

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

SUCCESSFUL SECOND CONGRESS^{OF}_{THE} ISL



PERMANENT REVOLUTION

Director: Alejandro Bodart

Editorial Committee: Imran Kanyana - Ezra Otieno
Oleg Vernyk - Sergio García - Douglas Diniz
Rubén Tzanoff - Verónica O'Kelly - Joaquín Araneda

Edition: Pablo Vasco and Martín Carcione
Design and layout: Tamara Migelson

Find us here:

www.lis-isl.org

Mail: info@isl-lis.org

 International Socialist League

 @ligainternacionalsocialista

 Liga Internacional Socialista @isl_lis

 Liga Internacional Socialista (LIS)

Published articles and interviews do not necessarily express the positions of the ISL, but of their authors.



3 A revolutionary construction advancing

7 Contribution to the debate on the world situation. Towards more crises, wars and revolutions

19 Key aspects of Marxist analysis and policy in the face of Russia's imperialist aggression against Ukraine and NATO's imperialist policy

21 Resolution on imprisoned Belarusian labor activists

24 Global Economy: Under the sign of uncertainty and fragility

27 Resolution on the socio-environmental movement: policy and orientation

29 Resolution on current gender struggles and revolutionary politics

33 Important participation of Africa at the II ISL World Congress

34 Resolution on África

35 The new Israeli government, a shock to the entire region. More than ever, we must defend the cause of Palestine

39 Resolution on Nicaragua

40 Resolution on Venezuela

41 Life of the movement

- Brazil: Revolutionary unification
- Colombia, Impulso Socialista and Grupo de Trabajadores Socialistas are moving towards unification


la montaña
EDICIONES SOCIALISTAS
Perú 439 1°
Buenos Aires



A revolutionary construction ADVANCING



BY PABLO VASCO

From March 10 to 14, the second congress of the International Socialist League was held in Barcelona. Comrade delegates and guests of revolutionary parties and groups from all continents participated. The event was a success. It took up important political debates, approved resolutions and campaigns, outlined new challenges and confirmed the advances of a new and superior model of revolutionary construction.

The venue for this second congress was the same one where the ISL was founded almost four years ago: a pleasant and comfortable Catalan public youth hostel. In turn, the first congress of our League was held in Buenos Aires at the end of 2021. But just two months later, in February 2022, an event of global impact occurred: the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the consequent outbreak of the war, which sparked sharp debates in the left as a whole. This circumstance, in addition to other political changes in the international situation and the growth of the ISL itself, warranted the convening of this second congress.

The congress had the organizational collaboration of the militants of SOL, the ISL section in the Spanish State. In the days leading up to the event, representatives of the various parties and groups arrived in Barcelona from their countries, in their capacity as delegates or invited observers. But today's political restrictions made themselves

felt: while the Ukrainian and Russian comrades were unable to leave their country due to the conditions of the war, some delegates from Lebanon, Kenya and Pakistan were denied entry visas by the Spanish government and had to participate in the congress online.

FIVE CONTINENTS, TRADITIONS OF VARIOUS ORIGINS

It is not often that an event of the revolutionary left expresses the level of international representation that this ISL congress had. Though an abundance of information about all countries and their political currents circulates throughout this globalized world, nothing replaces the direct exchange between experiences of intervention in social struggles and party building. To cite just one example, a Ukrainian worker, union activist and member of the Ukrainian Socialist League, who is now a combatant in the war, intervened at the congress from the front, not only against the Russian invasion and against NATO's role, but, since he is also a native of Tajikistan, he contributed to the debate on the situation in Central Asia.

From the imperial North to the Southern Cone of America, from the Old Continent to Eastern Europe, and from sub-Saharan and Arab Africa to Oceania, passing through the Middle



East and Asia, the congress expressed a wide range of revolutionary organizations that operate in 25 countries across the five continents (see graph). Thus, the congress functioned in Spanish, English, Ukrainian, Arabic and Portuguese, while French, Swahili, Belarusian, Russian and Catalan were also heard.

Among the guests, we had leaders from organizations in France, Australia, Mexico, Tanzania and a Catalan comrade who is a trade union coordinator of the European Network of Solidarity with Ukraine. With obvious inequalities between different regions and countries, this breadth qualitatively enriched the work of the congress. In turn, this diversity is also the result

of an innovative project of political construction that differentiates the ISL from other international organizations.

THE ISL: A DIFFERENT MODEL OF POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION

To build a strong international revolutionary organization, political achievements distanced from sectarianism and opportunism are a necessary but insufficient condition: they must be accompanied by a democratic methodology and mutual respect to allow uniting forces instead of dividing them. With this conviction, the ISL has been regrouping diverse revolutionary currents. From the Trotskyist movement, there are organizations that come from different tendencies. In turn, the comrades of Eastern Europe came from the independent trade unionism that advanced toward political action. And in cases like those of Lebanon or Kenya, they are splits to the left of the Communist youth.

The experience of all post-WWII Trotskyism amply demonstrates that those currents that aim to build around single thought have insurmountable limitations. No sector has led revolutions or built revolutionary parties with mass influence so as to present their “recipe” as infallible. In contrast, the diversity of geographical and organizational provenance united around principled political and programmatic bases that distinguishes the ISL, and its democratic meth-



od to debate disagreements, promote collective elaboration and intervention and seeks to bring together the best of each tradition to build a new, superior synthesis.

Another positive particularity of this second congress of the ISL, in contrast to the trend of divisions that is unfortunately so common in the global Trotskyist left, are the mergers taking place between revolutionary organizations: one already materialized in Brazil, between Alternativa Socialista and Luta Socialista, who have just co founded Socialist Revolution, and another that will consolidate soon in Colombia, between Impulso Socialista and the Grupo de Trabajadores Socialistas.

A PACKED AGENDA

After welcome and opening statements, the presidency of the congress was constituted with comrades Alejandro Bodart, of the MST of Argentina and Imran Kamyana of The Struggle of Pakistan, also coordinators of the ISL; Ezra Otieno, leader of the Kenyan RSL, and Chaia Ahmed Baba, a representative of the Saharawi youth. In the first two days, the debate revolved around three key points: the international political situation, the world economic crisis -which included the characterization and global role of China- and the war in Ukraine and the situation in Russia, Belarus and Eastern Europe in general.

There was agreement on the main features of the current period: the systemic capitalist crisis; global social and political polarization, with an unequal development of both poles; the sharpening of inter-imperialist conflict and the prospect of new rebellions, political crises and regional armed conflicts, with the rise of the workers and the people standing out as the most dynamic factor. At the same time, the conjunction of these elements generates political changes in consciousness, especially among the young working class and student vanguard, which, being more open to revolutionary ideas, offers better opportunities for our construction.

The congress then analyzed the capitalist economic crisis, with the fall in the profit rate as its engine, and the possibility of stagflation, which will sharpen the class struggle. The policy towards the war in Ukraine was also ratified, a development that has generated strong debates

Participating Organizations

AFRICA

- Kenya (Revolutionary Socialist League)
- Tanzania (African Footprints, guest)
- Western Sahara (ISL)

AMERICA

- Argentina (MST in the FIT Unidad and FTS, guest)
- Brazil (Revolucion Socialista)
- Chile (Movimiento Anticapitalista)
- Colombia (Impulso Socialista and Grupo de Trabajadores Socialistas)
- Costa Rica (Partido Revolucionario de las y los Trabajadores)
- El Salvador (ISL)
- Mexico (Grupo Socialista Obrero, guest)
- Nicaragua (Movimiento Anticapitalista)
- Paraguay (Alternativa Socialista)
- Peru (Alternativa Socialista, Movimiento Anticapitalista and guests)
- United States (ISL and Collective Tempest, guest)
- Uruguay (Rumbo Socialista)
- Venezuela (Marea Socialista)

ASIA AND MIDDLE EAST

- Lebanon (YMC)
- Pakistan (The Struggle)
- Turkey (ISL in the Workers' Party of Turkey)

EUROPE

- Belarus (SMOT and leaders of the Independent Trade Unions)
- France (ISL and NPA-L'Etincelle, guest)
- Great Britain (ISL)
- Spanish State (Socialismo y Libertad)
- Ukraine (Ukrainian Socialist League)

OCEANIA

- Australia (Socialist Alternative, guest)

throughout the world left: the ISL combines support for the Ukrainian resistance with criticism of the capitalist government of Zelensky and the demand for the withdrawal of Russian troops with the denunciation of the imperialist role of NATO.

On the 12th and 13th, the congress addressed the current situation in other continents:

- Western Europe, with the powerful strikes and mobilizations taking place in France and Great Britain, imperialist powers whose labor movements have a great social prowess and its ascending dynamic can spread to other countries.
- The United States, where wage demands are resurfacing, and Latin America, with the popular rebellion in Peru, authoritarian governments in Central America, the new “pink” governments of Lula and Petro, and the challenges of an election year in Argentina.
- Africa, with its poverty and neocolonial dependence, bourgeois governments at the service of imperialist powers, the struggle of the Saharawi people against Moroccan oppression and significant opportunities to extend the presence of the ISL.
- The Middle East, with the ultra-Zionist offensive and the start of the third Palestinian Intifada, the Iranian rebellion, the Lebanese crisis, the workers’ strikes in Egypt and the Turkish elections amid growing anti-government discontent after the earthquake.
- There was also a session on Asia, with situations of great social inequality and reactionary governments or dictatorships in countries like Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, and oppressed nationalities like those of Kashmir and Balochistan.

The final day corresponded to the socio-environmental session, a problem of increasing importance that the ISL and its national sections in

several countries have been assuming as part of the anti-capitalist and socialist activity, especially among the youth. Throughout the entire agenda there were rich reports and interventions by direct protagonists of the events, as well as interesting contributions by comrades from other countries.

RESOLUTIONS AND TASKS TO ADVANCE

As a corollary to the successful congress, on the afternoon of Tuesday the 14th, the political documents that had been presented were voted on, after being improved with the details and additions that arose in the debate. Several specific resolutions on international events and campaigns were also voted on. Hence, the texts on the world situation, the economy, the war in Ukraine, the environment, gender oppression, Latin America, Europe, Africa, Palestine, Nicaragua, Belarus and Venezuela were approved.

After the report on assessment and orientation, a new International Executive Committee, whose membership reflects the growth of the organization, and a gender commission, were elected. In addition, it was resolved to promote the quarterly periodicity of our international magazine and also to organize the call for three interesting online events on topics under debate: economy and China, the socio-environmental issue and Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua.

With the joy and political certainty of having taken a firm step forward, the second congress of the ISL closed as befits a revolutionary and internationalist socialist organization: fists raised, singing the stanzas of The International. ✊





CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEBATE ON THE WORLD SITUATION

Towards more crises, wars and REVOLUTIONS

This document of analysis of the world situation and the politics revolutionaries should employ, written by our comrade Alejandro Bodart, was debated, enriched and approved unanimously at the II ISL World Congress.

The world order that emerged from the peaceful coexistence between imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy collapsed over 30 years ago. United States imperialism, apparently victorious in that “cold war,” believed that it would quickly manage to build a new order behind its absolute hegemony. But reality turned out to be much more complex. Without its counterrevolutionary partner, in a few years, the globalization and neoliberalism that they managed to impose began to crack and chaos to set in.

We are witnessing a world in turmoil. An increasingly polarized world, which is headed towards more and worse crises; towards wars and disputes between old declining powers and new ones that are preparing to vie for their

place; and to struggles, rebellions and revolutions in more and more places on the planet.

Those at the top can no longer govern as before, but those at the bottom fight with their arms shackled because they do not have a leadership that is up to the task. This has been preventing a conclusive definition between the two social classes that have been fighting for power for over a century, one consciously and the other unconsciously, without a leadership to lead them to victory.

Today, more than ever, the alternative for humanity is Socialism or Barbarism. This text, like all our activity, is at the service of continuing to advance in the construction of the only tool that can provide our class, the working class, with the necessary consciousness to face the final struggle for another society, in which people can live in harmony amongst ourselves and with nature: a revolutionary socialist party and international.

I. CAPITALISM IN ITS DEEPEST CRISIS

Capitalism is experiencing the worst crisis of its history, a systemic crisis greater than all the

previous ones. Economic, political, ecological, health, ideological and world hegemony crises combine and feed back into a civilizational crisis with no possible way out within the margins of capitalism.

The global economic crisis that erupted in 2008 is the biggest since the Great Depression of the 1930s. The world economy had not yet managed to recover from it when the Covid-19 pandemic paralyzed it and compounded its crisis, which then took another leap with the war in Ukraine. There is no recovery in sight; the IMF, the WTO and the OECD all see likely a new world recession, or something that will look very much like one, in 2023. Since the root of the crisis lies in the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, capitalism has no solution other than to increase exploitation.

The imperious pressure to try to recover prof-



itability leads both traditional, extreme right and reformist governments to apply austerity against the working peoples, thus precipitating rebellions, revolutions and political crises of regimes in every region of the world. The inability of capitalist governments of all stripes to solve the problems of the masses leads to increasing polarization and recurring rebellions that prevent regimes from constituting any stability and perpetuate the political crises. This, in turn, is fueled by the ideological crisis that has been growing since the collapse of the Washington Consensus with the 2008 crisis, with capitalism being increasingly questioned on a mass scale.

The fact that the 2008 crisis had its epicenter in the US, together with the military and geopolitical weakening of that powerhouse since its defeat in Iraq and Afghanistan, and China's eco-

nomic and geopolitical growth, generate a crisis of world hegemony. This is deepening with a growing inter-imperialist dispute over a shrinking mass of profits, intensifying inter-imperialist friction and placing the possibility of a nuclear world war back on the table.

The desperation to regain profitability also continues to deepen the catastrophic ecological crisis. Despite the annual reports of the UN Climate Change Conferences themselves, which present an increasingly alarming picture of the probability of crossing a point of no return in global warming that would endanger the survival of the human species; despite the ecological disasters that are multiplying throughout the world with fires, droughts, floods and other extreme weather events; capitalism sustains its polluting, destructive, and greenhouse gas-emitting methods of production far beyond any plan that could reverse current destructive dynamic. And it is unable to do anything else.

The Covid19 pandemic added another dimension to the systemic crisis of capitalism. On the one hand, it revealed that its productive mode generates lethal epidemics and pandemics. On the other hand, it demonstrated, with countless millions of deaths, the absolute incapacity of capitalism to deal with these pandemics. The health crisis did not end with the relative control of Covid19, whose causes remain intact, and is a permanent aspect of the crisis of the capitalist system.

Each dimension of the current systemic crisis demonstrates beyond a doubt the exhaustion of capitalism, which is no longer capable of developing productive forces or generating any progress for humanity. On the contrary, it perpetuates an unprecedented destruction of both nature and humanity, the two main sources of wealth. It does so by promoting the destruction of the environment, to the point of endangering its ability to sustain human life; it does so by generating pandemics that it is unable to control; it does so by deepening its dispute over profits that brings back the possibility of world wars and nuclear holocausts; it does so by taking us to the precipice of barbarism and extinction. At the same time, it is unable to stop or reverse its destructive dynamic, it cannot act against its imperative need to recover profitability above all else.

Those who predicted that the fall of the USSR capitalism would enable a new stage of expan-

sion and development have been denied by harsh reality. Capitalism has nothing but misery and destruction to offer humanity. All reformism is utopian, all possibilism is a scam.

Every project that has proposed to radicalize democracy, curb neoliberalism, redistribute wealth, or in any way improve conditions for the masses without destroying capitalism has ended in bitter failure. All the self-proclaimed progressive and nationalist governments ended up applying the same recipes of austerity as the neoliberal governments. Broad left projects like Syriza or Podemos, and radical figures like Boric and Pedro Castillo, likewise became administrators of austerity when they rose to government.

Not only is it impossible to implement great changes in favor of the masses within capitalism: even the most moderate measures are not tolerated by a system that collapses if exploitation is not intensified with austerity and repression. There is no margin for a Keynesian orientation, as some suggested during the pandemic, nor for reformist concessions.

For the same reason, the projects of the right and extreme right that manage to govern also fail and fall. Because they also are unable to meet the expectations for changes and solutions that they generate.

Today, no partial or substantive solution to the problems faced by the masses is possible without defeating the bourgeois class and its states. Capitalism must be destroyed and power must be seized to build a socialist society in which the working masses determine their destiny democratically.

II. FRICTIONS BETWEEN IMPERIALIST POWERS GROW

The relative weakening of the main world power, the United States, the growth of China as an economic and military power, and the intensification of the global dispute over surplus value since the 2008 crisis, have been deepening a dynamic of growing inter-imperialist friction and conflicts.

For US imperialism, the fall of the USSR meant the possibility of becoming the only global superpower. However, it also left it alone in the position of absorbing the effects of the global class struggle, which caused it a rapid erosion. The stagnation of US forces in Iraq and Afghan-

istan in the 2000s, and their subsequent defeat, has weakened them considerably on a global scale. Sub-imperialist powers achieved a greater margin to operate at the regional level and China began to emerge as a competitor on a global scale.

The US remained, and remains today, clearly the main imperialist power in the world. But the eagerness of others to occupy the spaces left by its relative weakening and the determination of the US to preserve and recover its hegemony generate a growing inter-imperialist friction.

The war in Ukraine is the most recent and acute example of this dynamic. Russia, the main power in the region of Eastern Europe, intends to recover the ground it lost after the dissolution of the USSR, while the US and NATO intend to maintain the ground they have gained and expand their own sphere of influence. This tension generated a particular situation in the region after Putin's decision to invade Ukraine, in turn unleashing the resistance of the Ukrainian people. NATO provides military aid to the Zelensky government, but avoids getting directly involved. Both the danger of the situation, which threatens to escalate into a greater conflict between nuclear powers, as well as the definition of both Russia and NATO to avoid crossing certain red lines that would escalate the conflict in a way that, at least for now, does not seem to suit them, are evident.

However, on a global scale, the most important conflict is between the US and China. The Asian giant already competes with the US economically. China long ago surpassed the US as the main trading partner of the European Union, Africa and South America. In recent years, it has even made progress in challenging leadership in the most technologically advanced sectors of production, which has led to the so-called "tariff war" between the two countries.

China is also pursuing a strategy to develop as a world power. The New Silk Road project involves colossal investments in infrastructure in dozens of countries, free trade agreements, millions in loan agreements that cede ports and other factors of sovereignty to China, and the establishment of the first Chinese military bases abroad.

On the other hand, the US does not want to give up any position and, since Biden's inauguration, has been aggressive in its attempt to re-es-

establish itself as the world's hegemonic power after a period of relative retreat during the Trump Administration.

China's nearest expansion plans involve the recovery of Taiwan and the establishment of its control in the South China Sea. This in particular and the above in general intensify China's friction with the US and its allies. The recent visit of US House of Representatives Speaker Nancy Pelosi to Taiwan is a sign of the United States' current aggressiveness. Nonetheless, the reluctance of the US to take effective action against China's advance, and China's refusal to openly support Russia in its invasion of Ukraine, are signs that, for now, it is not in either's interest to escalate the conflict.

Some sectors of the left ignore or minimize the intensification of global inter-imperialist friction, leaving themselves poorly armed to respond to the conflicts that break out. Others exaggerate the inter-imperialist conflict, as if we were already at the beginning of a third world war or witnessing its irreversible imminence, generally at the service of a campist orientation, considering one imperialist camp less bad than another. Or raising a mistaken defeatism in regional conflicts like the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which ends up benefiting Russian imperialism.

The reality is that an imminent or short-term world war is not the most likely hypothesis today. What there is, is a growing intensification of tensions between the imperialist factions. None of the powers yet sees itself in a position to face a global conflict. Nor are the existing blocs and alliances firm, as the war in Ukraine has shown. The contradictions between the US and the European Union, which has its own commercial and political relations with both Russia and China, show that the NATO allies do not have entirely the same interests. Even within Europe there are conflicting interests, as Brexit made clear. Likewise, China, which had been developing its collaboration with Russia, has taken a relative distance since the invasion of Ukraine.

Nonetheless, although a global escalation is not convenient for anyone today, the real struggle over surplus value in the midst of the crisis creates a dynamic towards growing conflict. Although the immediate perspective does not seem to be towards an open military confrontation between the different world powers, we cannot rule out that the dynamic may move in that direction

in the future. And we do have to expect general instability to prevail and more local or regional wars and conflicts to be likely.

We need to carry out the most precise analyses and characterizations possible of the current situation of the inter-imperialist dispute in order to develop the most appropriate policy and orientation to intervene and build our organizations in the current situation.

III: ONE YEAR OF WAR IN UKRAINE

The casualties caused by the Russian army's invasion are counted in tens of thousands and millions have been displaced. The destruction of the country's infrastructure amounts to billions of dollars. The war has deepened the economic and social crisis at the international level by provoking an increase in the prices of food and fuel, as well as contributing to the growth of the arms race in imperialist countries, to levels unprecedented in the last decades, reintroducing uncertainty about a possible nuclear outcome with unpredictable consequences if Putin's constant threats in this regard were to be carried out in the future.

Russia's territorial integrity was not under threat when Putin decided to invade Ukraine. Russia invaded Ukraine to subjugate it and to bring it back into its regional sphere of influence. Russia believed that it would achieve its objectives in a few days and that this would strengthen it not only regionally but in its relationship as a strategic partner of the emerging Chinese imperialism. But he did not take into account the fierce and heroic resistance of the Ukrainian people. Putin was unable to reach Kiev, remove Zelensky and prop up its own puppet government. He has been bogged down in a quagmire for a year now and still does not manage to completely control any region. He has suffered the loss of tens of thousands of men and a significant amount of weaponry. This forced him to recruit hundreds of thousands of new soldiers, to involve Belarus in the conflict and to receive material aid from Iran.

Before the invasion, NATO was weakened and the role of the US as the hegemonic imperialist power was being questioned. Now, though not overcoming their crisis, NATO and the US are stronger. Putin gave them an excuse to rearm militarily, to add countries to the alliance and to

recover part of the political authority that the US had lost among its allies.

To elaborate a correct policy it is necessary to understand the two processes that are combined in this conflict: the just defense by the Ukrainian people of their sovereignty and territorial integrity and, at the same time, the growing inter-imperialist dispute which, though present long before the invasion, has dangerously intensified since it began.

Much of the left has failed the test in this conflict and ended up aligning itself with Russian imperialism. The traditional campist left was joined by various currents identified with Trotskyism, who, with multiple arguments and focusing exclusively on the denunciation of NATO, refuse to support the Ukrainian resistance and its right to self-determination, thus placing themselves in Putin's trench.

During this year of war, there has not been an open military confrontation between NATO and Russia. That is why the slogan of *revolutionary defeatism* raised by various sectors is completely mistaken and ends up benefiting Putin. What we have seen so far is a war on Ukrainian territory provoked by the imperialist aspirations of Russia against a semi-colonial country, in addition to the exploitation of this situation by the US to strengthen its presence in Ukraine, Eastern Europe and internationally. So far none of the wings of imperialism seem willing to cross certain limits and make the conflict evolve into a global confrontation. That is why the US and Europe are reticent, rationing military aid and not setting foot in Ukraine, Russia is not advancing on NATO member countries and China, besides some statements, has not been directly involved in the war. However, they are playing with fire, putting humanity on the brink of a holocaust.

Regarding the US and European economic and military aid to Zelensky's government, it is important for us to be as objective as possible. It began late, once it had become clear that the resistance of the Ukrainian working people had prevented any hasty negotiations, and it was important in sustaining the defense of the Ukrainian army's positions. At the same time, it allowed Western imperialism to cynically pose as "defender of a just cause". But at no time has it served to define the war in favor of Ukraine. They have never sent state-of-the-art, long-range weaponry, nor will they do so.

The ISL has never joined in the demand for arms from Western imperialism and we oppose the arms race that has been unleashed in the world, but have also not supported the actions of boycotting the shipment of arms to Ukraine promoted by Putin's friends.

From the very beginning we have supported the right of the Ukrainian people to defend themselves against the invasion of their territory with all the means at their disposal. We have demanded the unconditional withdrawal of the Russian army, the dissolution of NATO and the withdrawal of Western imperialism from all of Eastern Europe. And on that base, we have raised a policy independent of Zelensky and warned against the colonialist intentions of NATO forces.



We stand for peace, but without annexations by Russia, and for the right to self-determination of the Ukrainian regions that request it, as long as it can be exercised freely, without the boot of the Russian oligarchy on their necks.

The comprehensiveness of this policy is based on the teachings of Leninism, it takes into account the combination of tasks that is posed, and it is meant to be raised among the working class and the youth of all countries, imperialist or dependent, in struggle against the bourgeoisie and the campist forces.

To support the Ukrainian resistance means to stand for the defeat of Russia in this conflict. Campists state that if Ukraine triumphs the US and NATO will be strengthened. The question we revolutionaries must ask ourselves is what would strengthen our class more, especially the working class of Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and the whole region. We have no doubt: the defeat and

expulsion of the Russian army by the Ukrainian resistance would invigorate the working class, liberate forces and could very possibly become the beginning of a revolutionary process in the whole region. In Ukraine, a victorious end to the war would provoke the workers to confront with renewed strength the anti-worker reforms that the Zelensky government took advantage of the war to implement. In Russia and Belarus the possibility of the revolutionary fall of the authoritarian governments of Putin and Lukashenko could open, which would provoke a social and political upheaval in chain reaction. While a Russian victory would strengthen the repressive regimes and governments that today crush any expression of resistance.

The possibilities of advancing in the construction of revolutionary alternatives in Eastern Europe are also intimately linked to the evolution of the war. We must push for the broadest unity of action against the war and in support of the Ukrainian resistance, at the same time strongly delimiting ourselves from NATO and Western imperialism.

Unfortunately, the claudicating orientation of the campists towards Russian imperialism and the confusions of their circumstantial allies have been preventing the formation of a mass movement behind a correct policy, and this plays in favor of the continuity of the war. This obliges us to redouble our initiatives and develop a permanent campaign to achieve the greatest possible visibility of our proposals.

IV. POLARIZATION, REGIME CRISIS AND SPACE FOR THE LEFT

We are witnessing an increasingly socially and politically polarized world with divided and confrontational societies. The crisis has deteriorated all regimes and traditional bourgeois and conciliatory parties. The masses increasingly see the possibility of resolving their issues through direct action, and not the mechanisms of the established institutions. We are witnessing a period of great social convulsions, strikes, rebellions and revolutions.

The enormous dimension of the crisis we are witnessing and the failure of nationalist, populist and center-left governments, which in the first years of the new century had aroused great expectations in the mass movement, have opened the door to the growth of conservative and right-wing forces in practically all countries. The mass

media has been playing a very important role in this development.

The right-wing in power has also been unable to make progress in stabilizing the economic situation and applying the program they propose. In most cases they failed in the face of the resistance of the working people. This allowed, in some cases, for the old center-left forces to return to government without the same expectation on the part of the mass movement as previously, and in other cases, for new forms of the same type of government to emerge. This alternation of a new bipartisanship, not based on solid bourgeois or social-democratic parties as in the past, but rather on coalitions with little structure and social control, is part of the current stage we are experiencing.

The crisis of *democracy*, which is being discussed in ever wider circles of Western academia, reflects the erosion of *bourgeois democratic regimes* and *traditional parties* after decades of frustrations and deterioration of the living standards of the masses. Although dominant imperialism continues in general to bet on bourgeois democracy, because it still considers it the most effective maneuver to channel the mobilization and upheavals of the masses, the growing disbelief for institutional mechanisms forces them to appeal more and more to repression and authoritarianism.

The crisis of the mechanisms of domination is opening wider spaces to dispute for influence in layers of the masses. The extreme right is taking advantage of this to position itself among the most conservative and backward sectors of the mass movement. We revolutionary socialists have to boldly deploy all the initiatives, orientations and tactics within our reach to begin to capitalize the space that also exists for the extreme left, and will tend to enlarge with the worsening of the crisis. To capitalize it, besides being at the vanguard of the struggles, we must raise deep rooted proposals, not only against the governments but also against the regimes, the treacherous leaderships and make propaganda in favor of the system for which we are fighting and the need to regroup the revolutionaries.

We cannot lose sight of the fact that, at the same time, there is a great number of new capitalist states, with billions of people, where bourgeois democracy never became institutionalized. In others it was abandoned long ago. China,

Russia, Iran, Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Syria and dozens of Arab and African countries have authoritarian regimes and very little margin to grant democratic freedoms and stay in power. That is why they unleash brutal repressions when the mass movement rises up against them. In the processes of mobilization taking place in some of these countries we must participate actively and not give in to the campism that always seeks to discredit mass actions and justify repression “*so as not to play into the hands of imperialism.*” Supporting genuine expressions of discontent with a policy that differentiates itself from both the right and imperialism as well as from authoritarian capitalist governments in left-wing garb is crucial to contest the vanguard and mass layers in these places. An example of how we should act in relation to these processes was the successful international *Campaign and Caravan for the freedom of political prisoners in Nicaragua* that we promoted from the ISL, which allowed us to demonstrate in deeds that Ortega and his regime have nothing to do with the left and socialism. That Campaign was decisive in achieving the subsequent release of political prisoners. Another example is the development of our group in Ukraine based on a correct position in the face of the invasion and the different imperialist wings.

V. ADVANCES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE FAR RIGHT

As a political expression of the world-wide social polarization, in many countries not only right-wing forces but also far-right forces are growing. The depth of the crisis that capitalism is in and the retreat of the traditional two-party systems allow them to appear as a political-electoral alternative to middle class, poor and even working class sectors. In different variants, their discourse combines neoliberal, anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim, racist, anti-gender rights, environmental disaster denial, populist and pro “freedom,” pro natives of the country and youth positions.

The defeats of Trump and Bolsonaro have weakened this sector globally, but, in turn, they have shown a significant social base and links to religious, judicial and military sectors. It is a non-transitory political phenomenon that is here to stay. In Europe, they have a presence in all parliaments and govern in several countries, like Italy, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. Already

in a counter-revolutionary state, the Zionist ultra-right has also won in Israel.

On all continents, reformism exaggerates the strength of the right and the ultra-right in order to try to justify its strategy of class conciliation under the eternal excuse of the “lesser evil.” Its traps are political and electoral pacts and/or support for bourgeois governments, which should not be confused with the necessary unity in action to promote mobilizations against neo-fascists and more extremist forces.

The propaganda that the only thing advancing in the world is the right wing and fascism is also fed by pessimist sectors of the Marxist left, which, due to this unbalanced vision of reality, end up falling into the opportunism of what is “possible” or into testimonial sectarianism.



We revolutionaries must question any overestimation of the ultra-right, without committing the opposite mistake of minimizing it. On the contrary, its evolution must be followed with great attention, since it constitutes a current and potential danger.

Despite some elements in common, the current ultra-right forces differ from classical fascism and Nazism in that they have so far acted within the limits of bourgeois-democratic institutional-ity. And there are still no important sectors of the imperialist bourgeoisie that have decided to use the extreme right to attack the working class and the people with methods of civil war. However, in several countries violent direct actions are growing, promoted by the reactionary discourse of this sector or directly organized by them, for example against migrants or the radical left.

Also, some governments of the right and even of the “center-left,” as the economic crisis reduces to a minimum the margins for concessions, in order

to impose their austerity plans, adopt an authoritarian course and increase their repressive and military budgets, sometimes even with dictatorial traits. Consequently, there will be harsher confrontations with the mass movement and at the same time, together with the economic-social demands, it is necessary to maintain the defense of democratic rights, liberties and guarantees. Wherever the youth organizes to culturally confront the neo-fascist gangs, our youth have to participate.

VI. THE REBELLION ADVANCES AND SPREADS. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE RISE. THE STRATEGIC ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS.

For several years, we have been witnessing a sustained rise in the class struggle at the international level. At the current juncture, the highest point is being led by the impoverished masses of Peru and the working class in France and the United Kingdom. But since 2018 we have seen general strikes, mass mobilizations, semi-insurrections and rebellions in a large number of countries. This, and not the growth of the right wing, is what is most dynamic about the world situation.

2018 saw the eruption of the yellow vests in France, the youth rebellion in Nicaragua, women's struggles began to flood the streets and an uprising in Sudan greeted 2019, a year in which the rise took a spectacular leap: Chile and Lebanon rose and mobilizations became massive in Hong Kong, Iraq, Ecuador, Haiti, Puerto Rico, Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras.

In 2020, although the onset of the pandemic partially slowed down the rise, it did not prevent huge mobilizations in the US following the assassination of George Floyd, which reactivated the Black Lives Matter movement on an international level. In Belarus, an uprising against electoral fraud put the dictator Lukachenko against the ropes, there were new revolts in Lebanon and Iraq, general strikes in India, Myanmar and protests in Iran, Algeria, Bolivia and the *Fora Bolsonaro* movement took to the streets in Brazil.

In 2021 the rebellion spread to Colombia, there were large mobilizations in Cuba, Paraguay, Russia, and 2022 started with an uprising in Kazakhstan, the organization of a massive resistance of the Ukrainian working people to face the Russian invasion, national strikes in Ecuador and Panama, a semi-insurrection in Sri Lanka, and ended with

strikes in Europe and the revolution that still continues in Peru.

Although the epicenter of the rise has been Latin America and the Middle East, there have been processes and rebellions in all latitudes, evidencing that we are going through a new world stage. The strike wave in the United Kingdom is also very important, since it shows a qualitative change after a couple of decades conditioned by the defeat of Margaret Thatcher to the heroic struggle of the miners; as well as the mobilization process in France against the pension reform.

The most important contradiction continues to be the absence of revolutionary leaderships with sufficient accumulation in the workers' movement to influence the outcome of the struggles and semi-insurrections that have been developing. This is the basic explanation of why the majority of these processes do not achieve categorical victories, are diverted by the mechanisms of *democratic reaction* or defeated by state repression.

We need to take some time and analyze the weaknesses of the rise and discuss how we counteract them. In most of the most acute processes, the working class did not participate with force and in an organized manner. The semi-insurrections have a popular composition, where workers intervene but individually and not through their union organizations. These, mostly controlled by pro-bourgeois and conciliatory bureaucracies, work from the beginning to prevent the working class from becoming a protagonist. Up to now we have not witnessed significant overpowering of the old labor leaders and the general strikes and mobilizations that they are forced to call are used to decompress and not to deepen the struggle. Since the working class is not the vanguard, the emergence of democratic organizations and the coordination of the different sectors in struggle is not facilitated either.

The rebellion shaking Peru has all these weaknesses. However, it has already been going on for two months and they have not been able to stop it. The peasant masses, the native peoples, the youth and the poor are leading a true revolution. While the illegitimate government of Dina Boluarte together with the corrupt Congress deepen the repression, sectors of the right, the center-left and the bureaucracy of the CGTP unite in calling for an anticipation of the elections to divert the rebellion towards the ballot boxes. The stick and the carrot to try to keep a dead regime and a collapsed system on its feet.

In Peru, the slogan of the Constituent Assembly is very deeply felt in the mass movement, as it was in the Chilean rebellion. But we have to alert the mass movement that without first defeating the government and dismantling the institutional-ity set up by Fujimorism, something that can only be achieved by deepening the mobilization, a constituent election can be transformed into a trap, as happened in Chile. That is why this slogan cannot be the center of the revolutionaries' politics. What is central is the continuity of the mobilization and the demand to the central workers' union to call a general strike until the government falls and the call for the organizations of the sectors in struggle to take power. Only in this way will it be possible to take the most urgent measures in favor of the popular majorities and call for a free and sovereign Constituent Assembly to reorganize the country on new bases.

We have to draw conclusions from the processes in which we are participating. To make precise and objective analyses, the only way to have correct policies to intervene and build our organizations by winning the best fighters for our organizational methods and our program.

Capitalists are not currently strong enough to inflict historic defeats on the struggles that are developing and although the problems of leadership of our class and the popular sectors do not allow those struggles to resolve the capitalist crisis in their favor, they will continue to fight against the attacks on living standards and growing authoritarianism. That is why the perspective we visualize is towards a deepening of the upswing, with more strikes, mobilizations and recurrent rebellions

Our challenge is to take advantage of this new stage in each country to train our younger cadres, to insert ourselves socially and politically in the working class and the most dynamic sectors of the mass movement and to take leaps in our construction, being aware that we are only at the beginning of a process that will tend to deepen and will give us multiple opportunities to advance.

Only if we advance in the construction of strong revolutionary socialist organizations and manage to lead sectors of our class in this stage will we be able to transform ourselves into an objective factor that will counteract the weaknesses of the processes, help the workers' movement to play the strategic role that is needed and to contest power in the coming rebellions and revolutions that will take place. Only in this way will we get

the *pre-revolutionary* situation we are in to not end up retrating, to become *revolutionary* and allow us to change history.

VII. ECOSOCIALISM AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE REVOLUTION

The socio-environmental catastrophe provoked by the matrix of production, consumption and the private-monopolistic property regime of capitalism presents us with possibly one of the most imposing challenges of our historical time: to activate a true rescue operation of our civilization, snatching from capital and the imperialist bourgeoisie all the levers of the economy and reorganizing everything on new bases. Far from all the scientifically irrefutable recommendations on the need to begin an urgent post-fossil energy transition, the world is witnessing a leap in petro-dependence and re-carbonization. The war in Ukraine, by limiting supply, only encouraged investment in the most damaging forms of energy production and increased global warming. The major corporations are deploying a renewed offensive of extractivist imperialism on a global scale: mega-mining, agribusiness and even cementing in the world's major urban enclaves. The irrationality of capital, fueled by the law of profit, is responsible for the extreme weather events that we see from Australia and South Asia, to Western Europe, South America or the Caribbean with dire consequences for the poor masses.

At the same time, we are in a tough ideological struggle in the face of this scenario. The right-wing denialists are straightforwardly absurd in their proposals. However, they play a confusing role that we have to fight. The variants of green capitalism propose to "incentivize" polluting capitalists themselves for an ecological reconversion: a reactionary utopia. Another unsustainable chimera is spread by reformism: the *Green New Deal* promoted by the left wing of the Democrats in the US, as a kind of green Keynesianism, which in the end fosters the false idea that the disaster can be reversed without affecting the private property of the big hydrocarbon monopolies, coexisting with polluting capital: a complete lie.

There are also debates in the marxist left, from currents of a closed dogmatism that refuse to assume the need to rethink programmatic measures and enrich the heritage of revolutionary socialism, to green revisionism, which romanticizes new subjects and postpones the working class as the artic-

ulating axis and the world revolutionary party for action as a strategy. With certain influence among activists, there are two authors who contribute elements of analysis and at the same time propose solutions we do not share: Kohei Saito's "degressive communism" or Andreas Malm's logic of sabotage and civil resistance, opposed to expropriation, democratic planning and the dismantling of the bourgeois state.

On the other hand, activism is growing. It gained international strength in 2018 with the well-known climate strikes, and has had important regional expressions around the world, where even, albeit incipiently, organic sectors of the working class begin to play a role with their own methods. Until now, the predominant actor has been and currently is the youth, along with extended and growing sympathy in other layers of the mass movement. Our responsibility as revolutionary and internationalist socialists consists in being the best militant activists of these struggles, linking ourselves to the best of their vanguard, intervening in international, regional and national events on the subject, putting forward our anti-systemic, revolutionary, ecosocialist and internationalist way out, trying to recruit the best elements for the construction of the ISL and its sections. In this strategic path, the tactic of building a powerful ecosocialist current of ideas and militant action in the socio-environmental movement, as an organization of the ISL and its national sections, is a hypothesis of intervention and construction that we will have to explore according to the specific conditions in each country or region.

Our programmatic axes propose to expropriate the polluters; industrial, energetic and professional reconversion of the workers themselves, for a production matrix that aims to ensure values of necessary social use, with workers' control of production, national, regional and international democratic planning, abolishing private property, national borders and betting on the strategy of collaboration without imperialist asymmetries among the peoples of the world. The social-cultural re-education of mass consumption, not because of an "ethic of deprivation" but for the conscious and non-alienated enjoyment of all the wealth produced by the working class, will be a task to be faced in the framework of a global social revolution along with the support of technological innovation for these purposes, and not to replace human labor for private profitability. Marx said

that capitalism had fractured the metabolism between civilization and nature by depleting the two main sources of wealth creation: labor and ecosystems. Our strategic task is to restore this dialectic under a different social rationality, with a different human and universal logic: world socialism with democracy and awareness of the physical limits of nature.

VIII. GENDER: EBB IN THE WAVE, STRUGGLES AND DEBATES

From 2015 to 2019, with inequalities by country and region, there was a true wave of the feminist movement on a global scale and, to a lesser extent, of the LGBT movement. Among others, its main drivers were the mobilization against gender-based violence and the right to legal abortion, the latter advance having been conquered in Argentina, Ireland and other countries.

The dynamic of this wave is not powerful anymore, rather there is a kind of ebb. Some achievements of the struggle, the pandemic and the reactionary conservative counter-offensive have led to the current impasse. This does not imply that processes of struggle do not emerge, but they do not reach the magnitude and radicalization of the previous period.

The highest point of the latest period has been the process of mobilization of women in Iran against the mandatory use of the Islamic veil, initiated after the assassination of Mahsa Amini by the religious police, which, in turn, detonated the accumulated popular discontent in a full blown rebellion against the theocratic and capitalist dictatorial regime of the *mullahs*.

The curtailment of abortion rights in the US is part of a reactionary political-religious counter-offensive. Thus, we are in a struggle between cutting rights versus defending or expanding them. In order to reverse its systemic crisis, capitalism attacks all rights: economic-social, labor and union, pension, human, democratic and civil, environmental rights, and also the rights of women and LGBT and non-binary people. There are struggles as a response. It is key to intervene in those struggles since there is a radical youth vanguard that takes part in them, which quickly has its experience with the institutions and parties of the system, breaks with them and is open to revolutionary ideas. Among the main competing organizations and ideologies we can point out:

- Reformism of all kinds, whose apparatuses still maintain relative influence and whose orientation is to slow down and divert the progressive processes of struggle and organization towards institutional ways.
- “Radical” feminism, or *radfem*, which places as its main enemy the patriarchy and men/males, outside the social class structure, thus being functional to capitalism.
- Identity politics, which, by giving political and organizational priority to existing differences (race, gender, migrants, etc.), lead to divisionism and weaken struggles. It is the most anti-party revolutionary current.
- Mandelism, which proposes an “autonomous” feminist movement and considers the labor movement in similar rank to the LGBT, environmental or anti-racist movements, diluting the leading role of social class.

Faced with these erroneous positions, we raise a militant socialist and revolutionary feminism. Patriarchal oppression is intrinsic to capitalist exploitation, since unpaid domestic work yields economic benefits to the bourgeoisie. We also avoid sectarian abstentionism in the face of these struggles: with over 40% of workers being women, plus other LGBT people, who suffer greater unemployment, precariousness and lower incomes, gender issues are part of the daily life of the working class itself.

IX. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE YOUTH

The youth is particularly affected by the crisis of capitalism in all its expressions. Unemployment among young people worldwide far exceeds, often doubling, that of the general population. They are the most affected by precarious work and instability. Austerity policies also restrict access to public education and degrade its quality. Throughout the world the proportion of young people who neither study nor work is growing, and they are also criminalized, persecuted and frequently murdered by the repressive apparatuses of the bourgeois states. Capitalism offers nothing to the youth, it leaves them without opportunities, without a life project, without hope and without a future.

It is no coincidence that it is the youth who most easily and frequently come to the conclusion that they have nothing to lose, stand at the forefront of the rebellions and revolutions that sweep the world and raise the most radical positions. The youth is the vanguard of the rise of the class struggle in recent years. They raised and held the front line of the rebellions in Chile and Colombia; they were at the forefront of the Black Lives Matter rebellion in the US and of the uprisings in Latin America, Lebanon, Iran and Iraq; they are today at the head of the general strikes and mass mobilizations in France and the insurrection in Peru; and in general they are at the forefront of all the processes of mobilization, rebellions and revolutions, as well as among the most active and militant layers in the labor movement, in the strikes and in the processes of trade union leadership renewal.



More prominently, the youth is the driving force behind movements and struggles in defense of the environment, women's rights and the LGBT movement, issues that concern and move young people in particular. Although in these years there have been no major student movements, the defense and struggle for public education is also an important and sensitive issue for young people.

Because of all this, the youth has always been, and is even more so in this situation of systemic crisis of capitalism and rise of class struggle, a strategic sector for the construction of revolutionary parties. Only by engaging the radicalized youth that makes up the vanguard of the mobilization processes and winning them to the strategic exit of the world socialist revolution will we be able to build our parties and our International with the best of the vanguard of the world class struggle.

X. LET US BUILD PARTIES WITH MASS INFLUENCE AND A POLE OF INTERNATIONAL REGROUPMENT

The dynamics of the capitalist crisis presents us with the conclusion that the only possibility of interrupting this accelerated course towards barbarism and extinction to which the current ruling class is leading us is with the triumph of the world socialist revolution. The masses are doing their part; year after year rebellions and revolutions are taking place in all regions of the world. But in none, until now, has there been a revolutionary organization with the accumulation, influence, capacity and intention to contest and win the leadership of these processes to lead them towards socialist revolution. This remains the biggest of all problems.

We have seen all attempts to combat or evade this problem fail. The autonomist theories that flourished after the fall of the USSR, that said that the world could be changed without taking power, have been repeatedly refuted by reality. Whenever power has remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the latter has used it to crush every movement that has challenged it.

Some question the validity of building revolutionary parties by questioning whether their strategic objective is possible. If the revolution is not possible, an organization whose existence is based on leading it is useless. If the only objective is to fight for democratic and social improvements within the capitalist system, it is better to limit oneself to building broad parties with a program limited to those demands.

We maintain that this perspective is mistaken, pessimistic, possibilist and reformist. The only thing preventing the triumph of the socialist revolution at present is the absence of revolutionary organizations structured in the workers' movement and with sufficient influence to contest the leadership of the revolutionary processes that effectively take place one after the other and will undoubtedly continue to take place. Consequently, our strategic task is to build these revolutionary, Leninist organizations based on the training of professional cadres and a democratic and centralized regime for the struggle for power.

Since we do not intend to build testimonial sects but to gain mass influence and recruit the best of the vanguard, we have to be open to participating in certain broad anti-capitalist experiences when these manage to capture the sympathy of important sec-

tors of workers and youth who turn to the left. That is why, without ever losing our political and organizational independence, we are part of the left wing of the PSOL in Brazil. But we cannot confuse these or other tactics, such as the FITU in Argentina, with our strategy, which involves the construction of Bolshevik parties. These tactics are useful insofar as they help us to build the revolutionary party. Experience shows that they do not last forever. We have to be prepared for when they cease to be progressive and reality forces us to delimit ourselves.

All our organizations, from the largest to the smallest, must have an orientation to build themselves in the most dynamic sectors of the working class and pay particular importance to the industrial proletariat. Both to be a national reference to the vanguard, as well as to have influence in periods of rising class struggle and even more when there are rebellions such as those we are witnessing in some countries and it is fundamental to lead sectors of our class. The work and growth in the youth, which is key for the formation of cadres, has to be at the strategic service of increasingly structuring ourselves in the working class.

A fundamental tool for building our national groups and parties has been the existence and dynamism that our International Socialist League has been acquiring. At the same time, the growth we are achieving at an international level shows that there are increasingly favorable conditions in the world for advancing in the regroupment of revolutionaries.

The strength of the ISL lies in its project, which attempts to unite in the same organization comrades coming from different traditions, not only on principled programmatic bases, but also and fundamentally on a healthy method of mutual respect, without impositions of any kind, and deeply democratic, to try to advance towards a new tradition that surpasses the existing ones.

Propagandizing the ISL project in each of our countries and strongly promoting international campaigns and initiatives that emerge from it can not only allow us to transform our world regrouping into a pole of attraction, but also help us in a qualitative way to take new leaps in our construction. 🌱

Share this article
online



Key aspects of Marxist analysis and policy in the face of **RUSSIA'S IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION AGAINST UKRAINE** and **NATO'S IMPERIALIST** policy

This resolution that summarizes the analysis, characterization and policy towards the war in Ukraine was discussed and approved at our II World Congress.

Shortly after World War II, the two allies in the war - the USSR and the United States - carved up parts of the world into their respective "spheres of influence." The United States

dominated Western Europe and Latin America (among other countries), while the USSR dominated Eastern Europe, parts of Africa, and Southeast Asia. They had a Cold War, which included many proxy wars.

The military power of both superpowers was more or less comparable. However, the USSR gradually lost the arms race until it fell significantly behind the United States; and the same happened with its economy.



After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Ukraine became an independent state through a referendum held in 1991.

The land of Ukraine and its people were under the rule of Tsarist Russia for many centuries, during which the Russian state oppressed and exploited Ukraine economically, culturally and politically, as any imperialist state would. After the October Revolution of 1917, Lenin and Trotsky took an internationalist Marxist position towards the oppressed peoples and the revolutionary state allowed them the full right to self-determination, including the right to secede. The goal was to create a voluntary socialist federation in the region and, ultimately, throughout the world. However, a few years later, under Stalin's government, Lenin's Marxist position on the national question was canceled and replaced by a chauvinistic and repressive policy.



The collapse of the Soviet Union was instigated not only by discontent within Russia (fueled by the crisis of the bureaucratically planned economy, censorship, state repression, etc.), but also, in part, by the sentiments of national deprivation of the peoples of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, seeking to free themselves from the chokehold of Russian dominance and control (commonly known as “Russification”), which the counter-revolutionary Soviet bureaucracy adopted as a policy after the death of Lenin and the forced exile of Trotsky from the USSR.

In this context, the sentiments of national deprivation and oppression have always been present in the working masses of Ukraine; and

the Russian state (“Russia”) has always been perceived as an oppressor and imperialist force.

After the collapse of the USSR, Russia degenerated into a capitalist country under an authoritarian regime of a “gangster/mafioso” character. Over the years, Putin became an authoritarian representative of the reactionary and corrupt class of Russian capitalists who first, as part of the Stalinist bureaucracy, looted and destroyed the Soviet Union and then became billionaires through the theft and plunder of public assets during the privatizations.

It is true that even in the midst of its crisis, US imperialism is still currently the most powerful imperialism on the planet and that is why we confront and denounce all its policies and actions internationally. However, in much of Eastern Europe and Central Asia it is still Russia that plays an oppressive role over other peoples and its objective is to try to extend its rule as much as possible.

Therefore, regardless of how any of us considers the former Soviet Union (“a degenerated workers state” or “state capitalism”), there is no doubt that in 2022, when Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, it displayed the actions of a capitalist state of an imperialist nature whose objective is to try to strengthen its influence throughout the region and in the world. Its military and economic power is unmatched by Ukraine.

Imperialist rulers never acknowledge their true motives for invading other countries. The United States and its allies claimed they were trying to “defeat fascism” in World War II, though in reality it was a conflict between imperialists for world dominance. Similarly, the invasion of Iraq was justified with the claim that Iraq possessed “weapons of mass destruction.” Such lame excuses can be found throughout the history of imperialist invasions.

Russia claims its invasion of Ukraine is aimed at “denazifying” the country and stopping “genocide.” But the results of parliamentary elections in Ukraine clearly show that only 2% of the Ukrainian population supports far-right nationalists, which is lower than in France, Germany, Italy and most other European countries.

Putin also claims that NATO expansion forced Russia to invade Ukraine to protect itself from Western imperialism. But Russia is itself

an imperialist power, with the largest army in Europe and the largest nuclear arsenal in the world. In terms of per capita income, Russia surpasses Ukraine's economic capacity by at least four times. In terms of this indicator, it is in a similar proportion to Pakistan and Afghanistan. In addition, the population of Russia is 140 million, while in Ukraine it is only 35.

Lenin's analyzes of wars between nations always began and ended with the analysis of which path would strengthen or weaken the international working class movement. It is very important to note that Lenin clearly differentiated between "oppressor nations" and "oppressed nations." He understood that when workers in oppressive countries side with their own ruling class against the peoples they conquer or otherwise oppress, it weakens the international working class movement. This is simply because it divides workers from different countries from each other when their class interests are common. Imperialist invasions are only beneficial to the ruling class of the oppressor countries. Therefore, when the workers of the oppressor countries support an imperialist invasion, they are going against their own class interests for two reasons: 1) they help to strengthen their own class enemy at home; 2) they sow mistrust and division among their class brothers and sisters in the invaded country.

The right of oppressed nations to self-determination must include their right to resist imperialist invasion in whatever way they choose. In fact, it has been this strong resistance that has been making Putin's military plans in Ukraine very difficult. Again, it is about the working class. Supporting the right of ordinary Ukrainians to resist the Russian invasion does not mean political support for the Ukrainian ruling class against the Russian ruling class.

Putin's invasion of Ukraine has only strengthened the weakening position of NATO on the global scale and has given it justification of further expansion. It has also given Zelensky's regime a bright chance of implementing all kinds of anti working class, anti democratic policies which must be resisted and fought against with full force of class solidarity and socialist program.

The policy of revolutionary defeatism is not appropriate here, as it only applies to wars between imperialists, especially when they are



Resolution on IMPRISONED BELARUSIAN LABOR ACTIVISTS

April 19 will mark one year since the imprisonment of the unjustly persecuted labor leaders and activists of the Independent Trade Union of Belarus. For this reason, the Solidarnast platform, which brings together Belarusian workers in exile, will convene an act in Bremen, Germany, and carry out an international campaign demanding: release the imprisoned workers, elimination of criminal charges.

The ISL resolves:

To carry out a solidarity campaign with articles, videos and greetings to Belarusian workers in exile and actions at Belarusian embassies around the world demanding the freedom of Belarusian political working class prisoners. 🐦

Share this article
online





fought on a global scale. In this case, Ukraine is not an imperialist power.

Furthermore, despite all the military and financial support of Western imperialism for the Ukrainian state, NATO has not yet entered the war directly. They have thus far not wanted to take concrete steps in this direction, and neither has China. So this is not yet a global and inter-imperialist war. But if such a situation were to arise (which would be extremely catastrophic and terrible), revolutionaries would certainly have to rearrange our politics, by responding, in the first place and as a central element, to an inter-imperialist war and our rejection of it, and from that point continue to support the right of the oppressed people to defend their nation and decide their destiny. If this qualitative change in the inter-imperialist dispute ever occurs, the ISL leadership will respond based on its socialist program and strategy.

Regarding the current situation of the war in Ukraine, we find it necessary to refer here to the strategy of Marxist teachers in similar situations. In the context of the imperialist invasion by Japan of semi-colonial China, Trotsky had proposed the policy of fighting against the Japanese invaders for the Chinese working masses, without abandoning their political program and organizational class independence. Western imperialist forces were fully involved in this conflict and at different times provided financial, military, political and diplomatic aid to the Chinese nationa-

lists against Japan. Among them were the United States, Great Britain and Australia.

During the Russian Revolution, in the period of Kornilov's possible advance towards Petrograd, the Bolsheviks decided to carry out a political struggle against the Kerensky government and a military struggle against Kornilov's forces within the same strategy. A similar policy was proposed by Trotsky during the Spanish Civil War, which involved a political struggle against the Stalinists and Social Democrats, on the one hand, and a military struggle against Franco's forces, on the other. In any similar situation it is important to take into account the balance of forces and analyze it from the interests of our class.

Obviously, the self-proclaimed anti-imperialist leftists who directly or indirectly support and justify Putin's attack are making a very serious mistake. In the same way, the application of the policy of revolutionary defeatism in these circumstances is tantamount to strengthening Russian aggression. Many of these groups are so mistaken that they refuse to recognize Russia not only as an imperialist power, but also as a capitalist state. Such ideologically unsustainable and opportunistic tendencies are doomed to fail.

On the other hand, supporting or being apologetic toward NATO or supporting the bourgeois government of Zelensky in Ukraine is in equal measure a grave ideological and political mistake. We support the resistance of the Ukrainian people from an independent

position, in opposition to the government and in favor of the global interests of the working class. This is what we have been doing by denouncing, in the midst of the war, the measures of the Ukrainian government that affect the social, union and democratic rights of workers and denouncing all pro-IMF or pro-European Union economic policies.

In the current circumstances, calling on Ukrainian workers to ignore Russian aggression and take up arms against the Ukrainian state is tantamount to supporting Russian imperialist aggression. But if subjective and objective conditions similar to those in Russia in 1917 were to emerge, in which Ukrainian workers are able to defeat the Russian aggression and overthrow the Zelensky government and capitalism in the Ukraine, then there must not be a moment's hesitation in realizing this historical task.

The task of overthrowing the Zelensky's government in Ukraine is a revolutionary one and belongs only to the Ukrainian working mass. No foreign power has the right to decide for the Ukrainian working class.

Right now, the campaign to end the war and the Russian invasion of the Ukraine must be carried out with a broader anti-capitalist program, starting with class support for ordinary Ukrainians resisting the Russian invasion. The Russian aggression must be condemned and the immediate withdrawal of its troops must be demanded; because a victory of the Ukrainian people will weaken the Putin regime and open a new situation favorable to the very important Russian working class and to all the peoples of Eastern Europe, and, at the same time, intensify the struggle of our class against all the governments that try to apply anti-worker and anti-popular plans. On the basis of our defense of the right of the Ukrainian people to be a free country, we also say that in the areas of the Donetsk, Luhansk and Crimean territories, we stand for the right to self-determination of their population, without the presence of Russian troops so that it be a truly democratic decision.

At the same time, we not only demand the withdrawal of NATO from all of Eastern Europe, but also the complete dissolution of NATO and the annulment of all its pacts and military plans that exist in the service of its expansionist

policy. We also express our rejection of all the warmongering policies of Western imperialism and the increases of the military budgets in their countries. In addition, we reject the economic sanctions that affect the lives of the Russian population and working families. And, of course, we demand the freedom of those inside Russia who fight against the war. We also present a program of revolutionary expropriation of all the wealth and assets of the Russian and Ukrainian ruling classes.

The historical position of Lenin and Trotsky on the national question must be reaffirmed, and, as a fundamental solution, a voluntary socialist confederation of all the peoples of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia must be presented, without any resurgence of imperial influence and without inequali-



ty between peoples. And to develop our policy against the war, we continue to strive to strengthen a revolutionary organization within Ukraine as we have been doing with the Ukrainian Socialist League, as well as in the rest of Eastern Europe through other ISL comrades who make an effort there to spread our internationalist and socialist positions.

Based on this characterization and this policy, the ISL must continue promoting and participating in mobilizations and other united actions of solidarity in all countries of the world where possible and maintain the international campaign of support for our Ukrainian comrades. 🐦

Share this article online



Global Economy: Under the sign of **UNCERTAINTY AND FRAGILITY**

BY MARIANO ROSA

The recent II World Congress of the ISL in Barcelona addressed the Global Economy as the theme of one of its sessions. The day before this debate, the global agenda was dominated by alarming news for the elite of financial capital: the Silicon Valley Bank was collapsing. This event, which anticipated a chain of runs on other emblematic entities, seemed to confirm the nature of the world-economy at this stage: uncertainty and chronic fragility. With this article we introduce the central problematic knots of the document approved at the ISL event.

The Californian Silicon Valley Bank (SVB), became the most important bankruptcy since the 2008 crisis. This entity took deposits and lent to companies mainly in the US technology sector. What happened with this bank, paradoxically, is that it bet the bulk of its assets on US Treasury bonds and the new Fed policy of increasing rates questioned the stability of that investment, causing its value to fall. The SVB's countermove of trying to sell \$2.25 billion in new shares to try to shore up its balance sheet, spread panic among key California tech companies that held their cash in SVB. There was a classic run and the bank imposed a withdrawal restriction. Thus, the company's shares plummeted (since a central part of its potential value

lies in the security it offers) and dragged other banks down with it. Within a few days, it was followed by the collapse of the crypto-bank Signature, and First Republic. In Europe, Credit Suisse, with 167 years of history, faltered. In the belly of imperialism, the national banking authority operated a bailout to avoid further bleeding. It amounts to an eventual de facto nationalization. The Swiss Central Bank acted in the same way. Is it lightning out of a clear sky? The most accurate interpretation is that we are facing the anticipation of a probable storm. The size of the fictitious leverage between the declared value of many banks and their actual accountable value, causes sudden swings in the value of the invested businesses, making everything totter like a house of cards. What happens is that the banks hide the real value of their losses and that causes the market to overestimate them. When there are runs, depositors rush to recover their deposits and entities do not have the money to return. This is the circuit. According to a Financial Times report from a few days ago, the value of unreported losses by US banks amounts to a whopping 2 trillion dollars. Bailouts as an orientation of the "visible hand" of the public reserves has been the operation chosen since 2008 by the central bourgeoisies. The syndrome of 1930 with the panic to depression and its correlation in the class struggle, activates these emergency interventions. Translated into social interest, it means wasting public resources to artificially sustain the business of the most parasitic fraction of capitalism.

THE SOURCES OF THE DISTORTIONS: 5 THESES ON THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

To frame a more comprehensive analysis of the global economy and understand the plot of these sudden episodes, we part from five central definitions that are developed in the document we mentioned:

- First, the global capitalist economy has not taken off in 15 years, basically because the rate of profit is at its lowest levels since the end of the post-WWII “boom”.
- Second, for us, when that essential factor (the “rate” of profit, that is, the return on capital over the total invested) falls progressively, this generates consequences that feed a “structural vicious cycle.”
- Third, this “vicious cycle” implies that low profitability discourages, in terms of the rules of capital, productive investment and especially low investment in technology, and thus capital moves into speculation and, on that path, accumulates tensions that manifest as recurring crises, like bubbles: the main capitalist crises in the last 25 years have had to do with this mechanism.
- Fourth, the leap in speculation also has another face: there is an endemic, structural element that is the drop in productivity in the economy. This makes capitalists reinforce or deepen the offensive against the labor force: to compensate for the low productivity, due to lack of investment, they do the impossible to increase the levels of labor exploitation.
- Fifth, for this reason, the most widespread capitalist pattern of accumulation is not the virtuous incorporation of robotics or artificial intelligence. Taking the world-economy as a whole, the elements that grow are the “maquila,” precariousness in all its forms and, strategically, the suppression of labor rights as the class war agenda of the global bourgeoisie against the working class and the poor.

These keys make up the central knot of all the distortions of the capitalist economy in the stage we are going through.



SHORT-SIGHTED BOURGEOISIE, DEBTS AND CHINA: SOME COORDINATES

Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall, a dominant profile of the hegemonic bourgeois type has consolidated: more short-sighted, more circumstantial, more speculative, more decadent as a ruling class. There is no medium term for them, there is no strategic investment: they are a roulette player, a casino player, they operate under the logic of “every man for himself.” What is the ultimate cause of this global phenomenon? **The class struggle**, which, albeit with uneven rhythms, has continued generating regional waves and powerful rises since the 2000s, and has imposed strong limits to the class war agenda of the world bourgeoisie. That is why the capitalists improvise.

There is another element that is key to the global economic situation and a very weak link on a planetary scale: private, corporate debt is public. The ratio of debt to world GDP is almost 2:1. The short-term policy of raising interest rates to “cool down” the economy aggravates this structural tension: **it makes credit more expensive, and thus domestic economies go bankrupt, companies stagnate and entire countries are on the verge of default.** This also has a derivation in the “recipes” or “advice” of the IMF, with its usurious imperialist meddling, “auditing” countries, imposing budget cuts, adjustments, austerity and, therefore, causing phenomena of polarization, protests, uprisings, rebellions and crises. For this reason, we affirm that **debts are one of the weak links in the world economy.**

China, in its economic aspect, is another topic that we addressed: in the document, we

attempt to provide data, information, and we risk some hypotheses; we describe and make a historical analogy to explain the point at which the inter-imperialist tension/dispute with the US is today “economically”. For us, it is possibly the most important geopolitical phenomenon in the world situation and, at the same time, it is still in the process of maturing. Because China continues to accumulate economically before taking the step toward an open confrontation for hegemony. It is in an uncertain and open transition, although a potentially decisive clash is incubating.



ESCAPING THE (CAPITALIST) MAZE FROM ABOVE

All forecasts confirm a horizon of chronic stagflation, as an expression in the economy of a kind of unstable stalemate in the class struggle. Unable to impose its war plan of defeating the working class and the mass movement across the line (as proven by France, the strikes in England or the revolts in Latin America), capital intervenes from “above,” adjusting profitability with price inflation or cooling the economy with the manipulation of interest rates against the panic of losing control. **In the medium term, the hypothesis is capitalist fragility, uncertainty and chaos; and a wide open stage to pose a different exit with a different class content.**

In historical terms, of the current political phase, we can say that capitalism blocks the process of civilizational development. Unlocking it implies questioning the limits of

capital. Therefore, there is a way out, but it is part of the construction of a different economic phase. For the immediate program, the keys are: a program against debts; a way out of speculation and the banking crisis; a platform against shortages and unemployment; and in the end, a reorganization from the roots up, against the anarchy of this economy of uncertainty, of short-term counterpunches.

If we talk about debts, the path is categorical: suspend all payments, audit and produce social propaganda to mobilize socially and support sovereign measures. In parallel, promote an international front of debtor countries.

The fictitious capital casino also requires a strong hand: nationalize all private banks, centralize them and accompany this measure with the public appropriation of foreign trade. The levers of credit for an independent and class based economic policy, and the control of international relations, have to pass from the hands of the current privileged minority to the working majority. Without a doubt.

Against unemployment and poverty: massive public works plan and reduction of working hours with equal pay. Work less, for all to work.

And in the end, reconvert the general matrix of production: as the economic history of the 20th century and the 21st thus far have shown, the demand for goods does not balance itself with the supply. This is a mistaken premise of vulgar capitalist economic science. There is disorder, anarchy and waste because capital produces and then the crystallization of socially necessary work may or may not be justified a posteriori if someone buys the goods in the market. The socialist vision is the opposite: we start from the social calculation of real needs, and from there we democratically plan production and organize consumption based on that parameter, also adding, in the face of the ecidial heritage of capitalism, an awareness of the limits of depredated nature. We think in these terms. We work with this orientation. 🐞

**Read the Economy
document voted
at the ISL Congress
here**



Resolution on the SOCIO-ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT: POLICY AND ORIENTATION

As expressed in the document on the subject contributed to this II World Congress, we are possibly witnessing an unprecedented historical time, since the capitalist system, in a stage of ecocidal decomposition, places human civilization as we know it in an epic dilemma. The conditions that made the planet habitable are being questioned and threaten to change in



a way that is difficult to reverse. At the same time, that dialectic that Marx calls “metabolism between humanity and nature” in *Das Kapital* is totally in crisis, fractured. For this reason, the enormous challenge that we face as socialists is to fight for the destruction of capitalism through a profound social revolution that may lay the foundations for a transition from this productive matrix to one that takes into account the limits of the planet’s ecosystems.

For the left, the task at hand is responding, in the spheres of theory and politics, of the program, of the orientation and of the tactics of militant construction, to an unprecedented phenomenon. Our premises are to intervene with firm principles and strategy, but with non-dogmatic flexibility in interpreting new problems. The ISL and its sections should give importance to this front for several reasons:

- Because the objective phenomenon of eco-

logical destruction and its social impact is worldwide: there is no region of the planet exempt from the consequences of this dynamic.

- The issue still only mobilizes vanguard sectors, except in some countries where the so-called climate strikes were massive. However, due to humanitarian catastrophes such as the fires in Australia or South America, the floods in Pakistan and recently in Brazil, hurricanes in the Caribbean, infernal heat waves, and even pandemics as a recurring calamity, sensitivity to these issues has grown with increasing sympathy in massive segments of the population. It has already grown beyond being a concern limited to small niches of specialists and is positioned on the world political agenda.
- Because there is an escalation of assassinations of socio-environmental activists, at the hands of parastatal forces, private gangs of landowners and large corporations. In 2022 alone, 1,733 activists were murdered: Brazil, Colombia, the Philippines, Mexico, and Honduras top the list with the most cases.
- Because in the field of the ideological struggle, the imperialist bourgeoisie uses events of international scope to install an agenda, build common sense in the masses and cover up the responsibilities of the capitalist system in the ongoing ecocide. Thus, the staging of climate summits (the COP that takes place every year in different countries), have become a point of reference for holding counter-summits of the socio-environmental movement. In 2025, Brazil will possibly host the COP 30 in Belém do Pará.

- The world bourgeoisie has registered that the issue is urgent and of concern to their class, not so much for the future of the planet, but because it becomes a factor in the alteration of their businesses, adding contradictions to the polarized social and political situation, and it deepens mistrust in capitalist politics, its states, regimes, governments, parties and union bureaucracies. Thus, from their factories of false ideology aimed at building reformist mass common sense, they propagate all kinds of confusing stories. Even in the field of the left and among activists, political conceptions are multiplying that lead to a path of adaptation to the status quo or feed expectations in variants that do not question the capitalist property regime, its national borders, the anarchy of the production and the anti-human motive of private accumulation under the rules of the system. For this reason, the ideological struggle is crucial for a revolutionary transitional program against this issue.

In view of all the above, therefore, the II World Congress of the ISL resolves:

- 1) To participate in the struggles and actions that arise in relation to these problems, with our own slogans and profile in all the countries and regions where the ISL has a presence. This also includes intervening on an international scale with unified slogans in the global actions of unity of action that may be called.
- 2) To produce more theoretical-political publications, and respond to debates with articles and publications. To prepare texts for courses, workshops, seminars and internal training. To give special importance to developing our vision for the sector on the role of the working class in the struggle for transition, the mechanics of the social revolution and the construction of a party for the struggle for political power to reorganize society on new bases.
- 3) To incorporate the denunciation of crimes against socio-environmental activists and participate in the related actions that are carried out in countries where ISL organizations exist.
- 4) To support the initiative and sign the call for the Counter-Summit to be carried out by Revolución Socialista (Brazilian section of the ISL) together with unions, environmental associations and movements. Information on its organization, as well as dates, will be shared internationally.
- 5) Where we have the opportunity and the strength, to bet on building a revolutionary organic tendency or current within the socio-environmental movement. This implies a specific policy to try to influence the course of the movement wherever we have to intervene, and at the same time, making propagandistic agitation of our profound program in order to recruit.
- 6) In addition to participating in debate events and national and regional meetings that may be organized, to intervene with our program, **convene a 2nd ISL World Socio-environmental Conference** in the month of June, taking as a point of reference the first one that we held, the assessment of which was very positive. 🐝

Read the Socio-environmental document voted at the ISL Congress here



Resolution on Current GENDER STRUGGLES AND REVOLUTIONAR Y POLITICS

1. Between 2015 and 2020, with marked inequalities country to country and region to region, a new global wave of feminist struggle developed: the fourth wave in contemporary history. It had international scope with epicenters in the US, Latin America and Europe. Its main demands were against gender violence, for the right to abortion and equal pay, among others. To a lesser extent, there also was a rise of the LGBT movement for equal rights.

The fourth wave was a progressive process of organization and mobilization, with a multiclass composition, in defense of gender rights, for their effective fulfillment and expansion. It produced a radicalized youth vanguard that is open to anti-capitalist and revolutionary ideas, quickly exhasuts its experience with bourgeois institutions and is a quarry of militant recruitment. Since 2017, this wave has established the International Women's and LGBT Strike of March 8 with a methodology that is specific to the working class and today involves marches and actions in about 80 countries.

Currently, although, as a result of this fourth wave, there is a greater awareness of gender issues among the masses, the

movement is not maintaining its momentum, but experiencing an ebb due to a combination of three reasons: a) some specific victories, as a result of the struggles, b) the coronavirus pandemic, and to a lesser extent, c) the reactionary political and religious anti-rights counteroffensive. Nevertheless, in several countries, there are also processes of women's and LGBT struggles, but, for now, they do not reach the extension, magnitude and radicalization of the previous period.

2. When *feminism* is commonly referred to, it implies a broad and diverse movement for women's rights and against sexist oppression, a movement that is multiclass in nature. That is why it is of great political importance for our current to define and present itself not only in terms of gender as *feminist* but in a differentiated and integral way, that is to say as *socialist feminists* or *revolutionary feminists*. This is so because we conceive the struggle for these rights as an inseparable part of the general political struggle against the capitalist system and class exploitation, which at the same time sustains and benefits from patriarchal oppression.



Not to do so would imply failing to distinguish ourselves from or adapting to the various bourgeois, reformist or so-called *identity politics* currents that, with greater or lesser relative influence, act in each country. All of them are defenders of capitalism and class conciliation and therefore enemies of the socialist revolution. We will return to these aspects in points 8 and 9 of this text.

3. Regarding gender related advances, for example, abortion rights were achieved in Ireland (2018), Iceland (2019), Argentina, New Zealand (2020), Australia, South Korea, Thailand (2021) and Colombia (2022). Laws against street sexual harassment were voted in Peru (2015), France (2018) and Chile (2019); against



so-called honor crimes in Pakistan (2016), against gender-based violence in Ecuador (2017), and against digital harassment in Mexico (2017), against female genital mutilation in Sudan (2020). Equal marriage was achieved in Ireland (2015), Colombia (2016), Finland, Germany, Australia (2017), Austria, Taiwan, Ecuador (2019), Great Britain, Costa Rica (2020), Chile, Switzerland, Cuba and Mexico (2021), and the trans law in the Spanish State (2023).

As for the pandemic, it intensified all the structural inequalities of the capitalist system. That is why the levels of poverty and unemployment -which affect women the most- domestic care tasks and sexist violence, including its worst expression, femicide, increased. Throughout the world, women are facing a generalized process of *feminization of poverty* and greater job

and general life precariousness. The pandemic also brought health workers to the forefront, who have a high female composition and led strong struggles in many countries.

As for the anti-rights counter-offensive, it is one of the expressions of the more general social and political polarization. In 2021, the Taliban government in Afghanistan tightened all discriminatory rules against women in education, work and other areas; and in the west of the country there are families in poverty that even sell their daughters to survive. New Delhi continues to be known as the rape capital of the world. In 2022, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the landmark *Roe v. Wade* ruling, thus enabling anti-choice laws in several states. Right-wing governments in Poland, Hungary, Russia and other Eastern European countries made advances against abortion rights and the LGBT community. In their discourse, political-religious fundamentalism and the extreme right include direct attacks against what they call *gender ideologies*.

4. The current highest point of feminist struggle internationally is the mobilization of women in Iran against the compulsory use of the Islamic veil, the hijab, with young women at the forefront. It began in September 2022 in the face of the murder of the young Kurdish woman Mahsa Amini by the religious police. This feminist and democratic demand received strong social support and at the same time acted as catalyst for the deep accumulated popular discontent, originating a rebellion against the dictatorial, capitalist and theocratic regime of the mullahs, although now it has been placated by repression. The recent gas poisoning of 600 girls in secondary schools that fought at the forefront of the anti-veil struggle, generated several student protests, social repudiation and had an international impact.

At the same time, in imperialist countries where the wearing of the veil is banned as a component of anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic policy, as in France, we defend the right of women to decide: "*my body, my choice*."

In other regions of the world, there is a greater lag in gender rights. In sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, for example, arranged marriages, i.e. forced and early marriages for women, are still common. In Central Africa, the practice of female genital mutilation as well. In several countries

of the Arab world and the Indian subcontinent, there are so-called *honor crimes*, actually femicides. In most, there is prejudice, discrimination and persecution of homosexuality.

5. Latin America remains a core of feminist and LGBT struggle with Argentina as a reference point. For example, the National Women's Conference that every year gathers more than 50,000 women from all social and political spaces, even from capitalist parties, calls among its points to "*build anti-patriarchal, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and anti-clerical feminism.*" Nonetheless, on 8M there were divided marches: one organized by Peronism and another by the left. And during the rally for the last Pride March, organized by some 60, mostly Peronist, groups, the Peronist national minister for gender was booed for her inaction.

In Brazil, feminist groups supported Lula's campaign, but his anti-abortion turn in recent weeks under pressure from religious sectors opened contradictions. In Colombia, some disappointment similarly began with the government of Petro and Francia Marquez. In Chile, the 2019 rebellion imposed gender parity in the Constituent Assembly, but the 8M Coordination became bureaucratized and ended up supporting Boric's institutional pact with the right, which favored the latter. The Ortega-Murillo dictatorship, as part of its general repression, banned 40 feminist organizations; in addition, it is women who lead the struggle for human rights there.

In the U.S., since the ruling, the struggle for abortion rights is on the agenda again. In 2022, the main gender groups, such as Women's March and Planned Parenthood, who are close to the Democratic Party, channeled everything towards the legislative elections. That is partly why the DP retained control of the Senate and avoided a resounding defeat in the lower house. In Texas and Florida, Republicans are on a conservative crusade with anti-rights bills, such as banning school materials on LGBT rights. This generated some protests, but localized and insufficient to stop the offensive.

6. As for the Old Continent, polarization is notorious. For example, a Christian right-wing network, Agenda Europe, is active in 30 countries, they propose "restoring the natural order" and carry out anti-rights campaigns.

In France there is the feminist movement *Nous Toutes*, which is anti-sexist violence and reformist and organizes marches of 50,000 people, and the more radical groups *Feminist Strike 8M* and *Pink Bloc*. In view of the US ruling, the French parliament voted to include in their Constitution "*the freedom of women to terminate their pregnancies.*" On March 7, there was a general strike against the pension reform, which coincided on March 8 with the feminist strike that correctly raises the same demand (called by feminist groups and unions), on March 9 there was a youth march, and on March 11 another national day of mobilization, perhaps this will continue.

In Great Britain, which has been shaken for months by a historic wave of strikes, women stand out in union struggles -especially nurses and other health workers- and in the neighborhoods struggles against the increase in utility rates.

In the Spanish State, the same thing is happening in the public health struggle. Moreover, the reform of the anti-violence law divides the ruling PSOE-Podemos alliance. Its ambiguities could have been avoided if feminist organizations had been consulted beforehand. The recent trans law and a bill on prostitution generate debate due to pressure from the *radfem* sector, which is strongly anti-trans and abolitionist.

In Ukraine, in the midst of the total disruption of daily life caused by the war, women are an active part of the resistance against the Russian imperialist invasion.

7. In China, in order to contain the demographic advance, from 1980 to 2015 the restorationist bureaucracy imposed the "one child" -preferably male- policy. This led to the aging of the population. That is why, since 2016, the government switched to a "two-child" line, launched campaigns for the "socialist family," passed a new anti-domestic violence law and the communist youth league even launched an online dating platform. At the same time, in several provinces, the right to abortion was limited and pregnancy leave was extended. Although a strong patriarchal tradition persists, young women in the big cities are seeking greater independence, marrying later and increasingly discarding marriage as a guarantee for social advancement: the number of marriages is falling, while the number of divorces is rising, mainly due to female demand. If the government fails in

its pro-birth policy and moves against the right to abortion, it will collide with these new generations of women.

In the working class, with the particularity of having a 54% female composition, women -as everywhere else in the world- suffer lower wages, greater exploitation, precariousness and harassment at work. On March 8, 2018, the government banned the independent website Feminist Voices on the two main social media platforms Weibo and WeChat.

8. For revolutionary socialists, it is key to intervene without sectarianism in the struggles and movements of women and LGBT people with a double objective: to develop mobilization and build our organizations, always in dispute with the reformist leaderships or other competitors. As we have said before, they are multiclass movements, in which currents advocating class conciliation or other mistaken ideologies participate. Among the main competing organizations and ideologies, we can point out:

- Reformism of all kinds (PS, PC, center-left, neo-reformism). Their apparatuses still have a leading influence or still maintain some leading influence and their strategy is to try to slow down and divert the progressive processes of struggle and organization towards institutional paths.
- Radical feminism or *radfem*, which emerged in the 60s and 70s but regained strength since the postmodernism of the 90s. It places patriarchy and the male population as the main enemy, omitting the framework of social class division and thus being utilitarian to capitalism. They are very anti-party, especially against the revolutionary left.
- *Identity politics*. By giving political and organizational priority to existing differences (race, gender, sexual orientation, migrants), instead of unity they lead to divisionism and thus weaken struggles. Like the *radfems*, they are openly anti-revolutionary left sectors.
- The Mandelist conception. It proposes an “autonomous” feminist movement (it is not clear from whom) and in fact considers the working class as simply one more movement, similar in rank to the feminist, LGBT, environmental or anti-racist movements, diluting the leading role of social class.

9. Against these erroneous positions, the ISL and its national sections advocate a militant socialist and revolutionary feminism, in some cases, through specific party fronts. We also avoid sectarian abstentionism in the face of these struggles: with over 40% of workers being women, plus other LGBT people, who suffer greater unemployment, precariousness and lower incomes, gender issues are part of the daily life of the working class itself. Therefore, and knowing that there tends to be greater reception among the youth and middle sectors, we have to take our gender policy and program to working women and the entire working class.

Although it emerged much earlier in history, today there is no patriarchy independent of capitalism. Patriarchal gender oppression is intrinsic to capitalist class exploitation, since unpaid female domestic labor yields revenue to the bourgeoisie through the care of present and future labor. The economic value of such work is between 15 and 25% of GDP, depending on the country. That is why our political battle implies raising a *transitional program* that, starting from the specific needs of gender rights in each country, seeks to build a bridge between those demands and the revolutionary class struggle against the government, the regime and the capitalist system to open the way to an egalitarian society, without exploitation and oppression: socialism. And to that end, building a revolutionary party is necessary. The struggle for state secularism and against all religious oppression or persecution is also part of our political program linked to gender issues.

Likewise, as part of our political propaganda it is important to spread the example of the Russian Revolution and the first Bolshevik government under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, with its previously unheard-of gender conquests: equal pay and political rights for women, the right to abortion and divorce, equality of intra- and extra-marital children; the opening of public nurseries, canteens and laundries to alleviate domestic tasks; decriminalization of homosexuality, total separation of the Church and the State. 🐦

Share this article online



Important **PARTICIPATION OF AFRICA** at the II ISL World Congress

The participation of comrades from Africa, the debate about that continent and the prospects for intervention and construction of the ISL in it, were a notable part of the 2nd Congress of the International Socialist League.

The recent incorporation to the ISL of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) of Kenya and the constancy of the ISL's commitment to the Saharawi cause have been key in the incipient structuring of the International in this very important continent.

The importance that Africa would have in the event was evident from the beginning, with comrades Ezra from Kenya and Chaia from Western Sahara joining the Congress presidium. The presence and participation of other comrades of the RSL Kenya and of African Footprints of Tanzania reinforced this fact.

Already in the discussion bulletins, the comrades of the RSL had contributed important texts on Revolutionary Pan-Africanism and the debates of scientific Marxism with "African socialism." The former explains the struggle of revolutionaries against bourgeois and ethnocentric pan-Africanism in defense of a class based, socialist and revolutionary pan-African movement. The latter delves into the debates with various leaders of the African struggle of independence and their attempts to develop a socialist ideology adapted to their reality.

In these texts, and even more so in the reports and debate in the session on Africa at the congress, both the importance of this gigantic continent for the world revolution, as well as the great opportunity that exists to build revolution-

ary organizations there, were clearly evidenced. The emergence of a widespread and radicalized young vanguard throughout the continent since the Arab Spring rebellions and the vacuum left by the disintegration of Stalinism create great opportunities for the ISL.



The comrades of the RSL, of African Footprints and of the Saharawi youth are part of this vanguard, and the contacts they have in the rest of the continent pose a great challenge to advance in the organization of the African vanguard. Hence, the main resolution proposed by the comrades and adopted by the Congress was the organizing of the first ISL Pan-African Congress with the participation of organizations and comrades from Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, South Africa, Nigeria, Namibia, Sudan, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Zimbabwe, Mauritius and other countries.

The resolution to intensify the ISL campaign in solidarity with Western Sahara, also adopted,



Resolution on AFRICA

1. First Pan-African Congress of the International Socialist League. In view of the significant opportunity to build and extend the ISL throughout the African continent and the concrete contacts that the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) Kenya maintains with organizations in various countries, the RSL will host the first Pan African Congress of the ISL in July of 2023.

2. Njaa Revolution. In view of the ongoing Njaa Revolution (Hunger Revolution) Campaign, promoted by the RSL Kenya, that demands the government lower and control food prices and distribute food aid to the millions of Kenyans who are facing an acute food emergency, with periodic mobilizations and the collection and distribution of food and other necessities to the communities in the north of the country who are affected by the worst drought in four decades, the ISL will take up as its own and participate in the Njaa Revolution Campaign to help combat the hunger crisis in Kenya.

3. Founding Congress of the Kenya Workers' Party. In view of the fact that the RSL is in the process of registering a legal party in Kenya this year and will found the Workers Party of Kenya in the coming months, ISL comrades are hereby invited to the Founding Congress of the Workers Party of Kenya in September.

is not disconnected from this orientation. The cause for the liberation of the last African colony is fundamental, it is a highly sensitive issue throughout the continent, and it will be central to the politics and activity of the ISL in Africa. The same can be said of the resolution on gender oppression in Africa.

We copy the full resolution here:

4. Propaganda on Africa. In view of the enriching discussion on Africa that took place at this II Congress of the ISL; of the opportunity that has opened for the ISL in Africa; and the necessity of ISL members in all sections to expand their knowledge about the history, current situation and debates of the class struggle and the left in Africa, the RSL will provide revolutionary reading materials for this purpose.

5. Campaign of solidarity with Western Sahara. In view of the continuity of the heroic resistance of the Saharawi people against the occupation of Western Sahara by the Moroccan kingdom; of the recognition by Morocco of the State of Israel and the latter's recognition of Morocco's usurpation of the Sahrawi territory; of the turn of the Spanish State endorsing the occupation; of the progress of the political work that the ISL develops there and the permanent campaign of solidarity with the Saharawi people that the ISL maintains; the ISL resolves to intensify said campaign for the withdrawal of the Kingdom of Morocco and the self-determination of the Saharawi people.

6. Gender oppression in Africa. In view of the particularities and graveness of gender oppression in Africa, where we have before us the struggle against genital mutilation, the marriage of minors, femicides, rape and other violence and discrimination against women and LGBTI+ people, the ISL will incorporate to its program and policy for the region said particularities to strengthen the political education and intervention of all our sections. ✊

Share this article
online



The new Israeli government, a shock to the entire region

More than ever, **WE MUST DEFEND THE CAUSE OF PALESTINE**

1. In a particular expression of global political polarization, last November the legislative elections in the State of Israel were won by the Likud: the ultra-right and anti-Palestinian party led by Benjamin Netanyahu. In the parliament (Knesset), Likud allied with five ultra-right and ultra-religious forces: Shas (Sephardim), United Torah Judaism (Ashkenazis), Religious Zionism and Jewish Power (racist and anti-Muslim) and Alegría (anti-Muslim and anti-LGBT). With a majority of 64 deputies out of 120 in total, this ultra-Zionist coalition formed a government and appointed Netanyahu prime minister, for the third time in that position.

This election was the fifth in three years given Israel's high economic and political instability. As the previous government of Yair Lapid applied austerity plans and aggravated the crisis, there was a punishment vote that favored the right. The There is a Future party, of the secular center-right, has 24 seats out of the 56 of the opposition. Another 18 are held by two similar forces: National Unity and Israel Our House (of Russian origin). And the entire Zionist "centre-left" lost votes and seats: Labor dropped from 7 deputies to 4, the two Arab lists dropped from 12 to 10, and the Social Democrats and Islamists were left out of Parliament by not reaching the 3.25% threshold.
2. Among the actions and projects of the Netanyahu government, whose discourse is the most openly fascist since the State of Israel was created in 1948, we can highlight:
 - Since he took office at the end of the year until March 5, Zionist forces have killed some 60 Palestinians, including 15 minors, in bombardments of the Gaza Strip, armed operations in other refugee camps and violent evictions in the West Bank to continue annexing Palestinian territory.
 - He subordinated the police to Minister of National Security Itamar Ben-Gvir, convicted eight times for inciting racism and anti-Palestinian terrorism, who also con-



trols the National Guard: an “anti-terrorist” civic-military force. Ben-Gvir proposes to facilitate police use of firearms.

- Nine Jewish settlements in the West Bank, which had been declared illegal by the Court, were legalized, and 10,000 new homes for Zionist settlers are expected to be built. He formally banned Palestinians from living in Jewish-only cities or neighborhoods. He denied building permits to Palestinians and Syrians in Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Negev and the Golan Heights.
- The removal of Israeli citizenship or resi-



dence to whoever receives any subsidy from the Palestinian government was approved.

- The Supreme Court was subordinated to Parliament: by simple majority, the latter could annul rulings or validate laws that the Court deems unconstitutional. And the position of Attorney General will be eliminated. Netanyahu will be able to appoint the state attorney and thus avoid prosecution of himself for corruption.
- The Kan public news station was shut down.
- Palestinian flags were banned in universities and other institutions financed or subsidized by the Israeli state. Without yet being prohibited, the police remove them from the public space.

- The ban of any electoral list or candidacy “that denies the existence of Israel as a Jewish and democratic State or supports terrorism” and the permission of lists and candidates that raise Jewish supremacy.
- Imposition of the death penalty on Palestinian “terrorists,” a definition that includes those who throw stones at armed Israeli soldiers.
- Increase of state subsidies to Jewish schools, subsidizing of events segregated by sex and refusal to allow Israel to sign the International Istanbul Convention against gender violence.
- Taxing of foreign donations to NGOs in peaceful solidarity with Palestine. This would hurt the liberal, mixed, or anti-occupation Zionist groups: Peace Now, New Israel Fund, Breaking the Silence, Standing Together, Looking the Occupation in the Eye.

3. These ongoing measures and plans of the Israeli government deepen a reactionary offensive that reached a milestone in 2018, when Netanyahu was also Prime Minister, when the parliament tightened several of its so-called basic laws of constitutional rank:

- Israel defined itself as the national State of the Jewish people.
- Hebrew is the only official language, no longer Arabic, which was also official before.
- On Israeli territory, only Jews have the right to self-determination.
- Illegal Zionist settlements in Palestinian areas are in the national interest.
- The Israeli capital is the entire Jerusalem, which violates the UN criteria that make the city shared with Palestine.

Moreover, since 2016, the Zionist International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) has been promoting a tricky definition throughout the world that considers anti-Zionism anti-Semitism. In this way, it

seeks to silence all criticism of the State of Israel, as demonstrated, for example, in Argentina with the lawsuit filed by the DAIA against our comrade Alejandro Bodart for his tweets in repudiation of the murder of Palestinian journalist Shireen Abu Akleh months ago.

This entire offensive by the Zionist ultra-right is directed against Arabs and Palestinians, but at the same time against Jews who oppose Zionism, whether they are secular or religious. For example, weeks ago, rabbis from the Neturei Karta orthodox group -which opposes the State of Israel- after meeting with Palestinian leaders in Jenin, were detained by the Israeli police. The Israeli police also repressed Jewish pacifists who stood in solidarity with Huwara, a Palestinian city attacked by Zionist settlers, and perpetrated dozens of arrests and injuries in a violent repression of the opposition march on March 1 in Tel Aviv.

For all these reasons the “solution” of two contiguous states, one Israeli and one Palestinian, coexisting in peace, is a complete fallacy: the nature of the oppressor is always to subdue the oppressed.

4. The State of Israel was born in blood and fire in 1948, with the support of all world imperialism and Stalinism, expelling more than 700,000 native Palestinians, murdering some 15,000, destroying almost 500 villages, stealing their ancestral lands and committing a genocide that continues to this day, in a clear Nazi style.

Since then, it has usurped more and more territory from them, confining them to Gaza and the West Bank, areas of extreme poverty whose borders, roads, water, electricity, supplies and airspace are under Israeli military control. Israel has breached the Oslo Accords and more than 30 UN resolutions, whose Human Rights Commission explicitly recognizes that the State of Israel commits apartheid, that is, ethnic cleansing. The same is denounced by the two main international human rights organizations: Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

Out of some 200 countries in the world,¹ Israel ranks 148th in area, 97th in population and 30th in economy, but it rises to 18th in military power and 6th in nuclear weapons. With 180,000 active soldiers

and 560,000 reservists that can be mobilized in 48 hours, its armed forces comprise more than 10% of the 7 million Jewish inhabitants.

A hyper-militarized, theocratic and racist pro-imperialist enclave, Israel is also the only state on the planet where torture is legalized, under the euphemism of “moderate physical pressure.” It also uses the so-called renewable administrative detention to hold almost 700 Palestinians for three to six months without legal charges. In total, Israel currently holds more than 4,500 Palestinian political prisoners, generally under trial by military courts, including minors. With such a totalitarian mon-



strosity, there is no possible coexistence or real peace.

5. The measures and plans of the far-right government are acting as a shock throughout the Middle East, which in turn has global repercussions. The Biden government itself, the European Union, Latin American countries and the Arab League have had to issue critical statements, preventing a third Palestinian Intifada from starting. As first symptoms, there were already some isolated actions in response to the Zionist attacks. In particular, the possibility of a third Intifada concerns the Arab countries, whose monarchies and bourgeois democracies in general, with exceptions such as Algeria or Lebanon, recognize Israel and have diplomatic or commercial relations with it.

Since the leadership of the PLO-AI Fatah betrayed the Palestinian historical cause and recognized the State of Israel

in 1993, the erosion of its popularity has not stopped. It still governs the West Bank, where it collaborates with the Israeli police, but for years it has refused to call elections because it fears its defeat at the hands of the Islamist Hamas, as happened in 2006 in Gaza, or the secular Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, both more radical. New combative groups have emerged, such as the Lion's Den, the Balata Battalion or Black Cave. Palestinian youth today do not have a hegemonic political direction, they completely disbelieve in "the two States" and their legitimate desire is liberation from the Israeli occupation.



As for the Israeli population, there have already been six consecutive weeks of massive mobilizations in opposition to the new government and its plans. The first five had their center in Tel Aviv, with up to 110,000 people in a city that does not reach half a million. There were anti-war Palestinian and Palestinian-Israeli flags, LGBT pennants and banners comparing Justice Minister Levin to Nazis. The sixth march was on February 11 in Jerusalem, with more than 70,000 people. Then, on the 13th, there was a general strike before the start of the parliamentary debate on judicial reform. Former minister Tzipi Livni, a Zionist and former ally of Netanyahu, described it thus: "This madness has a name: fascism."² For his part, Netanyahu's son accused the Jewish protesters in Tel Aviv of "terrorists who must be jailed, twins of their Palestinian barbarian brothers." The social and political tension threatens to deepen, within the framework

of a region of permanent instability and a developing people's rebellion in Iran.

6. The only strategic solution to achieve a genuine and definitive peace in this whole troubled region is to dissolve the genocidal and racist State of Israel, establishing in its place a secular and democratic Palestine in all the historical territory, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, with its capital in Jerusalem, to which the more than five million Palestinian refugees could return,³ especially from Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, and live in peace with the Jewish population and those of other religions. This will only be possible if the socialist revolution advances throughout the region. We conceive a future socialist Palestine as an integral part of a federation of socialist republics in the Middle East.

The way to achieve this result is the joint struggle of the heroic Palestinian resistance and the Arab peoples of the region, stepping over their Israeli-complicit governments, with the support of anti-Zionist democratic Jews who are among those mobilizing in Israel today against the Netanyahu government and the extreme right and, in the process, building a strong revolutionary party.

In this perspective and based on the policy proposed here, the International Socialist League (ISL) and its national sections promote a permanent campaign in solidarity with the Palestinian cause and supports international democratic campaigns such as BDS (boycott, divestment and sanctions) against Israel; for the freedom of Georges Abdallah, Ahmad Sa'adat and other Palestinian political prisoners, against the Zionist lawsuit against Alejandro Bodart and similar initiatives. 🌍

1. <https://datosmacro.expansion.com/paises/israel>
2. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/masses-rally-across-country-against-judicial-overhaul-organizers-claim-over-200000/>
3. <https://www.unrwa.org/> UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East.

Share this article online



Resolution on NICARAGUA

Considering:

- That in Nicaragua a dictatorship regime endures that rules against the whole of the working people, peasants and youth, suppressing the most basic democratic rights;
- That Ortega-Murillo, a few weeks ago, released more than 200 political prisoners, among them former Sandinista leaders of the 1979 revolution, as well as representatives of sectors of the bourgeois opposition who are linked to the White House;
- That, evidently, this political decision that was agreed upon with Yankee imperialism, was taken in a carefully thought-out manner to carry it out at a time without protests, separated by months from the action led by the ISL, the International Commission and the Caravan for Freedom that reached the Nicaraguan border, logically to avoid strengthening a pole of resistance in exile linked to the internationalist left and delimited from the State Department;
- That, although the news was received with joy by the exile organizations with which the ISL maintains a relationship, the fact of the matter is that, with all the positive aspects it has, since it implies preserving the lives of dozens of fighters, it also attempts to strengthen the role of imperialism in the region, appearing as a democratic figure in its management of the release of prisoners and raising the figures of the bourgeois opposition;
- That Ortega-Murillo also took retaliatory measures against the released political prisoners and exiled figures, such as taking away their nationality, confiscating their assets and even social security contributions, as a way of making a show of force and covering up the weakness expressed in having to “release” political prisoners;
- That despite everything, there are still some thirty hostages and the campaign for their unconditional release must continue, as well as the ideological struggle for an anti-dictatorial position from the left, independent of imperialist interference, as well as strongly critical and delimited of the campism that defends or provides cover for the criminal regime of Nicaragua through inaction and silence;
- That the campaign that we carried out leading the International Commission from the ISL, together with the comrades of the PRT, of our Nicaraguan group as well as of the main organizations of exiles in Costa Rica, was successful and became an event of regional impact in Central America, that opened up opportunities for relations and construction;



- That in a few weeks 5 years will have passed since the April 2018 Rebellion;

This Congress resolves:

- 1) To ratify our strategy for Nicaragua that connects the democratic tasks against the dictatorship, but does not stop there: the purpose is to wipe out the entire Sandinista and opposition bourgeoisie, and through a government of the workers and the poor peasantry based on their own democratic self-organization, reorganize the entire economy at the service of those social classes, not remaining within the framework of national borders, but betting on an immediate internationalist perspective of development of the regional socialist revolution throughout Central America.
- 2) To promote actions towards the 5th anniversary of April 2018, demanding the release of all political prisoners held by Ortega-Murillo, repudiating the reprisals of the dictatorship against those released and in exile, and ratifying the call to build a united International Movement in action for the fall of the regime, though with two clear political premises: the delimitation from the White House and from complicit campism.
- 3) To update the presentation of the Final Report that the ISL prepared on the work of the International Commission, taking into account the new situation, uploading it to the ISL website and preparing a printed edition.
- 4) To advance in planning the work of organic construction towards Nicaragua, from Costa Rica, in a team effort with the comrades of the PRT, from the starting point of our young militant group Alternativa Anticapitalista. All as part of a regional construction strategy of the ISL in Central America and neighboring countries. 🐦

Share this article online



Resolution on VENEZUELA

- 1) To organize a forum of debate to exchange ideas on the Venezuelan, Cuban and Nicaraguan regimes, which will allow us to analyze in depth and arm ourselves politically as a whole to intervene in those countries and to challenge campism everywhere. The center of the debate will be on the following issues:

- Condemnation and demand of the lifting of the blockade and economic sanctions against Venezuela imposed unilaterally by the US government and its imperialist and pro-imperialist allies, since it fundamentally goes against the Venezuelan people and tramples on the sovereignty of the country.
- Rejection of the government's policy of criminalizing the struggles of the working class, and the detention and deprivation of liberty of workers' and popular activists.
- We oppose the usurpation of the legality of various left-wing political organizations.
- We denounce the violations of freedom of information and expression and particularly express our solidarity towards the Website aporrea.org of popular and alternative communication, which is the object of shut-downs and attacks.
- We denounce the progress of the political-religious alliance to the detriment of the rights of working women and women in general, as well as of the diverse sexual orientations. 🐦

Read the document on
Latin America approved at
the ISL World Congress



Our Congress showed significant advances through the incorporation of new sections and the deepening of relations with important revolutionary groups and parties in various countries. Here we share two experiences, in Brazil and Colombia, where the unification of different currents has allowed us to take a leap forward.

Brazil: REVOLUTIONARY UNIFICATION

BY REVOLUCION SOCIALISTA, ISL BRAZIL

The ISL took a very important step in Brazil. On February 10, 11 and 12 of this year, the Unification Conference of Alternativa Socialista and Luta Socialista was held in São Paulo. From it, emerged: “Revolución Socialista.” It is common to hear or know of organizations that are in crisis or dividing. In our case, unification shows a different path.

UNITE, TO WHAT END?

We revolutionaries have a strategic objective that guides our activity and militant action, to build a party of the working class, strong and with social influence, forged in the method of democratic centralism, that puts itself forward to lead the mobilization of the working masses to make the revolution, destroy the capitalist state and build socialism, in the country and around the world.

As all around the world, organizations in Brazil have fluctuated between two poles, the sectarian and the opportunistic. As a consequence, a wide variety of currents emerge, some larger than others, but the result is that what prevails is dispersion, little influence on the masses and, as a consequence, a moving away from the strategic objective of building a strong revolutionary party. Our unification, with the emergence of the Revolucion Socialista, is an initial attempt to begin to solve the problems that exist, as a tool with fraternal debates, elabo-

ration of policies and assessments that allow us to grow and advance.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LULA-ALCKMIN BROAD FRONT OPENS SPACE FOR ORGANIZING ON THE LEFT

Our characterization is that this new government, a populist front of national unity, has little room for maneuver in developing comprehensive policies that could solve the problems that affect workers and the poor. Because it is basically a government that responds to the interests of business, agribusiness and banks. A government that unified the left of the order, the traditional right and even many Bolsonaroistas, to save bourgeois institutionality and its regime threatened by the crisis. But this regime, this farce of democracy, has not resolved the difficulties of the people for a long time and, on the contrary, uses these institutions against them.

We defend democratic gains and we are aware of the danger that a second extreme right government would mean, which is why we called to vote for Lula in the second round of 2022. But he does not confuse us nor do we have any expectations,



and we firmly say that it is not our government. Therefore, our task continues to be the construction of a political alternative of the working class, with a socialist program that fights for a government of those who have never ruled, a government of the exploited and oppressed.

WHERE IS THE PSOL GOING?

In this context, the PSOL, the party in which we are an internal tendency, is being led down the path of adaptation to the regime and distancing itself from the struggles of the working class. This is the policy of its majority leadership and it is accompanied and validated by class based currents that are referenced in the Mandelist International. As a product of the sectarian politics of other currents of the revolutionary left, in addition to the centrism of others, there is limited scope to defeat the liquidationist politics of the majority leadership.

In the coming months, Revolution Socialista will have the great challenge of following the development of this process and evaluating the changes that are occurring in the PSOL. We will adjust our policy and orientation to better position ourselves in relation to the fundamental strategy of building the revolutionary party. A task that we will carry out together with our international, the ISL, which expresses a positive dynamic of militant and revolutionary internationalism on the five continents, growing and strengthening. We, the Brazilian section of the ISL, will do everything in our power to contribute to that construction. 🌐

Colombia, Impulso Socialista and Grupo de Trabajadores Socialistas ARE MOVING TOWARDS UNIFICATION

YOUTH AND TRADITION

For a year and a half, Impulso Socialista -IS- (section of the International Socialist League -ISL- in Colombia) and the Grupo de Trabajadores Socialistas -GTS- have been acting in common in the face of national political events and promoting the international tasks and campaigns of the ISL. The GTS participated as a guest in the First World Congress of the ISL in December 2021 and with a full delegation at the Second Congress in March 2023. They will soon hold their unification congress.

This convergence of revolutionaries counts on the youthful energy of Impulso Socialista, whose militants grouped together during the vigorous 2018 university strike against the defunding of public higher education. They quickly linked up with the ISL and participated in its founding conference in 2019.

The Grupo de Trabajadores Socialistas contributes an important component of tradition. Some of its members have been part of the international current led by Argentine revolutionary Nahuel Moreno, who was exiled during the '70s in Colombia. The GTS vindicates this theoretical, programmatic, political and methodological legacy accumulated over almost half a century of struggle for the formation of a national and international Leninist party.

The new unified organization does not present itself as “the party of the Colombian socialist revolution.” In Colombia there are hundreds, thousands, of workers, women and youth who are prepared to fight for a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, with whom a revolutionary alternative that gathers diverse experiences and traditions can be built.

The common action of IS and GTS, the joint elaboration of program and statutes, as well as the collective analysis of the national situation, has allowed them to position themselves in the face of the main events of the class struggle and to intervene in it. This is the basis of confidence on which the unification will take place. It will be another step forward in strengthening the International Socialist League. 🌐





View all documents
and resolutions voted
at the second ISL World
Congress