

# PERMANENT REVOLUTION

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EDICIONES SOCIALISTAS

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That at the same time that Guaidó and the imperialist right are speaking against Maduro and he is crying out against the US and its local puppets, there are important attempts to negotiate a way out of the crisis that will favor their own interests, while continuing to impose anti-popular measures on the backs of the workers and the people. That Guaidó remains free and moving around the country, that there were intense negotiations of the US and Russian foreign ministers, and then the meetings in Oslo confirmed and endorsed by the government and by the opposition, confirm this fact, for which we demand the end to negotiations behind the backs of the Venezuelan people, meetings where there is no debate either about the food crisis, the lack of gasoline or incessant inflation, but about the interests of both leaderships.

That, in this situation, we believe that it is the people who must decide the destiny of the country; we propose the realization of a true, free and sovereign Constituent Assembly to discuss how to reorganize the country on new economic, political and social bases, and in which we would propose basic measures for a workers' and socialist solution to this crisis, in the perspective of a government of the workers, which is the only solution in favor of the working class and the people, against this deep crisis in which two antagonistic capitalist sides are sinking us. We demand the expulsion of the oil corporations and state and workers' control of all production and distribution; we demand an end to open air mining and all forms of looting and environmental destruction, the nonpayment of the external debt, the repatriation of the millions of embezzled dollars, and the use of those resources to meet the enormous needs of food and medicine our population has today, granting a general wage increase, as well. Also to prohibit price increases and punish any noncompliant company.

That the working class and the people need to get out of this polarization between two reactionary and capitalist leaders who are killing us and are competing to impose themselves. And that, in this situation, it is necessary to promote an independent and class based policy, marked by the rejection of all interference by imperialism and its local puppets, but without any kind of trust or political support to the government of Maduro

and the Armed Forces that are subjugating the country and weakening all the conquests of the working class and the people.

And that the promotion of genuine working-class and popular struggles and the coordination of trade union sectors that want to fight for workers' rights are becoming increasingly necessary, with independence from the government and also from the pro-imperialist opposition. At the same time, political unity of the working-class, anti-capitalist and socialist forces is also needed to forge an alternative.

### WE RESOLVE:

1. To promote declarations and other initiatives and political actions against all imperialist interference in Venezuela and against any



attempted coup d'état and other actions promoted by Guaidó. To continue carrying out this policy of condemnation of all US plans from an independent political position and without giving any political support to the Maduro regime.

2. To keep alive the drive to build a militant, socialist, revolutionary, anti-capitalist and internationalist organization in Venezuela.
3. To support the measures toward classist coordination in workers' struggles and working-class and socialist unity in the political arena.
4. To support the campaign against censorship of the alternative, popular and independent web page [aporrea.org](http://aporrea.org). .



# Free Ali Wazir

Member of the National Assembly of  
Pakistan, Pashtun Defense Movement leader.

# PERMANENT REVOLUTION

THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE / JULY 2019 - NUM. 1



**THE INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST LEAGUE  
IS BORN**



# This is how the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE was born



It is not every day that an international revolutionary socialist organization is founded. Here we review the details, precedents and first challenges of this important event.

The event that debated and decided to launch the ISL took place from May 24 to 26 in the beautiful and thriving capital of Catalonia. It was carried out in the comfortable facilities of the Xanascot public hostel. With a high youth composition, the event counted with the participation of leaders representing parties and groups from a score of countries on three continents: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. Also, fraternal greetings and messages of support came to the conference from France, Ecuador, Iran and Pakistan. The representatives from these last two countries, as well as those of Lebanon, were unable to attend because their visas were refused.

Of course, the ISL was not born by spontaneous generation: its came as the result of a political-organizational confluence in relatively short terms. While the Anticapitalist Network was expanding its presence in Latin America, Europe and the East, cadres of the Turkish Socialist Workers Party (SEP) traveled in October to Argentina to meet the local left,

where a political bond began that took hold quickly. So much so, that in mid-December, another milestone towards the founding of the ISL was reached: the formation of the Anticapitalist Network-SEP Liaison Committee. Signed respectively by the leaders Alejandro Bodart and V. U. Arslan, that agreement proposed “*to advance, in a brief period, towards the unification of our forces in a joint international revolutionary organization*”. In March 2019, the call to the Barcelona meeting was made by the liaison committee.

## “A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE EVENTS AND THE TASKS”

With this phrase, Leon Trotsky described the cohesion of the international revolutionary party in his *Transitional Program*(1). Accordingly, the programmatic document, the notes on the economic crisis, the resolutions and declarations on several topics and the international campaigns that were discussed and approved at the Barcelona conference (these texts are included in this first edition of the organization’s magazine) give an accurate account of that *common understanding* in the ISL.

Those of us who constitute the ISL are joining together to contribute to the main and most difficult task of the international working class: to build an international socialist and revolutionary leadership. That is to say, militants coming from different trajectories have coincided in developing a revolutionary project in common.

Along with carrying out the internationalist campaigns that we voted, our first World Congress, to be held in 2020, has set out to develop a thesis on the world situation and a draft organizational statute, which will be the two key texts to debate and vote. In parallel, this new theoretical and political journal of the organization will be published regularly, as well as an internal discussion bulletin to inform the activities of the sections, the development of the campaigns, and to channel issues that are in debate and contributions that arise from here to the Congress. On the other hand, in order to strengthen the political education of our cadres, there will be two centralized youth

campus: one in Turkey at the end of August, and the other in Argentina in February.

Carried out in four languages, the three working days of the conference were very productive. Near its wrap up, we received news of the unjust arrest of Pakistani deputy Ali Wazir (our comrade of The Struggle) and another colleague of his, so we added the solidarity campaign for their freedom to the tasks we had already resolved.

In this way, the ISL left Barcelona on the offensive, with internationalist campaigns and to continue to approach and add new members. Trips to several countries and invitations to events of other Trotskyist organizations seeking a new international reference are already planned. In the heat of our interventions in the class struggle and new challenges and political debates, the ISL makes its way with enthusiasm.



**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST LEAGUE**

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1. The original title of the text is *The death agony of capitalism and the tasks of the Fourth International* (1938).





# The **INTERNATIONAL REGROUPMENT** of **REVOLUTIONARIES** advances



BY ALEJANDRO BODART, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE MST

The foundation of the ISL is a step of enormous importance in the necessary regrouping of revolutionary socialists and has been viewed with sympathy and interest in broad sectors of anti-capitalist activism. There are objective and subjective conditions to be optimistic about the possibilities of a rapid development of the new organization that was born in **Barcelona.**

The growth that the Anticapitalist Network (AenR) experienced in the few months since its founding in May 2018 allowed those of us who came from there to verify the enormous

possibilities of building founding nuclei of revolutionary organizations in different countries of America and Europe. However, it was the later meeting between the Argentine MST - on behalf of AenR - with the Turkish SEP, which permitted a qualitative leap in outlining the project that gave rise to the ISL and the relation with The Struggle of Pakistan. It is thus demonstrated that it is also possible to converge and reach strategic agreements between parties and organizations strongly implanted in their countries. This speaks to the potential that the current stage of the class struggle offers. We are optimistic because, with a correct and bold orientation, it is possible for our International Socialist

League to become an alternative for militants, groups and parties that are looking for an international reference that defends the causes we raise.

The different components of the ISL identify with the theoretical, political and methodological experience built over 150 years of struggles of the working class. We adhere to the main lessons of Marxism, Leninism and Trotskyism, and precisely for that reason we reject all kinds of dogmatism. We propose advance by learning, not only from past successes, but also from the political and methodological mistakes that have been made in this long march towards socialism, which some are determined to continue committing. We hope to overcome them by basing our work on a democratic internal regime that enables permanent collective



elaboration, objective assessments of our intervention in the class struggle, a fraternal debate of the differences that may exist and the implementation of common international campaigns. Our goal is to contribute to overcoming the vacuum of revolutionary leadership that exists worldwide. We intend to combat the pessimistic outlooks of the present and the future that are propagated by various sectors of the left, and the sectarianism and opportunism that leads to the loss of confidence in the working class and its struggles. We also intend to confront the illusions in bourgeois democracy and demobilizing pacifism that the absence of a strong revolutionary pole generates in broad sectors of workers and activism.

## CAPITALIST BARBARISM AND THE RESISTANCE OF THE WORKING CLASS

We live in a world that jumps from crisis to crisis, with shorter and shorter periods of recovery. The world economy has not yet been able to reverse the effects of the great crisis of 2008, and another one of similar or greater magnitude is coming. The underlying reasons are intrinsic to this outdated capitalist system, which has had nothing positive to offer for decades. Scientific and technological advances increasingly reach fewer people. The wealth produced by the world's working class is concentrated in a handful of billionaires who, in order to increase their profits, cause environmental disasters and condemn billions to a life of misery and suffering.

Imperialism drives an authentic economic counterrevolution against the workers and peoples of the world to make us pay the costs of the crises they cause. Capitalist governments are increasingly appealing to repression in order to implement their plans of super-exploitation. Millions are condemned to unemployment and historic rights and conquests of the working class and the people are attacked.

Faced with the massive loss of legitimacy of traditional regimes and parties for having applied such plans, and taking advantage of the disappointment and demoralization that false left governments – such as those of Tsipras, Maduro or Lula – have caused in many people, right-wing forces have come to power in many places and, in some countries, bourgeois sectors even encourage the emergence of neo-fascist formations based on fostering hatred of migrants and ethnic minorities, religious intolerance, misogyny and homophobia.

But capital's offensive is only part of reality. There is another, more important, part that Marxists cannot ignore and it is the resistance of the exploited and oppressed masses against the onslaught of those above. In various regions of the planet there are strikes, mass mobilizations and also semi-insurrections and revolutions. The workers and youth of Hong Kong stand up against the brutalities of the Chinese capitalist bureaucracy; in Brazil, students and the working class challenge the proto-fascist Bolsonaro in the street; workers in Argentina



confront Macri's measures with strikes; women stand up for their rights and drive an authentic feminist revolution; the yellow vests challenge the neoliberal government of Macron and have become a symbol that transcends France; the people of Algeria and Sudan fearlessly face their dictators, the people of Honduras have risen against the illegitimate government of Juan Orlando Hernández; Yemeni rebels, like the Palestinian people, continue to resist imperialist attacks; in the United States, workers' strikes have returned after several decades of passivity. These are some of the many examples that show that resistance exists and extends.

The main problem that needs to be resolved is still the crisis of revolutionary leadership that our class has experienced for decades. There is a dialectical relationship between the confusions in workers' consciousness and the absence of a strong global revolutionary pole.

The absence of revolutionary leaderships with mass influence is what is preventing partial economic or democratic triumphs that working people conquer with great effort from becoming the prelude to definitive victories against the imperialist capitalist system. Ultimately, this is why great struggles often end in catastrophic defeats. It also allows bureaucratic and reformist leaderships to be recycled; and very progressive phenomena such as the radicalization and resurgence of socialist ideas among the U.S. and British youth are channeled by new social-democratic formations like those promoted by Sanders and Corbyn.

As we have said, the conformation of the ISL is at the service of overcoming this strategic weakness. We are optimistic because in each process we have cited, extraordinary opportunities arise that, if we know how to take advantage of them, can allow us to take leaps in the construction of our sections and quickly transform ourselves into a dynamic pole of regroupment of revolutionaries at an international level.

## CRISIS, FAILURES AND LESSONS

It is very important to assess that, while many of the organizations that situate themselves in the revolutionary left are going through crises, divisions and in some cases dissolution, the

different components that make up the ISL are coming together precisely to try to reverse this trend.

We are witnessing major crises in international currents such as the Unified Secretariat (USFI), the Committee for a Workers International (CWI), the International Workers League (LIT) or national parties such as the Argentine Workers Party (PO) or the U.S. International Socialist Organization (ISO).

We need to draw conclusions about what is happening with these organizations, identify the causes, detect their main political and methodological mistakes and what elements in common these processes show. An element present in most of these crises is pessimism, the result of the loss of confidence in the working class and its mobilization. This is the main source of the opportunistic and sectarian deviations and mistakes that have been made.



Pessimism led the USFI to lose faith in the socialist perspective, abandon the strategy of building revolutionary parties, and dissolve into broad parties that, sooner rather than later, end up moderating their program and playing into reformism. The result of this orientation has been the disappearance of its main party, the French LCR, and the stagnation and retreat of the rest of its groups.

In the United States, sectors of the left revive reformist characters like Kautsky to try to convince themselves that the path to socialism is to accumulate parliamentarians and win elections, because they have stopped believing or never believed in a revolutionary perspective. They omit, of course, that the electoral path to socialism, so often recycled, has not given

us a single example throughout history of an anti-capitalist advance, while insurrectional revolutions came to expropriate the bourgeoisie in a third of the planet. Unfortunately, when it was most necessary to count on a strong revolutionary organization to fight against these false ideologies, the ISO was dissolved. Dogmatism and a sectarian refusal of its leadership to adjust its political tactics to better intervene in the new mass socialist movement that emerged in the United States, and the use of bureaucratic methods that prevented a fraternal debate, provoked an internal rebellion and a sudden change of leadership which, combined with the report of a mishandled case of sexual abuse, ended in the demoralization of its membership and the dissolution of the organization.

The electoralism in which forces such as the Argentine PTS or the PO - which suffers a crisis of such magnitude that it includes a huge loss of cadres and militants - have fallen, has in its background a pessimist outlook of reality and the possibilities of the working class, which has led them to focus all their expectations and efforts on elections. In turn, the electoral retreat of the FIT in this year's provincial elections, which has exacerbated the PO's crisis, is linked to the sectarian refusal of its members to extend the front to the rest of the left and transfer that unity to the struggles and others areas of dispute for leadership. This has led to losing a huge opportunity to build a mass revolutionary alternative. We hope to help reverse all this, with the agreement we have reached with the comrades.

In addition to all the problems mentioned above, we must add the methodological ones. Decades of Stalinism have permeated many of the revolutionary organizations with bureaucratic methods alien to Leninist democratic centralism. In turn, the dispersion of Trotskyism in several currents, as a result of the liquidationist role of revisionism, generated small internationals, each built around a *mother party* who believes it has the right to impose policy and orientation on smaller groups. Without eradicating these vices, it is impossible to build a mass International. The ISL intends to recover the best traditions of the revolutionary movement.

## CHALLENGES

The complexities of the objective situation will place us before many political and organizational challenges. We are optimistic because we have very strong political and principled bases in common. This does not mean that we agree on everything or that there are no disagreements or differences on some issues – as has actually already manifested around definitions about the new feminist wave and will surely arise in relation to other facts of reality. We will face them with constructive criteria, developing the debates in depth to learn and improve our elaboration and intervention.

We will work based on a methodology that allows a balance to seek consensus in the first place and if, after exhausting all instances of debate, this is not possible, only then resolve through a majority vote. We defend a true democratic centralism, in which discussion and debate are always accompanied by intervention in the class struggle, which, in the case of a true International, means carrying out campaigns that are resolved and socializing everything that is voted.

We are convinced of the certain failure of any international project that is based on a party that dominates the rest. That is why we intend to function based on respect and support for all national leaderships. And in our first World Congress in mid-2020, we will vote the Statutes that will govern the internal life of our International.

An exciting stage begins in which we will intervene in the most dynamic struggles and processes, employing all kinds of campaigns and initiatives to promote the mobilization of the working class, women and the youth, and build our organizations.

The International Socialist League is a project at the service of uniting the revolutionaries of the world. It is open to the incorporation of all those organizations and activists that coincide with its programmatic and methodological bases. It is the task of those who integrate it today to develop it in each country and internationally until it becomes the pole of attraction and regroupment that the current stage of the class struggle demands. ✊

# The ISL INSISTS on SOCIALIST REVOLUTION



BY V. U. ARSLAN, SEP LEADER

**Revolutionary socialists' taking a decision of unification at the Barcelona Conference held on May 24-27 has been a big step forward.**

While the crisis of the imperialist capitalist system is deepening and the class struggle is rising all around the world, the most definite thing that revolutionary socialists must do is to unite or to be able to take common action spryly. Unfortunately, in the revolutionary socialist movement, nationally and internationally, sectarianism has become a chronic disease and consequently the task of raising the class struggle has fallen victim to unfruitful debates and turfism. As a result, pessimism and passivism have risen.

This general issue also appears in the international struggle. The longstanding dynamics of separation and divergence cause revolutionary socialists to become ineffective in the international class struggle. While the imperialist capitalist system is struggling with economic, politic, social and ecologic crises, the revolutionary socialist movement, which is in a crisis itself, cannot take advantage of these weaknesses of the system.

## **LENINISM IS MORE VALID THAN EVER**

Chronic sectarianism and separation habits on one hand weaken revolutionary socialists, and on the other hand, expose workers and the youth to the hegemony of bourgeois ideology. For example, the dissolution of the



ISO in the United States and the divisions of a number of important revolutionary Marxist organizations in other countries, have led to a strong ideological campaign claiming that “*Leninism is out of date!*” It can be observed that this campaign is effective in the United States, which has been the centre of a middle class-centred leftism, based on identities and with a perspective contrary to class struggle.

These days, the scope of this chorus that comes together around an efficient election campaign under the leadership of the DSA, Bernie Sanders and Ocasio Cortez is limited to the reformulation of social democracy. In other words, those who say Leninism is out of date, suggest a cliché which is much older than Leninism. It is no coincidence that this cohort takes the “renegade Kautsky” as a reference;



because Kautsky embodies the opposition of the DSA and its derivatives to the idea of revolution. As a sharp opponent of the October Revolution, Karl Kautsky played critical roles in order to ensure that Germany would not shift to the course of the socialist revolution by following USSR's lead. Kautsky also proved that he was a part of a holy national unity under the leadership of the bourgeois state by supporting imperialist state politics during WWI. Even today, if Sanders, Cortez and such cannot criticize the United State's aggressive imperialist politics, that shows which tradition they come from. Then, it is not difficult to understand the joy over the dissolution of ISO and the shouts that “*Leninism is dead!*”. The real concern of those who state, with great enthusiasm, that

the time of Leninism has passed, is to keep the masses that are shifting towards socialism away from revolutionary politics and the perspective of power. Instead, the masses are asked to content themselves with projects of “humanitarian capitalism”.

However, who has seen a humanitarian capitalism in its 400 year-old history? Taking a look at the power experience of Tsipras, the prince of neo-reformism in Greece, can be explanatory enough. He has to be given his due, in the most critical period he has done the dirty work of the imperialist capitalist system with great success. Kautsky, who has become the pope of neo-reformists in the United States today, put forward a fantasy of peaceful and prosperous capitalism with his theory of ultra-imperialism, while trying to play its counter-revolutionary role. But it has been proved over and over again for over a century that capitalism can only survive through constant wars, occupations and civil wars. And today, some leftists want to carry the label of socialism without condemning the massacre policies of the United States and its partners in countries like Palestine, Yemen, Libya, Iraq, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, etc. Their socialism can only be social democracy. Therefore, we cannot leave the new generation that radicalizes to the left and looks towards socialism to this reformist-chauvinist line.

Without defeating the imperialist capitalist system and carrying out the socialist revolution, neither can lasting peace be achieved, nor can social equality be established; neither discriminatory ideologies can end, nor can our planet be saved from ecological destruction. This is why revolution is a must. On the other hand, revolutionary forces must be present at all times in class struggle and resistance. They must take part in all stages actively. This is a must for the strengthening of the revolutionary ranks as well as for being able to direct events, for the rise of class consciousness of the masses and to break the hegemony of reformist forces. Revolutionary forces must form a political apparatus that is constantly moving, capable of driving many struggles, and able to implement its own policy through powerful campaigns with tactical wealth and maneuverability. This power, which can be in constant interaction with workers and the youth, should be organized



as a centralized party of vanguard workers and young people. The more centralism is necessary, the more democratic debate is necessary for effectiveness and to fight for the leadership of the mass movement. It will not be possible for a bureaucratic apparatus to communicate effectively with the masses, to show vitality and to lead in the end.

As long as capitalism maintains its existence with all its mess today, there will be class struggle and the revolution will remain up to date. If the main issue is the devastation caused by capitalism and the bourgeois state, and if the class struggle still determines society, the need for a revolutionary leadership can never be denied. Therefore, Leninism completely continues to be relevant and up to date. The ISL will organize the victory of the socialist revolution and, therefore, building revolutionary parties against reformism, which depends on imperialism and advocates humanitarian capitalism. This construction can undoubtedly take place in an international

arena. Just as neo-reformism is dependent on imperialism and patriotism, revolutionaries depend on internationalism.

## WHAT MAKES THE ISL SPECIAL IN THIS STRUGGLE?

What distinguishes the ISL from previous organizations in the construction of the international revolutionary vanguard? What makes the ISL special is not only the fact that it has dynamic and effective sections in various countries. What makes the ISL special is that it tries to put a new way of understanding organization into practice. The concept of international organization, which gained a dogmatic appearance in the Trotskyist movement over the years, suggested a unity of sections that needed to say exactly the same things in almost every historical or contemporary, political and theoretical detail. In practice, this meant that a dominant section directed organizations in other countries



with a strict and often bureaucratic centralist approach. In that case, it was not difficult for dogmatism as mainstream to rule over the practice. Another consequence of this understanding was that a kind of national perspective erupted around the given central section.


As a result of this understanding, different socialist parties attributing themselves as the centre of the world party had started to build their own small counterparts in other countries. On the other hand, separations were common, as there were no unifying historical leaders such as Lenin and Trotsky, who led the 3rd and 4th Internationals. Thus, rival international organizations emerged, whose presence had to undermine the existence of other international associations. The result was an unfruitful tradition as fragile as it could be in the sense of separations and as sectarian as possible against other revolutionary socialists. Many years of experience have shown that this method will get nowhere.

Therefore, embarking on different quests instead of this clogged mechanism stood before us as a revolutionary task. What we offer in this context are the organizational forms in which different traditions, on the basis of “a specified level of principles” can come together and take action together, instead of the separation of international organizations organized by relatively powerful parties that gather tiny groups around themselves. Partial differences are possible and can be discussed, criticisms can be published, if necessary, disengagements are not entirely avoidable; but we defend that a different international revolutionary culture, which takes actions and can organize campaigns, should be created. In this way, as a real world party based on democratic centralist principles, a gathering process for a new international could be experienced. The ISL has a tremendous advantage for building the flesh and bones of this form. The ISL has a remarkable potential to become a center of attraction; because the new conception of construction makes joining the ISL quite easy. Because there is no demand to become the same even in details, and because there is no

bureaucratic centralism in the organization, a revolutionary socialist organization in search of international unity all around the world will consider the ISL attractive. If certain principled partnerships are achieved as a consequence of discussions, participation in the ISL will take place. And this means an international revolutionary organization that is involved in the class struggle more rapidly and effectively, an organization that creates more assertive structures. Therefore, we hope that the ISL will be able to demonstrate the ability to become an alternative for workers and the youth around the world.

## CONCLUSION

The revolutionary socialist movement is in an obvious blockage throughout the world. With the pessimism resulting from this, many conclude that “*we cannot explain this blockage independently of the class movement.*” In a sense, the backwardness of the class struggle is shown as responsible for the current blockage. However, it cannot be claimed that the class struggle all around the world is in a homogeneous decline. On the contrary, class struggles are extremely lively in a number of countries. For example, in France, in the case of Yellow Vests, workers are spontaneously organizing even the toughest struggles. In the United States, the new generation is moving strongly to the left. The Greek working class has put up a determined fight in previous years. The examples can be multiplied. All in all, workers cannot be blamed for the organizational failures of the left, nor can it be fatalistically concluded that “there is not much to do”. If a real revolutionary explanation is to be made, the problem should be sought in the falling into to reformism, stuck in dogmatism and adopting a pacifist-conformist understanding. With all these wobbles, of course, a revolutionary construction is out of the question.

The ISL, at this point, tries to bring the unity of revolutionary socialists to life with its independent class position. The ISL should be considered as an energetic revolutionary socialists’ challenge to the blockage and an attempt of breaking new ground.- 

# OUR STRATEGY for the SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Document approved at the foundational ISL-LIS  
conference in Barcelona

**“The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat.” (*Leon Trotsky, The Transitional Program*)**

It is almost two decades into the new millennium and the international situation is marked by the crisis of the imperialist capitalist system. Its decadence is visible both in the central and the peripheral countries. In most of them there are strong social polarizations, with political phenomena to the right and to the left, with an important imperialist economic counter-offensive that attacks the living conditions of hundreds of millions in all continents, and an important response of workers, popular, women and youth struggles, with logical inequalities around the world.

Far from living a new era of prosperity, imperialist capitalism lives a pronounced period of decline. Despite the restoration produced in the '90s in Eastern Europe, China's re-entry to the world capitalist system and the economic counter-offensive driven globally, imperialist capitalism has not achieved a new cycle of prolonged growth nor a qualitative leap of accumulation which would allow a genuine development of the productive forces. On the contrary, along with the global crisis and its economic counter-offensive, living conditions on the planet are increasingly deteriorating. This phenomenon is even more evident since the crisis of 2008 in the central countries and not only in the peripheral countries.

The capitalist system is constantly proving that it is not capable of overcoming the



economic crisis, imperialist wars and the escalated class struggle. The imperialist system attacks workers' rights and democratic liberties, stirs up ethnic and religious bloodshed, carries out invasions, advances in the environmental destruction of the planet, and brings sexist, homophobic, nationalist and religiously authoritarian capitalist leaders to power to try to overcome its crisis and deadlock. Its theses on the *final victory of the market and liberalism, the end of history and the class struggle* -declared as indisputable truths after the collapse of the USSR in 1991- were swept away by the 2007-8 crisis which revealed itself in the collapse of the financial bubble in the United States, due to the flight of productive capital toward speculation because of the sustained fall of the rate of profit of the large corporations. Today, over ten years since that crisis began, the capitalists are rapidly taking us to a new catastrophe.

Reversing this course is of the utmost importance, because, in the next period, the decisive fights of the class struggle will spread and be tougher. The exploited workers and the youth who have been robbed of their future will not accept being smashed by the gears of the system. Neither will the women, who are protagonists of a great surge of the class struggle. Their anger, protests and radicalization are inevitable. The tendency of imperialist capitalism toward authoritarianism and repression will also gain strength. We witness an increasingly polarized world. New opportunities that we must make use of for advancing the revolutionary struggle of proletariat and building the revolutionary leadership will present themselves.

Without a socialist revolution in the next historical period, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of humankind. The strategic task of the international revolutionary leadership is not reforming capitalism but overthrowing it. This is why its political aim is the conquest of power by the proletariat for the purpose of expropriating the bourgeoisie and founding a regime of workers' democracy. However, the achievement of this strategic task is unthinkable without the most considered attention to questions of tactics. All sections of the proletariat, all its layers, occupations and allied groups must be drawn into the revolutionary movement.

## STRENGTHENING AN INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE

The chief obstacle in the path of transforming a pre-revolutionary into a revolutionary situation is the character of the reformist leaderships: its petty bourgeois cowardice before the big bourgeoisie and its perfidious connection with it even in its death agony. In all countries the proletariat is racked by a deep disquiet. The masses again and again enter the road of revolution. But each time they are blocked by the bureaucratic machines.

The crisis of capitalism, in many cases, also leads to a left shift of the masses. However, because of the crisis of the revolutionary leadership, that wave crashes against the breakwater of the union bureaucracy, left populism and neo-reformism. This is expressed, for example, by the rise of leaders like Sanders in the context of the rejection of the Trump government, and Corbyn, amid the Brexit crisis. At the same time, since both of them moderate their politics to conciliate with the system, their shift to the right leads sectors of the vanguard to go through a rapid experience with them and advance toward positions closer to the revolutionary left, on the condition that revolutionaries adopt politics toward this activism.

In France, the wavering of the Communist Party and Melenchon towards the yellow jackets favored Macron and Le Pen. In Germany, the adaptation of Die Linke-Left Party to neo-liberalism, paves the way for extreme right-wing AfD. Similarly, the Italian Rifondazione Comunista left the streets to the right wing populist 5-Star Movement and the far right North Alliance. In Greece, the Euro-Communist Syriza became the savior of the bourgeoisie. In Brazil, the PT government made the victory of the semi-fascist Bolsonaro possible. In Argentina, Kirchnerism opened the door to Macri. In Venezuela, the Maduro government feeds the pro-imperialist Guaido. In India, the Stalinist reformists of the CPI and CPI (M) have prepared the ground for the authoritarian right-wing populist Modi. In these examples, and others, the reformist parties have supported neo-liberal policies consisting of social austerity packages and privatizations. In the absence of a strong revolutionary socialist alternative, the anger and frustration of masses allows the right and the far right to grow. Without fighting against



and defeating these forces in the struggle for the leadership of the mass movement, it is not possible to turn the capitalist crisis into social revolution.

In this context, refusing to build Bolshevik Parties and adopting the perspective of establishing large mass parties with reformist forces as a permanent strategy, like the United Secretariat and other forces propose, is nothing but an adaptation to reformism. On the contrary, the unity of revolutionary socialists must separate itself from the reformist and centrist left, as well as from the skeptical sectarians who block the advance of the struggles and the revolutionary leadership where they achieve certain influence. This does not mean not adopting adequate tactics for different processes that may develop in determined circumstances, but those tactics cannot become strategies or be opposed to the building of revolutionary parties in every country.

It is also necessary to overcome the vices that some tendencies carry. It is not possible to build a current based on an hegemonic party with subordinated parties in other countries, a method which is opposed to internationalism. Though we may come from different traditions, the revolutionary Marxists of the world must unite behind political, ideological and action principles. An international league with no debates or differences expresses a kind of bureaucratic nationalism, opposed to a dialectical and revolutionary praxis. We must base ourselves on fraternal debate, testing politics in the class struggle and learning from that process. An international organization with common principles on the concrete problems of the global class struggle, which builds instruments for the struggle and internationalist campaigns based on those demands, may achieve real advances.

The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership. Today, the central task of revolutionary socialists is to build revolutionary parties with mass influence to promote permanent mobilization, the formation of organs of workers' self-government and the destruction of bourgeois power. Denying this in name of a "new era" means disarming the revolutionary vanguard. At the same time, a Leninist party cannot be built only on a national scale: proletarian internationalism is not abstract, it implies real solidarity and a real struggle. We call on organizations and activists who wish to

be a part of this new international revolutionary construction to take up this challenge together to fight for a socialist future. The program we present is at the service of this strategy.

## 1 FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE WORKING CLASS

- Against all programs of austerity.
- Against **unemployment**: reduction and distribution of working hours without pay cuts, prohibition of layoffs and suspensions, and nationalization of non compliant companies under workers' control.
- Against **low wages**: minimum wage equal to the cost of living, regularization of all workers, automatic adjustment of wages according to inflation and living retirement pensions.



- Against all labor flexibilization reforms. Annulment of trash contracts. Permanent contracts for all workers. Against raising the age of retirement and the privatization of pension systems. For converting welfare programs into effective jobs with living wages.
- For **gender equality** in wages and access to employment.
- For the publishing of companies' accounting books and **workers' control** of production.
- Against labor bureaucracy; for **workers' democracy**: freedom of organization without

State interference, decision-making power in assemblies, rank-and-file elected negotiators, integration into union leaderships of all currents according to proportion of votes in union elections, return to work of union officers after two mandates. For a new militant, classist and democratic labor leadership.

- Against class-conciliation. Strike committees, pickets, organized self-defence forces, inter-regional or inter-union coordination and active general strikes as **methods of struggle**.

## 2. FOR THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN AND SEXUAL DISSIDENCE.



- Against **sexist violence** and femicide. For emergency budget to finance free comprehensive assistance, refugee centers, and subsidies for victims, under the control of women's organizations.
- For comprehensive **sex education** with a gender and sexual diversity based approach.
- For **legal, safe and free abortion**, as part of the public health system. No restrictions in countries where abortion is already legal. For free birth control.
- Against **human trafficking, procuring** and the State's complicity. For social reinsertion programs for the victims, job alternatives for those who want to abandon prostitution and social rights for sexual workers.

- Against any kind of **discrimination** towards members of the LGBT community. For equal rights and an employment quota for trans people.
- For the acknowledgment and socialization of unpaid **domestic work**, and retirement rights. For, day and night shift schooling, and the establishment of quality community preschools, diners, laundries and nursing homes.
- For a **secular State**, the annulment of all privileges and State subsidies given to religious institutions and private and religious education. Against all religious fundamentalism.

## 3. FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE YOUTH AND OTHER POPULAR SECTORS

- For free, secular, mandatory State **schooling** at every level, with quality school food and scholarships.
- Against precarious **internship** programs. For programs of youth labor insertion.
- For **unrestricted access** to public university, **university autonomy** and academic freedom. University co-government with student majority and direct election and recall of all authorities. Independent public **scientific and technological state research** without corporate interference.
- Against **police persecution** of the youth and militarization of popular neighborhoods.
- For a free public single payer **health care** system and public production of medicine.
- Against land concentration and the plundering of peasants' small farmers' lands by landlords and corporations. For **agrarian reform** and the expropriation of large landowners, redistribution of land and affordable credit.
- Against all discrimination towards **migrants and refugees**. For documentation and social inclusion programs.
- Against racism and the persecution of ethnic and religious **minorities** and **native peoples**.

Restitution of ancestral lands to native peoples, and respect for their language and culture.

#### 4. FOR THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF OPPRESSED NATIONS AND SOCIALIST UNITY

- For the right to **self determination**, including desired independence and separation, such as **Catalonia** and **Euzkadi**.
- **Against the oppression of Kurdish people.** In defense of all their democratic rights including self determination.
- **Against NATO, US and Russian intervention** in the Middle East.
- Against the Zionist State of Israel. For a single, democratic, secular, non-racist **Palestine**, with Jerusalem as its capital city. Down with all the dictators in the Middle East.
- For the **independence** of the existing colonies.
- No to the capitalist **Mercosur**; for the unity of workers' and the peoples' of Latin America.
- Against Russian and US intervention in **Ukraine** and the rest of the ex-Soviet republics.
- For the **free union** of the people in federations of socialist democratic republics by region or continent: Latin America and the Caribbean, Maghreb, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle east, the ex-Soviet Union, the Asian South-East and the Indian subcontinent.

#### 5. AGAINST ALL IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION AND DOMINATION

- For a social audit, moratorium, abolition and cancellation of the illegitimate and fraudulent **foreign debts**. For a front of debtor countries.
- For the nationalization under workers' and users' control of privatized **public services** without compensation.

- For the annulment of the NAFTA, **free trade agreements** and all other imperialist pacts that tie peoples to imperialism.
- Against the US blockade of **Cuba**. The US out of **Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria**. Imperialists out of Malvinas, Guantanamo, Ceuta, Melilla, and other **enclaves and military bases** in other countries.
- Against the presence of foreign troops in Haiti, Cyprus, Rojava, Yemen and other countries.
- Against the **European Union** and its Central Bank. For a Europe of workers and the people.
- Against **imperialist multinational organizations**, financial (IMF, World Bank, IDB), as well as commercial (WTO, OECD), political (UN), or military (NATO), and their programs of plunder and austerity.
- Against US threats to North **Korea** and its interference in South Korea. Against both governments, the southern pro-US puppet and the Northern totalitarian bureaucracy. In pursuance of a unified socialist and democratic Korea.
- Against **China's** imperialist policies and its Stalinist and capitalist restorationist government.
- After extraordinary periods like imperialist wars, military coups, economic crises, civil wars, etc., for working class' solutions instead of the "normalization" which secures the interests of the bourgeoisie.
- For the political and organizational independence of the revolutionary party from the bourgeois and petit bourgeois forces (i.e. Kemalism, PKK, Peronism).

#### 6. FOR DEFENCE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

- Down with **monarchies**, military-civic **dictatorships**, single-party regimes, senates, constitutional tribunals and all other anti-democratic institutions. Defense the free elections, without creating illusions on bourgeois liberal parliamentary systems.

- The working class cannot restrict itself to bourgeois democracy. To guarantee full democratic rights, the only solution is permanent revolution until achieving socialism.
- For complete **democratic freedom** of speech, organization and mobilization. Trials and life sentences to those responsible of genocide.
- For support of, acknowledgment and legalization of independent, community, popular and working class **alternative media**.



- Against the **persecution** of working class and popular activists. For the liberation of political prisoners.
- For independent commission of inquiry to investigate any public official accused of **corruption** and/or abuse of authority.
- For the election of a **sovereign and free Constituent Assembly** for the people to decide democratically how to reorganize the country on new grounds. Support of constituent processes based on workers' and peoples' participation.
- For the democratization of the **judicial system**: election of judges and prosecutors by universal suffrage, limited and recallable mandates and trials by popular juries.
- For the dismantling of the **repressive apparatus**: the armed forces, police, security and secret services. For the democratization and the right of the rank-and-file to unionize. For the people's self defense and arming.

## 7. ECO-SOCIALISM AGAINST THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

- Against the market economy's anarchism based on the pursuit of profit, the exploitation of workers and the plundering of natural resources by transnational corporations. For a **democratically planned economy** based on meeting human needs and conserving nature.
- Against **extractivism** and water, land and air **pollution**. For the prohibition of open air mining, fracking and agrotoxins. For an ecological agriculture and the sustainable industries.
- For the **conversion** of polluting industries and a restructuring of their work force with job and wage continuity assured by the government.
- Against **global warming**: immediate and qualitative gas emission reduction aimed at its eradication.
- For a plan of conversion of the current nuclear and hydrocarbon based **energy system** to another model based on clean and renewable energy, under social control.
- Against indiscriminate urban development and deforestation. For the protection of glaciers and other fresh water sources.

## 8. FOR WORKERS' STATES, REGIMES AND GOVERNMENTS

- For the destruction of bourgeois state, which, whatever form it takes (dictatorship, democracy etc.) represents the interests of bourgeoisie. For a workers' state.
- For a truly democratic regime which can only come from the working class democratically organised through its own organisations, created in the heat of the struggle against bourgeoisie and imperialism.
- For **workers' and peoples' governments**.
- For an **emergency economic plan** of substantial measures, such as an agrarian reform, ending payments of the foreign debt, expropriating and nationalizing big industry under workers' control, and nationalizing the banking industry and foreign trade.



- Workers' and peoples' governments must strive to strengthen the revolution in its country and extend it abroad.
- We do not consider the bourgeois nationalist and/or populist governments of Maduro, Evo nor the past governments of Correa and Lula-Dilma, nor those of Syriza in Greece or Podemos in Madrid and Barcelona, as our own.

## 9. FOR INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

- Capitalism in crisis brings the world's masses increasing hunger and misery, war and colonialism, oppression and sexist violence, destruction of the environment, barbarism and even puts the survival of humanity at risk.
- Only the destruction of that inherently unjust and savage system, based on the interests of the 1%, and its replacement by a socialist society without exploitation or oppression will be able to usher a new age of progress for all humanity.
- To achieve this goal, workers must become the leading class, along with the women, the youth and other popular sectors and struggle until defeating capitalists and their accomplices in each country and take economic and political power into their own hands.
- Workers will introduce a political regime of broad liberties, opposed to the bureaucratic totalitarianism of the misnamed "real socialism", which ended up restoring free market economy and private property. At the same time, expropriating corporations, nationalizing the means of production, and organizing production democratically, will allow a rational planning of the economy to meet working class and popular needs.
- Internationalist solidarity and mutual respect will replace imperialist pillaging. It is imperative to support the revolutionary struggles against all oppressors across the world to definitely overthrow capitalism and undertake the worldwide construction of socialism.

## 10. BUILDING REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES AND A REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL

The global capitalist offensive and the restoration in the third of the world where the bourgeoisie had been expropriated, did not reverse the regression of the forces of production. Therefore, despite the huge changes which have taken place, we are still in the same era of crisis, war and revolution that began between 1914 and 1917.



Due to this combination of objective and subjective factors the following quote by Trotsky maintains validity: "*The crisis of humanity is the crisis of its revolutionary leadership.*" Our main task is, therefore, to build revolutionary parties with the working class, youth and women vanguard based on The Transitional Program and the Theory of Permanent Revolution, with democratic centralism. To achieve this goal, it is imperative to adopt different tactics of unity of action, united fronts, revolutionary united fronts, broad anticapitalist parties or fronts, etc.

This is the challenge revolutionary socialists face across the world today, opposed to opportunist sectors -who postpone the building of revolutionary parties to an uncertain future- and also to sectarians -who refuse to adopt broad tactics to take advantage of new phenomena that emerge on the Left.

We are launching an international tendency disposed to uniting with everyone who shares the strategy of building revolutionary parties and a revolutionary International. ✊

# Resolution on the **INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION**



All sources consulted (OECD, WB, IMF reports, JP Morgan forecasts), affirm -with some variations and a logical political “filter”- a common forecast: 2019 initiates an inflection of the world economy, which slows down and tends to accumulate tensions, preparing a new recession for 2020-2021. The hard data and statistics confirm this forecast, and we should review them to make a political interpretation of them and arm ourselves in our intervention, program and tasks.

## **THE FORECASTS OF THE CAPITALISTS THEMSELVES**

The last semi-annual report of the WB indicates a general decline in the economy from the peak of 2017-2018, progressively until 2021. The fall is concentrated in the so-called “advanced economies”: the US, the Eurozone and China.

The IMF indicates that “70% of the global economy” slows down and points out factors of uncertainty:

- The China-US trade war, which affects international trade, slowing it down and provoking operations of speculative withdrawal from the economy (speculation).
- The retraction of the automotive industry in Germany, and the symptoms of recession in France.

- Three weak links in the so-called emerging economies: Turkey, Argentina and Pakistan. The 3 devalued their currencies, the 3 suffered financial runs and flight of foreign currency, Argentina and Pakistan signed agreements with the IMF, Erdogan has not yet.

## **THE PANORAMA BY REGIONS, IS ALSO ONE OF DECLINE**

Taking the world economy by regions, we have:

- China, deceleration, fall of industrial activity, and accumulated overproduction.
- The EU, elements of collapse, with Brexit as a key point of uncertainty, and a jump in the debts of countries, companies and people, which reaches historical levels in relation to GDP.
- Latin America, global decline of activity, fall in international prices of commodities and bloated external debt in Argentina and Brazil.
- USA, stagnates in 2019, after a rebound in 2018, though this was caused by the policy of repatriation of companies with tax subsidies, now accumulates tensions by the massive debts of more than 50% of the working class with loans for purchasing cars -with those potentially explosive “toxic” assets spread throughout the world.

## **THE VARIABLES THAT ANTICIPATE NEW INFLECTIONS OF THE CRISIS**

The key indicators of the world economy and, at the same time, of what is coming are the following variables:

- Declining productive investment in favor of financialization or short-term speculation.

- Decline of the absolute volume of international trade (general GDP decline).
- Low capitalist rate of profit (RP), lower than the levels prior to 2008 and well behind the percentage of the second postwar period of the last century, in the period known as the “economic boom”.
- These are the keys of the general economic situation with a fundamental knot: the world bourgeoisie is not able to reverse the declining tendency of the RP on a global scale. It is what we could call a long post-crisis of the 2008 depression.
- The result is obviously a general increase in poverty, especially in children and young people; record levels of unemployment in those under 25 and a growing level of socio-ecological depredation.
- The flip side is a huge increase in the concentration of wealth. Just to take the case of the richest continent in the world: in Europe, the balance sheet of a decade of crisis widened the gap between the richest 20% of the population and the poorest 20%, and multiplied by 5 the income of that segment of higher income per capita.

## TWO HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT

More than ten years after the outbreak of the crisis in 2008, the world economy has not recovered the levels prior to its outbreak. The evolution of this decade is only comparable to the periods of prolonged depression that occurred at the end of the 19th century, between the years 1873-1897, and the decade of the 30s, between 1929 and 1942. From those prolonged periods, capitalism managed to get out towards a new cycle of growth after two world wars, tens of millions of deaths and a massive destruction of productive forces.

All the symptoms of the economy add tensions, contradictions, and seem to prepare a new breaking point towards another recession, even sharper than in 2008.

## TENSION AND POLARIZATION EMERGE FROM THE ECONOMY IN CRISIS

This general picture of the economy is behind all social and political tensions: the US-China dispute is over the distribution of the declining world surplus, in particular to avoid the penetration of China in 5G technology; the Brexit crisis has the same motives, because the British bourgeoisie loses more than it gains with the “divorce”; the reboot of what could be a new chapter of the “Arab revolutions” also has as its trigger in a jump in inflation, scarcity and social crisis; and in Latin America, short-term speculation and exponential growth of debt are reinforced by the fall of the regional RP.

Therefore, this is the basis for a general understanding of the political process, of a polarization that expresses the imperialist and bourgeois need to increase the levels of exploitation and productivity, and the mass response to that orientation: against the capitalist agenda of “structural reforms” (labor and social security), the masses react and mobilize, despite the role of traitorous union and political leaders.

The retreat of reformist formations as they become managers of this perspective of austerity is understandable because they also propose themselves as administrators of the capitalist agenda, and the loss of the social base when they fail to apply austerity measures, feeds the crisis and polarization.

The emergence of right wing forces must be placed in this context: they are the “project” of bourgeois fractions to change the relation of forces in the class struggle, and to increase the levels of surplus value and exploitation with the so-called “structural reforms” that are still pending on a global scale. They made progress in the EU -with flexibilization, precarization and attack on pensions- but have not yet managed to pulverize the social rights won during the second post-war period.

The response is more struggles and, therefore, the emergence of new activism, new vanguard and strong opportunities for revolutionaries to build in this general situation.

## THE TENDENCIES WE IDENTIFY

Therefore we must prepare for a tendency toward more tensions, processes in the class

struggle, political crises and opportunities. At the same time, we can not rule out tactical triumphs of the bourgeoisie and imperialism in this dynamic (we have to follow Venezuela, for example). Without falling into excessive optimism or economic catastrophism, these are the general tendencies.

There are strong ideological-political debates in the field of economics, in the struggle of ideas over the prognosis and the course. Stiglitz, the neo-Keynesian Nobel in economics, has recently published an article in the *New York Times* called “Progressive Capitalism” as a response to the advance of “socialist” ideas in the US. This character is upheld by all the Latin American progressives and is also a man of reference of Podemos, the Left Bloco in Portugal and other reformist formations. In Latin America it is the reference to the “Portuguese” model, the false ideology that it is possible to “*negotiate with the IMF in a position of favorable strength without breaking*”, and of course, the return to 200 years ago, to neoclassical theories or their later vulgar versions, with the neoliberal right wing.

Along with deepening the analysis to arm ourselves in hypothesis and tendencies, and define politics, orientation and tasks to build our organizations, the ideological struggle against the political and trade union apparatuses, disseminators of neo-reformism, neo-Keynesianism, and also of false polemics about “artificial intelligence”, the fetish of robotization and the “end of the working class”, poses a theoretical-political battle for the ideas of revolutionary Marxism, the Theory of Permanent Revolution, the law of unequal and combined development, and the Transitional Program, as a basis for the construction of revolutionary parties and the international.

In short: productive investment falls due to the uncertainty of the RP, this intensifies speculation, “protectionist” retreat and commercial tensions, it stagnates the world economy, makes demand fall -for example- of commodities, increases the weight of the public debt, the private corporate debt (of the companies), and also people’s individual debts. All this anticipates new crisis inflections, due to the irreversible bourgeois necessity to intensify the offensive on the masses, who prepare new movements of struggle, crisis and opportunities.

## SOME POINTS OF REFERENCE ON SLOGANS AND OUR PROGRAM

With this general panorama, the emergency and transitional slogans aimed at making the capitalists pay for the crisis, become of key importance both for agitation, propagandist agitation and propaganda for the formation of our cadre. We mention some as a reference:

- In defense of the social right to work, occupation of any company that closes or lays off. Expropriation and workers’ control.
- To guarantee full employment, distribution and reduction of working hours.
- Against the high cost of living, general wage increase, equivalent to the real cost of living and indexed to real inflation.
- In defense of a social security system of solidarity, and pensions, not as “old age subsidies”, but as deferred salary, equivalent to 82% mobile of the best wage of the workers belonging to the same activity.
- To guarantee access to general mass consumption, price control, against raises and capitalist speculation, controlled by workers and consumers’ organizations, including expropriatory sanctions.
- To guarantee public services such as social rights, nationalization of all privatized companies of energy, transportation, telecommunications, running water and others, without compensation, under the social control of workers and consumers.
- To strengthen the state budget and its reorientation toward education, health, infrastructure and a general reactivation of the economy, suspension of payments of external debt, nationalization of banking and foreign trade.
- Opposed to the capitalist anarchy of production, democratic planning with direct intervention of the working class in the entire circuit of the economy, including distribution and general marketing. ✊



# Resolution on the CAMPAIGN TOWARDS MARCH 8

## WHEREAS:

1. That, since 2015, the women's movement and, to a lesser extent, the LGBTI movement, are leading a new wave of their struggles in defense of gender rights and for their expansion;
2. That this rise is a very progressive response to the offensive of the capitalist governments, who, as part of the attempt to overcome their crisis, and together with religious fundamentalists, seek to cut back such rights;
3. That said wave, though it combines evident inequalities in terms of rhythms and intensities from continent to continent and even from country to country, has an international scope;
4. That, at its vanguard, a young activism, at a student level and also among workers and popular sectors, stands out, which is a valuable component for the growth of our national sections and our international current;
5. That, among the main characteristics of this feminist and dissident movement, despite its poly-class character, is a marked internationalist trait and an explicit tendency of vanguard sectors toward anti-capitalism;
6. That its greatest milestone, which retakes the working class's method of struggle, is the international strike of women and sexual dissidence which has been held on March 8 for three years now, the last of them with actions in more than 80 countries;

## CONSIDERING:

- That, for revolutionary socialists, it is essential to intervene actively in this movement with a twofold objective: to promote permanent mobilization and strengthen our construction;
- That, in that intervention, we struggle against liberal, reformist, neo-reformist and autonomist



feminist sectors who do not confront capitalist oppression and mistakenly defend identity politics that, by denying or minimizing the division of classes, are functional to it;

- That this dispute requires building a transitional program that, based on the specific gender needs of each country, seeks to develop this struggle with class rooted and revolutionary politics to confront the government, the institutional regime and the system;
- That, within the movement, youth activism is the least influenced by the political, trade union and religious apparatuses of the system and, therefore, is the most receptive to the ideas and proposals of revolutionary Marxism;

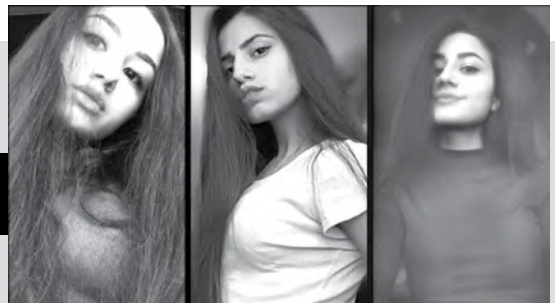
## WE RESOLVE:

- To launch an international political campaign from the end of June to March 8, 2020 against all forms of oppression and capitalist exploitation with the slogan: equality and socialism. That day, our sections will participate in the demonstrations or actions of struggle identified with flags or banners with this slogan.



- In order to give a common identity to the campaign, the international coordination will resolve, within a maximum period of one month, a design with a logo and the common slogan.
- Around the axis of the campaign, sections will organize activities of agitation and propaganda regularly: flyers, special bulletins, posters, talks, debates, seminars, photographs, use of social networks and all other types of initiatives, with a special focus on student and working-class youth.
- According to the reality of each section, this central slogan can be combined with other slogans for specific demands, such as legal abortion, equal pay, free kindergartens, against sexist violence, secular State, sex education, against the increase in retirement age or others.
- All sections will dedicate a permanent space on their web pages and publications to promote and disseminate the campaign.
- The development of this campaign will be followed by the leaderships of the national sections and the international coordination. ✊

## #FreeKhachaturyanSisters



The Khachaturyan sisters, Maria (17 years old), Angelina (18 years old) and Crestina (19 years old), collectively killed their father. They did it in self-defense, because, for years, that despicable man subjected them to beatings, humiliations, intimidations and rapes. The court stood on the side of patriarchal violence, demanding up to 20 years in prison. This outrageous action has sparked fair demands in Russia. Even in repressive and intimidating conditions, feminist groups, social and political organizations, including the Russian Socialist Movement, carry out these demands. For these reasons we have joined the campaign by carrying out actions and pronouncements that must be spread all over the world: Free the Khachaturyan sisters! Approval of the law against gender violence in Russia! ✊

# Resolution on CLIMATE CHANGE AND EXTRACTIVISM

## CONSIDERING:

That the dynamic of capitalism in its epoch of irreversible decadence is the cause of a general civilization crisis, and with it, impacts the socio-ecological conditions of life on the planet, especially for the working class and the poor;

That, in particular, dependence on fossil fuels as energy matrix and irrational overproduction / over-consumption, generates an uncontrolled emission of greenhouse gases, particularly in the advanced capitalist countries, that causes the so-called phenomenon of climate change.

That, in addition to this, in Latin America and other continents, the pattern of capitalist accumulation / production is known as “extractivism” and consists of a general mercantilization of nature, with the use of highly predatory and polluting modes of appropriation of common goods as valuable raw materials, such as agribusiness, fracking, open air mining and urban cementing for real estate speculation;

That both the use of fossil fuels and extractivism have, as their basic cause, the need for capitalist profit exclusively;

That there are higher forms of production in efficiency and performance, non-polluting (or of socially controllable effects), and that, therefore, there are no technological obstacles to modify the economic model, other than the private interest of capital;

That throughout the world, in the face of the socio-ecological consequences of the capitalist system, resistance movements are taking place;

\* That, in particular, the movement led by young students known as “*Friday for future*” and recently in England, the movement “*Rebellion against extinction*”, in addition to the struggles in all the rest of the continents against the different forms of extractivism, grow and place these problems on a growing mass scale (though still unequal in their development);



That revolutionary socialists, on the basis of the Marxist method and the Transition Program, have to intervene and offer a positive anti-systemic response, in action, politics and program;

That, beyond the limits of the leaderships of these processes, whose program is confusing, ambiguous and mostly reformist, they have not yet been co-opted by the political forces of capital and, therefore, the just causes that they raise mobilize a widespread vanguard with anti-systemic predisposition;

## WE RESOLVE:

- 1) To intervene, to the extent of our possibilities, in all the processes of struggle and socio-ecological mobilization that occur in the different countries where we operate, especially focusing on those who mobilize youth vanguard.
- 2) To organize talks, forums, conferences and activities of agitation and propaganda to publicize our positions in relation to this process.



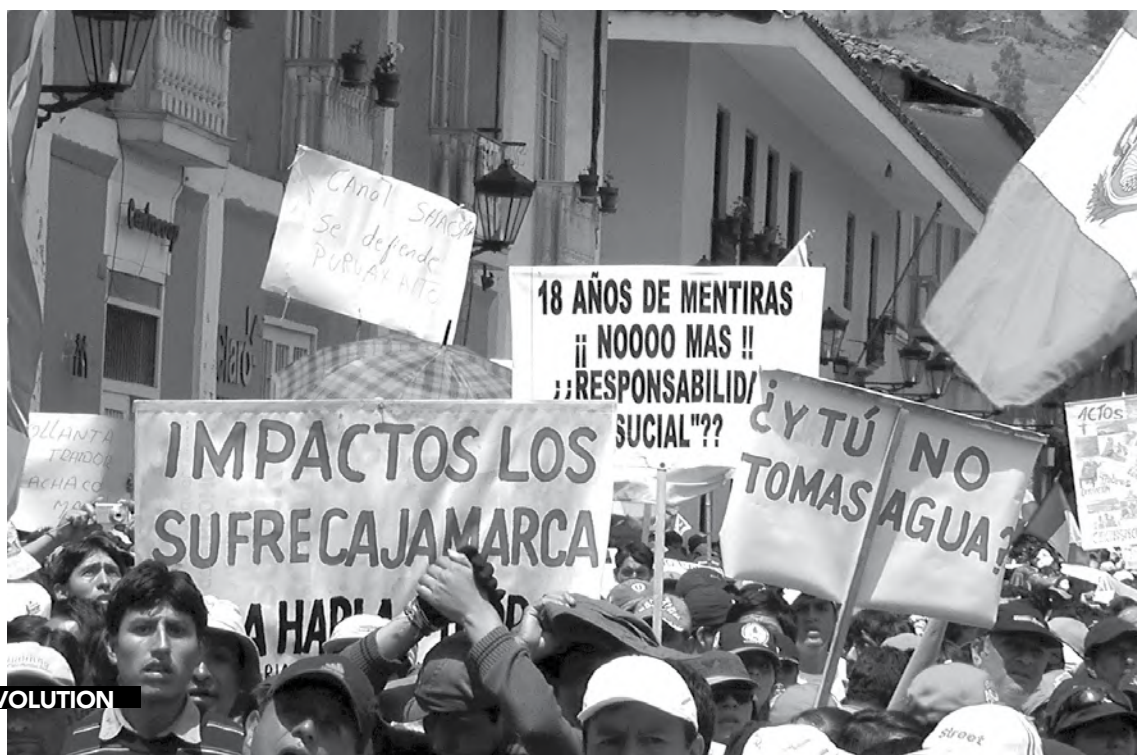


3) To continue arguing, in permanent articles, against the positions of “green capitalism”, reformism in all its variants (autonomist, “ecosocialist” in the Melenchon version, or others), as well as against left currents that deny ecological problems, and sectarian currents that minimize this planetary phenomenon and its consequences.

4) To raise a revolutionary and socialist policy on the subject that poses a transition centered on

a total restructuring of the economy, assuring labor and professional reversion of workers of affected industries, including the democratic planning of all production and consumption, with the working class as key social subject.

5) To bring to these movements our strategic approach on the need to elevate the social movement to the political terrain, building revolutionary parties and an international of the working class. ✊



# Resolution on EUROPE



## WHEREAS:

The economic, political, social, cultural and democratic crisis that the workers and peoples of Europe suffer to varying degrees, as a result of the existence of the EU imperialist bloc commanded by the Troika, and;

## CONSIDERING:

That the result of the crisis that began in 2008 was not a solid and stable solution, that there have already been financial crises as a precedent for what could be a repetition of what happened with the crack.

That, from the social point of view, it was a decade of loss in which reactionary labor reforms were imposed, precarious work extended with garbage contracts, privatizations advanced, and historic workers' conquests were lost.

That working conditions are bad, especially for the youth, immigrants and women. Unemployment continues to be a social drama: in February 2019, more than three million young people under 25 are unemployed (14.6% in the EU).

That the supposed solution to the crisis implied a high cost for the standard of living





of the great majority: the retreat of the welfare state, the advance of privatizations, serious problems with access to social housing, cuts in health and education, pension crisis, low wages and more austerity monitored by Brussels.

That some of the most harmful social results are that: 1 in 4 European children are poor, 24.4% of those under 16 years of age. The difference between rich and poor in almost all Member States has increased, 20% of the population with the highest percentage of income received 5 times more than the poorest 20%.

That the debt, both public and private, has acquired greater importance as a percentage of GDP. This leads to the payment of interest absorbing large sums of money from investment in infrastructure, education, health and other social and growth destinations.

That, at the same time, banks and large companies have accumulated immense profits. The millions of Euros that the states used for their recovery, became a great gift of socially produced wealth, which governments gave to a handful of privileged capitalists.

That the measures that the EU debates to mitigate its economic problems and eventually to act on the crises, follow the same capitalist logic as always and therefore will only bring more austerity and hardships to working people.

That the Mediterranean crisis demonstrates the bankruptcy of the so-called “advanced democracies”, since the answer to the thousands of people fleeing hunger, war or repression in African and Middle Eastern countries is: let them drown, return them to their countries of origin or third countries, all in deplorable conditions that violate the most elementary human rights. That the most xenophobic governments build walls or fences and take repressive measures to stop immigration.

That the extreme right miserably and deceitfully discharges responsibility for the social suffering of Europeans on the presence of immigrants and not the disasters of capitalism, and means a serious threat to the existence of the working class and its organizations.

That the French “yellow vests” that constantly confront Macron are an emerging social struggle that attacks most of the ills caused by the EU and its governments. And that they are repressed because they are a threat and danger to bourgeois Europe, who wants to block their example at all costs in fear that it be imitated in other countries, such as Belgium, Italy and North Africa. The Yellow Vests signal the radicalization of the working class all over the world and show how deep class contradictions and anger are in France.

The rise of the ultra right which want to quit

EU and Brexit have opened important gaps, cracks and uncertainty about the future of the imperialist bloc, since the EU-UK negotiation has so far failed.

That the combination of failures of integration reaffirms the conclusion that it is necessary to break with the EU and that the exit, in order to reach a good port, should not be led by bourgeois parties, oblivious to the needs of workers and the people. It must be conducted by an alternative and consistent leadership that responds to the interests of the great majority.

That Catalonia continues to be a factor of crisis and political instability, because of its democratic struggle for self-determination and the Catalan Republic. That the EU closed ranks with the king and the regime of '78 to protect themselves from the demands of other peoples, but the contradictions are increasing. That there are political prisoners and Catalan exiles, censorship, repression and a strong persecution of neighbors, activists and members of the CDR.

That the EU promotes antagonisms based on nationalist sentiments and unresolved

national questions, like in the Balkans, while it financially exploits the territory, as with the imperialist imposition of Greek capitals in the Republic of Macedonia.

That another dynamic element is the women's movement, with strikes, mobilizations and massive demands for their rights in all areas: from the right to decide over their own bodies to the demand for labor and wage equality.

That pensioners also respond to the brutal attack that exists in all countries to: extend the retirement age, pay pensions of misery and take away conquests. Many European countries have serious problems with the contributions they need to sustain pension funds.

That rebellions that put pressure the continent, such as those in Sudan, Yemen, Tunisia and Algeria, can grow and spread as a new Arab Spring.

That the labor movement has been leading partial struggles, but it can be faced with new attacks of austerity. That the bureaucracies are totally sold out to the bosses and negotiate everything with the capitalist governments to save their privileges.

That the elections to the European



Parliament on 26M are an electoral masquerade that, far from the stability they seek, they may become a new element of political crisis if right-wing expressions acquire more influence.

That the political superstructure polarizes between two positions in which it aims to align the people: the “progressive democrats” who want to build a strong EU bloc, and the “right-wing populists” and “ultras” who do not want it. The disagreements are more in form than in content, since both defend austerity and the exploitation of workers, the people; both cut democratic freedoms and repress and want a controlled immigration according to the needs of their economies and not in terms of developing humanitarian policies to ensure decent shelter.

That the fundamental dispute between



“Euroskeptics” and “Europeanists” is which of the two best utilizes their government, regimes or parties to defend profits and capitalism.

That Stalinism was reduced, from the apparatus it was, to a relic of the past. Where it reappears, it is divided with different tactics, each one more capitulating than the other. That traditional social democracy has received a relative boost in Portugal and Spain, but that it still does not represent a way out of the crisis in which it finds itself.

That the “progressive” center-left experiences, like Syriza, Podemos, the Left Block and others disappoint, adapt to the regime, dull their rebellious edges and the drive of mobilization, and remain tied to the limits of capitalism.

## WE RESOLVE:

1. To support all the struggles of workers against exploitation and austerity, of oppressed peoples for self-determination, of students and pensioners, of immigrants, of all those who go against governments, regimes and bosses, promoting strikes, mobilizations, the overcoming of the union bureaucracy and the formation of democratic and independent organizations to fight.
2. To carry out specific campaigns in favor of the French “yellow vests”, the women’s movement with a class based policy, for unity with the working class against women’s oppression and capitalism, for the annulment of labor reform laws, in defense of the workers’ conquests, against cuts in health, housing, education, employment and austerity.
3. To differentiate our current from the “Euroskeptics” and “Europeanists”. We do not align ourselves with either, we raise an independent position in favor of workers and the people. Against bourgeois governments that respond to the troika and apply its austerity.
4. To defend the struggles and democratic demands that cross the continent, starting with Catalonia. To face the extreme right in the streets, with the broadest unit of action to defeat them wherever they raise their head. There are already very strong sentiments of antifascism in the ranks of European youth and working class so the ISL should make strong campaigns to stop fascists.
5. To confront the old parties, the new false reformist and centrist options, the expressions of the right and the extreme right.
6. To promote the creation of new left and anti-capitalist political alternatives, with democratic functioning.
7. To build strong socialist, revolutionary and internationalist vanguard groups and parties, making it clear that our strategy is to fight for workers and the people to govern with a regime of workers’ democracy. For the defeat of the imperialist block of the European Union and the establishment of a free Federation of European Socialist Republics. 🐻

# Declaration on MIGRATION



## CONSIDERING:

That the European Union participates in the imperialist interventions in the Middle East and Africa.

That it is co-responsible, alongside U.S. imperialism, for the destruction of entire countries and for the subsequent immigration and refugee wave. The humane face of the European Union falls apart as it treats immigrants and refugees as animals, assaulting them, denying them basic human and labor rights, making anti-immigration laws and putting them into concentration camps.

That these policies feed the rise of the far right, racism, nationalism and Islamophobia.

## WE DECLARE:

1. E.U. imperialist interventions out of the Middle East and Africa. The people of the Middle East and Africa can decide their own fate.

2. Solidarity with the massive uprisings that demand a better life and dignity.
3. Solidarity with immigrants and refugees. They are not responsible for the lack of jobs or the crisis. They are our class brothers and sisters.
4. Down with "Fortress Europe".
5. Abolishment of all anti-immigration laws and agreements, such as those between the European Union and Turkey.
6. Abolishment of concentration camps.
7. Open all borders.
8. Papers for free transfer, residence and work for all.
9. Full human and labor rights for all.
10. No to Trump's wall. We reject all policies that are repressive toward immigrants and the people of Latin America and the world. 🐻

## Spanish State: "The presence of the ISL can be strengthened in the Old Continent"

### Rubén, you were the hosts...

It was a great effort because, at the same time, we were participating in the 26M elections, with Flor Salgueiro Carral as a candidate on the CUP L'Hospitalet per la Ruptura list. But we are happy to have received comrades from so many countries in Barcelona. We had the meeting

in a country in which the Catalan people fight for their freedom and the feminist movement is at the front line of the struggle for their rights. What better scenario to kick off the construction of a revolutionary and socialist organization!

### What is your assessment?

Our assessment is positive. The exchange of opinions on Western Europe and Eastern Europe implies a breakthrough in understanding the political situation in both regions. Having a more general framework helps us to intervene in the Spanish State.

### How do you evaluate the coming period?

With optimism. We leave the meeting with a lot of militant work: carrying out the international campaigns that were voted, participating in the youth camp in Turkey and making our founding proposals known. We are convinced that the presence of the ISL in the Old Continent can be strengthened. 🐻





# Greece: “THE DEFEAT OF SYRIZA MARKS THE END OF AN ERA”



We publish the opinions of Dimitris Krassas, Greek ISL militant, about the situation in his country and the challenges faced by the revolutionary left

On May 26 we had three elections in Greece: local, regional and, of course, the European elections. The defeat of Syriza marks the end of an era, an era marked by the belief of the people in the center-left government solving their problems without participating actively in the changes.

The Greek crisis was first expressed in 2010, when the social democratic government of PSOK signed the first memorandum, which struck the Greek people very hard after many decades of labor and the democratic

rights. In 2011 and 2012, we had two years of enormous class struggles in Greece, with many occupations and general strikes, mostly called by the union bureaucracy, but under the pressure of a very powerful working class movement.

Since it was at the beginning of this offensive by the Greek bourgeoisie, the European Union and the IMF, the working class was still strong and felt powerful enough to be on the offensive in defense of their rights. This mass working-class and people's





movement overthrew the PSOK government in 2011, which led to a government headed by a technocrat with the agreement of most of the parties in Parliament. But it only lasted 6 months; in the summer of 2012, we had the first elections post memorandums, which led to the first crisis of the political system in Greece, with the total collapse of the PSOK, which practically disappeared. It witnessed the rise of Syriza, a formerly very small euro-communist party that existed in Greece since the 1980's - it was a split from the Communist Party - with some small anti-capitalist and revolutionary organizations and a perspective of winning the government, not of taking power through mobilization, but just obtaining the government.

From 2012 to 2015, the situation worsened in Greece with the government of New Democracy, the main bourgeois party. It manifested a lot of oppression, especially against democratic rights, which led into the 2015 elections. During this time, the social movements demobilized in relation to 2012-2015, mainly because they believed in the program of Syriza, that even if we were in crisis, we could negotiate with strength with the European Union and the IMF, persuade them to back down, show that production can recover and that the Greek economy can advance. Although there were massive mobilizations from 2012 to 2015, the revolutionary and anti-capitalist left was unable to capitalize on them, though it played a decisive role in many of them.

Syriza was elected to government in 2015 promising that it would end all the austerity measures and memorandums, and would do this only through governmental power, through the Parliament. For this reason, they formed a government with the far right populist party Independent Greeks. In the first six months, Syriza tried to stall the process of negotiation with the European Union and the IMF, so they could win some time to try to implement some of their program. But at the end of this process, because Syriza needed a way out, they called a referendum on June of 2015. Beyond the memorandum which was being voted to be accepted or not, it was understood that the referendum was actually



about remaining in the European Union or not.

The anti-capitalist left drove a big mobilization in support of the “no” campaign, and at the end of this one week campaign, the “no” campaign won by 61%. But immediately after this, Syriza went to negotiate with the IMF and the European Union in Brussels, and they turned the vote of the Greek people upside down and agreed to a third memorandum. Even then, they won the second elections in September 2015 because a majority of the Greek people still believed that they had done everything they could and it was not possible to advance any further against the European Union and the IMF. After this, it became more evident that there is no solution to the crisis with social democracy or a left government that is not supported by the social movement. This led to the crisis of the example of Syriza all over Europe, the effects of which can be seen in the fall of Podemos in Spain and in other countries.

During the following four years, the social and political struggles in Greece diminished. However, there were important struggles in some sections of society, such as the universities, teachers against the educational reforms that advanced neo-liberalism and individualism in the educational process, and also the struggles of the public health



section. Though the struggles were important, they were partial and failed to connect in a common front of workers and people affected by the crisis and the measures that Syriza was implementing.

During this period, Syriza did nothing more than tell Greek people that they had to be patient, that they had to wait for things to get better, that we would go out to the European and world markets, and then the memorandums would end. This was supposed to happen last August, but Greece is still being dictated by the European Union and the Troika. Before this 2019 election, Syriza tried to promise raising the minimum wage and not cut pensions, but even that did not persuade the electorate to vote for them. This led to a historical defeat by 9% in the European elections.

During this period, we also saw transformations in the Greek left. After the 2015 elections, a part of Syriza left the party and formed Popular Unity, a populist left party with reformist tendencies. They proposed to apply the program that Syriza

had abandoned. Their political program was marked by patriotism, which is why we categorize them in the patriotic left, not the internationalist one. They promote a kind of Keynesianism in the financial sector and state protectionism. Of course, on the Macedonian question, they participated in the mobilizations of the far right, saying that the masses would be there so they had to intervene. This led to a loss of credibility of this front, and the result they obtained in these European elections was the worst since they were formed (they got 0.5%) which practically marks the end of this front. Even so, while we see a crisis in the Greek left that shows the decadence of the existing organizations, there is also an evident will, especially of the youth, to seek an anti-capitalist alternative against the crisis and failure of the Syriza government.

Up to now, the most consistent anti-capitalist front has been Antarsya, a coalition of anti-capitalist and revolutionary organizations formed in 2009. It continues today, though it has very little influence in the working





class and the social movements. But it is still the only front that actively participates in those movements and tries to unite them. Though Antarsya has many problems, mainly because of the differences between its member organizations, it is so far the only alternative for building an independent anti-capitalism front.

The crisis of the Greek left can also be seen in the crisis of the most theoretically advanced organizations, such as the Trotskyist ones. We are at a point in which there is not any actual revolutionary organization in Greece right now. I think that the most important task we have today is to form a new organization which can be at the vanguard of the struggles, actively participate in social struggles and try to connect with the most vanguard sector of the working class and social movements. We aim to advance in the building of a new revolutionary party which will lead the Greek working class and people on a revolutionary path away from the European Union and the reformist social democratic tendencies that already exist in Greek Society.

During the past years of global financial crisis, there has been no organization of the revolutionary left on an international level, a European level or a national level, capable of fighting effectively against the effects of the crisis. None of the revolutionary internationals

have been able to make the struggles advance, and this includes the Trotskyist internationals like the CWI, the IST and the USFI. This means that all revolutionaries must contribute to building something new, something that will actually participate in the class struggle on a national and international level and become a viable alternative against capitalism.

I think that this conference of the ISL in Barcelona has taken the first step towards building a new revolutionary international. The discussions were of a good level, as were the debates and the contributions made by countries from all around the world: from Latin America to Europe, from Turkey to Eastern Europe, which shows a lot of potential. I think the resolutions we voted are a good base towards a first official congress next year, to continue building the ISL. In line with this, we will build a new revolutionary organization in Greece, which will try to implement the resolutions voted by this conference, aiming to always answer to the needs of the working class, the social movements of the youth, women and immigrants, which are active participants in the social struggle and can contribute with their forces to the building of a revolutionary party in Greece, because this is the only alternative that the Greek working class has. ✱

# France: “THE STRUGGLE OF THE YELLOW VESTS REVEALS THE POLITICAL CRISIS”



Wladimir Susanj, leader of La Commune, French section of the ISL, gives us his opinions about the rebellion of the Yellow Vests, the political crisis and La Commune's intervention in the labor movement.

## WHAT IS THE SITUATION OF MACRON AND THE YELLOW VESTS?

The political situation is amazing. It reveals a deepening and acceleration of the crisis of the French regime and the Fifth Republic created by De Gaulle in 1968. All institutional frameworks can fall to pieces, especially since the Benalla<sup>1</sup> affair, Macron's special advisor who worked more as a mercenary or soldier than as an official.

For more than six months, the masses have entered the political arena of the country with the Yellow Vests: a spontaneous movement, with occupation of roads, pickets and marches every Saturday. Millions of people participate in the movement, which is in decline today, but illustrates the political crisis.

The main demands of the Yellow Vests, who are workers who fight on behalf of all, are an increase in salaries and social subsidies, the defense of public services, the condemnation of luxurious life styles, prices, inflation and exorbitant increases of rents. They also express the poverty and misery that affects everyone: France today officially has 10 million poor! There is a part of the precarious working class, which can no longer live like this and has mobilized since November.

The Yellow Vest movement defended itself against attempts of political use, while the crisis hits all parties on the right and on the institutional left. And it had great political consequences. On one hand, Macron gained time and let the situation rot: he set up a “great debate” for three months and took advantage of it to carry out his election campaign. But he also had to retreat and increase the income of retirees: the struggle defeated him, and in December, he had to freeze

the price of fuel, whose increase had triggered the rebellion.

## WHAT DO THE RECENT EUROPEAN ELECTIONS EXPRESS?

Macron won a Pyrrhic victory. His “great debate” allowed him to ease the situation and shift his attention to the European elections. But these ended in a political defeat for all parties. In France, where the class struggle reached a fever pitch, they were all beaten. The 50% abstention was an electoral strike. The Yellow Vests said it well: “*You do not represent us, every time we vote you, you betray us.*”

The result of the election shows two issues. One is the continuity of the political-institutional crisis. The other is that the party that backs the Fifth Republic (The Republicans<sup>2</sup>), is undone: it took 8% of the votes, which is 4% of the register. The Socialist Party, which ruled from 2012 to 2017, continues its internal crisis and collected just 6% of votes, 3% of the register.

France Insoumise, Mélenchon, had a weak result of 6%: a small defeat, of great political consequences. The front's internal struggle has sharpened and many cadres that structured the party in 2016-17 left. Some, like Alexis Corbière<sup>3</sup>, choose to stay in this opportunistic movement and others propose “*recovering leftist values*”.

In short, the political crisis is accentuated.

## HOW IS THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT?

In May, the federal congress of the CGT - which is in crisis - took place. Now the main French union is the CFDT<sup>4</sup>, a reformist central that is functional to all governments with its anti-worker, anti-youth and anti-immigrant



policies. Its leader also chairs the European Confederation of Trade Unions.

In 2016, the Khomry anti-union law was voted. In 2017 Macron issued its decrees against the labor law. Then came the defeat of the railroad workers and the SNCF<sup>5</sup>. Then the Yellow Vests emerged. In this context of trade union crisis, the congress of the CGT reelected its current leader Philippe Martinez by 80%, without opposition. The balance sheet was voted by only 60% of congressmembers, the lowest historical record.

The class struggle is at a very high level now, after the masses entered the scene. Macron and his friends are not doing well. If Macron continues today, it is because of the inaction of the union leaderships. The Yellow Vests occupied the streets for six months without the unions - who also branded them as fascists and the extreme right - taking their social demands and calling for a strike.

At the same time, police and judicial violence exploded in the spotlight. In those six months, there were 18 mutilated people with loss of eyes, torn hands and feet, dozens injured and more than 18,000 prosecuted. There are still about 300 jailed protesters, who are political prisoners. This repression also expresses the class struggle, of a very weak political power that reacts to avoid losing everything.

### WHAT UNION ACTIVITY DOES LA COMMUNE CARRY OUT?

The tasks of the delegates and leaders are important. We held actions around many issues. In 2015 there was the national Air France conflict: we were at the CGT, we launched a petition for five workers who were fired and sentenced to prison. It is an example of direct involvement in the class struggle. The same with the fight of the Yellow Vests. The first public expressions of support were those of La Commune and the CGT Archives union, while the union leaderships were accusing them of being manipulated by the right and the extreme right, saying that the Yellow Vests were not the Red Vests<sup>6</sup>...

Our work is also at the international level. We were among the first unions and militants to support the Algerian people in their struggle, which was in fact revolutionary or at least *winds*

*of frond* 7, against the institutions embodied by the single FLN party. Likewise, we defend demands for wages, employment, social security, public health, retirement, public services, working conditions and gender equality.

The union tasks also have to do with an important union, the CGT Archives, of the Ministry of Culture. Recently, after three years of struggle, we finally got the courts to recognize and oblige the employers to return the premiums, to pay us what they owe us that they robbed from us years ago. The Ministry lost because the workers mobilized to demand all the salary that corresponded to us.

This benefited 500 workers. The compensation



is equivalent to one million Euros, which the Ministry had to concede to the fight. It is part of our political decision to intervene to defend the material and moral interests of workers. Our role is to provide a line and organize the mobilization. Our employer is the state and, like every employer, wants to pay less. And we want the highest pay possible, because the hardships of life in France today strangle the entire people.

These are some recent examples of our intervention in the class struggle. Days ago, with the presence of comrade Alejandro and Rubén, we held a small meeting with several union activists to discuss how to motorize a space of coordination and organization against the government and the union leaderships that impede the struggle. The issue of repression is central and we launched a national campaign for the amnesty of the Yellow Vests, the release of political prisoners, against repression and for the prohibition of LBD weapons of mutilation, grenades and suffocating



gases. All this confirms that the labor struggle has paid off, it pays today and it will pay tomorrow. They are optimistic and realistic examples. Today France is a boiler ready to explode. In that context, our intervention stands out.

### HOW DO YOU EVALUATE THE FOUNDATION OF THE ISL AND ITS PERSPECTIVES?

It is a very beautiful thing, very encouraging. We are very enthusiastic because it is finally possible to see an International being built that does not turn its back on the needs and demands of the worldwide working class. It is also encouraging to see that the analysis of the 2008 crisis and

its consequences is shared by other militants in America, Europe, Asia and Africa. That is to say, the idea that the crisis of capitalism today cannot be resolved except by internationalism and socialism.

The Anticapalist Network (AenR) was an important vector to be able to respond to our current responsibilities. The ISL is a qualitative leap in our international work for those of us come from AenR and count ourselves in the ISL. The contacts with parties and groups on all continents and the dynamics of the ISL achieve victories that summon us to continue advancing.

The ISL is today a framework that will allow us to respond to the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

## Resolution on FRANCE

Campaign of solidarity with the Yellow Vests



### WHEREAS:

The struggle of the yellow vests still thrives in France and impacts large sections of the working class and peoples around the world. It began in November 2018 against a fuel tax increase: a direct attack on the pockets of hundreds of thousands of workers, retirees, students and middle-class sectors who use their car every day.

Along with the rejection of said increase, the movement's claims were expanded to demand an increase in wages, pensions and social assistance and indexation; the improvement of transport and public services, the restoration of the wealth tax, the annulment of the VAT on products of mass consumption, the annulment of subsidies for employment to large companies, a limit in income of political officials, radical

measures in response to the ecological emergency, a more direct democracy and even the resignation of Macron, "the president of the rich".

The movement arose spontaneously, outside the traditional trade union and political leaderships. It organizes with local assemblies, delegates elected by the base and a national "assembly of assemblies", whose third meeting will take place in June. For six months, with ups and downs, every Saturday, tens of thousands mobilize throughout France, and there are strong clashes with repressive forces.

Faced with the protest, Macron had to withdraw the fuel tax, freeze tariffs, increase the minimum wage and pensions, and opened a "great national debate" seeking to divert the movement. At the same time, he orders an unprecedented repression that has already killed two people, wounded dozens, detained hundreds and pressed charges against thousands; he approved an "anti-vandal" law and even threatened to deploy the army.

The government's campaign to discredit the yellow vests by associating them with the far right failed. Although the National Front expressed their support in the beginning, while the Socialist Party and the Communist Party criticized or hesitated, the movement became radicalized: it points to the government and the rich, not immigrants, as responsible for the crisis. Right wing groups have been thrown out of the marches several times.

Despite the feet dragging of the CGT and other

What we see there is something very positive. La Commune must do all its part in this construction. On our scale, we will do this in Europe, in relation to the world situation and the needs of all our sister organizations. 🐦

1. Repressive incident at the march of May 1, 2018 in Paris.
2. Sarkozy's party, formerly RPR.
3. Former Trotskyist leader.
4. Bureaucratic and pro-government union Central.
5. State railway company.
6. This is how union activists are identified in demonstrations.
7. Refers to the rebellions in France in 1648 against



union bureaucracies, the yellow vests have been coordinating actions with the working class: on February 5, a first major march with strikes imposed by the rank-and-file; on March 19, a general strike with large mobilizations, on May 1 another mass demonstration and on May 9 in the state workers' marches against the reform of their employment statutes. They also participated in environmental actions (such as the "March of the Century" on March 16), in anti-racist and women's protests and mobilizations in support the Algerian revolution.

Although some yellow vests are candidates in 4 of the 34 French lists, their statement on the European Union elections "does not support any specific vote or even participation in these elections" and proposes "to organize a campaign of information and awareness raising against the European institutions and their liberal policies" and to "ridicule this electoral masquerade". On May 26, election day, together with the Belgian yellow vests, they will carry out a march in Brussels, to the headquarters of the EU.

In their second national assembly, on April 7, they agreed on a call on the people to "create, together, by all necessary means, a new popular ecological social movement", also stating that, "aware that we have to overthrow a global system, it is necessary to get rid of capitalism" and create a "power of the people, by the people and for the people".

## CONSIDERING:

The struggle of the yellow vests does not only concern France, but goes against the same plans of austerity and privatization of our lives that the different capitalist governments apply on the workers and peoples

of the whole world to make us pay for their crisis.

Because of their just demands, their fighting methods and because of the enemy that they face, the struggle of the yellow vests has the sympathy of vast sectors of the workers', youth, social and leftist vanguard at a global level.

Because of the dynamic against the capitalist system that is posed by their movement, and especially by the harsh repression they face, they require the active support of all revolutionary organizations of the world.

## THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE RESOLVES:

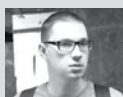
1. To launch an international solidarity campaign with the movement of the yellow vests, based on the main slogan "Yellow vests: the same fight, the same enemy. Macron, démission!"
2. Each national section will publish regularly in its newspapers, web pages and social networks information about the development of the movement and, at the same time, of our campaign. In addition to supporting their demands, we especially demand: Freedom of all imprisoned demonstrators; total amnesty for all the defendants; prohibition of LBD weapons; compensation to all those injured by repression; repeal of the "anti-vandal" law.

The culmination of the international campaign will be on November 17, one year after the beginning of the movement. On that day, each section will organize an event at the French embassy of their country, with yellow vests and posters or flags with the main campaign slogan. 🐦

# The ISL and EASTERN EUROPE



**Russia: "The perspectives of this meeting greatly inspire us"**



We talked with Andery Nestruev, young leader of the Russian Socialist Movement of Saint Petersburg

The political situation in Russia is currently characterized by the union of the Orthodox Church, the State, and large corporations. Now there are also laws against free Internet, against democracy and basic rights.

Two years ago, they began with repressions against anti-fascists and anarchists.

In this situation, our movement, the Russian Socialist Movement, which is an anti-Stalinist and progressive movement emerges. We now we have locals in several cities in Russia, though the local groups are not so large, but we are working to increase the number of people involved and the quality of their training, and to develop new ways of working to move forward.

The St. Petersburg group is now focused on the preparation of municipal elections, because we see it as an opportunity to give dynamics to the movement and also to bring more people into the organization. I want to thank

the organizers of this conference, who invited so many people from so many countries of the world. The perspectives of this meeting inspire us a lot and we think that it can solve several problems in different regions of the world. For Russia it makes sense that Trotskyist organizations with which we could work together, and who really have very few differences, could join. Globally, I see perspectives in solidarity actions that we could also repeat in Russia, as well as the perspective of the creation of organizations in large regions such as Eastern Europe, Latin America, and others. ✊







## With the independent unions

During the fall of the former USSR, independent unions emerged in all the former soviet republics. As time passed, the intervention of governments and pro-imperialist trade union centrals ended up co-opting or defeating many of them. However, several remained standing, fighting heroically for the conquest of rights. They do so in unfavorable conditions, as they suffer repression and persecution by political authorities and police forces. Though it is little known and difused, there are independent unions in different branches that are giving an example of workers' organization and resistance in Belarus, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and other republics, some of which we have been working with. At the time of this magazine's publication, the characteristics and necessary aspects to initiate an international solidarity campaign in their defense are being defined. 🐞

## Belarus: "Our initiative gives me much hope"



Anatoly Matvienko, leader of long trajectory in the labor and political movement of Eastern Europe, participated in the conference and shares his impressions

For a year, we participated in the Anticapitalist Network, and I think we have achieved good results in the number of participants, and in the quality of the work we are doing and we plan to do. Right now, the organization is in an important qualitative process of transformation, and that seems good to me.

Faced with the crisis in the left parties of the world, our initiative gives me much hope. I think we can at last create an organization and a revolutionary party in the world.

We are working hard in this conference and we will have to continue doing so. We have a very serious job ahead, that is why I congratulate everyone and wish them good luck and for everything to go well in our work. 🐞

# Turkey: THE VIEWPOINT OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SEP)



At the conference, we spoke to Derya Koca and V. U. Arslan, leaders of the SEP, who offered important definitions about the challenges that the nascent ISL and its Turkish section face.

In Turkey, there is an economic crisis with similar characteristics to the Argentine crisis. The living conditions of workers deteriorate day by day. For example, food inflation is above 30%. In the coming months, the currency crisis and the structural crisis of Turkish capitalism will shake the country even more. In addition, Erdogan's dictatorial regime generates a strong social polarization around ethnic and religious identities, weakening the working class in the crisis. However, even in these conditions, there are great opportunities for struggles against the oppression of the regime and capital. Turkey has a strong socialist and revolutionary left tradition.

The SEP has the task of promoting the strug-

gles of the working class, of women against the Erdogan regime and Islamic oppression, of the right to self-determination of the Kurdish people. We fight to build a working-class political alternative, which is the only way to overcome the identity polarization that divides workers and is the biggest problem in Turkey. For this, we need a united front of the left, but on a class and socialist basis. That is why the SEP calls for a united front to fight against the regime and against the crisis.

Another fundamental point is that the socialist tradition in Turkey needs to be renewed, because it is highly dominated by Stalinism, reformism, postmodernism, liberalism, and the SEP is build-

## Resolution on KURDISTAN

Kurdistan has been divided into four pieces after WWI: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. After the division, oppressed Kurdish people revolted many times in each region. In all of those parts, Kurdish people were massacred by the nationalist bourgeois states.

Nothing has changed for Kurdish people, or we could say that very little has been gained so far. Considering that when Barzani<sup>1</sup> tried to carry out an independence referendum, the government of Iraq attacked Kurdish areas and nobody supported Barzani. All the Kurdish gains that were acquired through great sacrifices have evaporated. Just before the referendum decision, Barzani's allies were applauding the Peshmerga<sup>2</sup> forces while they were fighting against

ISIS. However, the imperialists sold out the Kurdish Peshmerga very easily, like in many cases in the history.

Socialists cannot support Barzani, who is a rotten feudal lord and an ally to imperialism. But, in principle, we defend the right of Kurds to hold a referendum for independence.

The Kurdish region under Turkey has a different history. It evolved from the 1968 radical student movement. Therefore, in Turkey, the Kurdish movement had a nationalist-socialist origin. But, with time, they shifted right and abandoned their anti-feudal, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist positions. Today, the Kurdish movement has a policy of establishing a front that includes liberal capitalists, the



ing a truly revolutionary alternative. We fight for the workers, who are brutally exploited; for the youth, who have no future; for oppressed women and for peoples whose democratic rights are threatened by the regime.

The only solution in Turkey, in the Middle East and the rest of the world, is permanent revolution. To this end, the SEP has been expanding its influence on the left and increasing forces, forming more cadres every week, building a militant party that fights for the socialist revolution in Turkey, in the region and the rest of the world.

The launching of the ISL coincides with two things. The first is the crisis of the world economy. Even the leaders of big capital predict that the economy is going into a new recession, although it has not been able to recover from the 2007 crisis, which was one of the largest in world capitalism. So the coming crisis will have great implications in political terms and in terms of social struggles.

Unfortunately, there is also another crisis, but within the international socialist movements. So the main task of the ISL is to overcome this crisis on the left and lead the working class, which is the historical mission in the coming period, which is defined by the historical crisis of world capitalism.

An ideological aspect that is directly related to these struggles are the trends that exist in the



socialist left, especially in the West, towards the liquidation of socialist organizations and the denial of the historical role of the Leninist parties. So the ISL must face these debates and lead the struggles.

The international left is currently very pessimistic, but the ISL can encourage optimism through struggles, as it can become a strong pole of attraction for parties, militants, groups and people with socialist ideas around the world. I think the ISL can grow easily, so we can be optimistic.

There are great struggles in North Africa, there are several revolutions and important class struggles in most countries of the world, such as the Yellow Vests in France, and workers' actions in many countries, there is the women's struggle, the anti-fascist movement, so we have good opportunities to build the International and cultivate hope. ✊

EU, the USA and left forces of Turkey for a democratic republic and radical democracy. So socialists should support the right to self determination of the Kurdish people, but remain independent from this project.

The Kurdish people have lost too many lives, mostly of their poor, for their cause. There was a bloody civil war in 1990's; there was an urban war in some cities between Kurdish forces and the Turkish state three years ago. It was a bloodbath. There has been heavy state pressure on the Kurdish movement.

The Kurdish people have achieved historical gains in its right to self-determination in Rojava. But the stability of those gains is not guaranteed because they cannot stand on their own. If US imperialism leaves Rojava as it did in Iraq, the Kurdish movement would not survive. In addition, if we look at history, we should say that when the interests of the United States change, they will leave the Kurds alone, not surprisingly.

## RESOLUTION:

- We defend the right to self determination of the Kurdish people.
- We will hold solidarity actions with Kurdish people against their oppression.
- We will found a Kurdish Marxist party that will fight for a socialist Kurdistan that will be part of the international class struggle for a United Socialist Federation of the Middle East. ✊

1. President of Kurdistan of Iraq 2005-2007, of the Democratic Party.

2. Kurdish combatants.

# Trump: NO MORE WAR THREATS, U.S. OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST!

Trump and his gang's threats against Iran increased tensions with provocations to a level that can start a war.

There have been attacks to oil tankers in the Gulf of Oman for a while now. The United States and its allies blame Iran, but there is strong evidence that the attacks were provocations. The old lies of U.S. imperialism continue with Trump's lies today.

After Iran shot down a 200 million dollar U.S. spy drone in its air space, Trump declared that he had approved and then cancelled an attack on Iran with just minutes to spare. On one hand, a majority of the U.S. ruling class hesitates sparking such a war with Iran, recalling the consequences

of the Iraq occupation. On the other hand, Trump and some politicians around him like Bolton, and Israel, Saudi Arabia, the U.A.E., are eager to start a war. Such a decision would cause a regional war that would kill millions. However, imperialism never cares about such a loss. Thus, it is very important that the working class be prepared on an international level against the threats of imperialist war and occupation.

The United States is responsible for all destruction and massacres in Iraq, Yemen, Palestine, Libya and Syria. Also, the United States backs military coup d'états and dictators in the region, like in Egypt and Sudan. Using the Mullahs' oppressive

## Message FROM IRAN

Hello comrades,

We, as the Iranian socialists, salute the first conference of the International Socialist League with our warmest revolutionary regards.

We cannot attend this historical conference because of legal problems, but our common cause and comradeship keeps us close.

Today, while the bourgeoisie exploits billions all over the world, the proletariat fights back against capitalism and imperialism.

In Iran, as a part of this imperialist capitalist world, we are also suffering deep injustice and oppression. Behind the mask of

the Islamic regime, there is brutal exploitation on the scene. Over 40 million people are living under the hunger limit in Iran. Despite these conditions, the working class and the poor are putting up a fight.

In order to prevent uprisings, the Mullah's regime puts enormous pressure on the working class movement. Trade unions, political organizations and strikes are banned in Iran. In spite of the dictatorship, last year there were more than 1700 strikes and workers' protests, according to the statistics of the regime. On May Day, this year, hundreds of class conscious

regime as an excuse for aggression on Iran is a hypocrisy. The regimes of the theocratic monarchies in the Gulf and Israel are archenemies of freedom and the people.

What lies behind the aggression on Iran is the U.S. objective of controlling all the Middle East, protecting Israel against the Palestinian resistance and looting Iran's energy sources. On the other hand, The United States and Israel's threats, create an atmosphere of national defense in Iran that makes the Mullahs gain more power. This weakens the workers and the youth who fight for freedom in Iran. Iranian workers are

capable of overthrowing the Mullah regime and defeating the imperialist vultures flying over Iran.

The ISL calls workers and the youth of the Middle East to take action to defeat capitalism, dictators and establish a Socialist Middle East Federation.

The ISL condemns U.S. aggression against Iran and calls all workers to fight against the bloody politics of U.S. imperialism.

Long live a socialist Middle East!

U.S. hands out of the Middle East! 🇺🇸



workers organized an effective protest in front of the Congress. To stop this wave, the Mullah regime used police forces, detentions and yellow unions. However, they remain incapable of squashing the struggle.

The struggle in Iran will continue despite the immense oppression. However, to be victorious, we need the international unity of the proletariat from all countries.

We hope and believe that our efforts to organize internationalist socialism will be

accomplished. The revolutionary program that we will manifest with the discussions in our conferences and congress will lead us to give practical struggles. We need the international comradeship of the proletariat and we will establish it!

Long live international socialism!

Long live revolution and socialism!

*Ghader Anari*

# Declaration ON PALESTINE

On May 5, 2019, a new Israeli bombing of 250 “military targets” in the Gaza Strip, whose greatest lethal load fell on the civilian population, resulted in 25 fatalities, more than 140 injured and the complete or partial destruction of approximately 500 homes and different buildings. On this occasion, the assassins of the Palestinian people also returned to the practice of selective assassination, killing Ahmed Judari with the impact of a missile aimed at the vehicle he was driving, and to justifying their bombing of popular neighborhoods with the supposed objective of attacking the houses of the heads of the Gaza militias.

This attack, the most serious one since the Israeli invasion of the Gaza Strip in 2014, is part of a genocidal escalation against the Palestinian people,



implemented by the Netanyahu government with the full support of Trump. In Gaza, an open-air prison for two million Palestinians, the genocidal project is complemented by a complete asphyxiation of its population, deprived of the most elemental rights.

On top of the punishment that having more than 50% unemployment, precarious water, electricity and sanitation services implies, these days the Gaza population is on the verge of social collapse due to the total air, sea and land blockade by the gendarme state. They are prevented from shipping food in, and the lack of funding for the projects that feed more than one million inhabitants of the Strip -as reported by the UN agency for Palestinian refugees in the Middle East (UNRWA)- places its inhabitants on the verge of a tremendous famine.

The brutality of this new military escalation is the Israeli response to a growing resistance of the

Palestinian people against the Zionist occupation, which, in response to Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as the capital city of the Israeli enclave, has been carrying out massive demonstrations every Friday at the border, in the so-called “Great Return March”. These actions bravely defy the gendarme's bullets, which have already killed 200 and wounded thousands, yet is unable to break the Palestinian protest.

This new attack also constitutes a reprisal against a growing defensive military response of the Gaza people, who, despite the total disparity of resources, surpassed the anti-missile system called “iron dome” with more than 700 rockets that impacted in urban conglomerates, causing casualties in the invading population and forcing it to take refuge in bunkers, breaking the hitherto invulnerable Israeli armor. The rope is becoming increasingly tense in Palestine and the region. Thus, while a new generation of young Palestinians revolts against the apartheid regime, Trump and Netanyahu prepare what they call “the pact of the century”. This is a solution that seeks to “pacify” the area, leaving aside all the sovereign rights of the Palestinian people. In exchange for an ambiguous regional status and a promise of increased funding, Palestinians are expected to resign themselves to not having defensive military forces, leaving these in hands of the Israeli army, and accept that the territories illegally occupied by Israel through their settlers in the West Bank be legitimized, as well as the Golan Heights taken from Syria after the last Arab-Israeli war. The demand for the return of more than 6 million Palestinian refugees in neighboring countries would be eliminated forever.

The new “pact” abandons the “two states” policy ratified in the 1993 “Oslo accords”, which the Palestinian leadership of Yasser Arafat and Mahmoud Abbas of the PLO endorsed at the time with the representatives of the Israeli government, Simon Perez and Moses Rabin, the U.S. president and secretary of state, Bill Clinton and Warren Christopher, and the Russian chancellor Andréi Kozyrev. These agreements, which constituted a serious betrayal of the fight to liquidate the imperialist enclave and conquer a secular, democratic and non-racist Palestine, are now considered obsolete by the Trump administration.



As in that agreement, this new pact aims -behind some promises of minor concessions- to advance in its true objective: to definitively defeat the struggle of the Palestinian people and simultaneously exterminate and eradicate what remains of the Palestinian population, something that Zionism has been pursuing without success since the founding of the Israeli state in 1948, because, despite the constant killings and persecutions, the Palestinians have never stopped fighting.

The policy of the Trump and Netanyahu hawks is complemented by the “doves of peace” of the European Union, the UN and most of the Arab bourgeoisie, who speak out and condemn the Zionist massacres, but admit the Israeli genocidal state in the “community of nations”, maintain business and diplomatic relations with Israel, while it advances in a policy of extermination similar to what the Nazis did with the Jews in World War II.

The cynicism of European governments has no limits. Days after condemning this new attack on the Gaza Strip, they held the annual Eurovision festival in Israel, legitimizing the theocratic, racist and genocidal regime. The same goes for the Arab governments, those who directly support Israel like Saudi Arabia or Egypt, as well as those who condemn it with a false anti-imperialist discourse but do not support the struggle of this heroic people of the Middle East.

The young Palestinians of Gaza and the West Bank, who are the vanguard of the fight against the Zionist monster are not alone. They have the sympathy of the people who fight against imperialist barbarism in the region and the entire planet. On May 15, a new anniversary of the Nakba (catastrophe) was celebrated, which is the Arab date of rejection of the creation of the genocidal state of Israel and new mobilizations and actions in solidarity with the Palestinian people have been carried out in different parts of the world, with the march led by Ahd Tamimi, which mobilized thousands through the streets of London, standing out.

It is an essential task of all those who claim to be anti-imperialist and advocates of democratic rights to support the worldwide campaign for “Boycott, Divestment and Sanction (BDS)” to the State of Israel. An initiative that was founded in 2005 with the concurrence of more than 200 organizations and is getting stronger all over the world, bringing together political and social

organizations, as well as numerous intellectuals and artists of world renown.

After the latest attack and confrontations, a fragile ceasefire in Gaza is in force, but new confrontations in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are approaching, within the framework of a region in which the struggle between the revolution and the imperialist counterrevolution is becoming increasingly acute, as evidenced by the growing U.S. military escalation in the Persian Gulf to reinforce its imperial blockade against the Iranian people. The revolutionaries that come together in the ISL call on people to mobilize to stop the Zionist attacks in Gaza, to end the Israeli blockade of the Strip, for the liberation of Palestinian political prisoners, to confront the new imperialist “pact of the century” and support the struggle of this heroic people to recover their territories and defeat the imperialist enclave.



- No more repression of the Palestinian people!
- Immediate end to the Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip! Immediate humanitarian assistance to the people of Gaza!
- Immediate freedom for Palestinian prisoners!
- Support for the Palestinian struggle to recover their usurped territories and the return of all exiles!
- Support for the international campaign of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS)!
- Down with the Zionist state of Israel!
- From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free!
- For a free Palestine, one solution, socialist middle east! 🌍✊

# International campaign for the **FREEDOM OF ALI WAZIR**

**On Sunday, May 26, the Pakistani army fired on a peaceful demonstration in Waziristan led by National Assembly members Ali Wazir and Mohsin Dawar of the Pashtun Defense Movement (PTM). The result of the brutal aggression was 13 protesters killed, 30 injured, the arrest of the two leaders and several activists. The ISL promotes a worldwide campaign for their liberation.**

The Pashtun people constitute Pakistan's second largest ethnic group, in the Waziristan area, on the border with Afghanistan. After the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, the area was occupied by Taliban militias, with the complicity of the Pakistani army, who applied a regime of terror on the population. When the government of Pakistan, under pressure from the United States, regained control of the area, it established a Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA), which implied a military occupation and dictatorship.

The PTM emerged as a peaceful resistance movement against the abuses and arbitrariness of the military. The murder of a young PTM leader in 2018 led to a rebellion in Waziristan and massive solidarity mobilizations in the main cities of Pakistan. That same year, Ali Wazir, a member of The Struggle, Pakistani party of the ISL, and Mohsin Dawar, both leaders of the PTM, were elected to the National Assembly for South Waziristan and North Waziristan respectively.

On May 26, Wazir and Dawar led a protest at a military checkpoint in North Waziristan. The army fired on the peaceful procession, but the media unanimously reported that PTM activists had attacked a military checkpoint.

Ironically, videos have emerged that clearly

show how Wazir and Dawar were attacked from behind. While people were falling from the gunfire, Ali Wazir returned to help an injured comrade. When he approached him, near the checkpoint, he was arrested by the army.

The following day, he was taken to the Anti-Terrorist Court and then to preventive detention. He has been tortured and has been denied medications for diabetes and high blood pressure. Even if he were released, his life would be in danger. Like the rest of the PTM leaders, Wazir has been subjected to a vicious hate propaganda campaign. Traditional media and the army portray him as a foreign agent, a traitor and a terrorist.

The ISL has been promoting the international campaign for the immediate release of Ali Wazir and his PTM comrades. We have gathered thousands of signatures and support from political, trade union and cultural personalities from dozens of countries, organized protests at Pakistani embassies in various countries, socialized thousands of videos, photos and messages of solidarity, and we will continue the campaign until we achieve:

- Immediate release of Ali Wazir and his PTM comrades.
- Trial and punishment of those responsible for the massacre of May 26.
- End of the defamation campaign against the PTM.
- Withdrawal of false charges under the anti-terrorism laws against Ali Wazir and the members of the PTM. ✊



# WHO IS ALI WAZIR?

We reproduce extracts from an interview Wazir gave to The Diplomat on April 27, 1918

My personal ordeal best illustrates what prompted our demands. I was pursuing a degree in law at the turn of the century when my hometown Wana became the epicenter of global terrorism when a host of Taliban-allied groups sought shelter in our communities. No doubt the terrorists had some individual local facilitators, but ultimately it was the state that failed to prevent them from using the territory. When my father, the chief of the Ahmadzai Wazir tribe, and other local leaders complained of their presence, government officials ignored and silenced them

By 2003, the militants had established a foothold in South and North Waziristan tribal agencies and were attempting to build a local emirate. My elder brother Farooq Wazir, a local political activist and youth leader,

became the first victim of a long campaign in which thousands of Pashtun tribal leaders, activists, politicians, and clerics were killed with near absolute impunity. Their only crime was to question or oppose the presence of dangerous terrorists in our homeland.

In 2005, I was in prison when my father, brothers, cousins, and an uncle were killed in a single ambush. I was there because a draconian colonial-era Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) law holds an entire tribe or region responsible for the crimes of an individual or any alleged crime committed in the territory. I had committed no crime, never got a fair trial, and was not sentenced, yet I was prevented from participating in the funerals for my family. In the subsequent years, six more members of our extended



PERMANENT REVOLUTION



family were assassinated. The authorities have not even investigated these crimes let alone held anyone responsible.

We faced economic ruin after all of the notable men in our family were eliminated. The government failed to prevent the militants from demolishing our gas stations. They later used the bricks to build bathrooms, claiming we were munafiqin (hypocrites) so even the inanimate materials from our businesses were not appropriate to build proper buildings. Our apple and peach orchards in Wana were sprayed with poisonous chemicals, and our tube wells were filled with dirt to force us to surrender to the forces of darkness.

In 2016, our market in Wana was demolished after a bomb blast there killed an



army officer. While local officials admitted to me that it was an accident and we were not to blame for the incident, they nevertheless destroyed our livelihoods under the FCR. After the demolition, the government prevented the local community — mostly members of our Ahmadzai Wazir tribe — from collecting donations to help us. They were told it would set an unacceptable precedent because the government cannot let anyone help those it punishes.

During those years, I didn't lose faith in nonviolence and remained committed to peaceful politics. This is why I ran in the parliamentary elections in 2008 and 2013. I can claim with some certainty that I won the contest in 2013, but my victory was changed into a defeat at gunpoint. I lost

the election by just over 300 votes after the Taliban intimidated voters and tortured my supporters and campaign volunteers.

I am aware that since the beginning of the PTM's campaign, our criticism is blunt and direct. We name names and are not shy to address powers that the rest of society, the media, and politicians are too scared to identify, let alone criticize. But as my suffering shows, we Pashtuns have been through hell. Just consider that tens of thousands of civilians were killed in militant attacks and military operations over the course of 15 years, and millions were displaced for years.

Amid the volcano of violence, thousands of civilians have disappeared, and thousands have fallen victim to extrajudicial killings. We are profiled as suspected terrorists across the country, face humiliation at security check posts, and our innocent civilians face violence during security sweeps and operations. As the world's largest tribal society, the Pashtuns are known for their hospitality, commitment, and valor, yet we were falsely reduced to terrorist sympathizers despite the fact that we are their worst victims.

Now that we are protesting for change and demanding the state fulfill its most basic responsibilities, we are accused of treason and are being projected as enemies of the state. It is ironic that the institutions responsible for protecting Pakistan's territorial integrity and protecting it from dangerous threats are bankrolling thugs to launch a Pakistan Zindabad Movement (Urdu for "Long Live Pakistan Movement"). Both the leaders and protesters of this movement are paid. It is telling that former Taliban commanders have addressed their gatherings. We also have indications that efforts are underway to mobilize sectarian terrorists and other fanatics to "counter" our peaceful campaign.

I want to reiterate, for the record, that we do not have a retrogressive or subversive agenda against Pakistan. A radical transformation of the system, society and state is required in Pakistan. We are, however, among the worst victims of terrorism in Pakistan, South Asia, and the world, and we are seeking justice for the wrongs and atrocities we have endured for so long and continue to face. 🌹



# Pakistan: GREETING FROM THE STRUGGLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Dear comrades of the International Socialist League, on behalf of the comrades of The Struggle of Pakistan, I would like to congratulate you on the organization of the conference in Barcelona. We send our solidarity to the revolutionary workers of Argentina, Turkey and the rest of the world.

I would like to make a brief introduction of our tendency in Pakistan and, in general, in South Asia. With many new and old colleagues, we have been struggling to build an international Bolshevik organization in Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Iran and the entire region. We believe that the only possibility of emancipation of the working masses in the region of South Asia and all over the world is revolutionary Marxism, socialism and communism.

I would like to briefly explain the political situation in Pakistan. As many of you know, Pakistan will be entering into an IMF program in the coming days. The State Bank of Pakistan, the Ministry of Finance and other principal institutions have been taken over by the IMF. In the coming weeks and months there will be massive privatizations, price hikes, inflation and reforms in the economy that will affect millions of workers and youth in Pakistan. We believe that there will be resistance, movement, protests, in which we will have to participate and intervene and connect the movement with the program of revolutionary socialism.

Comrades here have read the draft program of the International Socialist League and we are, in general, in agreement with this program. We believe that an international revolutionary organization is necessary, that many movements in the world need a revolutionary leadership, which we Marxists should provide. In spite of this or that minor difference or need of clarification, we agree with your program and strategy, and we would like to participate in this project of international revolutionary organization.

Capitalism on an international scale has entered into its deepest crisis since 1930. Under this system, not



only in advanced countries such as the United States and Europe, but also in backward countries such as Pakistan and India, Bangladesh and Burma, there is no way out. This system does not take humanity forward, it cannot solve the basic problems and contradictions of society. We must unite and build an international revolutionary organization to overthrow this system and emancipate humanity. In this regard, we believe that the revolutionary struggle for socialism all over the world is our struggle, and your struggle is our struggle.

We believe that we should march forward, that we should meet face to face in the coming months in Pakistan or elsewhere. The basic problem in this regard is the visa issue, which is very difficult for us to get as Pakistani citizens. Discussing the program and strategy face to face is very important. I think that in the next weeks or days we can get together in Pakistan, or if we get a visa and travel, to discuss the international strategy. In the meantime, we extend our solidarity, and we are willing to contribute with what we can, such as publishing the webpage in Urdu or other languages. Our support is with you and you may consider your struggle as ours, and ours as yours.

Long live socialism, long live Marxism.

*The Struggle, Pakistan*

PERMANENT REVOLUCION

# Proposal on NORTH AFRICA

In Sudan and Algeria, uprisings have overthrown the dictators. These are political revolutions, as the mass movement has taken down the dictators, but the dictatorship regimes are still in power. The bloody counterrevolution waits for the right time to attack.

North Africa is a region in which class contradictions are extremely sharp, and it has been in interaction with Europe. So the social movements are always affected by European struggles. The expectations of the youth in a good future and what the system gives them is very different.

This is why popular uprisings that stem from an accumulation of anger against the dictatorships have burst and made the spring come to Africa again.

The basic social problems of the workers who live in poverty in oil-rich countries such as Algeria and Sudan cannot be solved only by free elections or in the line of liberal democracy. The fundamental problems of these societies can only be solved if workers and poor peasants capture and rule the economy for themselves. In addition, a socialist project in one country cannot survive, but the revolutionary winds will inevitably affect countries such as Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt and other countries of Africa and even Europe.

Algeria cannot reach bright days without combining the struggle against the dictatorship

with the struggle against capitalism, without targeting the system and building workers power. This is the concrete program of the permanent revolution for North Africa.

Workers, peasants and the youth are giving heroic struggles. But, without a socialist leadership and a clear perspective, their most likely perspective is of defeat by the bloody dictators of capitalism. The lessons of Egypt are very near and clear.

## RESOLUTIONS:

- Continue preparing the formation of a revolutionary militant group to activate the construction of revolutionary Marxism in North Africa.
- Ideological struggle against the bourgeois democratic solution.
- Solidarity campaigns for North African people through internet and protest in front of the embassies of coalition forces.
- Organizing actions in the streets if there are military coups or any other foreign interventions.
- Struggle against the illusions that the Islamists can be part of the democratic struggle.
- On Libya, we have to show the true face of imperialism that totally destroys the country by helping, arming and funding the war lords and Islamist groups. 🇱🇪





# Resolution on YEMEN

Yemen, the poorest country of the Middle East, is now in a destructive imperialist war. What is going on there now is a horrible destruction. Famine, drought, and epidemic diseases threaten millions of people under the Saudi siege. Meanwhile, the world plays ostrich. In the media, the destruction and great crimes against humanity are not visible.

The Yemeni people had revolted against the 33 year old dictatorship of Ali Abdullah Saleh. Protests were brutally repressed, causing over 800 deaths. Despite this, a few months later, Saleh had to resign in favor of his vice president. As the Yemeni people had no program of organization, Mansur al Hadi, who is a collaborator of imperialism and has strong ties with the Saudi kingdom, took power. Afterward, the Shia Houthis minority in the northern part of Yemen, also close to Iran, rebelled against the government. The Houthi armed opposition threatens the interests of imperialism. In 2015, a coalition led by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, with the participation of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Morocco, Sudan, Jordan and Egypt, and the support of England, the United States and France, launched Operation Decisive Storm, an enormous military deployment destined to stop the Houthi rebellion. In addition, those imperialist forces are giving military support to ISIS and Al-Qaeda.

The coalition, which consists of ten countries with the leadership of Saudi Arabia, continues bombing this country. Until now, more than two thousands civilian have died and tens of thousands have been injured in these attacks. Hundreds of thousands of Yemeni are refugees in their own country. Yemen's poor

infrastructure is being devastated by Saudi warplanes: airports, bridges and units of production are being targeted. The future of the Yemeni people is being stolen. However, the coalition led by Saudi Arabia has not been able to stop the Houthi resistance.

We, the revolutionaries, should stand in favor of the defeat of imperialism in Yemen.

An inspiring and promising working class action against this bloodbath was organized by Italian dockworkers in recent days. They refused to install the weapons on a Saudi ship and condemned imperialist brutality. They revealed the imperialist crimes while everybody keeps silence in the West. We salute their action.

We need more of these struggles.

Moreover, as a new international organization, we should raise our voice against this war.

## RESOLUTIONS:

- Campaign against Saudi Arabia's war crimes. Denounce the United States and Israel.
- Campaign slogan proposal against Yemen war: "Hands off Yemen!"
- Forming a campaign front against the imperialist aggression on Yemen with anti-war forces.
- Campaign against the war threats of U.S. imperialism on Iran, without giving any support to the regime; and active solidarity with the working class movement in Iran. 🇮🇷

# Declaration on THE SUDAN REVOLUTION BRUTALLY REPRESSED

We condemn the massacre that has been led by the army!

Forward to a general strike, worker councils and a working class militia!

In Sudan, the troops of military and police forces massacred the masses in order to repress the Sudanese revolution in Hartum on June 3. In the early hours of Monday, the Transitional Military Council (TMC) dispatched a paramilitary force called “Rapid Support Power” (RSF) from the engagement areas of the eastern Sudan, in order to mount an attack with real bullets against the camp of protestors.

The protestors had been staging a sit-in in front of Ministry of Defense in Hartum and the RFS troops with the desert camouflage massacred 100 protestors there. Some of the people killed had been cut into pieces with machetes and the corpses thrown in the Nile River. The RSF militia explicitly raped many women as a response to women’s high level of participation in the revolution. This is a clear message from the bourgeois reaction of

Sudan and the Middle East to all women! The murderers were scared by the awakening of the working class, the women and the youth, and they hate this awakening. In addition to this, The Sudanese Doctors’ Committee announced the number of wounded people at 326.

The massacre followed the general strike movement in Sudan. The airport workers, the port workers, and employees of many ministries declared their loyalty to the Sudanese Professionals Association (SPA), which organized the general strike movement. The advanced level that the Sudanese revolution reached caused huge expectations not only in Sudan but also in all Middle East among workers and the youth. However, unfortunately, the SPA did not present any alternative to the people except for bargaining with the TMC, because they do not have a workers power perspective. Because of this obstruction, the bloody counter-revolution was able to find the opportunity to organize a massacre.

The illusions that the current regime in







Sudan, which depends on the interest alliance of a bunch of capitalist, warlord generals and corrupted high bureaucracy, and big imperialist Powers can evolve into a democratic parliamentary regime, opens the way to the suppression of the revolution. The suppression of the revolution in mid-process is inevitable without a perspective of building a workers' council and militia in the general strike movement and protest wave which can lead all the working class and petit bourgeoisie. In other words, it is impossible to advance without a revolutionary road map. In this content, the SPA, which leads the Freedom and Change Forces (FFS), must break away from Islamist counter revolutionaries like the National Umma Party, which is loyal to the old regime and also takes part in the FFS.

Besides the TMC, which organized the massacre, the ISL condemns the states of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Arab Emirates, that supported the counter revolution, as enemies of the people. All the peoples of the world must know that U.S. imperialism is behind all this bloody operation. The military power in Sudan is nothing but the backyard of Saudi Arabia, which is also a puppet of the United States. The

Sudanese Army gives military support to the Saudi's dirty war in Yemen. Imperialism aims to establish a Sudanese regime like that of Sisi in Egypt. The biggest fear of imperialist capitalist system is the possibility that the Sudanese revolution influence Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt, creating a big strike and protest wave. Therefore, the bloody counter- revolution will take any brutal action to terminate the Sudanese revolution.

The Sudanese revolution has not been defeated yet. The striking workers and protestors must reject the process of bargaining with the junta leaders, must be prepared to launch an indefinite general strike with the perspective of workers' power and must be prepared to organize a revolutionary militia. This is the only way to defeat the public enemy generals and imperialists. It is clear that such a perspective will spread the revolutionary fire to all of North Africa.

We invite all the Sudanese and North African revolutionaries who want to act in accordance with this program to get in touch with the ISL.

One solution, permanent revolution!

Death to imperialism and collaborator public enemies! ✊

# Argentina: **HISTORIC UNITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT**



BY MARIANO ROSA, MST LEADER

**For many years the MST proposed the unity of the anti-capitalist and socialist left of the country. Finally, the FIT (Left and Workers Front) accepted an agreement for this year's national elections. We analyze the positive aspects, contradictions and open hypotheses of this new electoral alliance.**

It is a positive political novelty, long demanded by the best of the very broad political culture of the left in this country. Therefore, when the news came out, it had a great impact in the mass media, and we have not stopped receiving all kinds of congratulations, encouragement and offers of collaboration. All our militants justifiably perceive it as a reward for the coherence of years of promoting the unity of the left and also, why not, as a result of the national strengthening of the MST and

its international projection with the recent foundation of the International Socialist League. In addition, against the precarious political alliances of the forces of capital, anchored their commitment to the IMF and the payment of the external debt, the formation of a militant tool of anti-capitalism, the best of the working-class, youth and feminist vanguard, with a socialist programmatic platform, can become a turning point in the stage the country is going through.

## **THE DEFENSIVE COALITIONS OF CAPITAL OR THE SINGLE PARTY OF THE IMF**

The Argentine bourgeoisie scored a tactical point in avoiding a revolutionary crisis in 2018, and making it to the electoral process of 2019. The role played by the entire opposition of the Peronist Justicialist Party (PJ) in Congress and its union bureaucracy (with the active participation of Kirchnerism)





was of class cooperation with the Macri government to help it overcome the peaks of social and political tension that it went through. Now, amid the election campaign, bankers and corporations set out to resolve the factional struggle with their different political representations to determine who manages their interests by governing in the coming complex period. With that definition, we reinforce a thesis: the polarization installed by the mass media between the lists of Macri-Pichetto and Alberto Fernández-CFK (Cristina Fernández de Kirchner) is essentially false. To begin with, both alliances express a rightward shift of all traditional politics, and their main candidates tirelessly offer evidence of reliability to the bourgeoisie. The two lists integrate characters that regroup the waste of traditional parties, all interchangeable for all. Both projects represent bourgeois fractions with a firm class consensus on a series of issues:

- The external debt and subordination to the IMF are not in question.
- The scheme of public services and key levers of the privatized economy are maintained in both proposals.
- The primarized, agrarian and mining export-based, subaltern economy matrix, as well.
- The tax system that is confiscatory of the majority, with a structure that finances the capitalist State, with 80% in mass consumption levies and an absurd wage tax misnamed “profit tax”.
- The strengthening of the espionage and repression apparatus.
- The status quo with the “pro-life” clergy that blocks the agenda of the feminist and sexual dissidence movement in Argentina.

That is to say: it is not the tactical differences that define those alliances, but their long-term, strategic agreements, which are ultimately the ones that the “red circles” of big capital oversee. This clarification is fundamental - especially in relation to the formula that CFK integrates - for the broad social universe of massive anti-Macrisism found among the workers, youth and women’s movements, as an early warning of the irreversible effects of the lesser evil as



a political option. In sum: the position on the external debt and the IMF, the privatized services, the clergy and the world crisis and its national expression, defines the nature of political projects at this stage. Closing one's eyes with arguments of electoral immediacy ensures a new frustration. Our obligation is to set this forecast on record, and because we are not commentators, but a militant organization, we propose an alternative.

## FROM ELECTORAL UNITY TO UNITY IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE: TACTICS AND STRATEGY

The main starting point of this confluence between the FIT and the MST is an anti-capitalist and socialist platform, as an emergency program against the stagnation of the national economy and the impotence of the forces of traditional politics. Therefore, a first task consists of the massive and planned dissemination of that political contract, and its working-class and social content. We must take it to work and study places throughout the country so that millions of workers and young people receive the proposal of this front. At the same time, our party places a key issue in debate, for concrete action: the electoral field is tactical for the revolutionary left, therefore it has to serve as an auxiliary point of support to transfer that united front to the worker's movement, fighting to win anti-bureaucratic and classist delegate bodies, internal commissions and unions; to consolidate a solid block of socialist, class based feminism in the women's movement; in universities, schools and professorships, to recover the student unions and federations from privatizing cliques; in the slums, to multiply actions to fight against hunger and for genuine jobs. That is to say, we have an agreement on the electoral struggle that the MST conceives as a great transitional step to transfer that united front to the class struggle and the fight for its leadership. Obviously, we have shades and differences. But our predisposition is to be able to work together by developing all the debates that exist. We also pose the need for this front to intervene with positions of synthesis and common actions in the face of the main national and international political events.

## THE MST IN THE FIT - UNIDAD

Our general outlook of where the country's political situation is headed, is rooted in an analysis of the world panorama. All the variables indicate a reinforcement of the capitalist crisis, without productive investment (but short-term speculation), commercial retraction and debt strangulation of semi-colonial countries like ours. The socialists of the MST did not come up with these predictions, they have been corroborated by the concerned reports of the IMF, the World Bank and even the council of JP Morgan to its clientele of investors. Therefore, we prepare for a period of capitalist attacks on social rights with more austerity and social resistance, intensification of tensions and conflict. We do not have a mechanical view of the course of events nor do we preach irreversible catastrophism, but the trends are unequivocal: we are heading towards more clashes between the masses and the political and trade union forces of capital. Therefore, we are going through a political period of programmatic and organizational preparation and necessary accumulation for these battles.

The electoral situation, in our view, has to allow us to outline these forecasts and patiently explain the solution we raise, from the left, an anti-IMF and socialist one. We are going to campaign intensely the electoral proposal of the FIT-MST, of course, with our main figures Cele Fierro, Alejandro Bodart, Vilma Ripoll, Guillermo Pacagnini, our Cordoba legislator Luciana Echevarría and our thousands of militants throughout the country. But always with an eye on that perspective, on that strategy. This general understanding, based on the prognosis of the world situation and its refraction in Argentina, the confirmation of the expectation in the course of the left in our country that exists in the socialist vanguard of many parts of the world, convinced us as a political organization, to make very important efforts to materialize this front. And also, to point out that its positive impact proves us right in how appropriate it would have been to conform it for all the previous elections that have taken place in the country in which, due to the strong polarization and despite the fact that our party had some good results and the FIT retreated a



bit, the left as a whole lost an opportunity to gravitate with greater force. We want to state, in addition, before all the militants and that large independent reserve that follows our trajectory, that the MST accepted some conditions of political positions in the front that do not fully correspond to the existing relations of force between our party and the members of the FIT. We did so for several reasons:

- First, because we assume responsibility for an extended demand from the working-class and youth activism for this unity step to take place.
- Second, because we are committed to advancing in an experience that will allow resolving these issues in the future by appealing to mechanisms for debate of the militant base, taking into account the national and organic development, insertion and extension of each force. That is, a working-class, revolutionary criterion. Although we do not rule out using the primaries as a limited mechanism but which could be a resource, as well as other democratic mechanisms we could agree on.
- Third, because we have confidence in being able to advance on a path of growth, massification and political-cultural renewal on the left, which also includes overcoming pettiness, short-termism and limited electoral

calculations. On this point, the crisis the Workers Party (PO) of Argentina is going through poses a profound debate about the model and project the revolutionary left needs to fight for mass influence. Our organization takes on this challenge with all seriousness.

- Fourth, because our determination obeys a logic different from that of the limited municipal personalism of Luis Zamora, or the exclusive concern for legislative positions, as is the case of the Nuevo MAS, both groups self-marginalized by a mistaken and short-sighted vision.

For this orientation, we are going to contribute to the front that we have just formed, with multiplied militancy, with greater growth and implantation in the working class, the youth, the women's movement and the neighborhoods, and be a dynamic factor of this unity at the service of the tasks and objectives that we have pointed out. A road map with open assemblies, union plenaries, neighborhood meetings and an extended activity of agitation, propaganda and organization is in full development to bring new contingents of independent activists to this front, with the exciting purpose of fighting for a strategy: making the revolutionary left a real alternative for a workers' and people's government, for a Socialist Argentina. 🇦🇷



# Brazil: Resolution on the STUDENT STRUGGLE

## CONSIDERING:

That the proto-fascist government of Jair Bolsonaro began to apply a brutal package of austerity to the budget of public education;

That this cut of 30% of the budget threatens the universal right to quality public education;

That, since 2013, the Brazilian youth have



played a vanguard role in the struggles of resistance to the austerity packages that the last three governments tried to apply on the working class and the people as a whole.

That Brazilian students once again occupy the streets in resistance to Bolsonaro's attack

on education, mobilizing almost 2 million in the streets of 200 cities on May 14, organizing events for May 30, as a new day of mobilization and calling to intervene in the General Strike of June 15.

That the policy of the IMF against public education unifies the youth of Latin America and countries of other continents;

## WE RESOLVE:

- 1- To promote actions to support Brazilian students in struggle; with campaigns of agitation in the streets and universities, photos and videos on social networks and protests in front of the Brazilian embassies, as far as possible.
- 2- To collect statements of student leaders and personalities in support of the Brazilian student movement.
- 3- To carry out propaganda of our positions on this process in the vanguard, through talks and other initiatives. 🌟

## Between the general strike and the austerity reforms

The situation in the country is in a permanent tension, the government of Jair Bolsonaro intends to advance in depth with the IMF austerity plans. For this, he has the complicit silence of an important part of the bourgeois opposition led by the PT, which, in the states it governs, follows a similar path. A similar role is played by the union centrals, commanded by the PCdoB (Communist Party) and also the PT, which completely demobilized the Brazilian working class after the call for a general strike on June 14, when it was more necessary than ever to mobilize. It is this complicity that allowed Bolsonaro, despite many difficulties and the lowest level of popularity that a president has had in the country's recent history, to achieve the approval of the first pension reform in the Chamber of Deputies, opening the door to a very important austerity plan that will be unloaded on workers and retirees, following the path that has already been shown to have failed in several countries of the continent. As our comrades from Socialist Alternative, section of the ISL in the country, point out, it is essential that the PSOL and the left play a leading role in the call for workers and the Brazilian people to confront this austerity plan in the street and mobilized, while strengthening a real revolutionary opposition, without political fronts with the accomplices of austerity. They sustain the demand to the trade union centrals to break the truce and call for fighting measures, joining the fight of the students for the education budget, together with workers and retirees who resist the pension reform and put in place a true plan of struggle to defeat the plan of Bolsonaro and the IMF. 🌟

# Brazil: “THE ISL WILL BE A COLLECTIVE CONSTRUCTION OF GREAT IMPORTANCE



Lucas Tiné, young leader of Socialist Alternative, Brazilian section of the ISL, which is part of the PSOL, comments on the dynamic situation in his country.

In Brazil we are going through a very complex political situation, in which we have an institutional crisis that is reflected in the economy, in the cuts in items that are essential for any country, such as education, health or transportation. In addition to this, we have a proto-fascist president who is doing everything to implement the IMF austerity plans and fulfill all U.S. wishes in the country to be able to extract all of our country's wealth, for example, by removing the native people's right to their lands.

But the resistance is strong. Now we have a wave of students taking the streets against the 30% cut to public universities, with the excuse from the government that this money would go to basic education, which has also suffered strong cuts. On May 15 we had a wave of mobilizations in more than 200 cities in Brazil with almost two million students protesting and summoning a new wave for May 30, leading to the general strike that we are building for June 14.

The possibility of making a real change in Brazil opens up, because a movement to get Bolsonaro out is already beginning, which can lead to a constituent process. There we are with Socialist Alternative from PSOL saying that we have to propose a different project in Brazil and the solution is to the left.

For us in Socialist Alternative of Brazil, this founding conference of the ISL is of tremendous importance because, in our opinion, it takes an international revolutionary leadership to promote a

collective construction, with sister parties and organizations in different countries that mark a path towards change and a socialist, secular, internationalist, revolutionary society. It will also be important to respond to the evolution of proto-fascism in Brazil and to those that impose austerity in each country, like Macri in Argentina or Duque in Colombia.

These days of meetings have been very useful to put strategic points at the center of the debate. Then, we believe that the ISL has a responsibility and will be a collective construction of great importance. We hope that a tremendous project of change and political leadership will come out of this to carry out the revolution. ✊





# Resolution on NICARAGUA

## CONSIDERING:

That, since April 2018, there has been an uprising against the austerity policies of the Ortega-Murillo government dictated by the IMF against the whole of the Nicaraguan people;

That, to try to defeat that process, the regime deployed a violent repression resulting in hundreds of people killed, wounded, imprisoned or disappeared;

That, in the field of genuine popular mobilization, of social organizations, peasants, workers and the youth, the student movement has had a substantial relevance, and has consequently been



the sector most persecuted and harassed by the regime;

That the fundamental contradiction lies in the fact that the bourgeois opposition, which was a business partner of the regime for years, has mounted itself on the resistance process to deactivate the activity of class struggle, diverting it toward a sterile “dialogue” with the dictatorship which achieves nothing other than give Ortega political time;

That the regime failed to defeat the mass movement as a whole, and that there are actions of struggle and resistance in a molecular way, although without centralization, without coordination, or unified global strategy;

That the politics of “dialogue” constitute a direct betrayal of the struggle of the Nicaraguan people and that popular energies and genuine

indignation are squandered along that road;

That the Blue and White Alliance is hegemonized by the COSEP (the superstructure of the Nicaraguan business community) and that, therefore, it does not represent the social interests of the people, but those of the bourgeoisie;

That, together with a group of exiled students and activists, militants of our international current have been advocating a policy of opposition to the regime, of rejection of the “dialogue”, of demanding the release of political prisoners, the cessation of repression, and a democratic solution starting with the ousting of the dictatorship through mobilization, a Free, Sovereign and Democratic Constituent Assembly for the people to decide and a reorganization of Nicaragua on truly socialist bases, on the way to preparing a workers’, peasants and popular government in that country;

That, to achieve all these goals, the key is to promote the construction of a socialist and revolutionary political alternative in Nicaragua;

## WE RESOLVE:

- 1) To support the policy raised by our current until now of rejection of the “dialogue”, freedom of political prisoners, overthrow of Ortega-Murillo, Constituent Assembly and workers’, peasants’ and popular government.
- 2) To organize talks, forums, conferences and activities of agitation and propaganda to publicize our positions in relation to this process.
- 3) To continue arguing through periodic articles against the positions of campism, all the false reformist ideologies that sow confusion in the vanguard in relation to the unique process and in particular, demonstrate that Sandinism, with Ortega-Murillo, is the antithesis of an anti-imperialist, leftist or socialist project.
- 4) To continue preparing the formation of a revolutionary militant group to activate the construction of a section of our current in Nicaragua as soon as there are objective conditions to do so. 🇳🇮



# Nicaragua: “ASSUME THE POLITICAL CHALLENGE OF BUILDING AN ALTERNATIVE”



Ariana McGuire, young exiled Nicaraguan and leader of the SOS Nicaragua international campaign, shared her experience at the ISL conference. We publish her opinions.

Since the beginning of the April rebellion last year in Nicaragua, all the resistance sectors have shown that they will continue fighting to overthrow the Ortega-Murillo dictatorship, go up against the IMF austerity policies and also go against the privileges of the capitalists. Today, more than ever, it is necessary to assume the political challenge of building a revolutionary alternative that will embark on the road to a new Nicaragua, with the slogan “Memory, Truth and Justice” put into practice, so that there is no impunity and the history of dictators and *caudillos* is not repeated; so that the mothers of those killed by the regime and all political prisoners have justice. So that all sectors that have historically been oppressed - the peasantry, students and youth, women’s groups, sexual dissidence and so on - can actually participate

in the active process of building a better Nicaragua, a more inclusive Nicaragua, in which the working class can also find a road of action and decision-making.

In this sense, we are happy to participate in this internationalist meeting, where we have analyzed the perspectives on global problems, but have also thought collectively how to provide a solution through organization, through the construction of a global platform that has all the strength and force to continue uniting groups, collectives and people who are committed to actively participate in the total transformation of the system and build a new one, in which we can all find a space of dignity, freedom, and be happy. The International Socialist League gives us that possibility and today we assume the challenge. ✊



# Colombia: Resolution on FASCIST THREATS AGAINST STUDENT LEADERS

## CONSIDERING:

That on May 20 a statement was released in Colombia signed by a fascist group called “Águilas Negras” (Black Eagles) in which they threaten to assassinate several student leaders, among them, our comrade Jerson Reyes;



That this extremely serious incident is part of a policy of intimidation by right-wing sectors against the student movement and the mobilized youth in Colombia that has been at the head of an historic teacher-student strike;

That, evidently, this is part of a “preventive” orientation of the bourgeoisie to try to weaken one of the most active sectors -the youth- in Latin America and the whole world against the austerity plans of the IMF and its puppet governments;

## WE RESOLVE:

- 1) To condemn this extremely serious threat, to extend our solidarity to Jerson Reyes and the other students mentioned in the fascist statement;
- 2) To immediately develop an international campaign of repudiation, denunciation and solidarity, with a petition to collect signatures from organizations and personalities from the broadest democratic spectrum possible. Also to appeal to other resources, such as the dissemination in social networks of our organizations’ videos, photos, etc. on the subject;
- 3) To hold the government of Duque and the authorities of the University of Colombia responsible for the safety of Jerson Reyes and the other students who have been threatened. ✊

## Greeting from Ecuador (Guayaquil, 5/24/19)

In consideration:

In Ecuador, we have not only saluted this initiative, we also feel part of this project that aims to overcome in our different territories, the great dilemma of humanity: Socialism or Barbarism, which can only be overcome to the extent that a

revolutionary leadership is built for the triumph of the world proletariat.

**Jorge Estrella**  
**Socialist Workers Movement**  
**Ecuador**

# Colombia: “ARTICULATING AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL IS A PRIORITY”



We talked with David, Colombian student leader.

We are Collective Impulse, an organization that we are building in Colombia, based in university spaces. We want to say a little about what the recent national landscape has been in terms of mobilization and political proposals. There is an important juncture with a series of recurring crises, which has led to different social sectors taking measures: student, Native and Afro sectors, with certain demands in response to problems that have recently become more acute. We want to say that it is very important for us to be part of this type of space because we consider articulation at the international level a priority, and under the particular conditions of Colombia, an imperative necessity.

Colombia is currently going through a political crisis, mainly caused by the national government, which is a government that represents the country's extreme right. And that extreme right represents some very important criteria and class interests for the Latin American landscape. Under that logic, we understand that the current Duque government is one of the main references for Latin America and the United States. We have seen and evidenced this in the positions that our government has taken against Venezuela, the promotion and creation of the Lima Group. What it has been looking for in the country, along with other sectors, is to continue concentrating profits and socializing losses through supremely regressive reforms for the economy, all totally anti-rights policies.

With the Duque government, there is also a resurgence of war in rural areas, they

are rearming paramilitary groups and social movements begin to be much more vulnerable. It is in that context that we are trying to build political possibilities.



In this moment that we are going through, our organization has been fully influencing the mobilization processes. We were born from last year's student mobilization of, that is, we are a very new process, and we have a clear and concrete perspective: that there is a need to build a revolutionary organization that has a position in view of local problems, but also understanding that there is a supremely vast necessity to make a general transformation. We come here with this logic; trying to learn from other experiences in Latin America and the world, and we fully hope that these experiences can be collected and materialized, according to our specific conditions, to the Colombian landscape, to fully influence the Colombian and world class struggle. ✊





# Paraguay: “THE TRADITIONAL PARTIES ARE STARTING TO CRACK”



**Nicolás Germanier, young leader of Socialist Alternative, Paraguayan section of the ISL, shares his thoughts.**

In Paraguay, the political and social situation is undergoing a strong polarization that runs throughout the country and a chronic crisis of the regime. The traditional parties are starting to crack.

The rise of the most reactionary sector of the Colorado Party, reflected in Mario Abdo Benítez with Colorado Añetete<sup>1</sup>, expresses that polarization. On the other hand, there are also many struggles and resistance at the base to prevent the austerity measures and several projects that Mario Abdo tried to impose this year. A project that was intended to force all young people to do military service, for example, was defeated with a gigantic mobilization. In two days, 50,000 young people in the streets managed to push back that militaristic initiative. In another case, 30,000 people in the streets managed to oust the municipal government of 15 years in Ciudad del Este, which was involved in many cases of corruption.

Unfortunately, in the face of the crisis of the regime, we do not have a large, coherent, consistent left-wing organization that proposes an alternative political model. In this context, we in Socialist Alternative, who are in an early stage of development, are still a small group with the aim of founding a party with an important future perspective: the construction of an anti-capitalist, internationalist, socialist and feminist organization.

We are finding support in the new international that we are building, which is the International Socialist League, and we believe that after these fraternal meetings we had with comrades from different countries, we will have much more momentum in Paraguay and we hope that in the rest of the countries as well. ✊

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Authentic, in Guaraní.



# Chile: “WE HAVE THE CHALLENGE OF BUILDING THIS ALTERNATIVE, WITHOUT PESSIMISM OR OPPORTUNISM”



We interviewed Joaquín Araneda, young leader of the Chilean Anticapitalist Movement.

Our construction in Chile has been gaining momentum. In our country, it is necessary to build a strong revolutionary, anti-capitalist, feminist and eco-socialist alternative that confronts the governments of the day and fights against reformism for the leadership.

People have been coming out to fight. Since 2011, the youth has been fighting against market education and during the last period we have experienced the greatest post-dictatorship mobilization, led by the feminist movement last March 8. These expressions find a ceiling, because new political phenomena, such as the Broad Front, have quickly sought to become part of the political regime, and have not taken any struggle forward, beyond declarations by parliamentary means.

The meeting that we are developing in Barcelona is undoubtedly encouraging, because we are presented with a great challenge, a great opportunity. It is also a very new process worldwide, in the middle of a deep crisis

of capital, and also of much of the left that has failed to position itself in this process of increasing struggle.

We are developing a very positive conference, with a great strategic proposal, reaffirming our commitment to the construction of an international and national revolutionary parties that can face the struggle processes that we are experiencing in each place. It is also a meeting of much learning, which has led us to have a complementary vision of the world with a common expectation. This will definitely give us enormous possibilities, both at the local level, for our party development in each country, and internationally, to position ourselves as a new alternative. In looking for shortcuts, many currents have receded, leaving a vacancy in the world. We have the challenge of building this alternative, without pessimism or opportunism, and with the incorporation of many sectors, from many places in the world. ✊

## With the teachers, in defense of public education



Since June 15, teachers in Chile have been leading a true rebellion in demand of wage and working conditions improvements. The strike is already historic and has achieved the solidarity of the students and the rest of the educational community. ✊

PERMANENT REVOLUTION



# Uruguay: “WE ARE ENTERING A DIFFERENT STAGE”



We spoke with Federico Martínez, Rumbo Socialista militant, about the elections in his country and the politics of intervention after the right turn of the Broad Front.

In Uruguay we are entering an electoral stage, which almost always monopolizes the whole politics of the country. But this is a different electoral stage because the Broad Front - which is the ruling party - is increasingly turning to the right and following the IMF's plans. For example, it is proposing the entry of a second pulp mill in the middle of Uruguay, which is not only a problem for the environment, but it also represents a new neo-colonial pact, because Uruguay is committed to spending billions of dollars in the infrastructure just for plant to work, and to change the labor legislation to guarantee social peace to the Finnish company, even implementing anti-picket regulations. In

addition, the government has also begun to discuss raising the retirement age, which has led to an agreement with the right so that with the next government, whoever wins, will raise the retirement age between five and ten years.

In this sense, we began discussions with other organizations positioned to the left of the Broad Front about how to intervene in this electoral process and we have agreed with the Socialist Commitment comrades to call to vote for them, and try to elect a legislator to take the positions of workers to the parliament.

We welcome the formation of the ISL and the regroupment that we are carrying out with comrades from other countries. ✊



# Venezuela: “IN MAREA WE ARE INITIATING A NEW STAGE”



Zuleika Matamoras, leader of Marea Socialista, our Venezuelan section, was at the conference and commented on the crisis in her country and the challenges our organization faces.

In Venezuela, we are experiencing a difficult political, economic and social crisis that attempts to impose a polarization between two reactionary leaderships. One is the traditional right, mustered around the figure of Juan Guaidó, who is openly imperialist and interventionist. And the other one is Maduro's government, which has subjected Venezuelans to a precarious life and has smashed all the conquests achieved by workers. The previous mount, or intend to mount themselves, on the massive discontent that the government has generated.

We are in a situation in which workers and the people have the urgent need to organize and mobilize autonomously. That is why Marea Socialista is determined to organize with those who know that we must oppose any imperialist intervention, but that does

not mean giving any support to the Maduro government. In Marea Socialista we are initiating a new stage of re-launching an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, feminist, anti-patriarchal and internationalist organization.

Starting with the international conference held in Barcelona, in which women and men from different countries and continents have participated, we were able to take a qualitative leap in the construction of a world party for the working class. The expectations are many and the perspectives that emerge now are really very exciting for revolutionaries. From now on, we face a challenge, we will continue building the world party of the working class and we are sure that we will make big progress, not only in terms of organization, but also in our intervention in all the struggles against this hunger imposing and oppressive system. 🌱



# Resolution on VENEZUELA

## CONSIDERING:

That Venezuela is under imminent imperialist threat, with ongoing economic and political interference and the risk of a possible military intervention, even though the coup attempt monitored by Trump and the so-called Lima Group and perpetrated on April 30 by Guaidó and Leopoldo López has failed. The right and imperialism continue their interventionist plan at the service of big capital in order to administer the million-dollar business that our extraordinary energy resources provide and are today provoking economic and political actions against Venezuela which further worsen the lives of millions. With this policy, they also intend to strengthen their economic and political plans throughout the region, with their partner governments and regional agents. We know that nothing good for workers and the people of Venezuela and Latin American will come from the hand of imperialism or the right-wing puppets of the US. This is why we reject any kind of interference by the US or the

so-called Lima Group, and call to confront it in the streets with no confidence in the Maduro government.

That the government of Nicolás Maduro, with the support of the armed forces, has been dismantling the social achievements of the Bolivarian process and has been implementing a hunger pact of an anti-workers and capitalist nature, installing a new bourgeoisie and sinking us in a debt-eroding system, turning over or destroying our natural resources and making us more vulnerable to the appetites of foreign powers. Submitting workers, the poor and the youth to a life of absolute precariousness with lack of water, electricity, food, medicine and all basic needs and with wages under \$ 6 a month that are not enough to pay for a dinner. That Maduro is also an agent of transnational capital, in some cases of American capitals and in general of Russian and Chinese capitals, who, in the framework of a geopolitical struggle, also want to keep the natural and strategic resources of Venezuela.

