraine and NATO’s attempt to subordinate that to its imperialist aims.

g. Affirm the need for negotiations to resolve the conflict without imposing on Ukraine the timing of negotiations through the cessation of arms shipments.

h. Not to give in to Putin’s nuclear blackmail, while acting to avoid a nuclear escalation.

9. Some tasks that result from this are:

a. In the Russian Federation

i. Reject the invasion of Ukraine and denounce its consequences on the Russian people and call for an end to the occupation.

ii. Call for desertion and non-participation in the war.

iii. Recognize the legitimacy of Ukraine’s resistance and its right to procure the weapons necessary for that resistance.

iv. Combat illusions in NATO as a democratic force, pointing out its imperialist character, denouncing its interventions, etc. (Palestine, for example).

b. In Ukraine

i. Support armed and unarmed resistance to the Russian invasion.

ii. Claim the means to arm that resistance, including from a rival imperialism.

iii. Fight to give this resistance a democratic, progressive and consequently anti-imperialist character and denounce anti-Russian chauvinist policies, etc.

iv. Denounce Zelensky’s neoliberal policies and promote measures to improve

living conditions, strengthen public services, attack the privileges of oligarchs and companies that benefit from the war, etc.

v. Denounce NATO imperialism (the example of Palestine is very visible) and the need not to bow to its objectives (as part of that, demand the cancellation of Ukraine's foreign debt).

c. In NATO countries

i. Reject both NATO and Putin's imperialism.

ii. Denounce the crimes of both (in Palestine and Ukraine, for example).

iii. Support movements in Russia opposed to the war.

iv. Recognize the need to send arms to Ukraine to resist the Russian invasion (combined, for example, with the demand to cease support for Israel).

v. Warn that NATO intends to use the support for its imperialist purposes.

vi. Reject rearmament and austerity and demonstrate that they are not necessary to support Ukraine.

10. These demands are mutually supportive. Revolutionaries in Russia, the West and Ukraine must work together to advance them. They can be summarized in a single list that each will advocate as appropriate to their situation. Of the resolutions submitted, that of the Bureau is the one that comes closest to our position.

11. ISO points out that, according to Lenin, the Ukrainian revolutionaries must foster internationalist unity with the Russian workers. And that sentiment is practically absent in Ukraine today. That is true. But Lenin did not condition the defense of Ukraine's right to self-determination on the adoption of such internationalism. On the contrary, he understood that the hatred of the Ukrainians towards their Russian oppressors was understandable: recognizing their right to self-determination was one of the means to dissipate that hatred and open the way to unity among peoples. Not to affirm that right would only confirm nationalist prejudices in the oppressed nation and make the work of internationalists in the Ukraine more difficult (Lenin, "Ukraine", 1917).

12. The Anticapitalistas resolution has unobjectionable points, including its objective: peace without annexations. But in part it exhibits the one-sidedness against which we warn. For example, by pointing out (correctly) NATO's aim of subjugating the Ukrainian resistance to

its imperialist aims (turning it into a proxy war), it ends up denying the Ukrainian resistance. According to the resolution, Ukraine is fighting due to NATO imposition rather than its own will: the proxy war annuls the Ukrainian resistance to the point of making it insignificant. Since it is above all a proxy war by NATO, revolutionaries must demand negotiations to stop it and must oppose the sending of arms (sending them implies supporting an imperialist war and continuing to feed the armed conflict).

13. The press of our current is replete with reports documenting popular participation in the military response to the Russian invasion. War weariness, accentuated by Zelensky's policies, does not erase this fact. The position of comrades close to the 4th in Ukraine is not to fuel defeatism but to push for measures against Zelensky that would broaden and encourage resistance, while calling for continued military aid. (Sotsialnyi Rukh, "The Road to Victory and the Tasks of the Ukrainian Left," October 2024, <https://rev.org.ua/english/>)

14. On the other hand, it is not logical to think that the cutting-off of military aid to Ukraine, or the rise of a movement with such aims, would pressure Putin to negotiate a peace without annexations. To think so would be to fall into another error: to ignore his project of forging his own zone of influence. A militarily weakened Ukraine would encourage his intention to hold on to the conquests he has achieved and to extend them. To tie NATO's hands, stopping arms deliveries would give Putin a much freer hand. What options do we leave Ukraine? To resist the invasion, but to renounce NATO military aid, so as not to become a proxy of imperialism, or not to fight, given the inequality of forces. Another thing, legitimate, would be to open a dialogue on acceptable conditions for a cease-fire and the beginning of negotiations, but without trying to deprive Ukraine of the material means necessary for armed resistance.

15. The ISO text also reduces the war to a NATO-Russia war. And it draws the consequences: since "a NATO victory" is not wanted, Ukraine will have to wait "until global circumstances permit". Resignation, is this the perspective offered by the 4th to the peoples attacked by Russian imperialism? To which other peoples will this doctrine have to be extended? Of course, we want distrust and opposition to NATO to grow in Ukraine. But if the left does not assume the defense of Ukraine, what will

the peoples of the region conclude if not that their only ally is NATO and not the anti-NATO left? Our support for Ukraine against the invasion is the necessary complement to the work of our comrades in Ukraine for identification with the international left and against reliance on NATO.

16. We oppose the rearmament and expansion of NATO. Russian aggression in Ukraine makes our work more difficult: Putin's aggressions make it easier to present the rearmament and extension of NATO as a shield of the peoples against Russian aggression. As part of the struggle against NATO rearmament, the resolution of Anticapitalistas proposes to stop sending arms to Ukraine. But this has the consequences pointed out: to fight NATO it abandons Ukraine and evades the problem of how to confront Russian imperialism. More coherent with the struggle against both imperialisms is the position of the European Network for Solidarity with Ukraine which supports the sending of arms to Ukraine which resists Russian imperialism, but which also denounces the interventions of Western imperialism (Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine) and opposes the rearmament of NATO. (RESU, "On armament for Ukraine and the struggle against militarism", October 2024, <https://ukraine-solidarity.eu>)

17. It is argued that there is a structural relationship between the war in Ukraine and NATO rearmament. It is true that the war is used as a pretext for rearmament. But if ending the war becomes the only goal, it would be enough if Ukraine ceases, or is unable, to resist. Then there would be peace... under Putin's rule. If we want to fight both imperialisms we must oppose NATO and its rearmament and, at the same time, support resistance to the Russian invasion.

18. Furthermore, the more strengthened (militarily, territorially) Putin comes out of the war, the greater and not lesser will be the pretexts for NATO rearmament. Our task is to support the Ukrainian resistance to Russian imperialism, while trying to strike at Western imperialism: that is why we do not object to sending arms, while fighting for the disarmament of NATO.

19. Trotsky discussed this subject in "Learn to think" (1938). There he asked what position Italian revolutionaries should take if Fascist Italy sent aid to a rebellion against French colonialism in Algeria. Trotsky recognized that the

greatest enemy of the Italian revolutionaries was still at home (Mussolini) and that the sending of arms was “motivated by his own imperialist interests”. It was extended “to weaken his enemy (France) and to extend his rapacious hand over its colonies.” But Trotsky concluded that the Italian revolutionaries could not oppose the arms shipments. Even in the case of a general strike, they should make sure not to stop the shipment of arms. To the proposition that Italy was acting with imperialist aims, he replied: “The Italian revolutionary workers do not forget this... They call on the Algerians not to trust their treacherous ‘ally’ and, at the same time continue their own irreconcilable struggle against fascism.”

20. Trotsky underlined the error to be avoided: we almost always oppose what the bourgeois governments do, but not always. It is necessary to examine each case. Trotsky said: “The policy of the proletariat is by no means automatically derived from the policy of the bourgeoisie, putting only the opposite sign”. There are cases in which we put the same sign, with our “own stamp”: “In ninety percent of the cases, the

workers really put a minus sign where the bourgeoisie puts a plus. In ten percent, however, they are forced to put the same sign as the bourgeoisie, but with their own stamp, thus expressing their distrust of it.” This is an indication of how to “think” the combination of the fight against NATO and the sending of arms to Ukraine.

21. In the context of heightened inter-imperialist conflicts, campism has grown on the global left. The most widespread version defines the US and its allies as the imperialist camp and the states with which it maintains some confrontation or tension as the anti-imperialist, progressive, alternative, etc. camp. To confront Western imperialism, confidence is fostered in other imperialisms or in reactionary regimes, which, for their part, sometimes appeal to anti-hegemonism, anti-fascism, multipolarity, etc., just as Western imperialism proclaims itself to be the defender of democracy.

22. There is much discussion as to whether the Russian invasion of Ukraine was a response to NATO actions. However, what is fundamental is the imperialist character of that invasion. An

anti-imperialist government in Russia would have called on the working class and the ecological, feminist, anti-imperialist, etc. movements in the West to oppose NATO militarism. It would denounce militarism and implement the demands of those movements in Russia. But Putin is an enemy of those movements. He pushes his own imperialist agenda, while crushing them in Russia. No consistent anti-imperialist can associate with such a government or its aggressions. (See: “The Left and Ukraine: anti-imperialism or alter-imperialism?”, September 2023, <https://links.org.au/left-and-ukraine-anti-imperialism-or-alter-imperialism>)

23. But there are many who perceive the inconsistencies of campism. Attracting them to internationalism is a duty, a responsibility and an opportunity for growth for the 4th. Due to its history and composition, there is no other organization better prepared to spread and organize internationalism, opposed to all imperialisms. If not the 4th, who will do it?

Rafael, IC member, Puerto Rico

Strengthening the International, from top to bottom and especially from bottom to top

The congress texts deal with the analysis of the situation and various aspects of orientation. But the congress must also be an opportunity to discuss in all the organizations at national level how to strengthen the International - this is the aim of the resolution on the tasks of building the International (BDI #2).

We all know that we are too fragile. For example, we need the International to publish statements on a very regular basis: some short and rapid, in response to events such as Trump’s victory, the hurricane in Mayotte, the fall of Assad, and others longer, offering analyses and positions on major events.

We need more regular meetings of the major regions of the world to better understand the political dynamics, to invite activist groups close to us; and

regular thematic meetings (Palestine, feminism...).

We also need more calls to the national organizations, from the international bodies, to exchange information and articles, to translate them, and to invite people to attend IIRE courses and schools, feminist and LGBTI seminars, and the youth camp. We also need to discuss more about the building our organizations in the working class, organize meetings, be able to take militant initiatives.

It would also be desirable to make Bureau meetings more regular, thanks to videoconferencing, and for the secretariat to be able to take the time for political debates more often.

Finally, we need to make our international publications more solid, more cohe-

rent and more closely linked.

All this has already been said in the resolution. But for all this to be possible, we need more forces, centrally, and these forces can only be provided from below.

It is therefore necessary that, as part of the preparations for the World Congress, the sections and their leaderships take the time to discuss how they can strengthen the apparatus and central functioning of the International.

This means discussing which comrades could be involved in various tasks (commissions, publications, and of course the IC and the bureau) and making them militant priorities for the coming years. To carry out these tasks, we need comrades who are prepared to take the time to work on political elaboration and to carry

out practical tasks. In our conception, there is no separation between those who develop, write and formulate ideas and analyses, and those who actually implement the project. We try to limit the division between political tasks and technical tasks, because building a leadership requires the ability to link theory and practice, development and implementation.

In the leadership system we want to build - that is to say, the system made up of the central bodies (IC and Bureau), the commissions, the editorial teams and the regional coordinations - we must try to feminize, diversify and rejuvenate. While we have largely moved beyond the stage where the vast majority of our leaderships were dominated by the generation formed in the 60s and 70s, we have not yet

built new teams everywhere. The renewal and diversification of the leadership, which must come from the grassroots, i.e. the national organizations, is crucial if we are to continue to be able to understand and analyse the world as it is today. But it is also important not to lose the lessons of the experiences of previous generations, which underlines the importance of our educational activity.

One of the strong points of our International is that it is not dominated by a single national party which is seen as a model, or which determines the orientation of the whole International. Our aim is to analyse the situation from a truly global point of view, and to develop corresponding orientations. The contribution of all the organizations, and in particular

of the Global South, in terms of analysis and personnel, is therefore essential. This contribution must be rooted in the real experience of the national organizations in the actual class struggle, and thus the comrades assigned to international tasks must also remain organically linked to their section leaderships, while taking into account the necessary division of labour that allows the international tasks to be carried out.

The challenge for this World Congress is to emerge with an IC that is stronger, more feminized and younger, and ready to take on all these tasks.

Antoine IC member France,
Penny IC member France

'Broad parties', class parties and revolutionary parties

The debate on the party is sometimes too abstract in the International. The minority, the TIR in particular, distortedly counterposes the building of 'broad parties' with the building of the revolutionary party. The need to build broad parties was not, contrary to what the minority claims, a strategic shift away from building the revolutionary party towards building organizations with no strategic delimitation. It was a question of trying to build broad revolutionary organizations in the sense that they would not only include Trotskyists in the tradition of Ernest Mandel or Pierre Frank, but that they would aim to bring together various revolutionary Marxists.

Moreover, this desire is nothing more than a return to the origins of the Fourth International, which was not conceived as the party of the Trotskyists but as the revolutionary International necessary for the workers' movement in the face of the reformist and Stalinist deformations of the Second and Third Internationals. We do not see revolutionary strategy as an inevitable outcome, or evolution, of the workers' movement, but as its intransigent form, the most independent of the influence of the capitalist system (the *Manifesto* speaks of communists as the 'most resolute section' of workers' parties).

Bringing together non-sectarian revolutionary Marxists

Bringing together non-sectarian revolutionaries who share the general orientations of the International should be a central axis of the construction of the International.

Indeed we cannot satisfy ourselves with what we are today, nor base our hopes in the regroupment of centrist currents, the period of acute class conflict in which we find ourselves requires, on the contrary, a combination of the broadest united front and the independence of revolutionary forces which anticipate the effects of the class struggle, in particular the need to break with capitalist institutions.

It is for these reasons that it would be relevant to integrate an organization like the MES or like the NPA-L'Anticapitaliste into the International. This does not mean erasing the disagreements of point of view which may exist in Brazil or in France, but setting ourselves the objective of bringing together in the same international organization the organizations working for the revolution, not in a sectarian hypothesis of self-construction and separation from the other revolutionary currents of the workers' movement, but

in interaction. From this point of view, the policy of the TIR, even if we share many of the same conceptions as the comrades, is profoundly mistaken because it confuses tactical disagreements with strategic disagreements, it favours links with sectarian organizations rather than with those seeking unity of action, it cultivates its own identity by exaggerating disagreements, instead of seeking to bring people together, which is the characteristic of sectarian groups.

Unity and delimitation

The construction of broad revolutionary organizations must not be confused with the tactic of building non-revolutionary workers' organizations, class parties, such as the Brazilian PT in the past, the PSOL today, Die Linke in Germany, the Party of Communist Refoundation in Italy in the past, or Podemos in Spain. In fact, our comrades took part in building these organizations, not by idealizing them, nor out of pure manoeuvring, but because we considered that they played a positive role in structuring class consciousness and the class struggle. Not to mention the fact that the trajectory of these organizations is not necessarily predetermined.

Speaking of entryism into the SFIO in 1934, Trotsky explained that the radicali-

zation of the masses would pass through its organizations, in particular social democracy, which he judged at the time to be more open to radicalization than the Communist Party, sclerotized by Stalinism, and that Trotskyists had to build the SFIO in order to contribute to the organizational structuring of the radicalization of the masses, while anticipating the fact that this would come into contradiction with the positions of the reformist leaderships of these organizations. This was not a manoeuvre, contrary to what the Lambertist currents had achieved, but an understanding of the need, at a given moment, to link up with the real consciousness of the masses, to accompany them, while anticipating the need to protect ourselves from bureaucratic excesses and to anticipate the necessary breaks with the state apparatus. This means maintaining our political and organizational independence, even within reformist or centrist organizations, as our comrades from Anticapitalistas did in Podemos.

The NFP in France

The participation of the NPA-L'Anticapitaliste in the New Popular Front in France is of a different order: it is an electoral coalition bringing together the whole of the left, within the framework of a profoundly anti-democratic electoral system (the majority vote elects only one candidate per electoral district and therefore completely erases from Parliament the organizations which are not in coalitions capable, here or there, of winning a majority of votes). The threat of the far right (the Rassemblement National was the leading force in terms of the number of votes it received), the political crisis and the possibilities of mobilizing the proletariat (in the elections, but not only in view of the major mobilizations of recent years) made it necessary to adopt a policy of very broad unity, ranging from the right wing of social democracy to the NPA-A, from Hollande to Poutou.

Indeed, we felt it was necessary to show our readiness to fight in unity against the far right and against President Macron's rule. But we explained the concrete reasons for our independence: firstly, we made it clear that in the event of a victory for the Left, we would not be taking part in the government (La France insoumise had offered to do so in the previous elections); we said that any deputy we might

have would support the measures in the united programme. Secondly, we gave priority to building unity from below, between political activists, associations, trade unions and struggle collectives. In several constituencies, dozens of activists are meeting every month to build such a framework, combining electoral illusions with class action, support for struggles and so on. Such frameworks are more reminiscent of embryonic soviets than of a party combining reformists and revolutionaries.

Articulating tactics and strategy

All these tactics, whether building class parties or temporary electoral coalitions, do not erase our revolutionary political positions. We still defend our principles: the need to change the balance of power through struggle, independence from the bourgeois state, our transitional demands, our vision of the oppressions and struggles of the exploited and oppressed... and the need for revolution and the building of a revolutionary party.

But, unlike the TIR, we do not consider that the building of the revolutionary party is done against other workers' parties, or even against other revolutionary organizations, but by demonstrating concretely that our positions are the best ones for building mass movements and guiding them in a revolutionary strategy. There is no question of adapting to other currents, we retain our political and organizational independence, but we are ready to learn from others, to work with them because, as the *Manifesto* says, '*The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to the other working-class parties*' but '*the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others*'.

Antoine IC member France