



June 20 and 21st - III CONGRESS OF

# TRFI

Tendency for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International



On June 20 and 21st was held the III Congress of the TRFI in the city of Buenos Aires, with the attendance of delegations from LOI Brazil, COR Chile and COR Argentina.

## Trends in the world situation

On this point we made a broader analysis of some elements dealt with in the theses presented before the Congress and we approached a characterization of the tendencies towards war. Israel's aggression against Iran, with the intervention of the US, shows that we are witnessing trends towards a generalized war or a new world war. In the election campaign Trump had promised that he would stop the ongoing wars, however, he has accelerated the processes. But this new war will not have the characteristics of the two previous ones, which were to determine which imperialist power would rule the world. In this case it would be a world war in a phase of decomposition of imperialism, which fullest expression is the U.S., and of pillage in the integration of the former workers' states in process of assimilation. It would be an equally reactionary war, but not with the characteristics of inter-imperialist wars of the previous wars, since we do not define the former workers' states such as China and Russia as imperialist.

We reaffirm the definition of rupture of the unstable equilibrium, since the institutions created in the post-war period are not playing any role in the open wars and the accelerating processes of economic crises.

We define that the world economy is going through a recession, aggravated by Trump's tariff policy, and that the conflict between Iran and Israel could bring a rise in the price of oil and derive in possible increase of inflation. This international situation will open more acute class struggle clashes, since the different governments will have to prepare for a war scenario and will have to adjust their economies, which will provoke class confrontations. We must

intervene in the ranks of the proletariat with a transitional program that proposes a revolutionary solution to the massacre to which imperialism and its allies intend to lead us.

## Debates on China

We also discussed how to approach the debate that most centrist currents are having, regarding the analysis of China. We try to reclaim the methodological approach that Trotsky proposed to analyze economies in transition after a revolution: the interaction between the law of value and the law of socialist accumulation, between their conflicts and their harmony. In this interaction we find the international and national aspects in which these laws operate, the relationship between world competition and economic systems, on the one hand, and, at the national level, the connection between economy and regime. We believe it is important to take up this approach, since it allows us to understand the dynamics of the law of value and its counter tendencies instead of analyzing revolutionary phenomena only from the aspect of the law of accumulation or the uneven and combined development, without appreciating the changes that a the conscious intervention of a revolutionary leadership produces in the laws of capital. The perspective of centrism does not take into account these interactions and takes the laws of capital in an abstract way. Several currents claiming to be Trotskyist affirm that capitalism is already definitively restored in China and some even claim that it is imperialist. There are even currents that say that China is a sui generis capitalism in the process of becoming imperialist.

We insist that the process of assimilation of both China and Russia is not yet closed and this will depend on class struggle at the national and international scale and on the dynamics of the confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution that we are facing in

this scenario.

## Brazil

Lula's government is losing popular support and has no electoral replacement, which makes its governability even more difficult. On the part of the bourgeois opposition, bolsonarism is in retreat and they are seeing who will take its place among some figure of the centrão or if it can be the governor of São Paulo, Tarcisio Gomes da Freitas. In these months educational struggles were developed all over the country, which the bureaucracy betrayed. Our current participated in this important struggle against bureaucracy and we managed to win a prominent place in the vanguard.

Faced with the world scenario we must seek a greater intervention in the workers movement advancing an internationalist stance and promoting the need to take up the tasks to stop the genocide in Gaza. Lula's government exports 40% of the oil to Israel, therefore, the proletariat from Brazil has a big role in the struggle against that massacre.

## Chile

Boric's government continues his political adaptation to the agenda of the Chilean right wing, which also means more repression in the conflicts, and enables the chance that the bourgeois opposition may go back to government. In turn, the Frente Amplio, which made its appearance as a bourgeois response to the mass movement of 2019, has quickly shown that it is also a servant of imperialist interests and that it is willing to attack the working class to guarantee them. There have been workers struggles in the fishing industry, for example, but isolated by reformist mediations and the bureaucracy. It is of vital importance to carry out revolutionary agitation and to redouble efforts to organize the workers' vanguard that has been developing atomized experiences, so that it can be the germ of a revolutionary party that will defeat the pro-imperialist bour-

geoisie, of all colors, and its agents in our ranks.

### Argentina

Milei has broken with the diplomatic tradition of the Argentine state of “neutrality” in the face of war confrontations and has fervently aligned himself with the US and the enclave of Israel, therefore, the struggle to defeat imperialist policy in the region is inextricably linked to the struggle for the defeat of Milei, aiming to develop workers’ methods in the processes of production to affect their interests.

While the Congress was taking place, the news of the imprisonment of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and the outrageous positioning of a large part of the local centrism against the “proscription” still resounded. This has shown a leap in the adaptation of a sector of Trotskyist centrism to the bourgeois regime.

### The call for the International Conference for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International

The international situation and the perspectives of a war scenario place the revolutionaries before transcendental historical tasks, hence the importance of opening up the debate among the tendencies that claim the need of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to make steps towards the reconstruction of the Fourth International. However, the course of adaptation to the institutions of bourgeois democracy and the opportunist conceptions of many currents which claim to be Trotskyist at the international scale become an obstacle to this perspective.

We insist on the importance of developing an organized revolutionary minority within the workers movement to develop the indispensable task of the programmatic struggle for the socialist revolution. On this road we do not see any utility in the realization of self-proclamatory events, with the intention to take the place of Mandelism of the last epoch, that desavowed the dictatorship of the proletariat; nor groupings of groups without programmatic agreements with vague notions such as a “new international”.

From the TRFI we claim that it is from the program of the IV International, from the systematization and generalization of the experience of the Russian Revolution that Trotsky left us to continue developing the struggle for the world revolution in the imperialist epoch.

### Resolutions

On Saturday, the proposed theses were approved, and resolutions were voted on. Among them:

- To carry out a campaign of agitation and propaganda raising the tasks that the proletariat must carry out to confront imperialism and against the militarization of the States, highlighting the workers’ methods and encouraging the paralyzation of production to affect imperialist interests. In this sense, to promote actions, talks, and publishing materials.

- Redouble the campaign against the genocide in Gaza from a working-class policy, stating that the way out is the revolutionary struggle for the Federation of Socialist Republics of the Middle East. To promote activities in united front with those who share this perspective to denounce the plans of the enclave.

- Publish the approved theses in pamphlet form and present them in the national groups.

- To publish a new issue of our international magazine.

Below, we reproduce in part the theses voted unanimously at the Congress:

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**Theses written in May and unanimously approved on June 20 and 21, 2025. (Excerpt)**

### A stage of decomposition of imperialism and assimilation of the former workers’ States

We start from the definition we hold for the stage, which develops between the decomposition of imperialism and the processes of assimilation of the former workers’ states; as well as from the notion that we are witnessing a world situation that categorically expresses the rupture of the unstable balances that were established in the postwar period; and the beginning of a turbulent process in which the forms of imperialist domination will be put to test, fundamentally, in the relationship between the State and capital. In other words, we are witnessing a transition to a new reconfiguration of balances at an acute moment of the capitalist crisis. The break points are inter-state relations and economic balances, but there has not yet been a rupture in the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the pro-

letariat in the relations of production (which will have to be expressed in historical defeats of the proletariat, in wars or revolutions).

The decomposition of imperialism and its domination is historically manifested in the organization of social relations as a capitalist system; the organization of capital being understood as an anarchic organization. It is there where it has found an explosive contradiction, since it has not been able to retrain the relationship between capital and labor within the institutions created for bourgeois domination and it has not been able to find, along the historical process, its replacement by another form of bourgeois state domination. The extension in time of this anomaly is what is leading to a war, still encapsulated, but which, if it becomes generalized, would no longer be like the other world wars (which were for the distribution of the market in the expansion of the capitalist system), but rather, it would be a war to assimilate the former workers’ states at the moment of greatest decay and decomposition of imperialism. As an example, we must highlight Trump’s agreement with Ukraine to keep the rare earths (and other agreements in energy sectors) to guarantee -in part- the military security of Ukraine before Russia, not with the aim of defending the Ukrainian nation, but to defend the imperialist positions conquered in the region. In this case, the most important thing for revolutionaries is to see that this is an imperialist policy of capitalist restoration amid a war between two former workers’ states. That is, to impose the dictatorship of capital by means of an agreement of an imperialist state with a former workers’ state and subject it to be a semi-colony or colony (something less probable), depending on how the war with Russia develops and culminates.

### A novel, unprecedented historical setting

We think that we are in a new scenario, not only because the economic and political conditions of the world war period no longer exist, but also because the party mediations or political movements based on the working class that developed in that period do not exist either. That is why it is difficult and even sterile to look for historical analogies, as many centrist currents propose in their characterizations of the world situation and use as a basis for their regrouping policy.

Some examples. The Argentinean Partido Obrero (PO) promotes an international regrouping and takes as an analogy the international meetings of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, that is, they are trying to organize the supposed left wings against the war, or we could also say that it is a half Morenoist tactic of opportunist international regrouping with tendencies that could be Maoist or pro-Stalinist, with Trotskyists in the minority. The Argentinean Partido de los Trabajadores Socialistas (PTS) describe the situation as a “pre-1914” and considers that the International is going to be build up with the left wings of a decadent social democracy, without claiming much the reconstruction of the IV, but a vague idea of a new international.

We consider that these analogies are not valid for the construction of the International, since we must start from the generalization of the Russian Revolution, the lessons of the post-war processes, the course of Stalinism and the processes of assimilation of the former workers’ states, as to raise some elements. What we must state is that imperialism in its decadence can lead the workers to military confrontations, and we believe that world dynamics is giving hints of these preparations. We must fight against war with the theory of permanent revolution.

### Breakdown of the equilibrium and acceleration of times

A new historical stage is just beginning and we do not know what scope it may have, so it is important to keep in mind that it is not possible to put an equal sign between economic and political times, as well as the responsiveness and organization of our class in general and that of the countries in the process of assimilation in particular.

This rupture of equilibrium will accelerate phenomena that were contained in the previous stage. This can be seen either in the form of regional wars, as may be case of India and Pakistan; as phenomena of confrontations with imperialism for political independence as is developing in Africa, mainly against French imperialism, and a myriad of political and economic crises.

### The United States absorbs all the contradictions of the system into its own State.

On April 2, the U.S. government, with Trump at its head, launched a tariff war that is turning into a worldwide trade war. Most analysts announce that this will bring more inflation and recession to the world



economy, which has not been able to recover from the crisis that has been raging since 2008.

This tariff war is the decadent response of an imperialism in crisis, which was unable to stabilize its hegemony with the institutions created in the post-war period, nor was it able to assimilate the former workers’ states into the system of capitalist states. This led all the contradictions of the capitalist system in crisis to erupt in the very heart of the United States.

The U.S. is now the most tangible expression of the general decay of the capitalist system and its forms of domination, which crisis started in 2008 and worsened with the pandemic. American imperialism cannot resolve its loss of world leadership with its warlike and now commercial policy. The bourgeois think-tanks are now beginning to question whether the measures taken by Trump mean a leap forwards or backwards for the U.S. The administration must resort to a reactionary economic nationalism to try to recreate an industrial growth that will allow it to eliminate competitors, mainly European, and to concentrate on slowing down the advance of China. For that, they must not only re-discuss the export of capital, but the re-industrialization of their own country and win over again the endorsement of labor aristocracy as a support for their imperialist plans. This Trump project also implies domestic conflicts, since this “shuffle and give

again” will also involve confrontations between bourgeois fractions (industrial, technological) and processes of class struggle. Inside Trump’s and his advisors’ heads the plan is perfect, in reality it is delirious. The historical processes and class struggle did not developed in vain, and this idea, which was intended to be implemented at the beginnings of US imperialism, failed, and today, in its decadence, it is more complicated for it to triumph.

China has something the U.S. lacks. The US lacks: a planning, albeit bureaucratic, economy that allows it to set its own rules regarding labor productivity. No matter how hard Trump and his allies pretend to reinforce a decadent Bonapartism, and get happy because countries “kiss his ass,” the law of value reigns over their aspirations, and imperialist decay conspires against any attempt of a long-term development of productive forces.

Trump makes the correct diagnosis by putting the focus on the sphere of production. The fact is that 2008 rubbed their faces in the consequences of a certain American parasitism on financial speculation and high tech. Now they are desperately trying to lay the foundations for an important transformation in the world scenario, which, given the enormous imperialist decay that has been marking the stage, will accelerate the processes of regionalization that they already saw developing; will deepen the warfare tendencies; and will generate all kinds of political crises in which it is necessary to see how the international working class and its organizations intervene.

The year 2008 brought to light a crisis of capital valorization, mainly caused by the bursting of bubbles little linked to real production, as well as the role that imperialist States assumed in the pursuit of avoiding the necessary destruction of capitals -that should really lay the foundations of the new relations between classes, class sectors and States. This is ultimately the main incentive for the warlike trends that have been developing. Trump’s adventurist plan openly seeks to confront the crises of the post-war equilibrium by “organizing” that destruction based on the weight (economic and military political) of US imperialism. He intends to reconfigure the monopolies for his imperialist goals, something that is complicated because of

the transnationalization of capital.

Another most important problem is that, unlike 2008, Trump's policy makes his homeland front more complex, since it affects an important sector of the American petty bourgeoisie, weakening his social basis. Important demonstrations against Trump are already developing, which Berni Sanders is capitalizing for now. Another symptom were the acts and mobilizations for May Day (in the U.S. it is celebrated on September 1), which express something historic, since there were no previous actions on the international labor's day. As for the proletariat, the government is trying to develop a kind of ridiculous competition based on a white working class, which is more expensive, but "better" than the Chinese, a matter that so far has not been demonstrated, and that in fact hides his real intentions which are to attack labor conquests.

100 days into the Trump administration, official data show that the US is on the verge of recession with a -0.1% contraction of GDP in the first quarter. Annualized, the decline goes to -0.3%. "For the first time in several years, because of Trump, the U.S. economy has shown less buoyancy than that of the euro zone, which grew 0.4% in the first quarter," compares El País of Madrid.

At home, the tariff war led businessmen and consumers in general to go ahead and stock up on inputs before the levies influenced their prices. The consequences of these moves can already be seen in the statistics: "The decline in GDP in the quarter is due to the increase in imports," according to the Bureau of Economic Analysis, an agency of the Ministry of Commerce. That deficit in the quarter advanced to no less than US\$464 billion. An unprecedented number: 41.3% in the first three months of the year versus -1.9% in the last period of 2024.

This result is added with the other complicated effect of the investor's flight from the traditional haven of the dollar and Treasury bonds. "Uncertainty has shot off the charts' axes," warned Kristalina Georgieva, the IMF's managing director at the start of the IMF-World Bank assembly just before the 100-day anniversary. "Financial conditions have deteriorated; volatility is rising (...). It is urgent that trade tensions be resolved as soon as possible," she demanded.

Since Trump's took office, the S&P, one of Wall Street's main indexes, plummeted 8% and in the same process the dollar lost

9%. Goldman Sachs estimated that some 60 billion dollars in US stocks have been sold since the beginning of March. European investors are leading the move. Much of that money is going into gold and the euro.

What we must bear in mind is that imperialism is reactionary all along the line, and it is necessary to confront its attack, because it will mean a redesign of the capital-labor relationship. This translates into greater exploitation of the labor force and a fall in living conditions, with the intention of leading us to war and establishing a new relation of forces between classes worldwide.

### **The debacle of European imperialism**

Given the debacle of the United Kingdom, the European Union and the welfare State, the governments of these states are willing to take the workers to another war. Expression of this decay was the huge blackout in Spain, Portugal and southern France; as well as the sale of "survival kits" for catastrophes or wars; and the growth of military budgets, centrally the approval of rearmament in Germany. But there is another important process: in the factories of several countries there are elements of reconversion to produce weapons and there is a militarization of workplaces, with the complicity of the trade union bureaucracy.

The workers' response must be to open revolutionary processes that confront the imperialist governments that put us in this situation. We have to stop the war policies of imperialism throughout the world: So that in the Middle East the Palestinian resistance triumphs and destroys the Israeli enclave, and defeats all the counterrevolutionary leaderships; so that the Ukrainian and Russian proletariat confront their governments and develop a revolutionary war to defeat the process of assimilation in course; so that the Chinese proletariat is part of the struggles of the world proletariat and confronts the process of assimilation of the former workers' State in the perspective of being part of the workers vanguard that prepares the requirements for the reconstruction of the Fourth International and its national sections.

### **The tasks ahead of us**

In this scenario, we pose our tasks in the construction of the TRFI and push forward to organize the international conference.

### **Stop the reactionary war and develop the revolutionary struggle**

The task of revolutionaries is to confront the warfare preparations of imperialism and to make it clear before our class that it is not our war. We must confront the bourgeoisies in each of our countries so that they don't lead us to policies of national unity or class conciliation in the name of protecting "national" interests amid the war of tariffs. Neither should we be dragged into blocs in favor or against the countries in dispute, in this case the US against China and Europe.

The development of an international vanguard must start from reconstructing an international revolutionary leadership which is the reconstructed IV. By means of a transitional program and the formation of revolutionary parties, this leadership should manage to transform spontaneous mass processes into conscious ones, so that they struggle to confront capitalism through a revolutionary solution.

### **Revolutionary tasks in a transitional key**

We must continue the path of Russian Revolution and pick up the learnings it taught us, especially the need to pose transitional tasks of state power even before the revolution itself, within the bourgeois state. That is the interference of the workers' state in capitalist society. This is a task that must be carried out by a party with cadres prepared for transitions.

Following this lesson, there is a transition towards the destruction of the bourgeois state that, rather than being based on the attack on bourgeois institutions and their democratic forms, it points to the origin of the problem, which is the economic basis of bourgeois mode of production. In other words, we must carry out our revolutionary politics in the structure and not only in the superstructure. Thus, there is a transitional form for one of the first stages of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is to disorganize the bourgeoisie. The Transitional Program advances yet another of the stages, which is to organize the proletariat so that it can respond to capitalist imbalances, proposing workers' control of production, the monopoly of foreign trade, the sliding scales of working hours and wages as the working system of the future socialist society. This is what centrism has overlooked, and we must carry out a political struggle to confront its leadership and try to establish a dialogue with the cadres.