

Workers of the World, Unite!

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China, Capital Exports and Capitalist Imperialism

"Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."
(V. I. Lenin. Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism)

We know how false the claim that China is a socialist country is, since the dominant features in the Chinese structure and superstructure are those of an advanced capitalist country. However, there is another question to discuss: what is the stage of development of capitalism in China? Is it a backward capitalist country dominated by capitalist powers, or is China an advanced capitalist country in which this development has reached the highest possible degree of capitalism, which Lenin called imperialism?

According to the World Trade Organization (WTO), China is the country that exports the most commodities in the world, occupying the first place among the largest exporting economies. In addition, according to the WTO, China made 15.1% of total sales in the world; the United States made 7.9% and Germany 7.3%. Brazil, a country considered to be of medium capitalist development, ranks 25th. The United States, in addition to occupying 2nd place, exports 45.8% less than China.

List of the world's top ten exporters in 2022 (in dollars):

1. China 3.5 trillion
2. USA 2 trillion
3. Germany 1.6 trillion
4. Holland 966 billion
5. Japan 747 billion
6. Korea 684 billion

7. Italy 665 billion
8. Belgium 633 billion
9. France 618 billion
10. Hong Kong 610 billion

OBS. Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China.

Source: *World Trade Organization (WTO)* – April 5, 2023

When comparing the products exported by China to the United States and the exports from the United States to China, we find the following: in 2022, the main products exported by China to the United States were: machines and electronic devices (43% of the total); base metals (7.9%); chemicals (6.4%); vehicles and other transportation materials (5.2%); and plastics and rubber (4.8%). The United States exported aircraft, electronic devices, services, and agricultural products such as soybeans, cotton, wheat, corn, and beef to China. Of the total U.S. agricultural exports, China bought 19.2%. According to data from the main statistical agency of the United States, the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA), the deficit of the United States' trade balance with China was \$382,900 million dollars in 2022. (*U.S. BEA, July 2, 2023*)

A study by the US bank J.P. Morgan predicts that by 2027 China will overtake the United States and become the largest economy in the world. By 2028, the bank calculates, China's GDP will reach \$35 trillion, while the United States' will be \$30 trillion. (*CNN, 04/3/2021*)

In Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, a work published in 1917, but which is still current and indispensable for understanding the economic nature of imperialism and the growing contradictions between the main capitalist countries in the twenty-first century, Lenin highlights, in Chapter IV, The Export of Capital, the main characteristic of this new phase of capitalism. Let's see:

"Typical of the old capitalism when free competition had undivided sway, was the export of goods. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of *capital*..

"Capitalism is commodity production at its highest stage of development, when labour power itself becomes a commodity. The growth of internal exchange, and particularly of international exchange, is the characteristic distinguishing feature of capitalism." (*V. I. Lenin. Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*)

As for the export of goods, China is the largest exporter on the planet, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) recognize that in China labor power is a commodity bought by capitalists at a lower price than in several other capitalist countries.

Capital exports are not the result of chance, but a consequence of the formation of surplus capital in the most developed capitalist countries. One question is essential: if the great capitalist powers have so much surplus capital, they have excess capital in their banks, why don't they invest this capital in improving the living conditions of their population, in guaranteeing people's access to education and health care, or increasing wages and reducing the working day?

Lenin's answer in his work is indisputable:

"As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilized not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists, but for the purpose of increasing profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries. In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap." (*V. I. Lenin. Op. cit.*)

We will now look at figures on Chinese capital exports.

News published by Reuters:

"Chinese banks are handling mountains of dollars."

"The mountain of dollars deposited in China has grown so large that the country's banks are struggling to lend them, and traders say this poses a risk to official efforts to contain the yuan's rapid expansion. Driven by the sharp increase in export earnings and investment flows, the value of deposits jumped to \$1 trillion." (*Reuters, June 1, 2021*)

Well, the article published on the website of the Unisinos Humanities Institute (IHU), by author Ângelo Ferrari, points out that, in the last 12 years, China was the main trading partner of the African continent and that Chinese banks lent more than double the amount of loans than the United States, Germany, Japan and France combined. In the period 2007-2020, China's Export-Import bank provided loans worth \$23 billion US, while all other financial development institutions combined provided only \$9.1 billion US. (*Ângelo Ferrari, IHU, February 3, 2022*)

In Chapter VI, *The Division of the World Among the Great Powers*, Lenin reproduces an excerpt from a conversation between the English millionaire and king of finance, Cecil Rhodes, and a friend. Rhodes said: "in order to save the... inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines..."

So let us look at China's actions in Africa.

China's main commercial interests on that continent are to control immense natural resources, such as oil, gas, diamonds and agricultural products, and to conquer an important market of 56 countries and 1.216 billion people for its products. Let us remember what Lenin said: "*The export of capital abroad thus becomes a means for encouraging the export of commodities.*"

According to the book *China and Africa in the New Era: A Partnership of Equals*, published by the Communication Department of the State Council of China, 3,500 Chinese companies are located in Africa, most of them private companies with 80% local employees and 20% Chinese employees. (*Xinhua, November 26, 2021*)

The unequal nature of this "partnership of equality" is revealed when we see that the debt of the 54 African countries to China has reached a total of \$696 billion US. In the last 20 years, due to the high interest rates charged, these debts have grown by 500%. (*Folha de São Paulo, January 26, 2023*)

The debt crisis in African countries is so deep that the Chinese government declared that it would forgive the atrocious interest rates charged to 17 countries, but that the cases would be studied separately. (*Deutsche Welle, August 23, 2022*)

We have already seen this plundering occur in several Latin American countries in debt renegotiations with the IMF and in the privatization of state-owned enterprises just to pay the interest on foreign debts.

A study by Shiitu Rajil and Adenike Ogunrinu, researchers at the Center for Peace and Strategic Studies at Horin University, Nigeria, analyzes China's economic interests in Africa, with a special focus on Nigeria:

"The growing Chinese economy demands more raw material resources from Nigeria, including crude oil, to power its industries. China is also taking advantage of Nigeria's huge population

of 150 million people to generate offshore markets for China's manufactured goods...." More than 200 wholly-owned companies or joint ventures are actively involved in the construction, oil and gas, technology services, and education sectors of the Nigerian economy.

In the part titled *China's Exploitation in Nigeria*, the researchers express concern over:

"The inhumane treatment of Nigerian workers in Chinese companies, as many of them are informal and have no rights, while others are overworked and underpaid."

"In Kano State, Nigeria, the presence of Chinese textile companies has left many Nigerians unemployed and closed many local companies because they cannot compete with foreign companies.... Nigeria has also remained a huge market for Chinese goods, which in turn has boosted the Chinese economy rather than Nigeria's, thereby weakening the economic security of an otherwise excellent performing country.

"Many Chinese companies, including ZTE, do not produce in Nigeria because most of their products are imported from China with complete equipment and Chinese technicians, which undermines the job security of many Nigerians."

Undoubtedly, we are facing beautiful examples of "equality association". Let us continue. In addition to setting up companies, sourcing raw materials, exporting manufactured goods, and becoming the largest creditor on the African continent, China has increasingly moved its people to live and work in Africa. Some estimates of Chinese living in African countries are: 100 thousand in Angola; 40 thousand in Kenya; 20 thousand in Zambia and 30 thousand in Ghana.

There is also China's ambitious project to expand its network of trade, investment and influence in Africa, Europe and Asia, two-thirds of the world's territory, which has already consumed \$932 billion in capital (4.6 trillion reais).

China and Latin America and the Caribbean

China's relationship with Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) is also uneven, as evidenced by two studies published in early 2023 by the Institute of Applied Economics (IPEA), *the Belt and Road Initiative in Latin America: Geo-Economic Outlook and the*

Belt and Road Initiative in Latin America: between adhesions and vacillations.

LAC sales to China are concentrated in soybeans, crude oil, copper, iron ore, and meat. Examples: Argentina mainly exports soybeans to the Chinese; Chile, copper, refined copper and minerals such as iron, zinc and molybdenum; Peru exports copper and minerals; Venezuela and Colombia sell oil to China; Brazil, soybeans, iron ore, crude petroleum oils and other minerals. Since 2001, China has invested and bought companies in Latin American countries in the electricity, renewable energy, telecommunications and vehicle sectors, in addition to carrying out infrastructure projects, land purchases and bank loans. In 2020, Latin American exports to China reached \$136 billion dollars and the region's imports from China reached \$160 billion dollars. (*IPEA, February 14, 2023*).

As Xi Jinping stated, China's goal is to do business and not to promote ideologies. An example of this foreign policy: during the fascist government of Bolsonaro, China made available \$100 billion dollars in funds. According to the Observatory of Foreign Policy and Investment in Brazil, between 2005 and 2021, Chinese investments in Brazil totaled \$73.8 billion dollars. (www.opeb.org, November 29, 2022)

In 2017, Chinese companies owned 27 Brazilian hydroelectric power plants and, according to the Brazil-China Chamber of Commerce, 35% of mergers and acquisitions of companies in Brazil were carried out by Chinese companies. With the acquisition of CPFL Energia, one of the country's leading power companies, China's State Grid became the leading power transmission company. China Three Gorges (CTG), after buying Cesp and Duke Energy, became the largest private power generator; In oil and gas, CNPC and CNOOC own 20% of the immense Libra field.

Following acquisitions of Brazilian companies by Chinese companies, Citic Agri Fund Management purchased the corn seed operation of Dow AgroSciences Seeds and Biotechnology Brazil. The new company, renamed LP Seeds, now controls about 20% of the domestic corn seed market. Yuan Long Ping High-tech Agriculture, a subsidiary of Citic Agri Fund, is the seed market leader in China and the world leader in hybrid rice seeds. With its purchase it will have full access to the Brazilian corn germplasm bank and the Morgan brand.

After deciding to build a port terminal in Sao Luís do Maranhão, the Chinese engineering and construction conglomerate China Communications Construction Company (CCCC), owner of the company Concremat, announced that, in partnership with Vale, it will install a flat steel rolling mill in Marabá, southeast of Pará (*Valor*, May 23, 2019).

Brazil's dependence on China becomes greater because this country is the main destination for Brazilian exports, such as soybeans, oil, iron ore, cellulose, beef, chicken meat, copper, leather and pork. (*PCR. Brazilian Revolution Program. Manoel Lisboa Publishers*)

In 2020, the China Railway Construction Corporation (CRCC) and Argentina's Ministry of Transport signed a contract for the largest railway project by a Chinese company in Latin America: the General San Martín Freight Railway, a railway that will have a main line and three branches that crosses the five main central provinces and connects the country's eastern port with its agricultural areas. (*Global Times*, December 12, 2020)

Imperialist greed

China's greed for markets has no limits, as evidenced by the creation of free trade agreements or agreements similar to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), signed in 1994 which subjected the economies of Mexico and Canada to the United States. As of January 2023, China had already signed 22 free trade agreements with several nations, such as Chile and Peru, and others are in the process: Colombia and Uruguay. In addition, the Chinese government is contending with the European Union and the United States the possibility of reaching an important free trade agreement (FTA) with Mercosur, a bloc that brings together Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay and other observer countries.

In Central America, China has also expanded projects and investments over the past 20 years. The first country China approached was Costa Rica, but today it has developing trade relations with Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador and the Dominican Republic. The "partnership" model is similar to that adopted in other regions: China offers loans for infrastructure projects implemented by Chinese companies. The largest investment planned is the construction of an interoceanic canal that places Nicaragua

within the "New Silk Road" (One Belt – One Road) and aims to end the hegemony of the United States over the control of the Panama Canal and all world trade that passes through the Panamanian route. However, a joint action plan discussed at China's first forum with the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) establishes cooperation in the areas of defense, finance, trade, public health, and cultural exchange. (*BNamericas, February 26, 2023*)

To complete the picture, at the 20th Congress of the CCP, held in October 2022, Xi Jinping defended the dream of the monopolies and the global financial oligarchy, stating that "China's strategy is to seek greater integration into the global industrial and supply chain, promoting liberalization and facilitation of trade and investment."

Here we have another important feature of the capitalist mode of production, analyzed by Marx in *Capital*:

"In the same way, the expansion of foreign trade, although the basis of the capitalist mode of production in its infancy, has become its own product, however, with the further progress of the capitalist mode of production, through the innate necessity of this mode of production, its need for an ever-expanding market. Here we see once more the dual nature of this effect." (*Karl Marx. Capital. Volume III, Chapter 14, Part V*)

There are some, no doubt, who are astonished by the rapid development of Chinese capitalism and its transformation into capitalist imperialism. However, similar events have already occurred in the history of capitalism in the last three centuries. Let us see how Lenin records the rise of the United States, Japan and Germany and the loss of steam of England in the second decade of the twentieth century:

"However strong the process of levelling the world, of levelling the economic and living conditions in different countries, may have been in the past decades as a result of the pressure of large-scale industry, exchange and finance capital, considerable differences still remain... firstly, young capitalist countries (America, Germany, Japan) whose progress has been extraordinarily rapid; secondly, countries with an old capitalist development (France and Great Britain), whose progress lately has been much slower than that of the previously mentioned countries....

"Uneven and spasmodic development of individual enterprises, of individual branches of industry and individual countries, is inevitable under the capitalist system." (V. I. Lenin. *Op. cit.*)

Decades after Lenin's analysis, the United States ranked first in the world economy, Germany second, with England and France lagging behind.

To assert the superiority of the "Chinese model," Xi Jinping's followers proclaim that China is the "world's factory": "Everything the world needs, the Chinese produce." Well, in 1917, the capitalist power of the time, England, gave the same speech: "England became a capitalist country before any other, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, having adopted free trade, claimed to be the 'workshop of the world,' the purveyor of manufactured goods to all countries, which in exchange were to keep her supplied with raw materials. But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, this monopoly was already undermined, for other countries, sheltering themselves by "protective" tariffs, developed into independent capitalist states." (V. I. Lenin. *Op. cit.*)

These are only coincidences between the English imperialism of the beginning of the last century and the Chinese capitalist imperialism of the present century. After all, there is daily news of the trade and currency war between the United States and China, with both countries adopting high tariffs and surcharges on imports, devaluing currencies and carrying out constant disputes in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the increase of the



Armed Forces. The tensions between the two countries are mirages.

It is all just a coincidence, insist Deng Xiaoping's disciples, who shout, irritatedly: "You also take everything literally!" No, revisionists of the twenty-first century! Facts are stubborn things. We only strive to interpret reality on the basis of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

(Extracted from the book *The False Chinese Socialism*, by Luis Falcao. 2nd Edition. Manoel Lisboa Publishers)

**Central Committee
Revolutionary Communist Party – PCR- BRAZIL
October 2024**

Celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the Popular Uprising of October 30 and 31, 2014 in Upper Volta, Known as Burkina Faso

*Let us organize the revolution in the light of the gains and lessons
of the popular insurrection and in the firm struggle against
the pro-coup illusions*

October 30 and 31, 2024 mark the 10th anniversary of the popular uprising. The spirit of resistance and struggle still remains firmly engraved in the minds and memory of the proletariat, the people and the popular youths, who became aware of their strength in the violent clashes with the Defence and Security Forces and especially in the fall of the dictatorial regime of Blaise Compaoré.

This spirit was shown throughout the national territory in the victorious resistance against the fascist military coup of September 2015, which had the sinister ambition to restore the fallen regime that was driven out by the popular insurrection.

The current situation is marked by the many-sided crisis of the neocolonial system culminating in a security crisis that has plunged the country into a reactionary civil war. For nearly a decade, thousands of deaths have resulted among the Defence and Security Forces (FDS) and the civilian population, and the central state has lost control of a large part of the territory. Thus, this war, imposed on our people by armed terrorist groups and imperialist powers, especially France, has dramatic consequences, including the flight of millions of people from their regions who have become internally displaced persons (IDPs) in their own country, an unprecedented humanitarian crisis, and the destruction of basic social services to which the population no longer has access.

The putschist clans that drive the Patriotic Movement for Safeguard and Restoration (MPSR) have deepened the political instability of the country and are unable to provide a consistent

solution to the current situation characterized by the bankruptcy of the neocolonial state.

It is in this complex and difficult context that our people will celebrate the 10th anniversary of the popular uprising. Our party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Volta (PCRV) looks back on the valuable lessons it has learned from this historic moment in order to lead the path of the developing revolution in our country despite various obstacles.

1) The insurrection of October 30 and 31, 2014: its scope, its limits and the lessons we must draw from it.

On October 30 and 31, 2014, our people carried out a popular insurrection that led to the fall of Captain Blaise Compaore, the National Assembly and the Government. The demonstrators destroyed the National Assembly and attacked all the symbols and dignitaries of power of the Fourth Republic. This insurgency has an immense political significance at the national, subregional and international levels. It has shown that the working class and people can carry out a popular insurrection and overthrow their oppressors of the reactionary bourgeoisie and the imperialist powers.

It has shown all the revolutionary energy, the spirit of sacrifice, the combativeness and heroism of the people and the popular youth.

It has given hope to our people, who have become aware of their strength, to the peoples of the sub-region, to the proletariat and the peoples of the world, who, in return, show their unwavering solidarity and support for the People's Movement in our country.

This popular insurrection also has limits that did not allow it to be transformed into a victorious revolution, which are as follows:

- The people did not have the appropriate organizations for the seizure and exercise of power, which are the soviets or councils. The soviets are the organizations that embrace the working class, the peasantry and the whole people to seize power through insurrection, to keep it and to exercise it in the name of the people and for the people. Through the soviets, the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry and other popular strata for the establishment of the revolutionary

dictatorship of the working class and peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard party is materialized. On October 30 and 31, these essential organs were missing.

- The insurgent people were empty-handed and the facts have shown that an insurrection with empty hands cannot lead to total victory over the bourgeoisie and French imperialism. This confirms the historical experience of the proletariat and the peoples, which shows that as long as the insurgents do not have arms, and as long as the armed and defence forces of the bourgeoisie are not dissolved with a significant part of these forces going over to the side of the insurgents, the victory of the revolution is impossible.
- The military apparatus and part of the political and administrative apparatus remained intact, not to mention the French and US occupying forces installed in our country to defend Blaise Compaore.
- Even if the peasant masses participated in the insurrectionary movement, they were not massively involved; yet they form the main force of the Revolution in our backward agricultural neo-colonial country. This always poses the need for work to organize them and put them in combat order; they are the main force of the revolution in our country in view of its backward agricultural neo-colonial character.
- The degree of organization and leadership of the popular insurrection showed inadequacies from which our party has drawn the necessary lessons.
- Because of these weaknesses of the insurrectionary movement, French imperialism and its allies in the reactionary bourgeoisie in our country and in the French backyard, fomented a counter-revolutionary coup d'état on November 1, 2014, by relying on the fascistic faction of the Defense and Security Forces (FDS), the Presidential Security Regiment (RSP).

II) Some essential lessons to be drawn from the popular insurrection of October 30 and 31, 2014

The following essential lessons, which are not exhaustive, can be drawn from the popular uprising of October 30 and 31, 2014:

1- The rapid acceleration of history has confronted the people with the necessity of a popular insurrection, and they have

committed themselves to it with courage, determination and heroism throughout the territory, even if all the conditions for a victorious general armed insurrection (degree of organization, arming of the people, firm leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard party) were not met. The party, from a principled Leninist position, took an active part in this popular uprising and has regarded and continues to regard events with courage, heroism, clarity and determination. This popular insurrection of historic significance carried out by our people with the participation of our party, has been supported and welcomed by the African peoples and the whole world. Nothing can be as it was before and this popular insurrection, which forever marks the spirit of our people, must be considered as a dress rehearsal for the organization of a General Armed Insurrection (IGA) under the leadership of the PCRV for the National Democratic and Popular Revolution, the establishment of a People's Revolutionary Government (GRP) and the Constituent Assembly.

This popular insurrection resoundingly confirms the correctness of the political line of the PCRV, the correctness of its tactics and slogans of the insurrection.

2- The Reactionary Bourgeois Opposition (OBR) and its satellites within the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), frightened by the power and determination of the popular insurrection, opted for the putschist path under the leadership of the Presidential Security Regiment (RSP) and French imperialism. The popular



insurrection exposed them as vulgar putschists and lackeys of French imperialism who have nothing to do with the people.

This is an important element of political clarification for the continuation of the revolutionary struggle, because the sections of the masses that they were deceived by demagogy will perceive their true nature and will detach themselves from them.

3- French imperialism has shown its determination to break any revolutionary insurrectionary movement in our country, including by direct military intervention of its troops; taking account of the importance that our country represents, as François Hollande said at the time, for its political, economic, military, geo-strategic and geopolitical interests at home and in the sub-region. He made this clear through:

- The counter-revolutionary coup d'état carried out with the help of the RSP and by forcing the corrupt top military hierarchy to support it as well as all the reactionary forces in the country subservient to it; the escape of Blaise Compaoré and his relatives from the country. It is clear in these conditions that the elimination of the PCRV is at the heart of its strategic plan.

4- In many parts of the country, the peasant masses were already waging vigorous struggles (against expropriations, precarious living conditions, different forms of oppression and exploitation), some of which took an insurrectionary form. These struggles helped to shake the power bases of the Fourth Republic and to prepare the conditions for the outbreak of the popular insurrection, in which they took an active part in certain localities. On the basis of the political platform for revolutionary change and the agrarian program of the PCRV, the working class and people, the democrats, progressives and revolutionaries must:

- intensify the revolutionary movement among the peasantry, especially the agricultural proletariat, the semi-proletarians and the poor peasantry;
- better organize them with a view to the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry on the basis of the achievements of the popular insurrection.

5- The large number of petty bourgeoisie in our country played an important role in the popular struggles during the insurrectionary days of October 30 and 31 and November 1 and 2, 2014. Some organizations that represent these strata vacillate between

the positions of the proletariat and those of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Frightened by the power and scale of the popular insurrection, they allied themselves with the putschists. It is important for the working class, the people and the popular youth to distance themselves from these reformist and putschist currents and the illusions that they express.

6- Many activists of mass democratic organizations (trade unions, human rights organizations and various associations) took an active part in the popular insurrection. They showed courage, combativeness and heroism. Based on the gains of the popular insurrection now rooted in the minds of different sections of the people, these democratic organizations have, more than ever, favorable conditions to:

- Strengthen and revolutionize their ranks;
- Organize themselves even better and link their struggles for their specific demands to the struggle for political freedom, for national and social liberation.

Thus, the popular insurrection has clearly shown that in our society the revolution is a problem posed for solution; we must consider it as a dress rehearsal for the General Armed Insurrection which alone can make it possible to achieve the National Democratic and People's Revolution, a real alternative to the deep crisis that our society is going through.

Central Committee
Revolutionary Communist Party of Volta
October 2024

Strengthen the struggle against imperialist war and the tasks of the communists

We send you this document from the 10th Congress of the Workers Communist Party, APK of Denmark in September. It is the result of a thorough discussion throughout the party and the work on analyses published in Unity & Struggle #47 – “Danish Imperialism and the Imperialist Alliances EU and NATO – in the Context of the Rivalry of Imperialist Powers and Imperialist Wars”.

An expanding regional imperialist war in Europe, into which the imperialist robbers want to drag the working class and peoples, is moving ever closer.

1. The fight against this war requires first and foremost a clear analysis of its nature and causes. We must be clear about the interests and role of the working class and peoples, and the class interests and role of the rulers, the imperialist bourgeoisie.

When it comes to Zionist Israel's war and genocide in Palestine, we support the Palestinian people's right to armed struggle against the occupying power and for a free Palestine. We demand an end to Israel's genocide and war, an end to the Danish government's direct and indirect support of Israel and its war crimes. We participate in the development of the comprehensive solidarity movement and oppose the imperialists' plans for a two-state solution to maintain their control and influence in the Middle East. Without the military, political, diplomatic and economic support of imperialism and its military alliances, Israel would not be able to maintain its decades-long occupation of Palestine, its wars of aggression and current genocide. Israel's genocide and the Zionist state cannot be fought without fighting the imperialism behind it.

In relation to the war in Ukraine, the Communist Party of Labor, the APK and the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations, ICMLPO, have made it clear from day one, that this is an inter-imperialist proxy war between Russia and NATO, a war for which the Ukrainian and Russian people continue to pay a bloody price for over two years now.

Danish imperialism and the SVM government (a government of national unity between Social Democracy and two openly bourgeois parties) are pouring large financial and military resources into the war, most recently F16 warplanes to the Zelensky regime in Ukraine. The Danish monopolies are already negotiating the distribution of the spoils of war like vultures when the destroyed Ukraine is to be rebuilt. The SVM government not only wants to increase arms production in Denmark, but also to build arms factories in Ukraine.

This war serves the interests of only one class: the imperialist monopoly bourgeoisie, on both sides of the war. The working class has no interest in supporting either side in the war, no interest in supporting the imperialist war alliance NATO against imperialist Russia or vice versa, but in showing concrete international solidarity with the Ukrainian and Russian working class and people by opposing the Danish war support for the continuation of these murders. Workers should not be fighting against workers of other countries. The enemy of the working class is its own bourgeoisie.

2. If the Ukraine war expands into a major regional war, it will continue to have the character of an inter-imperialist war – a war between two imperialist powers and blocs in which European countries will be directly at war on the side of the US and NATO. It is pure war demagoguery when the Social Democratic Prime Minister tries to convince people that it is all about the defense of "Western values and democracy". Whose values in the West?, we ask. Not the values of the working class, because that is peace and the international solidarity of the working class and people. But the values of the imperialist bourgeoisie are profit and control of markets and resources. It is our task to reveal and fight the class content of the phrases under which the ruling class cloak their war preparations, as many will be inclined to believe that it is a "just war" against Putin that is at stake – "him or us".

When it comes to the cause of wars, we must continue to expose the endless lies of war propaganda about why there is imperialist war. We must tell and show the whole truth about the cause of imperialist wars, give the struggle against imperialist war class leadership, content and answers on how to end and prevent them.

3. The cause of war is not rooted in the 'bad nature' of people, the 'bad policies' of governments, this or that incident, who attacked first, whether it was with or without a UN mandate, or

whether it was caused by a mad president like Putin, Trump or Hitler; this is not the question. The cause is rooted in the division of society into two main classes, into exploiters and exploited. Capitalism is the cause of war, and war cannot be separated from capitalism. Wars are not exceptions, they are not opposed to the basis of capitalism, to private property, competition or its system of exploitation, but are the direct consequences of it.

Imperialism, the monopoly stage of capitalism, intensifies all the main contradictions of capitalism to such an extent that "peace" becomes a mere breathing space for new wars. The world and all its social wealth is completely monopolized and divided up by a small number of big monopolies and imperialist powers. The unequal economic and political development of individual countries creates the need for constant re-division. Ultimately, this can only be achieved through war between the decisive imperialist countries. At the same time, the exploitation of hundreds of millions of workers can only be maintained through bloody wars of repression.

Specifically in Europe, various countries, the EU and NATO are gearing up and expanding their war preparations. The US has built up its own military bases throughout Europe, including in Denmark, from where it can operate freely right up to the Russian border. At the same time, US imperialism wants to slow down Russia's and China's development of Eurasia into a fringe of allied countries between the NATO countries and Russia's borders through the SCO, BRICS and the "Belt and Road project". NATO has long since expanded its area of operations throughout the world.

War cannot be separated from capitalism and imperialism. Therefore, the "abolition" of war is only possible through the abolition of capitalism and imperialism, i.e. by breaking with the power of the bourgeois exploiting class and through a revolutionary change, the proletarian social revolution, bringing about the seizure of power by the working class, the building of socialism and ultimately the elimination of classes.

4. This means that the struggle against war cannot be detached or conducted separately from the class struggle, but must necessarily be integrated as part of it, with the working class as the leading force. The struggle against imperialist war is a current and necessary task in the development of the revolutionary process which, when the subjective and objective factors are present and with a

strong communist party, can lead to working class revolution. This is the only way to solve the question of war. In Denmark today, the strong communist party of the working class does not exist, but APK has taken on the necessary task of fighting to be that.

As part of building a broad anti-imperialist anti-war movement, every concrete step taken by the government and state in preparation for war must be exposed and protested. Whether it is the expansion of war production, participation in EU and NATO war exercises or in direct NATO and EU war missions. The US military bases must leave Denmark, we must protest when parts of Danish harbors are being blocked off whenever the US or NATO military command demands space on Danish territory, and against the NATO air bases located in Jutland and on Bornholm. There must be a protest against Danish war production, not only when Terma sends war materiel to Israel's genocide. There must also be a protest against the fact that the top labor union leaders are investing ATP pension funds in Terma and now sit on Terma's board of directors.

5. The struggle against imperialist war must be linked to the struggle against all imperialism, to the class struggles in workplaces, trade unions and educational institutions for higher wages and living conditions – in the party's concrete work, propaganda and agitation. And not least, the common struggle must be linked to the revolutionary perspective and the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism in a creative way that can break through the accomplice of war and crisis: the anti-communism of reaction.

6. We must work to create close links between the social struggle, the struggle for public health and education, the struggle against cuts and privatization with the struggle against war and armament. The billions spent on armaments, on national military budgets, on the NATO and EU military budgets must instead be used for the welfare and needs of the people. The trade union movement must also enter directly into the fight against imperialist war. Its duty of peace is not with the employers, but with the working class, which is international. A struggle must be waged against the union leadership's acceptance that the costs of war and inflation are passed on to the working class and that one worker's holiday was abolished for the reason that we have to work an extra day to cover the costs of war.

7. One of the working class's strong tools in the fight against imperialism and its wars is its international solidarity. In concrete action, in our propaganda, in our various media, we must continue to work to strengthen international solidarity and strengthen the building of international solidarity and unity among the Danish working class and youth.

APK is part of ICMLPO and through our connections with the various parties and organizations, we can spread knowledge of working-class life and struggles from around the world to the Danish working class. The more we know about each other, the stronger the bonds of solidarity that can be created.

8. One aspect of the concrete preparations for war on the part of Danish imperialism and the government is the militarization of the whole of society. Public educational institutions and funds are being used for military research rather than for health; special military programs have been set up in some high schools for future officers; women are to be called up for compulsory military service in the name of equality and the period to serve in the army is to be increased, just to name only a few steps. All this means that special measures must be taken in relation to the generation of youth who are targeted to be cannon fodder for the interests of the Danish monopolies and NATO, while these youths are led to believe that they are fighting for democracy and defending Denmark. The fascisation of the state apparatus that we are seeing is part of imperialism's militarization of society.

7. To raise a struggle against the war, it is necessary not only to expose the reactionary and dangerous war plans, but also to expose and combat in both word and deed the various opportunist and revisionist deviations that support the policy of one imperialist bloc or another:

The left opportunist Unity List (Enhedslisten) wants to be seen by the youth and the left as a party against imperialism and war. But along with the Social Democrats and SF [Socialist People's Party], they support Denmark's membership in NATO and the EU, which has built up its military union. They cover up the nature of these war alliances by pretending that they can be changed into peaceful alliances through popular pressure, instead of supporting the struggle against NATO and the EU and all imperialism.

The closer the danger of war in Europe gets, the more dangerous the spread of illusions about imperialism and the various imperialist powers are. While forces like Enhedslisten and SF support NATO and Danish imperialism, part of the old revisionist peace movement and today's revisionist parties only oppose US imperialism. On this issue, they unite with the newer Chinese/Russian imperialist variant, which call for the defense of the various Chinese and Russian peace initiatives, which in reality promote these powers' own imperialist interests. The Chinese doctrine of 'multilateralism', whose main proponent in Denmark is the Communist Party, KP, is basically an extension of the current imperialist system, but with China wanting to play a much bigger role at the expense of the United States. It is not the task of the working class and the people to choose between US, Russian or Chinese imperialism, it is not in their interest to defend one imperialist power against the other. The working class can never trust or rely on one imperialist power in the fight against another.

8. Raising a struggle against imperialist war consists of both a political, ideological, theoretical struggle and concrete actions, where all the possibilities that are available and can be created must be utilized. It is especially important to connect with the honest anti-war forces that exist. Every result must be seen as part of building an anti-imperialist and revolutionary front. We must work flexibly to create unity and unity of action without compromising the principles of our politics and continually advocate that the struggle against the war must evolve into an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggle in its content.

Therefore, the broadest and most urgent mobilization for peace, against imperialist war and the war economy, against the increasing militarization and fascisation of society, is necessary; a struggle that must be developed to include actions, strikes and demonstrations.

The gravity of the situation makes it necessary not to miss any opportunity to denounce the social and political consequences of the war for the working class and the people, to denounce the lies of the government and push the opportunist leaders aside into the background, to promote the formation of a broad popular coalition to defeat the warmongering, chauvinist and nationalistic policy of the ruling class. We must demand an end to the current Danish participation in the imperialist wars, an end to support for

DENMARK – STRENGTHEN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Israel's war and the war in Ukraine. Specifically, we demand Denmark out of NATO and the war-mongering EU, and the US bases out of the country.

It is only possible to prevent the imperialists' attempts to trigger a new major regional war, just as it is only possible to prevent the Danish bourgeoisie and its reactionary government from dragging us into war, if the mobilization of the working class and the anti-war movement are strong enough. With a strong popular anti-imperialist, anti-war movement rooted in the working class, a concrete war can be prevented for a time. However, in order to abolish war and the danger of imperialist war, such a movement must develop into a revolutionary movement to replace imperialism with socialism.

Communists, class-conscious workers and young revolutionaries must do everything they can to prevent a larger war from being triggered, and they must do everything they can to avert it.

But if, despite the efforts of the workers and peoples who want peace, war should break out, in the end it will not be able to stop the struggle to transform the imperialist war into a civil war against the imperialist and fascist warmongers, against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism, for the victory of working class revolution and socialism, which will remove the causes of unjust wars.

From the 10th Congress of APK we call to: Stop the imperialist wars – international solidarity – and solidarity with the Ukrainian and Russian working class.

15 September 2024



The Necessary Struggle for Public Social Security and a Guarantee of Rights: The Task of Every Revolutionary

Social security is now considered a strategy for social protection, at least formally, although most of the time, the facts do not live up to the words. It is stated that their actions must be aimed at preventing and treating the occurrence of social risks that are a danger to the family economy, a threat to their assets and their labor participation, almost always due to illness or injury, loss of income, old age, disability or death. In other words, society creates the risk and then tries to protect us without changing the causes that caused it.

Undoubtedly, social security is a great achievement of the workers' movement. During the government of Otto von Bismarck (1871-1890), under pressure from the movement of the German Social Democratic Party and to combat its rise, between 1883 and 1885, three laws were passed that laid the foundations of the German social security system; it was called state socialism¹ and thus appeased the revolutionary danger represented by the working class. In the United States, "starting with the crisis of the 1930s and, consequently, the increase in unemployment – which hit older workers first – movements began to proliferate demanding a pension program for old age",² so that social security, created in 1935, was the result of political attempts to curb these movements. Something similar happened in England at the height of the Second World War, in November 1942, when the social security system was established. It was the beginning of the construction of the British

¹ Foundation for Economic Education. (November 13, 2022). Otto von Bismarck: the Man Behind the Modern Welfare State. Retrieved from Panam post Web site: <https://panampost.com/fee-panampost/2022/11/13/otto-von-bismarck/>

² Dvoskin, N. (2012). Rights, Struggles, and Public Policies: Social Security in the United States in the 1960s. HISTORY 396, 67-85

welfare state ³ as a means to confront the crisis of capitalism, both politically and economically, as a result of the Great Depression of 1929. It was also to fight the development of the Soviet Union as an alternative economic and social model.

The creation of structured social security systems, without a doubt, was a very successful response of the bourgeoisie corresponding to its political and economic interests. They won a political victory: reducing the challenge to society, downplaying the importance of the workers' movement and achieving a greater degree of legitimacy for the capitalist state, even among the working classes. It was also an economic victory: there was a significant accumulation of capital in the hands of the State, which provided it the necessary resources to develop initiatives to support the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie and, at the same time, to implement social assistance programs to limit social protests; it thus showed capitalism to be no worse than socialism in regard to human rights. It was no coincidence that in 1945 social security was included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights issued by the United Nations and that, in 1952, the International Labor Organization established the Convention on Social Security.

Despite vacillations, social security advanced in a zigzag fashion without major setbacks and was always on the agenda of the trade union and political movement, but with a strong reformist tendency that promoted social welfare more than the struggle for power. In the 1980s this pseudo-stability was broken. A package of reforms that required the expansion of market forces within the economy, economic liberalization, macro-economic stabilization and the reduction of the State, which in 1989 was called the Washington consensus, emerged and was imposed on countries that were under a serious economic crisis.⁴ This was later

³ Llanos, C. (2013). Social Security, Employment, and Private Property at William Beveridge. *Critical History* No. 51, 223-246.

⁴ This is the term used by the British economist John Williamson to identify the proposal that laid the foundations for neoliberalism, which originally included the following points: a) Fiscal discipline; b) expansion of the tax base; c) interest rates determined by the market; (d) competitive exchange rates; (e) trade liberalization; (f) repeal of barriers to foreign direct investment; (g) privatization of state-owned enterprises; (h) market deregulation; (i) legal security for property rights; j)

identified as the basis for neoliberal policies, which included important transformations in the field of health and, of course, social security. This was to be expected as it was an important mechanism for capital accumulation.

This is how they define the main characteristics of the health reforms caused by neoliberal policies: "Public health institutions are restricting their work to the supply of basic care packages and to intervene selectively and in a focused manner in the face of socio-health complexity, they are introducing the commercial logic in their operations and privatizing the profitable public sector. Ideologically, the complexity of the health field is reduced to blaming the sick for not adopting a healthy lifestyle and the search for health is reduced to the use of services and risk management on an individual basis".⁵ In terms of social security, attention was directed to the care for illness and pensions. In both cases, the responsibility of the State was transferred to private intermediary agencies with direct links to the financial elites with the argument of managing pension funds and health risks. They preferred the health of the market to the health of the population. The care of illnesses was organized under the logic of private insurance and the definition of basic packages of benefits without assessing the

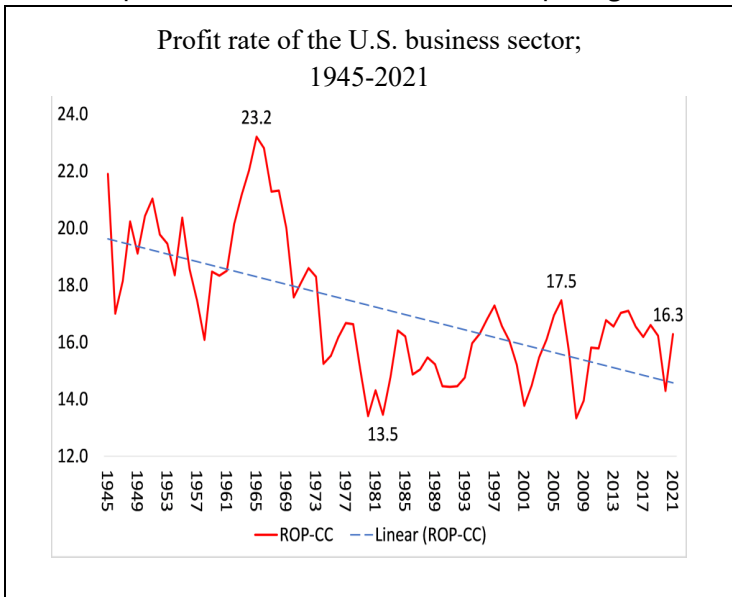
redirection of public expenditure to subsidies focused on the poor. It was implemented, with some variations, by the World Bank, the IMF and the Inter-American Development Bank, which made this packet under conditions to receive loans from these agencies. They argued that economic recovery would be enough for social improvement, that is, to grow and then distribute. This did not happen; on the contrary, the vulnerability of the economies of the countries involved grew and social inequalities increased. Political and economic dependence on the United States increased. Opposition to these measures revived political conflicts. In the face of growing opposition to and mobilization against these policies, they sought various changes to these reforms in order to give them a new face and achieve acceptable levels of legitimacy. This has not yet been achieved and the protest is growing, but this is not of interest to the political and economic elites; their predominant paradigm is different.

⁵ López-Arellano, O., & Jarillo-Soto, E. (2017). The Neoliberal Reform of a Health System: Evidence from the Mexican Case. *Cuadernos de Salud Pública* 33 (2).

needs of the population. Pension systems were converted from pay-as-you-go schemes to capitalization schemes in individual accounts, replacing the defined-benefits system with defined contributions that provide pensions according to the contributions of the person and how good or bad the capital market is. The right to social security became a very profitable business protected by the government in office. The working classes went from being subjects of rights to objects of social welfare and, in the end, they became a means to increase profits.

Why was this neoliberal reform proposed?

The reason why the bourgeoisie does not cease in its eagerness to increase its profits is quite rational. It has nothing to do with compulsive behaviors or excessive ambitions, not as a main factor. It is a matter of what Marx defined as the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall⁶, which states that the ratio of the economic profit obtained by surplus value and the sale of a product to the amount of capital advanced - decreases with the passage of time.



⁶ Marx, K. (2009). Capital. Critique of Political Economy. The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole. Volume III, Part III. International Publishers NY.

This has been proven in practice, as can be seen in the graph on the trend of the profit rate of the US business sector from 1945 to 2021.

Faced with this reality, they launched themselves voraciously on everything that did not yet belong to the market and whatever was in the hands of the State. They needed these markets and went after them.

And they carried it out at the most convenient time

Neoliberal theory began to take shape just before the start of World War II, in Paris, France, to relaunch liberal thought that had lost its legitimacy during the Great Depression and thus were able to face the growth of socialism, Roosevelt collectivism and the British welfare state, the "Lippmann Colloquium"⁷. These proposals were repeated after the war. It is clear that the bourgeoisie never sleeps. However, these proposals were not put into practice until the coup d'état against socialist President Salvador Allende in Chile. In the context of a military dictatorship, under strong repression, with important precedents of advances in neoliberal policies, as well as the participation of a new group of economic thinkers, the so-called Chicago boys⁸, this was an incredible opportunity to test neoliberal policies, especially due to the impossibility of protest and mobilization on the part of the working classes. The massive spread of the economic successes of the dictatorship made it possible to create a narrative favorable to the neoliberal social and political model, for a new society based on the free market and without political-ideological restrictions.

Once these policies were tested, the new neoliberal mission was to attack the rest of the countries. The opportunity in the chief economy came hand in hand with the economic crisis in the so-called lost decade, as well as the final disintegration of the USSR in

⁷ Monbiot, G. (2019, October 26). Neoliberalism – the Root of All Our Problems. Retrieved from Climatedia Web site: <https://www.climatedia.org/post/neoliberalismo-la-ra%C3%ADz-de-todos-nuestros-problemas>

⁸ This was a group of graduates of the School of Economics of the Catholic University of Chicago under the auspices of the United States Agency of International Development (USAID), whose proposals led to the transformations carried out by the Pinochet regime. Several of its members were part of the coup government.

December 1991. This led to a significant reduction in the political ability of the organizations and parties of the working class, even of guerrilla organizations as in El Salvador. And, on an ideological level, there was the opportunity to develop a theory on the problem that was taken up by governments, the political right and conservative trade unionism that was correct, especially the theories of James M. Buchanan⁹ who shaped today's anti-government politics and is considered the architect of the radical right.¹⁰

Thus, more than a hundred years after the process of turning social security into a right began, the new models of social security became self-negators. The opportunity came and they took advantage of it. The parties and unions of the left, including some of a revolutionary nature, surrounded by the discussions of the end of history, most of the time assumed the demands for the right to health to receiving care for illnesses and the right to social security as social welfare. These were orphans of a proposal that would overcome the new policies; they limited themselves to demanding the continuation of a social security model that had been dynamited from within by the business community and the government and, unfortunately, with the complicity of the conservative trade union sector, to expose it as an necessary failure, a past that would never return, just like the failed socialist model, what was left of it in the hands of the bureaucracy linked to the State, equally betraying and handing it over on a silver platter to the transnational oligarchy.

And they come for more

Despite the fact that the neoliberal model is not capable of showing an objectively favorable result in the economic and social order, except for having convinced the majority that they are individual consumers in competition, despite the denunciations and challenges made against it, the mobilizations against it, the weakness of the labor movement and the lack of a convincing proposal, they have allowed the balance of forces to tilt even in favor of the bourgeoisie. And, of course, they do not stop and come for more, seeking to avoid the trend of the fall in the rate of profit. Now they

⁹ US economist, Nobel Prize winner in Economics in 1986

¹⁰ Tanenhaus, S. (2017). The Architect of the Radical Right. The Atlantic Daily.

are seeking to take away our remaining rights. They are trying to deregulate work in order to favor freedom of exploitation, to perpetuate the seizure of the tax systems that grant them privileges, to eliminate subsidies for education, culture, health, public services, to promote exploitation and extractivist practices that destroy the environment and natural resources, to make inequality invisible in all its forms, to crush democracy and replace it with despotic regimes under the cloak of personal leadership, imposing on us a religious vision of society and the family; in short, returning us to the times of the monarchies. It is the eternal desire of the bourgeoisie that now shows itself without blushing.

What revolutionaries should do in the case of social security

If revolutionaries remain on the sidelines or make mistakes in their actions, a favorable future for the working classes and for humanity should not be expected. Their presence is essential. There must be three lines of action: a) to denounce and challenge neoliberal policies on the basis of the class struggle; b) to organize and mobilize the working classes to lead them to confronting the capitalist system, making the struggle for social security a confrontation in the political field that can make visible the condition of exploitation to which the working classes are subjected; c) to make alternative proposals that show the best path for a new society free of the exploited.

Let us move forward.

September 2024



Petty-bourgeois revolutionism

The fulfilment of the historical responsibilities of the party of the proletariat requires its militant adherence to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, the relentless confrontation with the theses and proposals of revisionism and social democracy, as well as the denunciation and ideological and political demarcation with the conceptions of the petty bourgeoisie, which are mainly expressed in petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

The PCMLE was formed in open ideological and political battle against modern revisionism that had infested the old Communist Party, and also in confrontation with the proposals of the "guerilla foco" that proliferated in Latin America and in the country.

Committed to Marxism-Leninism and bearing in mind the nature of the country's social economic formation, the development of the class struggle, the desire for change that was expressed by the working class, peasantry and youth, the PCMLE defined the strategy and tactics of the Ecuadorian revolution, as well as the program, proposals and slogans for the process of accumulation of forces.

The Party's Political Line and Program made a valuable contribution to the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism and its application in the country, as well as the tools to promote the daily struggle for people's power and socialism.

In a period of 60 years, the PCMLE has persistently struggled to organize and make the revolution.

In this process, it has advanced in the building of the revolutionary movement of the working masses and youth, of the unity of the protagonists of the revolutionary process, of the conditions for the use of revolutionary violence for the seizure of power, for the building of a courageous communist party, of a membership committed to the fulfilment of its responsibilities.

On other occasions we have referred to the nature of contemporary revisionism and the ideological and political confrontation with it in order to demarcate positions and denounce it as the

ideology and policy of the bourgeoisie in the workers' and people's movement and in the party of the working class. On this occasion we will pay attention to the denunciation, unmasking and combat with petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

The confrontation with the capitalist bosses and the capitalist government, the struggle against imperialism, the development of the struggle to organize and make the revolution constitute the space for the formation of the revolutionary movement of the masses, for the building of the party, but they are also circumstances in which the ideas of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, specifically revisionism and opportunism as well as petty-bourgeois revolutionism are present, in the social movement and in the party.

In class society, the dominant ideology is the ideology of the ruling classes. In Ecuador, the dominant ideas are those that represent the interests of imperialism and capitalism, of U.S. imperialism in particular and of the class of big capitalists; the ideas of the classes of the past, of the landowners, also have an impact. The subjectivity of the working masses and youth is influenced by bourgeois and petty bourgeois thought and is seen in their social and political behavior.

An important sector of the petty bourgeoisie takes up rebellious positions against the capitalist system: it questions the past and the present, it seeks to change the world according to its conceptions. There are radicalized sectors, especially the youth, that denounce the exploitation and oppression of imperialism and its native lackeys, that fight in the streets, that insert themselves into the social and political struggle, that influence the workers' movement and even get involved in the armed struggle.

In Latin America, in the 1960s, '70s and '80s, thousands of young people organized themselves and joined guerrilla formations in the countryside and in the city, but that form of struggle and the conceptions with which they developed were defeated politically and militarily. At present, important segments of the student masses of colleges and universities take part every day in the social and political struggle, together with the working masses, in the struggle against dictatorships, for freedom and democracy; they are aggressively opposed to U.S. imperialism.

In the imagination of the young generations of recent decades, Che Guevara was a political reference, a model of the struggle for

revolution. The same happened with armed political processes that took place in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala.

The Marxist-Leninist parties – which broke with contemporary revisionism – counted among their membership significant youth sectors from the petty bourgeoisie, who identified with our positions because we clearly and forcefully showed that the path to the victory of the revolution was that of the armed insurrectionary action of the masses.

In essence, the radicalized youth sectors take up rebellious, nonconformist, revolutionary positions; but due to their class affiliation, they are prone to take up voluntarist positions regarding the development of political-social processes.

According to the idealist conception of history, the role of the individual in social transformation is essential, personalities are the makers of history, the masses, the collectives need the guidance, the training of the leaders. The revolutionary struggle requires the leading role of personalities, the brave ones behind whom the fighters and the masses were integrated. The liberators and their role will be as fundamental as they were, according to these conceptions, in the battles for the independence of the colonies from Spanish domination.

Around these ideas, various revolutionary organizations were formed, some of which declared themselves Marxist-Leninist, participated in the guerrilla struggles and even achieved victories.

The revolutionary party of the proletariat in Latin America and Ecuador was organized in this context.

In the struggle to organize and make the revolution, the PCMLE has come a long way. Over six decades it has accumulated significant strengths.

- It has established itself as a Marxist-Leninist formation, it has elaborated the strategy and tactics of the Ecuadorian revolution and has been fighting under these conceptions for the evolution and socialism.
- It is contributing to the social and political organization of the working class. Together with the class-conscious trade union movement, it has built a workers' federation and is active in the formation of the unity of the trade union movement as a whole, working within the other trade union federations. In theory and in practice it is the party of the working class.

- The PCMLE is the leading force in the political struggle of the working masses and the youth, it fights the bosses and the government of the day and calls for the struggle for people's power and socialism.
- Together with the comrades of Popular Unity, UP, the Revolutionary Youth of Ecuador, JRE, of various trade union currents and political fronts in the trade union and social organizations, it fights for freedom and democracy, against the bourgeois government and imperialism, for the popular government, for revolutionary change.
- It proposes the broadest unity of the workers, peoples and youth for building the Revolutionary United Front that puts forward the struggles for the seizure of popular power.
- It emphatically proposes the revolutionary path to the seizure of power, the revolutionary armed struggle, while using all forms of struggle for the accumulation of forces.
- It pays its main attention to the building of a courageous and battle-hardened Marxist-Leninist party, closely linked to the workers and youth.

In the responsibilities of building the Party, in the process of the social and political struggle, of forming the unity of the working masses and youth, the class nature of the Party, adherence to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, firmness and courage to confront the class enemy are expressed; the conditions are created for ideological and political strengthening, for the galvanization of the party, for the communist training of its members.

It is a long and permanent process; it begins with the formation of the party and, in the case of each member, with their incorporation into the cell and continues throughout life, every day, in every action of the membership, in every activity of the masses for the revolution.

At the same time as the ideological and political affirmation takes place, manifestations of the ideas and practices of the class enemy also appear within the party: the incidences of opportunism of all types, of revisionism and petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

Voluntarism in politics and in the life of the party are an expression of petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

The main theses of voluntarism are:

The revolution is an endeavor that depends on the quality of

the revolutionaries who propose to carry it out, it is a task that can be fulfilled according to the wishes of its protagonists, the revolutionary leaders. Example, valor and courage are the key elements to initiate, develop the armed struggle and win.

The thesis that the revolution can be made without the leading role of the masses, without winning them to the revolutionary policy of the party, without them recognizing and accepting the proposals and slogans of the party; that it is enough to build a political and military detachment to carry out the struggle and that, seduced by these positions, the masses follow in the struggle, is one of the political positions of petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

In contrast to these proposals, the Party points out its positions:

We communists know, we are convinced that the working masses and the youth are and will be the social subjects of their own liberation. But we are also clear that the consciousness of their role and their integration into the struggle will not occur spontaneously, since change, social transformation only exists in the subjectivity of the masses as a longing, an aspiration. Revolutionary theory, the guide to action, will only come to the masses from outside, from the work of the party of the proletariat, and it will not be the work of a day, a month or a year; it will be a permanent task, a responsibility that will be fulfilled in the course of the trade union and social struggle, in the political struggles for freedom and progress, in the battles for the revolution.

The workers and youth will be able to take up the consciousness of their role to the extent that the party of the proletariat takes revolutionary politics into its midst. Revolutionary politics is expressed in the Program of the Revolution, in its proposals and slogans, in the revolutionary propaganda, in the role of the newspaper, the leaflet, the radio and TV, the social networks, but, above all, through the direct and permanent action of the party with the masses, of each and every one of its members with a specific sector of the masses.

It is necessary for the party to win the leadership of the working masses and the youth. In the fulfillment of these purposes, the Party expresses itself among the masses in the role each of its members plays. The communist who leads the union, who actively participates in the daily struggles for freedom and against the bosses and the capitalist-imperialist system, is a worker, a peasant, a

teacher, a student who accepts the policy of the party, is a member of its ranks, is a fighter for the revolution and socialism.

The petty-bourgeois revolutionary wants the masses to trust him, to accept his leadership, and fight for the revolution, regardless of his wishes and purposes. He generally adopts positions of the boss, the caudillo, sometimes an authoritarian one.

Petty-bourgeois revolutionism in the life of the Party

In the functioning of the Party, manifestations of individualism and personalism appear, which are expressed in different ways and in particular circumstances.

A good part of the actions and events, as well as the debate in the life of the cell or the committee, revolve around the actions of the member and the leader. Criticism and self-criticism, the ideological struggle develop around the successes and or shortcomings of the members, as people and not as parts of the collective.

In the activity of leading the organization and the struggle of the masses, the role of the individual, of the person, is prioritized, sometimes even expressions of caudillismo appear.

On various occasions and in various sectors of the Party's activity with the masses, there are expressions of careerism, of contention over leading positions: the leadership of the union, the leadership of the organization, the occasion and opportunity to speak.

The collective works in a defective manner. Some decisions are taken personally and the collective is placed before the fait accompli. Various activities take place outside the evaluation and control of the party cell or committee.

Some of our comrades are enthusiastic activists in the activity of the social struggle, especially in street fighting; they stand out in the confrontation with the police forces when repression is exercised; they lead the protest, they are agitators; but they express resistance to the functioning of the cell, they do not attend meetings; if they do they are not leaders of the debate, of the ideological struggle; they seek to act on their own, sometimes they make political decisions that have not been dealt with in the collective. They are revolutionary fighters, they accept and recognize the Marxist-Leninist party, they defend it from the attacks of the class enemy, but they do not fully subordinate themselves to the

organic life of the party. These are the most significant expressions of this ideological deviation.

Often some of these comrades win the support of the masses who trust them for the leadership of their organizations.

In various spaces, in the course of the social and political struggle, some comrades who are part of the same social organization or who are sent to a certain front by the leadership of the Party come together. In these circumstances, there is usually a competition for leadership, which is an expression of the desire to assume leadership positions, to be recognized as a candidate.

These manifestations are expressed among comrades who have the interest of advancing in the process of organizing the revolution; they are not, therefore, attitudes of personal advantage, they are differences between communists that must be resolved in the collective, with timely discussion, with the development of criticism and self-criticism, of the ideological struggle, with political education, with the study of revolutionary theory.

These manifestations of individualism and personalism are developed by some comrades in a sincere way, believing that they are acting in a correct, revolutionary manner, in which case they are expressions of the incidence of petty bourgeois ideology; on other occasions they are demonstrations of careerism, of the disposition to take up positions and leadership for personal benefit, of positions alien to the revolutionary ideology and politics; they are at odds with the Party and its policy and must be detected, clarified and corrected.

Regardless of the way in which these manifestations of the members are expressed in the life of the Party and in the midst of the revolutionary struggle, they are an expression and manifestation of petty-bourgeois revolutionism. They threaten the class nature of the Party and hinder the struggle for the revolution and socialism.

The Party must consistently confront these ideological and political deviations to the end.

In the face of these attitudes, the Party must insist on the fulfillment of its Statutes, especially on subordination to the Line and to the political proposals of the organization and struggle of the masses.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ML PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

In theory and practice, in the conceptions and activities of the party, the class nature of the party, its policies and proposals must be ensured.

This means:

The Communist Party is the party of the working class; its policy and program, its proposals and slogans represent the immediate and strategic interests of the proletariat; it confronts imperialism and the capitalist class, it fights for the revolution and socialism.



The Party organizes and leads its forces for the struggle for power, from there to build the society of the workers, socialism.

In order to seize power, the Party needs to grow and develop and, in order to fulfill this purpose, it must accumulate forces, link up with the working masses and youth, participate in a leading way in the social and political struggle that is unfolding in society, take up the role of organizer of the working class, the other working classes of the city and the countryside, of the youth.

The daily struggle takes into account the interests of the workers and youth, as well as the strategic objectives of the revolution.

The proposals and slogans of the Party that are presented to the working class and society have the objective of linking it to the organization and struggle of the masses; they are aimed at politically educating the working class and the people about the need to confront the bosses and the government, to fight for power, for the revolution and socialism.

The life of the Party, the revolutionary struggle organized and led by it, subordination to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the Political Line, the Program and Statutes of the Party, criticism and self-criticism, the ideological struggle are the space and the stage for the ideological commitment of the members, for communist training.

Affirmed in revolutionary practice, it is up to the Party to detect—in a timely manner—the appearance of the various manifestations alien to the ideology of the proletariat, to unmask them in debate, to isolate them and eradicate them from the life and activity of the communists.

Criticism and self-criticism, the ideological struggle must be timely, carried out directly. They do not target the comrades who put forward these deviations; they are directed against the errors, the mistakes and seek to correct them. One must keep in mind that these manifestations can return in the same way, but also in other ways. This means that the Party must be attentive and prompt in its response.

In the party of the proletariat, the duties and rights of the members have to do with the nature of the party, with its immediate and strategic objectives, with the process of organizing the revolution, with the building of a Leninist party.

As the Program and Statutes clearly state, the Communist Party is a system of organizations.

All members and leaders have the same duties and rights. However, we must affirm that, due to the magnitude of their tasks, the leaders must take up greater responsibilities; they are responsible for the leadership of the collectives and members subordinated to their direction.

In order to guarantee the revolutionary activity, the principle of collective discussion and individual responsibility is expressed in the Party. This means that political decision-making is carried out in the collective, in the committee and cell, through discussion, and the carrying out of the policies that have been resolved is developed through the activity of each of the members.

Democratic centralism is the principle of organization and functioning of the Party, which ensures the fulfillment of the responsibility of organizing and making the revolution.

The building and functioning of the party are incompatible with the various manifestations of petty-bourgeois revolutionism,

which is manifested in the practice and activity of some of the members.

In the midst of the debate and revolutionary struggle, the party must promote among the members communist emulation, the interest of distinguishing themselves and being better members, and for that it is necessary to be intransigent with everything that affects the functioning of the collective and the subordination of the members to the resolutions of the collective.

The subordination of the member to the body, of the minority to the majority, of the lower to the higher body, of the whole party to the central committee, guarantees the ideological and political unity of all the members; it does not eliminate the need for personal initiative, for the elaboration of proposals and mandates by the members; on the contrary, it encourages them, but demands that they be approved in the collective and become part of the Party's policy.

By proceeding in this way, developing the ideological struggle, the Party will be strengthened, to the extent that each of its members commits themselves and develops as a proletarian revolutionary.

We have insisted, quoting Lenin, that the revolutionary party of the proletariat is a party of leaders, and we now reaffirm this. We need many leaders, many popular and revolutionary leaders, men and women who every day and for life take up their quality as leaders of the revolution, as leaders of the masses. Political leaders who understand that strength is in the action of the masses.

Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador

Ecuador, October 2024

On popular mobilizations that target the causes of climate change

The 10th Congress of our party (in May 2024) analyzed the development of the class struggle in our country (from 2020 to 2024) and the participation of our party in the great mobilizations: its political and organizational work to increase awareness of the necessity and possibility of a revolutionary break with the imperialist capitalist system.

We take up here the part devoted to popular mobilizations on environmental issues, which are an important component, both from a political point of view and from the point of view of the scale of mobilizations, especially of the youths, of the popular social protest against the system.

Mobilizations Against the Causes and Consequences of Climate Change;

Mobilizations Against Major Projects that Are "Useless, Costly and Polluting"

This analysis, which points to the leading aspects of the class struggle and popular mobilizations, would be incomplete if it did not address the very important question of struggles that target the causes of climate change and their consequences.

The consequences, namely the immense climatic disasters that follow one another, mainly affect the masses of the people and peoples around the world. They raise great concerns, which are often used (1) to paralyze the protest that is growing everywhere, against the "system" responsible for these disorders. The massive movements of young high school students in the countries of northern Europe and in Germany, which resulted in the "Friday strikes in high schools," worried the governments, which did not hesitate to systematically repress them. This, in turn, radicalized part of the protests. In France, the protests are more directly aimed at the monopolies responsible for the large quantities of greenhouse gas emissions, the oil companies and more

generally the government, which does not impose any punishments on them.

Anti-nuclear fights

It is undeniable that the anti-nuclear movement has been impacted by the steamroller of propaganda by the government and the industrialists of the nuclear power lobby on the "advantages" of this energy on two levels:

– The war in Ukraine and its consequences, following the blockade of oil and gas imports from Russia that are part of international sanctions. The possibility of producing large quantities of electrical energy in nuclear power plants are presented as a key factor in terms of energy independence, even if this does not include the raw material, uranium, which is imported (particularly from Niger).

– Nuclear power and the production of electric energy are presented as alternatives to the use of fossil fuels, which emit greenhouse gases. The exponential demand for electric energy used in so-called electric vehicles requires large production capacities that nuclear power plants are able to produce.

The anti-nuclear movement went "against the tide" of this propaganda. Initially, it focused more particularly on two issues:

- Unresolved problems with regard to the disposal of radioactive waste (2);
- The dangers posed by ageing nuclear power plants, a real problem that also refers to the staggering sums of money sunk into the retrofitting of old power plants, in order to extend their "life" and the even greater sums for constructing 8 or more new reactors.

A third dimension has been added – or rather, it has been put back on the table – namely, military nuclear power, in connection with the threats of the use of nuclear weapons in inter-imperialist wars. The particularity of the nuclear industry in France is that civil and military nuclear power are intertwined, with the "civil" power providing both the fuel for the reactors of nuclear submarines launching nuclear missiles and the plutonium essential for the manufacture of warheads. The anti-nuclear movement, which met in the Larzac region in August 2023, is one of the important components of this fight.

Struggles against the large projects of the monopolies

Here we are talking about the struggles against the large projects launched by the monopolies, with the support of the state, which have environmental and climate consequences. Hundreds of young people mobilized against the large water reservoirs of Sainte-Soline and the agribusiness model that they impose, confronting the gendarmes for hours. On March 25, 2023, this long-term mobilization brought together many young people, activists and trade union groups of the Peasant Federation, activists and people aware of ecological issues, and others, and enjoyed broad support from public opinion. It was in a way an extension of the phenomenon of the ZADs (3), without the need for permanent occupations, over long periods of time.

The "Earth Uprisings" have taken on the militant character of personal commitment, with a wide range of supporting organizations, many of which are not engaged in these actions but support the right to civil disobedience, the right to legitimate revolt. They publicly announce their actions, claim them and insist that they are not attacking people but companies, especially large companies, in fact, monopolies, institutions, etc., and that they are "non-violent" but have the right to defend themselves against police repression. They have led to a large number of mobilizations that bring together many people, against highway projects, covering with concrete and seizure of land and water by the agriculture monopolies, large works and transport, and to denounce repression. At the same time, there have been mobilizations with calls for mass rallies, such as those against the building of the A69 Tarbes-Castres highway. Another focus of mobilization is the construction site of the high-speed train line (LGV) linking Lyon to Turin, passing through the Maurienne valley. This protest has been going on for 30 years: 5000 people took part in an action in June 2023.

The Struggles of the Progressive Sectors of the Peasantry

There have been banners and tractors of the Peasant Federation in the demonstrations against the pension reform in 2023. They were already in solidarity with the strikers of 1995 and, since its creation (4), it has been committed to solidarity between farmers and workers. It is committed to the fight against neoliberal

policies, at the national, European and international level (in solidarity with the peasants of Latin America, Africa, without forgetting solidarity with the Palestinian people and their fight for their land) and it defends a "peasant agriculture", respectful of the environment, with small and medium-sized farms, quality production, at a moderate price, unlike agribusiness.

We have always kept links with its activists and have always followed its positions, against agribusiness, against capitalist agriculture that is defended by the majority union, the FNSEA [National Federation of Farmers' Unions], whose regional and national leaders are on the right and take part in developing the agricultural policy of successive governments. While the Peasant Federation defends "food sovereignty," it supports farmers' organizations that are fighting around the world against agri-food monopolies and distances itself from the positions of the Rural Coordination, which is close to the far right.

Whether in the mobilization against the water reservoirs (in Sainte-Soline) or in that of the peasants in January 2024, the positions and actions of the activists of the Peasant Federation have been progressive. In the testimony of a Savoy activist, published in *La Forge* in February 2024, the conclusion illustrates both open-mindedness and understanding that the problems are linked to a system:

"It is not surprising that the agricultural crisis is now linked to the additional costs of energy. Agricultural processes are consuming more and more energy, directly or indirectly (nitrogen fertilizers are made from natural gas). Capitalism is incompatible with an agriculture that respects people and nature. It leads to problems in all areas. It has crushed the peasantry. It destroys biodiversity, depletes water reserves, threatens the health of farmers and consumers... This is a problem for society as a whole and forces us to ask ourselves fundamental questions. That is the positive side of the situation. The issues are interconnected. The workers not only ask themselves about the problems of the workers, the peasants no longer just ask themselves about the problems of the peasants... There is more convergence, because we have to pose the problem as a whole."

Highlighting the Strength of the Class Struggle and the Power of the Popular Movement Must Not Obscure the Weaknesses of the Workers' and People's Movement

During these years, the crisis of reformism and the organizations that support it have deepened. These forces, which focus a large part of their activity on the fights in parliament, are unable to "capitalize" on social protest in elections, especially since they are divided. The NUPES [New Ecological and Social People's Union] alliance has enabled these parties to be represented in parliament, to govern certain large cities, regions and departments. This essentially electoral alliance was achieved between reformist parties with deep political differences. It has been divided due in particular to the competition between the leaders of the different sectors, for leadership or to promote their own party.

The tendency to abstention in working-class circles remains very strong. It is not the same as lack of political interest and if it also reflects a certain confusion, it reinforces the idea for many that we must fight anyway.

It is clear that it is the social movement that is resisting, is fighting, that is the reference point for the popular masses. As we have often written, "it is in enterprises, in the streets that this takes place". And, during the movement against raising the age for pensions to 64 years, we stressed that "the protest against Macron extends to that against the system," which our two stickers, that were widely distributed, highlighted.

It is in these struggles and movements that activists are formed, who look for tools to understand the situation, to orient themselves, in a complex situation. The answers to these questions are not found spontaneously and are not spontaneously revolutionary. This situation "naturally" develops anarcho-sindicalist tendencies, and confusion that radical currents try to capture.

It is the task of the party to win people over and arm them with Marxist-Leninist theory. We are aware of the fact that our party is still small quantitatively, that it still has a limited influence on the workers' and popular movement, on the youth. This reality is one of the "weaknesses" of the workers' movement, which challenges us and forces us to redouble our efforts.

This climate of social mobilization is also opposed to reaction and the ideas that it tries to distil in the masses, especially with the

help of the media. But it would be wrong and dangerous to think that these ideas have no effect.

Notes

1) Reference is often made to eco-anxiety, which is responsible for deep depressions, especially in young people.

2) Against the major Cigeo project [for the disposal of radioactive waste] in Meuse.

3) The areas to be defended gave rise to land occupations, such as the ZAD [Zone to be Defended] of Nantes, against the extension of the airport: a useless, costly project, threatening arable land. This meant that activists were ready to live for months in difficult conditions, with frequent clashes with the police. This ZAD was victorious, particularly because of the growing support of the population.

4) The beginning of the Peasant Federation dates back to 1987. It is a founding member of the European Peasant Coordination, Via Campesina and Attac.

Marxism and Gender

In this article, we want to address some of the questions that have arisen in current debates about gender, both in Germany and, as far as we can see, in other countries. The aim is to defend the materialist position against various unscientific views and to contribute to the discussion on the stance of Marxist-Leninists in the current women's and LGBTI movements. (LGBTI stands for “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans- and Intersexual”).

In recent years, the debate surrounding issues of gender has become increasingly heated, particularly as part of the cultural struggle between a reactionary-conservative and a liberal-progressive camp in bourgeois politics. At the heart of the discussions is the question of what gender actually is, the answer to which can be used to derive the specific policies of the various currents. It is clear that the real, political attacks by the conservative camp in many countries mean attacks on women's rights that have been fought for, as well as massive restrictions on the democratic rights of LGBTI people and an increase in violence against this already vulnerable group. They are a popular propaganda tool for right-wing populist forces in particular, which have achieved significant electoral success in a number of countries. The reinforcement and cementing of conservative role models between men and women goes hand in hand with attacks on the right to abortion and women's economic independence.

At the same time, we see a clear lack of scientific, convincing counter-positions in the left-liberal-progressive camp. Rather, for years there has been a rejection of any political approach to the issues mentioned and a retreat to a merely cultural standpoint of the diversity of identities, in which explicitly irrational, post-structuralist theories are the foundation. Of course, these ideological shortcomings are also an expression of the bourgeois class character of both the current women's movement and the LGBTI movement, in which the proletarian, materialist elements are still very weak. The influence of these theories not only means that little can be countered to the attacks on democratic, women's and

LGBTI rights. Based on these theories, we also see tendencies of the women's issue to be made a subordinate issue in a general "queer movement" that claims its goal to be the liberation of all oppressed "identities". This approach, which is not based on any materialist analysis, prevents the causes of gender-specific oppression and its specific effects on women and LGBTI people from being recognized. Consequently, a well-founded political program against this cannot be developed. Of course, the question of what gender actually is touches on both the women's issue and the LGBTI issue – but the current conflation of the two issues stems from ideological weakness and has negative consequences for both political struggles. The more attacks on women and LGBTI people increase worldwide, which must also be understood as part of the general strengthening of fascist forces worldwide, the more important ideological clarity on these issues becomes in order to strengthen our struggle.

Most of the theories and views that we find in the women's and LGBTI movements today are a reaction to biological determinism. In the conservative camp, we find numerous biological determinist views that assume that men and women have clear, biologically determined roles in society. Women are destined by their biology not only to bear children, but also to raise them, take care of the household and provide emotional care. Some theories go so far as to claim that women are not only destined to be housewives and mothers because of their role in reproduction, but also because of their physique, the size of their brain or their hormonal balance. Men, on the other hand, are intended to be providers, the stronger sex, politicians and leaders for the same reasons. This idea, which is propagated in a more or less radical way by religious and conservative politicians and media figures today, is obviously unscientific – just like the *Rassenlehre* (the world view that divides humankind into different races), for example, which racists still try to justify biologically. Conservative role models argue with a state of nature that is supposedly disregarded by modern, feminist ideas. This alleged state of nature is based in particular on religious ideas and does not stand up to even a brief historical examination. The monogamous marriage and the bourgeois family are a historically recent occurrence whose necessity is based on a certain economic condition. The bourgeois family concept of a man who earns money outside the home, analogous to hunting, and a

woman who, as a mother, remains limited purely to the domestic sphere and maternal duties, could not and cannot exist for the working class. Capitalist class society portrays this reality day after day. We will not go any further into these unscientific, reactionary ideas at this point, except to say: social roles cannot simply be derived from biology, but are the results of a historical process, differ depending on the historical period and are inextricably linked and ultimately determined by the basis of human life, the mode of production and reproduction.

More than a century ago, Marxism provided us with the tools to get to the bottom of both racism and gender-specific oppression: Historical materialism was already applied directly to the role of women and the family by Friedrich Engels (which is why Clara Zetkin described his work “The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State” as “of fundamental importance for the liberation struggle of the entire female sex”¹ – more on this later). Unlike for the proletarian women's movement, however, historical materialism is naturally foreign to the bourgeois feminist camp that dominates the women's and LGBTI movement today. The two common theories around gender clearly show the deficiency that this circumstance causes. So – what are the common ways of looking at gender in these movements and what are their shortcomings?

Is there no biological gender?

On the one hand, there is the current that denies the existence of two sexes in an attempt to reject biological determinism. These views, largely summarized in *Queer Theory*, are rooted in post-structuralism, a philosophical movement that perceives social reality itself as constructed and sees the so-called deconstruction of ideologies as the key to change. In post-structuralism, social conditions are fundamentally not materially contingent, but the results of a discourse that is first constructed by people (primarily through their terminology) and can be deconstructed accordingly. In short, post-structuralism is a very popular alternative to Marxism in Western universities today (one of its founders, Michael Foucault, formulated it in 1977 as follows: “[...] we must

¹ Zetkin, Clara: Friedrich Engels. In: *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, Bd. 1, Berlin 1957, p. 82 (our own translation).

fundamentally question the important tradition of socialism, because everything that this tradition has produced in history is to be condemned”²). Judith Butler is one of the most important representatives of *Queer Theory* and puts the following considerations up for discussion: “Is femininity a natural thing or a cultural performance, or is naturalness constituted by discursively limited performative actions that produce the body through and within the categories of gender?”³ This question (which is typically complicated for post-structuralism) aims to suggest that not only social role models, but also biology itself is socially constructed. In feminist circles and literature today, we find views that fundamentally reject the idea of the binarity of sexes in biology; interpreting two sexes into biology is the result of a sexist social order and has no basis in the biological processes themselves.

However, this idea is very easy to refute. Human reproduction is fundamentally based on binary sex. Humans have a double set of chromosomes. These consist of DNA and contain the genetic information. Women have XX chromosomes and men have XY chromosomes. During reproduction, half a set of chromosomes from the father and half from the mother come together, resulting in a double set in the fertilized egg cell. The only cells that are not diploid but haploid, i.e. have only one set of chromosomes, are the germ cells: egg cells and sperm cells. Depending on which chromosomes come together in the offspring – an X and a Y or an X and an X – the sex of this offspring is determined. Humans then develop sexual characteristics, whereby the production of hormones plays a role in determining which primary (genitals) and secondary (breasts, body hair, etc.) sexual characteristics we develop. Of course, not all men have the same amount of facial hair and not all women have equally pronounced breasts. There can even be deviations in the primary sexual characteristics, i.e. the sexual organs. The term intersexuality describes the phenomenon of ambiguous gender affiliation, for example due to ambiguous primary or secondary sexual characteristics (in the past, children born with ambiguous sexual characteristics were operated on

² Foucault, Michel: *Torture is Reason*. In: *Schriften in vier Bänden*, vol. 3, Frankfurt am Main 2003, p. 514 (our own translation).

³ Butler, Judith: *Das Unbehagen der Geschlechter*. Frankfurt am Main 2014, p. 9 (our own translation).

after birth in Germany and other countries in order to be clearly assigned to a gender – a dangerous practice with serious consequences for those affected. These operations are uniformly rejected by intersex advocacy groups in Germany. However, the (quite rare) phenomenon of intersexuality represents a deviation and is by no means proof (as is sometimes claimed) that sexuality in biology is a spectrum and that male and female are only two poles of it.

The fundamental defect of this current is not that it attempts to reject biological determinism. The problem is that *Queer Theory* has absolutely no counter to biological determinism – it cannot explain how biological differences and social role models are connected, but throws biological differences out of the window along with social role models. There is a saying: "to throw out the baby with the bathwater" - in other words, to eliminate what is worth preserving with good intentions. Post-structuralists actually agree with biological determinism to a large extent – because they implicitly share the assumption that if there were biological differences, these would inevitably lead to strict social role models and constraints. Post-structuralism itself thus reveals that it is completely incapable of explaining where gender-specific oppression could come from (and what the phenomenon of class society, which is completely foreign to the post-structuralists, could possibly have to do with it). Devoid of any explanatory power, it falls back into irrationalism and enters into direct contradiction with biological facts, which inevitably invalidates its project of rejecting biological determinism.

Is there a biological and a social sex?

There is another theory that is now so widespread in the women's and LGBTI movement and also in German social science that its background is sometimes no longer even questioned: The distinction between a biological sex and a social gender (In German, there is no linguistic differentiation between sex and gender, as *Geschlecht* functions as the word for both). In contrast to the biologically determined sex, social gender includes the social implications that go hand in hand with the terms man and woman – from typical professions and ascribed or actual characteristics to the identity and self-image of the respective person. The original idea of those who introduced the distinction was also to reject

biological determinism, i.e. the idea that the social roles of men and women are determined by biological factors. The distinction attempts to take biological factors into account, but to deprive them of their effectiveness by adding another, independent category alongside biological sex: social gender, which is seen as the decisive and identity-forming category and is understood to be independent of biology. The separation between biological sex and social gender is thus an apparent solution to the contradiction that human identity cannot be divided into two rigid and biologically determined categories. But this solution is only an apparent one because the distinction does not explain anything at all; on the contrary it raises further questions: on the one hand, the strict separation of biological sex and social gender says nothing about the connection between the two categories. On the other hand, it cannot explain how social gender is created – in practice, gender is therefore usually simply equated with self-perception. A person may have a biological sex, but gender, i.e. identity, is determined by their perception, i.e. the feeling of belonging, which can then be male, female or in completely different categories (e.g. non-binary). It is understandable in every respect that some people today, especially young people, say: “I don't feel I belong to the two role models that are presented to me in this society. If you ask me about my identity, I won't be able to give you a binary category”. The fact is that gender perception is a complex, psychological process. The specific idea of a social gender attempts to find a category for this feeling, but brings further problems with it, because: what is a female or male self-perception? Is there a feminine or masculine essence apart from biological factors? Is this essence innate, as suggested by the phrase “born in the wrong body”, which is used to describe the feelings of trans individuals? By viewing the category of gender as a merely individual identity, it inevitably becomes an idealistic category. (This also does not solve the problem that gender forms the framework for perception and identification in the first place – in some cases, gender is even exaggerated in its significance because it is considered to be synonymous with the entire individual identity.) We are therefore faced with a distinction between biological sex, which, depending on the interpretation, allows for either two sexes and intersexual deviations from them or a multitude of biological genders, and social gender, which is purely an identity category. The two have

nothing to do with each other and are not connected within this construction. The lack of explanatory power of this approach is obvious. It is an understandable reaction to not forcing the diversity of human feeling into biologically determined categories. It does not offer a politically meaningful platform that goes beyond the recognition of all gender identities and also recognizes the origin of oppression and provides a perspective. This is a task that, to date, only historical materialism has achieved.

The origin of the oppression of women

For historical materialism, “the determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the production and reproduction of immediate life.”⁴ Marx and Engels write that “... men, who daily remake their own life, begin to make other men, to propagate their kind: the relation between man and wife, parents and children, the family.”⁵ The concept of reproduction describes the concrete creation and preservation of human life. Engels concludes: “The social institutions under which the people of a particular historical epoch and a particular country live are conditioned by both kinds of production: by the stage of development of labor on the one hand and of the family on the other.”⁶ The question of how production and reproduction are organized is decisive at every historical point in time. It is the material basis on which morality, law, culture and, ultimately, role models and identities can be formed. It was this historical materialist approach that allowed the labor movement to confront any idealist, reactionary or religious ideas on a scientific basis. Be it racism or sexism, historical materialism helps us to understand: These orders are not set in stone. They have conditions under which they arise and conditions under which they can disappear. In order to create them, we need to understand them. It was Friedrich Engels and Clara Zetkin who took up the women's question early on in the German and international labor movement and examined the origins of women's oppression from a historical and materialist perspective. Within these

⁴ Engels, Friedrich: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1978, p. 4.

⁵ Engels, Friedrich; Marx, Karl: *The German Ideology*. Foreign Language Press, Paris, 2022, p. 16.

⁶ Engels, Friedrich: *Origin of the Family...*, op. cit., p. 4.

considerations of the women's question, there are also valuable points of reference for the question of gender in general. It is true that neither Engels nor Zetkin explicitly considered gender identities other than man and woman. However, their treatises on the question of women reveal the fundamental approach of historical materialism with regard to the genesis and maintenance of gender roles. Of course, biological sex plays a role here, but historical materialism shows us that this does not necessarily lead to oppressive role models, but why society and the way it functions are decisive for role models and gender perception, oppression and liberation.

The question of reproduction is particularly crucial for the role of the different sexes in society. This is also where biology comes into play. For it is not the case, as claimed by biologically determinist ideas, that biological differences determine all other social tasks of men and women. Of course there are biological differences – but their extent is completely exaggerated by the proponents of these views (for example, the average differences between men and women emphasized by biological determinists, e.g. in brain size or muscle mass, are sometimes smaller than the differences between individual women or individual men). But there is, of course, one difference that cannot be denied and has an impact on the historical development of gender roles that can hardly be underestimated: The role of the sexes in reproduction. It is women, one half of society, who have to carry children in their wombs for nine months, give birth and care for them (i.e. breast feeding) them, at least in the early stages of childhood. This fact has never been reversed in any society and, depending on the form of society, has led to a more or less strict division of tasks between the sexes. And it will not disappear in future societies, regardless of how production and reproduction are organized. The decisive factor for gender roles is therefore how social production and, in particular, reproduction are organized and whether or not this type of organization systematically leads to oppression and coercion.

Engels undertook the first explicitly historical-materialist study of this question in “The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State”. In it, he devotes himself in detail to describing the various family forms in primitive society and their impact on the position of women. According to Engels, the division of labor

in primitive society was a primitive one, based on the positions of men and women in the reproductive process, but by no means as strict or associated with disadvantageous role models as it is today. Due to the low level of development of the productive forces, no economic sector in primitive communism was capable of creating a surplus product, neither in production (where men tended to play a more important role) nor in reproduction (where women tended to play a more important role). All members of society collectively produced the material basis of life. Engels concludes from this that the role of women in primitive society must also have been different from today. As long as private property and the acquisition of wealth did not play a role, the natural division of labor did not put either sex at a significant disadvantage. In this respect, Engels famously calls the emergence of private property the “world historical defeat of the female sex”.⁷

With the emergence of private property and class society, both the organization of production and reproduction changed fundamentally. Since then, production has served to create the surplus product that is privately appropriated. However, we see that reproduction is of course also inseparably linked to production and that the role of women, who inevitably play a special role in this reproduction, also takes on a different character in class society. Reproduction is also subject to the necessities of class society. Since reproductive labor does not create any surplus product, but the social order is now based on private property, women lose their previous position: “Household management lost its public character. It no longer concerned society. It became a *private service*; the wife became the head female servant, excluded from participation in social production”.⁸

Let us note: there are biological differences, but these are not, as the biological determinists claim, primarily decisive. It is society and explicitly the economic basis of society, the way in which production and reproduction are organized, that assigns the sexes a place in society and explicitly leads to sexual oppression for women. How the biological factors are translated into a gendered task and their role is therefore ultimately determined by the economic conditions of the given society. It was also the change

⁷ Engels, Friedrich: *Origin of the Family...*, op. cit., p. 65.

⁸ Engels, Friedrich: *Ibid.*, p. 85.

in economic conditions that led to the modern women's question in the first place, as Clara Zetkin vividly demonstrates, and it is also these conditions that must be fundamentally changed if sex is no longer to become a category of oppression and coercion. The fact that this historical-materialist view is not only able to explain the conditions under which the oppression of the female sex arose, but also shows the prospects for its elimination, becomes particularly clear in Clara Zetkin's remarks on women under capitalism and socialism. In 1889, Zetkin wrote: "The question of women's emancipation is a child of modern times, and the machine has given birth to it". On the one hand, industrialization simplified the tasks of the household; on the other, capitalism catapulted the working-class woman into the production process in the form of wage labor, initially out of financial necessity. It was capitalism and the emergence of the proletarian woman that brought about the division of labor by sex and the fundamentally different positions of the sexes in the family and in society. For if women are equally involved in the production process alongside men, then the question of equal political rights is not far away: "In the past, there could be talk of a gradual improvement in the position of women in one sense or another, but not of a women's question in the modern sense of the word, of a shaking up of the entire basis of their position..." Capitalism thus creates the basis for the social liberation of women. Engels writes: "Not until the coming of modern large-scale industry was the road to social production opened to her again – and then only to the proletarian wife."⁹ The necessity of marriage for the inheritance of property is also abolished for the proletariat, the propertyless class. (Zetkin also refers to demands from the conservative camp, still prevalent today, to restore the sexual division of labor within the bourgeois family, in which the woman would be a pure housewife: this is reactionary and the pure housewife in capitalist society is an "anachronism"¹⁰.) Capitalism does create the first basis for the liberation of women. But only under socialism, in which both production and reproduction are not subject to the creation of surplus product

⁹ Engels, Friedrich: *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁰ Zetkin, Clara: *Die Arbeiterinnen- und Frauenfrage der Gegenwart*. In: Schippe, Max (ed.): *Berliner Arbeiterbibliothek*, vol. 3, Berlin 1889, p. 6. (our own translation)

for private appropriation, but to the satisfaction of the needs of all, will women also be liberated as part of the entire working class and the separation of production and reproduction will be abolished.

Historical materialism and gender

What does historical materialism and its treatment of the woman question tell us about gender in general? First of all, it absolutely recognizes that there are biological facts, a female and a male sex, which occupy a certain place in reproduction. However, it is society and its organization that creates role models, depending on economic necessities. Today there is a whole catalog of supposedly female and male characteristics – tenderness, caring, naivety for women; leadership, strength and toughness for men. These role models have remained more or less similar since the existence of class society, as there has been a separation of production and reproduction in every class society – but we also see differences and variations in the various class societies, each within the confines of the respective social order. And of course there have always been people who deviated from these role models – these models are not natural or God-given, they are not inherent to the respective sex, but are shaped by society. Zetkin's argumentation, for example, makes it clear how fundamentally she views the change in the role of women, which began with capitalism and would end with communism. With the change in the position of women in the production process, not only does the view of women change, but also their own self-perception. Zetkin attests to the role of educator and caregiver for women of the future only in infancy – the time when this task is actually naturally determined. Beyond this, it is impossible to say whether women are better educators or teachers than men, for example, or whether they have any biological predestination that would force them into a social task. She thus takes a direct stance against biological-determinist ideas, for example when it comes to the supposedly natural destiny of women as educators: “[...] the woman producing in society was deprived of her ‘natural’ [quotation marks by Zetkin!] occupation, which was only natural at all as long

as it coincided with the basic economic conditions.”¹¹ Historical materialism cannot assume a male, female or (in relation to the discussion about gender) non-binary essence, but recognizes that human beings are first and foremost human beings, that their feelings in general and their gendered feelings are constantly developing psychologically and that this development arises within the framework of their social tasks and activities. So if we do not assume an idealist male, female or even non-binary gender essence that emerges independently of time and society, but only gender roles whose boundaries are set by the respective society and can therefore also be broken down, then it also becomes clear what significance socialism has for the liberation of gender roles. This observation has strong implications not only for the liberation of women, but also for political demands regarding alternative gender identities. More than 100 years ago, it was already clear to Zetkin that the role patterns of capitalist society would inevitably come into contradiction and lead to a women's question. Today, we can see that these role models have by no means been broken down, but are becoming increasingly entangled in contradictions, especially in Western societies, which are made all the more influential by all-encompassing propaganda in the media. The explicit marketing of gender-specific products and their psychological influence on the self-image of young people, the oversexualization inevitably created by the media and advertising and the screaming contradiction of so many different expectations and demands on the two genders inevitably lead to increased non-identification and the desire to turn away from the binary gender system and its barriers to development. Within bourgeois society, in academia and within the spectrum of bourgeois ideology, this urge finds expression in the form of post-structuralist, idealist ideas that aim for equality and individual development of identity. Due to the weakness of the labor movement and thus the proletarian women's movement, as well as the associated relative ignorance regarding materialist explanations of how gender roles come about in the first place and how they must be fought accordingly, the women's and LGBTI movements

¹¹ Zetkin, Clara: Die Arbeiterinnen- und Frauenfrage... Op. cit. p. 27.

today are increasingly becoming a movement that can essentially do nothing more than identity politics.

In Germany, for example, the International Women's Day, March 8th, is now celebrated in many places as “FLINTA-Day” (FLINTA means women, lesbians, non-binary, inter-, trans- and agender people), in which everyone who feels they belong to the respective genders is welcome, but men are explicitly excluded from participation. The term FLINTA is an explicit symptom of the aforementioned mixing of different issues, which prevents them from being taken seriously politically. This conflation weakens all these issues and especially the women's struggle, which becomes one of many different initials (apart from the fact that this term means nothing to the absolutely staggering majority of people (including women) in Germany). This shift in terminology goes hand in hand with a degradation of the protests to mere demonstrations of diversity, which are only meant to empower instead of making political demands that are sorely needed today. The current strength of post-structuralist theories and their focus on identity must also be linked to capitalist, neoliberal ideologies and, not without reason, can in many cases be easily integrated into corporate diversity concepts in which the benefit of personal development is intended to promote the productivity of the workforce. And last but not least, the class character of these views must become clear when they are increasingly used against materialist approaches. In the aforementioned movements, for example, forces that insist on the term “woman” because it is both politically indispensable and the central category of analysis are



accused of biological determinism. Materialist approaches have generally fallen into disrepute as “queer-hostile” and are fought ideologically and politically. Yet only historical materialism explicitly provides us with the means to both answer the women's question scientifically and politically (as the proletarian women's movement has done historically, which deserves its own considerations) and to show the way for the most far-reaching liberation from gender roles per se, which would be so important for those who see themselves restricted by them (which in today's society is likely to be not only non-binary and trans people, but a much larger part of society). The aim must be to fight for social conditions in which gender no longer forms the framework within which people can or cannot develop. There is no point in naming categories for divergent feelings and stopping at the fact that all these categories must be accepted – this not only does not eliminate the material causes that lead to oppression in our society, it distracts from them. In contrast, a materialist understanding of the oppression of women and the strengthening of the women's movement on this basis is at the same time the key to liberation from oppression based on gender and gender roles in general and should therefore not be subordinated to a general movement for the “liberation of the sexes”, but should be asserted as an independent movement encompassing half of the working class with its corresponding demands.

However, the political and programmatic foundations of the proletarian women's movement show the way to fundamentally change role models and the associated constraints in our society: The bourgeois family will no longer be an economically necessary unit in which reproductive activity takes place and which assigns clear roles to the sexes in the production process, as it is under capitalism. Education and care work, like all production and reproduction, will be largely socialized (which incidentally also has positive consequences for these areas themselves, as areas such as education, but also food supply etc... can be collectivized, professionalized and performed at a higher level if they are socially organized. In other words: not every single mother has to have had a pedagogical education in order for children to enjoy a high-quality upbringing, and not every household has to produce three meals a day on its own, which can be organized much more productively across households). Marriage loses its character as a

binding contract (as it did in the young Soviet Union, where divorce was the first in the world to be liberalized) – under socialism it is no longer necessary even as a unit for the inheritance of private property. It is important to understand how central these demands are not only for women's liberation, but also for LGBTI people. Other demands of the proletarian women's movement are political, but especially social gender equality, realized in the form of equal pay for equal work. This also means social security and economic independence, which is lacking for both women and LGBTI people in many places today and leads to dependency and violence. It is the realization that the gender roles that lead to oppression are rooted in the relations of production (and not in biology) that lets us today and must continue to let us formulate political demands that change the economic basis for gender roles. The strength of the bourgeois theories mentioned in this article is an explicit and direct expression of the bourgeois class character of these movements today, which must be consciously pushed back by Marxist-Leninists. In doing so, materialism is not in a defensive position towards the issues of gender and liberation, but must denounce those who seek to obscure the causes of oppression and win over those who seek to liberate themselves from it.

September 2024

India's support of Israel against the people of Gaza exposes Modi government

While the Indian government has not yet acknowledged it, several Indian and foreign media have confirmed that India is assisting Israel in its genocidal war in Gaza by exporting arms and other military equipment.

On 12 December 2023, India voted in favour of a resolution of a UN General Assembly that asked for an immediate ceasefire in Gaza. However, by 5 April 2024 India changed its position and was among 13 countries which abstained from voting in a resolution adopted by the UN Human Rights Council calling for an immediate ceasefire in Gaza and an arms embargo on Israel.

By February of this year, India delivered over 20 Hermes 900 Medium-Altitude Long-Endurance (MALE) Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) to Israel. These drones have been manufactured in Hyderabad since 2018 by Adani-Elbit Advanced Systems India Ltd, a joint venture between India's Adani Defence and Aerospace, a company of Gautam Adani, an oligarch close to India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and Israel's Elbit Systems.

According to several Indian and foreign reports, these UAVs are capable of both surveillance and aerial bombardment, and Israel has used these drones for strikes on Palestinian civilians and homes.

Besides this, India, through its public and private companies, is also supplying several other military products to Israel. According to a report published in an Indian news website, The Wire, "Munitions India Ltd (MIL) – a public sector enterprise under the Ministry of Defence – has also been permitted to ship its products to Israel as recently as January 2024."

"Similarly," The Wire reported, "a private Indian company, Premier Explosives Ltd. which has been exporting explosives and allied accessories to Israel under Special Chemicals, Organisms, Materials, Equipment and Technologies (SCOMET) licence at least since 2021, has been permitted to export these items twice since Israel's war on Gaza began last year – on November 20, 2023, and January 1, 2024."

On 4 September 2024, a group of former diplomats, activists and academics from India filed a petition in India's Supreme Court seeking its intervention in the matter. The petitioners demanded that "India cancels any existing licences/permissions and halts the grant of new licences/permissions, to various companies in India, for exports of arms and other military equipment to Israel." It further says, "India should immediately suspend its aid to Israel, in particular its military assistance including military equipment, in so far as this aid may be used in the violation of the Genocide Convention, international humanitarian law or other peremptory norms of general international law. India must immediately make every effort to ensure that weapons already delivered to Israel are not used to commit genocide, contribute to acts of genocide or are used in such a way as to violate international humanitarian law."

While the court's timeline for hearing the case remains uncertain, historical precedent suggests that Indian courts may be hesitant to challenge executive decisions in matters of this nature. Even though, according to available data, at least 40,435 Palestinians have been killed and 93,534 have been injured in ongoing Israel bombardment on Palestinians people. According to the latest report by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, "at least 1.9 million people (or nine in ten people) across the Gaza Strip are internally displaced, including people who have been repeatedly displaced (some, up to 10 times)."

India-Israel Relationship

Given that India was the first non-Arab nation to oppose Israel joining the UN in 1948 and its recognition of the PLO in 1974 and Palestinian statehood in 1988, India's recent export of military equipment to Israel marks a significant departure from its past foreign policy. However, a closer examination of its foreign policy history reveals that this development may be a culmination of a long-standing, albeit less overt, engagement with Israel.

India's changed policy towards Israel began in the 1990s with the rise of semi-fascist political organisations such as the Bharatiya Janata Party. The BJP, like many ultra nationalist parties, has always supported Israel against the Palestinian people's struggle for liberation and self-rule. However, until the 1990s they had very limited say in India's foreign policy. And their weaker positions

dictated that they adhered to the traditional policy. This can be very well understood by a statement of Atal Bihari Vajpayee who in 1977, when he became an external affairs minister in the Janata Party Government. Clarifying his position he stated in a rally, "it is being said that the newly formed Janata Party Government will not support Arabs but Israel. Let me tell you this, that for a permanent peace in the Middle East, Israel must vacate Palestinian land it has illegally occupied. And rights of Palestinians should be established." Later when he became the prime minister in 1996, India witnessed an unprecedented increase in mutual diplomatic visits between the two countries.

Until the 1990s India followed, albeit for its own interests, regional and international, the policy of non-alignment. Until then, at least apparently, it supported a resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict in the larger interest of the Palestinian people. Yet, it continued to have a trade relationship with Israel.

However, post 1999s, as the Hindutva politics gained firmer grounds, and its anti-minority rhetoric strengthened, its domestic politics too began to change. In 1992, against the backdrop of the anti-Muslim Ram Janmabhoomi movement, which culminated in the demolition of a 16th century mosque by a Hindu mob, India established diplomatic relationship with Israel. (This incidentally was done by a Congress government.) Thus, it reshaped the so-called humanitarian relationship that began in the 1950s when India let Israel establish an immigration office in Mumbai, then Bombay. The immigration office was later converted into a Trade office and then into a Consulate.

Ever since then the India-Israel relation has only grown stronger at the cost of the people of Palestine. According to a dossier of India's Ministry of External Affairs, "from around US \$200 million in 1992 (comprising primarily of diamonds), merchandise trade diversified and reached around US \$10.7 billion (excluding defence) in FY 2022-23." Currently, India is Israel's second largest trade partner in Asia and the seventh largest in the world.

Modi, Quad and Israel

Under Modi, India has firmly established itself as a junior partner in the US-led Western axis. In May 2022, Modi took part in the launch of the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity in Tokyo. The IPEF is an economic wing of the Quadrilateral Security

Dialogue or Quad. The Quad, formed in 2007, is a partnership between America, Australia, India and Japan. Though the four countries call it an economic partnership, in reality it is a military partnership with a tacit aim of encircling China and containing its growing economic and strategic influence around the world, especially in Asia and Africa. No wonder that when the IPEF was launched China called it an "economic NATO."

The Quad by its very structure is imperialistic, and until the previous regime, India showed a lack of interest in continuing with the Quad. After Australia left the Quad in 2008, India didn't participate in the efforts for its revival. Only after Modi took over do we see India's active involvement in the Quad. By the time of writing this, India had announced that it was going to host the 2025 Quad summit.

Under Modi, India's semi-colonial capitalist class, which Modi and his party represent as so do all the Hindutva forces, has become greedy to exploit the new wave of Western imperialism, even if it meant trading off the country's sovereignty, embracing neo-colonialism and betraying the third world. In "the new world order", today's India has started to look more and more like Chiang Kai Shek's China before and after World War II.

India's shameless support for Israel must be seen in this background, because Israel is a very important part of America's Quad policy. Since 2022, the USA is trying to expand the Quad to the Middle East. That year, the national security advisors (NSAs) of four countries — India, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and the United States — met in Saudi Arabia for the said



purpose. The Diplomat magazine, describing the meeting as "a second Quad in the making," reported that prior to the visit for the meeting US National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan had referred to the "Middle East Quad of Israel, India, the US and UAE."

India's support for Israel's genocidal war in Gaza shows its commitment to the cause of new Imperialism. India's policy change, though good for its semi-colonial capitalist class, doesn't bode well for its poor working classes. India's entanglement in the larger US-China rivalry will only bury its people further into misery, which is already manifesting itself today in severe unemployment, agriculture crisis and erosion of democracy.

Appendix

The following information is from the website of the Indian Embassy in Israel.

Investments by Indian corporate houses in Israel and Israeli investments in India

(a) Cumulative ODI from India during April 2000 to March 2024 was US \$396 million*. Indian companies are marking their presence in Israel through mergers and acquisitions and by opening branch offices. *TCS, State Bank of India, Sun Pharma, Infosys, Tech Mahindra and Wipro Infrastructure Engineering, Lohia Group* are some major Indian companies which have operations or made acquisitions/investments in Israel. In 2022, a consortium led by *India's Adani Ports and Special Economic Zone Ltd (APSEZ)* acquired the rights to operate the Haifa Port Company Ltd from the Government of Israel with an overall investment of US \$1.18 billion.

(b) Indian major companies are also making a mark in the Israeli innovation ecosystem. *Tata Group, Wipro, Sun Pharma, Reliance Industries, L&T Technology services* are some of the major Indian firms that have made notable investments in Israeli startups directly or indirectly through venture capital firms or academic institutions. In March 2021, *Indian Oil Corporation Limited* launched a joint venture with Israel's *Phinergy* to manufacture aluminium-air battery systems in India and promote green mobility through the development of fuel cells and indigenous hydrogen storage solutions. In March 2022, *Ola Electric* invested US \$5 million in an Israeli battery technology company *StoreDot* specializing in extremely fast charging technology, as part of its plans to

manufacture advanced chemistry cells/new energy systems in India. In February 2024, Indian Oil increased its stake in Phinergy with fresh investment, thereby bringing its total investment in the Israeli company to \$25 million. In June 2024, *Sun Pharmaceutical Industries* announced the complete merger of Israel's Taro Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd. with its subsidiary, making the Israeli company wholly owned by Sun Pharma.

(c) Israeli investments in India: During April 2000 – March 2024, Israel's FDI in India was US \$314.8 million. There are over 300 investments from Israel in India, mainly in the high-tech domain, agriculture and water. These investments are varied in nature – manufacturing plants; R&D centres; subsidiaries, joint ventures and technology partnerships with Make in India etc. There is a growing preference for Israeli companies in sectors such as renewable energy, water technologies, homeland security, aerospace, defence, health and real estate in addition to traditional areas such as agriculture, cyber, chemicals, etc. Teva Pharmaceuticals, Ecoppia, Naa'n Dan Jain, Aqwise, Polemix, Eli Hajaj, Rivulis, Alumayer, Plasson, Huliot, Metzterplas, Avgol, IDE, Netafim, ADAMA, Mellanox, Dan Hotels, Watergen, etc. are among the leading Israeli companies which have notable investments in India. Israeli defence companies are increasingly looking to Make-in-India through collaborations and acquisitions. In May 2024, Israel's e-mobility company EVR motors opened a manufacturing facility in Manesar.

Ref: <https://www.indembassyisrael.gov.in/pages?id=nel5a&subid=7ax9b>

March 2024

The roots of the downfall of the Iranian "Left" in the lap of imperialism and Zionism

Today, there is a score of repented "communists" who have sunk into the quagmire of anti-revolution and support for Western imperialism, neoliberalism, and whitewashing Zionism. **In order to hide their treachery and misguidance, they all break the jar of their mistakes, their blind following, and the disaster they have caused to communism.** The question has been raised by researchers, what are the roots of this ideological and even moral collapse.

One of these factors is certainly the vicious ideological struggle the imperialist think tanks skilfully use in the fight against communism. They use all kinds of tools; an army of translators, media industry, film industry, literary and writing centres, self-proclaimed intellectuals, press and journalists, their trained philosophers, etc. to do a complete brainwashing. The lack of a powerful workers' party that stands up to this mountain of accusations, falsehoods and lies, and to engage in ideological struggle is evident, and therefore, bourgeois reaction has been able to escape this class war.

Immediately after Comrade Stalin's death, imperialist reaction tried to smear the past history and achievements of the communist movement in all countries. This history was a banner and tradition of struggle for the working class. In Europe, it was claimed that communists were Nazi accomplices who gave up the social revolution by compromising with bourgeoisie; consequently, they did not establish socialism in Belgium, France and Italy after the Second World War. In Iran one of the countries of the "Region of Storms", they waged this campaign under the banner of "the opportunist past of the Tudeh Party of Iran" in order to destroy the communist identity of the previous generation and to create a deep gap between the struggle of two generations.

Unfortunately, at the same time that the struggle weakened imperialism after the Second World War, the enemies of socialism rose up inside the front of the revolutionary forces, and under the banner of fighting "Stalin's Personality Cult", attacked socialism

and the historical achievements of the Bolsheviks headed by Comrade Stalin. They severely maligned the historical achievements of that period in all political, economic and ideological fields.

Nikita Khrushchev, as the leader of revisionist and anti-communist movement, explained his revisionist ideas and historical forgeries by stating that the world situation had changed after the Second World War and that Marxism-Leninism should be adapted to the new situation by revising the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. In order to remove its essence, the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" was removed from the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and was replaced by the "Party of the Whole People" and the "State of the Whole People". According to Marxism, the rule of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is necessary in the entire process of transition from the phase of socialism to the phase of communism in all countries, and therefore the ruling government cannot be "the state of the whole people", but can only be a proletarian government. Under the pretext of revising Marxism, the revisionists replaced class struggle, international solidarity, and the security of the socialist country with Khrushchev's three anti-communist principles of "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful transition", and "peaceful competition". At their 22nd Congress, the Soviet revisionist party abandoned the central principles of a centralized and planned economy. These principles are the bases of the laws of the socialist economy. According to the central goal of the socialist economy, production is carried out to meet the vital needs of the people, both material and spiritual, and not for profit. The revisionists invented the profit motive as the locomotive of the "socialist" economy and consequently destroyed the life of the socialist economy.

The government that emerged from the approval of these new Soviet policies was a dictatorship of the emerging bourgeois class and not a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor. The nature of the government that arose from revisionism was reactionary and anti-labour. The formal support of the revisionists for the workers is only for deception. It was similar demagoguery to the way the Western imperialist bourgeoisie used human rights and democracy to create psychological and intellectual confusion so that it could better suppress and subjugate the people.

The Iranian revisionists consciously ignored the change in the nature of the Soviet government, ignored the establishment of a

bourgeois dictatorship in the place of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ignored the change in socialist economic policies. **Rather, they justified** this class and national betrayal. For them, the policy and nature of the government in a socialist country was not the main determinant, but the centralized state economy played a decisive role. Therefore, they defended a bourgeois and anti-labour government up to its last moment. The revisionists claimed that there were still centralized state factories though Yeltsin openly declared that he was an anti-communist. To them, the Soviet Union was a socialist country until it disintegrated.

A flood of excited petty-bourgeois activists of the "Siahkal Rebellion"¹ and even the Mujahideen types, who lacked communist class consciousness but had a banner of "revolution" in their hands, struck the labour movement like a tsunami and contaminated it with petty-bourgeois ideas, and consequently led it astray.

Due to their political-ideological blindness or the lack of Marxist consciousness, due to their petty-bourgeois class origin, or due to despair because of the failure of the February 1979 Revolution in Iran, the Iranian revisionists within the Tudeh Party of Iran, the failed guerrillas (**Fedayeen**), the Worker's Way (Rahe Kargar) and others defended Soviet social-imperialism with sweet language until its very last day. They did not try to deepen their studies; instead, they ridiculed the science of Marxism-Leninism. Even today, they adopt deviant policies and are defenders of revisionist counter-revolutionary theories and justify their past. Obviously, they are not a contingent of the front of the working-class movement. They are a group of disgruntled petty bourgeois who are attempting to put an end to the pains of the calamities they have brought to the people's movement.

A difficult struggle took place between the two fronts; revolution and counter-revolution. This fight separated the

¹ Siahkal is a small town in the Iranian province of Gilan near Caspian Sea. The "Siahkal Rebellion" refers to a guerilla operation in February 1971 in Siahkal where nine guerillas of "Iranian People's Fedayeen Guerillas" attacked a gendarmerie post, killing three low-ranking guards. All nine guerillas were arrested later in a forest in the north of Iran. Thirteen men were executed by the Shah's regime for the "insurrection".

communists from the revisionists, who have become accomplices of imperialism. There were some who, under the influence of the credibility of socialism in the Soviet Union, continued to follow the revisionist line. A larger group, who did not fully understand the essence of Marxism, who did not have the ability to fight ideologically, and whose hearts were injured by the failure of Iran's revolution, were disappointed and raised the flag of submission. Some were strongly influenced by the presence of imperialist welfare states in their places of residence. All these provided the ground for their complete downfall.

In Iran, all the armed groups that raised the slogan of "theory without theory" and wanted to carry out a "revolution" with "revolutionary action" by avoiding politics and the leadership of the party of the working class, fell into Khrushchev's quagmire. They even refused to investigate and study the valuable anti-revisionist struggles. They supported the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the occupation of Afghanistan. They were allies of the anti-revolutionary and revisionist Soviet Union during and after the Iranian revolution. For the armed guerrilla groups and the "People's **Fedayeen**" in Iran, which had put slogans ahead of knowledge and reason, which had not understood the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and the importance of the ideological struggle, the interests of the Soviet Union in Iran were of primary importance. They did not care about the class struggle or national interests in Iran. After the defeat of the Iranian revolution and the escape of a large number of pro-Russian allies from Iran to Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, despair and demoralization gradually took over all of them. Though they had promoted the "socialism" of the Soviet Union, their observations in the Soviet Union was a blow to them and this was intensified with the collapse of Soviet social-imperialism.

The renunciation was the product of their severe failure and illusions, which were based on hearsay and lack of deep social knowledge. These groups, especially the guerrillas, who could not see any rational explanation and analysis for so many changes in the socialist camp, came out with the solution. They drew a veil of justification over their own mistakes and misguidance, blaming Lenin and Stalin for all their sins. They "found" something in the Karl Marx's writings to negate Leninism and to claim that socialism can never exist. So, long live capitalism!

The anti-communist agents who were active in this period quickly started translating the anti-communist works; "Mistakes of Marx and Lenin, the stories of Stalin's Crimes". These anti-communist translations have mushroomed in the West and are being propagated and reproduced. Then they went to war against socialism to justify their repentance. The root of this downfall among a section of the "Left" was their petty-bourgeois character. They avoided class education, they considered themselves to be wise, heroes, highly knowledgeable, above the masses, and they put themselves in the place of the people. Even today, when water does not run to the mill, they talk about the "Siahkal Rebellion" to mislead the young generation and to relieve their own inner pain. "What rebellion? The armed action of several dozens of armed students and intellectuals is not rebellion, it is adventurism. This deviant ideology provided the basis for the growth of revisionism in them and brought them to their current state. At that time, revisionism took different forms, Khrushchev's revisionism and "Three Worlds" revisionism; the former relied on Russian social-imperialism and the latter preferred cooperation with U.S. imperialism.

Our Party had Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the transformation of Soviet Union from its beginning until the day it collapsed. Even today, we warn the communists against cooperating with the revisionists, who do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Because of these stands, we were able to withstand the tsunami of repentance and witness our valid past predictions. Today's revisionists are no longer deceived by the reputation of socialism in the Soviet Union but they are the clear representatives of the imperialist bourgeoisie, whether of the West or of the East. Some have invented new principles to give a scientific appearance to their betrayal, namely that governments should not be judged based on class and politics. According to them, the nature of governments is unimportant; we have to believe what the establishment says, and socialism means a centralized state economy regardless of the politics that govern the economy! The negation of socialist politics is pure economism. These revisionists, who hypocritically pretend to be communists, have become agents of social democracy in the labour movement. At best, they support a social democratic government in Iran. The clear example is the Tudeh Party of Iran, which shamelessly points out some

elements of revisionism in order to divert today's discussion, but is not willing to deal with the practical results of revisionism's dominance in the Soviet Union. They have abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat and repeat the same words of Khrushchev with an apparent criticism of Khrushchev's views. They use the name of Marxism for demagogic purposes. Naturally, a distinction should be made between wavering groups and accomplices of imperialism and bourgeoisie, though they all have counter-revolutionary activities.

A group of activists remained the followers of Khrushchev, and they falsely equated Soviet imperialism with socialism. Today, they are still seeking to build theories to deny the counter-revolutionary nature of revisionism in the Soviet Union. Among other things, they claim that the source of the defeat of socialism was not political or ideological, but it was Ronald Reagan's Stars War. To them, Stars War destroyed the Soviet "socialist" economy!! We have to point out that the Soviet Union remained socialist even though 27 million Soviet people died during the Second World War, the Soviet earth was scorched, its economy was blockaded, the country was invaded, but Brezhnev gave up on Ronald Reagan's bluffs. These revisionists are still seeking to camouflage Khrushchev's revisionism and its political and ideological deadly results. Our Party raised the flag of Marxism-Leninism and published the document "Urgent and immediate tasks of Marxist-Leninists of Iran" in 1967.

"... the battle that is currently going on in the



Nikita Khrushchev together with John F. Kennedy

international arena is a battle against imperialism and reaction, it is a battle for national and social freedom, it is a battle that goes towards the expansion, strengthening, and success of the revolutionary forces.

“After the Second World War, huge changes took place on the world stage, which changed the balance of power in favour of the revolutionary forces; the forces that fought for the construction of a world without capitalism or colonialism.

“After the First World War, the victory of the October Revolution shone and opened a new era in the history of humanity. Between the two wars, the Soviet Union was the only socialist country, and after the Second World War, other countries stepped on to the road to socialism. In the meantime, the great revolution of the people of China gave tremendous greatness and strength to the socialist camp and showed the way to free the people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries from the domination by imperialism and reaction.

“If in the interval between the two wars, the old colonial system was still standing and the struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries for liberation did not lead to victory; after the Second World War, the old colonial system of the imperialists underwent disintegration and many countries were able to gain national independence. However, using neo-colonial methods and tricks, imperialism continues its rule over some of these countries and loots their wealth.

“U.S. imperialism, which is at the head of the imperialist forces and global reaction, is trying with all its might and all its means to maintain and consolidate the positions of imperialism and reaction throughout the world. It is trying to destroy socialism and to prevent revolution from taking place anywhere. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war, the biggest international exploiter, the main stronghold of neo-colonialism and global reaction, the international gendarme and enemy of the peoples of the whole world. U.S. imperialism tries to steal the colonies and areas of influence from other imperialist powers and to expand its domination over the globe.

“What method should the revolutionary forces adopt in response to this policy of aggression and looting? Should we resolutely fight against this policy or should we take the path of submission and cooperation with it? Can and should the peoples overcome the imperialist aggressions, or is there no other way but submission?

“The method that is being adopted in dealing with U.S. imperialism is the criteria of demarcation between revolutionary and anti-revolutionary forces, between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists.

“Revisionists advocate "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful transition" in a situation where imperialism is practically threatening to invade many countries in the world. Prescribing these "peaceful" methods is an attempt to get the peoples of the world to renounce revolution and submit to imperialism. Revisionists believe that in order to ensure world peace, one should refrain from standing up to imperialism or waging local uprisings. They advocate that people should try to calm the situation and to maintain the current state of the world. This means that the peoples should lay down the weapons of revolution and surrender to imperialism. By putting forward such ideas, the revisionists tie the hands and feet of the people and leave the hands of imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, open to oppress and plunder the nations. For this reason, the fight against revisionism is inseparable from the fight against imperialism, and one is necessary for the other.

“The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have resolutely rejected the revisionist counter-revolutionary approach to U.S. imperialism and have now raised the banner of armed struggle for national and democratic revolution across the continents. The national and democratic revolutions of these peoples are an inseparable part of the world proletarian revolution, and the issue of the world proletarian revolution is dependent on the fate of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of these three continents. In the forefront of the people of the "Region of Storms" is the heroic people of Vietnam, who have humiliated the world's greatest imperialist power

with their continuous and crushing blows. The revolutionary war of the heroic people of Vietnam is instructive and inspiring to all the peoples of these three continents.

“As long as the imperialists and their servants rule in this Region with the help of bullets and bayonets, and as long as the imperialists and their servants suppress the revolutionary movements of these peoples with violence, liberation wars will remain inevitable. Our country, Iran, is also one of the countries of this Region. ...”

September 2024

The struggle to prevent the advent of an authoritarian regime in Italy

As we explained in the issue 46 of “Unity and Struggle”, the Meloni government is the most reactionary government formed in Italy since the end of the World War II; a government of restoration and fascistization of the State and society, of attack on the rights of workers, migrants, women and young people and on political, trade union and civil freedoms, of rearmament and war policy.

The Meloni government is the expression of an exploitative, reactionary and chauvinistic minority that dominates the working majority that demand work, bread and peace.

It is a government of big capital (Eni, Enel, Leonardo, Stelantis, Terna, Poste, Generali, the big banks...), of the bosses, which expresses a particular form of reaction in relation to the profound crisis of the ruling class.

Its function is to slow down the decline of Italian imperialism and to stabilize capitalist economy by intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and the popular masses.

The policy and direction of the Meloni government are decided by the monopolies, in particular by the large energy companies and the military-industrial complex, not by the sectors of the lower middle class who voted for him in the 2022 political elections.

With the Meloni government, the bourgeois state subordinates itself and becomes more closely linked to the ruling groups of capitalism, with the monopolies and the most powerful capitalist associations.

The Meloni government has a large parliamentary majority, but it is a minority in the country (only 27% of voters supported it). Its social bases are found above all in sectors of the small and medium bourgeoisie crushed by the crisis. It does not have a strong presence in workers' organizations, but it can count on the complicity of union leaders, especially the Catholic ones.

Today the bourgeoisie cannot be satisfied with having its reactionary political expression in an "elite" party, it must find its reactionary mass party to immobilize and disorganize the working class.

“Fratelli d'Italia” (the far-right party headed by Giorgia Meloni, which has fascist elements within it and finances openly fascist organizations), influences and organizes resentful and frustrated layers of the middle classes, sectors of workers aristocracy and a small percentage of workers drunk with chauvinistic demagogy. But it is not yet the reactionary mass party that the bourgeoisie desires. This is demonstrated by the fact that at electoral level it received just 14% of the electorate's support.

The strength of the Meloni government lies in the weakness and divisions of the reformist and populist parliamentary opposition. But the center of the class struggle is increasingly found outside Parliament, in the factories and in the streets.

Currently the government, as a whole, is experiencing a decline in popular consensus. Salvini's League in particular is in difficulty, especially in the north. While the economic situation worsens discontent grows among proletariat and even among the middle strata that support the government. This is the “Achilles heel” of the Meloni government, despite the bourgeoisie attempt to guarantee stability and firmness to its executive power.

How fascistization advances

Two years after taking office, the Meloni government continues its all-out attack against the working class and the popular masses, implementing a policy at the exclusive service of the great capital and the parasitic layers of society.

The more the waters are agitated on the economic front (Italy is entering a recession) the more the grip tightens, strengthening the pressure and the measures against the workers, the unions, the young people who resist and fight.

At the same time, the serious internal conditions and the exacerbation of conflicts between imperialist powers push the bourgeoisie and its state towards war policy on a foreign level, with the aim of defending the interests of Italian monopoly capitalism.

In this context, the fascistization carried out by the Meloni government is broad and multifaceted.

It is expressed in political acts, provisions, bills and concrete measures which we summarize below.

- The "green light" for layoffs in companies, the reduction of wages and the worsening of working conditions,
- The maneuver of division, disintegration and marginalization of workers' organizations that reject government policies.
- The continuous limitation of democratic rights, such as those to strike and demonstrate, the repressive methods used against proletarian and student struggles.
- Cutting benefits for the unemployed and poor and refusing to establish a minimum wage,
- The continuous increase in casualization and subcontracting.
- Economic and fiscal measures in favor of monopolies, the rich and the privileged strata, accompanied by the tolerance of tax evasion.
- The attack on the reproductive rights of women, such as the right to abortion, and of LGBTQ+ people.
- The racist and xenophobic policy of persecution of migrants, which translates into an increase in deaths at sea and agreements with corrupt governments to create concentration camps like the one under construction in Albania, accompanied by the apology of the "Italic race" and the demagogic fight against "ethnic substitution".

The liberticidal and anti-worker bill num. 1660

The Legislative Decree 1660, currently being approved by Parliament, increases the penalties for street demonstrations; transforms road and railway blockades into a criminal offence, aggravated if committed "by several people gathered together" and with "one's own body" (i.e. during strikes and workers' pickets); further increases the penalties for contempt, resistance and injury (even very slight) to a public official; introduces the crime of revolt in prisons and migrant camps, extended to passive resistance and even to the families of prisoners; makes it possible for public security agents to carry weapons illegally; puts public administrations and publicly held companies at the service of spy agencies; cancels the obligation to postpone the execution of the sentence for pregnant women and for mothers of children up to three years old.

With an amendment presented to the Legislative Decree 1660 by Salvini's League, very heavy penalties are foreseen, up to 20 years in prison, for those who oppose "major works" such as the TAV (high speed train) or the Messina Bridge, even with symbolic acts.

Furthermore, the pretext of "word terrorism" is used to attack the most acute forms of class struggle of the exploited and oppressed.

Those affected by the measures of this bill are the workers' pickets, the road and railway blockades - which have always been part of the forms of struggle of the workers' and trade union movement -, the protests of the unemployed, the sit-ins of the students, the demonstrations for peace and in solidarity with the Palestinian people, the mobilizations against the construction of new military bases, the protest actions against the eco-climatic crisis and environmental devastation, the occupations of vacant homes, the protests in concentration camps and overcrowded prisons.

At the same time, full impunity is guaranteed for the "enforcers of order" for their increasingly frequent anti-worker and anti-popular abuses.

A vast front of social, trade union and political opposition is developing against this bill that aims to create a police state.

At an institutional level, the reactionary policy of the Meloni government hinges on some key-laws and measure:

- The direct election of the prime minister to strengthen the weight and authoritarianism of the executive.
- The disruptive regional autonomy, to divide workers and abolish national employment contracts; with this law the Regions will become a sort of "small states" with their own healthcare, their own education, etc., destroying any solidarity redistribution of the wealth produced towards the weaker regions.
- The abolition of the crime of abuse of office, to favor mafia, thieves and corrupt officials.
- The redefinition of the relationship between the executive and the judiciary, with the separation of the careers between prosecuting and judging magistrates (creating the presupposition of the submission of public prosecutors to the government).

- The control of the public TV networks, news agencies, radios and other important media.
- The attack on everybody that controls government operations.

In foreign policy:

- The warmongering policy which materializes in the sending of weapons, missile systems and funds to Ukraine, in the sending of thousands of soldiers, land vehicles, planes, ships, to the "eastern flank" of NATO and in 'Indo-Pacific, in support for Zionist Israel, in the rearmament and militarization of society.
- -The launch of the "Mattei plan" to expand the sphere of influence and the robbery of raw materials in Africa, especially in Niger, Libya, Tunisia, Burkina Faso and the Horn of Africa.
- The participation in more than 40 military missions abroad with approximately 12 thousand Italian soldiers involved.
- The "bringing closer" of the state apparatus to military industry companies also continues, through coordination between the military industry and a select government committee, for the identification of countries to which to direct the export of armaments and equipment military, keeping in mind the ambitions of Italian imperialism.

All this means the continuous increase in military spending, which will amount to around 30 billion euros this year, to the detriment of social spending.

On an ideological level, the Meloni government intensifies the spread of chauvinist, racist and fascist ideological poison, the denigration of anti-fascism and the falsification of history.

The political project of the far right

The laws and bills approved and presented, the measures and provisions adopted, demonstrate that the objective of the government, directed by far-right forces, is the creation of an authoritarian regime characterized by an anti-worker, anti-democratic and warmongering politics.

A regime that deprives the proletariat of the freedoms and possibilities necessary for the struggle, in order to place the entire weight of economic stagnation, debt and imperialist war on the shoulders of the working masses.

The process of fascistization of the bourgeois dictatorship proceeds in parallel with the decline of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and affects all state apparatus.

The specific causes of this process which advances, between conflicts within the ruling class and clashes within the governing parties themselves, must be identified: in the strengthening of the domination of the monopolies, which aim at the liquidation of bourgeois democracy using formulas and instruments considered more effective; in the exacerbation of inter-imperialist contradictions and in the participation in the warmongering and anti-worker policies of the USA, NATO and the EU; in the fear of a vigorous rise of the movement of the exploited and oppressed masses, now disillusioned with bourgeois parties and institutions.

In times of recession and war, the bourgeoisie must consolidate its rear. No ruling circle can think of firing workers, further reducing wages, further cutting public services while billions are wasted on the war, while other benefits and reliefs are granted to the rich, without harshly repressing the workers, the youth, women who fight, without criminalizing and squash social protest.

The political tendency of imperialism is towards violence and the exacerbation of reaction in every field, towards the liquidation of bourgeois-democratic freedoms and rights.

This corresponds to the interests of big capital which penetrates and places under its dependence all the institutions of the bourgeoisie, to impose a policy at its exclusive service both inside and outside the country.

An imperialistic, corrupt, parasitic and anti-popular bourgeois policy, which in certain conditions, connected to serious crises, can lead to fascism, the open, terrorist dictatorship of financial capital.

This outcome, however, should not be confused with the ongoing process of fascistization, which prepares it, even if it is not inevitable. Today we are not under a fascist regime, although there are fascist elements in government. Stating the opposite only leads to demoralizing the masses and not fighting against the authoritarian project, the reactionary and anti-worker measures that favor fascism coming to power.

The unity of action of the proletariat to block the way to the reactionary plan

Who can stop the reactionary plan that is advancing on many sides today? Perhaps the bourgeois "constitutional opposition"? But it is precisely the denial of this phenomenon and its causes by this false opposition, which defends the interests of the monopolies trying to "limit the damage" they cause, which supports the policy of war and the attacks on the proletariat, which is always ready to reconcile with the far right, to encourage reactionary and warmongering tendency and plans.

The liberal-reformist leaders avoid any serious mass struggle against the development of fascistization for the fear that such a struggle will increase the revolutionary movement against the bourgeoisie. For them the struggle against Meloni government is not a struggle against Italian imperialism, but a struggle in which the working class is only an ally of sectors of the ruling class affected by the far right government.

In reality, it is the continuous capitulation and the divisions imposed by the leaders of social democracy and collaborator trade unions, the populists, the policy of sabotaging the class struggle, the opposition to the united front for the mobilization of the working masses opened the doors to the Meloni government, that favor reaction, fascistization and fascism.

Maybe the EU can stop it? But it is precisely the anti-worker and war-mongering policy of the EU that provides lifeblood to the



reaction on all levels, as well as supporting ultra-reactionary regimes such as that of Orbán and Zelensky.

The speeches of those who support these solutions to "save bourgeois democracy" are nothing more than fraud and deception, because both are props of the rotten bourgeois regime.

To defeat the reactionary plan and bring down the Meloni government, the unity of action of the proletariat is essential for the intransigent defense of its economic and political interests, of the freedoms conquered with very hard struggles.

On this basis, a fighting alliance must be established, directed by the working class, with the popular masses crushed by big capital, with the authentic democrats and anti-fascists, directed mainly against the imperialist bourgeoisie, against the monopolies.

The reactionary offensive is destined to encounter growing resistance from the working class and the broad popular masses who demand the satisfaction of their urgent and vital needs: defense of employment, increased wages, less working hours, better working conditions, more rights and safety at work, stop precariousness, safeguard public services (health, school, transport), fight against inequalities and poverty, defense of peace.

In the current situation, the resistance to repression, to rampant authoritarianism and reaction, to war politics, the ability to reject attempts at intimidation of struggles and class solidarity, the protests and the strikes that occur in every sector are important and must be supported.

The reformist and opportunist leaders who oppose this line must be exposed and fought mercilessly. But this is still not enough.

The question that arises today is to include the fight against authoritarianism, militarism and the fascistization of the State, the fight for bread and peace, in the radical criticism of the capitalist-imperialist system, developing awareness of the need for rupture revolutionary with the bourgeois order, for the transfer of power from a minority of exploiters and oppressors to the majority of the exploited and oppressed.

This brings the question of the Communist Party to the fore. Only with its own independent and revolutionary party the working class will be able to conduct a consistent policy capable of

opposing militarism, fascistization and fascism; only with this party it will advance in the struggle for the conquest of political power.

This is the knot that communists and advanced workers must untie, uniting and organizing themselves to form the embryo of a revolutionary party that relies on the workers' movement and places itself at its head in the fight for socialism.

The example that Piattaforma Comunista and Militanza Comunista Toscana are offering, carrying forward the process of their fusion into a single communist organization, will serve to give impetus to the struggle for the Party.

The sharpening of all the fundamental contradictions of our era, the inevitable development of the class struggle, will contribute to the developments we are fighting for.

September 2024

Neoliberal Continuity from Obrador to Sheinbaum

Neoliberalism emerged as a response to the crisis of capitalism in the 1970s and 1980s, driven by the Washington Consensus; it promoted deregulation, the privatization of state-owned enterprises, and liberalization of trade. This strategy sought to push dependent countries to contribute to the enrichment of international financial capital, especially that of the United States, by imposing forced savings while proposing trade liberalization as an option for domestic financing. In Mexico, since 1983, the country has moved towards this new model of accumulation, with the opening to international markets and the deregulation of key sectors, which fully integrated it into the logic of neoliberal capitalism.

Under the self-styled regime of the Fourth Transformation (4T) led by Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), the dominance of the financial oligarchy has not only remained intact, but has deepened. The state has continued to promote policies that favor the concentration and centralization of capital, while the Mexican bourgeoisie has taken advantage of conditions of state-generated infrastructure and public investments, but mainly through the exploitation of a skilled workforce in the assembly plants. This has allowed the financial oligarchy to increase its profits, at the expense of the growing job insecurity faced by the Mexican proletariat. Despite the social programs implemented to increase the consumption of commodities, these efforts do not challenge the structures of capital accumulation; rather, they reinforce them, perpetuating the profits of the financial oligarchy.

The strengthening of the dominance of the financial oligarchy

The process of capital accumulation in Mexico intensified in the 1980s and 1990s, when more than a thousand public companies were privatized and the government granted concessions and permits in strategic sectors such as telecommunications, transportation, finance, and mining. In this way, state monopolies

passed into the hands of the private sector, whose wealth does not arise from constant innovation or the development of new technologies, but from the exploitation of national resources, protected by the government.

Under the 4T regime, the strengthening of the large monopolies and the financial oligarchy has been evident. According to a report by Oxfam (2024), at the beginning of AMLO's government, the total accumulated amount of the top ten millionaires in Mexico was \$121,700 million dollars. For this year, that figure amounts to \$176,600 million dollars, an increase of 45.2%. This increase shows the concentration of wealth in a few hands. Within the top ten richest people in Mexico, the fortunes that grew the most were those of Fernando Chico Pardo (220%), Rufino Vigil González (142%), Carlos Hank Rhon (100%), Ricardo Salinas Pliego (88.7%) and Germán Larrea (61.2%). Carlos Slim, for his part, has maintained his position as the richest person in the country, with a fortune of \$102 billion, 52.2% more than in 2018.

The wealth transferred by the Mexican government to the bourgeoisie during those years was accentuated by the 2019-2020 economic crisis covered up by the Covid-19 Pandemic, which considerably boosted the process of concentration and centralization of capital. Centralization was produced by monopoly power that allowed income to increase through prices, that is—inflation—which is nothing more than a mechanism of violent redistribution exercised by capital over labor.

During the health crisis that started at the beginning of 2020, the economic power derived from the monopoly situation allowed large companies to raise the prices of their products and services; these increases were accentuated by shortages and the increase in grain prices due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The profits of these companies took about 60% of the increase in prices in the Mexican economy between September 2021 and September 2022, the period with the largest increase in the cost of living in recent decades in Mexico. In a "competitive" market, prices would have fallen once the economic shock had passed, but monopoly power prevented this adjustment.

On the other hand, the concentration of capital intensified during the Pandemic due to the bankruptcy of a large number of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs) that did not have the necessary capital to survive the fall in demand, nor the

resources to adapt to new production conditions, such as remote work or Internet shopping and home delivery services. This collapse benefited the large monopolies, which saw their market shares increase at the expense of smaller firms. The close political relationship between business owners such as Carlos Slim and Germán Larrea with the AMLO government allowed them to increase their fortunes by 70% during the last four years, reaching amounts equivalent to six out of every hundred pesos of the private fortunes in the country. This figure is equivalent to the wealth of half of the poorest population in Latin America and the Caribbean, which underscores the structural inequality of the distribution of wealth in Mexico.

The bourgeoisie has strengthened its fortunes in recent years with the collaboration of the state. Carlos Slim, for example, has expanded his influence with contracts ranging from gas pipelines with the Federal Electricity Commission (CFE), to the production of the vaccine against Covid-19 in alliance with AstraZeneca. Ricardo Salinas Pliego won the contract for the C5 video surveillance system in Mexico City; Emilio Azcárraga Jean reached an agreement with the Ministry of Public Education (SEP) for the transmission of educational content during the pandemic, and Bernardo Quintana, of Grupo ICA, won the deal for section 4 of the Maya Train. The corporations linked to Hank Rhon and his son Carlos Hank González have won contracts for more than 10.1 billion pesos for insurance contracted with Banorte, among others.

The banking sector has also followed a similar trend of concentration and centralization of capital, with record growth in profits during the current regime. Despite a fall in profits during 2020, the year in which the crisis hit rock bottom, the sector recovered quickly in 2021 and reached a record in 2022, with profits of 236,743 million pesos, far exceeding the 102,429 million pesos of 2020.

Now, the cabinet of Claudia Sheinbaum, AMLO's successor, includes figures such as Marcelo Ebrard, who has strong ties to Carlos Slim. The ratification of Rogelio Ramírez de la O in the Ministry of Finance marks the continuity of central projects such as rail transport lines, the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), and the conversion of the south of the country into an industrial zone that functions as a "second frontier" for migration.

In short, the 4T regime has strengthened the power of the financial oligarchy, promoting the concentration and centralization of capital. The projects and policies implemented have kept neoliberal structures intact, perpetuating the domination of the minority over the majority of the population.

The Increase in Exploitation of the Proletariat

Neoliberalism, established in Mexico since the 1980s, has transformed the labor market with a sustained increase in wage exploitation. This process has consisted of the precariousness of working conditions, the increase in working hours and the implementation of subcontracting and labor flexibility, to the detriment of the well-being of the working class. Although the discourse of the 4T government headed by López Obrador promised a break with the neoliberal model, reality shows that the structural conditions that define the capitalist mode of production remain unchanged, making the current and incoming governments, headed by Claudia Sheinbaum, a continuation of the same labor policies that have prioritized the interests of capital over the well-being of the proletariat for decades.

One mechanism that capitalism has resorted to in order to increase profits is the extension of the working day, thus ensuring a greater extraction of value from the worker without necessarily increasing the salary received. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Mexico stands out as one of the countries with the longest working day: on average, Mexican workers work 2,255 hours a year, compared to 1,380 hours in countries such as Germany or Denmark. This situation shows a higher level of extraction of surplus value in dependent countries, such as Mexico, through the lengthening of the working day.

The struggle for the reduction of the working day to 40 hours, at the national level, was totally neglected by AMLO. For her part, Claudia Sheinbaum, who at the time pointed out that salary increases were a priority over the reduction of the working day, has adopted a position of gradual implementation and in consensus with the employers, which shows the subordination of Morena to the interests of the oligarchy.

Currently, the Federal Labor Law (LFT) establishes a maximum of 48 hours of work per week, and Article 123 of the

Constitution recognizes the right to one day of rest for every six days worked. Despite having a super-majority in both chambers, the ruling that sought to reduce the working day from 48 to 40 hours was rejected by the President of the Chamber of Deputies, which shows how the State maintains its structures of oppression at the service of capital.

The increase in the degree of exploitation is not only seen in the length of the working day, but also directly in the value of the wage. This involves reducing wages below the value of labor power, due to the pressure exerted by the Industrial Reserve Army on wages. As a result, workers are unable to access the means of subsistence necessary to reproduce their labor power in adequate conditions, leading to a stunted reproduction of the working class. During López Obrador's government, increases in the minimum wage failed to offset the effects of inflation, and working poverty increased despite the 110% increase in the minimum wage.

In 2012, during the beginning of Enrique Peña Nieto's six-year term, the population employed in extreme poverty amounted to 34.3 million people. By 2018, when López Obrador's term began, the figure had risen to 39.5 million, and by 2024, shortly before the end of his administration, it reached 43.5 million people. These data show a sustained increase in the number of people who, despite being employed and receiving a salary, are unable to acquire the basket of basic necessities. Likewise, in 2017, the Center for



Multidisciplinary Analysis (CAM) revealed that a Mexican worker needed to work more than 24 hours to earn a basic food basket, while in 2012 it only took 21 hours and 13 minutes. This highlights the inability of the system to improve the living conditions of the proletariat.

Meanwhile, between 2012 and 2024, the price of the monthly basic basket went from 6,053.78 pesos to 14,590.8 pesos, while the minimum wage went from 1,869.9 to 7,467.9 pesos. Although these salary increases might seem significant, such as 20% during the Obrador government, they are insufficient to meet the needs of a working family, which still cannot earn enough for a complete basket of food, housing, clothing, recreation, and services such as transportation, electricity, and the internet. Half of the recommended food basket is still unattainable for millions of workers in Mexico.

The increase in exploitation cannot be dissociated from the global context of the capitalist-imperialist system. The inability of social democracy, represented by Morena and the 4T, to transform these structural conditions is a manifestation of its character of conciliation with capital and its role as its administrator. The policies of the 4T have not been able to break with the neoliberal scheme, and instead have served to legitimize and perpetuate the exploitation of the labor force in new forms.

As long as the capitalist system of production continues to prevail, any attempt to improve the living conditions of the proletariat will be doomed to failure, since the roots of the problem lie in the exploitation inherent in the system. The political objective proposed by Morena is limited by the framework of capitalism, and, therefore, any improvement in wages or working conditions will be merely superficial if the structural causes of exploitation are not addressed.

The only possible way out for the working class is the socialist revolution, which seeks to abolish private property and wage labor, transforming the relations of production to put them at the service of the proletariat. Only in this way can the conditions be created to eliminate the exploitation of one human being by another and to guarantee a dignified life for all workers. The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Mexico supports this perspective and the struggle for a proletarian revolution, which allows for a

radical transformation of society, eliminating the inequalities that capitalism has created and perpetuates.

Faced with the decay of the capitalist-imperialist system, the proletarian revolution presents itself as the only alternative capable of overcoming the contradictions of the system and opening the way to a new form of social organization of production based on the maxim "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs". The history of the last six-year term in Mexico and the continuation promised by Sheinbaum, shows how the exploitation of the working class is not a matter of will, but of the material conditions of the relations of production that determine the future of society.

The neoliberal continuity from Obrador to Sheinbaum is nothing more than an example of the depth of the general crisis of capitalism, which puts up its bourgeois democratic facade in order to confront it. While corruption is an integrated element that the governments of the 4T have tried to combat, the real essence of capitalism does not lie in corruption, but in wage exploitation. The struggle for a dignified life for the working class cannot be limited to the limits imposed by the system; it must aim at the radical transformation of the system, towards the building of a system in which human labor is not a commodity.

Only through organization and struggle will the proletariat be able to emancipate itself from the chains that capitalism has imposed and build a new society. In this perspective, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Mexico maintains that the confrontation with a regime of neoliberal continuity and deepening has confirmed the need to raise our forms of organization and struggle, reaffirming the importance of the General Political Strike and the building of the United Front in the form of the Assembly of the Proletariat and the Peoples of Mexico. It is on this path that true hope lies for millions of workers who seek to free themselves from the chains of exploitation.

Communist Party of Mexico (Marxist-Leninist)

October 2024

On the tasks of the moment

In May 2011, a demonstration of young students ended up camping permanently in the Puerta del Sol in Madrid, giving rise to the so-called 15M, a spontaneous movement without political direction that aroused widespread sympathy. From 2012, the breadth of the popular mobilization against the brutal cuts of the Rajoy government overflowed the streets of the main cities of Spain, causing very harsh clashes with the police. This led the State to approve a law popularly known as the “gag law” (ley mordaza), to guarantee the impunity of the police forces and to limit the right to demonstrate; this was a law that, despite their commitment, the coalition governments have refused to repeal. In March 2014, large demonstrations ended with a march on Madrid that brought together nearly two million people. Although these mobilizations did not have general political objectives and did not come from consolidated popular organizations – they were called by the so-called “tides”, a varied group of sectoral collectives – the mobilizations threatened the stability of the regime.

The risk that the youths who were opposing the government would quickly adopt a revolutionary orientation urged some “opinion-forming” media to promote the role of a group of activists, mostly from the Complutense University of Madrid and closely related to the revisionist milieu, helping them to form Podemos (We can) in 2014. This was a force that adopted the populist theses of Laclau, the intellectual reference of Argentine Kirchnerism, and whose political character was close to that of the Greek Syriza. In the elections to the European Parliament in May of that year, Podemos unexpectedly obtained one and a half million votes and five MEPs.

For the regime, it was a matter of launching an operation similar to that at the beginning of the Transition, with the aim of exhausting the potentially revolutionary impulse of the youth, hindering the development of the popular struggle, which was then on the rise, and keeping it within the institutional limits of the monarchical state.

The initial rhetoric of the populist leaders gave way to bourgeois pragmatism. Finally, the alliance with IU (United Left) and the revisionist PCE [Communist Party of Spain] to form Unidas Podemos (UP United We can) and the formation, in December 2019, of the first coalition government marked the beginning of a reformist mandate that ended up leading both forces to a situation of total discredit in the eyes of the proletariat and the popular classes.

The discredit of this “citizen populism” has been very rapid: in May 2021, early elections were held in the Madrid region in which the Unidas Podemos coalition suffered its first serious blow. The leader of UP until then, Pablo Iglesias, resigned, naming as his successor Yolanda Díaz, a militant of the revisionist PCE and IU. She was an old acquaintance, responsible for the reformist turn and the subsequent liquidation of the coalition Alternativa Galega de Esquerda [Galician Left Alternative], which in 2012 (two years before the emergence of Podemos) was the first attempt at electoral unity of the Galician left, in which comrades from our party actively participated.

The new representative of UP carried out an intense image campaign, but always practiced the most miserable reformism, defended peace and social dialogue with big business and fought what she called “noise” in politics, demanding the cessation of any social pressure. Fearful of confronting a “friendly” government, the union leaders refused at all times to mobilize the workers, despite the overwhelming rates of unemployment, precarious jobs and wages, poverty and social exclusion that were growing in our country.

The entire mandate of the first coalition government has been a succession of unfulfilled commitments and empty talk. In our Central Committee in November 2023, we pointed out that “the revisionists in the government... amidst tears, continue to favor the privatization of services, the militarization of the economy, state support for big business, etc. While big business receives all kinds of economic, legal and financial aid, no effective measure has been adopted to improve the Spanish economic structure, nor, of course, the living conditions of the social majority. The proletariat has suffered intensely from the consequences of this policy (the major decisions of the Government have been repeated and even deepened by many autonomous governments led by the

right, such as that of Madrid, which further favor big business in financial matters and go further in the privatization of public services, protected by state laws that the Government has not repealed or modified).”

The labor reform, for example, did not reinstate the legislation that guaranteed a minimum legal and administrative control of employment in the face of layoffs and the general arbitrariness of employers in labor relations. As a consequence, the number of layoffs due to the end of the probationary period (up to 700% at times) and for disciplinary reasons soared; large companies continued with their plans to reduce staff (the banking sector ended its plan with 19,000 layoffs, Telefónica –Movistar–, laid off 3,500 workers some months later, etc.). The various measures adopted by the government to prevent the brutal rise in the cost of housing and rent (aggravated by the increase in mortgage interest rates) were immediately overtaken by the speculative intervention of large holders and vulture funds, which strengthened their control of the real estate sector, partly with the help of the government. (Thus, for example, in April 2022 the State transferred the management of Sareb's real estate assets to two vulture funds: Aliseda Anticipa Blackstone and Hipoges KKR).

In Spain, only 2.5% of housing charges social rent, compared to 30% in the Netherlands, 24% in Austria, etc.; but the coalition government has not created a public park with the Sareb housing paid for by the State, nor has it expropriated large holders, whose actions cause the exorbitant rise in property prices, nor has it ended speculation in this sector, despite knowing who is responsible for the problem. Everything has been limited to partial measures, adopted from outside the market, which have been quickly ignored or outdone by speculators. As a result, the age at which young Spaniards become independent is over 30 years old.

The Government has reduced the amount of pensions, also taking an important step on the road to their privatization, with the law for the promotion of Employment Pension Plans, approved on June 9, 2022. Its argument, as always, is the increase in the number of new pensioners; but they remain silent about the fact that, in order to save the banks from the 2008 crisis, the state took 100,000 million euros from the pension fund. That is why the various governments have refused to carry out the audit of Social Security that the pensioners' movement demands, etc.

In general, the attitude of the coalition government has been complacent towards the interests of the business and financial oligarchy: for example, it has not put an end to abuses in training practices and internship contracts (around 1.3 million workers, particularly young people, work under this type of training contract), nor has it put an end to the abuses of financial institutions, which do not pay deposits but do increase the interest on their loans, making a scandalous profit from these practices, etc.

Along with disillusionment and demoralization, the long period of the pandemic contributed to cooling the political atmosphere; but, as the exceptional health measures were relaxed, the mobilization has been growing. Despite the fact that it is still dispersed, uncoordinated and without common political objectives, one of the most notable examples was seen in Cádiz with the struggle of the metal sector at the end of 2021. This was a struggle that received the support of thousands of workers from all over the country, as did the long strike of primary care doctors and the large mobilizations in defense of public health in Madrid. These brought hundreds of thousands of citizens onto the streets; they were also proof of the resurgence of mobilizations. In all cases, the union leaderships and reformist politicians were actively committed to reducing tensions.

Despite everything, little by little, pockets of class opposition have been rising that have tried to unify the struggles and give them a combative content. One of the most active movements in this regard has been Pensioner Workers, with which our party has been working. The pensioners' movement had been carrying out demonstrations for years in defense of public pensions and against the cuts that undermined this right. As the coalition government made it clear that it was not going to repeal the regressive reforms of the previous governments of Rajoy (PP) and Rodríguez Zapatero (PSOE), it became a priority for the pensioners' movement to take a stand against their failures, with the slogan "Whoever governs, pensions, public services, will be defended", which has become widespread.

This resurgence of mobilization has, as we say, common characteristics: it generally takes place outside the trade union organizations, whose leaders are trying to hide the struggles and act actively to stifle them. The sectors that have promoted the mobilizations (CTM in Cádiz, Metal Workers in Vigo, companies in

conflict, etc.) are trying to coordinate them, but they do not find support among the political organizations. However, they have found a strong class solidarity.

The revisionists in government have never considered, in short, confronting the problems in the economic and political structure that brought about the development of our country. The point is that the application of any reform program inevitably clashes with an economic and political structure inherited from Francoism and has been consolidated and adapted to changes in the international situation since the beginning of the transition. The tendencies that the “developmentalism” of late Francoism left as a legacy to the continuing monarchy mark the main limits to the development of our country since then, which can only be overcome by breaking the pact that the submissive left signed at the time.

The beginning of “globalization” in Spain coincided with the transition. After a long period of political instability, in which the Francoist state apparatus was fully committed to imposing the monarchical regime (in the struggle to break with Francoism, more than 100 people were killed by the police or by assassins from fascist gangs, in demonstrations or strikes), once Bourbon “democracy” was established, it was Felipe González’s PSOE that began the path towards the complete “liberalization” of the Spanish economy.

What was becoming a trend during Francoism, was transformed under the monarchy into a consolidated economic structure, characterized by an economy based on services not linked to production, especially tourism, hospitality and construction. Entry into the European Union did the rest, by implementing the CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) and limiting the capacity of intervention of the economic bodies of the State, subjecting major decisions on investment, taxation, public debt, etc. to what was agreed to by the EU. Today, not only the economy of our country, but also work, territorial structure, transport, etc. are determined by this economic policy developed by the different governments of the regime. Another consequence of the economic structure is the depopulation of the interior of Spain, whose population is isolated and completely neglected in essential factors such as health, education, access to culture, etc.

This evolution is not a matter of chance: the main demands of the popular movement, which at the time of the death of the assassin Franco was very powerful, organized and experienced in the fight against the dictatorship, were ignored. In the political sphere, these were the break with Francoism, the formation of a Popular and Federal Republic, the purge of the elements involved in the repression and support of the dictatorship, the closure of the Yankee military bases and the withdrawal of their troops, etc. In the economic, social and labor spheres, they were the reinforcement of the public industrial sector, the creation of a public bank, the protection of employment, the creation of a strong public service, the confiscation of the large estates, the handing over of land to the day laborers and the state promotion of agricultural cooperatives, etc. The renunciation of these demands, the acceptance of a Constitution such as that of 1978, awarded and not the result of a constituent process with popular participation, etc., would not have been possible without the involvement of the leadership of the PCE. The monarchical regime, faithful to its continuist origin, has never questioned the power structure inherited from Franco. The minority that dominated the economy at the dictator's death continues to do so today. The fundamental institutions of the State are not at the service of the social majority, nor have they been purged of elements of the reactionary caste whose members have continued to co-opt themselves into the organs of the State, to the point of forming a stratum that prevents the development of programs that address the most pressing problems of the population.

The central organs of judicial power, including those charged by the Constitution with its control, respond to the dictates of the political forces that represent the interests of the various sectors of the oligarchy: far from being a guarantee of legality, they have focused on legally justifying political decisions that curtail rights and cut back democratic advances, and on opposing any measure that attacks the interests of the oligarchy. They have not shown any signs of autonomy in relation to the economic power and its political representatives; at the same time, they have carried out an open interference in the other two organs of power, the Government and Parliament, without showing the slightest respect for the principle of separation of powers, so dear to any self-respecting bourgeois democracy.

The dynasty that occupies the head of State, imposed in its day by Francoism, is the best example of the reactionary and anti-democratic character of the regime. The monarchical Constitution guarantees, in practice, the impunity of the members of the dynasty in relation not only to the acts of their political life, but also to their personal acts. Its first representative, Juan Carlos, continues to live outside the law, legally protected from the innumerable corruption scandals in which he is implicated. His unedifying lifestyle is the subject of jokes by commentators, but the State and its representatives bow their heads before his venal acts. The tenth anniversary of his abdication has been celebrated, but few remember that a decision of such importance was a simple formality that was resolved in just two weeks, just like so many other important decisions.

Now, everyone can see that revisionism is not a revolutionary ideology; that when the revisionist leaders talk about socialism or defending the Republic, they are merely maintaining a formal posture, that their intention has never been to break with the system that they helped to establish against the objectives that energized the clearest and most organized sectors of our class and their own militancy, in the fight against Francoism.

The revisionists claim that we are living in a full democracy, although, they say, there are democratic fringes such as the election of the Head of State; but they oppose going outside the consensual framework of the monarchical Constitution. In reality, the modern history of our country has seen the constant struggle between the people to develop democracy in Spain without obstacles, and reaction to avoid it at all costs; The oligarchy that really controls the State has always demanded acceptance of the status quo and, whenever it has seen its absolute and all-round control of the State threatened, it has used the political and military power in its hands to impose itself.

It is not a question, as the traitor Santiago Carrillo cynically said, of changing the color of a flag, or of winning a bourgeois republic that maintains the same constitutional restraints that today prevent the social majority from exercising democratic power. It is a question of fundamentally changing the 1978 Constitution, which establishes the limits of a state model and of an institutional and political structure that supports a system dominated by a minority of parasites, big business owners and financiers.

This is not a democratic formalism; it is about giving the people a voice in determining the form of the State and guaranteeing democracy, the right to self-determination of the historical nationalities, the democratic control of institutions, the pending agrarian reform, public control and nationalization of strategic economic sectors, effective control and participation of citizens in the issues that affect them. It is, in short, about applying the program that has always been associated with the struggle for the Republic.

We are rapidly approaching a time when the doubts of the unrepentant reformists will not be of any use, nor will the crazy sectarian and formally radical, but in practice accommodating, activism of the radical opportunists. Unity is urgent, but not just any unity; we need to move firmly towards popular unity around a program with shared political objectives, which goes beyond confronting the crisis that is continuing with the useless weapons of this limited democracy. It is urgent to establish agreements to revive the initiative for the proletariat. Otherwise, it will be the right and fascism that will end up definitively blurring the “misunderstanding” of the continuist [from the Franco period] “democracy.”

Anyone who does not live in their own personal universe, anyone who is not voluntarily detached from political and social reality, knows that the conditions for revolution are not given, that an immense majority of our class is on the sidelines of the political battle, among other reasons, because of the Caesarism [system of absolute power] and arrogance that have characterized the work of opportunists and revisionists.

We are in the democratic-popular stage of the revolution. The task of communists is to work tirelessly to organize the proletariat, taking advantage of all the openings that allow us to reach the masses, to know their problems, which are ours, to explain their causes and propose our program to overcome them, to organize them and learn from them, to take up the forms of struggle that each political moment creates, etc. in order to unite all the efforts of the popular camp to direct them against the common enemy. Yes, our goal is the socialist revolution, to destroy the bourgeois state in order to build another one on radically different foundations; but at each specific moment, as Lenin advised, we must take into account the specific conditions, so as not to separate

ourselves from our class, in order to formulate the appropriate tactical program that will allow us to advance towards that goal.

In the Report approved at our last Congress, we included a quote from Comrade Lenin, which warns against radical doctrinarism: “It is far more difficult -- and of far greater value -- to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle do not yet exist, to be able to champion the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organization) in non-revolutionary bodies and often enough in downright reactionary bodies, in a non-revolutionary situation, among masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action.” (Left-Wing in Communism: An Infantile Disorder).

About the Youth

The young people are the sector that suffers most from the general crisis of imperialism. Having a permanent job with rights, decent housing that allows for their emancipation, a dignified retirement after an active working life, etc. has become almost a pipe dream for young Spanish workers, who are denied a perspective for the future. The capitalist State is sweeping away all the rights won by decades of struggle and sacrifice by our class.

However, apparently, youth seems to be on the fringes of this reality, far removed from the political struggle, as if they take for granted that victory is impossible, as if they believe that their future is doomed in advance to be worse than that of their parents and grandparents.

How is this inactivity possible for those who live in the most open and vital period, when one is most accessible to the teachings of life? This inactivity is of course more apparent than real, and there are factors that help explain why this sector that is important for the revolutionary struggle, which must take up the baton of the fight for emancipation, has not massively joined the organized fight:

As we have said before, we are experiencing a change of cycle, in which, as Gramsci said, “the old world is dying and the new one is slow in appearing.” Today we know where revisionist degeneration leads, what consequences the abandonment of reason brings, which tells us that only the struggle can allow us to overcome a system that is leading us to catastrophe; but this

evidence has brought with it a deep disillusionment, distrust and confusion. The clearer the objective reasons for fighting are perceived, the more distant the possibilities of progress seem.

On the one hand, the concrete struggles, which were previously fought together, in an organized way, with defined objectives, are now fragmented, with each sector defending its own particular demands; The organizations that once allowed people to fight with the confidence of shared interests with their class brothers are now taken over by a bureaucracy that limits itself to maintaining a structure that is of little use if it does not help us to gain strength, to make out of each person, many, through the multiplying effect of unity, the sharing of efforts and objectives; otherwise they are weakened to the extreme and dispersed.

On the other hand, the various opportunist currents that the bourgeoisie has been presenting as “new”, which would allow them to put an end to the evils without fighting the disease, have ended up aggravating the problem, by creating an illusion that in a short time has given way to more frustration. All these “original” currents have had common characteristics: contempt for the popular struggle, the replacement of the popular organization by the action of paper leaders, who supposedly interpret the general feeling, and their reformist character. They all accept the status quo, none of them propose to put an end to the liberal State, but to reform it from within, or outside the organized action of the masses.

To all this we must add other changes in the structure of work, even in the forms of relations, which objectively make the task of organizing more difficult: the dispersion of work among small units in which the worker is physically isolated from his own colleagues, a trend taken to its extreme with “teleworking”; and social networks, which, while on the one hand, favour the rapid spread of information, also facilitate its manipulation by a handful of media that control what is said and even create false references in characters far removed from the real existence of people (the figure of the so-called influencer is an absurd example of these deformed models of reality).

As in everything, technical advances bring with them an improvement and, in the hands of the exploiting class, they also become a powerful weapon for numbing consciousness and stupefaction. Along with all this, the anonymity of social networks

degrades debates, as they are not subject to shared norms that allow them to be kept within the limits of the rational; Nowadays, it is much easier for defiance, formalism and extravagance to take over political debate.

“And in this dark place the monsters emerge,” was the way the Italian communist leader ended his famous sentence. Indeed, this is not a new situation, although it obviously has its own nuances, both favorable and unfavorable for revolutionary action. The victory of the proletariat in Russia opened the stage of proletarian revolutions, but the betrayal by the old revisionism, its abandonment of Marxism, also left the proletariat in Western Europe momentarily disarmed and allowed the emergence of currents that made the cult of the irrational their ideology. Nazi-fascism is not only the cause, but also the consequence of the previous abundance of irrational currents of all types.

Today, the youth, organized until now in revisionist or radical nationalist forces, has long been looking for an orientation for its work, has long known that the reformist objectives of its former organizations do not aim to put an end to the bourgeois state. But the enemy also knows that the role of the youth is essential in the changes of cycle, and that is why the capitalist bourgeoisie, which has always worked to divert youth from the revolutionary path and attract them towards the “new” currents of the moment, is trying to make this search get lost in a new formalism with no way out.

The key for the bourgeoisie is to impose a “clean slate”, to praise “the new” as the only guide for action, in order to isolate them from the lessons that even previous errors provide. And, knowing that the Marxist analysis to interpret the world in a rational and objective way is fundamental for this, they promote “Adamism” [going back to the beginning], resetting the counter to zero, rejecting the experience of struggles of previous generations, but with “Marxist” and “revolutionary” phraseology.

We must therefore consider how to reach out to the youths: those who are already involved in politics, whether or not they are influenced by these currents, but above all, working-class youth, who remain on the fringes of politics but know that they need to join forces to fight for their rights; those who do not know for certain the origin of their problems, but sense that this system is leading them to disaster.

How to do this, how to achieve it?

The battle is taking place more and more clearly between the rational, materialist and dialectical conception of the world and the political struggle, and idealism in its most varied forms. In the present conditions, the new “opportunist idealism” sees its work facilitated because the youth sectors only perceive the disastrous consequences that the policy of the monarchical State has had on their lives and that of their families. They have also seen the emptiness of revisionism and opportunism when it comes to facing these consequences, but the political debate on the causes of the problems they experience is taken from them; this encourages emotional reactions that disconnect them from Leninist ideology. Despite everything, a new cycle of struggle is beginning. In our country, as in the rest of the world, the period of “social peace” has ended. And this new cycle will necessarily bring an increase in social and political conflict.

Little by little, we are seeing a greater participation of young people in social and workers' mobilizations, a greater interest in learning about and debating political questions; a more active attitude among sectors of young people who want to intervene directly in the political struggle that their class is waging, who refuse to idealize nonsense when the world faces a merciless struggle for the future. Consequently, we also see a greater interest in learning about dialectical materialism, the Leninist ideology that proved in practice the real possibility of putting an end to the capitalist State and building a proletarian State on radically different bases. To join with the practical experience of the youth, to fight the indifference and being implacable in the fight against idealistic degeneration is basic and fundamental for our Party, and it will be more so in the immediate future.

We must start, as we say, from the concrete; We must therefore take into account not only the objective situation of the young people we work with, but also the general environment in which the consciousness of the youth is being formed and its concrete expression in the sphere in which each comrade acts. Our youth comrades logically manage their own codes of relations, those of their generation, which are influenced by that; but, on the other hand, these objective limitations of which we speak: scattering, tendency to individualism, even to self-isolation, are not determining and immutable conditions for political work with

the young sectors, nor can we consider ourselves immune to them: the subjective state of the struggle affects us all.

On other occasions we have already insisted that the youth is becoming a key sector of the development, in the immediate future, of the revolutionary struggle: because objectively it suffers the attacks of imperialism with a special intensity; because, in the period of inter-imperialist confrontation that we live, its situation can only worsen if it does not fight; and because its own vitality and ability for struggle makes it an essential actor in the revolutionary processes.

In order to bring our politics to the youth, we need to get closer to them: where there are grassroots associations, as one more member who accepts and shares their internal discipline; where they do not exist, by helping to create them, resorting to whatever is necessary: pre-political activities, etc. Using existing places that help break the isolation of the youth, or creating them, is absolutely necessary.

Training young people is a basic task of the Communist Youth of Spain (ML), but it is about training them in practice, not in a pedantic way; the objective is not for militants (young or not) to know by heart the quotes from the classics, but for them to learn to apply their analysis to concrete situations, the dialectical method to today's reality of, and in their specific area of activity.

We communists become militants because we need unity, to share our struggles and ideas with our class brothers and sisters, and also to establish personal relationships of friendship and



camaraderie. The first thing we seek and must offer is collective work to confront our problems, which demands an individual commitment. Conscious workers know, because practice has taught them, that unity requires maintaining a merciless struggle against Caesarism, individualism and the cult of dispersal that have been and are the hallmarks of opportunism. They know that unity requires collective control and the responsibility of each and every one. As Lenin pointed out, “The working class needs unity. But unity can be effected only by a united organization whose decisions are conscientiously carried out by all class-conscious workers. Discussing the problem, expressing and hearing different opinions, ascertaining the views of the majority of the organized Marxists, expressing these views in the form of decisions adopted by delegates and carrying them out conscientiously—this is what reasonable people all over the world call unity. Such a unity is infinitely precious, and infinitely important to the working class. Dis-united, the workers are nothing. United, they are everything.” (Lenin, “Working-Class Unity”. Emphasis added).

We have all known excellent comrades, honest activists who have exhausted themselves in meaningless activism, unable to organize their work or ask for help; or we know others who have avoided any practical work, but feel at home debating a phrase from this or that classical author to exhaustion, most of the time without taking into account the context in which it was written and, even less, applying it to the present time.

In the report to our 9th Congress we said: “Faced with reformists and doctrinaires, our task is to create spaces of socialization that help to reconstruct the political and social fight, to try to put the contradiction between capital and labor at the center of the political chessboard, and not to waste our forces on projects that would lead us to maintain an erratic and incoherent policy in practice, to blur our objectives and disorient us.”

We are not the driving force of the revolution, nor do we pretend to be. Our role is different: to lead the struggles that are going to take place in order to orient them in a revolutionary direction; and, for this, we must be the first in combat, to give and share responsibilities, to encourage people to take them up and to trust the people who are fighting alongside us. Today we are not in a revolutionary situation and it is precisely at these times when the determining factor is knowing how to protect our

organization and help strengthen the organization of the masses; because the very dynamics of imperialist politics will be what activates the political and social conflict sooner rather than later.

And, right now, the incipient nuclei of organized struggle are trying out new ways of confronting the class enemy. Lenin pointed out in relatively similar circumstances: “We must bear in mind that a revolutionary party is worthy of its name only when it guides in deed the movement of a revolutionary class. We must bear in mind that any popular movement assumes an infinite variety of forms, is constantly developing new forms and discarding the old, and effecting modifications or new combinations of old and new forms. It is our duty to participate actively in this process of working out means and methods of struggle....” (V. I. Lenin, “Revolutionary Adventurism”).

Those who cynically want to separate the youth from the torrent of the revolutionary experience of the proletariat do so not to protect them from error, but to do a service to capital, which needs the youth to fantasize once again about a future that will only come about if the proletariat recaptures its scientific theory and ideology, in order to advance towards socialism.

Sixty years have passed since the formation of the PCE (m-l); sixty years of struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism. In this long history, our Party has waged an implacable battle against revisionism.

Today, the opportunist currents have revealed their ideological nakedness, their practical emptiness. Today, the opportunist currents have revealed the ultimate goal of their activity: to detach the proletariat from the revolution; today, our Party is more necessary than ever. Imperialism is preparing for war and is trying to put an end to all the advances that the proletariat has achieved in struggle. The communists all over the world are fighting alongside us; with them we have committed ourselves to conquer a future without classes, without exploiters or exploited.

The struggle is becoming more bitter and hardened, and the only guarantee that humanity will be able to live free from exploitation in the future is that we communists learn to organize ourselves, to overcome the hardest moments together, retreating in an orderly manner, responding intelligently to the blows of the enemy, trusting that the justice of our struggle will finally bring

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the victory of reason over misery, certain that with firmness and discipline we will be able to lead the proletariat to victory.

Secretariat of the Central Committee of the PCE (m-l)
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China: Is it imperialist or a ‘good imperialism’?

The People's Republic of China, which almost no one even remotely tries to associate with socialism anymore, was founded after the end of the Japanese occupation and the victory of democracy in the civil war. It was content with the expropriation of the property of a small number of collaborationist families of a monopolist character, which Mao defined as compradors, and no attempt was ever made to liquidate the so-called “national” bourgeoisie. Therefore, China could not go beyond the democratic revolution and, unfortunately, never attempted to build socialism. As a result, the process of the development of capitalism, which Mao directed and Deng Hsiao Ping accelerated with his “reforms”, was crowned with imperialism in a historically short period of time. By making good use of foreign capital investments and its relations with the West, it has become today's second largest imperialist power, with a leap of development.

Except for NATO and the EU, China is a member of all international organizations such as the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the United Nations. In the UN, it is a member of the Security Council with veto power, and the “Global Development Initiative” (GDI) it proposed - which envisages “poverty reduction, food security, financing for development”, etc. – received the support of the UN Secretary-General and more than a hundred countries, and the number of countries that joined the UN Group of Friends of the GDI in 2022 reached 68. China also proposed a “Global Security Initiative” which calls for “mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, rejection of the cold war mentality, opposition to unilateralism and confrontation between rival blocs, respect for the legitimate security concerns of all nations, seeking to resolve differences through dialogue, and joint coordination to manage traditional and non-traditional security challenges”, and this has also won broad support at the UN. Both initiatives were put forward to create the image of China as a “friend of the peoples” who cares about and values the development and security of their countries. These are attempts to spread China's influence among countries

and peoples, many of them seemingly independent but financially and economically dependent.

Not only through its initiatives at the UN, China is trying to turn all possible relationships, developed or undeveloped, strong or weak, into pillars of its expansion, and to continuously increase its share of the world's division at the expense of its rivals. This is what the recent expansion of BRICS signals. China is the main power behind this expansion, for which it tends to use such new relations as a basis.

By forming at least three different kinds of alliances with various countries, China is trying to make advances not just regionally but also globally, to the detriment of the US and European imperialists. It has formed a purely strategic alliance with Russia, between which a number of issues remain unresolved. It considers its relations with North Korea, Iran and Brazil, which also have a relatively advanced political context, within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and BRICS-type platforms. In its expansion, it is also trying to take advantage of the economic, financial and commercial relations it has developed with people like the Crown Prince Salman and Khalifa bin Zayed of Saudi Arabia and the UAE respectively, and countries such as these, which also have political aspects. All this has been made possible by China's rapid industrial breakthroughs, aided by the US and Europeans who have invested significant capital in the country. In just a few decades, China has achieved a remarkable industrialization on a modern technical base, almost rivalling the U.S. economy. Relying on its giant industrial and financial monopolies, which have established themselves among the world's largest, China is now ahead of its rivals in terms of capital investments, loans and credits, and the volume of trade on all continents except North America.

This in itself is exacerbating the struggle over the redivision of the world. The rivals are making move after move against each other.

Unconcealable imperialist character

In reality, all this is obvious and visible to the naked eye. However, there are more than a few efforts to cover up the obvious facts about Russia and especially China and their expansion with views and theories based on political needs and conditioned by class interests.

The truth is that Russia and China are imperialist countries which formed a bloc and which are engaged in a struggle with their rivals for the redivision of the world. This is exactly what is being covered up and distorted.

It is claimed that Russia is not imperialist because it lacks the economic power and the five characteristics that Lenin underlined in his definition of imperialism, which are assumed to be necessary to be an imperialist country.¹ This claim is based on the weakness of Russia's economy and the fact that, despite its long-established monopolies and the dominance of finance capital, it is unable to export capital, and hence its lower and inadequate position in the economic division of the world. Aside from the falsity of the claims about Russia, none of what is claimed as proof that this country is not imperialist is even remotely proof for China. It is not economically weak, nor are its capital exports insufficient, nor is its position in the redivision of the world insignificant. On the contrary, China is the world's second largest economic power, growing much faster than its rival US which is in the first position. Its direct and portfolio investments abroad are too numerous to mention; this is common knowledge and a point of pride for Chinese propaganda. China's direct and joint investments under the “Belt and Road Initiative”, launched in 2013, have already attracted hundreds of billions of dollars. In recent years, China has surpassed most of its competitors with its high level of capital exports, and its total stock of exported capital in the market that it has been entering for several decades has approached that of the United States. In terms of lending and borrowing, trade volume and overall economic, financial and commercial activity, China has been ahead of its competitors on almost all continents for at least 4 to 5 years. Therefore, arguments such as “economic weakness” and

¹ Lenin, listing these characteristics, all of which apply to Russia today, defined imperialism as follows: “*Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.*” (Lenin, Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism)

“insufficient capital exports” could not and do not serve as proof that China is not an imperialist country.

China praise

The effort to cover up the reality of China, which has become completely obvious, is being made in an organized fashion.

The main driver of this effort is the Chinese state itself, which devotes considerable resources to deceptive propaganda. The Chinese Party has mobilized the state apparatus, including universities and publishers, such as Renmin University Press, for this purpose, while Canut International and Canut Books Publisher, with its international offshoots in Berlin and London, publishes in order to “enlighten” the peoples of the world with theoretical products in philosophy, political-economy, politics and culture. China also produces a large number of online publications, books and magazines, and uses propaganda opportunities such as the Istanbul TÜ-YAP Book Fair held in October last year to spread its influence internationally.

Chinese propaganda is not limited to the Chinese state; it has paid and voluntary supporters in many countries. Among the bearers of this country's propaganda are the companies that have commercial relations with China and are looking for their future in this direction, and a number of revisionist, opportunist, bourgeois, and petty-bourgeois political parties, organizations, associations, etc., which are partisan or consider China and its aims not harmful but even beneficial for their countries, and certain intellectuals. They either praise it directly or justify it and consider it at least acceptable for the world, for their country and for themselves.

The most extreme is the praise of China. Those who praise it think that it is not an imperialist country; on the contrary, some of them consider it socialist, others, the majority, are not interested in its class character, and claim that China is a “friend of the peoples”.

China and different examples of debt and credit

They base their claims on various things. The main argument is that China is surely “helping” the peoples and the countries in which it invests, lends and borrows. The peoples of the underdeveloped countries, who have suffered a lot from the U.S., British

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and French imperialists, who have been subjected to severe persecution, including torture and mass killings, whose resources have been plundered by the colonial imperialists, are influenced by the positive propaganda by China and by their rulers who have entered into cooperation with China. In the face of the plundering by cruel imperialists of the recent past and present, China, which seeks to compete with them and expand economically, is perceived as a “benevolent” country that supports their liberation from plunder and oppression.

This perception of a “friendly” and “benevolent China” is facilitated by the fact that colonialism has collapsed and China uses neo-colonialist methods, just as U.S. imperialism did when it replaced British and French imperialism. These methods involve dealing with ostensibly independent states, even if they are financially and economically dependent, and respecting their independence and sovereignty, not resorting to occupation and annexation. The fact that China does not immediately attempt to directly seize the oil and gas, gold and diamonds of these countries, as the colonizers of the past did, may be perceived as “friendship” and “benevolence” in the short term. However, the fact that it tends to make the economies of the countries with which it has relations dependent on itself through loans and debts, direct and joint investments, which also create “cronies” and gradually collaborators, will cause, in the long run, the peoples of these



countries to react against Chinese imperialism and embark on a struggle for independence.

Yes, China does not engage in open and visible plundering of natural resources in the same way as the British and French imperialists did in Southeast Asia and Africa, because times and conditions are different now. It prioritizes infrastructure investments, such as the construction of ports, railroads, dams and power plants, and the provision of loans for such investments, as well as projects that can be considered “normal” and “natural” and that will make the plundering of the riches of backward countries acceptable, at least in the short term. This provides it with additional opportunities.

Here, the criteria for distinguishing between imperialists and friends of the peoples becomes important. Which relations are dependent imperialist relations and which are really relations of aid and friendship – what is the criterion?

The fact that one country lends money to an underdeveloped country in need does not automatically imply imperialism. The loans and credits of an imperialist nature that are intended to create dependency are those with high interest rates and those with conditions. Yet, the socialist USSR, too, starting from the years when it was still in its infancy, gave loans and credits as aid to Turkey, for example, which was fighting against imperialist occupation.

For example, immediately after the establishment of the Ankara Government, the then Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic sent Turkey 6,000 rifles with millions of rounds of ammunition, a few months later, more than 200 kilos of gold bullion, and 6 months later thousands of bombs. Not only were there no political considerations or interest, they were simple grants. In 1921-22, the Soviet Government sent to Turkey, again as a grant, tens of thousands of rifles with ammunition, more than three hundred machine guns, more than 50 cannons with more than a hundred thousand artillery shells and a total of 10 million roubles in gold.

In 1932, the USSR and Turkey signed the first loan agreement for 8 million dollars. It was “conditional”: It was to be spent on building factories. The Kayseri and Nazilli Sümerbank fabric mills and printeries were established with this loan. It was interest-free and had a 20-year term. Repayment was to be made in agricultural products.

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After the agreement with the USSR, another example of a loan agreement was the one signed with the British in 1936. According to different sources, the agreement was for 2.5 or 13 million pounds sterling, repayable in 10 or 15 years, and related to the construction of the Karabük Iron and Steel Plant. The British Brasert monopoly won the contract, beating the German Krupp monopoly, but the loan negotiations were conducted between the governments. The British pressed hard for the first loan agreement with Kemalist Turkey. For example, in the same year, King Edward VIII visited Turkey. The agreement was signed at the turning point of the transition from rapprochement with the USSR to rapprochement with the British and the West. In conjunction with the loan agreement, which was referred to as “the loan agreement signed with the British on favourable terms”, which are not mentioned in any source, the following agreements were reached between Turkey and Britain: 1) Turkey would buy the weapons to be used in the defence of the Straits from the British, 2) British experts began to “work” in public institutions. Moreover, in the same year, despite the objections of the Soviet Union, the Montreux Treaty renewed the provisions of the Lausanne Treaty on the rights of passage and security of the Straits.

Other examples related to Turkey are the loan agreements with Russia which became social-imperialist under the rule of modern revisionism in the period of the restoration of capitalism that began with Khrushchev. In contrast to the interest-free and unconditional Soviet loans, these agreements had increasingly harsh conditions.

In 1957, the USSR had an agreement with İşbank to build a glass factory in Çayırova, which involved a loan of 3.4 million roubles with a repayment period of 3 years at 2.5% interest, the period of “loans with interest” began between the two countries, and the repayment period was significantly shortened.

In 1966, with a new agreement, the USSR extended a loan of 225 million dollars to Turkey for 15 years, again at 2.5% interest. The loan amount increased, but the interest rate remained the same.

Chinese loans and credits: “Help” or trap?

If we come back to today's China...

Last year, China postponed the maturity of a \$2 billion loan to Pakistan, a country with a deteriorating balance of payments and

with stalled negotiations with the IMF, to prevent a default. With such political rather than economic motives, China has shown that its image as a “friend of the peoples” and a “benevolent country” does not depend solely on the success of its propaganda, but that it does not avoid facing economic consequences. China has done the same by writing off African countries' interest-free debts totalling \$2.1 billion that they should have repaid by the end of 2020. It is aware of the needs of its economic expansion and is flexible in its lending, maturities and deferrals.

However, these flexibilities do not reflect “benevolence” but rather a willingness to spend a little for big gains. It must be remembered that similar flexibilities are practiced by the United States, even with billions of dollars of grants, as in the cases of Egypt and Israel, and loans, such as the Marshall Plan after World War II. This plan aimed to establish U.S. hegemony over Europe and countries such as Turkey, and a significant part of it was made under the guise of being free. However, it should be clear that “generosity” aimed at creating dependency cannot be considered as a sign or proof of “friendship”.

On the other hand, China's “generosity” of this kind is a face-saving measure and is not widespread. China is now the largest creditor on all continents, having extended 240 billion dollars in loans to 22 underdeveloped and dependent countries over the last 20 years as a lever for its expansion. According to the John Hopkins University China-Africa Research Initiative, the Chinese government and banks lent a total of \$143 billion to African countries between 2000 and 2017. In Asia alone, China has loaned \$200 billion to governments, reinforcing their dependency relations in addition to China's capital exports.

According to 2020 data from Harvard Business Review, the Chinese government, state-owned banks and private companies have extended a total of \$1.5 trillion in loans to more than 150 countries, the highest amount in the world. Countries such as Djibouti, DR Congo, Niger, Zambia, Kyrgyzstan, Cambodia, Laos and Mongolia owe China more than 20% of their GDP.

China claims that its loans and credits have no political conditions and are not politically motivated. This is, of course, not true; the borrowing countries become dependent on China, as in the case of Pakistan, and even coups and change of governments are

not enough to change sides between imperialist rivals, let alone end the dependency.

Euronews reported on a study conducted by researchers from the US-based University, College and Center for Global Development, the Kiel Institute and the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Germany. The study says that the terms of China's loan agreements are “unusually secretive” and impose “priority for repayments to Chinese state-owned banks” – which is not at all similar to, for example, the 1932 Turkey-USSR loan agreement. According to the study, the terms of the agreements include “confidentiality clauses that prevent borrowers from disclosing the terms of the agreement”, “informal collateral arrangements that give Chinese creditors priority over other creditors”, “guarantees that prevent debt restructurings” and the ability for China to “cancel loans and accelerate repayments”, all of which contravene international commitments ratified by China.

Moreover, the Chinese are “good money-lenders”, with IMF loans usually bearing interest rates of 1.5-2.5%, while the average interest rate on Chinese loans is in the range of 3-5%.

Most of China's loans and credits have come under the “Belt and Road Initiative”, which is marketed as “helping countries along the route to development” and “liberate themselves from the US”, but is itself a key instrument of China's economic expansion for the redivision of the world.

One result of Chinese loans and debts – no doubt foreseen and even characterized as a “debt trap” – is the outright seizure of the enterprises to which the loans were extended in return for unrepayable debts, which is typical of imperialism.

In the context of the “Belt and Road Initiative”, the main example of the ports and railroads that are of most interest to China is the Sri Lankan port of Hambantota. Rajapaksa, who was forced to flee the country after a popular uprising in 2022, had been running the country's economy on foreign debt for years, and in 2016, 61% of the budget deficit was financed by foreign debt. Prior to the uprising, the country's foreign debt was about 35 billion dollars, 3.4 billion of which was owed to China and 4.4 billion to the Asian Development Bank, of which China is a partner, and had become unpayable. The solution was the sale of 80% of the shares in the \$1.3 billion Hambantota port, opened in 2010, to the Chinese state monopoly China Merchant Port Holdings. Following big

protests, the contract was changed to a 99-year lease on the port to a joint investment between the Chinese monopoly and the Sri Lanka Ports Authority, with the Chinese monopoly holding 70% of the shares.²

The second example is the Greek port of Piraeus. This time, not because of Chinese debts, but as a result of the debt crisis into which Greece was plunged, the Greek government put its assets up for sale due to the impositions of the troika of the European Central Bank, the IMF and the European Commission. In this context, the port became China's, with 51% and then 67% of its shares being sold in an agreement signed with the Chinese monopoly COSCO in 2016.

The third example is Kenya's Mombasa port. From 2010 to 2020, Chinese loans and credits to low- and middle-income countries grew from \$40 billion to \$170 billion, more than half of which went to sub-Saharan Africa. Kenya occupied a special place among them, and the “Belt and Road” envisaged the construction of trade routes across the Indian Ocean from Kenya (through the port of Mombasa and the capital Nairobi) to Uganda, Tanzania, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Congo by rail, for which billions of dollars' worth of loans were disbursed. Railroad construction has only advanced 120 km beyond Nairobi and has not yet crossed Kenya's borders. As a result, returns on investments are not being realized and Kenya has both seen losses and was extremely tight on loan repayments since the port opened in 2017. At the end of 2018, the Kenyan and Chinese governments denied the rumours that the port would be sold to China due to unpaid debts, and it was stated that Kenya did not pledge the port as collateral for its \$3.6 billion debt. But for at least a year now, a desperate Kenya has been “seeking investors to take over the operation and management of five critical ports in Mombasa, aiming to boost the competitiveness of the maritime sector and generate \$10 billion in revenue for the financially struggling government”.³

² Financial Times (11.11.2017), “*China Signs 99-year lease on Sri Lanka's Hambantota Port*”; <https://www.ft.com/content/e150ef0c-de37-11e7-a8a4-0a1e63a52f9c>

³ The Maritime Executive (4.6.2023), “*Kenya Seeks to Generate \$10B Leasing Five Ports to Private Investors*”

Another example is Zambia, which defaulted on its \$13 billion foreign debt in 2020. China was the largest creditor and, through its Exim Bank and many other monopolies, had big investments and financing in the country. According to a 2019 Deutsche Welle (DW) news report titled “China's controversial stake in Zambia's broadcast media”, Zambia's national broadcaster ZNBC made a joint investment with Chinese monopoly StarTimes as Zambia switched from analogue to digital TV. The joint investment, TopStar, was 60% owned by the Chinese monopoly and 40% by ZNBC. The investment was financed with a \$232 million loan from China's state-owned Exim Bank, while the “benevolent” StarTimes lent the partnership capital to the cash-strapped ZNBC, seemingly creating a “win-win” situation. But when Zambians, unable to reap the benefits of the digital switchover, accused the monopoly of “creating a monopoly both as a distributor and a signal provider”, the government tried to defend itself with the lie that “StarTimes does not run TopStar” and that once the loan was repaid to Exim Bank, “NBC would become the majority shareholder and StarTimes the minority”.⁴

China's export capacity as a basis for dependency relations

One of the main pillars of China's economic expansion is its export potential, and while the country surpassed all its competitors in 2009, its exports in 2020 amounted to 2,591 billion dollars, far outstripping the US and Germany, which were below 1.5 trillion dollars.⁵ In 2023, these figures stood at 3,380 billion dollars, with Germany at 1,668 billion and the US at 2 trillion dollars.⁶

China's first place in exports is based on its clear superiority in manufacturing. In 2022, against Japan's production of approximately 800 billion dollars and Germany's 750 billion dollars, China is again at the top with a production of approximately 5 trillion

⁴ DW (2019); <https://www.dw.com/en/chinas-contentious-stake-in-zambias-broadcast-media/a-49492207>

⁵ Statista (2022), <https://www.statista.com/statistics/269328/value-of-exports-of-selected-countries/>

⁶ Statista (2023), <https://www.statista.com/statistics/264623/leading-export-countries-worldwide/>

dollars.⁷ The US manufacturing in the same year was about 2.5 trillion dollars.⁸

Moreover, as a direct result of the advanced technical basis of its economy, China is again far ahead in the production and export of high-tech products. While Germany ranks 2nd in this field with approximately 223 billion dollars' worth of high-tech exports and the US ranks 4th with 166.5 billion dollars, China ranks first with approximately 770 billion dollars, exceeding the sum of the other two. The significant share of high-tech products, machinery and parts and infrastructure investment products in Chinese exports creates and reinforces dependency, especially by creating standardization and conditioning the import of spare parts and related intermediate goods by the importing countries.

China's superiority in foreign trade facilitates the development of relations of economic dependency with underdeveloped and dependent countries. There is a direct link between loans and debts and foreign trade partnerships, as the loans and debts it extends to these countries are conditional on imports from China; if the terms are not dictated in the loan agreements, under the guise of spontaneity, they require imports from China, and the two feed on each other.

Chinese capital exports as a tool of expansion

It should be emphasized that China's exported capital investments play a primary role in its establishment of dependent international relations.

The export of capital, as is known and defined by Lenin, is one of the distinctive features of imperialism. The "surplus" of capital in developed capitalist countries seeks profitable areas for investment and flows out of the country in search of higher profits.⁹ A

⁷ Macrotrends, Manufacturing Output by Countries; <https://www.macrotrends.net/global-metrics/countries/ranking/manufacturing-output?q=What+is+US%27s+industrial+outputs>

⁸ National Association of Manufacturers, 2022 US Manufacturing Facts; <https://nam.org/state-manufacturing-data/2022-united-states-manufacturing-facts/#:~:text=Manufacturers%20in%20the%20United%20States,employing%208.41%25%20of%20the%20workforce.>

⁹ China's official state agency Xinhua reports that China and its Latin American partners are working together to build a "new model of

socialist country can also lend money and extend credit to other countries – provided that it is unconditional and without quid pro quo – and it cannot be argued that this is contrary to socialism. However, this is lending or borrowing money, making direct or portfolio investments in other countries – the ownership of which is in the hands of the investor, alone or with local partnerships – or making joint investments by establishing capital partnerships, with the aim of making profits on the backs of the working peoples. First of all, this indicates the domination of financial capital, and secondly, for a country like China, which has been exporting capital to an extent that has surpassed all other countries in recent years, it indicates only imperialism.

Many capitalist countries such as Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Greece, etc. also export certain amounts of capital, but this is extremely small in scale compared to the imperialist countries. Although the export of capital alone is not the measure of imperialism, it cannot be claimed that China, which exports more capital than all its rivals, is a medium-sized capitalist country like Turkey or Greece. Moreover, even Turkey and Greece, regardless of their size, are trying to create dependency relations by imposing conditions on certain countries in Africa and the Balkans to which they export capital.

China continued to attract foreign capital investment, increasing slightly to \$189 billion in 2022 from a year earlier, and although it lost its first place to the US a few years ago, its capital exports – including from Hong Kong – still exceeded \$250 billion.¹⁰ The possibility of an ordinary capitalist country exporting this much capital is non-existent.

China-Latin America relations” based, among other things, on “**win-win cooperation in economy and trade**”, which involves the mutual development of bilateral relations. It is openly admitted that China envisions its relations with underdeveloped countries, which it propagandizes as “aid”, to be profitable for these countries as well as for China. (Xinhua, 22.07, 2024; <https://english.news.cn/20240722/1012b8e2ee294003903ac424b1d3d509/c.html>)

¹⁰ UNCTAD, World Investment Report 2023; https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/wir2023_en.pdf

There is an interconnection between Chinese investments and joint investments with the countries and companies involved in the “Belt and Road Initiative”, which is projected to exceed 1.3 trillion dollars by 2027 and is carried out in line with a specific strategic plan. It is a fact that the export of capital is in the service of China's imperialist expansion, which is already carrying out the economic redivision of the world in order to create dependence not only on the scale of countries but also on the scale of regions and the world.

There is no doubt that the dominance of finance capital, with state, state-private partnerships and private monopolies, exporting commodities and capital through loans and credits, which are the instruments of economic expansion, is the characteristic of Chinese imperialism. In the 2022 Forbes “biggest” list, the Bank of China is the 13th largest with assets of more than 4 trillion dollars and a market capitalization of 118 billion. In the top 10, there are 5 American monopolies as well as 3 big Chinese state banks; Industrial and Commercial Bank of China is in 2nd place with assets of \$5.5 trillion and a market capitalization of \$214 billion, China Construction Bank¹¹ is in 5th place with assets of \$4.75 trillion and a market capitalization of \$181 billion, the Agricultural Bank of China is in 8th place with assets of \$4.5 trillion and a market capitalization of \$133 billion. There are 9 Chinese monopolies in the top 30.

China: Peoples' problem or not?

There is another category of people who, in terms of their attitude towards Chinese imperialism, consider China and its aims not harmful but even beneficial for their country, thus covering up or distorting the facts and conforming to, if not carrying out, China's propaganda. Examples abound, especially among the dissidents of the underdeveloped and dependent countries of Latin America and Africa. Maybe they do not praise China directly, and avoid the debate on whether it is right or wrong, but because of the fact that their countries are under the pressure of and dependent on US imperialism and its allies, they argue that these imperialists are a problem for them, and say “Russia and China are not our problem”. The result is that Chinese (and Russian)

¹¹ Between 2005 and 2013, Bank of America acquired about 10% of the shares of this state-owned bank.

imperialism, whose interests, aims and orientations they prefer to overlook, is considered acceptable for them.

Their approach and attitude is the same as those who consider China a “friend”: Even if they don't call it a “friend” and don't develop the attitudes that friendship requires, they don't consider it “an imperialist enemy of the peoples”, and they do not take the hostile attitude one should take against imperialism. Above all, this is a position open to compromise with imperialism. This is in conditions when the struggle against the imperialist enemy in the countries dependent on US or, for example, French imperialism is sharpening and the need for broad alliances is increasing. It is thought that it is almost inevitable that benevolent attitudes will develop towards Chinese imperialism, which will not refrain from supporting struggles targeting its rivals, and that these attitudes will gradually turn into a tendency to rely on China and to fight against its rivals by taking strength from it. This is what is happening in the case of Venezuela under Maduro.

Avoiding taking a stance means to be unaware of or indifferent to the aims of Chinese imperialism, its fight with its rivals for the redivision of the world, its economic expansion, and in reality it means being “semi-friendly”. The limited and inconsistent anti-imperialist tendency is typical of the bourgeois strata: it perceives imperialism as a simple tendency to annexation and does not direct the struggle against imperialism to its economic bases. It only targets, for example, its military presence and relations of political dependency. An anti-imperialist tendency that is insensitive to the advantages that imperialism seeks to provide through loans and debts, direct and joint investments and foreign trade as means of expansion can lead, in the Chinese context, to compromise, expectations and a new dependency, instead of warning the working class and peoples against Chinese expansionism. One step further is an impasse and leads to the illusion that by relying on one imperialist one can fight another!

What is said about Chinese loans and debts, foreign capital investments and economic expansionism also applies to this category.

The “poles” of the world and “benevolent” imperialism!

Another category of the attitude towards Chinese imperialism that appears to be “realistic” is the one that supposedly accepts

that China is imperialist and takes advantage of the contradiction between imperialists as a starting point. It is aimed at creating a perception and expectation of “benevolent imperialism” by praising imperialist China and its loans and debts, foreign investments and expansion bases such as the “Belt and Road Initiative”, which it considers as “helping the peoples”. It falsifies the theory of imperialism and considers the formation of a “multipolar world” with China and Russia as the driving forces against the “unipolar world” under the hegemony of the US and NATO as a “solution” and “salvation”. It is content with targeting the US and NATO. It asserts the necessity of defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries against the US, regardless of whether they are progressive or reactionary. With its views and approaches that revive the last and most vulgar form of the infamous old “Three Worlds Theory” that considers Soviet social imperialism as the main enemy and the rest of the imperialists as allies or forces to be neutralized and the countries as “the main force of the world revolution”, this position is the most dangerous in its perversion and corruption.

As the bases of this position, which praises China despite defining it as imperialist, with a distorted view of the Leninist doctrine of imperialism, have already been dealt with in the context of the praise of China, this should be sufficient, at least for now.

In terms of their position on China, there is another category of the so-called critics who identify China with imperialism, similar to the Maoist-inspired emulators of the “Three Worlds Theory” who elevate the praise of Chinese (as well as Russian) expansionism and its underpinnings to the level of theory because it weakens the US and NATO. While some of the former revisionist parties and groups directly defend China, which they claim to be “socialist”, others such as the KKE of Greece and TKP of Turkey, which have for a long time been taking part in the platform of the “world communist and workers’ parties” together with their “sister party” the CCP, have not been defending it for some time and characterize it as imperialist. However, similar to those who say “it is not our problem” in practice, they remain indifferent to China and are content with targeting the US and NATO and its aggression.

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Chinese capitalism is fully in line with Lenin's definition:

- It is a capitalism at a stage of development dominated by finance capital with its monopolies, which rank among the largest in the world, and its unrestrained fluidity, where “the ‘personal union’ of banks and industry” has already been “completed by the ‘personal union’ between them and the government”, especially Xi and his inner circle.
- With hundreds of billions of dollars in loans, credits and more in direct portfolio and joint investments, the export of capital has become of primary importance.
- With its international industrial and financial monopolies, it has spread to the four corners of the world, of which it is attempting to get a share, and it is claiming rights in a new division of the world, the division of whose territory among the largest capitalist countries has already been completed.

With capitalism under these characteristics, it is inconceivable that China can be non-imperialist and of the slightest benefit to the peoples of the world.

Labour Party of Turkey (EMEP)

Massive Layoffs in Technology: Sacrificing Workers to Boost Stock Prices

The memo Elon Musk¹ emailed announcing that Tesla would lay off 10% of its global workforce in April was surprisingly candid: "There's nothing I hate more, but it has to be done," opined the emerald heir, stating that the layoffs were necessary to enable the maker of electric vehicles to be "agile, innovative and hungry" for the next "growth phase cycle."

Nearly 25,000 tech workers were laid off in the first weeks of 2024, despite improvement in all fundamentals. According to NPR, last year was a veritable bloodbath for the technology industry: in the once-lauded and shiny towers of Silicon Valley, where innovation and alteration of the status quo are celebrated, underneath lies a darker reality of mass layoffs and understaffing. of worker safety. Amazon recorded the highest number of layoffs in 2023, with 27,410 workers losing their livelihoods, followed by Meta with 21,000, Google with 12,115, and Microsoft with 11,158.

1,186 tech companies and startups laid off more than 260,000 tech workers in 2023, the worst year for tech since the dot-com crash in the early 2000s. The volume of layoffs increased compared to 2022, when 1,061 tech companies and startups laid off nearly 165,000 workers. That total itself was more than 2020 and 2021 combined.

So far, 326 tech companies have laid off more than 98,000 workers in 2024. In Tesla's case, Musk's move came after

¹ Musk, Elon Reeve: U.S. entrepreneur and industrial capitalist of South African origin, born in 1971 in Pretoria, South Africa. He is the founder, CEO, technical director and chief designer of SpaceX; one of the first investors, CEO and product architect of Tesla, Inc; founder of The Boring Company; co-founder of Neuralink; and co-founder and first co-president of OpenAI. His life and work epitomize the contradictions inherent in U.S. monopoly capitalism. His companies have been involved in illegal labor practices; he recently bought and cleared out 75% of the workforce of the social media company Twitter.

managers were reportedly asked to provide company-wide lists of names to senior management.

Whichever way you look, industry giants are laying off workers: online retailer eBay laid off 9% of its full-time workforce via a Zoom call. The news site Vice.com, owned by Vice Media, stopped publishing content, which affected "several hundred positions." BuzzFeed announced a plan to reduce its staff by 16%, less than a year after closing its news division. Google/Alphabet replaced part of its advertising sales team with AI and laid off hundreds of people in the Fitbit, Pixel and digital assistants divisions. Microsoft completed the purchase of Activision Blizzard for a whopping \$69 billion in October and immediately announced 1,900 layoffs. Back in January, Amazon ordered the layoff of 18,000 people by email in the biggest job cut in its history.

All this despite record profits and IT spending expected to increase by 8% to exceed \$5.1 billion by 2024. Tech companies have been laying off workers since 2022.

The bourgeoisie and its apologists continue to argue that the massive layoffs in technology and media are simply atypical situations in an otherwise strong labor market, citing the low unemployment rate since the end of 2021. According to this narrative, these layoffs are a natural correction for over-hiring during the pandemic and historically high inflation, and these high-profile layoffs are being exaggerated by the media and actually mask a very robust employment situation. Musk himself towed the bourgeois party line for Tesla's layoffs, blaming the "duplication of roles and job functions in certain areas."

Meta Platforms CEO, Mark Zuckerberg,² echoed these sentiments, theorizing why companies like Google and Microsoft are cutting staff despite their strong profits:

Zuckerberg theorized that layoffs in the tech sector persist because of the recognition of the profits of more agile operations. In an interview with Morning Brew Daily, Meta's CEO noted the

² Zuckerberg, Mark Elliot: U.S. capitalist entrepreneur and philanthropist, born in 1984 in White Plains, New York, United States. Known for co-founding Facebook, Inc. and serving as its Chair, CEO, and majority shareholder. Its platform exerts significant influence around the world, shaping communication, information dissemination and political discourse.

adjustments taking place in the post-pandemic landscape and discussed competition with Apple (NASDAQ: AAPL) and other topics.

During the pandemic, e-commerce skyrocketed, boosting profits from online advertising. However, with the return to stores and economic adjustments, sales growth slowed, leading to the normalization of advertising rates. According to Zuckerberg, many companies over-hired and made significant cuts attributed to COVID-19 rather than the rise of AI.

The U.S. bourgeoisie has been remarkably consistent in citing these reasons: with some variation, they have all blamed over-hiring, high inflation, or efficiency.

Amazon announced cuts to its highly profitable AWS cloud computing segment, as well as "Twitch, Audible, Buy with Prime, Prime Video, and MGM Studios." There were even rare job cuts at Blue Origin of Jeff Bezos³. Alphabet/Google's CEO Sundar Pichai⁴ previously noted that layoffs were on the horizon, and recently announced that they were letting more people go and moving jobs overseas to India, Ireland, and Mexico. Of course, it is never all financial – Google also announced that they were firing 28 employees for their participation in a sit-in against Israel's ongoing genocide against the Palestinian people of Gaza.

However, the economic outlook is not entirely in accord with tech executives' reasoning, according to NPR: "Now, in 2024, tech company staffing is largely back to pre-pandemic levels, inflation is half of what it was at this time last year, and consumer confidence is picking up." So the explanation that it is efficiency or belt-tightening during a slowing economy is not supported by the data. So what dirty secret is hidden behind these layoffs, if it is not

³ Bezos, Jeffrey Preston: U.S. entrepreneur, media owner and investor born in 1964 in Albuquerque (New Mexico, USA). He is the founder, CEO, and chair of Amazon. His contribution to the capitalist system is significant, having built one of the largest corporations in the world, impacting on labor exploitation practices and being one of the main drivers of the "retail apocalypse" that is affecting physical stores.

⁴ Pichai, Sundar: Indian-U.S. capitalist business executive, born in 1972, in Madurai, Tamil Nadu, India. He is the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Alphabet Inc. and its subsidiary Google. He is a significant figure of the capitalist class, with unprecedented access to information and use of technology around the world.

about losing money?

The reality is that these layoffs are the result of a combination of the herd effect and a tactic used by the capitalist class to boost stock prices. In other words: a company lays off workers to cut costs, causing a rise in the stock price as wealthy shareholders anticipate profits, causing more companies to follow suit, encouraging more tech companies to cut costs and lay off staff. Experts characterize the large number of layoffs as a "social contagion," as more tech companies mindlessly copy what others are doing.

This social contagion serves in part to drive up stock prices, to give an illusion of profitability, to be "leaner and more efficient" and to create more profits with fewer people, but it serves something else. For those who have "survived" this round of layoffs, it is a constant reminder that their income, that is, their ability to survive, is never really secure. In general, the remaining workers bear the additional work that is now required of them, so as not to end up without work themselves.

Being fired from work literally kills people, as studies have shown that the stress this creates has a devastating effect on physical and mental health, substantially increasing mortality and morbidity. For example, layoffs can multiply by two times or more the risk of suicide. The drive to make businesses ever more profitable and workers ever more productive comes at a very real cost: nearly 120,000 worker deaths a year. This dirty little secret is why, as Sarah Anderson, director of the Institute for Policy Studies' Global Economy Project, tweeted, "Wall Street loves layoffs."

June 2004

Imperialist wars, wars of aggression against dependent countries, carried out under the slogan of "freedom"

The extreme right, fascism and Zionism are one more expression of the contradictions of the period of decomposition of capitalism in its highest stage.

In the current circumstances of the general crisis of capitalism, the ruling imperialist strata resort to extreme right-wing ideas, the fascistization of society, which we can observe in some regions as the expansion of fascism and religious extremism. This takes place directly in the Middle East, in a relationship of its own kind of Zionism with branches of Islam or with Christian churches, to try to hide the common economic interests of the oligarchies of those nations in the nebulous world of religion and to try to give a supposedly "historical" justification to the ongoing massacres and genocides. These have as their real motive the seizure of territories and the positioning of some actors representing the two imperialist blocs in conflict.

As an expression of imperialist wars, their local representatives revive a phenomenon created by causes similar to those that generated fascism at the beginning of the twentieth century, with a "religious" justification of "racial purity" or "divine" predestination to occupy the "promised land" with blood and fire. This is an



absurd explanation of the wars of aggression, invasions, genocide and crimes against the oppressed peoples and especially against the proletariat of those nations that have been displaced, tortured and massacred, forced to resist and fight against an irrational process of destruction of productive forces.

For imperialism, wars play a central role in the process of reviving the productive apparatus and finding a way out of its crises. But wars have contradictory results, since they also accelerate the armament and militarization of society, giving the proletariat the possibility of arming itself, learning the art and science of war. This gives it the real possibility of intervening in conflicts to lay bare their class essence and promote its revolutionary program, if it is capable of breaking with bourgeois ideology and creating its own political organization on scientific bases.

Wars have a fundamental and contradictory economic essence for the bourgeoisies in crisis. On the one hand they are used as a formula to try to get out of the economic crisis, activating the industrial-military apparatus. On the other hand they are a form of destruction of the productive forces, which by itself generates new crises. But in reality they want to use war to make a small group of capitalists richer, while the majority of us become poorer and lose all rights, being pushed by reality to fight and take up arms.

An expression of the character of imperialist wars, of wars of aggression, in the current armed conflicts we can see in the wars that are being waged in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa, where the imperialist powers and the largest economic groups are investing immense capital in the war industry of the imperialist countries to export arms and supplies to the combat fronts.

These wars or threats are not due to absurd religious problems between fanatics, nor are they a struggle of cultures or nationalities; those are the excuses to trap the unwary. The underlying problem in the wars that we are seeing today is economic, as we know. We insist that it is the struggle between factions of the world imperialist bourgeoisie to try to get out of their crises and increase their profits by activating the military industrial apparatus, directly robbing the wealth of other countries and raising the exploitation of labor power to the highest possible level.

A proof of the imperialist origin of the current wars is seen unambiguously in the aggressions of the Zionist state against its neighbors, where its mask of military and technological superiority

falls to the ground when we see the amount, equipment and number of soldiers that the US-EU bloc is sending to sustain the criminal Netanyahu and his Zionist clique in their unconcealable genocidal and criminal policy. This has as its real background to stop the China-Russia bloc and take over strategic areas.

The capital of the United States is now playing an especially decisive card in the East and for that reason it is moving a lot of resources to Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, Japan, and in the Middle East to Israel, in order to curb the influence of the China-Russia bloc that has been on the rise, to take direct economic, political and military control.

This is not only a theoretical problem; it is a reality that is seen throughout the world since the possibility of war, of violence due to the advance of fascistization is placing us all in the face of the threat of direct violence, State terrorism, the most backward ideas in the history of humanity.

The mass media of propaganda, which masquerades as "information", plays a very important role in the creation and justification of a discourse that takes exploitation to extreme levels, putting aside the approach of mechanisms for conflict resolution at an international level or the supposed defense of "human rights". At this time, direct violence has been imposed on dependent countries and the proletariat. This is what we see in Palestine, Lebanon, countries in Africa and other regions where the imperialist nations agree to destroy entire civilian populations with their bombs, only in order to seize those territories and weaken the



No to imperialist war; For the sovereignty of the peoples

popular organization as a form of revenge of capital against labor, part of the process of fascistization.

The struggle between the U.S.-EU imperialist bloc versus the China-Russia bloc is becoming more violent every day, so the proletariat needs to prepare quickly to respond to the imminent threat of a broader theater of war.

According to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, working on a policy of Unity, Alliance and Agreements with Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist tendencies on a national and international scale is one of the main ways to defeat that extreme right-wing bourgeoisie. This bourgeoisie is threatening to return to a period of generalized slavery that had been overcome with the victory of the USSR against the Nazi-Fascist regime in the 1940s. It is up to us to study and make a reality of the proposals of our classics at a time when world fascistization is on the rise and many peoples are resisting and fighting against this monstrosity of imperialist capitalism that wants to subjugate us.

The proposal of the Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Fascist Popular Front is becoming more relevant every day. The orientations of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the contributions of Hoxha, Dimitrov and other outstanding revolutionaries, the experiences of the peoples who are resisting and struggling against imperialism and fascism must be taken into account in order to defeat the common enemy of humanity and the main danger with the strength of the organized proletariat. We must put aside the harmful influences of sectarianism and the remnants of Trotskyism, Maoism, revisionism and reformism that still survive in the international communist movement.

Each of the revolutionary parties and movements that we take to be Marxist-Leninist communists, honest revolutionaries and in general the struggling proletariat is called to battle imperialism in a common front of combat, in order to defeat the enemy of humanity and build people's democracy leading towards socialism.

“Socialism can only be built with the workers’ and peasants’ alliance in power and the people in arms.”

**CC of the PCMLV,
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