

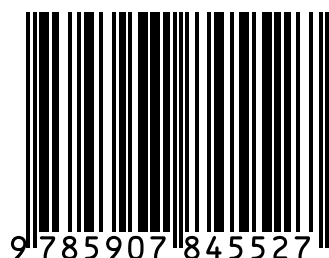


Where Is the European Left Headed?

Jean-Pierre Page

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16/1 Tsvetnoy Boulevard St., Moscow, Russia, 127051

About the Author

Jean-Pierre Page

French trade union activist and publicist

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Que reste-t-il de nos amours, que reste-t-il de ces beaux jours,
une photo, vieille photo de ma jeunesse¹.

A popular song by Charles Trenet.

What is the Left? Where is it? Where is it going? Ultimately, what purpose does it serve?

This question deserves to be asked in relation to the political forces that claim to represent it, especially since, given the systemic crisis of the liberal system, combined with Western decline², the institutional Left, particularly in Europe, appears to be without prospects, paralyzed³, or on its last legs.

In France, what remains of the two major political forces embodying the Left at the end of the Second World War: the Socialist Party (PS) and the Communist Party (PC)?

But also, what about the new forces that have emerged over the last twenty years, claiming to be on the left and identifying with more radical societal choices that combine social justice and environmental protection while remaining more timid on other issues such as war, global conflict, and multipolarity?

¹“What remains of our love, what remains of those beautiful days, a photograph, an old photograph of my youth...”

²Emmanuel Todd. *La Défaite de l'Occident*. Gallimard, Paris, 2024

³In the presidential elections of April 10, 2022, the Socialist Party candidate Anne Hidalgo obtained 1.75%, the Communist Party candidate Fabien Roussel: 2.28%, the Green Party candidate Yannick Jadot: 4.63%, while *La France Insoumise* candidate Jean-Luc Mélenchon obtained 21.95%, the far-right candidate Marine Le Pen 23.15%, and Emmanuel Macron 27.85%.

A Sacred Union!

In fact, faced with the magnitude of the crisis, the Left is incapable of embodying an alternative, let alone a break with the past⁴. In most cases, it has chosen to rally to a strategy of expediency, a “Sacred Union”⁵. This approach has been encouraged by the centres of international finance and the media subservient to them.

This is particularly true in France, where the oligarchy has supported and continues to support political alliances between the Socialist Party and a segment of the right, the centre, and Macronism, most of whose leaders come from the Socialist Party. This approach benefits from the open or tacit support of the Communist Party and the Greens. We find an identical approach in Germany between the conservative right of the Christian Democrats (CDU), the Greens (*Die Grünen*), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), and even sometimes on certain subjects with the assent of *Die Linke*.

These political and partisan arrangements may seem surprising and paradoxical. But, in fact, they are not, when you consider this period of history we are living in, where a completely unprecedented situation is emerging. New contradictions, uncertainties, and dangers are appearing, but so are opportunities.

In fact, we are facing political realignments and transformations unseen for a century. They are accelerating as humanity confronts

⁴Grégory Rzepski. *A quoi rêvent les socialistes*. Le Monde diplomatique, July 2025. URL : <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2025/07/RZEPSKI/68525>

⁵“Sacred Union” was a movement that sought to unite the French people in the face of the First World War. It was promoted by chauvinistic propaganda and enabled by the betrayal of the Socialist Party and the majority of the trade union movement. Entirely to the benefit of the European bourgeoisie, similar movements existed in the United Kingdom, Russia, and Germany.

unprecedented opportunities and challenges. However, the Left in Europe is far from having analysed these anti-hegemonic upheavals. More often than not, it stubbornly refuses to take them into account, to grasp their true scope and significance, but even more significantly, in most cases, it chooses to align itself with what remains the dominant ideology and its hegemonic ambitions. As Russian President Vladimir Putin points out: “International relations are undergoing a radical transformation. Paradoxically, multipolarity has become a direct consequence of attempts to establish and preserve global hegemony, a response by the international system and history itself to the obsessive desire to arrange everyone into a single hierarchy, with Western countries at the top. The failure of such an endeavour was only a matter of time⁶”.

Blinded by self-serving political and partisan navel-gazing, the European left, which claims to be social democracy, most often appears absorbed by existential problems, refusing to acknowledge a new reality, let alone draw the necessary conclusions. Its role, therefore, is to maintain the status quo. In fact, its opposition to the forces of conservatism is purely circumstantial. At best, its economic and social references and benchmarks remain Keynesian. This is demonstrated by the Zucman tax⁷, supported by the entire left wing, which is supposed to impose heavier taxation on large fortunes when in reality it is about sharing and practicing liberalism with a human face.

However, the Left's program remains invariably a carbon copy of the European and political constraints imposed by Brussels and international financial institutions. Under these conditions, the Left's ties with the working class have weakened and become virtually non-existent.

⁶Valdai Discussion Club meeting. President of Russia. October 2, 2025. URL: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/78134>

⁷Zucman Tax: Named after the economist Gabriel Zucman, this proposal aims to impose heavier taxation on major assets and the wealthiest individuals.

Rhetoric and superficiality are now another way of doing politics. Apart from what remains of its partisan representation, its base is in ruins. It is not renewing itself. Essentially, its political apparatus is fossilized, its leaders preoccupied with the personal ambitions and career plans of each individual.

In fact, social democracy and its allies are merely content to follow, or even adopt as their own, the arguments of the neoconservatives. Under pressure from media *watchdogs*⁸, it has normalized itself and contributed to the decline of all critical thinking in intellectual debate. Thus, faced with the crisis in international relations, the economic and financial slump, and the unprecedented social, political, institutional, cultural, and moral bankruptcy of the Western world, it carefully aligns its positions with the prevailing ideologies. For example, regarding the proactive rearmament pursued by the United States and the European Union, as well as its direct involvement in legitimizing the continuation of the conflict in Ukraine, the governing left plays a role as a loyal partner of the hegemonic system.

What is the current situation?

This situation ultimately reveals a long-term transformation that began well before the dissolution of the USSR. While this major historical event upended the existing world order and forced a revision of many reference points, social democracy sees this tragedy as confirmation

⁸ *Les chiens de garde* (The Watchdogs) is a 1932 essay by Paul Nizan (1905-1940), writer, journalist, and philosopher who died in combat.

of its own analysis made some seventy years earlier. It thus maintains its hostility toward the USSR, which it now perceives as resurgent in modern Russia.

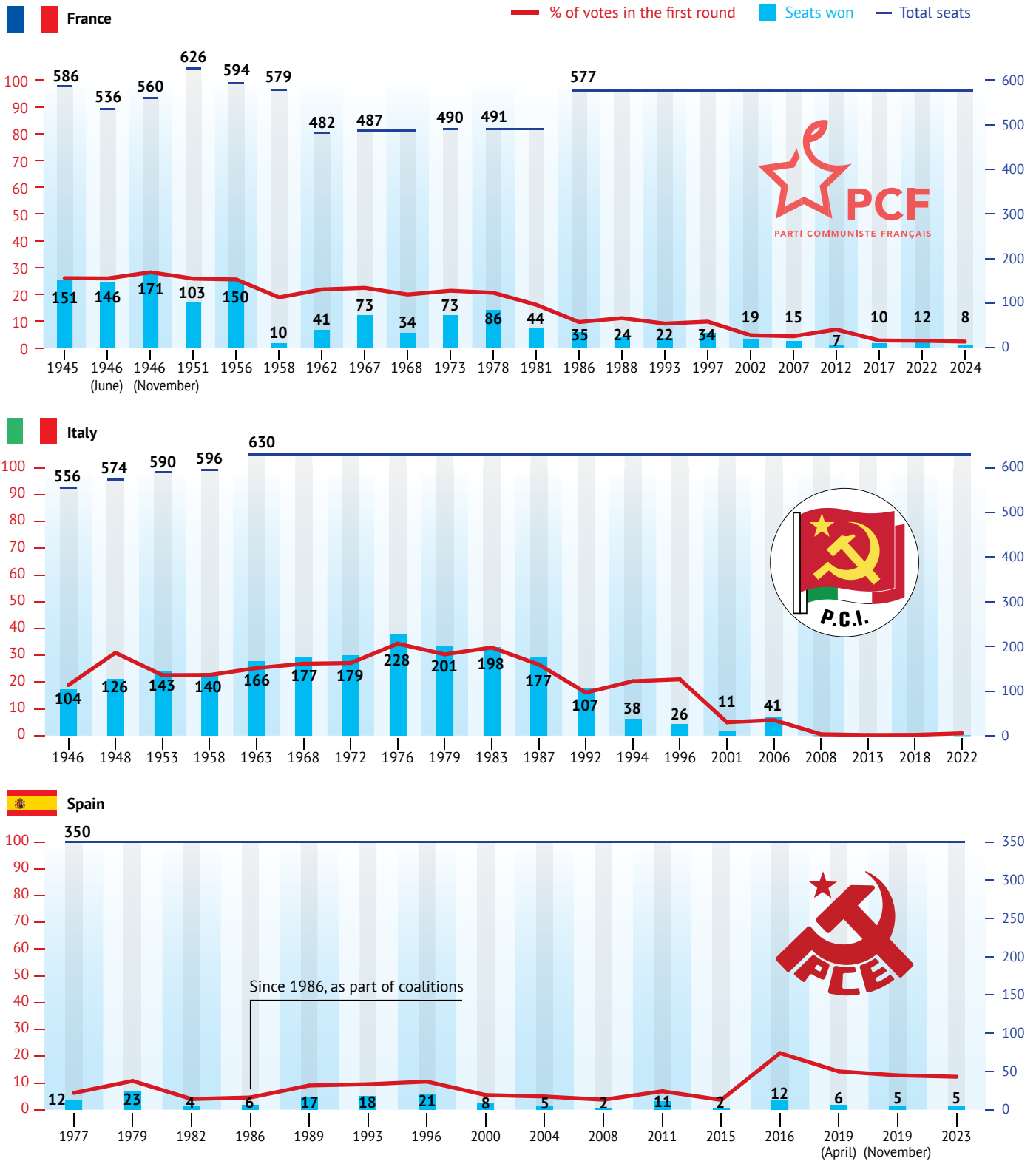
Yet nothing is immutable; everything changes. Amid persistent global tensions, a new world order is taking shape, yet the so-called reformist left refuses to anticipate it—for instance, by accounting for the shifting balance of power over the past two decades. Its political thinking, marked by profound intellectual poverty, has remained stagnant. Wherever it has held or holds power, it has accumulated failures that plunged it into electoral setbacks, self-doubt, and a form of strategic dead end, due to its abandonment of any genuine project of change.

Social liberal democracy, once a model for the Left and the *free world*, has become a caricature characterized by cowardice, mediocrity, and blatant lies, both in word and deed. Austerity in economic and social policy is its watchword, thus contributing to the rise of ideas supported by right-wing and far-right parties in Europe. As the Italian historian Clara Mattei points out, “austerity is at the heart of fascism, even when administered by a liberal state⁹”. Despite this dangerous trend, it is in the name of its supposed core values that the Left presents itself as a bulwark against the far right, which is achieving electoral successes throughout Europe, leading it to power, as in Italy and the Netherlands, or bringing it closer to power, as in France, Germany, and Spain.

Escaping this schizophrenia would require the Left to question its patterns of adaptation and compliance with the “dominant ideology.” The Left, which aspires to be reformist, is not yet at that stage, and for good reason: its role is confined to the margins of the system. With

⁹ Clara Mattei. *The Capital order: How Economists Invented Austerity and Paved the Way to Fascism*. The University of Chicago Press. 2022

THE POST-WWII DECLINE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE



Sources: <https://elezionistorico.interno.gov.it>, <https://data.ipu.org/fr>, <https://www.france-politique.fr>, Central Electoral Commission of Spain, <https://historiaelectoral.com/>

slight variations, identical situations can be observed in most European countries and beyond. Thus, social democracy is incapable of representing an alternative, as its social liberalism is perceived as the twin of right-wing agendas.

In France, after having contributed to a progressive social model and high-quality public services, the *united left* – united through alliances between the Socialist Party (PS) and the Communist Party (PCF) – has chosen to subserviently align itself with the predatory and destructive logic of a European Union controlled by globalized finance and subservient to the diktats of Washington. It has thus moved from acquiescence to support, and then to promotion of, the liberal model. The Left, supposedly embodying the fight for social justice, paved the way for and then auctioned off hard-won social rights. Essentially, the Left has abandoned its struggle for peace and its internationalism by aligning itself with the dominant militaristic logic of the US-led order, supporting and contributing to imperial wars in Yugoslavia, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Afghanistan, and, since 2022, Ukraine, abandoning all reference to sovereignty and national independence.

More or less, social democracy no longer opposes, but in fact supports, the will of the United States, through NATO, to impose a forced militarization of European economies by revitalizing the military-industrial complex, especially the North American one. As with the neo-conservative deep state, international law and multilateralism have become empty words for it. With rare exceptions, the European left has thus supported Israel by deliberately ignoring the “final solution” that Netanyahu seeks to impose at the cost of genocide against the Palestinian nation. The Left, susceptible to the Zionist lobby, has contributed to the manipulation of hysterical media campaigns against a supposed resurgence of anti-Semitism and has not hesitated in the European Parliament to promote a rewriting of the history of the Second World War, driven by Russophobia and anti-communism¹⁰.

¹⁰Jean-Pierre Page. *How Europe is rewriting the WWII History*. Valdai Discussion Club. February 17, 2025. URL: <https://valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/how-europe-is-rewriting-the-wwii-history/>

In fact, the emotional reactions that manifest themselves on the left often mask reactionary attitudes, such as anti-Sovietism in the case of the conflict in Ukraine, or neo-colonialism in the case of Palestine, Venezuela and Cuba, Africa, or Algeria.

Blindness, Russophobia, hostility towards China, neo-colonial arrogance, submission to the Euro-Atlantic order, abandonment of the very idea of sovereignty and ultimately of societal choice have thus contributed to blurring its image and leading social democracy and the political forces it influences down a perilous slope, ultimately threatening its own existence.

Neither a counterweight nor a pole of resistance?

Consequently, for the majority of forces identifying with it, capitalism has become an insurmountable horizon through both explicit and implicit acceptance. The Left thus no longer functions as a counterweight or counter-power, and increasingly fails to serve as a pole of resistance. Through serial betrayals, an incestuous relationship has been established between what it has become and the oligarchy with which it increasingly identifies. In other words, as Antonio Gramsci analysed¹¹, the cultural representations of the ruling class – that is, the dominant ideology – have ultimately permeated the Left to such a degree that it has abdicated what it once claimed as its heritage: its role, mission, and ultimate purpose of serving human progress and liberation.

The Left no longer speaks of changing society, of challenging capitalism, and even less of socialism. It has now converted to defending the liberal system, to its better management, and to championing anachronistic choices that prioritize societal issues as the alpha and omega

¹¹ Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), writer, philosopher, theorist, Marxist-Leninist, one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party. He is the author of numerous works, including the *Prison Notebooks*, in which he develops his views on cultural hegemony.

of a so-called societal revolution. This revolution is founded on an exacerbated, emotional, and rudderless individualism, whose enemies are considered to be the extremes – whether from the right or the left.

Thus, we see the discourse and actions of the institutional left now aligning with the established economic and political order, even going so far as to claim this order as its own political vision and working to preserve it – as illustrated by the Socialist Party's attempts to rescue Emmanuel Macron. The very same man it once radically opposed now leads it to make compromises with him. In the face of such betrayals, its social and political base is deserting it and turning away for good.

Another example, given the links between political parties and trade unions, is that workers no longer identify themselves with union practices that now primarily involve negotiating the social programmes of management and multinational corporations, as well as accommodating the demands of financial institutions, the government, and the European Commission.

This revisionism fosters contradictory feelings among the population: discontent, incomprehension, powerlessness, and discouragement, and encourages a form of political disengagement, evident, among other things, in elections. Abstention has thus become the primary political force in many European countries. This is largely due to the Left.

People are increasingly rejecting electoral manoeuvring, partisan politics, party machinery logic, compromises, the careerism of elected and unelected politicians, and the worsening corruption. In France, these phenomena have become contagious, spreading from the right to the left. This deteriorating context is fostering increasingly critical views among citizens regarding the bias of the state's core institutions, including the constitution itself.

Long a producer of new ideas, the Left's credibility is at a low ebb in most countries of the old continent, particularly in those long associated with a will for radical change and a rupture with the established order. Through a succession of renunciations and capitulations, betrayals

and alignments with the dominant ideology, from laziness to conformism, the institutional left has settled into the abandonment of the principles and values that had nourished its social and political history throughout the last century – a century marked by great popular mobilizations and social conquests in the interwar period and then after the Second World War.

This evolution within a segment of the Left, and particularly the Socialist Party, is significant and cannot be ignored; it influences the history of the Left, especially in France. Certainly, its compromises with the bourgeoisie are not new; we remember that they went as far as the “sacred union” with chauvinism on the eve of the First World War. Even if history does not repeat itself, we are currently experiencing a rather similar pattern. Likewise, the positions regarding the conflict in Ukraine, with unconditional support for the neo-Nazi regime in Kiev or for the government in Israel, are reminiscent of the betrayal of the Spanish Republicans in the face of rising fascism, as well as the commitments of the Popular Front in 1936, the Munich capitulation to Hitler, and ultimately, the collaboration with Hitler’s Germany.

A damning assessment

The assessment outlined above may appear damning, but it corresponds to a tangible reality and lived experience. Thus, broad segments of the public observe that, given the current level of compromise and moral concessions, the question must be asked: what actually distinguishes the Left from the Right?

For instance, François Hollande, still a member of parliament and spokesperson for the Socialist Party, also a Russophobe and supporter of all-out war in Ukraine, leader of the French Socialist Party and candidate in the 2012 presidential election, then candidate of the entire left, declared: “My real adversary is the world of finance.”¹² This statement was

¹² Sometimes quoted as “My enemy is finance,” this phrase resulted from journalists reworking a soundbite uttered by François Hollande in January 2012 during the campaign for the presidential election.

entirely demagogic, especially since François Hollande never genuinely intended to tax high incomes as he claimed. Once elected, and very quickly, we discover a particularly pragmatic President of the Republic who, from a social democrat, would become openly social liberal and then simply liberal and interventionist in foreign policy, as was the case in Syria¹³ and particularly with regard to Ukraine, where he violated and betrayed the commitments made during the Minsk Agreements.

Similarly, this was also the case with his predecessor, Lionel Jospin, the Socialist prime minister of a liberal and pro-European government uniting Socialists and Communists, who, starting in 1997, privatized far more than previous right-wing governments, and indeed, more than any other in French history¹⁴.

Consequently, the Left alienated many people who had believed that its rise to government would mark a moment of radical change. The discredit that still clings to François Hollande prevented him from even seeking re-election for a second presidential term. Instead, he actively contributed to the political coup of a certain Emmanuel Macron, effectively becoming his “godfather.”

How did this happen? Given the National Front’s performance in the 2014 European elections, it was clear that Marine Le Pen would reach the second round of the 2017 presidential election, with her opponent highly likely to become president. The senior state civil service then selected one of its own as a candidate. Proposed to the major French oligarchs of finance and media, he was endorsed – including with the approval of US financial empires like BlackRock or the Rothschild Bank, where Macron had once been an employee. Macron, portrayed as a bulwark against an imaginary fascism, easily emerged victorious.

¹³We recall that in Syria, François Hollande supported bombings. Barack Obama opposed this decision, and France did not commit itself further.

¹⁴Lionel Jospin, at the head of a Socialist and Communist government, was Jacques Chirac’s Prime Minister from 1997 to 2002. A former active member of a Trotskyist party, the Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI), he became François Mitterrand’s protégé and First Secretary of the Socialist Party, then a minister. Defeated in the 1995 presidential elections by Jacques Chirac, he ran again in 2002 and was soundly defeated once more by Chirac and also by the far-right candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Meanwhile, the Communist Party, a staunch partner of the Socialist Party, is itself responsible for its own electoral and political collapse. Once so influential, it is now but a shadow of its former self, acting according to alliances of convenience. The Eurocommunism championed by the three main Communist parties in Europe – French, Italian, and Spanish – on the verge of power in the second half of the 1970s was a resounding failure.

In France, despite periods of tension and questioning, the Communist Party has largely remained committed since 1972 to its alliance strategy with the Socialist Party – a strategy that nonetheless reduced its influence from over 20% before 1980 to about 4% today. It contributed to the election and presidential power of François Mitterrand, whose commitments, once elected, were quickly called into question against a backdrop of the gradual surrender of national sovereignty to the European Union. By gradually withdrawing from the political scene, the French Communist Party has deprived the working class of its traditional advocate and primary political instrument. This political upheaval was mirrored in the labour movement, with a restructuring that significantly diminished the influence of the General Confederation of Labour (CGT). Its shifts in international politics are significant: declared hostility towards both Russia and China, a reassessment of its support for independence movements, as seen with the Palestinian cause, a move towards European integration, solidarity with the Kiev regime, and abandonment of the fight for peace.

In France and Europe, this political evolution of the institutional left led certain forces to seek to position themselves as an alternative to parties whose credibility had collapsed. By breaking free from the framework imposed for over a century, they very quickly occupied a political space that had been left vacant. In particular, by addressing youth, communities, and the middle class, by tackling societal issues such as the environment, racism, and gender, but also by combating the resurgence of far-right parties. For example, the condemnation of the genocide in Gaza mobilized large mass movements, often initiated

by organizations like *La France Insoumise* (LFI) in France. It was in this context that these new political forces developed, with organizational structures that challenged traditional party and representative forms, quickly achieving significant results in political elections. Some even gained access to local and provincial responsibilities, and some even assumed power within the government. This was the case with **Syriza**¹⁵ in Greece, although this experience ended in failure and political fiasco.

This radicalism is expressed in France by **La France Insoumise** and its leader Jean-Luc Mélenchon, a former Socialist minister and defector from the Socialist Party¹⁶, **Podemos**¹⁷ in Spain, as well as **Communist Refoundation Party**¹⁸ and **Five Star Movement**¹⁹ in Italy. More recently, this has also been the case with the British Labour Party, which, in a state of slow disintegration, recently experienced a split with the creation of **Your Party** at the initiative of former Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn²⁰. Germany is experiencing a similar situation with the division of *Die Linke* and the creation of Sahra Wagenknecht's **BSW**.²¹ In each of these countries, there are also several organizations, parties, or political movements described as far-left or communist, most often led by former members of communist parties, but with very limited influence.

¹⁵ **Syriza** (Coalition of the Radical Left), long led by Alexis Tsipras, the former Greek prime minister, has evolved from a party advocating democratic socialism to one now positioned in the centre-left.

¹⁶ **La France Insoumise** (LFI, "Unbowed France"): Coordinated by Jean-Luc Mélenchon, former leader of the Socialist Party and ex-minister, who initiated with the French Communist Party the Left Party and later LFI, which has become the principal left-wing force in parliament.

¹⁷ **Podemos**, long led by Pablo Iglesias, is part of the Spanish left-wing coalition government under socialist Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez.

¹⁸ **The Communist Refoundation Party**, long led by Fausto Bertinotti, brings together former members of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and activists from various far-left groups.

¹⁹ **Five Stars**: founded by Beppe Grillo, a diverse party composed of different groups.

²⁰ **Your Party** of Jeremy Corbyn, former leader of the Labour Party ousted by the current leadership and Keir Starmer, the current British Prime Minister.

²¹ **BSW** (Sahra Wagenknecht Alliance): led by Sahra Wagenknecht, long one of the most popular figures in *Die Linke*, who is also married to former SPD leader Oskar Lafontaine.

France as the weak link in Europe

The new weak link in the Eurozone²², France has become a significant indicator of the scale of the crisis in Europe and the Western world. Its decline continues and accelerates, exacerbating the dangerous situation through Emmanuel Macron's international initiatives. The political upheavals of 2024, linked to three resounding electoral defeats and the dissolution of the National Assembly, have led him to retreat into a form of denial regarding the devastation he has created. With a colossal debt twice that of Germany, France faces an economic and social disaster that has plunged the country into unpredictable territory where anything is possible, but for the worse.

For the vast majority of French people, Macron must go. He is seen as responsible for this situation and is the object of widespread rejection. A poll held in late October 2025 put his approval rating at eleven percent making him the most unpopular president in 70 years.²³

For the past year, a lack of parliamentary majority has led to successive governments and three prime ministers resigning. The fourth, moreover, is himself threatened with being forced to step aside. More than 65 percent of the French population wants the president to resign and even be impeached. Nevertheless, Emmanuel Macron remains steadfast and intends to see out his term. The social situation has become explosive and has crystallized around opposition to the pension reform, massive layoff plans, an unequal tax system that favours the wealthy, as well as the risks of war. Faced with this situation, Macron has chosen to ignore it arrogantly and blindly. Instability is increasing,

²² Frédéric Paya, Marie de Greef-Madelin. *Dettes, déficit et notation : Pourquoi la France est le nouveau maillon faible de la zone euro*. Valeurs actuelles, September 22, 2025. URL: <https://www.valeursactuelles.com/clubvaleurs/economie/la-france-au-club-med>

²³ *Macron rejoint Hollande au palmarès de l'impopularité record*. Le Figaro, October 30, 2025. URL: <https://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/sondage-emmanuel-macron-atteint-son-plus-bas-historique-20251030>

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL RATINGS IN THE FIFTH REPUBLIC



*according to Le Figaro as of October 2025

Source: Pouvoirs, IFOP

but the President is multiplying his bellicose statements and actions in favour of open conflict with Russia, without being able to accept the consequences.

In an unprecedented move within the armed forces, numerous voices are being raised to characterize the President's irresponsibility in military matters. Several generals and senior officers have launched an appeal for a critical debate on France's military involvement in Ukraine²⁴.

²⁴ *Des généraux et officiers lancent une pétition pour un débat sur l'engagement militaire en Ukraine : Halte à une intervention sans mandat.* Le Média en 4-4-2. April 22, 2025. URL: <https://lemediaen442.fr/des-generaux-et-officiers-lancent-une-petition-pour-un-debat-sur-lengagement-militaire-en-ukraine-halte-a-une-intervention-sans-mandat/>

It should therefore come as no surprise that a study in *Military Strategy Magazine*, by an eminent professor at the prestigious King's College London, predicts a civil war in both France and Great Britain. This is not a light-hearted opinion piece but a very serious scientific study, which only confirms the bankruptcy of a regime on its last legs, yet living in blindness and denial²⁵.

Unable to secure a parliamentary majority, yet holding the largest number of seats, the Left – comprising *La France Insoumise*, the Socialist Party, the French Communist Party, and the Greens – sought to respond in 2024 with a new iteration of the Union of the Left²⁶, the NUPES, a political coalition with a program aimed at finding a solution to what had become a systemic crisis. Emmanuel Macron ignored these overtures and responded by intensifying his policy of compromise with the right, and especially with the far right. Despite concessions made by the Left to Macronist leaders in the name of a Republican Front against the far right during the general elections of June 2024, Macron chose to persist.

Very quickly, this united left-wing alliance of convenience imploded, with the Socialist Party and the Communist Party breaking with *La France Insoumise* and choosing to continue seeking compromises with Macronism in order to avoid new general elections and, even worse, an early presidential election. Thus, the Socialist Party preferred to explicitly rally behind Macron with the incredible slogan: “Above all, do not give the people a voice. No dissolution, no resignation, and no impeachment of Macron. A majority with the Macronists and part of the right to keep our seats.” This denied the people the exercise of their sovereignty²⁷.

²⁵ David Betz. Civil War Comes to the West, Part II: Strategic Realities. *Military Strategy Magazine*. Volume 10, Issue 2. URL: <https://www.militarystrategymagazine.com/article/civil-war-comes-to-the-west-part-ii-strategic-realities/>. It should be noted that similar forecasts are being expressed regarding the United States, where polarization has reached such extremes that over 7 million Americans demonstrated on October 19 across 2,700 gatherings.

²⁶ This alliance, named NUPES (New Popular Ecological and Social Union), is a political coalition of parties claiming to be left-wing: France Unbowed, Socialist Party, Communist Party, Greens.

²⁷ Régis de Castelnau. *Avec le PS, l'Union de la gauche ne peut qu'enfanter des monstres* ». Regis's Substack. October 19, 2025. URL: <https://regisdecastelnau.substack.com/p/avec-le-ps-lunion-de-la-gauche-ne>

What are the prospects?

In France, the next major political milestones will be electoral, notably the municipal elections²⁸ in early 2026 and the presidential elections in 2027. For the latter, the constitution prohibits Macron from running again. There will be no shortage of candidates on the left; several have already declared their candidacy. Among these, we must note the likely candidacy of Raphaël Glucksmann, a Member of the European Parliament, supported by the Socialist Party. He is a fanatical Russophobe, advocating all-out war against Russia. He denounces the situation of the Uyghurs in Xinjiang, for whom he has become a self-appointed spokesperson²⁹. He has declared himself a radical opponent of Jean-Luc Mélenchon's *La France Insoumise* movement. It is on the basis of these partisan and inconsistent rivalries that the trivial debates within the Left are shaped, further reinforcing its deplorable image.

In any case, the priority for the oligarchy is to enlist the people and the workers in service of the objectives of a confrontational policy against what the globalized liberal financial system considers the main threat to its hegemony. In other words, the confrontation with the emergence of new forces in the world that now defend their sovereignty tooth and nail.

This is the challenge facing the people. In fact, the aim is to trap them by confining them to a false dilemma with the same outcome. Either choose, as in France, the far right through Marine Le Pen's National Rally, or opt for a "Sacred Union" stretching from the right to what remains of Macronists, along with all or part of the reasonable and respectable left.

The whole point is to avoid this trap.

²⁸ The municipal elections in France will take place on March 15 and 22. The presidential election will be held in the first half of 2027, for a five-year term.

²⁹ The son of anti-communist philosopher André Glucksmann, Raphaël Glucksmann is closely linked to neoconservative circles in the US. He was Mikheil Saakashvili's long-time advisor in Georgia and the ex-husband of Eka Zguladze, the corrupt and torturous former Minister of the Interior. He is the partner of journalist Léa Salamé, a supporter of Macron and an unconditional supporter of Israel.

For these reasons, we better understand why the objective is to sideline, marginalize, and discredit the political and social forces that, despite the compromises made by some, can represent a possible alternative for social progress by helping to restore confidence in collective action.

This is why, in order to divert attention from the real problems, politicians on the right, as well as those on the left – so often compromised and discredited – and on the far right, are waging a systematic and relentless campaign of lies, half-truths, and fake news, using the media to their advantage. For them, warning about the consequences of expanding the conflict in Ukraine, as desired by Western leaders including Emmanuel Macron, is tantamount to supporting Vladimir Putin. Demanding the repeal of the pension and unemployment insurance reforms, and seeking to increase the purchasing power of workers and retirees, is seen as making the irresponsible choice of increasing national debt. On all these issues, there is complete consensus among most political forces.

Therefore, the response cannot be a lesser evil. While avoiding any emotional reaction, shouldn't the Left explain, and explain again, what is truly at stake? It's worth remembering that this unprecedented yet predictable situation reveals the state of the real world we live in, with its risks but also its opportunities – a world that is changing rapidly and where the hegemonic system is increasingly unable to impose its rules as its failures multiply.

To regain credibility, the Left must transform itself by demonstrating how it is different and why it must champion a project of emancipation – and, above all, specify what that project entails. This necessary clarification requires it to conduct a thorough self-assessment, a form of examination of conscience. We don't choose our era; we must rise to the challenge it presents.

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клуб «Валдай»
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СОВЕТ ПО ВНЕШНЕЙ
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