



weekly worker



**Mamdani's amiable presser with
Trump: left must end its dependence
on unaccountable career politicians**

- Letters and debate
- YP debates and fringe
- Terrorist designation
- David Miller goes astray

No 1563 November 27 2025

Towards a mass Communist Party

Free at Liverpool YP conference £1/€1.10

NEITHER A KING NOR AN EMPRESS

BUT A PARTY REPUBLIC



LETTERS



Letters may have been shortened because of space. Some names may have been changed

Trans theses

It is amusing to annoy comrade Andrew Northall to the extent that appears from his letter last week ('Pile of drivel', November 20). Paragraphs 2 to 5 of his letter are merely the exasperated 'gobble, gobble' of a left equivalent of 'Disgusted of Tunbridge Wells', offering no evidence of his claims and not worth a reply.

In paragraphs 6 to 8 comrade Northall offers a substantive argument: that I have managed to "sucker the *Weekly Worker* group, including in theses 10 and 11", into the idea that queer-bashing and violence against women are "at root driven by the performance of competitive heterosexuality". He objects that this fails to take account of "a class-divided, exploitative, capitalist society" or of "the state generally having the monopoly of force or even violence to maintain the subjection of the majority and the continuation of class rule".

The idea that the state has the "monopoly of force" is Max Weber, not Marxism. Thesis 10 in the CPGB's 'Communism and trans liberation' (*Weekly Worker* November 13), perfectly clearly, concerns *non-state* violence. The point is that this is driven by the capitalist economic order, as it impacts on men and women, and the competitive formation of relationships - not by the state. It is "performance of competitive heterosexuality" because it is largely, though not completely, a matter of men showing off their 'masculinity' by attacking soft targets. The last sentence of this thesis, on racist violence, refers explicitly to *non-state* racist violence.

The political significance of this point is that what drives *non-state* violence is social-economic dynamics. Hence, the common liberal demand to increase police powers to deal with it is hopeless - as is, in fact, demonstrated by the complete failure of this approach in the last 30 years in relation to violence against women.

Thesis 11 is directly addressed to *state* discriminatory policing. However, this discriminatory policing is not a matter of the immediate defence of capitalist class interests in the security of exploitation (unlike attacks on pickets or demonstrators, eviction of squatters, the prosecution of 'benefit fraud' and so on). There is no interest of capitalists *as such*, or of property-owners more generally, in sexist, racist, etc, policing.

The capitalist class has an interest in getting the working class to identify with the capitalists' political representatives. But *how* this is done varies. The capitalists move from backing the 'party of order' to the 'party of liberty' and back. In the 1980s to 2010s the dominant form in the 'west' was backing the 'party of liberty': neoliberalism, free trade, anti-discrimination and so on. In the Middle East, however, US imperialism backed political Islamism as a form of the 'party of order'; and since around 2000 the shift towards big capital backing nationalist and patriarchal politics has extended to Japan, India, several eastern European countries ... and recently to the imperialist core, most visibly with Trump. The recent shift has illustrated how *rapidly* big capital can dump one policy for another.

Rather, as it says in the theses, discriminatory policing results from the fact that "professional" police forces are dominated by conservatives (a feature of Soviet Russia from the early stages of the rise of Stalinism

onwards, as well as of capitalist countries generally)". It is an *indirect* consequence - not an intended one - of capital's commitment, since Peel's 'blue devils' were established in 1829, to 'professional' (mercenary) police forces (from which the early Soviet regime failed to break). Unlike non-state violence, radical change could be made here - by replacing the professional police force with a conscript militia (thesis 22, and CPGB *Draft programme*, §3.12 'Militia').

In paragraphs 9-16, comrade Northall reasserts the policy of the "broad, popular democratic alliance, directed against monopoly capitalism". This section of his argument actually supports, rather than undermines, my argument in the introduction to the theses. His commitment to this policy drives him to quote with approval Eurocommunist Tricia Davis in the July 1984 *Marxism Today*, arguing that the working class cannot unite itself without overcoming its division by "sectionalism, sexism and racism" - meaning the acceptance of the demands of the women's movement, and so on.

The working class promptly displayed in the miners' Great Strike of 1984-85 that a strong movement of the class automatically tends to produce unity and draw in layers of the oppressed behind it. The Eurocommunists, in contrast, used their conception to argue a scab policy in the Great Strike. This scab policy lay behind the attempt of the Eurocommunist faction to take over the *Morning Star*, which is at the root of the split which is the basis of today's CPB. It is then startling that comrade Northall's "broad, popular democratic alliance" commitments lead him to approve Davis's proto-intersectionalist arguments of 1984.

Mike Macnair
Oxford

Myopic YP vision

Jack Conrad, in the November 16 Online Communist Forum meeting, as well as Carla Roberts in her article, 'All out for Liverpool!', have referred to the Spartacist League as holding "conservative views" for not agreeing with their proposal for an "emergency motion" at the Your Party conference. According to the CPGB comrades, the Spartacists do not care about democracy, and the implication is that we basically trust Karie Murphy and the current leaders. Once again, the CPGB comrades are refusing to deal seriously with what we have put forward and are responding with demagoguery.

The Spartacist League supports the Socialist Unity Platform's efforts to bring the left together for the conference; we support the idea of a fringe event for socialists (to which we have contributed financially) and we agree with many of the points proposed by the Sheffield demands. What we object to is the "battle plan" for Liverpool, which consists of submitting an "emergency motion" counterposing a new conference in 2026 to the current bureaucratic one.

We objected to this, firstly, because we thought it would polarise the conference on a confusing procedural point rather than drawing a clear political line. Secondly, because it would be seen by delegates as a wrecking operation and yet another power play.

Thirdly, and more fundamentally, we argued against the idea that *the entire intervention of socialists at the Your Party founding conference be about rules and structures!* Instead, as part of fighting for party democracy, socialists should fight for the party to adopt socialist positions to draw a clear class line at the conference - namely for Your Party to be anti-Nato, anti-

Zionist, working class, etc (not quite the transitional programme, comrade Roberts). It is for this rather simple proposal that we are absurdly being branded as holding "conservative views".

The problem that the Socialist Unity Platform is facing is that it has no socialist platform to speak of - not even a minimal one - on which to unite the various elements in it. Opposing sortition, the ban on dual membership or the two-thirds majority to change the constitution, while correct and necessary, do not constitute a socialist platform and are not a basis for unity. In fact, one can agree with these, while still supporting Nato or Zionism (eg, the Alliance for Workers' Liberty).

Without a minimal political basis, one cannot speak of socialist unity. This is why the Socialist Unity Platform is constantly wracked by disagreements over the minutiae of every proposal. And this is why we are seeing the bizarre spectacle of Jack Conrad singing the praises of Counterfire's John Rees, who he hopes can rescue the project. This is the same comrade Conrad who penned an article headlined 'Put politics in command' (August 28).

Yes, we must fight for party democracy. But party democracy is not a cause in itself. It is supposed to be *for something*: ie, to push for a programme and a vision for the party. Yet a programme - or even a set of minimal political demands - is explicitly what the CPGB and many in the SUP have consciously refused to push. They argue that it is pointless to do this until there is a fully democratic structure. With such a conception, we will be talking about 'democracy' for as long as it takes Sisyphus to push his rock up the mountain.

The only way to regroup the socialist movement is on the basis of political positions. Unprincipled combinations united only on "anti-bureaucratic" sentiment is the road to hell.

Vincent David
Spartacist League

Sortition YP costs

The advocates of sortition often claim that it is some anti-elitist system, which stops all those egotistical individuals and groups from being able to control the party by always being elected as delegates to conferences.

Of course, this rhetoric does not account for the fact that these egotistical individuals and groups could only 'control' the party by having support from members who elect them. The most serious issue with the supposed anti-elitism of sortition is that it means that an entire layer of members - the people who aren't able to travel all the way to conference - have no representation.

Sortition, when applied to a political party, is very effective at generating a representative sample of the people who are able to sign up to travel to conference. That is not the same as a representative sample of the party as a whole. For very many people across Britain, being able to travel to a conference requires either a car or a very expensive train journey, and very many other costs, such as accommodation and childcare.

Of course, advocates of sortition believe that these expenses can be simply covered by the party, although, given how much the leaders of Your Party have been complaining of the difficulty of running the conference without all of the £800,000 they are demanding from Zarah (despite the fact they already have the membership fees of 50,000 members) indicates to me that running such a conference is already financially difficult enough for the party without adding hundreds

of thousands to the budget to cover the costs of all this. Of course, if such a scheme is financially possible, it would be ideal. However, the focus purely on the financial aspect does not properly consider all the other reasons why people (particularly workers and carers) might be hesitant to sign up for a conference.

Even if there's some guarantee of being paid for their expenses, for very many people it is still quite a daunting endeavour. They might have to book time off work, taking up valuable holiday days, arrange childcare, etc. We should also be aware that the type of person who actively wants to use their free time (which many workers and carers have not much of) travelling to and from a political conference is necessarily going to skew towards older, wealthier people.

With a system of elected delegates, people who aren't able to go to a conference themselves can have actual representation within the system by electing those delegates that they think represent them the best. With the wonders of modern technology, local branch meetings can be conducted via Zoom (or a hybrid in-person plus Zoom meeting), so that those of us who otherwise wouldn't be able to consistently travel to meetings *are* able to participate and elect delegates who represent us.

I understand that sortition was probably the only realistic way to operate the founding conference due to the fact that the existing branches aren't yet official. However, I do hope that those delegates selected by sortition understand that many of us have not been able to have representation within this process, and that future conferences can consist of elected delegates.

Dovah
Oxfordshire

London YP

I'm writing on behalf of the organising committee elected on November 22 to ask you to inform your readers in Your Party about the following developments and plans.

The meeting on Saturday was called at short notice by an ad-hoc group of around 10 comrades in five London boroughs, with an invitation for any YP branch, proto-branch or other group to send one to three representatives. This followed wider support expressed in two Zoom calls the week before. The meeting took place in person in Camden, with half a dozen online. A total of around 40 people were present. Several boroughs and constituencies were represented, as well as two student societies.

The meeting was conducted under an elected chair and voted for its decisions after open debate, including friendly amendments and a contested vote on the size of the OC, and exemplified inner-party democracy. It unanimously agreed to proceed with a call to convene a London-wide delegate assembly of Your Party in the first half of February - allowing time for YP groups to organise proper delegate elections and to agree on motions, etc. The aim is to end the paralysis of 'branchless' functioning that has held things back. There was great support for this initiative and enthusiasm about the nature and openness of the meeting.

After some debate it was agreed that it would be best to have an interim, second, larger organising meeting on Saturday December 13 (2pm to 5pm), which will again be open to any interested YP members in London, but with a bias towards wide borough/constituency and workplace representation, with the explicit aim of deciding the proposed agenda and delegation mechanism for the agreed delegate assembly. We want to enlarge

further the representative character of this way of organising.

The OC has one job: to call a meeting in December, and then stand down for an elected committee to organise the final assembly. It has seven members from six boroughs, and can call on the strong practical support of many comrades willing to help.

We wish to invite the participation of any YP group in London: please email us at yp_london_delegate_assembly@gmail.com for more information.

Alex Green
Islington

Durham YP

Redhills, the newly refurbished Durham Miner's Hall, the 'Pitman's Parliament', was the venue for the launch of Your Party in County Durham on November 15. Zarah Sultana was top of the bill, with worthy support acts from, among others, Audrey White and Ian Elcoate, the Teesside anti-racism activist and *Weekly Worker* reader. It was a rally rather than a business meeting to establish a branch. Still, the speeches were fair enough, with plenty of support for socialism, a republic and militant opposition to not only Reform, but the far right on the streets.

Around 75 were present, with an encouraging age range, from teenagers to pensioners. They gave active support to Sultana - not just for her politics, but her condemnation of the attempt to sabotage her appearance on *Question time* by the so-called independent MPs, including Corbyn. There was little sign of the dewy-eyed hero worship of Corbyn, even though some would probably have been Corbynistas not so long ago. There is an understandable irritation at his failure of leadership and the questionable politics of the other independent MPs.

The *Weekly Worker* and *The Socialist* were the only left papers on offer, as well as leaflets from the Democratic Bloc, such as it is. The Revolutionary Communist Party, which has a presence in student politics in the city, was noticeable by its absence. Still, it was a chance to contact people who will form the basis of branches in Durham city, as well as outlying constituencies. It seems crystal-clear though that this was likely to be a 'left' Labour Party rather than the revolutionary party the working class needs.

The following day was the Tees valley regional assembly at the International Community Centre in Middlesbrough. About 45, somewhat older, people assembled for a meeting more inspired by an HR department away day than a political party. Instead of speaking to all present or sending a resolution forward to the leadership, we were stuck in tedious breakout groups, calculated to make sure that everyone has a say, but is heard by almost no-one. Again, but this time without the teenagers, a bunch of former Labour and trade union activists talked to one another about their aspiration for a left Labour Party. It's a start, of sorts, and most wanted a break with the anti-socialist, anti-democratic Labour Party, but it's not going to happen without a lot of work.

Ian Spencer
County Durham

Glasgow YP

The Glasgow-wide meeting this week for those with sortition was billed as "Your Party founding conference - building solidarity across Scotland" and states: "While we may have different opinions on key political issues, we hope we can all agree on one thing: the founding principles of the party should empower Scotland-

based members with the autonomy to debate, decide and carry out the work we need to do effectively within the timescales we face.”

It rules: “Please note: this is a space for collective discussion, not for promoting personal political agendas or other parties” - thus foreshadowing the potential witch-hunt of the left if the present YP leadership get their way. The agenda is then dominated by the breakout rooms so beloved of Glasgow organisers - which will, of course, further shrink any chances of meaningful debate and ensure there’s nothing at all on any other issues arising.This comes on top of my attempts to get the Glasgow North proto-branch to discuss the Socialist Unity Platform and its approaches towards conference. I couldn’t attend the meeting on November 24, but asked for SUP to be put on the agenda. It was allotted five minutes, alongside report-backs on the regional assemblies, whilst the vast bulk of the meeting was devoted exclusively to longer-term local issues.

The relevant meeting notes posted immediately after - and effusively praised by the chair - ran thus: “If there are fireworks in Liverpool, and even moves towards a split, my feeling is that we in Scotland should stand aside from that. I think we should insist relentlessly on the issue of autonomy for YP in Scotland, meaning a Scottish conference and branches asap in the New Year deciding on our own constitution, leadership, Holyrood elix, etc. And I think we should support the other amendments circulated by Zarah, or similar, including on co-leaders, but oppose and avoid getting sucked into a split dynamic. [I see the SUP amendments are more or less identical, but with *no* mention of autonomy in Scotland or Cymru!] If we end up having to form a separate legal entity in Scotland, as they have in Cymru, I think that should not be seen as a split, but as a pragmatic necessity.”

Last week Corbyn made blithe media statements after he sat in on Glasgow regional assemblies’ breakout groups “in listening mode”. He said that there was clearly an appetite for another independence referendum and that would be enthusiastically supported by YP.

Then HQ’s unofficial spokesperson in Scotland, Jim Monaghan, declared in reaction to the Wales UDI: “The difference in Scotland is that the UK HQ backs us standing at Holyrood. They have also agreed to underwrite the costs of a Scottish conference in January and agreed to access to the data to make that happen. Our relationship with HQ is far better and there is no disagreement with our plans so far.” He also stated: “I think the idea of a breakaway separate party in Scotland is the wrong move right now and I don’t see any appetite among members for such a drastic action. Until today I hadn’t seen or heard anyone calling for this. I think moving ahead with our current plans, however flawed the UK conference might be, is the best way forward.”

As with the whole shebang, we await further developments with little more than trepidation.

Tam Dean Burn
 Glasgow

My headline

The title of my article, ‘No oranges for England’, was replaced by the new headline, ‘Splitting over unity’ (November 20), and the *Weekly Worker* editors added their own introduction. I fully accept you have the right to make your own critical comment on my article - if I don’t like it, then there is the letters page. So far, no complaint from me.

However, if you change my

headline, I think you have crossed the line. You have edited my words and substituted your own. In this sense you have changed my argument. This is more like censorship than political commentary. It could be seen as treating readers with contempt by suggesting they read a different article to the one I wrote.

I will continue to be supportive of *Weekly Worker*, but hope you will take this comment seriously, because it is in the interests of the paper that readers trust what is being put before them. They might expect you to make your own hostile comments to articles written by non-party writers, but not to change my words and twist the meaning.

The editors’ introduction says, “Despite its own Labourite name, Steve Freeman, of the Republican Labour Education Forum, says there can be no unity with those whom he calls social monarchists ... or even those who are committed to Socialist Unity as a label of convenience.” No problem with this commentary apart from its politics.

First is the comment on ‘Labour’. Here it is a reference to the forum’s origins in the Left Labour Alliance. Labour in this context concerns the *labour movement* (ie, the Labour Party and trade union and socialist movement). It is not about the absence of republicanism in the Labour Party alone. RLEF members come from a variety of political backgrounds - social democratic, socialist and Marxist. They are united in their recognition of the absence of republican ideas and policies in the labour movement.

The central question is in the editors’ revealing comment that “there can be no unity with those whom he (ie, me) calls social monarchists”. This is simply a false imputation. Of course, there can be unity between social monarchists and social republicans: for example, in opposing fascism, supporting the Palestinian people or striking workers. Some confessional republicans are even members of the social monarchist Labour Party!

However, tactics are about specific moments and situations. This moment is about the formation of Your Party and the centrality of democratic republicanism to this project. The RLEF was represented among a broad range of left groups, including social monarchists, on the basis of fighting for a ‘party republic’. This issue was limited to a democratic constitution for YP. We supported this united front with social monarchists and argued for the republican principle of the ‘sovereignty of the membership’ and regular elections, accountability and recall of representatives.

We refused to make a *programmatic* agreement with the social monarchists. When the proposed Democratic Platform began to dabble in programmatic unity with the social monarchists that was the end of the road. The hegemony of social monarchist ideas in the Labour and trade union movement is a massive limiting factor on the potential of the working class. They have to be challenged on every occasion.

Social monarchism is the ideological subordination of the working class to the capitalist class. The very idea that when the new party is being formed we would capitulate to an unprincipled programmatic bloc in the name of ‘Socialist Unity’ beggars belief. No wonder the monarchy has survived for centuries if politics in the working class movement is about the unprincipled programmatic unity by bending the knee to social monarchism.

What went wrong? The united front on YP democracy started to be reconstructed over our heads or behind our backs. It was constructed on the

principle of unity between social monarchists and social republicans. The hot-potato term, ‘democratic republic’, does not appear in the official YP statement or in this more radical unofficial ‘Socialist Unity Platform’ statement. Why not? The answer is obvious.

You are invited into a house and to help move the furniture around. Next, somebody removes the roof and the rain starts pouring in. Or is it the royal tears of joy? One week later a new roof of a ‘Socialist Unity Platform’ is agreed. Now the house has another roof and another name - politics for the unity of left social monarchists and social republicans. It has the more polite name ‘Socialist Unity Platform’. Yes, we ran out of this house before it starts to burn down!

Making tactical agreements is one thing. Making a programmatic compromise on democratic republican principles is opportunism. It is one thing to have a united front on YP democracy. But to turn into a ‘Social Monarchist Unity Platform’ is a bridge too far. Are we so desperate to remain in this one big tent constructed at the initiative of the Communist Party that we will support such programmatic unity? Will we be banished to the English left’s republican desert for 40 days and nights? We remain firm for YP having a democratic republican constitution rather than a top-down bureaucracy.

Then the *Weekly Worker* editors say that I want no unity “with those whom he calls social monarchists”. The term, ‘social monarchist’, describes an actual social contract between a constitutional monarchy and the working class, created during World War II. We are not inventing this, but telling a truth and not sugar-coating it with phrases about the ‘welfare state’. The editors imply that I invented this so-called ‘social monarchy’ just to be beastly to the poor, downtrodden, left social monarchists who love the 1945 constitutional settlement and want to restore it.It is natural that the *Weekly Worker* editors want to protect their new left monarchist friends in their newly constructed halfway house of ‘socialist unity’. I am condemned for not wanting programmatic unity with social monarchists “or even those who are committed to Socialist Unity as a label of convenience”. This starts to get to the heart of the matter.

This “label of convenience” is surely about rebuilding the Communist Party of Great Britain. The next step, as Jack Conrad was reported as saying in the *Weekly Worker*, is: “... the Communist Platform will be launched in Liverpool - not merely to bear witness, but to exert an influence in favour of democracy and genuine socialism” (Thesis and synthesis’, November 13).

Steve Freeman
 email

My appellation

First of all, thank you for publishing my letter in last week’s *Weekly Worker* (November 20). I note that the heading/title that you gave it was “Nat separatist” - an appellation that I assume wasn’t meant to be complimentary.

I do wonder why you consider it good practice to act in an uncomradely manner towards people who are trying to engage in an honest debate with yourselves around important issues? As an aside, I wonder how you would characterise an organisation that seldom misses an opportunity to defend the integrity of the UK state.

However, I assume that such an appellation is part of your political response to my calling for the *democratic dissolution of the UK union* into its constituent nations as a positive resolution of the various

national questions and a necessary step towards socialism.

My understanding is that the CPGB is in favour of some sort of federal republic as a solution to these various national questions. I assume that you would wish this to be achieved by the democratic activity of the working class to bring about a voluntary union in such a federal republic. That being the case, I would like you to tell your readers, how are the working classes of England, Scotland and Wales to freely express their desires on the issue, unless they have some form of political autonomy/independence from the UK that allows the issues to be debated freely and democratically?

I suggest that this democratic debate would not take place overnight. I contrast such a process with the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, where the people of Scotland were relentlessly bombarded with unionist and anti-Scottish propaganda by the main unionist parties and some socialists, and was certainly not conducted in an atmosphere of freedom.

I look forward to your responses and continuing the debate.

Bob Goupillot
 Republican Socialist Platform

Superb article

Ted Reese’s article last week about the “everything bubble” was superb (‘Capitalism’s structural rot’, November 20). My only criticism concerns the following:

“As the economy deteriorates further, the Fed will have little choice but to once again drop its rate down to zero - as it did for the first time ever in 2009, and then in 2020 - and print money to buy debt from banks and corporations at an even greater rate than it did in 2008 and 2020, when the money supply grew by a shocking 40% in less than two years. The Fed’s coming intervention will again devalue wages and savings, amounting to another - likely greater - round of inflation. Countering inflation will, compared to the past, require limiting bailouts to a smaller proportion of the private sector and making even greater cuts in public spending.”

This is incorrect, I believe, for the simple reason that Federal Reserve interventions are not infinitely repeatable. You can’t do a 2008-style bailout over and over again. If the Fed were to again cut interest rates to zero, markets would panic, the dollar would crash and the central bank would be instantly forced to reverse course. Instead of cutting rates, it would end up raising them.

What Reese’s article shows is that central-bank interventions are increasingly counterproductive and that a massive write-off of financial assets is the only alternative. Markets are gorged on fictitious capital and are fast reaching the point where they can’t take any more.

Daniel Lazare
 New York

Jim’ll sneer at it

It remains incredible to me how the professional problematisers of the ‘communist movement’ in Britain have so uncritically re-engaged with Labourism through their fervent support of the Your Party initiative. Earlier this week, the *Weekly Worker* shared an image on Facebook of a cathedral in Greater Manchester, packed to the rafters with a herd of hungry believers, who were being delivered a sermon from a figure at the altar.

How could the sharp-eyed and sharp-tongued, ruthless criticsers of all that exists miss such a golden opportunity to point to this image as an apt symbol of Labour’s historic roots in Methodism? That an unwavering

faith is a core tenet of said ideology and this could be playing out again through Your Party right now?

With characteristic quick wit, I shared the picture, said that the median age was about 65 and it looked like a shot from a Sunday *Songs of praise*. An RS21 comrade commented that the composition of the hall wasn’t actually *that* old. I replied, saying that it had loads of people from the New Left generation because YP is a project by the New Left generation.

Of course, this is just a facetious remark with some kernel of truth in it. There probably were some younger people there, but, no matter their age or generation, they are all the children of the New Left, who dutifully carry all of its ideas and instincts forward to new moments and horizons. The egregious exploitation of ‘hope’, the myriad failures and betrayals or even the politics in command do not alter the course, when *politics* is religion.

As the saying goes: it’s better to laugh than to cry, and I’m done crying about ‘the left’. Like the rest of the working class, I’m either ignoring or laughing at it now.

Jim
 Rise member Sheffield

Veganuary

You can’t win an argument you don’t make - which is exactly why this letter is needed. Marxists, committed to solidarity, justice and collective liberation, have every reason to champion veganism as part of a broader struggle for a fairer world. If our politics demand that we oppose exploitation, then we must also confront the vast, normalised exploitation taking place in slaughterhouses and factory farms.

We live in a society where we lavish affection on dogs and cats, yet refuse to extend the same empathy to cows or pigs - animals who are just as intelligent, social and capable of suffering. This contradiction isn’t accidental: it is shaped by a system that encourages emotional closeness to some species, while commodifying others for profit. A Marxist analysis reveals how ideology, culture and tradition masks exploitation, teaching us to support the violence built into our diets.

The experience of slaughterhouses makes this violence impossible to ignore. Visit one if you don’t believe me. Animals endure terrifying, painful deaths, while the workers who perform this labour are among the most exploited in the global economy. High injury rates, psychological trauma and unsafe conditions are widespread. The same profit-driven system that treats animals as disposable units of production also treats workers as replaceable cogs. A Marxist vision that seeks to dismantle oppression cannot ignore this intersection of cruelty and exploitation.

Veganism, then, is not simply a dietary choice: it is an act of solidarity with all beings harmed by capitalist food production. It challenges the belief that profit should outweigh life - human or animal - and rejects the commodification of sentient creatures.

Added to this, Dr Michael Greger’s fantastic book, *How not to die*, shows how a plant-based diet prevents disease and, from a Marxist perspective, exposes profit-driven industries that prioritise illness, making plant-based eating a form of resistance to capitalist exploitation.

With the season of generosity approaching, a cruelty-free, peaceful Christmas is a meaningful way to practise compassion. Moreover with Veganuary just around the corner, Marxists have a perfect opportunity to explore this ethical shift.

Tom Taylor
 email

YOUR PARTY

Neither king nor empress

Do not take sides in a power struggle between MPs. Stop the organised left being banned and proscribed. Vote for an emergency, a temporary collective leadership. Fight for a party republic. **Jack Conrad** outlines the communist case

Never before have the hopes of so many been disappointed by the egotism, narrow calculation and control-freakery of so few. Everyone knows the story. Naturally cautious, perhaps vainly hoping to be admitted back into the Labour fold, Jeremy Corbyn delayed and delayed again before finally launching what is, for the moment, still known as Your Party. Nonetheless, more than 850,000 signed up to express an interest.

Already suspended, Zarah Sultana formally resigned from the Labour Party in July 2025, declaring that she would co-found YP alongside Corbyn - the giveaway presumption being that YP would not only have a king, but an empress too. She has recently restated that ambition to "co-lead".¹

While Corbyn was initially prepared to go along with the dual monarchy idea, it was definitely not to the liking of Len McCluskey, former Unite general secretary, and more importantly his partner, Karie Murphy, the *éminence grise*, who ever since her Loto days has acted as the power behind Corbyn's throne.² Nor did Corbyn's wife, Laura Alvarez, want any diminution of his 'legacy' (she has, note, recently been made YP's International Coordinator).

After repeated fallouts in hush-hush meetings of Collective and the Organising Committee over the dual monarchy idea, the six MPs, organised in the Independent Alliance, were supposed to restore peace and put together a working group to steer YP towards the founding conference. It was agreed that the Peace and Justice Project (or Your Party UK Ltd), effectively controlled by Corbyn and Murphy, would take charge of the mailing list, while MoU Operations Ltd (directors former Labour MP Beth Winter, Jamie Driscoll, ex-mayor of North of Tyne and Andrew Feinstein, the former South African MP) would be responsible for holding donations.³ A compromise arrangement which, predictably, did not mark the outbreak of peace. Impatient, and badly advised, Sultana unilaterally launched her membership portal. Within days it notched-up tens of thousands of members and some £800,000 in donations.

Civil war

We, therefore, arrived PDQ at a situation analogous to the 1139-53 fratricidal civil war between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda. School textbooks call it the 'The Anarchy' (with a capital 'T' and a capital 'A'). With the constant skirmishes, raiding, looting and general mayhem, England and Normandy were both devastated. A famous passage from the *Anglo-Saxon chronicle* summed up the situation: "Wheresoever men tilled, the earth bore no corn, for the land was ruined by such deeds; and they said openly that Christ and the saints were asleep."⁴ As for the feudal elite, they frequently changed allegiance or simply pursued their own selfish interests. That is what has happened in Your Party.

King Jeremy now cuts something of a lonely figure. He has just two other MPs on side: Shockat Adam and Ayoub Khan. There are no trade union barons, no corps of local councillors, no clique of adoring intellectuals. The organised left has been completely alienated - that is for sure.

True, Corbyn has his Peace and Justice Project. This provides the wherewithal for a little team of brown nosers and ladder climbers. Acting



Wonder who the comrades are backing?

fully in the spirit of HR department henchmen, justifying themselves with AI voodoo doodoo, they are the 'facilitators' who have presided over the farcical regional assemblies. No proper debate, no votes, no self-organisation has been allowed (though east London and Sheffield successfully rebelled). In the name of founding "the most democratic" party "this country has ever seen", members have been cynically put together into harmless groups of ten and treated with utter condescension. Suggestions were meant to be written down and passed on by the 'facilitators' before being processed by the magic of AI. Typically there was not even the pretence of that. Instead cynicism reigned. Hence the deep well of resentment.

On the face of it, Empress Zarah is far weaker. Despite a BBC *Question time* appearance, unlike Corbyn, she has limited household name recognition. Nor does she have any other MP on her side. Andrew Feinstein counts as a kind of confederate, so, maybe, does Salma Yaqoob. Moreover, under legal threats MoU Operations Ltd, of which she is now the sole director, has been forced to hand over £200,000 (more is promised, albeit in "tranches").

However, what Sultana can do - and is doing - is exploit rank-and-file frustration. So-called proto-branches have formed up and down the country - in reality they are branches - but have had to rely on existing left organisations, local political circles and social media because Your Party UK Ltd, refuses to pass on contact details. Tellingly, the lists are treated as private property.

Nonetheless, the branches are real and Sultana has become their champion, not least by posing left and opposing the Corbyn-Murphy unilateral ban on members of national leftwing organisation from joining. Sultana also condemns the IHRA so-called definition of anti-Semitism, echoes trans rights exclusionary mantras, takes occasional pots against landlords and even peppers her speeches with half-digested Lenin quotes. Note, the Independent Alliance has more than its fair share of petty landlords and small businessmen.

As might be expected, the overall

effect, of what is an ongoing civil war, has been profound disorientation and demoralisation. Out of the initial 850,000 only around 53,000 have actually signed up, most, if the regional assemblies are anything to go by, are veterans. Younger comrades seem to have voted with their feet. Many thousands will have joined the Green Party, not least because of Zack Polanski's stunning leadership victory in September. Moreover, Adnan Hussain MP has jumped ship. So too has Iqbal Mohamed MP. Jamie Driscoll has returned to his Majority UK localist vanity project. Even previously loyal Corbynites, Mark Serwotka, former PCS general secretary, and Beth Winter, former MP, have rebelled over HQ not handing over contact details ... and treating Wales with "contempt".⁵ Worryingly, nation, not class, seems to come first with both of them.

Shrunken pool

However, ironically, because of the unexpectedly shrunken sortition pool, the failure to finance transport and accommodation costs, a pervasive 'why bother' rank and file attitude after the regional assemblies and with all the infighting, the organised left can expect to have a healthy proportion of those actually going to Liverpool. Maybe the purge will begin on the doors of the ACC. Maybe not. Either way, the organised left, because it is the *organised* left, carries a special responsibility.

The Liverpool conference, for all its many shortcomings and flaws, is the *legitimate* sovereign authority in Your Party. As such it should set its own agenda and, crucially, elect an emergency, a provisional, a temporary leadership tasked with encouraging, organising and financing the branches and preparing a fully democratic conference in 2026 based on elected and accountable branch delegates (we would recommend by STV).

If the organised left fails to carry out its duty, if it adopts a timid, reformist approach, if it lacks the willpower, if it relies on Corbyn-Murphy, the Independent Alliance, Peace and Justice and an OMOV leadership election somewhere down the line, then it will do more than condemn

itself to an inevitable witch-hunt. It will betray the hopes expressed by the initial 850,000 ... indeed it will betray the interests of the working class. Yet another lost opportunity to do something really serious in these really serious times ... climate crisis, the rollback on basic democratic rights, the distinct possibility of a hot war between the US and China.

We should add here, for the sake of clarity, that communists do not reject the concept of leaders and leadership - to do so would be both absurd and self-defeating. No class in history has ever achieved victory without cultivating, testing and pushing forward capable individuals: Solon and Cleisthenes, Pericles and Demosthenes, Lucius Sextius Lateranus and Tiberius Gracchus, Oliver Cromwell and Thomas Fairfax, Maximilien Robespierre, Georges Danton and Jean-Paul Marat, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, Zhu Yuanzhang, Sun Yat-sen and Mao Zedong.

Likewise, in our struggle to supersede capitalism, we need our theoretically educated, programmatically armed, far sighted and tactically astute leaders. Whatever their class origins, their gender, their ethnicity, such people are not two-a-penny. They should be valued. However, those leaders should not be self-appointed. Nor should they be elected via a referendum. A recipe for a budding Bonaparte who rides roughshod over national committees, etc, because they were elected as The Leader by an atomised membership.

Because it is an underclass, the working class needs the 'light and air' of democracy.⁶ Without that it cannot self-organise and it cannot self-liberate. That is why democracy in trade unions, in our workplaces, in society at large is a profoundly important question for the working class. The same goes for our party. Therefore, what is required is a collective leadership ... or, to use an evocative phrase, a party republic.

Leaders must not only be elected. They must be *recallable* by their peers. Branch officers should be elected - and recallable - by branch members. Regional officers should be elected - and recallable - by members of regional committees. National officers, including the legally required position of 'leader' - should be elected - and recallable by the national committee. Comrades who work alongside you, get to know your talents, your strengths and your failings.

Given the straight choice of a leadership vote between Jeremy Corbyn and Zarah Sultana we might well choose the latter. But we do not want to choose between king and empress. That would be a big mistake. Yes, there is the Revolutionary Communist Group, who seem to imagine that in Zarah Sultana they have found their Ferdinand Lassalle, their Fidel Castro, their Ho Chi Minh, their Hugo Chávez. The Spartacist League seems to take a not dissimilar view.⁷

But we do not want a Bonaparte, a labour dictator of any kind. Nor do we want Sultana's politics. She still instinctively reaches for identity politics. After all, she cut her teeth on the executives of the NUS and Young Labour before pursuing her parliamentary career. Hence Sultana, somewhat bizarrely, demands "gender balance" (she is the only woman in the Independent Alliance), threatened her

own legal action against the Corbyn-Murphy faction (now thankfully withdrawn as an "act of good faith") and bitterly complains about a "sexist boys club", because she has effectively been excluded from decision-making (which is certainly true). Nevertheless, because of her, surely calculated, left posturing, she does have the backing of much of the left - for now at least.

Selective memory

The SWP's Alex Callinicos pleads for reconciliation, when it comes to king and empress: "We must ... demand the two factions reach a compromise. History will not forgive them if they throw this opportunity away."⁸ Others have sung the same subordinate tune: eg, Andrew Murray in the *Morning Star*.⁹

Despite the feigned evenhandedness, it is altogether clear where the sympathies of comrade Callinicos lie. Despite this or that minor criticism, they lie squarely with Zarah Sultana. He gushes: "Sultana's vision of a dynamic and democratic left party that fights oppression, not simply an election machine, has captured the imagination of tens of thousands." Callinicos also acclaims Sultana for her implicit threat to exclude "socially conservative" Muslims.¹⁰

Proof of the SWP's infatuation, if you needed it, comes with the latest edition of *Socialist Worker* and Tomáš Tengely-Evans and his 'exclusive' Zarah Sultana praise song with back-up vocals provided by Lewis Neilson, national secretary, on pages four and five.

Either way, a couple of decades ago comrade Callinicos would have condemned such a statement as 'Islamophobic', even though it came from a fellow Muslim (see below). Meanwhile, let us outline our approach to the "socially conservative", Muslim or otherwise. It is education, education, education, not exclusion, exclusion, exclusion.

Education requires patience and above all a striving for unity in action. After all, the class struggle itself is a great teacher. Eg, the everyday 'homophobia' that passed with barely a comment in Britain's coal mining communities was brilliantly challenged just with the formation of Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners. This was, of course, under the inspired leadership of Mark Ashton, in the midst of the 1984-85 Great Strike.¹¹ Another cultural game changer was Women Against Pit Closures, which united the women with their striking fathers, partners and sons against the common enemy: Margaret Thatcher and her Tory government, Ian McGregor and the Coal Broad, the police, the mainstream media and the Judas, Neil Kinnock.

We should also recognise that 'transphobia' stems not only from bigotry: there are real concerns amongst some women. It might too be a good idea to stop medicalising what are political, economic and cultural issues, which need to be approached as such. Eg, labelling next to everything a 'phobia' individualises next to everything. Driving out individual transgressors is a gift to our enemies. Unfortunately, just what SWPers in Edinburgh YP have been "successfully" arguing: "transphobic opportunists should be expelled" they say.¹² Dumb.

We must, of course, stick to our socialist principles and resolutely defend trans people against state, media and rightwing attacks and demand all reasonable measures to

overcome demonisation, disadvantage and discrimination. We should also insist that MPs follow the instructions of our conferences and elected leadership, when it comes to parliamentary votes. Conscience clauses should be rejected as a matter of principle. And we should insist on the principle that our MPs and other elected representatives accept only the average skilled worker’s wage. The rest should be donated to the party.

What of comrade Callinicos? Is he suffering from selective memory syndrome? As a member of the second generation of SWP leaders - others included John Rees, Charlie Kimber, Lindsey German, Martin Smith, Amy Leather and Chris Bambery - he presided over the Respect popular front party alongside George Galloway, Yvonne Ridley, Nick Wrack, Alan Thornet, Salma Yaqoob, the Muslim Association of Britain and various British-Asian businessmen. Even though the SWP had a majority, when it came to conference votes, it was its “socially conservative” allies who set the programmatic limits ... the result being that Respect stood on a conservatively *tailored* platform in elections.

To keep this so-called “united front between revolutionary socialists and Muslim activists” together, SWP tops ensured that their members were corralled to vote down motions advocating international socialism, republicanism, replacing the standing army with a popular militia, opposition to migration controls, abortion rights, etc. The electorate must not be put off. Such was the Blairite argument of SWP speakers.¹³

Just prior to that, before Respect was formerly established, Lindsey German, speaking at the SWP’s annual Marxism school in July 2003, said this: “I’m in favour of defending gay rights, but I am *not* prepared to have it as a shibboleth”. Her concern was potential Muslim voters. Those who disagreed were, yes, branded ‘Islamophobes’. This was, as we said at the time, the SWP’s “clause 4 moment”.¹⁴

Did comrade Callinicos raise his voice? Did he express his outrage? Did he rebel? You’ve already guessed the answer: it is thrice no! Instead he singled out the CPGB and the “poisonous” *Weekly Worker* as the ‘proper object’ of his anger.¹⁵

When CPGB comrades handed out a leaflet warning against any dropping of gay rights for the sake of electoral expediency, the SWP leadership reacted with fury and our comrades were physically attacked. The SWP ignored our formal letter of complaint and brushed aside our subsequent protests. As if the SWP would ever contemplate ditching its commitment to gay rights! In Respect, of course, it did just that: LGBT rights were “*deliberately* omitted” from the May 2005 general election manifesto.¹⁶

When, today, comrade Callinicos self-righteously sides with Sultana and condemns tolerating “socially conservative” individuals, he would, if he were honest, openly admit his shameful role in Respect.

Sultana’s vision

What about Sultana’s “vision of a dynamic and *democratic* left party” that so impresses comrade Callinicos?¹⁷ Well, although Sultana talks the talk of democracy and membership control, what she appears to mean by that is a dual monarchy presiding over an OMOV Zoomocracy.¹⁸ Largely *passive* members, sit at home in front of their PCs, laptops and smartphones, vote on selected issues every once in a while. But - and this is the great virtue for the aristocracy of MPs and their hangers-on - branches, conference debates and blocs of leftwing delegates can be safely sidelined or swamped in an avalanche of clicks.

OMOV appears as the epitome of

democracy. We emphatically support ‘one member, one vote’ for branch committees, electing conference delegates, etc. However, there were good reasons why the Blairites introduced OMOV by isolated members in Labour Party elections during the 1990s. It gave Tony Blair and his clique a “vice-like grip” and reduced annual conference to a “rubber stamp”.¹⁹

It is, of course, rather doubtful that Sultana has the Blairite ascendancy as her model. More likely she takes inspiration from Spain’s Podemos. Breaking with the dreadfully ‘old-fashioned’ ways of doing things in the workers’ movement, Podemos excitedly proclaimed itself to be the latest word in ‘horizontalist’ organisation. Predictably, though, its local ‘circles’ exercised no effective power; true, all Podemos members got to vote online. The result was, though, thoroughly Blairite. It gave Pablo Iglesias Turrión a “vice-like grip” over an extraordinarily vertical organisation (well, from 2014 till his resignation in 2021). He became second deputy prime minister in 2020 and Podemos served as a left parliamentary prop for the ‘progressive’, pro-monarchy, pro-Nato, pro-capitalist government of Pedro Sánchez.

Then there is Jean-Luc Mélenchon’s La France Insoumise (‘France Unbowed’). Inspired by Podemos, LFI likewise boasts of being an up-to-the-minute ‘hoizontalist’ organisation, but once again its ‘groups of action’ and ‘spaces’ lack autonomy, their own finances and ability to initiate. There is performative consultation. Conferences chosen by sortition too. But in reality, things are decided above, conveyed downwards and then endorsed online. Mélenchon’s ‘charisma’ being used to achieve desired outcomes.

So, on the face of it, when it comes to organisational models, there is not really much separating Sultana and Murphy. Note, *Le Monde* headlined its report on YP: “UK’s Corbyn follows in footsteps of France’s Mélenchon”.²⁰ No wonder there are whispers of Jean-Luc himself doing a star turn in Liverpool.

Organised left

We are told that members of any other “national party” are now officially barred from YP. In other words approved *local parties* which are registered with the electoral commission are welcome, but members of the SWP, SPEW, Counterfire, CPGB, etc, should keep out.

Tragically, this sets up YP for the sort of disastrous purge regime which repeatedly ripped through the Labour Party during the 1920s and 30s. Communists were banned and proscribed by rule. Principled leftwingers fought back through the National Leftwing Movement. Many were expelled. Naturally, however, there were those on the sham left who refused to fight the witch-hunt, arguing that the communists were disruptive, that the Labour Party could be reformed through a slow, patient approach and not rocking the boat. Attempts to win CPGB affiliation, of course, repeatedly failed. Labour, founded in 1900 as a united front of a special kind, eg, an organisation of *all* groups and trends in the labour movement, became the property of the pro-capitalist right.

The same happened on a vastly smaller scale with Arthur Scargill’s Socialist Labour Party in the late 1990s. CPGB comrades were targeted from day one by the Fourth International Supporters Caucus, which acted as Scargill’s enforcers. While communists were the first to be purged they were far from being the last. Again there were those who joined in the witch-hunting, or turned a blind eye, in the name of

putting politics first and not getting diverted by organisational questions (as if organisational questions are not political). Scargill went on to kick out one group after another, including Fisc, till only a pathetic little rump remained.

A YP version of Labour’s bans and prescriptions would be a similar disaster. If implemented, it will sow fear and distrust, and deprive branches of many of their best activists and organisers. For Karie Murphy, that is no problem. She envisages a party without strong, self-organising branches. Instead she appears to favour a YP version of ‘circles’, local assemblies and carefully managed online votes. The Leader and their courtiers calling the shots.

Driving out so-called ‘enemies within’ will definitely kill any possibility of building YP from below and will certainly be a huge diversion from fighting the real enemy, which is without: Donald Trump, Nato, Israel’s genocidal Zionist regime, Sir Keir Starmer, Elon Musk, Nigel Farage, Tommy Robinson, etc.

Nationally organised left groups have responded in one of two ways: surrender or resistance.

The *Morning Star*’s Communist Party of Britain has surrendered. Though there are more than a few CPBers who *openly* signed up for YP, general secretary Robert Griffiths insisted that the CPB opposes “secretive ‘entryism’ into other parties”. This is the line the CPB agreed at its November 14-16 congress in Sheffield.

Leave aside Andrew Murray’s entry into Loto as a Unite-seconded Corbyn advisor, according to comrade Griffiths ‘entryism’ leads to charges of “dishonesty and bad faith, including from potential allies in our broad movement work”.²¹

Not the practice of the old CPGB historically, of course, but a CPB attempt to prove its respectability and trustworthiness to the trade union and labour bureaucracy. A grovelling approach which saw comrade Griffiths actually promising Labour’s general secretary, Iain McNicol, that he would expel any CPB member who had joined in order to support Corbyn while he was leader.²²

Comrade Griffiths also fears that the views of CPB members will be “misrepresented” by the media, anti-communist parties and sects looking to set party members against “Communist Party policy and against one another”. This rings true. Comrade Griffiths dreads polemic and members thinking for themselves. However, scraping the bottom of the barrel, he went on to say that as members of YP, “Communists would be *obliged* to promote policies which could directly contradict communist policies (eg, women’s rights, immigration, federalism, the EU, Nato, China, electoral alliances).”²³ Obligated! Utter nonsense! No-one has suggested that the YP operate the sort of bureaucratic centralist regime practised by the CPB, SWP, SPEW, etc. Clearly, he has had all the fight knocked out of him long ago. (He formally resigned at the CPB’s Sheffield congress and is due to depart for Portugal in January 2026 and permanent retirement. A replacement is yet to be announced.)

Thankfully the SWP is, like ourselves, committed to an altogether different approach: resistance. National Secretary, Lewis Nielsen, has attended the Socialist Unity Platform, and the comrades seem up for a fight. Reading *Party Notes*, we find not only a broadly correct explanation of the Corbyn-Sultana civil war as being rooted in “electoralism and Labourism”: SWP members are also told to “sign up and encourage others to do so”. A convenient weblink is provided.²⁴

The comrades quote the email barring members of “another political

party”. But, quite legitimately, ask: “Who made this decision? Was there any democratic process? Do the members support it?” Instead of surrender, *Party Notes* tells SWP members to join “now” and “contest” the ban on the organised left. The SWP says the “clique” which decided on the bar “may well back down”. Frankly, comrades we see no evidence of that.

Either way, on this occasion, three cheers for the SWP. Surrender offers no chance of success. Resistance, at least, offers the chance.

Our approach

We say that there should be elections in YP from the bottom up. Branches must be autonomous, not mere transmission belts, and therefore free to elect their own committees and delegates to regional and national conferences. Being popular, clever ... or even a landlord should bar no one. Remember Friedrich Engels was a full-blown capitalist! No less to the point, nor should political shade, background or factional loyalty to a pre-existing nationally organised group. Electing someone you trust, someone you have hopes for, someone who you agree with, someone you believe will perform well - all that should be considered perfectly normal. Not something to be feared and guarded against.

So the right to form, or belong to, a temporary or a permanent faction or platform should be guaranteed in the rules. Moreover, all committees, up to and including the national committee, ought to be elected, accountable and recallable. The same applies, as we have argued, to officers, but also councillors and MPs. They must be our servants, not our masters. They should certainly not use their positions to further business interests and build patronage relationships. Councillors, MPs, etc, must represent the party, not the atomised mass of their constituents. We want dedicated class fighters.

Along the same lines, whoever the national committee elects as ‘party leader’ should have no more than a symbolic, nominal role, so as to formally comply with the requirements of electoral law. The unifying ‘who will be the leader’ dispute between Corbyn and Sultana - both career politicians - testifies to a monarchical mindset that ought to be discarded once and for all. No king! No empress!

Programme vital

While organisational models, rules and norms are important, programme is vital.

We communists agree with, and will seek to work closely with, those who want a complete break with Labourism, broad-frontism and all varieties of reformism. Historically, not only has Labourism predictably failed to produce socialism: halfway houses such as Die Linke, Podemos, Syriza and Respect have proved next to useless too. The same has to be said of Corbynism and Corbyn’s *capitulationist* leadership of the Labour Party between 2015 and 2020.

Harking back to the “mass appeal and bold policy” of Corbyn’s *For the many, not the few*, as Zarah Sultana does,²⁵ simply will not do. Indeed it screams of a total failure of the imagination. Programmatically, *For the many* did not even pass muster as reformist. It was, at best, sub-reformist: a hopeless promise of a nicer, a kinder, a fairer capitalism. Such are the delusions brought about by capitalist realism.

We openly seek to transform the YP into a Communist Party. Fundamentally that means equipping YP with a Marxist minimum-maximum programme. The minimum programme is the maximum we can achieve under capitalist conditions and the minimum we require if the YP is to enter or form a government:

eg, abolish the monarchy and the House of Lords, establish a federal republic of England, Scotland and Wales, support Irish unity, replace the standing army with a popular militia, oppose all imperialist wars, alliances and occupations, proportional representation, go beyond carbon neutral, free movement of labour, work at full trade union rates of pay, abolish the anti-trade union laws, healthcare for all, genuine equality for women, end discrimination against sexual minorities. With state power (albeit in the form of a semi-state) secured, the maximum programme of transitioning to full communism and the principle of ‘From each according to their ability, to each according to their needs’ begins.

Something which, of course, has to be international in scope. There can be no local or national socialism.²⁶ ●

Notes

- 1. Email, November 23 2025.
- 2. Having worked for Tom Watson as his office manager, Karie Murphy joined Jeremy Corbyn as his chief-of-staff in the Leader of the Opposition’s Office in February 2019. A post she retained till April 2019, after which she went on to work in Labour’s HQ on behalf of Corbyn.
- 3. From Memorandum of Understanding, MoU was established in April 2025 and was to hold donations until Your Party was formally registered with the Electoral Commission and then transfer the funds.
- 4. readingroom.ms/4/0/3/7/40371/40371-h/40371-h.htm#X1.
- 5. x.com/BethWinterCynon/status/199033392577693138.
- 6. A metaphor which originates with Frederick Engels and his 1865 ‘The Prussian military question and the German workers’ party’ (K Marx and F Engels *CW* Vol 20, Moscow 1985, p78). Karl Kautsky adopted the phrase and included it in the *Erfurt programme*. Lenin, of course, being a Russian Erfurtian made it his own.
- 7. Vincent David, Letters, *Weekly Worker*, November 6 2025 (weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/1560/letters).
- 8. A Callinicos *Socialist Worker* September 24 2025.
- 9. Murray writes that the “apparent implosion of Your Party is a mortifying moment for the left in Britain” and quips: “Never have the hopes of so many been dashed by so few” (‘Your Party, their crisis, our hopes dashed?’ *Morning Star* September 20 2025).
- 10. *Pink News* September 9 2025.
- 11. For our obituary of comrade Ashton, see M Fischer ‘Good man fallen amongst Euros’ *Weekly Worker* September 25 2014 (weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/1027/a-good-man-fallen-amongst-euros). Incidentally this is a reprint from *The Leninist*, and it should also be added that we had real hopes of winning comrade Ashton to our ranks.
- 12. Alex, Archie and Malachi, Letters, *Socialist Worker* November 19 2025.
- 13. See ‘Rees lays it on the line’ *Weekly Worker* July 9 2003 (weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/488/marxism-2003-rees-lays-it-on-the-line); ‘No respect for principles’ *Weekly Worker* February 19 2004 (weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/516/no-respect-for-principles); ‘The modern Janus’ *Weekly Worker* November 17 2005 (weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/601/the-modern-janus).
- 14. J Conrad ‘No compromise on sexism and homophobia’ *Weekly Worker* July 10 2003 (weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/488/no-compromise-on-sexism-and-homophobia).
- 15. J Conrad ‘Respect and opportunism’ *Weekly Worker* January 22 2004 (weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/512/respect-and-opportunism).
- 16. P Manson ‘Gay rights “shibboleth”’ *Weekly Worker* November 24 2005 (weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/602/gay-rights-shibboleth).
- 17. My emphasis - A Callinicos *Socialist Worker* September 24 2025.
- 18. *Novara Media* July 28 2025.
- 19. A Seldon and D Kavanagh (eds) *The Blair effect 2001-05* Cambridge 2005, p115.
- 20. *Le Monde* August 4 2025.
- 21. ‘Interview with Rob Griffiths’ *Unity* September 2025, p11.
- 22. This is what he wrote to witch-finder general, Iain McNicol: “Should you or your staff have any evidence that Communist Party members have joined the Labour Party without renouncing their CP membership, or engaged in any similar subterfuge, please inform me, so that action can be taken against them for bringing our party into disrepute” ... Griffiths signed it with “comradely regards” (21centurymanifesto.wordpress.com/2016/07/12/communist-infiltration-of-labour).
- 23. My emphasis - ‘Interview with Rob Griffiths’ *Unity* September 2025, p11.
- 24. *Party Notes* September 29 2025.
- 25. *Sidecar* interview, August 17 2025.
- 26. See CPGB *Draft programme* London 2025.

YOUR PARTY

Assert sovereignty of members

Instead of a Bonapartist regime, witch-hunts and cynical manipulation, **Carla Roberts** calls for a collective leadership elected by democratically chosen delegates. But everything relies of the left giving a lead and voting for an emergency resolution and a temporary national committee

“We promised to do things differently - and we have.”

There is no denying that this first sentence on the Your Party website is absolutely spot on. This launch conference has become one of the biggest stitch-ups in the history of the workers’ movement, certainly in Britain. Members have been entirely sidelined and bamboozled with sham democracy by sitting together in non-voting circles, discussing things, while nobody at HQ has had to pay any attention to their actual views. Instead of real democracy, the plan is that we will be given a temporary leadership chosen by sortition - something we must absolutely resist (see below).

The issue of ‘dual membership’ reflects quite what a stitch-up this is. We know that in every single regional assembly, members have expressed their opposition to a ban on existing left groups. Dozens, if not hundreds, of people have inserted amendments into the clunky crowd editing tool. And yet this is what conference is being presented with:

Option A - Dual membership with aligned allied parties

Members shall be permitted to hold membership in other national political parties where they have been approved by the CEC as aligning with the party’s values, to include those with whom the party cooperates electorally. The approved list shall be subject to ongoing CEC review and annual ratification by national conference. Option B - No dual membership Members may not hold membership in any other national political party.

This is a choice between ‘Do you want the left to get banned - or *really* banned?’ It gets worse: while there was a possibility to move some amendments online for a measly 36 hours, this did not apply to this point and a number of other sections. The reason: HQ presents them as so-called ‘roadmap amendments’, which allegedly have taken on board the feedback from the assemblies, etc, meaning they have to be ‘protected’ from, you know, the members at conference. Any amendment presented as part of the ‘roadmap’ is basically set in stone. Karie Murphy really has outdone herself with this little trick.

Weekly Worker supporters will be arguing for a point of order at conference to demand that ‘roadmap options’ are open for debate and actual amendment. Clearly conference should be able to change anything in front of it - it is, as the constitution states, ‘sovereign’.

In the case of the dual membership, we would want to amend option A, along the lines of what the *Sheffield Demands* argue for - delete everything after ‘national political parties’ and replace with: ‘Members have full rights to organise openly into tendencies or platforms, permanent or temporary, and advocate publicly for political positions, even if they differ from the current majority.’

If Your Party is launched with a witch-hunt against the left, it clearly could not become any kind of useful vehicle to unite the left - or, for that matter, the working class. It would exclude right from the start many of the most active and dedicated members. It appears Jeremy Corbyn



Frontispiece of Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651), depicting the sovereign as a massive body, composed of many individuals

has learned absolutely nothing from the witch-hunt in the Labour Party. He sacrificed his supporters then, in the hope of appeasing the right. Why is he supporting a purge now, when there is not even any pressure on the party to do so? Presumably this is aimed at pre-empting any attempt to tarnish Your Party as being part of the hard left or some such nonsense.

Organised left

Of course, such a ban would not even work, on many levels. It would not work politically, as Corbyn really should have worked out. Every time he took a step back when he was leader of the Labour Party, the right moved two steps forward. Every time he threw one of his supporters to the wolves, the right came for two more. In the end, of course, they got Corbyn himself.

It also would not work on a more basic level: Members of the Socialist Workers Party and other groups would still be involved in Your Party - but they would have been forced to do so wearing different hats. Much better if we know which organisations these

comrades *really* represent.

We must also keep in mind that witch-hunts really do have a habit of spiralling out of control. Some people at the launch conference might be tempted to support banning the SWP, because it either aims to control or else jeopardises anything it touches. But we should not think for a moment that the SWP is the only target of this campaign against the left: anybody who becomes a problem could be gotten rid of - and that includes members of harmless campaigns and organisations like the Democratic Bloc or RS21.

We also must get rid of the next proposed rule (which is up for amendment - at least theoretically): ‘Members may not affiliate with or participate in organisations undermining party values or actively seeking to undermine the party. Such matters shall be subject to ongoing CEC review.’

If this is aimed at the right, it is superfluous, because adherence to the party programme is covered elsewhere. But, we fear, this is aimed chiefly at trouble makers from the

left. It makes mere ‘association’ with particular organisations a possible offence. Again, the same kind of rule that allowed the Labour Party bureaucracy to get rid of Corbyn supporters who ‘liked’ a Facebook post by an organisation critical of what Labour was doing. And now Your Party could be trying to establish exactly the same! We have submitted an amendment to delete this. However, taking into account that our amendment on the ‘dual membership’ might not even be heard, we also propose to replace this sentence with: ‘Members have full rights to organise openly into tendencies or platforms, permanent or temporary, and advocate publicly for political positions, even if they differ from the current majority.’

Incidentally, we hear that the Socialist Party has been ‘promised’ that it will be safe from any purges, as long as its members wear the hat of its lame front organisation, the Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition. Is that the real reason why SPEW has been so quiet and has not got involved with the Socialist Unity Platform? That would be quite amazing, considering

that SPEW’s forerunner, Militant, was brutally witch-hunted in the Labour Party in the 1980s. Silence on the issue of an impending witch-hunt is complicity. It is also incredibly stupid if the comrades really believe what Karie Murphy promises them. As soon as it becomes a ‘problem’, Tusc will be taken off the ‘good list’ and will go into Saint Jeremy’s bad books.

Which leadership

It looked like a pretty boring video interview, with lots of head-nodding and the usual ‘I just want unity’ - but in the middle of Jeremy Corbyn’s 30-minute video with the *New Statesman*, he suddenly dropped this bombshell: ‘The purpose of the conference is to legally and formally endorse and establish the party, elect a group of people to manage the process going forward. The Independence Alliance group of MPs were only ever there to steward us towards the conference, not to take political decisions and we’ll take it from there.’¹

Well, that’s certainly news to us - and every single rank and file member of Your Party. For 24 hours, social media was ablaze with excitement: will we actually get to elect a *real* leadership at conference and take the party out of the hands of the cynical bureaucrats at the top?

Alas, no such luck. The *One year strategy guide* contains, hidden away in a new point 4.iv, a proposal for a ‘new Members’ Oversight Committee’, which, for the short period between the founding conference and the election of the first CEC in February, will ‘act as caretakers, executing the democratic wishes of the party, as voted on by members in the founding conference.’ Oh and guess how those five will be chosen? By ‘sortition from the whole membership’!

This proposal is a clear admission of guilt. The current leadership has utterly and totally messed up, on every

Conference notes:

1. That the existing proposal requires the YP is led by the Independent Alliance MPs until March 2026.
2. That 2 of the 4 original Independent Alliance MPs have left YP.
3. That this pattern of leadership has led to a damaging regime of public argument at the top of YP.

Believes:

1. Your Party has a massive potential, but to reach that potential it needs to immediately establish itself as an outward looking, radical, mass movement party of the whole left. We have to amplify, for example, anti austerity, pro-Palestine, anti-racist, anti-oppression and fighting trade

union movements. Your Party must take the qualitative leap to trust its own members.

2. A new, more stable caretaker leadership is needed to see us through to a properly elected delegate conference no later than June 2026.
3. That a caretaker executive of 11 people should be elected at this current conference.

Resolves:

1. To take nominations on the first day of conference. Any Your Party member shall be eligible whether or not they are conference delegates.
2. To hold a ballot on the second day of conference.
3. The ballot paper to list all those

Your Party members nominated by 10 delegates.

4. The voting method used shall be Single Transferrable Vote under the Droop quota (most commonly known as Scottish STV), so as to ensure proportional representation and pluralistic leadership within the interim CEC. This can be easily organised with a software like Opavote (cost for 2,000 = \$160) and allows participants to vote via their phone, email or by filling out a paper ballot.
5. The new leadership will as a matter of urgency assist members to establish branches that can elect delegates to a conference ●

Support this emergency motion

single level. Zarah Sultana has long been frozen out and two of the six MPs who were allegedly ‘steering’ Your Party have now resigned. Not that any of them have ever been really involved with Your Party - that is all down to Corbyn’s right-hand woman, Karie Murphy. This has become abundantly clear from the MPs’ resignation statements. Even hard-core Corbyn loyalists (and there are still a few of them around) could not stomach the idea of Karie Murphy being seen to run the show for another four months.

Together with bringing the CEC elections forward by a month, this proposal is supposed to take the wind out of the sails of those, like the *Weekly Worker* and Counterfire, who have been arguing for an emergency motion at conference that would elect a new emergency steering committee, tasked with organising a reconstituted conference in June. The proposal is aimed at side-lining the Socialist Unity Platform and the many members in the branches who have been increasingly vocal in their opposition to the lack of democracy and transparency in the party. Clearly, the many problems in Your Party will not be solved by a group of sortitioned members, who might well have no experience in how to run a local five-a-side football club, let alone a membership organisation of over 54,000! Which is, of course, exactly why HQ is proposing this - it will keep Karie Murphy firmly in charge, while giving the appearance that five randomly chosen poor sods are now in charge of things.

The closer to conference we get, the more shambolic things look. The current leadership needs to go, and it needs to go now! We support the emergency motion put forward by Counterfire and the SWP. We had proposed a very similar motion to the Socialist Unity Platform, which at first was agreed. But, the closer we got to conference, the more the representatives at the SUP organising meeting started to suffer from cold feet.

On November 22, SUP agreed (by 15 to 11 votes)² instead on an emergency motion that, yes, still called for a reconstituted conference, but gave up the fight to elect an emergency leadership at conference. Instead, it accepted the amendment by the Trans Liberation Group to call for the election of seven ‘returning officers’, who would be charged with

overseeing the CEC elections. At best, that would have established a dual-power situation. At worst, Karie Murphy would have simply told them to get lost.

Groups like the Democratic Bloc, Socialist Alternative, Ken Loach’s Platform for a Democratic Party, the Trans Liberation Group and even a section of the Democratic Socialists (at our November 22 meeting, their two reps were split on pretty much every single issue) argued in that meeting that we should not be seen as “wreckers”. The most conservative rep was Taisee, a member of the national executive of RS21 - she argued against moving any motion at all! When a comrade argued we should be prepared to cohere our heckles at conference, she wrote in the chat: “This is not the time for heckles. This is the time for discipline.” Fine leadership indeed.

Clearly, we should hold Jeremy Corbyn at his word and demand a democratic election of an emergency leadership, with a proper CEC elected at a reconstituted conference in June. Yes, there are many problems in how the conference has been put together - but it is the most democratic expression of the organisation yet.

So it is fortunate that the most recent SUP meeting on November 26 tilted away from the previous timid, backward, fearful position. Though a single speaker, Jack Conrad, out of a good handful, urged giving full support to the Counterfire/SWP emergency motion, the 14:12 vote marks a belated recognition that we have a real opportunity to turn the Liverpool conference around in favour of genuine democracy. True, some in the minority disingenuously *complained* that more had spoken against the change of line, than for a change of line! But the vote, though narrow, should be taken as authoritative. That is democracy.

Not that the vote is binding on every group signed up to SUP. Each must decide. If the minority want to scab on the SUP majority and the Counterfire/SWP emergency motion, so be it. We very much hope, however, that the comrades appreciate that unity is strength. Divided we shall certainly fall.

Leadership model

With the conference papers only having been published at 8.30pm on Tuesday November 25, we did not have time to do a thorough analysis

(which is, of course, exactly why it has been left so late). But a few things really stand out.

Somewhat surprisingly, in the *draft constitution* there is a real ‘improvement’ on the question of the leadership. This is, we should say, not a nod to democracy on the part of Karie Murphy - but a rather blatant attempt to stop Sultana’s proposal for a co-leadership. Apparently, “feedback from the assemblies organised by Your Party across the country showed the single-leader model was more popular” than the co-leadership aspired to by Sultana and her followers. Corbyn never supported co-leadership - in fact, Karie Murphy closed down the secretive Organising Group, after it voted for a dual monarchy. Clearly, they think that Corbyn would win in a straight contest with Sultana. From what we can gather though, that looks more than a little uncertain - the shine really has come off the man in recent months, while Sultana is at least posing left, giving expression to the frustrations felt by many members.

Possibly having been told in advance that the option of co-leadership is off the table, Sultana recently tweeted: “As I have always said, subject to members’ vote, I wish to co-lead this party with Jeremy, and I believe that conference should have the opportunity to vote on that option.”³ We rather expect such an arrangement would have been about as viable as the so-called ‘two-state solution’ in Israel-Palestine - ie, not at all. No, we do not want one, two or three Bonapartes at the top of the party - we need a collective leadership instead of the *Führerprinzip*.

There is now an Option B under point 3c of the constitution, which proposes: “The party shall be collectively led by ordinary members elected to the Central Executive Committee, with the chair, vice-chair and spokesperson in particular serving as the public political leadership”. Entirely supportable - and in stark contrast to Option A, which proposes the election of a strong “Leader who shall provide political, strategic and symbolic leadership”.

Also positive is the clarification that “The CEC shall elect from *within their number* national officers, including chair, deputy chair, secretary, treasurer, political officer and spokesperson, who shall alongside the leader make up the officers groups” (emphasis added). This was very unclear in the first draft and implied that officers would be appointed from outside the CEC. Presumably, if Option B on the leadership model goes through, the position of ‘Leader’ would be deleted.

We disagree, however, with the method of the CEC elections. The *constitution* does not even clarify how those should be organised. But, according to the *First year organisational strategy*, voting for the Leader (if there is one) will always be “through a ‘one member, one vote’ system and digitalised and postal voting” and “before conference”. Elections for the CEC too “shall be held in advance of our national conference” - ie, online voting. This is a very bad idea and will favour ‘big names’. No, CEC elections should take place *at the conference*, so that all candidates can be agreed between various factions and platforms and questioned by delegates. We do not want a *fait accompli*, that is for sure - and we shall challenge this through an amendment.

There are still four reserved seats on the Central Executive Committee for “public office holders” - ie, MPs, councillors, mayors etc. They are now supposed to be elected by the membership, not the office-holders themselves. Hardly any better, and should be done away with by amendment. All CEC members should be elected by the conference delegates. There also should not be

any automatic seats for ‘organised sections’. Another amendment is necessary here.

However, and this is new, MPs are not allowed to be members of the ‘officers group’ any more - “other than the leader”! A ridiculous rule and clearly designed for one purpose alone: to crown King Jeremy and move Zarah Sultana to the back benches.

Better and worse

There are a couple of other, small concessions/improvements:

■ The ‘local community assemblies’ and ‘community organising structures’ have been entirely downgraded. There is no longer any suggestion that the assemblies should be able to initiate or decide on the party’s policies or even its candidates, as proposed in the first set of documents. Local community organising structures “shall be defined and run by the local parties”. Good - and obviously so. This was always an absurd idea that probably died a death with the departure of Roger Hallam from the inner circle of Your Party.

■ HQ also seems to have taken on board one of the smaller amendments from the *Sheffield Demands* that membership should be open to “anybody residing in Britain, irrespective of immigration, asylum or residency status”. Another concession/improvement.

■ Another improvement: The requirement that “members must accordingly respect the confidentiality of internal Party matters” has been deleted. There are, after all, enough other avenues to get rid of troublesome members.

■ We also read: “In the party’s first year, a simple majority” shall be required to change the constitution, thereafter a “two-thirds super majority”. This might possibly quieten some critics - but it is a gross violation of democracy. To hell with super majorities. Straightforward majority vote should always decide. That is *real* democracy.

The rest of the documents are as dire as the first draft. For example:

■ The rule on the right to recall is still as undemocratic as in the first draft: It requires 40% of all members to sign a recall petition before any proceedings against councillors, MPs, local officers or a member of the CEC can even begin. This is the key amendment on this matter in the Sheffield Demands: “Branches should be able to decide by simple majority vote to start recall proceedings.” The same goes for members of the CEC - any properly constituted branch should be able to

initiate recall proceedings.

■ There are two options on the funding of party branches - neither of which spell out what kind of percentage branches should receive. Another stitch-up: we know that the Sheffield Demands’ suggestion for branches to receive 50% was incredibly popular. Option B is worse than Option A, because it also puts the budget of branches under the control of “representatives at regional level”. Another amendment is required here.

■ In the *Standing orders*, we are given the choice that party conference may be made of “delegates elected by party branches, organised sections, affiliates or any combination thereof” or the option of having - in addition - conference participants chosen by sortition. Another stitch-up that leaves members no possibility to choose the obvious third option: delegates chosen by branches only! Again, these are presented as ‘roadmap amendments’ and can therefore not be changed, unless this is successfully challenged at conference.

Your help

■ Come to Liverpool on November 29-30 to help us hand out leaflets with our key demands, lobby those attending, come to SUP’s fringe events - and get to know each other! Please tell us if you are coming.⁴

■ Join our WhatsApp Community to coordinate the SUP’s intervention at conference and beyond.

■ Get your organisation or local Your Party branch to sign up to the SUP - you can also sign up as an individual! We are asking national organisations to make a donation of £100, YP branches and other groups £25 or £50 and individuals £2.50 or £5: opencollective.com/socialist-unity-platform.

■ Come to the sold out Zarah Sultana rally on Friday November 27 before 8.00pm and help us hand out leaflets and other material.⁵

■ Please donate towards the printing costs and the room hire (total of around £1,500): opencollective.com/socialist-unity-platform ●

Notes

1. www.youtube.com/watch?v=H4vwRp_UKEw&t=1112s.
2. docs.google.com/document/d/1T2deWkkCa_fwjbQBvW47mdadc2sQQJC8Ps9_YNClatac/edit?usp=sharing.
3. x.com/zarahsultana/status/1992703655712264654/photo/2.
4. docs.google.com/forms/d/1mJle-LBBoHCjuc5dg4Yo5NuLJIHz_OMqP4eJj2meU4c/viewform?edit_requested=true.
5. actionnetwork.org/ticketed_events/zarahs-eve-of-conference-your-party-rally.

Online Communist Forum



No OCF this Sunday because of Liverpool YP conference

Next Sunday, December 7: report from the Communist Platform delegation followed by discussion

Use this link to register:
communistparty.co.uk/ocf

Organised by CPGB: communistparty.co.uk and
Labour Party Marxists: www.labourpartymarxists.org.uk
For further information, email Stan Keable at
Secretary@labourpartymarxists.org.uk

A selection of previous Online Communist Forum talks can be viewed at: youtube.com/c/CommunistPartyofGreatBritain

Socialist Unity Platform fringe

**Saturday November 29, Roddick Rooms,
54 St James Street, from 12 noon**

If you would like to book a stall, please make a minimum contribution of £25 toward the room hire and email democraticunityyp@gmail.com.

12 noon: The problems with digital democracy, consensus seeking and crowd editing
Inacio Vieira (YP Cambridge), Yassamine Mather (*Critique* editor), Patrick Connolly
1pm: Should we elect our leadership via online voting?
For: Democratic Bloc
Against: Charlie Porter (Democratic Socialists)
2pm: Climate change and eco-socialism
Chris Saltmarsh (Eco-Socialist Horizon)
3pm: Should we call for quotas?
For: Steve Owen (Democratic Socialists)
Against: Mike Macnair (Communist Platform)
4pm: Palestine and wars in the Middle East
Yassamine Mather (*Critique* editor)

Ryan Belhadj (Manchester Palestine activist)
5pm to 6.30pm: What kind of programme for Your Party?
Mike Macnair (Communist Platform), Ted Reese (Democratic Socialists), Richard Brenner (Marxist Strategy), HaPe Breitman (Marxist Bulletin), Spartacist League
7pm: Where now for the left? A discussion.
Max Shanly (DemSocs), Mish Rahman (DemBloc), Zarah Sultana, Lewis Nielsen (SWP), Platform for a Democratic Party (tbc), Counterfire (tbc), Chair: Tina Becker (Sheffield Demands)

Please arrive early, as space is limited ●

1. opencollective.com/socialist-unity-platform

USA

Kissing the ring

Zohran Mamdani's amiable presser with Donald Trump caught many by surprise. But the left must end its dependence on such unaccountable career politicians, argues **Paul Demarty**

It was already fair to say that we are in Zohran Mamdani's honeymoon period as New York mayor - after all, he has not been sworn in yet, and is therefore more or less immune to scandal.

What we did not expect to see, peeking out from the bridal veil, is a certain Donald J Trump. A meeting between the two men was announced and relentlessly trailed in the media. Maga-brained rightists hoped to see Mamdani humiliated in the Oval Office, as Volodymyr Zelensky was not long ago. Leftwing Zohran superfans hoped, perhaps, to see their man strike a defiant pose. What we got was something different: two Queens natives yucking it up and beaming at the press throng - and each other, afterwards.

Having denounced Mamdani as a communist lunatic - and worse - during the campaign, Trump suddenly had hardly a bad word to say about him. On the C-word itself, Trump was sanguine: "He's got views out there, but who knows - I mean, we're going to see what works." He went on: "And I can tell you, some of my views have changed. We had discussions on some things - I am not going to discuss what they were - but I feel very confident that he can do a very good job."

Price control

We are not privy, of course, to the discussions Trump refuses to disclose, but, from the content of the press conference as a whole, a hypothesis presents itself. In the room with Trump, Mamdani bit his tongue, when it came to ICE raids, Palestine and who knows what. He said: "you and I, Mr President, disagree on many things. But we have one thing in common - we both campaigned on making life more affordable for Americans. So let's work together on that."

Thus Trump denounced the Con Edison electrical monopoly that serves New York for holding prices high, despite the fact that natural gas prices are down (thanks to Trump's genius for good government, we're sure!). This has the smell of a line fed directly to him by Mamdani, and catered to Trump's egotism: "Your heroic efforts for the American people are being squandered by these parasites, Mr President ..."

For the duration of the interview, Trump was seated, and Mamdani stood, grinning like the Cheshire Cat. (Maybe it is just my own psychological quirks at work, but it is the first time I have seen him smile obviously disingenuously. It was part smirk, part rictus, all control.) Tough questions did come his way, from the beginning. A reporter asked him: "Just days ago you referred to president Trump as a despot who betrayed the country ... and accused him of having a fascist agenda. Are you planning to retract any of these remarks in order to improve your relationship?"

Mamdani's answer:

I think both president Trump and I, we are very clear about our positions and our views. And what I really appreciate about the president is the meeting that we had focused not on places of disagreement, which there are many, and also focused on the shared purpose that we have in serving New Yorkers ... And the meeting came back again and again to what it could look like to lift



Cordial: Donald Trump meets Zohran Mamdani in White House

those New Yorkers out of struggle and start to deliver them the city that they can do more than just struggle to afford it, but also start to live in.

I quote it at length because this is a characteristic Mamdani move. He does not *abandon* his previous positions: merely swerves them. His anti-Zionism was no obstacle, so far as he was concerned, to reaching out sincerely to parts of the New York Jewish population for whom Zionism is intensely important; the same could be said for his opposition, as a Muslim of south Asian heritage, to Hindutva chauvinism. From the kosher store to the halal cart, to the curry house, all suffer under high prices and rapacious landlords.

Likewise with Trump: there was little point, from Mamdani's point of view, in giving him a lecture on political authoritarianism. He could only lose by doing so. By achieving this chummy press conference, Mamdani may well have put off the paramilitary occupation of New York City - à la Chicago or Portland - by some months. When it comes, he can at least claim that he *tried* to be reasonable. The strangest moment of the event came when a reporter pushed Mamdani to say definitively whether or not he thought Trump was a fascist. Trump himself interrupted: "That's OK. You can just say it. That's easier. It's easier than explaining it. I don't mind."

The response from *Trumpworld* has been one of its periodic episodes of total bafflement. Laura Loomer, an ideological gatekeeper for the Maga scene of doubtful sanity (and definitely on the Zionist wing of the now-divided American right), was bereft that Trump was so chummy with someone she considered a jihadist and a communist. That kind of rhetoric was absolutely typical during the mayoral campaign, and indeed many ostensibly *liberal* commentators have availed themselves of effectively *Islamogauchiste* theories of the case. Trump's insouciance is hardly unprecedented - consider his 'kiss and

make up' routine with Kim Jong Un in his first term. For all his pathologies, Trump is not fundamentally an ideologically motivated character; but his hardcore supporters are, and that is their curse.

MTG resignation

This seems a good moment to bring in a character who contrasts usefully with Mamdani - Georgia representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, who announced her resignation on the same day as the Mamdani-Trump love-in. Greene (or MTG, as she is known) has a rather *spicy* political history. She is an anti-vaxxer, a former believer in the Pizzagate and QAnon conspiracy theories: indeed someone who promoted the idea that California wildfires in 2018 were the result of laser blasts from outer space on the dime of the Rothschilds and other - ahem - usual suspects. Her insatiable addiction to such conspiracy narratives naturally led her to become a disciple of Donald Trump.

Her resignation is thus, on one level, a shock, but also seems to have been a long time coming. Her belief in every paedophile-cabal conspiracy theory going could not survive contact with Trump's obvious complicity with Jeffrey Epstein, and - more to the point - she cannot reconcile herself to the Israeli slaughter in Gaza, and American complicity with it. So she has resigned, conscience intact. Here, she contrasts sharply with the general run of Maga types, whose attachment is entirely to the person of Trump, and have mastered the art of forgetfulness. MTG refuses to forget the sight of dismembered Palestinian babies, or the promises to blow open the Epstein scandal for good, and so she is walking away.

She is thus a vanishingly rare example of political principle among the American governing class. That is not to say that her politics, such as they are, are not barbaric and insane for the most part; but there is such a thing as honour, and it is a good idea to acknowledge it.

Mamdani seems a very different character. He is charismatic, and a dab

hand at keeping control of everything. Though his political background is unambiguously leftwing, and he is quite sincerely motivated to improve the lot of his fellow men and women, he seems increasingly to have wandered into our timeline from somewhere very different. He would have made, we suspect, an excellent party boss in the days of Tammany Hall. He is good for a stump speech, good for retail politics, and - it now seems clear - good at 'managing upwards'. Whether that translates into long-term success is another matter - he has no machine of the kind of strength that Boss Tweed had - but the picture remains unmistakable.

Discomfort

Hence a certain amount of leftwing discomfort at the Trump-Mamdani summit. Wasn't this supposed to be a grassroots insurgency against the powers-that-be? A people-powered festival of resistance? How do we get from there to the chummy photo-op in front of a portrait of Franklin Delano Roosevelt?

A representative example here would be Kshama Sawant - one-time Taaffeite and long-time Seattle city councillor - who tweeted in response:

If I were in Mamdani's position, instead of asking Trump to meet with me, I would have announced a mass rally of tens of thousands of people in New York City to protest against ICE raids, to declare that New York City will not tolerate ICE and will fight Trump every inch of the way. I would launch a mass campaign for free transit and free childcare and build a militant movement to win.²

Though we do not endorse Boss-Tweedism in politics, whether in its original form or in its current Mamdani glow-up, it should be said that it is *more* serious than this kind of verbiage. "If I were in Mamdani's position" - that is, if she had won a mayoral election promising without qualification to lower people's

household expenses, a task which is only very partially in the power of the mayor's office - she would announce a mass rally ... to do what? Advertise her own powerlessness? Why would one launch a "mass campaign" for free transit after winning the election, instead of campaigning for it in the election in the first place?

As for ICE, protests of many millions, in the form of 'no kings', have failed to intimidate them. Why would protests of the order of tens of thousands do so now? To be blunt, there are two hypothetically reasonable options for dealing with this problem. One is to cut a deal - the logic of Mamdani's recent behaviour. The other is *armed self-defence*. Cutting a deal is certainly more realistic at the present time. Armed self-defence is not impossible, but easy to screw up with adventurism, and dependent on other variables - principally the general organisational strength of the movement - but it is a serious option, and indeed the course we advocate (via partyism in the broader movement, of course). Protest politics is not *useless*, but has already run up against the basic problem it always does: *now what?* What do we do when the rally ends and we go home?

Why not Boss-Tweed-Mamdani-ism? We have mentioned practical problems - Mamdani is not the author of his own fate. If the mayorality of New York is *unusually* defanged, however, the truth is that political and economic power in modern society is organised not at the municipal level, or even the national level, but supranationally. Bonapartism does not scale terribly well - power must devolve at some point. It is preferable that it does so *democratically*, and so local decisions are *made* locally, but global decisions are nevertheless binding - by the rules, but also *morally* - on the localities.

Concretely, if Mamdani really is faced with the choice of muting any resistance to the ICE or having his affordability efforts sabotaged from on high, what should he do? He has campaigned for election on the platform of affordability for New Yorkers; yet he is a humane socialist for whom mass deportations of illegal New Yorkers would be a moral insult. There is no good answer to this question for the New York City mayor *per se*. The only feasible moral agent here would be a party, which would be in a position to delegitimise state violence and make armed self-defence a *fait accompli*. (Under such circumstances, let Trump try the loyalty of his troops against the cities from which they were recruited.)

Mamdani's success as an old-style party boss is yet to be determined. But the party we need is one without 'bosses' - otherwise it is inconceivable that we would be able to meet the challenge of our enemies. You can only grin your way through so much! ●

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Notes

1. Quotes are from the *New York Times* transcript of the news conference: www.nytimes.com/2025/11/22/nyregion/trump-mamdani-meeting-press-conference-transcript.html.
2. x.com/cmkshama/status/1992055456160706633.

BANS

An attack on us all

Marco Rubio and the US state department have designated four European anti-fascist groups as terrorist. The designation came into effect on November 20. Toby Abse sees the thin end of a wedge targeting the whole of the left

Recently the US state department has brought in a ban on four European far-left organisations: the German Antifa Ost, Italy's International Revolutionary Front, and the Greek groups, Armed Revolutionary Justice and Revolutionary Class Self-Defence.

This ban is an extension overseas of the domestic crackdown on Antifa, which, as most readers will know, is merely an extremely loose network of American groupings opposed to fascism, or far-right movements or individuals they regard as 'fascist'. Since the American Antifa is not a centralised organisation, or even an organisation in any real sense, this crackdown, which started in the wake of the killing of Charlie Kirk (not by a committed Antifa supporter, but by an isolated and mentally unstable individual with no connection to any political group), is just the start of a witch-hunt against the whole American left, which Trump and his supporters want to brand as 'terrorists'.

Terrorist definition

However, three of the banned European groups would actually fit most people's definition of terrorism, which is one of the reasons that the Trump administration decided on a ban - to tar the American Antifa with guilt by association. The German Antifa Ost is the only one of these groupings that has any real ideological affinity with the American Antifa, and it is not a terrorist group, but one which has used 'squadism' against people it regards as fascists or Nazis, and is therefore broadly similar to the now defunct British group known as Anti-Fascist Action.

US secretary of state Marco Rubio has called all these groups 'Specially Designated Global Terrorists' - which is clearly hyperbole, since they are not remotely equivalent in scale to global organisations such as Isis or al Qaeda. Rubio has also said: "Groups affiliated with this movement

ascribe [sic] to revolutionary anarchist or Marxist ideologies, including anti-Americanism, anti-capitalism and anti-Christianity, using these to incite and justify violent assault domestically and overseas."

The two Greek groups are accused of planting bombs in Greece - an accusation which probably has some factual basis - but, since my knowledge of the Greek left is confined to Pasok, Syriza and the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), I do not intend to discuss them here beyond saying that I assume they are anarchists (unlike the longest lasting Greek terrorist group, which arose out of opposition to 'the Colonels', but survived until relatively recent times, primarily targeting Americans and describing itself as "Marxist-Leninist"!).

The US ban on all four organisations has been welcomed by the German far-right AfD, whose members are the main targets of Antifa Ost, which, as its name implies, largely confined its attacks to east German states such as Saxony and Thuringia. Antifa Ost is also known by its enemies as the 'Hammerbande', because one of its best-known actions involved using hammers against far-right activists. Given chancellor Friedrich Merz's ambiguous attitude to the AfD, which he seems to regard as a serious political rival, but a potential junior partner in a future coalition, it is difficult to gauge whether the AfD's support for a German ban on Antifa Ost will encourage him to ape the Americans or not. The German authorities may well just take a hard line against Antifa Ost supporters caught attacking far-right activists, rather than ban the group as such.

Ilaria Salis

There is an Italian connection with Antifa Ost's actions against Hungarian, German and other far-right supporters in Budapest in February 2023. There was, and is, an annual neo-Nazi event in Budapest



Less an organisation, more a movement

in February, to commemorate the last stand of the SS and their Hungarian Arrow Cross collaborators against the advancing Red Army.

In 2023, a group of Italians participated alongside Antifa Ost in an attack on these assorted neo-Nazis. This led to the arrest of Ilaria Salis, an Italian far-left activist, who was accused of punching some Hungarian neo-Nazis. Since all those involved in this attack were disguised, it is unclear whether there would have been enough evidence to convict her in a non-Hungarian court. It is also worth pointing out that the neo-Nazis' injuries were minimal, such that they recovered within a week. Salis was imprisoned whilst awaiting trial, and for 15 months kept in a filthy cell without access to defence lawyers or interpreters, who might have been able to explain what the Hungarian prosecutors were saying. Moreover, she was humiliated at every court appearance by being dragged along on a lead like a dog with her feet clamped together in irons.

The prosecution was seeking a 24-year sentence, which was obviously totally disproportionate, even if she had done what was being alleged. Giorgia Meloni's Italian government took next to no interest in her case, despite continued appeals from her father, who does not share her politics. The only reason she is not still in the Hungarian prison is that Italy's Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (AVS - Green Left Alliance) asked her to stand as the candidate on their list for the European parliament in the June 2024 elections.

Given the publicity that her case had attracted in Italy, AVS was able without much difficulty to get enough votes to secure her release, polling a higher percentage than they had got in the September 2022 general election (and a higher one than they had got in most recent opinion polls), which suggests that some people voted AVS to free Salis rather than to endorse the AVS programme. She subsequently gave her allegiance to the Left group in the European parliament, unlike the majority of 'independents' elected on the AVS list, who plumped for the Greens.

Recently, the Hungarian government has sought to get the European parliament to lift her parliamentary immunity and return her to a Hungarian jail. In the secret ballot of MEPs on the issue, she

escaped being sent back to Hungary by just one vote. The official line of the European People's Party (EPP - the mainstream centre-right, who used to be called Christian Democrats), like that of all three far-right groupings in the parliament (Meloni's European Conservatives and Reformists, Hungarian premier Viktor Orbán's Patriots for Europe and the AfD's Europe of Sovereign Nations) was to send her back, but fortunately secrecy gave some EPP MEPs the chance to rebel and side with the left, the greens, the social democrats and Renew Europe (liberals/Macronists) in protecting her from Orbán's vengeance.² As far as we can know, all her Italian rightwing opponents (FdI, Lega, Forza Italia) would have been very happy to see her in chains again.

Anarchist bans

Italy's International Revolutionary Front is essentially another, more impressive, name for the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI). It needs to be stressed that this FAI is not the same as the Italian Anarchist Federation, which is also known as FAI. The latter has existed since 1945, and is the heir of the classical anarchist movement associated with late 19th/early 20th century figures like Erico Malatesta. The vast majority of the adherents of the older FAI have no connection with the new one and, whilst they oppose the state and the whole existing order, they seek to overthrow them by general strikes and other forms of mass action, not planting bombs.

As for the FAI/Informal Anarchist Federation, it has existed for more than 20 years. They sent a parcel bomb to Romano Prodi when he was head of the European Commission in 2003 - it exploded in his hands, but he was uninjured. In 2010, they sent letter bombs to the Swiss and Chilean embassies. In 2011, they sent a letter bomb to Deutsche Bank chief Joseph Ackermann at his Frankfurt office, and they also targeted Italian newspapers and foreign embassies. In the past, they remained a relatively obscure terrorist group, never gaining the fame of the Brigade Rosse or even Prima Linea.

In more recent times, the FAI/Informal Anarchist Federation's *de facto* leader, Alfredo Cospito, has been at the centre of national attention in Italy. Firstly, he was convicted of

the 2014 knee-capping of Roberto Adinolfi, the CEO of Ansaldo Nucleare, a firm involved with civilian nuclear power. More recently (June 7 2025), he was convicted of attempting to blow up a Carabinieri training school and sentenced to 25 years. Whilst this attempted act of terror failed due to the technical incompetence of Cospito and his accomplices, if it had succeeded it would have killed dozens of young police recruits - something which would have unleashed massive state repression, not just against anarchists but against the far left as a whole.

The length of Cospito's sentence, and the fact that he was subject to a legal provision called 41B - usually used against Mafia chiefs, which prevents them from communicating with fellow convicts and with anybody outside their prison - aroused anger among his sympathisers. The form of 'solidarity' they gave him was to burn dozens of buses and Post Office vans in depots and car parks in Rome. The main sufferers from such actions were obviously the poorer sections of the working class, not the government or the bosses.

I think it is unlikely that the Italian state will see any need to ban the FAI, as opposed to keeping Cospito inside for the foreseeable future. Italian legislation has always included many 'joint enterprise' charges, such as 'subversive association', membership of a 'banda armata' (armed gang), 'association to commit criminal acts' and so on, which could all easily be used against the FAI without banning it outright.

The Meloni government brought in a tough security decree in May 2025, which created some new offences and increased the penalties on existing ones.³ It has encouraged riot police to use extreme violence against student protests, particularly if they are relatively small and concern Palestine, and it now plans to bring in restrictions on public transport strikes.⁴

But this general repressive drift is said to be unconnected with Marco Rubio's bans. Meloni is Donald Trump's favourite western European leader. However, if she goes too far in public campaigning against Antifa, that might actually be counterproductive, since Italy's 1948 constitution is explicitly anti-fascist.⁵ ●

Notes

1. Greek anarchists have sometimes engaged in actions in solidarity with the Italian Informal Anarchist Federation, but I have no idea whether these anarchists are involved with the particular Greek groups.
2. Whether they did so out of genuine humanitarianism or because of a dislike of Orbán's pro-Moscow line on Ukraine hardly matters.
3. Its most important clauses imposed drastic penalties on anybody blocking a road - something designed to deter picketing during strikes.
4. Potential strikers would have to give a week's notice of their intention to participate in the strike, and their notice would be irrevocable, even if they subsequently changed their minds. As comrades will grasp, this is designed to create blacklists of activists and deter anybody from exercising the right to strike, granted by the Italian constitution of 1948.
5. When the online magazine, *fanpage.it*, ran a serious investigation into FdI's youth organisation last year, it uncovered leading members' frequent use of fascist slogans, fascist salutes, anti-Semitic remarks and so forth. The magazine's editor was subjected to systematic interceptions, using Israeli spyware known as Paragon, which only the Italian secret service has access to. Of course, both the secret service and Meloni's government denied all knowledge of these activities, but it was obviously a sign that such serious anti-fascist journalism will not be tolerated.

Fighting fund

You can do it!

As expected, the *Weekly Worker* fighting fund running total for November shot up this week - that's because of the regular donations that come our way this time of the month.

Over the last seven days, we've received no fewer than four *three-figure* contributions - thanks a million, comrades SK, PM, LM and JC! On top of that, comrades LR (£60), DR and RN (£20 each), plus TT (£10), also played their part either by standing order or bank transfer.

But there was just one PayPal donation this week - thank you, comrade JB (£50), not to mention the usual £5 note handed to one of our team from comrade Hassan. All that came to an excellent £916, taking our running total up to £1,995.

A brilliant week then, but the problem remains that we still need another £755 in just *four days* to reach our £2,750 monthly target by Sunday November 30. So really there are only two ways you can do that - either make a bank

transfer or a donation via PayPal - unless you're able to follow the example of comrade Hassan, of course! But maybe you can do that - especially if you happen to receive a copy of this week's paper at, for example, the Your Party conference in Liverpool over the weekend!

To make sure we get there, please make your donation as soon as possible after reading this. It's been a few months since we last missed that target, so please let's do what it takes to make sure we get there once again. For more information on how to help us out, see below - especially if you need our web address for further details.

I am confident that quite a few comrades will now chip in. You can do it! ●

Robbie Rix

Our bank account details are name: Weekly Worker sort code: 30-99-64 account number: 00744310 To make a donation or set up a regular payment visit weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/donate

MILLER

Wood for the trees

Fantasies about a Jewish empire have nothing to do with anti-Zionism, argues **Tony Greenstein**. In fact they can only help Zionism by echoing anti-Semitic Jewish conspiracy theories

David Miller was professor of sociology at Bristol University when he was dismissed in October 2021 after allegations of 'anti-Semitism' by Zionist students - one of whom, Sabrina Miller, infiltrated one of his lectures.

Other partners in crime included the president of the Bristol Jewish Society, Nina Freedman, and her successor. Edward Isaacs, both of whom later became president of the Israeli embassy-funded Union of Jewish Students. In 2021 Isaacs threatened to sue me for calling him a liar. But when I repeated my accusation he backed off!

The whole Miller affair was coordinated by Zionist lobby groups such as the Community Security Trust and UJS. Miller's expertise was in corporate and political power networks, including the Zionist lobby - which took particular exception to his suggestion that Zionism was one of the five pillars of Islamophobia.

When Miller was being attacked by the Zionists, we supported him. The decision to sack him was an outrageous attack on free speech on the subject of Palestine by an institution that had been cowed and intimidated by a false 'anti-Semitism' smear campaign. Over a hundred MPs and peers - many of them overt racists and Islamophobes, like Baroness Cox and Bob Blackman MP, but also including the Green Party's Caroline Lucas - called for Miller to be dismissed. The result was that Bristol University capitulated despite him having been cleared of anti-Semitism by two QCs.

David's victory at the Employment Tribunal in February 2024, which found that he had been wrongfully and unfairly dismissed and directly discriminated against on the grounds of religion or belief, was welcome.¹ The decision established that anti-Zionist views qualify as a protected belief under the UK Equality Act 2010.

However, Miller's focus on the Zionist lobby has resulted in him beginning to be unable to see the wood for the trees. He is unable to put the power and influence of the Zionist lobby in perspective. No longer is Israel the attack dog of US imperialism; rather it is Israel which is in control of imperialism. Indeed it has become the major imperialist power!

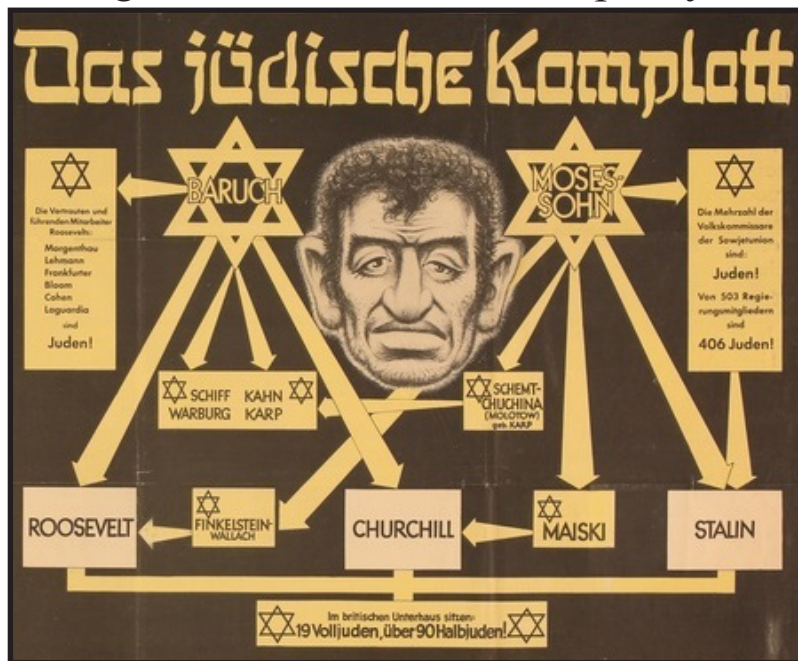
Miller's political regression can be traced to a tweet in August 2023, where he made three points:

1. Jews are not discriminated against.
2. They are overrepresented in Europe, North America and Latin America in positions of cultural, economic and political power.
3. They are therefore in a position to discriminate against actually marginalised groups.

Miller was correct to say that Jews are not discriminated against or experiencing racism. There is no state anti-Semitism in Britain or Europe. Anti-Semitism is a marginal prejudice. I could even accept his observations on Jewish 'overrepresentation' in positions of power, because statistically and sociologically it is undoubtedly true.

However, Miller's third point - that this enabled Jews to discriminate against those who were oppressed - was wrong. If Jews in powerful positions discriminate against others, they do it on behalf of the organisations they are a part of, not as collective Jews.

Miller's political degeneration was then rapid. On September 21 2024 he retweeted a thread by an open Nazi, Aiden Hunter. Hunter had previously called for the "eradication" of Jewish



Nazi poster 1941: 'Das jüdische Komplott' (the Jewish plot)

people as a "moral and racial duty". In the same tweet Miller copied an article by Richard Lynn, editor of *Mankind Quarterly*, entitled 'On the high intelligence and cognitive achievements of Jews in Britain'.

Mankind Quarterly was established in 1960 in order to oppose civil rights in America. It has been described as a 'white supremacist journal' and by the Southern Poverty Law Centre as a "pseudo-academic journal ... a vehicle for scientific racism".

It only takes a minute of research on the internet to establish who Richard Lynn, *Mankind Quarterly* and Aiden Hunter are. And this casts a shadow over the rest of Miller's research - especially his conclusions.

When I first saw the tweet, it was obvious that it smacked of the racial sciences. Why was 'Jewish intelligence' even a subject for discussion? Miller asked: "Are Jews so (relatively) privileged because of 'intelligence' or 'culture'? Or are there other explanations? And what are the consequences in terms of the power and influence of Zionism ...?"

Zionist origins

I explained that Zionism was the creation of British imperialism and Christian Zionism, not Jews.²

A leader in *The Times* of August 17 1840 called for a plan "to plant the Jewish people in the land of their fathers", claiming that this was under "serious political consideration". When Lord Palmerston approached the Board of Deputies in August 1840 to inquire about Jewish settlement projects, he got a very lukewarm response. The only ones who did not want to 'return' were the Jews themselves! In a resolution passed on November 7 1842 the Board of Deputies resolved that it "is precluded from originating any measure for carrying out the benevolent views of Colonel Churchill respecting the Jews of Syria".³

In October 1917 the leader of the Board of Deputies, Claude Montefiore, admitted that "if HM Govt is anxious to publish this formula [the Balfour Declaration] for the sake of the country, as well as the Jews, I would, of course, subordinate my Jewish feelings, wishes and interests to the interests of England and the empire".

The Conjoint Foreign Committee, which dealt with foreign affairs, "appears to have been particularly slow to see the extent to which British imperial interests might ultimately converge with Zionist ambitions".

The British Jewish bourgeoisie were opposed to Zionism in the 19th and early 20th century. It was not until 1939 that the Zionist, Selig Brodetsky, won the presidency of the BoD.

One of the earliest supporters of the Jewish 'return' to Palestine was actually the Protestant evangelical, Lord Antony Ashley Cooper, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury. He opposed general Jewish emancipation as a response to anti-Semitism in 1858. It was on Shaftesbury's insistence that Palmerston in 1838 opened a British consulate in Jerusalem and appointed a vice-consul there, William Young, with the title of 'Protector of the Jews in Palestine'.

The 1845 Frankfurt Rabbinical Conference had agreed a resolution that "all petitions for the return to the land of our fathers and for the restoration of the Jewish state should be eliminated from the prayers". The Central Conference of American Rabbis in the Pittsburgh Declaration of 1885 declared: "We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine ... nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."

In fact the only member of Lloyd George's war cabinet to vote against the Balfour Declaration was its only Jewish member, Sir Edwin Montagu. The anti-Zionist Jewish bourgeoisie in Britain only came round to the idea of Zionism when it was clear that support for Zionism was the fixed position of British imperialism.

Supremacism

On October 21 2024 Miller declared that "the state of Israel is at war with you"; that when activists or Muslims are arrested "that is being done directly on behalf of the state of Israel".

Having myself been arrested by the 'counter-terror' police, I do not consider that this was done on behalf of the Israeli state: I was arrested by the British state. Miller's answer was: "The challenge is to be anti-Zionist, to materially contribute to the global struggle against Jewish supremacism. Your war is right where you are."

From 2024 he was tweeting repeatedly about "Jewish supremacism", going so far as to anticipate that at the impending general election the British state would be "totally captured by genocidal Jewish supremacists".

No longer was the fight against Zionism, but in Miller's view, "Jewish supremacism". On November 14 2025

he tweeted in respect of an interview with Rahmeh Aladwan, the Palestinian doctor working in Britain, that:

Jewish supremacism is the kernel of Zionism, but is also disturbingly common among self-professed anti-Zionist Jews, several of whom are involved in the leadership of the 'pro-Palestine' movement. This helps to curb the emergence of a genuinely liberatory anti-Zionism, which would necessarily challenge Zionism in Jewish institutions.

He offered no evidence for this attack on Jewish anti-Zionists.

Miller talked about "the global struggle against Jewish supremacism", not even Zionism. He thus conflated all Jewish people with the Israeli state, as do the Zionists. This verges on anti-Semitism. True, Israel is a Jewish supremacist state, which even Israel's Bt'selem (also known as the Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories) acknowledges. But Miller's call was not directed at Israel, but at Jews everywhere.

Even accepting that up to two-thirds of diaspora Jews identify as Zionists, I doubt if any but a fraction are open Jewish supremacists. Most Jews see Israel, wrongly, as a refuge against anti-Semitism. Of course, a minority are Jewish supremacists, but they are not arguing for Jewish supremacism *within the societies they currently live in*. They are also not the problem: the Israeli state and western support for it is.

Miller argued that Islamophobia in the west is a product of Zionism and Israel: "... the soldiers of Zion have penetrated the security establishment of your state to make its policy".⁴ Miller avoided telling us how they managed to achieve this remarkable feat.

At a stroke Miller erased the racism of British colonialism. Was Trump's Muslim ban also a consequence of Israel? Did Trump label all Mexicans as rapists because of the soldiers of Zion? And the deportations to Latin America?

It is not difficult to see how this kind of conspiracy theory of an all-powerful Zionism degenerates into anti-Semitism. British fascists used to condemn Israel because in their eyes it was a 'Jewish' state. The Palestine solidarity movement wanted nothing to do with them, but Miller seems to be embracing them.

Racism in the west is home-grown. Islamophobia goes hand in hand with support for Israel - a vicious anti-Muslim state. Attacks on Muslims in Britain are not being done on behalf of Israel, but our own state. The same is true in the US. Miller says: "Take Geert Wilders, in the Netherlands ... Wilders can be said to be a creation of the state of Israel and its foreign intelligence assets."

Wilders - the leader of the far-right Party for Freedom - is not a creation of the Israeli state. He is a home-grown fascist for whom Zionism is attractive because Israel is seen as the ideal ethno-nationalist state. In an article headed 'Change Jordan's name to Palestine', Gilders was quoted as saying: "If Jerusalem falls into the hands of the Muslims, Athens and Rome will be next. Thus, Jerusalem is the main front protecting the west. It is not a conflict over territory, but rather an ideological battle - between the mentality of the liberated west and the ideology of Islamic barbarism."

Miller therefore exonerated the

west by saying that their racism is not the product of their own societies, but that of Israel. He therefore exonerates imperialism.

Miller's language is sloppy and imprecise, especially for an academic. I suspect this is deliberate. Miller is no anti-imperialist or anti-Zionist. When he says that the British and American states do not do what they do because of capitalism or imperialism, but because of infiltration by Zionists, he is blaming imperialist support for Zionism on individuals, not the architecture of the imperialist war machine. He said:

... there's no such thing as 'foreign' policy. The British state has made a colossal miscalculation by participating so directly in this genocide ... The British people will have to repair this trajectory by taking British political and public institutions out of the grip of Zionist fanatics. This is the only way to preserve the balance of British society in the long-term. It is essential that Britain is deZionised.

A deZionised Britain could be an example to other post-imperial states in how to confront centuries of imperial violence and chart a course away from the suicidal client relationship with the US.⁵

Not only is Britain "post-imperial", but its support for Israel is because of a handful of *Zionist fanatics*. If it wasn't for them the state would be a benign institution.

This has nothing to do with anti-Zionism. It ignores the economic and political imperative behind imperialism (my response to Miller was published by Jewish Voice for Liberation⁶).

Attack on left

In another conspiratorial tweet on October 21 2024, Miller wrote that the "global left is occupied and infiltrated by Zionist fanatics".

Miller does not understand that attitudes on the left towards Israel have changed. In the wake of the holocaust most of the left saw Israel in a favourable light. They failed to see that an ethno-nationalist Jewish state would become "Hitler's bastard offspring".⁷

The Labour left saw Zionism, Israel and settler-colonialism as positive. The natives were invisible. Trotskyists adopted a position of neutrality during the Nakba, seeing 1948 as a conflict between British imperialism, its Arab allies and Israel. Meanwhile, the Communist Party supported UN resolution 181 and the creation of a 'Jewish' state. This all changed with the invasion of Lebanon in 1982, when Tony Benn and Eric Heffer resigned from Labour Friends of Israel. In 1948 most people knew nothing of the Nakba. They did not see that Zionism had much in common with the Nazis ideologically and had actually collaborated with them.⁸ Israel's army had been trained by the British and it easily saw off the ramshackle Arab armies (with the exception of Transjordan's Arab Legion).

With the rise in support for anti-imperialist struggles in Cuba, Vietnam and South Africa, the left reassessed its position. The Palestine Liberation Organisation emerged after 1967, as the Arab regimes were discredited. Israel was finally seen as an arm of US imperialism. In the Labour Party it was the right wing which had historically been pro-Arab. But after 1982 the right realigned. Support for Zionism was

virtually a condition of New Labour.

Miller is simply wrong. He said: “A basic tenet of anti-imperialism is to begin with suspicion, when confronted by possible agents of empire.”⁹ But who are these “agents of empire?” He added: “... leftists around the world are constantly deferring to Jewish ‘allies’ for analysis on Zionism ... Not only do these leftists refuse to protect their movements from entryism: they actively solicit, privilege and even worship Jewish opinion about Jewish supremacist crimes.”

This is clearly anti-Semitic. He is saying that Jews are entryists, and the agents of empire. So anti-Zionist Jews should be treated with suspicion. It is an open call to divide the solidarity movement between Jews and non-Jews: a call to *racialise* the solidarity movement.

Miller fails to acknowledge that Jews might have good reason to oppose Zionism. Zionism endangers diaspora Jewish communities through associating them with Israel’s ethnic cleansing and genocide. We only have to think of people like Moshé Machover, Ilan Pappé, Avi Shlaim and Haim Bresheeth to recognise the anti-Zionist Jewish contribution to the struggle. It was the Israeli socialist group, Matzpen, which first called Israel a settler-colonial state.

Whilst Jewish Voice for Peace has been organising thousands of its supporters on the streets, Miller has been waging war against Jewish ‘infiltrators’. He is doing the Zionists’ work for them.

In a tweet of March 24 2025 Miller said: “Those who are interested in ending this genocide must begin by targeting those responsible near them ... there are Zionists everywhere. In every town and city. Find out where they are.”¹⁰ He seems to be arguing that we start ferreting out individual Zionists. Are they really responsible for the genocide? Is that how imperialism operates? Would the genocide not have happened but for individual Zionists in Britain? Since about two-thirds of Jews are Zionists, hunting them down would inevitably be portrayed as hunting down Jews.

If you dismiss imperialism as an interconnected system of war, economic exploitation and political domination, then it is easier to focus on individual Zionists, whilst ignoring imperialism and the complicity of the Arab regimes. Miller fails to understand why western capitalism supports Israel. His views on the relationship between the British state and Zionism are empirical and subjective.

The idea that the west supports Israel because Zionists have crept into powerful positions barely merits a response. Are the Christian Zionists in Trump’s cabinet all infiltrators? Is US secretary of state Marco Rubio a Zionist infiltrator?

Why does the AfD (Alternative for Germany), which is riddled with neo-Nazis and holocaust-deniers, love Israel so much? Is it because of infiltrators or because far-right and neo-Nazi groups, although they do not love Jews, do hate Muslims. In appearing on anti-Semitic and white supremacist platforms like Stew Peters,¹¹ Miller is mixing with some very unsavoury company.

In his tweet of March 3 2025 Miller dug himself further into a hole. He told us that “there are no ‘Israeli’ anti-Zionists”. Presumably my friends, Ronnie Barkan and Stav Sinai, who are facing trial for being Palestine Actionists, do not exist? (Both of them are Israeli.)

Miller posted this: “It is doubtful whether there are more than a handful of Jewish anti-Zionists anywhere ... After all, how many Jewish martyrs have there been in the past 140 [years] on the path to liberate Palestine from Zionism? How many Jews have engaged in military action against Zionist targets in that period?”¹² One

wonders whether Miller’s strictures apply to himself!

Miller is not only going down an anti-Semitic rabbit hole, but a Zionist one too. Despite being a professor, Miller is ignorant about the history of Zionism. It is often said that, the higher you rise in academia, the more you know about less and less. Miller is a perfect example.

Israel does not control either British or US foreign policy. Support for Israel is deemed by our own ruling class to be in their interests. David consistently looks down the telescope from the wrong end. Israel is a Jewish supremacist state. The majority of Jews in the world support it, though there is a growing and vociferous minority, especially among young Jews, who do not. A poll in 2021 found that 25% of American Jews see Israel as an apartheid state, climbing to 38% of under 40s.¹³ According to a more recent poll, today 39% say Israel is committing genocide and 61% say they are committing war crimes.¹⁴

Jews function as the moral alibi for imperialist support for Israel. That is an entirely different thing from saying they are *responsible* for Britain supporting Israel. That is political autism - an inability to see that support of diaspora Jews for Zionism/Israel does not lead to imperialism’s support for Zionism and Israel. Evidence of A does not lead to B. B is independent of A, but B might make use of A as a justification for its imperial project (wrapping their imperialist project in the clothes of the holocaust).

Jewish empire

David Miller, not content with arguing that the Zionist tail wags the imperialist dog, has gone one further. It is no longer a Greater Israel within the Middle East, but the rise of a global Jewish empire. He wrote on April 26 2025: “The argument that the ‘state of Israel’ exists today solely as an extension of western imperialism is outdated. Now, Israeli state capture has taken place within the United States and most western governments.”

So Miller rejects the idea that support for Zionism in the USA is because of the Zionist lobby. On November 15 2025 he explained how anyone who thinks the US empire is distinct from or in charge of the Zionist project is at least 25 years behind reality.¹⁵

He wrote on November 16:

The ‘lobby’ thesis also completely fails to account for entryism, penetration and subversion of US imperial institutions, which is an essential Zionist tactic globally and has been as long as Zionism has existed. Mearsheimer claims ‘the lobby’ tries to exert influence on the State Department and the Department of Defence. The ‘lobby’ in the US is a tiny part of the wider Zionist movement, which in turn is a part of a far broader, global Jewish empire with interests stretching from Argentina to Azerbaijan, to Australia.¹⁶

Miller claims that John Mearsheimer is ignorant about Zionism and “hasn’t been in touch with the reality of American politics since 1945”. The arrogance is breathtaking, given that Mearsheimer is widely recognised as the world’s leading realist scholar of international relations.

Between July 19 2023, when Miller wrote about ‘How Israeli lobbying drove Britain to adopt an anti-Palestine policy’,¹⁷ and November 2025 there has been a major shift in what he states. On August 16 2024 he wrote: “In many countries, not least the US and the UK, Jews occupy strategic positions in the entertainment industry, the arts, publishing, journals of opinion, the academy, the legal profession, and government. Jews are represented in Britain in numbers that

are many times their proportion of the population.”¹⁸ And then he concluded that it would be a wonder “if these raw data didn’t translate into outsized Jewish political power ... It is certainly legitimate to query the amplitude of this political power and whether it has been exaggerated, but it *cannot be right to deny (or suppress) critical socioeconomic facts*”.

This is an example of Miller’s flawed methodology. He leaps from the fact that Jews in the west are relatively privileged (I accept that Jews in Britain are not victims of racism and discrimination and that anti-Semitism in Britain is marginal) to the conclusion that that is why Britain supports Israel.

On November 16 2025 he wrote that Zionists:

are groomed and radicalised from an early age, not just to support the Jewish colony in the Levant, but to infiltrate their host society and to influence it in Zionist interests ... a fundamental strategy of the transnational Zionist movement and it has been since it was encoded in the Jerusalem Program in 1951 ... Jews are the most advantaged religious/minority group ... There are 276 Jewish billionaires in the world, in 2025, according to Forbes [out of] a total of 3,028 billionaires in the world. In other words, some 9.1% of the world’s billionaires are Jewish; compared to 0.2% of the global population.¹⁹

Now it may well be true that Jews are statistically overrepresented in certain sections in proportion to their numbers in society, but it is quite another thing to suggest that they act collectively.

The whole concept of ‘Jewish power’ is an updated version of historic Jewish conspiracy theories. I am not suggesting that Miller is therefore arguing for a political programme for the expulsion of Jews from western societies (although others will certainly do so). However, it is noticeable how many neo-Nazis and anti-Semites are commenting favourably on his articles.

It is entirely legitimate to ask why Jews are represented in the numbers Miller suggests. I have no doubt that there are historical-materialist reasons. However, it is the conclusions and the use to which Miller puts these which I am questioning.

Conclusion

I also question Miller’s sanity. Such is the delusional nature of his conspiracy theories. It is not as if he has written anything even remotely equivalent to Mearsheimer’s *The tragedy of great power politics*.²⁰ His theories on the new Jewish empire are grounded in fantasy. There is no overarching framework to what is an obsession with pouring out his latest undigested thoughts on Twitter.

Whereas most of us greeted the election of Zohran Mamdani as mayor of New York as a victory over the corrupt Democratic establishment (and Trump), Miller saw no change, writing: “Zohran Mamdani is a Zionist and a servant of Zionists. If you want to keep getting mugged by shysters like him, while they spit in your face and then stand on your shoulders, good luck to you.”²¹

To see no change at all in the American political climate, or to abuse someone who has been forthright about the genocide in Gaza, is truly amazing. The fact that over a third of New York Jews voted for Mamdani is itself remarkable.

As *Jewish Voice for Liberation* remarked in its statement of November 14,

You have to be living on another planet not to have noticed the phenomenal achievement of Mamdani winning against all the odds: against the Democratic establishment, against the

mainstream Jewish lobbying groups, against the big money, which dominates US politics and countless Islamophobic slurs against him ... Miller’s writings are increasingly shrill, divisive and misleading.

With the creation of the ‘Jewish empire’, there also comes a ‘Pax Judaica’. On April 12 2025 Miller posted that “the Zionist empire operates by penetrating and subverting western states, societies and economies to serve its ends”. He endorsed the far-right Candace Owens in respect of the release of the Epstein files: “The new Jewish empire also seeks hegemony in the digital sphere.”

David Miller is the organiser of the Palestine Declassified programme, which is funded by the Iranian state. Miller is a staunch defender of the clerical Iranian regime. Roshan Salih, editor of the conservative Islamic site, *5 Pillars*, wrote: “Sections of the left hold deeply Islamophobic views. This is the section that seems to support Zarah Sultana ... they automatically assume Muslim men are motivated by nothing but misogyny.” Miller responded: “There is a lot of truth in this, and Zarah Sultana’s commitment to the sort of muscular liberalism which was produced by the War on Terror - weaponising feminism, sexuality and gender against Muslims - has done enormous damage to Your Party’s prospects to alliance-building.”

This is an outrageous libel. Zarah Sultana is an anti-imperialist, not a supporter of the war on terror. *5 Pillars* supports the Taliban’s oppression of women in Afghanistan. There is nothing Islamophobic about opposing such oppression by Islamic regimes, be they in Iran or Afghanistan.

But Miller just continues on his bizarre and erratic journey to the right ●

Notes

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What we fight for

■ Without organisation the working class is nothing; with the highest form of organisation it is everything.

■ There exists no real Communist Party today. There are many so-called ‘parties’ on the left. In reality they are confessional sects. Members who disagree with the prescribed ‘line’ are expected to gag themselves in public. Either that or face expulsion.

■ Communists operate according to the principles of democratic centralism. Through ongoing debate we seek to achieve unity in action and a common world outlook. As long as they support agreed actions, members should have the right to speak openly and form temporary or permanent factions.

■ Communists oppose all imperialist wars and occupations but constantly strive to bring to the fore the fundamental question - ending war is bound up with ending capitalism.

■ Communists are internationalists. Everywhere we strive for the closest unity and agreement of working class and progressive parties of all countries. We oppose every manifestation of national sectionalism. It is an internationalist duty to uphold the principle, ‘One state, one party’.

■ The working class must be organised globally. Without a global Communist Party, a Communist International, the struggle against capital is weakened and lacks coordination.

■ Communists have no interest apart from the working class as a whole. They differ only in recognising the importance of Marxism as a guide to practice. That theory is no dogma, but must be constantly added to and enriched.

■ Capitalism in its ceaseless search for profit puts the future of humanity at risk. Capitalism is synonymous with war, pollution, exploitation and crisis. As a global system capitalism can only be superseded globally.

■ The capitalist class will never willingly allow their wealth and power to be taken away by a parliamentary vote.

■ We will use the most militant methods objective circumstances allow to achieve a federal republic of England, Scotland and Wales, a united, federal Ireland and a United States of Europe.

■ Communists favour industrial unions. Bureaucracy and class compromise must be fought and the trade unions transformed into schools for communism.

■ Communists are champions of the oppressed. Women’s oppression, combating racism and chauvinism, and the struggle for peace and ecological sustainability are just as much working class questions as pay, trade union rights and demands for high-quality health, housing and education.

■ Socialism represents victory in the battle for democracy. It is the rule of the working class. Socialism is either democratic or, as with Stalin’s Soviet Union, it turns into its opposite.

■ Socialism is the first stage of the worldwide transition to communism - a system which knows neither wars, exploitation, money, classes, states nor nations. Communism is general freedom and the real beginning of human history.

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Peak coal, but not peak oil

What a cop-out

You could not make it up, says **Eddie Ford**. Cop30 did not even mention coming off fossil fuels in its final text. Nor, despite being held in Belém, the gateway to the Amazon, was there a commitment to halting deforestation

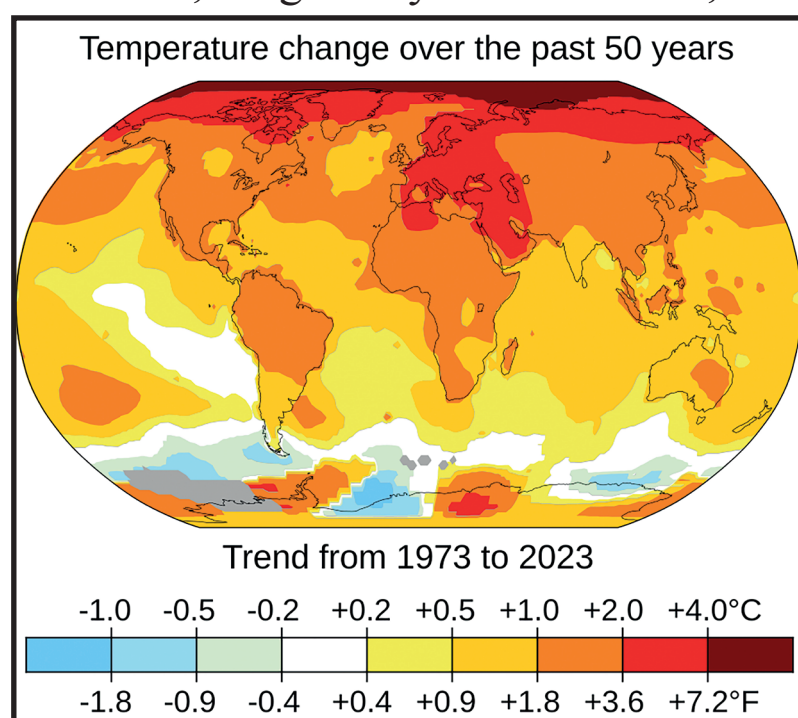
In the end, you could not make it up. The planet is getting warmer and warmer, with the last three years the hottest years on record and, as the latest research extensively documents, various tipping points are being reached - glaciers melting; forests disappearing; wildfires, floods and droughts increasing. With the Paris agreement pledge to keep global surface temperatures "well below" 2°C above pre-industrial levels completely dead, let alone keeping the increase to only 1.5°C, the world is steadily heading towards around 2.8°C.¹

Yet the final text of Cop30 did not even mention coming off fossil fuels, as if relentless warming is not happening, because the petrostates grouped around Saudi Arabia fought off a coalition of 90 countries wanting a commitment to "phase out" fossil fuels. Rather, the text merely added a reference to the "UAE consensus" - ie, the overall package from Cop28 in Dubai in 2023 that contained the first pledge to transition away from fossil fuels. But it is important to remember that this so-called pledge was itself a wretched compromise, as countries like Russia, Saudi Arabia and China rejected the "phase out" formulation in favour of "phase down" - Cop28 adopting a last-minute resolution stating that the "transition away" was going to be done "in a just, orderly and equitable manner" to "mitigate" the worst effects of climate change, and net zero will be magically reached by 2050.

Coalition of willing

Now we are told that this "transition away" from fossil fuels will proceed "outside" the UN process and will be "merged" with a plan backed by Colombia and about 90 other countries, with a summit set for April 2026 where this "coalition of the willing" will supposedly push progress forward. André Corrêa do Lago, the Brazilian diplomat who was Cop30's president, tried to reassure us that the plan to "develop" the roadmap had the support of president Lula da Silva and would involve "high-level dialogues" over the next year involving governments, industry and civil society. Once complete, according to do Lago, they would "report back" to Cop - which is obviously a recipe for endless dither and delay, but will be a great junket for the great and the good.

Similarly, though perhaps even more grotesque, was the blocking of any plans to include a roadmap about ending deforestation - even though Cop30 was deliberately sited in Belém precisely because it is known as the gateway to the Amazon: the Tropical Forest Forever Facility (TFFF) that was proposed by the Brazilian government was meant to be a "signature achievement" at the conference with the largest indigenous delegation of any previous Cop.² Indeed, Cop30 was styled by the Lula government as the "Indigenous Cop"



that for the first time was going to recognise native people's land rights and knowledge as a fundamental climate solution.

But, of course, for all of the propaganda and PR of the Brazilian state, indigenous peoples were excluded from the negotiations, actually staging protests and demonstrations - especially against the building of a four-lane highway for the conference that cut over eight miles through the protected rainforest, and the Lulu government's plans to open up oil wells in the mouth of the Amazon to finance the "transition away" from oil. In other words, just like the Tories wanting to drill in the North Sea for new oil fields because it 'makes no real difference' - which is essentially correct, of course, but, if *everyone* is going to "drill, baby, drill", that can only accelerate the climate crisis.

But deforestation was killed off after being tied to the fossil fuels roadmap and the tying of the two could be interpreted as either a terrible diplomatic blunder or deliberate sabotage by the Brazilian foreign ministry, which has long had a focus on selling the country's oil abroad - take your pick. So now, just like the fossil fuel roadmap, TFFF is going to happen "outside" Cop and the UN process, even though it is obvious, even to a completely uniformed observer, that dealing with the climate crisis and forest protection are closely connected.

Insult

At Belém, it was agreed to triple fund adaptation - that is, money will be provided by richer states to poorer countries, so that vulnerable countries can help protect themselves from the escalating impacts of the climate crisis. But the goal of possibly \$120 billion a year was pushed back five years to

2035 from the initial suggested date of 2030 and many observers are angered by the refusal to commit to scaling up finance to the \$300 billion *annually* deemed necessary - some calling it an "insult" for everyone facing flooding, fires and drought.

Predictably, the 'Baku to Belém roadmap' agreed last year at Cop29, whereby "all actors" would "work together" to enable the scaling up of financing to developing countries for climate action to at least \$1.3 trillion per year by 2035, proved to be a damp squib - how this will be structured, administered and implemented was not fleshed out at Belém, leaving the roadmap hanging in mid-air.

Equally, the Loss and Damage Fund, first agreed at Cop27 in Sharm el-Sheikh in Egypt, remains chronically underfunded and vague - conceived originally as a multilateral mechanism to help countries deal with *irreversible* harms from climate change that cannot be addressed through mitigation or adaptation alone (eg, various forms of extreme weather damage).

In theory, this meant that the most vulnerable countries (particularly small-island states) can officially request *grants* - typically in the range of \$5-20 million per project - for loss/damage projects, such as post-disaster rebuilding, infrastructure repair, ecosystem restoration or relocation support, etc, etc. But, as of this year, total pledges stand at under \$800 million - tiny, when compared to the estimated annual global "loss and damage" costs, which could reach *hundreds of billions of dollars per year* for 'at risk' countries. Furthermore, aid agencies say that the allocated resources are "too restrictive and too slow to respond" to the scale and frequency of climate-driven disasters - meaning that the Loss and Damage Fund will essentially remain an empty

shell without a huge scaling-up of the provision of public finance in grants.

Yet UN data scarily shows that levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere soared by a record amount last year to hit another high, and the global average concentration of the gas surged by 3.5 parts per million to 424ppm in 2024. According to the World Meteorological Organisation, this is the largest increase since modern measurements started in 1957, meaning that there will be more disasters created by climate change. Making matters worse, fewer than a third of the world's states - 62 out of 197 - have sent in their climate action plans, known as Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) under the Paris agreement. As for the US, the country which is the largest emitter per person, it has abandoned the process altogether - it did not even send an official delegation to Belém, with Donald Trump calling human-induced climate change "the greatest con job ever perpetrated on the world". Dismally, none of the 45 global climate indicators analysed are on track for 2030.

Methane

We must not fall into the trap of thinking that it is only carbon emissions that pose a danger. Criminally, the impacts of the food and agricultural system - such as cattle in cleared tracts in the Amazon - were largely ignored at Cop30. This is despite the fact that methane is a greenhouse gas 80 times more powerful than carbon dioxide, and is responsible for about a third of the warming recently recorded, so cutting it could amount to what some describe as an 'emergency brake' on global temperature rises. Hence, Cop26 in Glasgow had agreed to a cut in methane emissions of 30% by 2030. Yet they have actually continued to increase and, collectively, emissions from six - the US, Australia, Kuwait, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Iraq - are now *8.5% above* the 2020 level, which is deeply worrying.

Maybe in an ominous indication of the future, a fire near the delegation offices forced evacuation of the conference centre and disrupted negotiations at a crucial stage, as the Brazilian presidency of Cop30 put together a final package termed the "*global mutirão*".³ With a name meaning "collective efforts", it attempted to draw together the issues that had divided the fortnight of talks, including finance, trade policies and the failure to meet the Paris Agreement's 1.5°C temperature goal.

Communists, of course, had rather low expectations regarding Cop30, but it failed to meet even the low standards normally seen in Cop meetings - representing a triumph of narrow self-interest over the common good. Even if liberal opinion comforts itself with the illusion that some progress was made at Belém, exemplified by the headline in *The Guardian*: "End of

fossil fuel era inches closer, as Cop30 deal agreed after bitter standoff".⁴ There are no fools like liberal fools.

Profits

At the moment we are at peak coal.⁵ The reasonable expectation is that it will start to go down from now onwards, but, on the other hand, oil - and presumably gas - is expected to go up and up. True, more and more power is being accounted for by renewables, mainly solar with a bit of wind - and in the official statistics, of course, that also includes nuclear, which is perversely classified as a 'renewable', when it is nothing of the sort.

But the fact that renewables account for a bigger percentage does not detract from the reality of more and more energy being used - especially as we have to take into account the important factor, which is sometimes overlooked, that governments and companies throughout the world are heavily investing in AI, which uses *massive* amounts of electricity. So while you have got renewables and they are becoming steadily cheaper - as this publication has often pointed out - the operating profit on them is very low, as opposed to oil and gas, which is very high.

So it is not the price of renewables versus fossil fuel that is the obstacle to meeting the investment targets to limit global warming: rather it is the *profitability* of renewables, compared to fossil fuel production. Therefore we have the example of Sweden, where wind power can be produced very cheaply, but the very cheapening of the costs also depresses revenue potential. This fundamental contradiction explains the arguments from fossil fuel companies that oil and gas production cannot be phased out quickly, which is perfectly logical from their point of view. Indeed, the very fact that the profitability of oil and gas has generally been far higher than that of renewables explains why in the 1980s and 1990s the oil and gas majors uncereemoniously shuttered their first ventures in renewables almost as soon as they had launched them.

Naturally, it is still the case that investment in renewable energy currently offers sub-par returns, as in a recent assessment by JP Morgan economists - so stick to fossil fuels, no matter what the ecological impact is, because the holy mission is to protect the bottom line ●

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