

Proletarian

Organ of the International Communist Party

WHAT DISTINGUISHES OUR PARTY: The political continuity which goes from Marx and Engels to Lenin, to the foundation of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Italy; the class struggle of the Communist Left against the degeneration of the International, the struggle against the theory of "socialism in one country" and the Stalinist counter-revolution; the rejection of all popular fronts and national resistance blocs; the struggle against the principles and practice of bourgeois democracy, against interclassism and political and trade-union class collaboration, against any form of opportunism and nationalism; the difficult task of restoring the Marxist doctrine and the revolutionary organ par excellence - the class party - closely linked with the working class, and its daily struggle in opposition to capitalism and bourgeois oppression; the struggle against personal and electoral politics, against any form of indifferentism, of tailism, of movementism or the adventurist practice of "armed struggle"; the support of any proletarian struggle which breaks with social peace and rejects the discipline of interclassist collaborationism; the support of all efforts towards proletarian class reorganisation on the basis of economic associationism, with the perspective of a large scale resumption of the class struggle, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary anticapitalist struggle.

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Summary

- The Bourgeois Rulers Are Preparing for War, Let's Prepare for Class War!
- Protests Against Deportations in Los Angeles
- America in Flames and Floods
- An Impossible "Palestinian Homeland"
- Revolts in Morocco
- Tunisia : In Gabès, Capitalism Is Poisoning the Population
- Tunisia, 15 Years Later
- Social Explosion in Madagascar
- Spain : Pogrom in Torre Pacheco.
- Spain : Class Struggle in Cádiz
- To Our Readers
- Argentina : Against Milei's "Successes"

Trump's Plan for Gaza: Eternal Oppression of the Palestinians

After months of not only allowing and permitting the massacres, famine, and destruction in Gaza through a continuous flow of weapons, but also **encouraging** them with its plan to expel the Gazan population in order to build a Riviera on the ruins (with money from the Gulf countries), and after stubbornly refusing any ceasefire, Trump is now trumpeting that he has laid the foundations for "eternal peace" with his plan. Western imperialists, Arab states, including Algeria, Russia, China, Iran... in short, states from all over the world, have approved this plan.

The first concrete effects are visible: an end to the massive bombardments, the release of Israeli hostages and a number of Palestinian prisoners, and authorization for humanitarian aid.

But despite the ceasefire, the Israeli army continues to massacre (more than 350 dead to date) and humanitarian-

(Continued on page 8)

USA: Large Demonstrations Will Never Be Able to Stop Anti-proletarian Attacks

The 'No Kings' demonstrations on 18 October were perhaps the largest day of protest in US history: 2,700 rallies across the country with 5 to 7 million participants, despite statements by the pro-Trump press and officials who sought to scare off potential participants by labelling the organisers 'terrorists', predicting unrest and announcing the mobilisation of the FBI to oppose the 'chaos'. This day followed similar demonstrations, such as the No Kings protests in June, which were also massive, and others before that.

The scale of these protests is a sign of the hostility of a large section of the American population towards the reactionary policies of the Trump administration: cuts in social spending, the

dismissal of thousands of state employees, widespread attacks on undocumented workers, etc. The shutdown meant that tens of thousands of civil servants were furloughed, food stamps that enable more than 40 million proletarians and their families to feed themselves were suspended, etc. This anti-proletarian policy is accompanied by unbridled authoritarianism, as illustrated by the practices of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency: masked and heavily armed ICE agents organise raids in neighbourhoods where immigrant workers live, arresting and kidnapping those who do not have the proper papers.

(Continued on page 2)

Massacres in Sudan

After a two-year siege, RSF paramilitary forces (the Rapid Support Forces of General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, known as Hemedti) captured El Fasher, the large city in Darfur, on October 26, followed by the massacre of thousands of civilians (especially in hospitals). Their opponents, the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF), were likewise accused of ethnic cleansing, massacres of civilians, and rape in Darfur and other provinces.

In response to international outrage over the massacres in El Fasher, Hemedti ordered the arrest of the RSF commander who had boasted on the social network TikTok that he had killed more than 2,000 civilians. This measure, however, is nothing more than a smokescreen, as RSF units have committed further acts of violence against the civilian population during the ongoing clashes - from massacres at El-Geneina, attacks on refugee camps to blocking humanitarian convoys. Moreover, since their very inception, they have borne responsibility for a bloody history of massacres.

These units, recruited from Muslim ethnic groups in Darfur, were created under the name Janjaweed by dictator Omar al-Bashir to fight rebel organizations in Darfur itself and also in the south of the country. They are thus responsible for numerous killings of the black population. They also violently repressed urban demonstrations in 2013, when hundreds of demonstrators protesting against the government's austerity measures were killed and injured.

THE 2018-2019 UPRISING

On April 11, 2019, during the wave of uprisings against al-Bashir's regime

(Continued on page 16)

In this issue, on page 4 :

"Protests Against Deportations in Los Angeles :
A Warning About the Future, the Bourgeoisie Is Preparing for the Entire Working Class"

USA: Large Demonstrations Will Never Be Able to Stop Anti-proletarian Attacks

(Continuation from page 1)

THE FIGHT AGAINST UNDOCUMENTED PROLETARIANS

ICE's official role is to protect the country from terrorists and transnational criminal networks, but its remit has since been extended to include the prosecution of foreigners accused of crimes of varying severity. The Trump administration has made ICE the tool for combating 'illegal' immigration, which is one of its stated priorities; Its budget has been tripled, notably to recruit 10,000 additional agents by 2029 (which would bring its total number of employees to 30,000, compared to 38,000 for the FBI), build new detention centres for foreigners awaiting deportation, etc. – And, of course, ICE funding was not interrupted during the shutdown...

The real goal of this campaign is not

to deport the approximately 12 million undocumented workers – they are indispensable to the functioning of American capitalism – but to terrorise them and foreign workers in general, in order to make them even more submissive to employers' demands. It is also about widening the gap between undocumented foreign workers and American workers, with government policy supposedly aimed at 'protecting' jobs from competition from the former. But the bourgeois state only protects the profits of the capitalists! Undocumented workers are the most vulnerable workers; other proletarians must not leave this section of the proletariat at the mercy of the bosses and their state, as this amounts to strengthening the class enemy. Solidarity with undocumented migrants is not a humanitarian or democratic imperative, it is an immediate requirement of the struggle against capitalism, which requires the broadest possible

unity of the proletariat.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE 'ENEMY WITHIN'

Alongside the spectacular abuses of ICE, a real immigration police force targeting undocumented workers, the Trump administration has mobilised the National Guard under the pretext of maintaining order, either in response to protests against ICE (Los Angeles) or in response to crime (Chicago, Portland, Washington). Although this mobilisation has so far served only as a political weapon to try to show the inability of Democratic governors (in theory, only governors are authorised to deploy the National Guard), it is nevertheless indicative of the growing climate of repression in the United States.

Thus, the assassination on 11 September of Charlie Kirk, an ultra-reactionary 'influencer' who played a major role in mobilising young people in favour of Trump, was immediately blamed on the 'radical left' by the latter. A vast campaign against the 'enemy within' was launched: from calls to denounce those

The Bourgeois Rulers Are Preparing for War, Let's Prepare for Class War !

Announcements that the USA would soon be imposing high tariffs on European commodities, following those already in place on Canadian, Mexican and Chinese commodities, accompanied by anti-European declarations by Trump and those close to him (such as the claim to annex Greenland, a territory under Danish rule) had caused consternation among European leaders faced with the threat of a trade war. But Trump's decision to force Zelenskyy to stop fighting, including by suspending US arms deliveries and "intelligence" to Ukraine overnight, and to negotiate a peace agreement directly with Russia without involving the Europeans, came as a real shock to them: until now, the position of European leaders, hammered by all medias, had been to support Ukraine with the United States "until the victory" of its armies; any idea of a ceasefire before this objective was reached was denounced almost as a betrayal in favor of the Russians.

In all haste, the leaders of the European bourgeoisie gathered to assure Zelenskyy of their continued unwavering support, while in turn calling for a ceasefire (!), before the Ukrainian president, making amends and apologizing to the Americans, asserted that he was

ready to work "under the firm leadership of President Trump" and sign a leonine agreement that would grant the USA a significant share of the country's minerals.

At the time of its independence (1991), around 30% of the former USSR's arms industry was located in Ukraine; there were some 700 Ukrainian companies in this sector, employing over a million people. But severe economic difficulties made it impossible to make the massive investments that would have been needed to reorganize and modernize this industry, suddenly deprived of the Soviet market. After plunging into a deep slump for years, the Ukrainian military industry experienced a revival thanks to major state investments from 2014 onwards (the date of Russia's annexation of Crimea and of the first clashes in the Donbass): on the eve of war with Russia, in 2021, Ukraine's military budget had increased by 1300% compared to 2014! Today, the country boasts some 500 arms industry companies (not counting over a thousand start-ups) employing almost 300,000 people. Before the war restricted arms sales abroad, Ukraine was the world's eleventh-largest arms dealer, just behind Spain. All of which goes to show the

reality and power of the Ukrainian military-industrial complex, which cannot fail to have an influence on the country's war policy (1).

However, Ukraine is largely dependent on Western military supplies to wage war, and primarily on the United States, which therefore has decisive leverage over Ukraine: despite their declarations, the European states are not in a position to replace American support.

Faced with the impossibility of continuing the war to the last living Ukrainian, European leaders reacted by announcing an unprecedented acceleration of their military spending, which was already rising sharply, and by multiplying their warmongering statements.

In Germany, the Social Democrats of the SPD and the Conservatives of the CDU-CSU agreed on March 5 to pass a law in parliament, without waiting for the new parliament to be installed following the elections, to abolish the constitutional provision restricting the budget deficit; this will enable military spending to rise to almost 100 billion euros a year, double the current amount (as well as increasing investment in the country's infrastructure), while calls are being heard for the reinstatement of compulsory military enlistment; on February 25, the British Prime Minister announced that military spending, already the second highest in Europe, would rise from 2.3% to 2.5% of the budget by 2027, the "biggest increase in the British mil-

who had disparaged Kirk, to the official designation on 17 September of the ‘An-tifa’ ‘(anti-fascist) movement as a ‘terrorist organisation’ on 17 September – even though no such organisation exists – to an official directive to the police and judicial forces classifying as terrorists those who profess anti-capitalism, hostility towards traditional American positions on family, religion and morality (!), etc. (1), to the creation of a ‘rapid reaction force’ of more than 20,000 soldiers for maintaining order, to the institution, on the anniversary of the October Revolution, of an ‘anti-communism week’!

The already high levels of social tension will inevitably intensify further in the country as economic difficulties lead capitalists to increase their attacks on the proletariat; the Trump government is in fact merely accompanying this situation with increased repression and a generalised reactionary offensive – including by overturning certain formalities and traditional practices of the bourgeois system of domination.

However, repression alone cannot maintain social peace, as demonstrated

by the proletarian explosions of anger that regularly shake the United States: there are a whole host of ‘citizen’, ‘community’ and religious associations, organisations and institutions, etc., whose function is to sterilise the thrust of the struggle by diverting it towards dead ends and harmless, even entirely bourgeois, objectives.

This is the case with the huge demonstrations organised by their organisers in defence of democracy and the Constitution. But democracy and its Constitution are only one form of **bourgeois domination**: it is the latter that must be fought, whatever form it takes.

It cannot be fought through peaceful and festive marches, however numerous they may be, nor through the election of democratic politicians, however ‘left-wing’ they claim to be.

The victory of the ‘Democratic Socialist’ Zohran Mandani in the New York municipal elections undoubtedly reflects the discredit of the corrupt leaders of the Democratic Party (such as Democrat Cuomo, who ran as an independent candidate, supported by Trump!). But it also testifies to the illu-

sions among the masses of proletarians (2) about the possibility of obtaining real improvements in their situation through the electoral process. Even the timid reforms promised will not be easily achieved by Mamdani, who, the day after his election, did not hesitate to reach out to New York’s big financiers and to Trump himself to reassure them about his supposed ‘socialism’.

To respond to the attacks, the US proletariat must free itself from the influence of all political, trade union and other forces that chain it to capitalism and stifle its desire for revolt, and return to the path of **class struggle and organisation**: this is the *sine qua non* for confronting the most powerful and brutal bourgeoisie in the world. ●

(1) <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/09/countering-domestic-terrorism-and-organized-political-violence/>

(2) Mamdani achieved his highest scores in the working-class neighbourhoods of New York.

itary budget since the end of the Cold War”, and should reach 3% by 2030; in France, Macron estimated on February 20 that military spending might have to be increased to 5% of the budget (compared with 2.1% at present), and in his televised statement on March 5, he reaffirmed, without giving any figures, that additional military spending was needed “as soon as possible”; on March 6, EU leaders validated an 800 billion euros plan by the European Commission to “rearm Europe”, and so on. To complete the picture, let’s add that the British and French have declared their readiness to send soldiers to guarantee a ceasefire in Ukraine, and the French have proposed extending their “nuclear umbrella” to other European states (2).

The increase in military spending and “support for Ukraine” had been justified yesterday by the need to ensure Kiev’s victory and to punish Russia for its violations of international law and war crimes: as everyone has seen, in the case of Israel, violations of international law and war crimes did not result in any “punishment” from European countries, which were in fact complicit in them, as bourgeois states only respect the law if it serves their interests. The huge additional increase in military spending announced with big noise, and the warmongering climate spread by the medias, are justified today by the imminent threat to Europe

posed by Russia in the likely event of a halt to the fighting in Ukraine, with the prospect of US disengagement (3).

The absurdity of the arguments used by this bourgeois propaganda cannot disguise the fact that capitalism is heading inexorably, on an international scale, towards military confrontations of “great intensity” – something which all bourgeois states are aware. The prospect of a third world war, the inevitable outcome at some point of capitalist crises, is becoming increasingly tangible, even if not yet immediate. If Trump’s America wants to stop the war in Ukraine, it is not for love of “peace”, but, having seen the failure of the ongoing war, because it wants to redirect its forces towards Asia, where a decisive confrontation with China awaits.

The European states, no longer assured of maintaining their alliance with the United States, are preparing at breakneck speed to be able to wage war “on their own”. And this preparation does not only consist of increased military spending; it also, and above all, involves enlisting the population in general, and proletarians in particular, in a **national union**, i.e., in the defense of the **interests of national capitalism**: proletarians and the exploited are called upon to accept sacrifices, to renounce defending their class interests in the name of the **defense of motherland**, before being called upon to shed their blood if necessary. Already, the addi-

tional military expenditure will be paid for by the proletarians in the form of reduced social spending, which is not a gift from the bourgeois state but part of the “deferred” wage – the part of the wage not directly paid out which is used to finance this expenditure: the war economy is first and foremost a **war on proletarians!** If they don’t want to be over-exploited today and used as cannon fodder tomorrow, proletarians must refuse to submit to bourgeois perspectives. It is possible to oppose sacrifices in peacetime as in wartime for the sole benefit of capitalism, provided we enter the struggle for **the intransigent defense of the sole proletarian interests**.

The refusal of deadly national union, the opposition to the paralyzing collaboration between classes in the name of defending the motherland, the return to genuine **class struggle**, based on **classist means, methods and organization**, can unite proletarians of all nationalities against capitalism and against the bourgeois states, with the final aim of overthrowing this system of misery, exploitation and war, and paving the way for a classless, stateless society – **communism**.

The bourgeois are preparing for war to defend capitalism, let’s prepare for class war to put an end to the bourgeois order!

March 9, 2025 ●

(See notes page 4)

Protests Against Deportations in Los Angeles : A Warning About the Future the Bourgeoisie Is Preparing for the Entire Working Class

For several days now, massive protests have been taking place in the American city of Los Angeles – often violent and accompanied by fierce clashes with the police – against the raids and deportations carried out by the U.S. government through ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement), an agency normally responsible for implementing immigration policy and partly for border control. According to press reports, the demonstrations have in the past two or three days also spread to other cities, such as San Diego (also in California) and Seattle (in the state of Washington, in the north of the country). In Los Angeles, the protests have reportedly escalated after the White House deployed the National Guard and the Marine Corps with authorization to intervene against the demonstrators and even assist ICE in anti-immigration raids.

Although the press focuses exclusively on the most spectacular aspects of the protests and tries to make them even more sensational with photos and videos of burning police cars or hooded demonstrators, the reality is that these protests are not taking place only in the streets and in the form of demonstrations. CNN itself reported strikes and picket lines at several factories in Los

Angeles, where ICE agents attempted to arrest undocumented workers inside the facilities – but these workers joined forces with their fellow workers in a show of solidarity and even blocked the trucks that were supposed to transport them to detention centers (1).

The measures adopted by the U.S. government – mass deportations, internment in detention centers, repression against immigrants attempting to cross the border, the separation of children from those arriving with their families, etc. – are instruments of pressure that the American bourgeoisie has been using for years against the immigrant working class. The European press, which defends the interests of the local ruling classes now in conflict with an aggressive America defending its national interests against its European “partners,” seeks to place responsibility for this situation on the administration of Donald Trump. However, the truth is that repressive policies and attacks against undocumented immigrants began long before Trump’s first term: it was Obama who – amid an escalation of anti-proletarian measures aimed at pulling American capital out of the 2008–2013 crisis – turned his attention to immigrants, both those living illegally in the country and those trying to enter without a visa. It was his administration that strengthened border detention centers, granted the Border Patrol unprecedented repressive powers, and so on. Trump merely continued this policy, made it more visible, and reinforced it in accordance with the particular style of governance demanded by the bourgeoisie – a policy that the American bourgeoisie considers essential for maintaining social control in the country.

Of course, the issue of immigration cannot generally be understood solely as a matter of the bourgeoisie versus the proletariat, especially in a country like the United States, where most of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie themselves come from immigrant backgrounds (albeit under different circumstances), and only a few generations back. There is, of course, also an immigrant petty bourgeoisie living illegally, involved in more or less illicit activities, and likewise targeted by anti-immigration policies – not least because local ICE units are incentivized to meet a minimum daily quota of arrests. But that is not the essential point: it is clear that repression, arrests, deportations, etc.,

are aimed at intimidating the masses of immigrants who are forced to sell their labor power in exchange for wages – labor power that, through its extreme exploitation, sustains both the informal and formal economies (a hypocritical distinction which the bourgeoisie maintains solely for propaganda purposes). Immigration is, fundamentally, the importation of labor power by the host country.

Precisely because the labor market in the country of origin is not large enough to absorb a portion of its proletarian population – which thus becomes “surplus” – this labor force, once in the destination country, is forced to work for a lower price (wage) than what is paid on the legal and official labor market. The import of labor thus corresponds to the needs of the productive system of the host country, and its classification into “legal” and “illegal” labor serves the bourgeoisie to divide the proletariat – into native workers and accepted, legalized immigrants – and to sharpen competition among immigrant proletarians themselves: between those granted access to the official labor market under existing laws, and those who are exploited even more severely, though covertly, through undeclared and precarious work. In this way, competition among proletarians intensifies more and more, allowing small and medium employers as well as large capitalists to systematically increase the pressure on the entire labor force – including that which is legal and formally recognized.

In capitalism, no social phenomenon is balanced or peaceful – wherever the law of value and the appropriation of surplus value prevail, various social distortions arise, all based on the exploitation of wage labor, whether legal or illegal. The American bourgeoisie, whose police forces are little more than an expanded version of the Irish gangs of the early twentieth century, is well aware of this and relies on these intermediate social strata to keep the immigrant proletariat under control – for both the bourgeoisie and these strata live off its super-exploitation. The American bourgeoisie needs illegal immigration because it needs the cheap labor force that this immigration provides. It certainly has no interest in being left without workers, but at the same time it must maintain control over them. In a period of social crisis such as the one

The Bourgeois Rulers ...

(Continuation from page 3)

Notes:

(1) Data taken from SIPRI, 22/02/25 : <https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-background/2025/transformation-ukraines-arms-industry-amid-war-russia>. By comparison, France is estimated to have between 2,000 and 4,000 companies working directly or indirectly in the armaments sector, employing a total of 210,000 people.

(2) But Zelenskyy declared on 29/1 that “a minimum” of 200,000 European soldiers would be needed to guarantee peace, which is impossible for European armies...

(3) For example, on February 19, the Danish Prime Minister justified the announcement of massive military spending to exceed 3% of the budget by the end of the year by fearing a rapid ceasefire in Ukraine “because it may give President Putin and Russia a better opportunity [...] to mobilize again and attack Ukraine or another country in Europe”.

currently affecting North America – caused by a fragile international situation and internal conditions that have further deteriorated since 2008 – the attacks on the immigrant proletariat serve a dual function: on the one hand, they intimidate, discipline, and isolate proletarians who live in constant fear of deportation, separation from their families, or even the legal abduction of their underage children; on the other hand, they provide society as a whole – especially the middle classes, but also the so-called labor aristocracy, i.e. the better-off layers among whom nationalist rhetoric resonates – with a scapegoat for social misery, a sort of common enemy onto whom hatred can be redirected, hatred that should instead be aimed at the ruling class.

The bourgeoisie – the class that promised individual freedom above all else, and that (in its revolutionary era) proclaimed it would oppose all forms of oppression in the name of equality and universal brotherhood – has survived for centuries by fueling racial and national hatred and through racist repression. While in periods of economic expansion it imports labor without restraint, it is unable to offer any legal protection in return for the daily exploitation of that labor. In times of economic recession, however, it turns its entire political and police arsenal against undocumented workers – targeting them selectively to spread fear and submission among their ranks, while at the same time attempting to forge a national front against them. This is also the case in the United States, where the government is fully aware that both the agricultural and industrial sectors of the country depend on proletarians subjected to extreme exploitation – namely undocumented workers – in order to remain competitive, and yet it launches “anti-immigration” campaigns, creating fertile ground for imposing even harsher working and social conditions on this group of workers.

The main goal of this policy of mass deportations – which we see today in the United States, but which will strike Europe again tomorrow with the same brutality – is to convince “legal” proletarians, those who did not have to climb over walls or risk their lives on a boat just to become exploited, that exceptional laws, repression, and extreme exploitation are things that only affect immigrants. Today, the immigrant proletariat is experiencing the future fate of the entire working class. The bourgeoisie, in order to exist as a class, has always depended on the exploitation of labor power. For the capitalist system of wage-labor exploitation to function and endure, it depends – and has always de-

pended – on workers being pitted against one another, entering into increasingly fierce competition among themselves, accepting ever-lower wages and worsening working conditions, instead of uniting and confronting the bourgeoisie itself. In times of crisis, when wage-labor exploitation must be especially intense, the bourgeoisie seeks to impose these conditions first on the most vulnerable layers of the working class – but its ultimate goal is to impose them on all proletarians. By degrading the living and working conditions of the most exploited, while at the same time suppressing any immediate reaction from those workers who still enjoy better treatment, the bourgeoisie prepares all the social and legal mechanisms through which it will extend to the rest of the proletariat a future of even worse conditions than those of today – made possible precisely by competition among workers.

In the not-so-distant future, the great capitalist nations will once again be engulfed in the fires of war. Then the proletarian class – whether native or immigrant – will have to face, in all its rawness, the reality of a world in which its fate is to be canon fodder: bestially exploited in times of peace, and mass-murdered in times of war. The bourgeoisie will then demand unimaginable sacrifices – and to enforce them,

it will make use of this competition, this rivalry among proletarians, this ingrained habit of those workers in better social positions to collaborate with the bourgeoisie.

To prevent this, the proletarian class has only one path: class struggle – the uncompromising defense of its own interests, against every form of “national unity,” against any united front with its own bourgeoisie in the name of shared origin, ethnicity, or religion...

This class struggle means a break with the politics of collaboration with the ruling classes, a break with solidarity with their nationalist policies based on the repression of the most vulnerable layers of the proletariat. Undoubtedly the events in Los Angeles will not, by themselves, put an end to decades of acceptance of cross-class collaboration, but they show that the only real alternative for the proletariat of all countries is to enter the struggle in defense of exclusively proletarian interests – and to break radically with the habit of begging the petty or grand bourgeoisie for starvation wages.

June 14, 2025

(1) <https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2025/06/12/eeuu/video/ice-redadas-coches-sector-carnico-ush-trax>

America in Flames and Floods

The year 2025 began in the USA with a series of the most extensive and destructive fires ever experienced by California, the so-called “Golden State”. The fires lasted for several weeks (1).

On the afternoon of January 7, a series of fires began that devastated the entire Los Angeles area. Like hurricanes, strong winds and fires are given names. The *Palisades Fire*, which broke out on the Pacific coast west of Los Angeles, destroyed more than 4,700 hectares of land in just two days. East of Los Angeles, the *Eaton Fire* spread to the city of Pasadena and destroyed approximately 4,000 hectares of land in one night between January 7 and 8. To the north, in the San Fernando Valley, the *Hurst Fire* consumed 344 hectares on the same night, and a fourth fire, the *Sunset Fire*, burned more than 24 hectares, destroying a number of luxury villas in the Hollywood Hills. Winds reached speeds of up to 130 km/h, contributing to the rapid spread of the flames.

The causes of the fires are, of course, as always, attributed to climate change, increased drought, arson, and

power line failures, whose cables were torn down by strong winds and fell into vegetation (which is particularly dense in the Los Angeles area), where sparks ignited branches and dry brush, which the wind then spread for miles and ignited more fires. All of these causes are certainly very likely: they have been known for decades; one would expect that the most powerful and richest country in the world, which has highly accurate maps of the territory and all the equipment necessary for accurate and timely forecasting of weather changes, should be able to set an example for all other countries how to prevent and respond in such a way as to minimize the consequences of these events, i.e., damage to people, buildings, and vegetation. Various media reports speak of 28 confirmed deaths and another 24 people missing, but the toll is not final, as it is possible that more bodies will be found once the fires have been extinguished and the clean-up of the entire vast area from

(Continued on page 6)

America in Flames and Floods

(Continuation from page 5)

the remains of the fire has begun. The damage appears to amount to 12,000 destroyed or damaged homes, buildings, and vehicles, with entire neighborhoods razed to the ground; the number of evacuees is estimated at least 88,000, with 70,250 power outages still reported in Southern California as of January 14. What is the cost of the damage caused by these fires? Estimates by the private company AccuWeather put the figure at between \$250 billion and \$275 billion (2).

But even powerful and wealthy American capitalism cannot escape one of the “natural” laws of its mode of production, namely profit. Profit loves all measures that protect, promote, develop, and secure it, and this “naturally” goes hand in hand with reducing the costs of prevention – any preventive measures, whether in the workplace, in transportation, infrastructure, environmental protection, leisure and recreational facilities, or in any human activity. It is therefore not surprising that the firefighters did not have spare tanker trucks to replenish the water they had used, and that they were not sent sufficient numbers of firefighting aircraft to assist them. It is not surprising that they face a systematic shortage of personnel, which prevented them from responding simultaneously to four large fires that broke out in four different and distant locations. And it is not surprising that houses and buildings, poorly insulated and separated from forested areas, often built of wood, were devoured by fire with great ease.

On the other hand, it is clear that months of drought have dried out the vegetation, turning it into ideal fuel for fires. Climatologists have long been recording and predicting that *extreme phenomena* – such as months of heavy rainfall followed by long periods of drought—are no longer exceptional, but are increasingly becoming *the norm*.

Five months later, another tragedy in the USA made headlines

and dominated television and radio news. In southern Texas, in Kerr County, about 100 kilometers from San Antonio, the Guadalupe River flooded: in 45 minutes, the water level rose 8 meters and destroyed everything in its path. Camp Mystic, a summer camp for scouts that had been hosting large groups of boys and girls every year on Independence Day, July 4, for a hundred years, was completely flooded and destroyed. By July 5, 32 people were reported dead

and 20-25 young girls missing, but in the following hours, the death toll rose to 52, with 20 girls missing (3). It all happened on Friday, July 4, at 4:26 a.m. (local time), when most of the campers were sleeping in mobile homes, cabins, and bungalows at the resort.

Was this flood predictable? Certainly! But as is almost always the case, the forecast of severe weather with heavy rains was taken lightly by both the summer camp organizers and the mayor of Kerrville himself. The *New York Times*, quoted by the *Corriere della Sera* newspaper on July 5, reports that meteorological services in Austin and San Antonio issued the first warnings, general and lower level, on Thursday afternoon; but it was not until early Friday morning that they warned of a drastic deterioration in the weather in an area considered to be **“the area with the highest risk of sudden and destructive flash floods in the United States”**! Shortly after 4 a.m. local time, the weather service issued a warning of a “particularly dangerous situation”; at 5:34 a.m. local time, a warning came from Kerr County. But the disaster had already struck. Not only that, according to the *Corriere della Sera* newspaper (see note 3), according to a certain Kelly, who was a participant in the summer camp, **“no one knew that such a flood was coming, and there is no warning system in the area”**. These deaths and this destruction could have been completely prevented; moreover, since this is an area with the highest risk of sudden and devastating flash floods in the US, why were 750 Girl Scouts aged 7 to 17 brought to Camp Mystic for the 4th of July celebrations this year? Sooner or later, a flood could have come, just as it did in July 1987, when the Guadalupe River rose 9 meters in the same area and swept away a school bus and a van carrying teenagers to a nearby summer camp. Ten children died and 33 others were saved by clinging to tree branches until rescuers arrived.

The authorities’ response? The usual, nothing new under the sun... or under the rain. Trump: *“Terrible, shocking. Girls have died, I am in contact with the governor”*. Texas Governor Greg Abbott declared a state of emergency and said, *“I have never seen a place so horribly devastated by a natural disaster”*. He went to the scene of the tragedy with a statement: *“We will not stop until we find all the girls”*... But we don’t need a governor or a president to count the dead, we just need rescuers, who are the ones who really

put all their strength into it and risk their lives, as is often the case.

Not a word was said about the need to put warning systems in place, to exclude the most dangerous flood-risk area of the United States as a location for summer camps, to learn from tragedies that have already happened so that they never happen again!!! Nothing, absolute silence! Business cannot tolerate disruptions, and if these disruptions are caused by “extreme events”... it is necessary to try to resolve the emergency as quickly as possible and close the case: this is what can be expected from a society in which the ruling bourgeoisie bows to the interests of capitalist profit at any cost!

This is more than enough reason for this social organization to be thrown away and replaced by a social organization that not only prioritizes the real needs of the human species and the natural environment, but which will fight against and for the elimination of all activities associated with capitalist profit, the prosperity of the capitalist economy and finance, and the interests of the minority bourgeoisie, which sucks the blood and sweat of the majority made up of wage laborers, the proletariat.

The proletariat, which is still under the pernicious influence of democratism and authoritarianism, which will never solve the real social problems affecting

«Communist program»

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Summary

- Ukraine. A War that Continues to Pave the Way for Future Wars in Europe and the World
- From the Spiral of Incessant Massacres that Have Accompanied the History of the Middle East for the Last Hundred Years, the Way Out is not by Nationalism, but by the Struggle for Proletarian and Communist Revolution
- Some Reference Points on the “Palestinian Question”
- Theses on the Historical Task, Action and Structure of the World Communist Party, Based on Positions that Have Been the Historical Patrimony of the Communist Left for over Half a Century. (Theses of Naples, 1965) - Supplementary Theses on the Historical Task, Action and Structure of the World Communist Party. (Milan 1966)
- *Who We Are and What We Want:*
 - ooo On the Track of the Great Marxist Tradition ooo For the Restoration of the Revolutionary Marxist Theory ooo
- Reconstitution of the Communist Party on a Worldwide Scale

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the vast majority of the population; a pernicious influence that has penetrated deep into the social structure of the proletariat and weakened its ability to respond to a system that every day, every hour, every minute, proves that it is not only inhuman, but brutal, thirsty for the blood and sweat of the proletariat, because only from this blood and sweat, with the help of all the coercion and repression at its disposal, can it generate capitalist profit. The history of the struggles between classes, even though dictated for many decades by the ruling bourgeoisie – as has been the case until now – is not the exclusive domain of the capitalist bourgeoisie. It will be its catastrophic contradictions that will once again bring to the stage of real human history, and not commodities and capital, the spontaneous, instinctive, and mass reaction of the proletariat, thanks to which it will rediscover not only the strength to finally fight for itself and its immediate interests, but also encounter its class party, its revolutionary leadership, and its historical goals. As the bearer of the productive forces on which the development of human society is based, the proletariat will turn all its revolutionary power against the capitalist system, which for more than a century has survived only by exploiting the masses of workers throughout the world in wage slavery and in wars aimed at prolonging its own existence.

In every country, the future is in the hands of the proletariat, created by the ruling bourgeois class for the purpose of exploiting it to death, but which possesses the only social force capable of ensuring the harmonious and humane development of the whole of society, if it succeeds in using it not to strengthen bourgeois rule, but to destroy it once and for all.

July 6, 2025

The Goal of the Palestinian Proletariat Is Not an Impossible “Palestinian Homeland”, But the Class Struggle That Unites Proletarians Above National Divisions

That the Palestinian people are destined never to be able to settle in their land of origin in a peaceful way and recognized by all other states has been evident for decades. Since 1948, with the establishment of the State of Israel – but not of the State of Palestine – this destiny has been among the most probable. Palestinians have become, for the most part against their will, proletarians, progressively expropriated of their homes, their fields, their “homeland.” From the point of view of bourgeois ideology, this is a tragedy that could only be resolved by recognizing for the Palestinians a piece of land where they could live and establish their own independent state. But eighty years after the end of the Second Imperialist World War – in which the great democratic powers never considered the Palestinian people worthy of having their own state, their own “homeland,” their own bourgeois ruling class like almost all other countries; in which they deceived them with the United Nations declarations and the refrain “two peoples, two states,” draining their energies in wars where Palestinian fighters were deluded also by “friendly” Arab countries, soon shown to be as much enemies as, if not worse than, the Zionists; after eighty years of illusions and fighting – the Palestinians find themselves stripped of everything and deprived of life itself. With the worldwide complicity of all states, starting with the most democratic and the greatest butcher of peoples, the USA, the Zionist bourgeois-democratic state of Israel is carrying out its great dream: to lay waste around the Palestinians, seize their land, enslave those who escaped the bombings, and guarantee social, economic, and political privileges to the Israeli population according to the classic criteria of racist and religious discrimination.

The fact that the Palestinian people are a people without a homeland, and that their majority is made up of proletarians, could, however, from the proletarian and historical point of view, be a positive fact. The proletariat is, by definition, the class without a homeland, even when the bourgeoisie feeds it the refrain of a common homeland: it owns no means of production, no capital, and above all it does not own the product of

its labor, because the wealth it produces belongs exclusively to the dominant bourgeois class, to the capitalists who defend this reality with the state and its armed forces. Palestinian proletarians – that is, the majority of the Palestinian population – even if they manage to cultivate something on a tiny plot of land, depend entirely on work for Israeli bosses or on the “aid” that various imperialist powers grant them to save the humanitarian face they flaunt in order to cover the systematic massacres in Gaza and the West Bank. Nothing better can Palestinians expect from political and military organizations such as the Palestinian Authority or Hamas, just as before from the groups that formed the PLO, because these organizations sold themselves from the outset to stronger bourgeoisies with interests completely opposed to those of the Palestinian proletariat, which is used, now by one, now by another bourgeoisie, for the sole purpose of gaining for themselves some privileges and a minimum of power over it, to bend it forever to capitalist exploitation, extinguishing its class instinct to rebel against all oppression, all abuse.

That recently, even in the devastated situation of Gaza, there have been demonstrations against Hamas demanding it free the Israeli hostages still in its hands – hoping this might stop the bombings and destruction by Tel Aviv – certainly shows a fracture in the relative trust Hamas had gained in the previous fifteen years, a fracture determined more by desperation than by conscious political opposition. But in the midst of a war in which the Gazan population finds no refuge anywhere, and is forced by Israel to move continually from north to south and vice versa, because it is struck, bombed, killed, starved wherever it is, the end of a Palestinian Gaza and a Palestinian West Bank draws near.

The immediate and near-future way out of this real programmed extermination is unfortunately not favorable to the Palestinians. Either they are massacred, or they allow themselves to be deported to some country that agrees with the USA and Israel to take them in, as happens with any industrial waste. For Is-

(Continued on page 8)

(1) Cfr. <https://www.focus.it/ambiente/ecologia/los-angeles-brucia-i-quattro-fattori-che-stanno-alimentando-gli-incendi-in-california>, 9 gennaio 2025; <https://it.euronews.com/2025/01/23/stati-uniti-nuovo-incendio-a-nord-di-los-angeles-ulteriori-ordini-di-evacuazione>

(2) Cfr. <https://it.euronews.com/2025/01/15/los-angeles-oltre-6-milioni-di-persone-ancora-minacciate-dagli-incendi>

(3) Cfr. <https://www.avvenire.it/attualita/pagine/texas-24-morti-per-le-pioggie>; https://www.corriere.it/cronache/25_luglio_05/texas-alluvione-morti-dispersi-adolescenti-fiume-guadalupe-959bb05d-092a-4f08-b278-e6f33bf0bxlk.shtml

The Goal of the Palestinian Proletariat Is Not an Impossible “Palestinian Homeland”, But the Class Struggle That Unites Proletarians Above National Divisions

(Continuation from page 7)

rael and its greatest protector, the United States of America – regardless of whether “Democrats” or “Republicans” sit in the White House – historic Palestine, though reduced and fragmented, drawn in old maps for lovers of ancient history, will sooner or later have to change its name; the Zionists coined it more than a century ago: Greater Israel. History has always been written by the victors of wars, who have changed the names of countries, mountains, rivers, seas, and cities, formally decreeing the modification or cancellation of the past. Indigenous populations subjected to victors’ rule also suffered the tearing apart of their identities, traditions, and ancient past.

The recent episode concerning the new name Trump wants to give to the Gulf of Mexico is indicative. The Gulf of Mexico, whose name derives from the decision of European navigators and colonizers who “discovered” the New World (named America in honor of Amerigo Vespucci), should, according to Trump’s will, take the name of Gulf of America – in honor of the Trumpian “new golden age for the United States” – as Trump officially renamed it on January 25. An officiality valid for now only in the USA; it remains to be seen how long it will take before the two international bodies responsible for naming the planet’s water masses approve this change, making it official under international law. But beyond legal and official questions, it remains an

imperialistic act by the USA with which Trump intends to change history and identity, in this case of a Gulf that since 1540 has been called the Gulf of Mexico, previously known as the “Gulf of New Spain.” The Mexican government naturally disagrees, not only because it has borne its name for almost five centuries, but also because most of the waters of the gulf – 829,000 km² – correspond to Mexico’s exclusive economic zone, while the remaining 662,000 km² correspond to that of the USA.

Between the United States and Mexico there is no war, except at the commercial level, unlike the war between Israel and Hamas and the entire Palestinian people. But another issue puts the USA at odds with Mexico: clandestine immigration, not only of Mexicans, but of people fleeing every Latin American country for reasons of economic, political, and social survival, who, crossing Mexico, try to enter the United States. Thus Trump can continue to call the Gulf of Mexico by its new name, Gulf of America, knowing that this holds only for the White House, and knowing that what matters most to him is bending Mexico to the interests of the U.S. economy. To achieve this objective – not satisfied by the agreements existing so far between the two countries – he has unleashed the pressure of tariffs against it. In reality, whether the Gulf continues to be called the Gulf of Mexico or is renamed the Gulf of America, little of fundamental importance will change between the USA and Mexico: U.S. corporations, especially in automotive and technology, will continue to exploit Mexican labor in plants located in Mexico, where labor costs are much lower than in the USA, while also benefiting from the advantage of shorter transport distances for goods compared to Southeast Asia or China.

In the case of Israel and the Palestinians, things are completely different. Here we do not have masses of proletarians and dispossessed people leaving their “own” country to build a new future in another, economically stronger and socially “less” repressive country. The Palestinians intended, and still intend, to continue living and developing in their own land, and in the 1920s and 1930s they revolted against a massive Jewish immigration promoted and supported by Britain, which held the imperialist Mandate to control, after World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, a part of the Middle East including Palestine. But from the outset British imperialism obstructed the Palestinian self-determination movement and used Jewish immigration – whose historical roots in that land were neverthe-

Trump’s Plan for Gaza : Eternal Oppression of the Palestinians

(Continuation from page 1)

an aid is still not being allowed in sufficient quantities. The Palestinians in Gaza are still in a desperate situation, condemned to wander among the ruins in a territory where all basic infrastructure and services have been systematically destroyed, where agricultural land has been rendered almost impossible to cultivate, where fishing is prohibited, and where every family has suffered deaths, injuries, or illness. It is said that Trump forced Netanyahu into the ceasefire; what is certain is that his plan is in line with the interests of the Jewish state: maintaining the Israeli army in part of the territory, disarming Hamas and Palestinian groups (excluding, no doubt, the militias financed by Israel), and opposing any self-determination of the population.

This **neo-colonial** plan does not allow Palestinians to decide their own fate; Gaza would become a **protectorate** ruled by a non-Palestinian authority, with Trump as president and former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, a close ally of Netanyahu who was behind the plan to transform Gaza into a “riviera,” as its effective leader. The territory would be occupied by a military

force (perhaps Turkish and Arab) responsible for maintaining order. The plan makes no mention of the West Bank or Jerusalem, implicitly allowing colonization to continue and daily killings to be perpetrated there. It therefore rules out the prospect of these territories uniting with Gaza, a prospect that Netanyahu has consistently fought against, including by discreetly supporting Hamas in order to weaken the “Palestinian Authority,” despite the latter’s extreme servility.

This plan was endorsed by the Israeli government, Hamas, and other resistance organizations (Islamic Jihad, etc.), which in reality had no choice but to capitulate; it was even approved by the states that had solemnly “recognized” a Palestinian state that was more impossible than ever. **All** agreed to this plan, which condemns the Palestinians to a **slow death** in an open-air concentration camp and **eternal oppression**.

It will be up to the proletarians of the region and of the whole world to come to their aid by launching an assault on the despicable imperialist order and the bourgeois states responsible for or complicit in their ordeal.

December 1, 2025



less real – against it. For the Palestinians, little changed with the Second Imperialist World War and its end; indeed, with the establishment of the State of Israel, things grew steadily worse. Historical events have shown that the Palestinian bourgeoisie was not able to transform its struggle for self-determination into a genuine national revolution, although it did drag behind it poor peasants and Palestinian proletarians; but by relying for success in its national struggle on the support of the bourgeoisies of other Arab countries and on imperialist powers, it decreed its complete failure.

On the map of the territory once called Palestine, the borders between the State of Israel and the territories inhabited by Palestinians have been continuously modified as a result of the many wars Israel has fought against Arab states and the Palestinians, making it impossible to define a unified territory on which a Palestinian national revolution could have erected its own state. In recent decades, Israel has encouraged and protected its settlers in seizing pieces of land, especially in the West Bank, in order to systematically prevent the formation of a unified Palestinian territory. This has transformed the West Bank, also called the Occupied Territories, into a kind of Swiss cheese riddled with Israeli colonies. In recent days came the news of the revival by Netanyahu's government of the old Israeli E1 project: the colonized corridor that will connect occupied Jerusalem to Ma'ale Adumim (for 50 years the largest fortified Israeli colony in the West Bank) and from there to the Jordan Valley. The project, supported by all Israeli governments over the past forty years, provides for the construction of 3,412 housing units for settlers. This corridor will be built entirely on Palestinian territory, from which the small Palestinian communities who live and farm there will be forcibly expelled. Thus Jerusalem will be completely isolated from the rest of the West Bank, which will be split in two by this corridor: Jenin and Nablus will remain to the north, Bethlehem and Hebron to the south. Bezalel Smotrich, Israeli finance minister and representative of the far-right nationalists, boasting of the support of Netanyahu and Trump, declared that this project "buries the idea of a Palestinian state."

The European Union, which would have an interest in pacifying the entire area in order to maximize its business and trade with all the countries of the region, continues to wave the little flag of "two peoples, two states," while knowing perfectly well that neither the EU nor the United States will impose on

Israel the creation of a Palestinian state. Such an imposition, given total Israeli opposition, could only proceed through an act of military force; the EU and the United States are light years away from waging war on Israel. On the contrary, they are supporting it financially, diplomatically, politically, and commercially – and the profitable trade in arms and advanced military technologies proves this fully. The real objectives of these decades of massacres of Palestinians are: to erase the possibility of an independent future for the Palestinian population, to enslave it to the capitalist and imperialist interests that intersect in the Middle East, and to eliminate any chance that a radicalization of Palestinian groups, generated by the ongoing massacres and extermination, could find an organized outlet to resist – even through armed struggle – the tremendous oppression to which the Palestinians are subjected.

But the special military operation that Israel has carried out for the past 23 months against the population of Gaza is not limited to bombings and the continuous displacements of Palestinians from one zone of the Strip to another and back again. Added to this has been an ethnic cleansing through the systematic starvation of the already exhausted Palestinian masses, the herding of hundreds of people into the rare centers of the GHF (Gaza Humanitarian Foundation) where very little food is distributed and where Palestinians are targeted by gunfire from soldiers and mercenaries, the blocking of trucks carrying water, food, clothing, medicine, etc., and the destruction of every house, every shelter. Malnutrition has become the additional weapon not only to immediately wipe out Palestinian lives, but also to erase the possibility of life for future generations. Malnutrition, pushed beyond the levels of the Nazi concentration camps, has consequences not only on today's mothers but also on their children and their children's children.

The assault on the capital, Gaza City – where over one million Palestinians are concentrated – appears as the final stage of Israel's occupation of the Strip. With Gaza City fallen and reduced to a heap of rubble, for the Palestinians falls also the last hope of imagining an end less horrific than the one they are currently living.

All this is not the responsibility of the Israeli bourgeois ruling class alone, but also of the bourgeois ruling class especially of the countries of Europe and America, while Russia, China, India, and their association called BRICS show no interest in a genocide witnessed by the whole world. When German Chancellor

Merz declared some time ago that he thanked the Israelis for doing the dirty work Europeans could not afford to do, he only expressed the thought of all the world's bourgeoisies: namely, to take advantage of the Israeli butchers who not only do everything to annihilate "Palestinian terrorism" – today identified with Hamas – but proceed with particularly cruel and brutal methods. Some European leaders, for the cameras, declared that massacring tens of thousands of civilians, mostly women and children, was "too much," "unacceptable" – yet they continued to arm the Tel Aviv army to the teeth and to collaborate, through their universities and scientific institutions, with Israeli universities and institutions. The aim is to eradicate from Palestine the entire Palestinian population, guilty of continuously generating masses of "terrorists."

And indeed, what better way to fight "Palestinian terrorism," which rises from the ashes every decade under new names, than with a far superior terrorism – terrorism carried out by the Israeli state itself, supported and backed on every level by the most powerful terrorist imperialism in the world, American imperialism?

So far the bourgeois class – not only Israeli or American, but in every country – has shown and continues to show through facts that it defends its privileges, its power, its system of wage-labor exploitation, by all means, and increasingly by military and terrorist means. The bourgeoisie knows, from experience, that the greatest danger it can face is not a war between imperialist states, nor even a nuclear war, because even from such a war it would still manage to reap business and profits, caring nothing for how many hundreds of thousands or millions of human beings would be massacred. Super-democratic America did not think twice before sending its bombers with atomic weapons over Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945 – just as super-democratic Britain did not think twice before dispatching, between February 13 and 15, 1945, its deadly bomber squadron to Dresden, razed to the ground with explosive and incendiary (phosphorus) bombs.

The hatred that one bourgeoisie can accumulate toward enemy bourgeoisies has no limits, but once the war is over, the respective bourgeoisies "make peace" and return to doing business together while waiting for the next crises that will lead them once again to war. The hatred that every bourgeois class, instead, harbors toward the proletariat – toward the masses from whose exploi-

(Continued on page 10)

The Goal of the Palestinian Proletariat Is Not an Impossible “Palestinian Homeland”

(Continuation from page 9)

tation it extracts surplus value and thus profits – is historical, profound, and natural, a class hatred. This hatred rests on two decisive social factors: the first immediate, the second historical. The first lies in the fact that, to obtain greater profits from the capital invested, capitalists must exploit wage-labor power to the maximum, pushing fatigue and danger to the lives of workers to ever greater extremes – and this explains why the more wealth accumulates in the hands of capitalists, the more impoverished and worse the living conditions of the proletariat become. The second concerns class struggle, which, in specific historical situations, the proletariat has developed up to anti-bourgeois and thus anti-capitalist revolution. It has shown not only that political power can be used in favor of the needs of life and emancipation of the majority of the population in every country in the world, but that such political power – which we communists call the dictatorship of the proletariat – is the only one capable of transforming the capitalist economy, on which bourgeois society is based, into a socialist economy. This represents the historic leap of the whole society from division into antagonistic classes to a classless society, a species-society, in which the purpose of production is not capitalist profit but the satisfaction of the social needs of all human beings.

Indeed, the revolutions of 1848 in Europe, the Paris Commune of 1871 (the first concrete experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat), the Russian October Revolution of 1917, and the subsequent formation of the Communist International, to which all the world’s proletarians looked as the beacon of the world proletarian revolution, are the demonstration that the class struggle of the proletariat is historically directed toward revolutionizing the entire capitalist and bourgeois world. What would the bourgeois class lose from a victorious proletarian revolution? Political power, certainly – and with it the state that centralizes military force in defense of its class interests. Not only that: it would lose its existence as a ruling class, as the class that appropriates the entire social wealth produced by the labor of the proletariat. In short, it would disappear from the face of the earth.

The specter of communism that haunted Europe in 1848, as recalled by

Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto, has not vanished. The bourgeois counterrevolution, strengthened by the advent of Stalinism in the 1920s, has so far managed to secure the continuity of bourgeois and anti-proletarian political power for a hundred years. This gives the impression to bourgeoisies worldwide that they are invincible, able to wield their power with all the ferocity they can muster, massacring millions of defenseless people and destroying the environment with their disastrous economic system for the sole purpose of accumulating profits and capital. But, historically, this is the same impression that every dominant class has had in different epochs, from the slave-owning to the feudal, and which the capitalist bourgeois class has merely inherited. What will once again surprise the bourgeoisie and sow terror in its circles of power – whether public or secret – will be the rebirth of the revolutionary proletarian movement. A movement that does not arise accidentally or from the will of some “visionary leader,” but from the economic foundations of the capitalist mode of production itself, in which the antagonism between the general interests of the bourgeoisie and those of the proletariat is generated. And this not in “one country,” but in all countries of the world, albeit with differing strength and timing. The historical fact remains that the bourgeoisie systematically uses its class antagonism against the proletariat in every country. This does not prevent it from seeking methods of power management that allow it to draw into its own field of interests part or even most of the proletarian masses, especially when, after long and crushing defeats in the revolutionary struggle, these masses have been left without political class leadership and without organizations of economic class defense.

The defeat that Stalinism and its later offshoots, adapted to the historical and social traditions of various countries, inflicted on the world level gave bourgeois and capitalist conservatism decades of life, even though capitalist development was heading – as Marxism predicted from its earliest steps – toward increasingly severe and profound economic, financial, social, and war crises.

The ferocity with which the Israeli bourgeoisie – today carried out by its far-right factions rather than by its “left” factions that practiced it in earlier times – lashes out against the Palestinian population under the pretext of Hamas “terrorism,” is yet another example of how the ruling bourgeois class, in view of ever more acute economic and social crises and fearing the rebirth of the proletarian class movement, reacts preven-

tively in an attempt to suppress any germ of class reaction contained in the ever-worsening living conditions of the Palestinian proletarian and proletarianized masses. May their reaction to the deadly oppression they have suffered for over a century at the hands of Israeli state terrorism – and to which they episodically respond with the classic weapon of the oppressed, individual terrorism – never contaminate the proletarian masses of other Arab countries, or even the Israeli proletariat itself, so far united in defending the specific interests of its own bourgeoisie, which has drawn it into its camp with economic and social privileges that have lasted thanks to U.S. support. The United States is interested not only in ensuring that the State of Israel strengthens itself, but also in having it serve as a serious and heavily armed threat to all Middle Eastern and North African countries in case any of their governments intend to ally themselves with Washington’s imperialist rivals.

On August 20, Trump made a statement regarding Netanyahu in which he expressed the true sentiment of American imperialism: “Netanyahu is a good man, a war hero, he is like me!” Naturally, the extermination of the civilian population of Gaza in order to seize the land where they have lived for centuries – so as to exploit it in ways most favorable to Israeli-American profiteering – becomes the necessary means to close an important stage in the imperialist “solution” of the Palestinian question. Next in line: the West Bank....

While Trump plays the “great statesman” in relation to the war in Ukraine, in cahoots with his worthy counterpart Putin, with the general design of making his European allies take on the role of warmongers under the illusion of bending Russia to their “peace conditions,” while he himself aims at the Nobel Peace Prize, he allows himself the liberty of rejoicing at Israel’s exterminatory military initiatives. Israel, moreover, is using the military repression in Gaza – and soon, in the West Bank – as a live training ground to test the most effective means, strategies, and timing for occupying an entire territory and destroying all resistance. Imperialist governments and the major arms and high-tech companies are grateful, while making profits on the backs of millions of human beings.

None of this will disappear with the stroke of a sponge, nor thanks to petitions and humanitarian demonstrations, nor thanks to the “distancing” statements of this or that government while everything remains exactly as it is. It will be class struggle – what the proletariat

must finally reclaim as its only and decisive struggle against all oppression, all repression, all bourgeois wars. This struggle does not aim at some compromise between imperialist powers, nor at a truce, long or short, awaiting renewed destruction and repression. It aims at class unity among proletarians, so that their struggle inspires class solidarity among proletarians of other countries, especially in the imperialist countries.

Great is the responsibility of the proletarians of the imperialist countries, and in this case of the Israeli proletarians : a people that oppresses another people can never be a free people, Marx declared. But the freedom of which Marxism speaks has nothing to do with bourgeois freedom, for the latter is reduced to the freedom to exploit the proletarian masses of the world and the weaker peoples of the world; the freedom to destroy and kill millions of human beings for the sole purpose of keeping the economic and political system of capitalism alive.

The proletarians will once again reclaim their “living space,” which is none other than the terrain of class struggle – the only ground on which all the world’s proletarians can recognize themselves as a social and revolutionary force. This force is truly invincible, because history is on its side, even if today no concrete resumption of class struggle can yet be seen. To the imperialist world war that the bourgeoisies of the great powers are preparing, the proletariat – if it does not want to resign itself to becoming nothing more than cannon fodder – must respond by preparing its own class war. Revolutionary communists, no matter if few and present only in some countries, are working today for that tomorrow.

August 21, 2025

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Revolts in Morocco Popular Discontent Meets Repression from the Regime of Mohamed VI

For several days, thousands of young Moroccans have taken to the streets to protest against the dire economic and social conditions in which the majority of the population lives. They are demanding improvements in healthcare and education, but at the root lies a profound social discontent that has built up over the years and has now exploded, putting young people at the head of a movement that must face both the repression of the Moroccan state and the complicit silence of Western media.

Morocco is characterized by a state ruled with an iron fist, with a bourgeoisie united around the royal family and a central nucleus of the latter – the so-called Majzén – which imposes terror as its only means of government. Domestically, the dominance of this bourgeoisie rests on a military-type regime that guarantees the exploitation of proletarians in both countryside and cities, and the subjugation of vast layers of destitute masses surviving through the exploitation of small agricultural plots, fishing, or the cultivation of marijuana and the processing and smuggling of its derivatives. In addition, this bourgeois class makes huge profits from the systematic plundering of Western Sahara, where it keeps the Sahrawi population in terrible living conditions, constantly persecuted and threatened by the army, which in turn enables the exploitation of the region’s valuable mineral resources.

In terms of foreign policy, since independence in 1956 under Mohamed V, Morocco has been a loyal ally of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, who saw in the conservative and authoritarian regime an effective bulwark against national liberation movements that shook both the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa. This privileged status as ally of the main Euro-American imperialist powers meant for Morocco both a guarantee of internal stability and support for its expansionist project, whose first milestone was the conquest of Western Sahara after Spain’s withdrawal following the “Green March” in 1975. Since then, Morocco has amply repaid the support it received.

First, because it has always acted as a guarantor of peace and stability toward Mauritania and Algeria – countries

seen by the former colonial powers as far less stable and thus riskier for imperialist control of the region. Second, and especially in recent years, Morocco has consolidated its role as a buffer state blocking the passage of large migratory flows coming from sub-Saharan Africa toward Europe through Spain. The Moroccan army and gendarmerie have shown their ability to contain thousands upon thousands of migrants within its territory, creating true open-air detention camps, in exchange for financial aid from European Union countries. Unsurprisingly, when these subsidies are interrupted, or when relations with its partners across the Strait of Gibraltar falter, Morocco exerts pressure by allowing hundreds of migrants to cross into Ceuta and Melilla. Morocco is thus a sinister guarantor of imperialist stability in both the Maghreb and Europe, a role reinforced worldwide – for example through its strategic importance in supporting Israel by signing the Abraham Accords, engaging in military cooperation with the Zionist state, and so on.

The current revolts, ongoing for three days, recall those that shook the Rif in 2016 and 2017, when thousands of Rifians, organized by the Hirak Movement, took to the streets demanding economic and social reforms – though those uprisings had a strong ethnic dimension and a more limited geographical scope. Back then, the revolts arose amid the rapid impoverishment of the Rif population, generally engaged in subsistence farming, as one of the consequences of the global capitalist crisis of 2008–2014.

Today’s protests, in contrast, are happening at a time when Mohamed VI’s regime loudly proclaims the country’s growing prosperity, the result of European economic aid and a certain recovery in manufacturing and agricultural processing. The upcoming celebration of the Football World Cup is presented as a showcase for this supposed prosperity – a milestone by which the regime intends to seal its image as a “modern” state integrated among the world’s great powers.

But behind this façade of well-being lies a profound social discontent that has driven thousands of young people to clash with the police demanding

(Continued on page 12)

Revolts in Morocco: Popular Discontent Meets Repression from the Regime of Mohamed VI

(Continuation from page 11)

change. And this is a discontent with deep roots. As elsewhere, the exit from the capitalist crisis of the last two decades has been achieved through a brutal intensification of proletarian exploitation and heavier pressure on the poorest masses. The “return to normal” in business (normal and inevitable until the next crisis, of course) was obtained by placing the burden of “recovery” chiefly on the shoulders of wage workers, but also small farmers and others, who were devastated by international competition against which they could not fight, leaving them in dramatic circumstances. It is the youth – who rightly see their future as one of suffering and misery, while the country brags about its development – who have lit the fuse of revolt.

This type of uprising reflects the irreparable deterioration of living conditions for most of the population, particularly the proletariat, whose exploitation sustains the entire capitalist economy. It resembles those seen recently in Nepal, Ecuador, and elsewhere. It manifests itself as an indistinct whole that, taken together, demands only democratic reforms, better governance, improved public services, etc.

The Moroccan proletariat does not have a long history as a distinct social class and has only a handful of experiences in struggle against the bourgeoisie and its state. These struggles are undoubtedly commendable but remain few, suffocated by repression and accompanied by the occasional minor concessions that the ruling bourgeoisie grants to some petty-bourgeois strata.

Nevertheless, the course of capitalist development in the Maghreb and the rest of Africa has created an objective factor that can accelerate the definition of the proletarian class terrain in this region: the workers who have emigrated to the metropolises. These proletarians – who share jobs and housing with European workers, who are part of the most impoverished sectors of the Spanish and French proletariat, and who in Europe belong to a working class that unites laborers of many races and origins, forming a powerful potential class force – could act as transmitters of a broader tradition of struggle and organization than what exists in Morocco, and at the same time help show European workers the way to a far more uncompromising struggle than what exists in their countries today.

It is true that this European proletariat has for decades behaved as a relatively docile subordinate to the bourgeoisie, with only small, limited social explosions, but generally submissive to the ruling class’s needs. For many years, forces of political and trade-union opportunism, along with remnants of social safety nets preventing them from falling into absolute misery, have succeeded in tying them to a rigid policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Yet these restraints will slowly wear away. Immigration is a good example: the import of workers from other countries, which the bourgeoisie needs to drive down the living and working conditions of Western workers, objectively undermines the “well-being” that has long served as a social buffer. Just as it is certain that the future of capitalist society will once again be that of proletarian class struggle – since the concessions that the bourgeoisie used for decades to guarantee social peace are being exhausted at breakneck speed – it can also be understood that this class struggle will not only play out in Europe, America, or Asia, but that the immense African proletarian army, today living precariously in those places, will help spread the flame of revolt to the workers of Marrakech, Nador, or Nouakchott.

It would be absurd, un-materialist, and directly fatal to expect the proletariat to abandon these struggles while waiting for a “pure” proletarian struggle, just as it would be absurd to demand that it renounce partial or isolated battles on the grounds that they are useless. In this phase of depression in class struggle, the proletarian revival will in-

evitably pass through such battles, which do not yet represent a genuine revival of class struggle, to eventually reach independent class struggle. But for today’s struggles to be fruitful, workers must clearly recognize what is happening before their eyes, identify the material interests of the classes in conflict and therefore their own, understand that these struggles are only episodes aimed at effects, not causes, and recognize the very conditions of their emancipation. Only by learning from these struggles will they be able to break the web of class collaboration politics, achieve class independence, unite, and develop all the necessary elements for the battles ahead. They will then cease to be a subordinate class to capital, enter the field of their own political struggle, be followed by other socially marginalized strata, and in the fullest sense become revolutionary.

For us revolutionary communists, working for the revival of class struggle by developing the Marxist work of the party – however limited it may seem today – the task is to prepare the conditions in which such class struggle will reappear. Not as a result of our will, nor as a consequence of praising as “proletarian” or “revolutionary” any convulsion within the bourgeois world, but as the outcome of material facts that push – and will always push – different social classes into a life-and-death war against each other.

The Moroccan workers who fight in the streets today will sooner or later join the great class army of the world proletariat, and they will do so by struggling against every democratic mystification and every residue of cross-class solidarity that today still dominates, dulls, and paralyzes them.

October 2, 2025

Tunisia : In Gabès, Capitalism Is Poisoning the Population

Since the beginning of October, the city of Gabès in southern Tunisia has been the scene of demonstrations and riots against the pollution caused by the industrial complex of the Tunisian Chemical Group (GCT), to which the government responded with more than a hundred arrests. Despite this repression, on 21 October tens of thousands of people demonstrated in the city (the largest protest ever seen in Tunisia), where a general strike was widely followed, and other demonstrations soon followed.

What triggered the population’s an-

ger was the number of people hospitalized in early September for respiratory disorders (more than 300), including schoolchildren, following toxic gas emissions released by the GCT factories. This is, in fact, a real case of chemical poisoning that the inhabitants of the region have been denouncing for a long time.

The industrial complex was established on the Mediterranean coast, in Gabès, in the early 1970s to process the phosphate extracted from the Gafsa mines into phosphoric acid and agricultural fertilizers intended for export.

The poisoning of the air and water over the years has been the result of the activity of these highly polluting factories, which discharge their waste into the sea, onto the land, and into the atmosphere.

Once rich in fish and a reserve of marine biodiversity, the Gulf of Gabès has become the “cemetery of the Mediterranean”: it has not withstood the dumping — without any treatment — of more than 500 million tons of phosphogypsum since 1972. A by-product of ore processing with sulfuric acid in fertilizer production, phosphogypsum releases various toxic elements, acidifies seawater, emits radon gas, and contains radioactive materials. Today some surrounding beaches show radiation levels three to four times higher than the internationally recommended limit. The untreated discharge of phosphogypsum and other solid, liquid, and gaseous industrial waste has also devastated the environment of this coastal oasis, where 90% of the palm groves have been destroyed. It has had serious consequences for the health of workers and residents: premature deaths from cancer and cardiovascular diseases, chronic respiratory illnesses, fluorosis, congenital malformations in newborns, etc. (1).

After the fall of Ben Ali, protests against the pollution caused by the GCT intensified. In 2013, after the site was blocked, the company agreed to stop dumping into the sea — something it never actually did — while the Ennahda government used employment blackmail (with 4,000 employees, the GCT is the largest employer in a region where unemployment reaches 25%) to defend the enterprise. Mobilization resumed in 2017, now demanding not a reduction in pollution but the closure of the site. On 27 June 2017, an agreement was finally signed for the gradual dismantling of the Gabès site over eight years; the eight-year period has passed, and not only has nothing been done, but the increasing deterioration of the installations has further increased pollution through multiple gas leaks.

Faced with the outrage caused by the poisoning of schoolchildren, President Kaïs Saïed declared in a speech in early September that a crime against the health of the population had been committed for 50 years, and he promised to act so that the inhabitants could breathe clean air.

But he forgot to mention that his government decided in March of this year to remove phosphogypsum from the list of hazardous products, while also planning to quintuple phosphate production due to its key role in economic

growth, and to install an ammonia production plant in Gabès to supply the GCT, as part of a major “green hydrogen” production project aimed at Europe and carried out by the GCT, supported by Total and other large European corporations (2). Far from the promised dismantling of the site, this is in fact an expansion!

Whatever the government — dictatorial or democratic, Islamic or secular — it obeys the laws of capitalism, as the young activists of Gabès, who apparently supported Kaïs Saïed believing his promises, have discovered (3). Seeking to persuade the authorities, environmentalists have carried out complex calculations to estimate the operating losses suffered by fishermen, farmers, the tourism industry, and the losses caused to the economy by premature deaths and illnesses resulting from the pollution caused by the GCT. But such losses do not enter the capitalist productive cycle of the company, while expenditures for safety systems, sanitation, decontamination, or relocating polluting installations would lead to a corresponding reduction in profit. For capitalism, this is what matters — not the disastrous consequences for workers and the population, as long as they do not hinder the continuation of production. As Marx writes, in its development capitalism “ex-

hausts at the same time the two sources from which all wealth flows: the earth and the worker” (4).

In Gabès, it is capitalism that is poisoning — and it is capitalism that must be fought.

November 28, 2025

(1) <https://www.get.omp.eu/2024/12/la-mousse-de-phosphogypse-un-vecteur-de-pollution-industrielle-affectant-la-biodiversite-mediterrannee-et-la-sante-des-populations-cotieres-de-gabes-se-de-la-tunisie/>

(2) The production of ‘green hydrogen’ consumes large amounts of water, which would be an additional problem in the Gabès region, where the GCT’s activities have significantly reduced the amount of water available. Total is partnered with an Austrian public company, and the project is expected to be financed by loans from various European banks. <https://www.leconomiste-maghrebin.com/2025/03/23/tunisie-vers-la-creation-hydrogene-vert/>

(3) <https://mondafrique.com/politique/la-ville-de-gabes-dans-le-sud-tunisien-suffoque-et-se-souleve/>

(4) Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol I, “The Development of Capitalist Production,” Section 4, Chapter 15.

Tunisia, 15 Years Later

« DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION » AND BOURGEOIS DICTATORSHIP

Tunisia has been presented as an example of triumphant « democratic revolution » during the Arab Spring, which began — coincidentally — in Tunisia at the end of 2010 : the self-immolation of an itinerant vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, in protest of the official harassment of which he was a victim, catalysed a series of demonstrations culminating in the fall of the autocrat Ben Ali.

But the working population of Tunisia soon became disillusioned. If the old boss and his clan had been « ejected » and a democratic constitution adopted, the country’s economy remained under the control of a few great families, to whom the new ruling parties were linked ; ergo, the subsequent murmuring about an « Islamo-mafia » capitalism. The social crisis of growing inequality, unemployment, and poverty, fueled by persistent economic difficulties, was contained during those years by a combination of police repression and a new democratic game : nine governments succeeded one another prior to the 2019

presidential election. In this election, disillusionment with the ruling parties, particularly the Islamist Ennahda party — the main party since the fall of Ben Ali — was behind the unexpected and overwhelming victory of a self-anointed fighter against corruption, the lawyer Kaïs Saïed. Under the auspices of ending partisan strife and ensuring political and social stability, the new authorities embarked on a gradual, authoritarian turn, the fruit of which was a constitutional coup in July 2021. Faced with a parliament controlled by the opposition, bolstered by popular support (thousands of his supporters demonstrated in favor of regime change) and the army, Saïed assumed full powers, dismissed the government, suspended parliament, and began drafting a new presidential constitution, etc. The new constitution was adopted in 2022 with a Ben Ali-style vote (over 94% in favor), and Saïed was re-elected president with over 90% of the vote in 2024. But even official figures reveal the indifference and antipathy with which the electoral farce was received : over 70% of the electorate

(Continued on page 14)

Tunisia, 15 Years Later

(Continuation from page 13)

abstained...

Since the coup, repression has been unleashed on opponents, and the number of political prisoners – sometimes imprisoned without trial or convicted under false pretexts – has continued to grow. Opposition leaders have recently been sentenced to decades in prison on charges of « undermining state security » or « terrorism » (1). Leading figures from the intelligentia and so-called democratic « civil society » were also targeted, with the clear aim of bringing the intellectual petite-bourgeoisie into line. European imperialist powers, Tunisia's main economic partners, effectively approve of the regime's authoritarian policies, which ensure a « stability » conducive to business.

Because it does not attack the country's economic and social structure, the « democratic revolution » is never anything other than a reconfiguration of bourgeois domination – and when it comes to a poor country facing multiple difficulties, this domination inevitably assumes a distinctly autocratic character.

ANTI-MIGRANT POLICY FINANCED BY THE EUROPEAN UNION

The anti-proletarian nature of Saïed's regime betrayed itself in February 2023 when the president echoed the racist rhetoric of the French far right about a « great replacement » : he denounced a « conspiracy » aimed at changing the country's ethnic composition through « hordes of migrants », « sources of violence, crime, and unacceptable acts. » In France, it is Arabs who are targeted ; in Tunisia, it is black Africans. In both cases, the aim is to attribute social difficulties to scapegoats, therefore dividing the proletariat. The president's statements were immediately followed by deportations of migrants and racist attacks. After clashes in Sfax in July 2023, where migrants were hunted down, several hundred of them were abandoned in the desert near the Libyan border, a practice that has since become commonplace and has led to the deaths of dozens of people.

On May 6, 2024, Saïed accused those who helped migrants of being « traitors and foreign agents ». Activists were arrested and immigrant support associations' activities suspended. Humanitarian organizations have documented the mistreatment, sexual assault, and rape regularly suffered by

migrants (2), including their sale to Libyan organizations (3)...

A convention signed in 2023 was presented as a « strategic agreement » for cooperation between the European Union and Tunisia. In reality, it only materialized on the issue of migrants, with the planned « economic support » dependent on an agreement with the IMF that the Tunisian government has so far refused to sign. The European Union finances police operations at sea and the deportation of migrants, effectively endorsing Tunisia's methods. Tunisia has thus been declared a « safe country », meaning a country to which migrants and asylum seekers can be deported.

ANTI-PROLETARIAN REPRESSION

The repression has not eluded striking workers, such as the female workers at a shoe factory in Metbassa: 24 were dismissed and sentenced in November 2024 to suspended prison terms after a strike involving several hundred workers. But even this repressive climate does not suffice to maintain capitalist order in a situation of deepening economic and social crisis. Statistics recorded 1,132 « protest actions » (and 33 suicides) in the first quarter of 2025, compared to 474 the previous year (4).

At the end of July, public transport workers staged a widely supported three-day strike after the failure of negotiations between the UGTT and the ministry on wages and working conditions. Following this strike, « conciliation meetings » scheduled for August 4 and 5 in the transport and agricultural sectors were cancelled by the Ministry of Social Affairs. On August 7, several dozen government supporters gathered in front of the UGTT headquarters to demand the dissolution of the union and the arrest of its leaders, whom they accused of corruption. The next day, President Saïed stated that the latter must « be held accountable ». The UGTT responded by organizing a protest march on August 21 against the « aggression » it had suffered. This mobilized nearly 3,000 people. In his speech, Nouredine Taboubi, the union's secretary general, warned that social unrest was looming and that wage negotiations for the civil service, which had been suspended in May, needed to be resumed.

The authorities clearly have no intention of satisfying the workers ; therefore, they are putting pressure on the union to block the workers' struggles. The UGTT is not a classist un-

ion. It supported Kaïs Saïed's coup in 2021, and, following presidential threats, cancelled the planned strike in the aviation sector. But proletarians' growing discontent has forced it to adopt a more belligerent tone in order to maintain its influence, creating tensions with the most collaborationist faction inside the union.

To realize their vital demands in such a perilous situation as confronts them today, proletarians cannot rely on the leaders of the UGTT, who will prostrate themselves – as they have always done – before the authorities. Nor can they rely – unfortunately – on the solidarity of proletarians in the imperialist countries, still paralyzed and disoriented by political and union collaborationism, as evidenced by the « solidarity » of the French Intersyndicale : a simply lamentable communiqué calling on « the French government, and more broadly European decision-makers, to condemn the autocratic excesses of Kaïs Saïed's regime and to denounce the EU-Tunisia memorandum » (5) : as if these « decision-makers » (?) were not directly complicit in the regime's iniquities...

In this basic, resistance struggle, proletarians can only rely on their own force as a class.

But tomorrow, when the international struggle of the proletariat is renewed – when it will no longer be a question of merely resisting exploitation or « improving » capitalism through « democratic revolutions », but of overthrowing all bourgeois powers and installing in their place the dictatorial power of the proletariat, indispensable for putting an end to the capitalist system and opening the route to communist society – the solidarity and fighting unity of proletarians of all countries will once again become possible and necessary.

September 10, 2025

(1) Among those sentenced to between 4 and 66 years in prison, the court included the pro-Israeli French writer Bernard-Henri Lévy (sentenced to 33 years in prison in absentia) without giving any reasons.

(2) <https://www.borderforensics.org/fr/actualites/statetraffickingreport/>

(3) <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2024/sep/19/italy-migrant-reduction-investigation-rape-killing-tunisia-eu-money-keirstarmer-security-forces-smugglerstrimestre-2025/>

(4) <https://www.agenzianova.com/news/tunisia-1132-azioni-di-protesta-e-33-suicidi-nel-primo>

(5) Press release dated 8/21/25 signed by the CGT, CFTD, UNSA, FSU, and Solidaires.

Social Explosion in Madagascar

Since Thursday, September 25, Madagascar has been the scene of large demonstrations against increasingly frequent and unbearable water and electricity cuts, and more generally against the staggering inadequacies of public services. These suffer from a lack of investment by the government, which has little interest in the masses' fate or in their ghastly living conditions ; against corruption, abuse of power, etc. (1). The authorities opted for repression : curfews, bans on demonstrations, etc. ; the police's use of live ammunition has left « at least » 20 people dead and hundreds injured. This did not prevent the ferment – initially confined to the capital Antananarivo – from continuing and spreading to other cities, forcing President Rajoelina to dismiss the government on September 29 (while accusing protesters of being paid by foreign powers to carry out a coup !). But the government's dissolution was not enough to placate the anger. There continued demonstrations calling for the president to resign, and the attempt to mobilize his supporters on Saturday, October 4, was a failure. The informal group which called for demonstrations on social media – Generation Z (2) – and other organizations issued a statement on Monday, October 6, calling for a general strike to bring about the fall of Rajoelina and the appointment of a « transitional president ».

President Andry Rajoelina – a Franco-Malagasy businessman – was elected for his first term in 2019, promising to fight inequality and corruption, improve the lives of the population, and defend the country's interests against the influence of foreign multinationals. These promises turned out to be a deception. The president's inner circle has been implicated in corruption scandals, social inequalities have widened, and a few big capitalists such as Mamy Ratomanga have amassed immense fortunes and become the country's shadow rulers – while 75% of the population lives below the poverty line (World Bank report, 2024).

Rajoelina's promises struck a chord because, as mayor of the capital in 2009, he led a popular movement comprising demonstrations and a general strike (claiming « *the people are taking back power!* ») against President Ravalomanana – head of a sprawling agri-food group (Tiko) – that brought the state to its knees. The bloody crackdown on anti-government protesters left more than 80 people dead. In March 2009, the military ousted Ravalomanana and appointed Rajoelina as transitional president, a position he held until the 2013 elections. Rajoelina enjoyed strong sup-

port from French imperialism, for whom Ravalomanana was too close to the United States and South Africa (3). Although France no longer has a hegemonic position in its former colony, it is the country's largest customer, more than the United States and Japan, it is also – according to the WTO – the largest investor, ahead of the United States with nearly 300 companies. It is nonetheless only its fourth largest supplier, behind China, Oman, and India. Its influence is still real, exercised in particular through military and security channels. A Madagascan newspaper wrote the following about a recent Franco-Madagascan military exercise (« *Tulipe 2025* »): « *France (...), which already has a strong military presence in Réunion and Mayotte, is consolidating its influence by maintaining security partnerships with Madagascar. In any case, this military collaboration is part of a broader competition for influence between different powers, notably China (...).* ».

The youth galvanizing the movement were inspired by the uprising in Nepal : in early September, despite a bloody repression (more than 80 dead), Nepalese demonstrators forced the government to flee and an interim government to be appointed, after the army took control of the situation. But the problem in Madagascar, as in Nepal and elsewhere, is not limited to a **few politicians or corrupt cliques** enriching themselves at the expense of the whole population. It is the economic and social structure of **capitalism** ; in which one **social class (the bourgeoisie)** monopolizes the wealth produced by wage-laborers (the **proletariat**) and toiling masses (small farmers, etc). Replacing the president alone would not change the situation. It is the capitalist structure and the bourgeois state that must be attacked... Otherwise, even the most powerful social explosion will only lead to the maintenance of the system. This was demonstrated by Rajoelina himself, who, once in power, behaved like the former president against whom he had fought.

This will require a revolutionary organization and party to lead the strug-

gle along class lines, in union with the proletarians of other countries ; the solidarity of the proletarians in the imperialist countries – France foremost among them – will be necessary to oppose their interventions in defense of the bourgeois order.

This is not an immediate prospect ; so strong is the inevitable, democratic cult of the people's interclassist unity, and so prevalent are illusions about support from the « international community » (i.e. the major imperialist states and their international organizations). But it is the only one to offer a future for the proletariat and the poor masses of Madagascar, the only one that will prevent their struggles from being canalized into a facelift of the capitalist order once again.

October 7, 2025

(1) The lack of investment in the public water and electricity company, Jirama, causes the power cuts affecting the poor populations, while the bourgeoisie can afford to buy generators.

(2) See the Facebook page, « generation z Madagascar » : <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=615811757125291>

(3) The French allegedly paid the soldiers who brought Rajoelina to power. Cf *Le Monde Diplomatique*, March 2012.

(4) Cf *midimagasikara*, 4/3/ 2.

PS: The CAPSAT soldiers (who had been the authors of the 2009 coup d'état), mutinied on Sunday 12. They forced the resignation of the prime minister, a military officer appointed last week by the president, and appointed a new army chief of staff. President Rajoelina, still protected by French imperialism, was "exfiltrated" by the French military while his godfather, the great capitalist Mamy Ratomanga, is said to have fled to Mauritius. The military said on Tuesday that it would maintain order in the country. The masses who are cheering them today will soon realize that they have acted not to "*protect the people*" as they say, but to protect the **bourgeois order** (October 12, 2025)



Massacres in Sudan

(Continuation from page 1)

that had begun several months earlier, the RSF, together with the SAF (regular military forces), overthrew the dictator who had been in power for 30 years. After negotiations with opposition forces grouped in the FFC (Forces of Freedom and Change), they formed the so-called Transitional Military Council (TMC), which was to administer the country: the aim was to secure the bourgeois order shaken by demonstrations and uprisings against the dictatorship.

Although the troops of the TMC repeatedly and violently repressed the ongoing demonstrations, massacring hundreds of people, the democratic opposition of the FFC signed a “constitutional declaration” with it in July with the aim of re-establishing civilian government. This declaration was presented as a victory for the “Sudanese revolution”; but in reality, it was the result of discreet negotiations under the patronage of the United States, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and the United Kingdom (the former colonial ruler). Eventually, after difficult negotiations accompanied by brutal repression, Abdullah Hamdok was appointed civilian prime minister, while the presidency went to General al-Burhah, head of the SAF, and Hemedti became deputy chairman of the transitional government.

During its tenure, this transitional government carried out a series of anti-proletarian attacks aimed at restoring the proper functioning of Sudanese capitalism – for example, it abolished subsidies on basic goods. But when further deterioration of the situation once again pushed the masses into struggle, despite the democrats’ attempts to calm things down, al-Burhan and Hemedti dissolved the government on October 25, 2021, arrested the prime minister and opposition party leaders, and declared a state of emergency...

Although al-Burhan and Hemedti were in complete agreement on abandoning the agreements reached with the democrats and ending the so-called “revolution,” each of them in fact represented different political-economic interests. The SAF, supported by the Islamist forces that had backed the al-Bashir regime, wanted to integrate the RSF into the army and thereby end their control over part of the gold extraction and various smuggling networks they had built. Disputes between these two former pillars of the dictatorial regime

gradually escalated into open war in 2023, and at present there are two rival governments, each controlling part of the country.

The clashes have caused enormous damage to infrastructure, destroyed the economy, claimed tens of thousands of lives, and driven nearly 12 million people from their homes, 3 million of whom have settled in neighboring countries (out of a total population of roughly 40 million). They have also caused an economic crisis in South Sudan due to the interruption of oil exports – its main source of its wealth – which must pass through Sudan.

SUDAN, NEIGHBORING STATES, AND IMPERIALISM

Since the beginning of the Sudanese uprising, states in the region and imperialist powers have sought to maintain order in Sudan – a country occupying a strategic position in this turbulent area – by providing generous loans to the TMC and subsequently to the interim government.

The most powerful actors rushed to the aid of the bourgeois order in Sudan: the United States, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates were at the forefront, temporarily setting aside their mutual rivalries because the risk of unrest spreading if military power fell was too great. Once the threat of mass uprising had been averted, each state began to support one side or the other in the conflict according to its own interests.

Egypt, which has historically sought to draw Sudan into its sphere of influence, strongly supports the SAF militarily, as does Russia, which has not forgotten al-Bashir’s promises to allow it to establish a naval base in Port Sudan and therefore acts as a mouthpiece of the SAF, which controls this port city, at the diplomatic level (although the Russian Wagner Group initially cooperated with the RSF.) Turkey has officially sided with the SAF, supplying them with drones, as has Iran, while Saudi Arabia, which has significant interests in Sudan, pretends to be neutral.

In contrast, the United Arab Emirates is the main supporter of the RSF, with which it has numerous ties; mercenaries and weapons (with links to Ukraine) flow to the RSF via Chad, Somalia, and Libya (an area controlled by Haftar). The RSF is also supported by Kenya, South Sudan, and Ethiopia, Egypt’s long-standing rival.

As for Western imperialism: BNP-Paribas, France’s largest bank, became the “de facto central bank” of Sudan at a time when al-Bashir’s regime was accused of genocide in Darfur (for BNP, the massacres represented a fantastic opportunity to increase its profits). However, it seems that it did not continue its activities after the fall of the regime. After years of arms embargoes against Sudan, the European Union, together with the UN, declared a more limited embargo on arms destined for Darfur, but even these embargoes are not strictly observed, as evidenced by the presence of French, Bulgarian, and Chinese weapons in the hands of RSF fighters – according to general opinion, these weapons are supplied through the United Arab Emirates. And since the United Arab Emirates is a major investor in the United Kingdom and France, and also has important economic and military relations with Italy, Germany, and Spain, it is obvious why London is putting pressure on African states that are trying to condemn these facts, and why Paris, Berlin, Rome, and Madrid refuse to criticize the UAE. The same is true of Beijing, the UAE’s main trading partner. In addition, the European Union has provided subsidies to the RSF to prevent migrants from traveling to Europe. Is it any wonder, then, that European countries remain silent about the UAE’s support for the RSF?

The United States, on the other hand, did not hesitate to criticize the United Arab Emirates’ involvement in the civil war in Sudan – even though it has a number of military bases on its territory and has signed numerous bilateral agreements with it in the field of security and the “fight against terrorism.” The United States did not involve itself in the conflict between the RSF and the SAF, limiting itself to calls for a ceasefire through the mediation of a “quartet” composed of the United States, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the Emirates: for all these actors, the priority is to eliminate any risk of “destabilization” in the region.

A KEY LESSON: THE DEADLY TRAP OF INTERCLASS DEMOCRATISM

Since the end of 2018, Sudan has experienced a major uprising against a dictatorial regime that introduced drastic austerity measures with the aim of restoring the health of capitalism. This movement, which followed on from that of 2013, drew in broad masses of the population, who bravely resisted repression. The movement forced the military authorities to get rid of the dictator him-

self and some of his cronies, causing panic among the rulers of neighboring countries. Despite its mass character, however, it was unable to go beyond a superficial cleansing of the bourgeois order: the alleged “revolution” brought nothing but very meagre and temporary concessions on the part of the former protagonists of al-Bashir’s regime, before any possibility of further resistance was crushed. The discrepancy between the apparent strength of the mass movement and the insignificance of its results — both political and immediate economic — can be explained by the democratic and pacifist orientation imposed on it by the petty-bourgeois currents that “naturally” placed themselves at its head.

These currents never sought anything other than to negotiate — while hoping for the support of the imperialist “Democracies” — a transition to a parliamentary civilian government, as if it were for this pitiful goal that thousands of protesters had shed their blood and sac-

rificed their lives!

The working class is undoubtedly numerically weak and stifled by decades of dictatorship, yet it nevertheless exists. However, instead of being the driving force and leadership of the uprising, it appeared throughout this period only as an indistinguishable component of “the people” alongside other classes: this was, after all, prescribed to it by the leaders of the new trade unions and the Sudanese Communist Party. The latter, communist only in name, even supported laws restricting freedom of trade-union organisation so as not to jeopardise its alliance with the bourgeoisie.

This interclass, democratic, and pacifist orientation — to which the interests of the proletariat were sacrificed — could only sterilize the uprising, facilitate repression, and leave the bourgeoisie free to firmly gain control of the situation after the movement’s first setback. The policy of interclass collaboration is always synonymous with the defeat of movements, even those that are the most

massive, full of protests and mass uprisings. In the conditions of a very poor country like Sudan, where there are no social shock absorbers, the regaining of control of the situation can only be particularly brutal, and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie can impose itself without any tricks. But this harsh lesson applies to all countries: if the proletariat does not want to be the eternal plaything of the bourgeoisie, if it does not want to suffer crushing defeat in great revolutionary movements, it must organize and fight on an independent class basis, not allow itself to be lulled by the siren songs of “popular unity,” with the indispensable reconstitution of its class party — the only one capable of rallying the masses of the oppressed and exploited and leading them to final victory over capitalism.

Only then will the endless series of massacres of this bloody bourgeois order come to an end — and all its countless victims be avenged.

November 12, 2025 ●

Spain

On the Attempted Pogrom and Raids Against Immigrants in Torre Pacheco There is Only One Way Forward: Class Struggle, Above all National, Ethnic, or Racial Differences

In Torre Pacheco, in the region of Murcia, after several weeks of alleged violent incidents — always blamed on Moroccan immigrants (in some cases these were false reports spread by far-right groups on social media) — there was a “racist outburst of violence” in which hundreds of residents, joined by hundreds more far-right supporters who had come to the town specifically to take part in the unrest, clashed with Moroccan immigrants, searched for them in their neighbourhoods, attacked them in the streets, assaulted their shops, and so on. The immigrants, especially the youth, responded decisively, confronted the demonstrators and the police, resulting in several injuries and several arrests. If one is to believe the bourgeois press — and the no less bourgeois social networks — then the far-right extremists, who had openly announced something akin to a flash ethnic cleansing in the town, paid for their bravado with their own skin, and not even the assistance of the police, gendarmerie, and sympathetic media spared some of them from ending up in hospital.

There is nothing accidental about

these events. Something like this had been in preparation for several weeks: first came a failed attempt by a neo-Nazi group to hold a rally outside a juvenile detention centre in Hortaleza (Madrid), then a demonstration protesting the rape of a woman by a Malian man in Alcalá de Henares (also Madrid), and finally Torre Pacheco. And throughout that entire period, posters appeared in several villages and small towns across Spain, calling for the defence of “residents’ safety” and a “fight” against alleged Moroccan attackers... All of it bears the unmistakable character of a pre-planned campaign that had long been waiting for a pretext to unleash something like the events of last weekend in Murcia.

Torre Pacheco is one of the Spanish municipalities with the lowest per capita income. According to data from the National Statistics Institute, it amounted to only €9,016 in 2022. This is indeed a very low figure, considering that the town is one of the most important agricultural municipalities in the region of Murcia and has a thriving industry focused on the processing of agricultural

products, fruit growing, and vegetable farming (both for domestic consumption and for export). How can this apparent contradiction be explained? In Torre Pacheco — just like throughout the southern Mediterranean from Almería to Murcia — there lives one of the lowest-paid layers of the proletariat in the country. The region’s statistical poverty in fact reflects a very pronounced social polarization and economic conditions stemming from the fact that the propertied class, made up primarily of medium and small-scale farmers who own the land and the capital necessary to work it, employs wage labourers for starvation and poverty wages. These statistics give a distorted picture of generalised poverty, whereas in reality there exists **the misery of the proletariat and the wealth of the bourgeoisie.**

Moreover, Torre Pacheco — like the entirety of the Spanish countryside, both the inland areas based on large-scale intensive agriculture and the peri-urban zones dominated by ultramodern greenhouse cultivation — is undergoing a deep crisis. This crisis is causing many enterprises to become unprofitable due to the entry of new African and Latin American producers into the global market. Since 2012, the cultivated area in the municipality has decreased by 52%, from nearly 15,000 hectares to just over 7,000. According to data from the Ministry of Economy of the Region of Murcia, this decline in cultivation has led only to a slight reduction in agricul-

(Continued on page 18)

Torre Pacheco ...

(Continuation from page 17)

tural employment, which has employed approximately 14,000 people here since 2012. Outside of agriculture, however, recent years have seen a significant increase in employment and thus a decrease in unemployment: industrial employment has risen by 70%, construction by 45%, and the service sector by 50%. As a result, unemployment in the municipality has fallen by 60%.

These official figures, based on employment data, show that the economy of Torre Pacheco is shaped by two opposing forces. On the one hand, there is the restructuring of productive sectors, which for many years has affected large parts of the Spanish countryside, reducing the profitability of small-scale agriculture and leading to the closure of many agricultural enterprises each year. On the other hand, there has been a revival of non-agricultural production compared to the levels during the 2012 crisis, resulting in rising employment and a related influx of workers through both legal and/or illegal immigration. The situation is the same across Spain: the economic recovery — the so-called capitalist “prosperity” — is not unfolding without imbalances. Frictions arise between productive sectors, reflected in conflicts between different layers of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Moreover, capital’s demand for extremely cheap labour (whose wages are the only factor ensuring a return on investment) increases social tensions, as the bourgeoisie sharpens competition among proletarians — using all its strength and resources to do so — stirring up clashes and providing cover for all nationalist, racist, and xenophobic currents... not with the aim of expelling the immigrants it so desperately needs, but rather to discipline the new proletarians and place on them the burden of social discontent generated by the capitalist system itself.

Do you want an explanation for the recent violence? Here it is. The bourgeoisie — especially the Spanish bourgeoisie, which has historically managed to maintain its competitiveness on the international market only through the extremely low wages of an exploited proletariat — needs imported labour in order to fuel competition with the native working class and keep wages down. It imports this labour legally and illegally, stripping it of all rights — except the right to be maximally exploited.

In the most brutal and repugnant cases of this process, children are taken

from their parents, minors are imprisoned together with adults, and criminal organisations — thriving on human trafficking, extortion, and murder — are given free rein. In short, immigrants are treated like animals.

There is no reason to be surprised by this violence. The blame lies with a single social group: the bourgeoisie, the criminal class par excellence. This applies both to the Spanish bourgeoisie, which exploits, oppresses, abuses, and murders immigrant proletarians, and to any other bourgeoisie — especially the Moroccan one, which for decades has sought to maintain strict control over its “subjects abroad” and has built an extensive system of surveillance and repression through mosques and members of the petty-bourgeois merchant class. Both play their part in the exploitation of the proletariat.

The events in Torre Pacheco were no accident — they were deliberate and nearly premeditated. Even in times of relative economic growth and a certain, very limited, stability, capitalism can exist only by producing disorder, chaos, and suffering. It needs such situations — these raids incited and amplified by the media — in order, on the one hand, to release the pressure that inevitably builds up within its society and which it always seeks to redirect into some form of violence against the proletariat; and on the other hand, to use such conflicts and acts of violence to discipline and subjugate, through fear, the thousands of new proletarians who arrive in Spain to be exploited in both countryside and city. Torre Pacheco shows them what awaits: hard labour under harsh conditions and constant exposure to violence, which can erupt against them at any moment under any pretext. In this case, it was “popular” violence (carried out by sons of the petty bourgeoisie), but always, on every occasion, there is also institutional and police violence. And this policy is not the domain of just one segment of the bourgeoisie.

The entire bourgeois class shares and supports this policy, each segment playing the role that best suits its interests and its own development. Nationalist groups like VOX and their street thugs openly incite attempts at pogroms. The leftwing PSOE–SUMAR coalition government, however, lets things unfold freely, tolerates the mobilization of far-right groups, resists deploying the police—and when it does, it gives orders to act against the immigrants who defend themselves, not against the fascists who want to “hunt” them. The alignment — and even technical coordination — of all forces of the bourgeoisie is a fact:

the events in Torre Pacheco would not have happened had they not been permitted by the Ministry of the Interior under Fernando Grande-Marlaska Gómez of the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party—the same man who ordered the arrest of more than 25 metalworkers in Cádiz.

The events in Torre Pacheco closely resemble those that took place in El Ejido 25 years ago. Back then, similar acts of violence occurred, just like last week — North African workers were hunted down for several days, their homes were set on fire, there were attempted murders... all with the silent support of the authorities, who at the time also deemed it necessary to give this segment of the proletariat a lesson and teach them what it means to “coexist.” But 25 years ago, the proletarians of El Ejido and part of Campo de Níjar responded with a force no one expected: they declared a wildcat strike across the region, walked off the job, and managed — at least temporarily — to push back the violence inflicted upon them. In response to the attacks by the local petty bourgeoisie, the owners of land, factories, and shops, they answered with the proletarian weapon par excellence: the strike.

The workers’ victory was, of course, not permanent. A certain type of attacks may have ceased, but the violence continued — and continues to this day. Reports regularly emerge of fires in shantytowns where workers live, of migrant women being raped, of young people being assaulted... These are demonstrative acts carried out by the local bourgeoisie, aimed at sowing fear among the proletarian masses.

The proletarians of Torre Pacheco — just like anywhere else, whether native or foreign-born — have only one way to confront events like those of recent days: class struggle. This struggle means **recognising that there are common interests that transcend race, nationality, gender, or age, and that unite the entire working class**: the need to resist capital, to oppose its demands, which will always lead to greater exploitation and worsening living conditions. But it also means understanding that class solidarity — the refusal to cooperate with the ruling bourgeoisie, with the bosses, their parties, and their repressive forces — is a duty from which the native proletariat, enjoying better economic and social conditions than its immigrant class brothers, cannot withdraw. Under no circumstances must it show solidarity with the interests of “its” bourgeoisie, nor form a common front with “its” employers against those workers who find

themselves in worse conditions, in the hope of preserving slightly better living standards at the expense of the suffering of the rest of the proletariat.

Unfortunately, the policy of class collaboration has influenced—and continues to influence—a significant part of the Spanish proletariat, having become common practice for far too long. This is why some proletarians even support racist and xenophobic slogans, which are expressions of cross-class solidarity, and mobilise alongside representatives of other social classes from whom they hope to gain certain social benefits. In reality, the bourgeois class fears the immigrant proletariat, which expands the ranks of the Spanish working class but does not enjoy the social benefits of this collaboration that the native proletariat has enjoyed from for decades. This makes migrants more likely to rebel against inhuman living conditions, against the brutal exploitation to which they are subjected — and to point the way forward in the renewal of proletarian struggle for the exclusive defence of proletarian class interests: the path we call class struggle.

- **Class solidarity among proletarians, native and foreign alike!**
- **There is only one path against pogroms and all forms of bourgeois violence: class struggle!**

July 13, 2025

El Proletario

Órgano del partido comunista internacional

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- Oriente Medio, un escenario en el que la normalidad es la guerra de todos contra todos
- De los Mozos ha hablado...
- De la guerra comercial a la guerra armada, una espiral que solo puede romperse con la lucha revolucionaria de clases del proletariado
- Amadeo Bordiga convertido en mercancía como «personaje histórico»
- Incendios, ¿casualidad? ¿tragedia? No, beneficio capitalista y control democrático
- El objetivo del proletariado palestino no es una imposible «patria palestina»,
- Intento de pogromo y razias contra los inmigrantes en Torre Pacheco Una única salida: la lucha de clase, por encima de toda división nacional, étnica o racial
- Desde el mundo del trabajo... Sobre la huelga del metal de Cádiz

Precio del ejemplar: Europa: 1,5 €, 3 CHF; América latina: US \$ 1,5; USA y CAN: US \$ 2.

Spain Cádiz: the Path of Class Struggle

The strike in the metalworking industry in the province of Cádiz — which has affected all companies, especially those involved in shipbuilding and repair, in the cities of San Fernando, Cádiz, Puerto Real and Jerez — has gained a strength that seemed impossible, considering the series of defeats and union capitulations that recently ended similar strikes in other provinces.

In summary, the sequence of events can be described as follows: four years after the signing of the last collective agreement in the sector (which CCOO and UGT signed at the last moment, against the will of a large part of the workers who had openly rejected it), tensions in the factories have increased, precisely because of that last agreement, the introduction of intermittent fixed-term contracts as a means of quick dismissals, and so on.

As part of the preparations for negotiations, the main trade unions (first UGT, then CCOO and CGT) called a two-day strike. The objective was clear: to allow workers — especially those who had become more radical in recent years and had joined the CGT, the Coordinadora de Trabajadores del Metal (CTM), or in some cases the Sindicato Andaluso de Trabajadores (SAT) — to release some of their repressed anger, as if these two days of struggle were intended purely to let off steam.

After this partial strike, announced in advance and carefully adapted to the needs of the employers, the script foresaw a farcical round of negotiations: UGT — the union that had called the strike first — was to hold “tense negotiations” with the employers’ associations representing companies in the sector (large companies such as Navantia have their own collective agreement and are excluded from these talks).

As part of this theatre, a preliminary agreement was signed early on Sunday morning and presented to the workers on Monday morning, with the aim of getting them back to work that same day. At this point, however, the situation turned around: the majority of the workers (according to the bourgeois press, those working in the Bay of Cádiz) rejected the preliminary agreement and decided to continue the strike, under the legal coverage of the CGT — whose metalworking section refused to call off the strike —; the workers therefore continued striking, this time for an indefinite period, without the bosses or the government being sure whether they

would be able to stop them at will, as they had always done thanks to the collaboration of the big trade unions.

The initial demands of the metalworkers were as follows:

- *Full compliance with the collective agreement for all workers in the sector*
- *Proper regulation of “fijo discontinuo” (intermittent fixed-term) employment contracts*
- *A ban on working in factories under contracts other than those applicable to the metal industry*
- *An end to constant delays in wage payments*
- *Reduction of pension cuts in cases of early retirement*
- *Oversight and a ban on so-called blacklists of “problematic workers”*

To fully understand its significance, it is necessary to keep in mind that the metal industry in Cádiz consists of countless small and medium-sized enterprises that provide services to the major players in the sector (Navantia, Airbus, Dragados Offshore, etc.). This fragmentation of so-called “auxiliary companies” is the result of the gradual decapitalisation that the metal industry underwent forty years ago, when it still relied on large state-owned companies.

The process of privatisation was accompanied by the phenomenon of outsourcing, whereby the main companies gave up the workforce and capital needed to carry out tasks that could instead be subcontracted according to the existing workload.

In this way, today in the same shipyard where a single ship is being built, several different companies may be working simultaneously, each with its own group of workers performing specific tasks.

In practice, this has led to the stratification of the proletarian masses, who were previously employed by a single company, and to a fragmentation of professional skills within the sector.

The problem for the workers has been further aggravated by the fact that many companies, aiming to lower wages, make use of collective agreements different from those intended for the metal industry (under the pretext that the specific nature of their activity requires it).

So not only are there different work-

(Continued on page 20)

Spain

Cádiz : the Path of Class Struggle

(Continuation from page 19)

ers from different companies, but even a single construction project may, from a legal point of view, be entirely split according to industrial sectors.

For decades, this has been a great strength of the bourgeoisie. Faced with the long-lasting crisis in the metalworking industry (which began in the 1980s and, over the following two decades, led to a profound restructuring of industry, working methods, etc., while workers were constantly confronted with the threat of relocating production abroad, competition from Korea, or any other form of blackmail), the strategy was always the same: to lower labour costs through the division and consequent weakening of what had once been a strong and combative working class.

First of all, this was achieved by dividing workers into young and old, encouraging the latter to leave through advantageous early retirement schemes, while imposing much worse working conditions on the former, or dismissing them outright.

Then came a division by company: those that remained in state hands (fully or partially owned by SEPI for reasons of strategic state control), and those that were privatised.

Another blow was the dismantling of large companies and the transfer of workloads to auxiliary firms, where working conditions are far worse than in the larger companies.

Finally, the last big trump card of employers and the state was the introduction of the so-called “fijo discontinuo” contract (intermittent fixed term contract), which was expanded in 2022 by Labour Minister Yolanda Díaz of the left-wing bloc SUMAR (the successor to the left alliance Unidas Podemos, currently part of Pedro Sánchez’s third government alongside the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party) as part of a labour reform.

Thanks to this form of contract, companies can tie workers to them and keep them available, without having to bear the costs of dismissals, rehiring, etc., and in addition they have access to labour pool, which they can use according to their needs at any time.

This description of the situation in Cádiz can be applied to any local segment of the metalworking industry one might choose to examine: Ferrol, Vigo, the Basque Country, Valladolid, Valencia... everywhere the dynamic has been

the same, and the result therefore almost identical: a divided proletariat, both in legal terms and in working conditions; and employers’ associations, with the help of class-collaborationist trade union organisations that have sealed this situation over the years, relying on the relative social peace established among the employees of the main companies (those who suffer slightly less harsh conditions), in order to impose brutal exploitation on the proletarians working in auxiliary firms.

However, the situation in Cádiz is particularly harsh. Outside the metal industry, the province of Cádiz is practically a desert in terms of job opportunities: it is among the provinces with the highest unemployment rates in Spain, with poverty exceeding the Spanish average and a practically non-existent industrial sector. It is no coincidence that the entire region has seen the rise of a criminal network involved in drug trafficking from Morocco, employing hundreds of young people who would otherwise know nothing but hunger.

In Cádiz, alongside working-class neighbourhoods that applaud the strikers expressing their own discontent, there are also slums and villages where residents protect members of criminal clans from the Guardia Civil, because thanks to the mafias, at least they have something to eat.

This situation has put even greater pressure on metalworkers, especially employees of auxiliary companies who move between unemployment (now under the “fijo discontinuo” regime) and work, and who are constantly threatened with being blacklisted — for refusing to work under certain conditions, for not being sufficiently compliant, or simply at the whim of the shift supervisor.

This “industrial reserve army,” which the bourgeois class uses to further pressure the proletariat — temporarily or permanently — represents a first-class tool of order and pacification, and in the hands of the bourgeoisie it always serves to discipline proletarians who live under the threat of hunger for themselves and their families.

This situation led to the emergence of a list of demands raised by the metalworkers both at the assemblies that called for the strike and within the two trade unions that made it possible — CGT and CTM. These demands raise a fundamental issue which, however, is unacceptable for employers, whether public or state-owned: unity, meaning equal working conditions, an end to the fragmentation of labour, NO to discrimination, and NO to repression.

In recent years, a proletarian layer willing to fight and to push forward the demands raised by this struggle has emerged within the metal industry in Cádiz. Already in 2021, when the previous collective agreement was signed with considerable help from the riot police (under the direction of PSOE and Podemos), there was a risk that the struggle, betrayed by the CC.OO. and UGT unions, would get out of control — both because part of the workers refused to accept the agreements and thanks to their efforts to extend the conflict beyond the factories and to mobilise the entire working class of Cádiz.

At that time, the then-unknown CTM union was at the forefront of the protests and attempts to break the social peace imposed by the class-collaborationist unions. In the end, however, supported by the entire spectrum of the parliamentary left, they imposed a return to work under appalling conditions.

Four years later, the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that a minority, which had previously been easily repressed and dismissed, managed to bring thousands of proletarians along



with them, secured the continuation of the strike, and rejected the policy of class collaboration supported by UGT and CC.OO. And not only that — they did so with an explicit appeal for unity and solidarity with the proletarians who are in the worst conditions, explicitly rejecting — just as the CGT representative did at the assembly on Monday, 23 June — any dual model of hiring and working relationships, and pushed these demands through ongoing strikes and mobilisations.

The UGT, which chaired the strike committee, signed a preliminary agreement that put a new noose around the workers' necks: starting with a "youth contract" that would allow companies to pay new employees 25% less, then introducing a hazard pay bonus to be paid over seven years, and ending with a wage increase that does not make up for the real wage losses of recent years...

For both the UGT (or the CC.OO., which pretends not to accept the agreement in order to play the card of radicalism and thus maintain its position as a "valuable negotiating partner") and the employers, the goal is to secure social peace that will allow companies to handle the expected increase in workload in the coming years without difficulty.

It is no coincidence that the collective agreement they are trying to impose would be valid until 2032!

In the turbulent economic and political context that is taking shape, with a large-scale rearmament plan of the major imperialist powers already in preparation, the bosses of the metal industry and their opportunist allies see a business opportunity that no bourgeois would refuse. And in order to profit from it, they must secure a docile workforce that will allow them to achieve profit margins high enough to make the necessary investments worthwhile.

For the metalworkers of Cádiz, the path is, for once, clear: only the means and methods of class struggle can lead to victory in a battle that must inevitably be waged against the bourgeoisie. The blackmail widespread over recent decades (workload in exchange for worse working conditions), which was always reflected in a conciliatory union policy of "defending jobs above all," has turned out to be a trap that has plunged workers into unprecedented insecurity.

And it was from this perspective that their response emerged: aware of the great opportunity on which the bourgeois class could enrich itself at their expense, with such promising business prospects... they refused to accept the usual threats and declared an indefinite strike until victory.

And not only that — they carried it

out with methods typical of proletarian struggle: pickets, strikes, joint assemblies open also to other sectors of workers, illegal demonstrations aimed at uniting the rest of the city's working population, solidarity with those arrested, and so on.

For now, their ability to break ties with the UGT and CC.OO., which are brake mechanisms that the bourgeoisie usually employs as the first line of defense against workers' struggle, has given them the strength to force the bosses to at least partially concede to their most urgent demands.

However, this does not mean that there are no obstacles. Besides the major organizations of political and trade union opportunism, there are other forces that seek to divert the proletariat from the path of class struggle. In these disputes, a second line of containment is also emerging, made up of the classic far left, which is already showing up at demonstrations and picket lines in an effort to gain popularity and thus influence, as well as certain sectors of the so-called "alternative trade union movement," which also represents an anti-proletarian force that will be deployed when the right moment comes.

The example of the metalworkers of Cádiz shows not only that (obviously!)

the proletarian class is a living force, but also that class struggle conducted outside the legal apparatus of the bourgeoisie, against the policy of social peace, against trade-union opportunism, etc., can and must be revived wherever the living conditions of the proletariat continue to worsen as a result of the demands of the capitalist economy.

This is the example these workers have set: the bourgeoisie and its state will always stand against the proletariat, and the only way to even think of defeating them is through the practice of genuine class struggle — a struggle that takes into account only the needs of the proletarians, that does not resort to negotiation without struggle, that does not accept social peace as a precondition for agreements, and that confronts repression with the strength drawn from class unity.

- **For the revival of the strike as a weapon of the proletariat's class struggle for both immediate and general demands!**
- **For the class reorganization of the proletariat!**
- **For the uncompromising defense of proletarian class struggle!**

June 24, 2025



To Our Readers and Internet Users

The group that split from our party in 1973 over fundamental issues such as the party's conception and its actions, and which organized itself in Florence (Italy) with its own newspaper entitled "Il Partito comunista" (The Communist Party), presenting itself as the "organ of the International Communist Party," recently underwent a split—the causes of which it did not deem necessary to explain to its readers, nor did the other faction.

After the split, for legal reasons, its newspaper changed its title: since July-September 2024, the new publication is called "il Partito Comunista Internazionale," the same name as the party (1), while the website kept the same address: international-communist-party.org.

For some time now, this group has also been distributing documents and information through a newsletter called *[PCInt] Newsletter*. This title adds to the confusion already caused by the existence of several political groups that have split off from the former "International Communist Party-II programma comunista," given that PCInt is an abbreviation we have been using for decades and has also been the acronym of our web-

site since its creation.

Today, in a persistent period of profound counterrevolution and dramatic depression of the proletarian class struggle, there are many groups that call themselves "communist" or proclaim themselves "revolutionary"; there are also groups that claim to be the heirs or sole continuators of the Italian Communist Left and the international communist party formed after World War II—and which they have each betrayed in turn.

For our part, to distinguish ourselves from other groups, we follow the name of the party with the title of the publication in the corresponding language.

Faced with those who sow confusion, we have nothing to do but to continue the classist fight and theoretical and political criticism with the utmost clarity, in line with the precepts of Marxist theory and the historical experience of Lenin's Bolshevism and the Italian Communist Left.

It is not proclamations or publication titles, but the real facts of the proletarian class struggle and political action

(Continued on page 22)

Argentina Against Milei's "Successes", the Need for Class Struggle Arises

On 11 December, President Milei celebrated his first year at the head of Argentina with an official speech broadcast from the "Casa Rosada" (the presidential palace) on all television channels. He boasted of the "economic successes" he had achieved, assured that the recession was over, and promised that "happy times" lay ahead for Argentines.

There were other voices on the international scene praising Milei. The British weekly *The Economist*, an international advocate of economic liberalism, declared that it was "fascinated" by his "philosophy" and felt that Trump should learn from it for his policies (1). While the IMF believes Milei has succeeded in preventing hyperinflation, its president declared earlier this year that Argentina represents "the most impressive case of a government implementing necessary reforms in recent history" (2). The IMF also predicts that the country's GDP will grow by 5% by 2025, higher than the Argentine central bank's forecast...

The official data clearly show a slowdown in inflation in recent months, which fell to less than 3% in December, compared to over 20% per month a year

ago. In annual terms, however, it remained one of the highest in the world, exceeding 110%. As soon as Milei came to power, he devalued the national currency, the peso, by 54% and deregulated prices and rents: this immediately led to a sharp rise in inflation, which in January 2024 reached a 254% increase compared to January 2023 and more than 20.6% compared to December 2023.

The combination of Milei's shock measures not only caused a sharp rise in inflation, but also a sharp worsening of the economic recession: a 3.5% fall in GDP in 2024 after a 1.6% fall in 2023. If we add to this the devaluation of the peso, which continued at 2% per month throughout the year, and the end of price regulation, these measures consisted of a big reduction in state spending: the suspension of more than 90% of public works, a reduction in financial transfers to the provinces, a reduction in spending on health, education, etc., the abolition of certain ministries (environment, science, culture, women's rights, etc.) and the elimination of 34 000 civil service jobs (one of the 'achievements' Milei explicitly boasted of in his speech on 11 December), cuts in social spending, etc. (it is estimated that a large part of the savings in the state budget came from the freezing of pensions as inflation raged), sharp increases in gas and electricity prices and transport (3).

On the other hand, the budget for "internal security" and defence has increased significantly: the "endless contempt" for the state trumpeted by the "anarcho-capitalist" Milei does not apply to the army and the state police force...

These measures have led to the success of the government's policies: the state budget has gone into the black for the first time in more than a decade, and the country has recorded a trade surplus. The cause was the economic crisis: the domestic market collapsed due to a fall in the income of a large part of the population and a fall in investment and economic activity dependent on state spending, forcing companies to lower prices in an attempt to sell their goods, which contributed to a fall in imports (while the end of the drought brought an increase in agricultural exports).

As always, the successes of capitalists (whether "anarchist" or convention-

al) are **defeats** for the proletariat and the poor masses in general.

In addition to the job cuts in the public sector just mentioned, it is estimated that more than 130,000 jobs have been lost in the private sector since Milei came to power; these are jobs in the formal sector, as jobs have been created in the so-called informal sector. The official unemployment rate has risen from 6.2 to 7 per cent in one year: this is not a staggering figure (it was 20 per cent in 2002), but it should be stressed that it concerns only regular employees, with no less than 45 per cent of the population working in the informal sector, where employees have no social protection (no leave, severance pay, etc.) and where unemployment is difficult to estimate. However, unlike the great crisis of the early 2000s, it is wages, not jobs, that have so far been the hardest hit.

In fact, real wages have fallen sharply as a result of skyrocketing inflation: in April 2024, private sector wages had practically fallen to their 2003 level, which represented the historic minimum reached during the great crisis (4). However, according to official statistics, real wages in the private sector at the end of last year reached and slightly exceeded the 2023 level, while real wages for civil servants fell by 23%. The government did not oppose collective bargaining, but made it conditional on wage increas-

To Our Readers and Internet Users

(Continuation from page 21)

that will demonstrate which party organization effectively represents the class consciousness of the proletariat at the international level and which will therefore be able to place itself at the head of the most advanced layers of the proletariat to guide them towards the anti-capitalist revolution. ●

(1) In other languages (English, Turkish) their papers have taken up this same name, but they continue to publish their theoretical journal in Italian under the old name "Comunismo," The other faction has created a new website (intcp.org) and publish a new paper in English "The International Communist" while it has retained the old Italian titles "Il Partito Comunista" and... "Comunismo."

To Our Readers

Due to lack of space we are not able to publish in "Proletarian" all our English-language statements. Interested readers can find them under the "Statements" section of our website: <https://www.pcint.org>

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es not exceeding official inflation, which the trade unions accepted. In the private sector, negotiations resulted in an average real wage cut of 8%, but with large variations depending on the sector: bank employees saw a cut of only 0.3%, while the hospitality and transport sectors saw cuts of 19% and 21% respectively.

Independent analyses provide results that differ from the official figures: real wages have fallen by an average of 10%, with a 27% fall in the public sector (25% in education); the fall is more significant for already low wages, with a 27% fall in the minimum wage (5). Pensions have fallen by an average of 15% in real terms (including the extra inflation bonus, which has been frozen since March), bringing their 'beneficiaries' below the poverty line.

Government decrees to make the labour market more flexible (the 'Bases' law) consisted in particular of abolishing employer sanctions for undeclared work, extending the probationary period before being fully employed to one year, and allowing to lay off civil servants for 12 months before making them redundant, furthermore, termination funds were created so that employees could finance their own unemployment benefits! The law also provides for a ban on pickets and road blockades, occupation of enterprises, etc. Income tax has been extended to an additional 800 000 people as previously untaxed income or benefits such as overtime, Christmas bonuses, employee clothing etc. have been included in its calculation, while an amnesty for tax evasion and a reduction in wealth tax for the wealthiest have been announced. Finally, the government is empowered to legislate on economic and social issues for one year without having to go through parliament.

An analysis by the Centre for the Study of the Argentine Economy (CEPA) of the economic and social situation in the country after one year of the Milei government concluded that the pursued policy "introduces mechanisms to shift income away from active and passive workers in favour of sectors of concentrated capital in an apparently regressive logic, given the recurrent tendency to draw income away from low-income sectors in favour of high-income sectors" (6). In other words, it is an anti-proletarian class policy.

As a result of the economic crisis and government policies, in one year 5 million people fell below the poverty line and 3 million below the extreme poverty line (destitution), making it impossible to meet basic needs (food); the poverty rate thus reached 52.9% of the popula-

tion (i.e. 24.8 million people), 66% among children and teenagers, and the poverty rate exceeded 18% of the population (6.8 million), 27% among children and teenagers. Poverty has increased the most in the Gran Buenos Aires urban agglomeration, where it reaches 59.7% of the population.

Milei presents his policy as a radical break with all previous governments. However, ultra-liberal measures are nothing new in Argentina; recall that the slogan of the military dictatorship (which the current government would more or less like to rehabilitate), proclaimed by the then Minister for the Economy, was "to shrink the state is to grow the nation"; or that liberal anti-proletarian policies were also pursued by the Macri government. The brutal attack against the proletarians is therefore not only the work of Milei and his party; lacking a majority in Parliament, he has found agreement for the adoption of his laws with the parties representing the "caste" he demagogically denounces on a daily basis; at decisive moments, such as the June vote on the "Bases" law or the confirmation of his veto on the valorisation of pensions and the universities' budget, he has been supported not only by the right-wing bourgeoisie (e.g. Macri's "PRO" coalition), which shares his general orientation, but also a section of the Peronists.

However, the main support for the government has come from the big trade unions. The latter have tried to channel the anger of the proletariat by organising strikes and demonstrations, such as the general strike of 24 January 2024 (7) and that of 9 May, which were very large. In fact, they were concerned with negotiating with the government, having demonstrated that they were indispensable in preventing proletarian reaction from becoming a threat to the bourgeois order. The major CGT trade union organisation subsequently declared that it would stop organising protest actions, and agreed to participate in negotiations on labour market reform (arguing that there was no mood for conflict among the workers!). This open abandonment of the defence of proletarian interests in the name of defending national capitalism is not surprising from such a union with an old extreme collaborationist and pro-capitalist tradition: during the four years of the previous (Peronist) governments, for example, they never called for the slightest protest action; the slightly more "combative" unions, such as the two CTAs (Argentine Workers' Central), associated with left-wing Peronism, however, contented themselves with sporadic strikes that in any case

could not force the government and the bosses to back down.

In his speech of 11 December, Milei loudly announced that in 2025 he would go "*in depth with the chainsaw*", that is, that he would intensify his anti-social and anti-proletarian measures.

The Argentine proletarians have shown that they know how to defend and fight. But for their struggle to be effective, to thwart the capitalist attacks, it must be waged with class orientation, class methods and means, thus breaking with the defeatist line of the class collaborationist trade unions and with the tailism of the "extreme" Trotskyist left, which only intends to pressure the collaborationist trade unions to adopt a "battle plan", when in reality they have no intention or cannot enter into struggle!

In the coming period, the problem facing the Argentine proletarians will become ever more acute: either to be crushed by the capitalists, relying in the process on perpetual saboteurs, or to take the path of anti-capitalist class struggle and revolutionary communist organisation, which alone can lead to victory.

February 1, 2025

(1) *The Economist*, 28 Nov. 2024. This weekly criticizes Trump for his protectionist tendencies towards foreign countries, which Milei lacks.

(2) Communiqué, 11 January 24. Ar-

(Continued on page 24)

PARTY'S PRESS

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Argentina Against Milei's "Successes", the Need for Class Struggle Arises

(Continuation from page 23)

Argentina, already the most indebted country to the IMF, is negotiating a new loan with it.

(3) All these figures are from INDEC, the National Statistics Office. There is no doubt that they are manipulated according to the principles of "creative accounting" (sic!), but we can assume that the manipulations are more or less constant and that the overall trend is therefore unchanged. See "Las mentiras en la recuperación de la economía de

Milei" <https://www.eldestapeweb.com/economia/bicicleta-financiera/las-mentiras-en-la-recuperacion-de-la-economia-de-milei-2024115155854>.

(4) See <https://eduardogerman.com/2024/06/27/fuerte-caida-del-salario-real-en-el-sector-privado-registrado-en-argentina/>; the crisis of the early 2000s erupted in late December 2001, after a banking market panic, when the economy was already in recession. The government froze bank deposits ("corralito") and declared a "state of siege" in the face of shop lootings, general strike

and violent demonstrations across the country (cacerolazos). In Buenos Aires, although the demonstrators were severely repressed (5 dead in the Plaza de Mayo), they forced President Fernando de la Rúa (Radical Civic Union) to flee the Casa Rosada by helicopter. Thirty-nine people died throughout the country, and Argentina has had five presidents in as many months...

(5) See <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/788652-radiografia-de-los-salarios-en-la-era-milei-el-impacto-de-la>

(6) See <https://centrocepa.com.ar/informes/592-el-primer-anio-de-gestion-de-milei-en-datos>. CEPA (Argentine Center for Political Economy) is a university association close to the unions.

(7) See our newspaper *El Proletario* No. 31.

PROGRAM OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY

The International Communist Party is constituted on the basis of the following principles established at Leghorn in 1921 on the foundation of the Communist Party of Italy (Section of the Communist International):

1. In the present capitalist social regime there develops an increasing contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, giving rise to the antithesis of interests and to the class struggle between the proletariat and the ruling bourgeoisie.

2. The present day production relations are protected by the power of the bourgeois State, that, whatever the form of representative system and the use of elective democracy, constitutes the organ for the defense of the interests of the capitalist class.

3. The proletariat can neither crush or modify the mechanism of capitalist production relations from which its exploitation derives, without the violent destruction of the bourgeois power.

4. The indispensable organ of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is the class party. The Communist Party consists of the most advanced and resolute part of the proletariat; it unites the efforts of the working masses transforming their struggles for group interests and contingent issues into the general struggle for the revolutionary emancipation of the proletariat. It is up to the Party to propagate revolutionary theory among the masses, to organize the material means of action, to lead the working class during its struggle, securing the historical continuity and the international unity of the movement.

5. After it has smashed the power of the capitalist State, the proletariat must completely destroy the old State apparatus in order to organize itself as the ruling class and set up its own dictatorship; meanwhile depriving the bourgeoisie and members of the bourgeois class of all political rights and functions as long as they survive socially, founding the organs of the new regime exclusively on the productive class. Such is the program that the Communist Party sets itself and which characterizes it. It is this party therefore which exclusively represents, organizes and directs the proletarian dictatorship. The requisite defence of the proletarian state against all counter-revolutionary initiatives can only be assured by depriving the bourgeoisie and parties which are enemies of the proletarian dictatorship of all means of agitation and political propaganda and by equipping the proletariat with an armed organization in order to repel all interior and exterior attacks.

6. Only the force of the proletarian State will be able to systematically put into effect the necessary measures for intervening in the relations of the social economy, by means of which the collective administration of production and distribution will take the place of the capitalist system.

7. This transformation of the economy and consequently of the whole social life will lead to the gradual elimination of the necessity for the political State, which will progressively give way to the rational administration of human activities.

* * *

Faced with the situation in the capitalist world and the workers' movement following the Second World War the position of the Party is the following :

8. In the course of the first half of the twentieth century the capitalist social system has been developing, in the economic field, creating monopolistic trusts among the employers, and trying to

control and manage production and exchange according to central plans with State management of whole sectors of production. In the political field, there has been an increase of the police and military potential of the State, with governments adopting a more totalitarian form. All these are neither new sorts of social organizations in transition from capitalism to socialism, nor revivals of pre-bourgeois political regimes. On the contrary, they are definite forms of a more and more direct and exclusive management of power and the State by the most developed forces of capital.

This course excludes the progressive, pacifist interpretations of the evolution of the bourgeois regime, and confirms the Marxist prevision of the concentration and the antagonistic array of class forces. So that the proletariat may confront its enemies' growing potential with strengthened revolutionary energy, it must reject the illusory revival of democratic liberalism and constitutional guarantees. The Party must not even accept this as a means of agitation ; it must finish historically once and for all with the practice of alliances, even for transitory issues, with the bourgeois or petit-bourgeois parties, or with pseudo-workers' parties with a reformist program.

9. The global imperialist wars show that the crisis of disintegration of capitalism is inevitable because it has entered the phase when its expansion, instead of signifying a continual increment of the productive forces, is conditioned by repeated and ever-growing destruction. These wars have caused repeated deep crises in the global workers' organizations because the dominant classes could impose on them military and national solidarity with one or the other of the belligerents. The opposing historical solution for which we fight, is the awakening of the class struggle, leading to civil war, the destruction of all international coalitions by the reconstitution of the International Communist Party as an autonomous force independent of any existing political or military power.

10. The proletarian State, to the extent that its apparatus is an instrument and a weapon of struggle in a historical epoch of transition does not derive its organizational strength from constitutional rules nor from representative schemas whatsoever. The most complete historical example of such a State up to the present is that of the Soviets (workers' councils) which were created during the October 1917 revolution, when the working class armed itself under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. The Constituent Assembly having been dissolved, they became the exclusive organs of power repelling the attacks by foreign bourgeois governments and, inside the country, stamping out the rebellion of the vanquished classes and of the middle and petit-bourgeois layers and of the opportunist parties which, in the decisive phases, are inevitably allied with the counter-revolution.

11. The defense of the proletarian regime against the dangers of degeneration inherent in the failures and possible retreats in the work of economic and social transformation – whose integral realization is inconceivable within the limits of only one country – can only be assured by the constant coordination between the policy the workers' State and the united international struggle, incessant in times of peace as in times of war, of the proletariat of each country against its bourgeoisie and its State and military apparatus. This co-ordination can only be secured by means of the political and programmatic control of the world communist party over the State apparatus where the working class has seized power.