

Workers of the World, Unite!

Unity & Struggle

Journal of the
International Conference of
Marxist-Leninist Parties
and Organizations



No. 52 – May 2026

Unity & Struggle

Journal of the International Conference
of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations

Published in English, Spanish, Turkish,
Arabic, Portuguese, German and Danish
under the responsibility of the Coordination Committee
of the International Conference

Any opinions expressed in this journal belong
to the contributors.

Postal Address: Verlag AZ, Postfach 401051,
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This reprint is available from:

Red Star Publishers
www.RedStarPublishers.org

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A Fundamental Task: Winning the Working Class over for the Revolution

*“The workers are the decisive force in England if only they have the will and know their own will”
(Friedrich Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England)*

Although among the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties there is no doubt that the main revolutionary class in capitalist society is the proletariat and that the main efforts of the revolutionary communists must be directed to developing the consciousness and organization of the working class and leading it to the seizure of political and economic power, it is a fact that one of our main weaknesses is work among the working masses.

The daily preaching of the bourgeoisie in its media, especially on the internet, contributes enormously to this situation, extolling machines and technology and minimizing the fundamental role of the working class. In this campaign, the capitalists count on the enthusiastic support of the petty-bourgeois parties, which do not hide their satisfaction in propagating the absurd thesis that “the working class is becoming extinct”. However, they are silent when they try to explain which class is responsible for the gigantic global production of goods, including the growing production of weapons by the monopolies of the arms industry.

In fact, as the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations (ICMLPO) states in the document “The International Situation and Our Tasks”: “The working class is the only class that makes capital grow with its labor, that reproduces itself through production, that grows as a class and that increases its weight and importance. It follows that it is the fundamental force and that it directs social evolution and transformation.”

In short, no other class is as indispensable to the functioning of the capitalist economy as the working class, and no technological invention or artificial intelligence has the magical power to change this situation. The one who really lacks importance for so-

ciety is the bourgeoisie, which has been transformed into a class of parasites.

The Tasks of Working-Class Revolutionaries

Moreover, as the history of all the great socialist revolutions in the world shows, in addition to "economically dominating the central nerve of the entire economic system of capitalism," the proletariat, because of its organizational capacity, discipline, and rapid assimilation of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, is also the most politically developed and most revolutionary class. Consequently, the fundamental task of the communists in society must be the winning over of the working class to socialist ideas, as V.I. Lenin clarified in *The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats*,¹ a pamphlet written in 1897:

"Our work is primarily and mainly directed to the factory, urban workers. Russian Social-Democracy must not dissipate its forces; it must concentrate its activities on the industrial proletariat, who are most susceptible to Social-Democratic ideas, most developed intellectually and politically, and most important by virtue of their numbers and concentration in the country's large political centres. The creation of a durable revolutionary organisation among the factory, urban workers is therefore the first and most urgent task confronting Social-Democracy, one from which it would be highly unwise to let ourselves be diverted at the present time. But, while recognising the necessity of concentrating our forces on the factory workers and opposing the dissipation of our forces, we do not in the least wish to suggest that the Russian Social-Democrats should ignore other strata of the Russian proletar-

¹ On March 8, 1918, Lenin proposed changing the name of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party to the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik): "...the old official socialist parties in all the leading European countries have still not got rid of their intoxication with social-chauvinism and social-patriotism... our Party must make the most decisive, sharp, clear and unambiguous statement that is possible to the effect that it has broken off connections with that old official socialism, for which purpose a change in the name of the Party will be the most effective means." (V.I. Lenin. Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). 1918)

iat and working class.." (V.I. Lenin. The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats.)

In a capitalist country like Brazil, it is impossible to think of making a revolution if the main revolutionary force of society does not have socialist consciousness and participates little in the main political events. And the truth is that, despite our advances and victories in recent years, we have not yet succeeded in establishing a broad revolutionary work among the factory proletariat, nor in building a "lasting organization among the urban workers."

A brief history of the parties that succeeded, at least for a few years, in having "a lasting organization among the working masses," will help us to understand better the relevance of the path we must follow. The period of greatest growth of the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB) in Brazilian society coincides precisely with the work that this party carried out together with the working class, in particular, with the factory proletariat.

In turn, the Workers' Party (PT) became the strongest left-wing party in the last two decades of the 20th century. As we know, the starting point for this growth of the PT was the workers' strikes in the ABC region of Sao Paulo in 1979, the creation of the PT in 1980 and the founding of the Unified Workers' Federation (CUT) in 1983. Professor Francisco Oliveira of the University of São Paulo (USP) drew the following analogy between the history of the PCB and the PT in his book "Brazil: An Authorized Biography":

"It is important to note, for the history of the left in Brazil and for Brazilian history itself, that the PCB emerged strongly after 1945, from the same workers' triangle that would be the cradle of the PT in 1980: the workers' cities of the ABC region of Sao Paulo, which in the 1940s already constituted the industrial belt of the capital. It is evident that the 'interpreters' of the PT's novelty pretended to be unaware of this history, even going so far as to present the PT as the precursor of the Brazilian workers' history."

Economic and political agitation

But how should this work be carried out within the working class? Is it right to limit it to economic demands alone, or does it include broad political agitation among workers as part of these tasks? Let us see what Lenin wrote on this question in "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats":

"The socialist activities of Russian Social-Democrats consist in spreading by *propaganda* the teachings of scientific socialism, in spreading among the workers a proper understanding of the present social and economic system, its basis and its development, an understanding of the various *classes* in Russian society, of their interrelations, of the struggle between these classes, of the role of the working class in this struggle, of its attitude towards the declining and the developing classes, towards the past and the future of capitalism, an understanding of the historical task... of the Russian working class.... Our task is to merge our activities with the practical, everyday questions of working-class life, to help the workers understand these questions, to draw the workers' attention to the most important abuses, to help them formulate their demands to the employers more precisely and practically, to develop among the workers consciousness of their solidarity, consciousness of the common interests and common cause of all the Russian workers as a united working class that is part of the international army of the proletariat." (V.I. Lenin. The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats)

Many of us, however, in working among the workers, confine our work to economic agitation and neglect political agitation. We become excellent trade unionists and forget that we are part of a "collective of experienced agitators" fighting for the socialist revolution. By acting in this way, we lose the revolutionary perspective and do not contribute to raising the political consciousness of the workers. Therefore, our actions must always combine eco-



conomic and political agitation, since both are "equally necessary to develop the class-consciousness of the proletariat; both... are equally necessary for guiding the class struggle of the Russian workers, because every class struggle is a political struggle." (op. cit.). Let us be clear: in order to become the party of the Brazilian proletariat, we must seriously take up the Marxist-Leninist definition that, in modern bourgeois society, the proletariat is the main revolutionary class. This means that we must dedicate ourselves enthusiastically to the tasks of propaganda, agitation and organization among the workers. It is not a matter of working one day and expecting to harvest the next day; that is impossible in nature. We must be aware of the fact that, before the harvest, we need to prepare the land, fertilize it, sow the seeds and prevent the spread of any plague, in particular that of reformism or "unionism focused on results".

Comrades, the working class is the main force of the socialist revolution, and when it rises, it also raises up the other strata of society oppressed by the capitalists. The moral authority of the workers before society is a fact. When workers begin to fight for their rights and demand political changes in society, even the most marginalized sectors, skeptical of their strength, are encouraged and begin to believe that the revolution is not a daydream, but a reality. In short, the day that the Revolutionary Communist Party wins the workers to socialism, the day that the proletariat becomes conscious of its strength and the necessity of carrying out the revolution, the bourgeois state and army have lost forever.

Revolutionary Communist Party – PCR Brazil

March 2026

Assessment of Gustavo Petro's Government and its Prospects

A few months before the end of his four-year presidential term, and contrary to what the algorithm of social networks and the mainstream media indicates, the facts continue to confirm, in addition to the inconsistency of the so-called government of change, its open and clear commitment to powerful bourgeois elites (among which are emerging sectors that are seeking a place in the contention for hegemony within bourgeois power). In the face of the failure and rejection of the policies implemented in more than 60 years of political violence **they bet on containing its crisis, reinvigorating themselves, ingratiating themselves with national and international public opinion, seeking to regain the confidence and authority of an economic and political system such as the prevailing one, which has been in agony and has been discredited by all the corruption, injustice and anti-democracy that filled all its pores.**

The Colombian oligarchy's gamble is difficult and quite risky, in which coming out ahead of its opponent means nothing more than kneeling before it and defeating the Colombian people's desire for well-being and freedom. On the other hand, the defeat of the oligarchy would mean the collapse and destruction of its economic and social system.

Currently the battles that are being fought show a mortally wounded oligarchy that is playing multiple cards seeking to contain its agony. Sometimes, the cards strive to persuade and win the heart, minds and hopes of the masses and forces that promote change, specifically calling for cooperation, agreement, working together for the achievement of a more humane and prosperous capitalism. At other times, the card played is none other than force, the disappearance and/or elimination of its opponent. In Colombia, the combination of the stick and the carrot are strategies that are promoted and closely related in the bourgeoisie's eagerness to expand its profits and benefits, as well as to relegitimize its economic and political system.



In Colombia, from different perspectives, all kinds of discourses are continuously repeated that call for strengthening participatory democracy and the commitment of communities to the institutional order. However, the anachronism and anti-democracy that characterizes the current Colombian political system shows the great obstacles that popular majorities have to over-

come in order to achieve higher levels of well-being, equality, social justice and political freedom.

Returning to the case of Gustavo Petro and the so-called government of change, **a first aspect** to emphasize is that the gains of this government show **an unprecedented historical event with great political repercussions**. For the first time in the history of the republic, the organized and mobilized masses, led by a group of forces from the popular, democratic and leftist camp, agreed on a democratic program, elected a president of the republic and set out to achieve important democratic reforms.

The second aspect to emphasize is that the social-democratic spirit of Gustavo Petro and his insistent calls to work for a more humane capitalism and a national agreement that the 1991 Constitution develops, **has been intelligently exploited and capitalized on by imperialism and the oligarchy**, on the one hand, to divert that cry of the aroused popular masses for change into other channels. On the other, it is to block the democratic reforms for which the Colombian people have been fighting for several years.

A third aspect is that social democracy has been a useful card that has allowed the oligarchy to speak again of stability and economic growth, the regaining of peace, security and political order, as well as reforms to the current economic and political system. **However, its objective of containing the social struggle and forcing the social movement to renounce its proposals for change have not been achieved**; the social conflict is continuing and the class struggle is growing, the social confrontation in the streets is continuing showing interesting trends in social mobilization.

A fourth aspect that we want to emphasize is the wavering of social democracy, its change of discourse and the incoherence it

has shown. The instability and uncertainty that it places on its political action unmask it every day as a force inconsistent with democratic change and reforms; it is a force that openly collaborates with the defense of the status quo, neoliberal policies and the theory of national security and the internal enemy that has sustained the policies and measures of pacification in the country. This behavior of the social democratic leaders that negatively affects its leadership shows that the political successes achieved in the present will not be lasting. Now, if we take into account that many of them have been involved in embezzlement and corruption, we can point out that their future is not promising.

Based on these features of the Colombian political situation, we want to emphasize through the following notes of evaluation of this government, that **in addition to not applying any structural measures aimed at curbing the serious economic and social deterioration of the country, the surrender and continuous violations of national sovereignty are problems that deeply affect the government of Gustavo Petro, show its inconsistency with the Popular Mandate granted it in June 2022 and detract from the legitimacy with which the government of Gustavo Petro began.**



From the beginning, the government of Gustavo Petro was involved in difficulties that prevented the implementation of his government program. The legislative apparatus, with a majority for the opposition, rejected the proposed reforms, encouraging an institutional deadlock of all his policies. In response, the popular referen-

dum, the constituent assembly and the citizen mobilization appeared as important alternatives.

In administrative matters, the inefficiency and instability of a government team made up of technocrats from the traditional parties predominated

The president was not able to form a stable government team because, to date, from a cabinet made up of 19 ministers, he has changed 62 heads and a similar number of vice ministries and managers of national agencies, a high rate of political change used to apply his golden rule of governing: "the national agreement", which involves transactions and pacts with traditional political forces. It should be noted that the references to approval of the Petro government shown in some recent polls reflect the impact of immediate measures such as the significant increase in the minimum living wage and not a general balance of its decisions.

Democratic change remains to be seen and remains a major challenge

Among the facts that polls do not show, we emphasize the over-indebtedness and the disciplined payment of the foreign debt made by this government; the great fiscal deficit resulting from the exaggerated amount of debt with measures such as the massive issuance of treasury bonds (TBs) using the economic emergency and the increase in the war budget; corruption, an open vein in the nation's general budget, with extremely scandalous events, such as those seen in the National Unit for Disaster Risk Management (UNGRD) where, according to investigations, the money lost exceeds the one and a half billion pesos that already put two important former ministers (those of the Interior and Finance) behind bars, as well as corruption in the FOMAG, the multimillion-dollar teachers' social fund that was filled with bureaucracy and with no achievements; the lack of control over tax evasion and avoidance and smuggling; the exaggerated bureaucracy in the structuring of the new Ministry of Equality and other spheres of the executive branch of the State, and the reduction of national revenues.



Colombian workers take to the streets demanding respect for their constitutional rights, especially the recognition of a minimum living wage that makes a dignified life possible.

Added to the above is the erratic action to prevent the collapse of the health system, the poor results in education, housing, transportation and, especially, the ineffectiveness in stopping the exploitation of people's income with the costs of household public services, as well as in minimizing the effects that Trump's new tariffs have on the national economy, the open impositions of U.S. imperialism on a dependent country like Colombia, in which the lack of response or maneuver shown by this government against Yankee imperialism is seen.

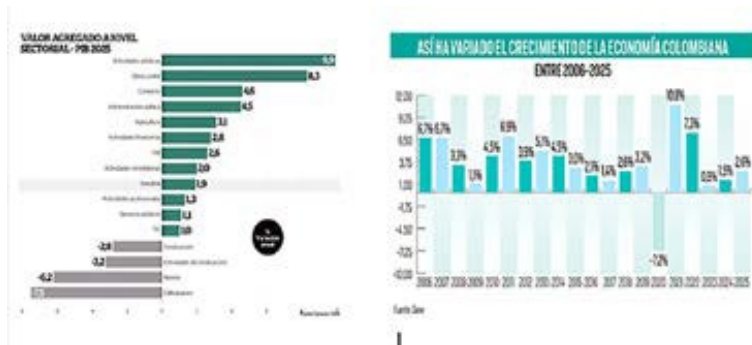
The government's frequent references to the OECD's support for its economic management have obscured the debate on the worrying data as of December 2025: the pressing health problems, where the system ended with a projected deficit of \$20 billion and accumulated operating losses of \$7.3 billion; an accumulated state debt with the electricity sector of \$9.2 billion according to the Inter-Union Energy Committee; an inflation rate of 5.2%, above the 3% target; growing informal work force (55.7%); the high external debt (US \$246.801 billion, 53.8% of GDP); the inescapable increase in the fiscal deficit (\$117.8 billion, 6.4% of GDP). In addition to the above, there is a DIAN [National Directorate of Taxes and Customs] portfolio report of \$50.91 billion corresponding to taxes and withholdings, of which \$16.6 billion were classified as difficult to recover. This is very far from the National Development Plan, approved after proclaiming "binding dialogues" as a form of citi-

zen participation, which was widely accepted but barely taken up by the government.

The policy of the government of Gustavo Petro and the new facts show the economic dynamics with clear signs of recession and the policies of a world marked by Yankee desperation in the face of its clear signs of general decadence. This is already seen in the streets by the eight million demonstrators shouting "NO KINGS" on Saturday, March 28. They point to a strong deepening of the economic, social and political crisis in the country that is beginning to be seen in the strike calls by the teachers, the municipalities of small and medium-sized miners, Afro-descendent communities, workers in domestic public services and sectors of the youth, social and political events that, beyond the electoral results, show the great discussions on the policies and management of the government, in addition to the changing environment and reconfiguration at the international level, the difficult situation of inequality and social, economic and political exclusion from which Colombia suffers.

The economic outlook for Colombia towards 2026 is not encouraging; the negative impact on the Colombian economy of the war in the Middle East, restarted with the attacks by Israel and the United States on Iran, are dire. The skyrocketing oil price that already exceeds \$110 per barrel is having a negative impact on sectors of the Colombian economy, such as transportation, agriculture, food prices and other economic variables, which will raise inflation and affect economic growth. The data recorded in the first months of 2026 reveal this.

The Colombian economy started the year with a slight growth of 1.5% according to DANE [National Administrative Department of Statistics], driven mainly by the services sector, while other productive branches, such as industry and construction showed negative results. The agriculture and livestock sector began 2026 with signs of a slowdown and an environment marked by the winter wave, with 55 emergencies recorded between the end of January and the beginning of February. This forced the government to declare an economic emergency in order to attend to the victims; but this has not been enough, as the money invested has been insufficient to face the disasters and the accumulated social debt.



Overview of the state and prospects of the Colombian economy; while civil works, agriculture and commerce are growing, manufacturing, construction and the mining sector are awaiting better days.

To these economic figures must be added the concessions that the government of Gustavo Petro has made to Yankee imperialism: the Cauca Mission, a military strategy camouflaged with some social projects to win the war against drug trafficking in the department of Cauca. This seeks to install a new U.S. military base (in the Corregimiento del Plateado – municipality of Argelia-Cauca) and hand over control of the territory to the U.S. There is also Plan Vida, advertised as a joint plan between the U.S. government and Colombia, a new version of Plan Colombia. There is also the joint military exercises in the Pacific, with the agreement to install two more military bases in Colombia, one in the Amazon and the other on Gorgona Island, where civil works and communications are already advancing, seriously affecting its condition as an "ecological sanctuary".

Some of the results of the Trump-Petro meeting, held in Washington on February 3, 2026, are also clear, supposedly to defuse the verbal confrontation between the two leaders. The truth is that the concessions to Yankee imperialism have continued, given the commitments of the Colombian government to return to fumigation with glyphosate, in violation of decisions of the Constitutional Court, and regardless of the diseases and all the negative effects of this herbicide on the population, territory, waters and nature. The democratic elements of the crop substitution policy took a back seat; indiscriminate bombings continued, such as those that took place in October and November 2025 in Guaviare that led to the killing of children and young people; the develop-

ment of joint operations against the insurgency on the borders with Venezuela, moving away from the political treatment of the armed conflict in search of a solution based on the idea of peace with social justice. All these actions, in addition to representing impositions of U.S. imperialism, include a surrender and violation of national sovereignty, political independence, and the self-determination of peoples.

No less important is the Petro government's change in its international stance on the Middle East; after correctly breaking relations with Israel over the Gaza genocide, its recent vote at the UN condemns Iran "for its attack on Arab countries" and does not include any rejection of the military aggression of the United States and Israel against Iran.

We agree with the democratic and leftist sectors in pointing out that these policies undertaken by the government **are contrary to the Popular Mandate contained in the 2022-2026 government program** with which President Gustavo Petro was elected in a clear electoral victory with more than 11 million votes.

The Colombian electoral process

In a context marked by the dispersal and strong alignment and ideological realignment of political forces, the Colombian electoral process has not ceased to show the anachronism of the norms that regulate it, as well as its anti-democratic character.

However, the Colombian political landscape is becoming more complex every day, given the great disagreements in economic, political and military matters. On the one hand, we emphasize the strong interest of U.S. imperialism in interfering in the Colombian elections, as it has done in other countries, seeking to consolidate its dominance and turn the country into a strong pillar of its expansionist and neocolonial policy in Latin America. On the other, the strong attempt by the oligarchy and its elites to regain the government, lost due to the popular impetus created by the civic strikes of 2019 and the 45 days of the popular uprising of April 2021. This was reflected in the electoral result of June 2022, which chose Gustavo Petro as president with the support of a democratic, popular and left-wing electoral agreement called the Historic Pact. This has now been attacked to turn it into a "single party" that broke the broad united front that formed it. The other

feature of the moment is the strong contention for control of the policies that are being implemented in Colombia.

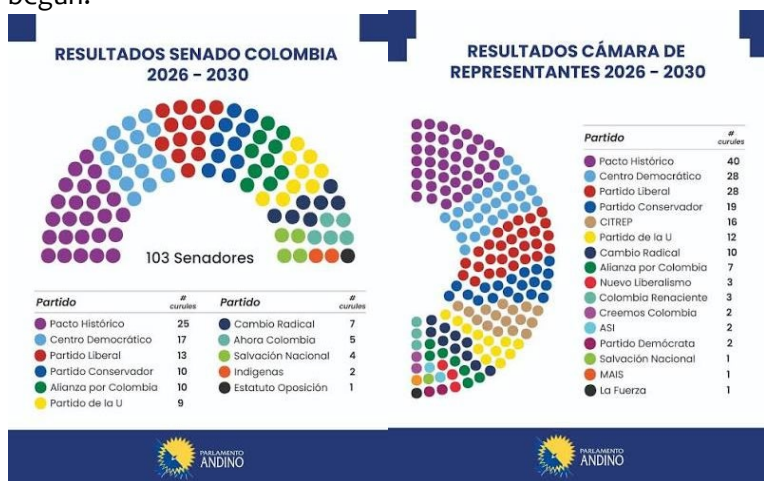
The panorama is complicated by the confusing environment in which the political debate is taking place in the country, as well as the political violence that has characterized the Colombian conflict. It must continue to be said that the killing of popular leaders, politicians, demobilized guerrillas and human rights defenders still persist, disappearances and political threats in the different regions of the country have not ceased.

Another issue is the ways of engaging in politics that have been taking place in Colombia and that show another disposition and way of relating to the electorate by the majority of political forces. With this, it is necessary to point out the large investments made by cronies and political machines aimed at going after the votes of Colombians; the accentuated political advertising that molds and sells the different candidates as best-sellers in Colombian politics; the relevance of the virtual and social networks in the development of politics; the promotion of narratives that falsify reality and emphasize distorted, dogmatic, personalistic-messianic and emotional thoughts that lack objectivity; efforts to cloud the political debate and/or replace it with symbols communication, not very positive in which political decisions are guided by emotion and empathy. The populism and pragmatism that reigns in speeches, the tactical vote and the buying and selling of votes prevail; they are also strong tendencies and features that characterize the actions of most political forces in this time of elections.

As for the results, we note the sharp deterioration, as well as the weak leadership of the bourgeois parties, which do not launch presidential candidates in their name and continue to show their kneeling to Yankee imperialism and now to Trump's plans, although they intend to show themselves as independent political actors, detached from the pressures of Washington that avoid being examined and are not rejected. In the congressional elections held on March 8 , **the dictates of U.S. imperialism to the Colombian oligarchy in its different factions was seen. They sponsored, projected and carried out a fraud of great proportions aimed at expanding their right-wing majorities in the Congress of the Republic.** But it is worth emphasizing that the electoral result is not the only measure of the balance of forces in the struggle between

exploited and exploiters; this is only one of the forms of political struggle.

The democratic and leftist sectors showed an increase in seats that is far from the jump in number proclaimed by the Presidency. Therefore, the debate on the need to convene a National Constituent Assembly of a Democratic and Popular character as a tool of struggle to change the balance of forces in this area has begun.



Despite the advances obtained by the Historic Pact that allowed it to expand its number of seats, the right-wing parties continue to be the majority force in the Congress of the Republic.

As for the multi-party consultations carried out in unison to define the presidential candidacies, several oligarchic sectors calling for the strengthening of investor confidence, democratic security and corporatism **did not refrain from using fraud in the consultation of the pro-Uribe right.** This allowed for the victory of the current senator of the Democratic Center, Paloma Valencia, who now clearly appears as the presidential candidate who is the favorite Trump's government. This is due to the surprising more than 5 million votes that left her in an advantageous position in the imagination to continue doing opinion work with the polls that place her on the rise, while her contenders stagnate or decline.

The popular, democratic and leftist sectors continue their willingness to fight

In the electoral process underway, we also note the strengthening of different forms of struggle and mobilization of the masses, a sign of the growing disagreement and rejection that predominates among the different sectors of the people. This is in the face of the neoliberal policy imposed by the system and not yet defeated by the government of Gustavo Petro, which despite the strong calls of rising sectors and popular forces, has been unable to free itself from imperialist impositions, cronyism, corruption and the erratic policy of national agreement with **the oligarchic sectors. In the midst of the complexity of the Colombian political landscape, we emphasize that the popular, democratic and leftist sectors maintain their willingness to fight for democratic change and the winning of structural reforms to the country's economic and political model that would enable well-being, political freedom and social justice for the Colombian majorities.**

As a counter-trend to the above, it is also necessary to mention the offensive of social democracy and opportunism to co-opt and gain control of social organizations by imposing a consensus on them, cronyism and conciliation as values and main directions of action, the imposition of a practice of social mobilization with many limitations in its scope. In many cases, it is used by the Government for its maneuvers and goals of a group nature, as happened with the frustrated call for the convening of the Popular Referendum and the postponements of the call for a National Constituent Assembly. Given the advances and gains achieved in different social sectors, we continue to consider that the work of social democracy and opportunism must be confronted with great determination, because it represents an obstacle to the further development of the popular movement.

We will continue, therefore, to insist that the best way to confront social democracy and opportunism is to strengthen the rise of the social struggle seen today in the different forms of struggle, in mobilizations, strikes, sectoral, regional and national protests. Experience shows that in general the best antidote to opportunism is to strengthen the organization and struggle of the people, in our case to strengthen popular responses to the economic and political crisis, to the deepening of dependence, to cap-

italist domination and exploitation, to the growth of poverty and social inequality.



In the event that none of the candidates obtains this majority of the votes, the two candidates who obtained the most votes in the first round will go on to the second round; the winner is the one who obtains the majority of the votes there. If the second round takes place, the elections will be held in June 2026.

We stress the complexity of the situation and take into account that every day the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie to regain the government are greater. The revolutionaries, the whole left and the democratic sectors must face the great and innumerable

challenges that involve deepening the struggle against the danger of war and fascistization promoted by imperialism and the different factions of the lackey oligarchy. They must also defend national sovereignty and the achievement of better living conditions for the excluded majorities.

The great challenge is to move towards the unity of the people, to advance towards a broad unity as possible, a unity which defends the interests and aspirations of the women, youths, workers, peasantry and in general the broadest and most diverse popular sectors. **We have the task to move towards forming a great people's front that fights for a republic and a democratic government that defends national sovereignty and makes the structural changes that the excluded majorities of the country desire.**

Taking on this great task implies and requires working with determination and enthusiasm for the unity and political strengthening of all the forces of the popular camp, the left and the democratic sectors, seeking to inflict a heavy defeat on Uribism and the entire pro-Trump right-wing in these presidential elections. This latter force, which represents a great danger to the democratic aspirations of the people, has reformed itself and seeks to strengthen its resurgence in the March 8 elections and surpass it until it achieves victory in the presidential elections. The fraud, demagoguery and manipulation of the electorate by showing itself as a "center" force is in sight with the pro-Uribe presidential candidate Paloma Valencia and her vice-presidential candidate, who is also a neoliberal, the former director of DANE, Juan Daniel Oviedo, now falsely posing as a critic of Uribism.

We must take into account that the advance of the democratic, left and revolutionary sectors achieved in the elections of March 8, when a new Congress of the Republic was elected, are not enough. While the Historic Pact expanded its parliamentary representation, the Green Alliance did not maintain its representation and the Comunes Party lost 10 representatives by ceasing to take part in the so-called Havana Agreement. Thus the new Congress of the Republic will continue to be mostly right-wing, and the newly elected legislature will continue to be an obstacle for the approval of the democratic reforms demanded by the popular majorities in the presidential elections on May 31, and in June in the event of a second round.

An agreement of popular and democratic unity is indispensable

At the present time, as a tactical element, **a great agreement of programmatic unity of the democratic and leftist forces is imperative in order to win the presidency**, starting by amassing from below, from the popular base, banners and mandates relating to work, health, education, employment, pensions, agrarian reform, public services, housing, women, youth, human rights and security of the popular sectors, of the black and indigenous peoples and the territories. In short, there must be a serious and clear demarcation from the political, economic and social model (neoliberalism) that has prevailed in our country for more than three decades, implemented with blood and fire, creating unemployment, poverty, misery, social inequality and war against the people.



It is imperative for the forces of the popular, democratic and leftist camp to reach a great democratic agreement to win the government, defeat Uribeism and the pro-Trump right

Only in this way will it be possible to unify around a program that brings together the main demands of the exploited majorities, ensures the formation of a great Broad Political Front of the Masses that is anti-oligarchic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist leading towards winning the democratic government that the popular masses yearn for.

A great step forward for this Broad Political Front of the Masses includes the demand for a new Constitution, as well as the formation of a National Constituent Assembly of a democratic and popular character which, in addition to abolishing neoliberalism, establishes the opening of the country to the full exercise of political freedoms and the economic and social rights of the people.

The revolutionary, democratic and leftist forces have the great challenge of agreeing from below, at the base, from and with the popular and democratic forces and organizations, on a single candidate who can create a program with the broadest popular support and leads us to victory in the 2026 presidential elections.

All of the above demands raising the political and organizational level of the masses with a vision of power. The Popular Assemblies, Unions of Resistance, town councils, assemblies and other organizational forms that demand to be recognized, must coordinate democratically and present their demands in the midst of the days of protests and strikes that are promoted by the different social, ethnic and popular sectors.

**As a party we will continue to be in the front ranks
for the unity of the people**

Our party has always fought to achieve a genuinely democratic government that guarantees the rights and freedoms of the Colombian people, for a democratic, free, sovereign and independent homeland that promotes a Republic that defends the free participation of regions, nationalities and peoples for a democratic federal order and against the centralism imposed by the oligarchy that drowns out the demands of the regions and the ethnic communities. This Republic must be committed to strengthening the citizens' and popular participation in the defense and destiny of the nation. Now, more than ever, we will work hard to achieve the unity of the people and defeat the oligarchy and the pro-Trump right-wing in these presidential elections.

As a party we are definitively committed to the winning of the New Republic; for this we will fight and make all possible efforts to achieve, within the framework of the broadest unity and struggle of the people, a government that makes the democratic desires of the workers, youth, women, peasants, Afro-descendant people and indigenous Colombians a reality.

**For a Democratic and Popular National Constituent Assembly!
Uphold and win... a Democratic Government Now!
Solidarity with the peoples of Iran, Palestine, Venezuela and Cuba!
Long live the popular struggle! Long live!**

*Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist)
Central Executive Committee*

Danish War Economy with the State as a Key Partner

There is a need for clear revolutionary and class-struggle tactics. In the APK, we are in the process of finalizing a new tactical action platform for the coming period, *“The party's main tactical task is to develop the working class's anti-imperialist unity and popular front,”* following a process of discussions within the party. Our current tactical platform is from 2015, and both national and international developments have progressed rapidly since then.

This article is part of the discussion on this platform, which also contains our demands and the statement: The working class owns the future; The forces in the working-class struggle must be united on a class struggle line; A strong broad anti-imperialist movement against war must be built; We must struggle against reaction and its various right and left currents; We are part of the international struggle against all imperialism; and We must follow the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Under the guise of remaining a “welfare state”, Danish class society has evolved from a neoliberal minimal state and warring nation in the first decades of the 21st century to a society with an elaborate private/state war economy. An authoritarian variant of state-monopoly capitalism is being built with keywords such as security-, energy- and industrial policy, with a reactionary-militarist restructuring of the class state.

Both the economic, political and ideological militarization of society is increasing. Government and state power – at the national, regional and municipal levels – are subordinating their budgets, public policies and forms of management to the increased preparations for new and larger wars and military confrontations. This development is strengthening the repressive aspects of state power, gradually criminalizing protests and normalizing military presence in areas previously considered civil society

– such as education, research, media, workplaces, infrastructure and energy supply – in an increasingly pervasive way.

The military-industrial complex is one of the most lucrative sectors of modern capitalism. Through state power subordinated to monopoly capital, war, war production and preparedness have become an economic engine of the national economy. Danish governments and war ministers have made it clear that war is not only won by armaments and soldiers, but also by the underlying war production. This is where very large investments from the state in research, education, etc. are now openly and officially directed.

The Danish business community openly states that they are preparing for war – both through increased investment in war production and greater private/public co-operation in a wide range of areas.

The state as operator and investor

There has been increased state centralization, with the state being a key operator in the development of the war economy based on the priorities and dictates of the monopolies. Legislation has been introduced that can override other legislation for the sake of war production, such as the government's Military Construction Act. The power to use this Act is directly and unilaterally placed in the hands of the Minister of Defense.

A large part of the war economy takes the form of hidden state subsidies through various public investment funds and public works that adapt infrastructure to military needs, such as harbors, airports, roads, bridges and energy islands, while the needs of the population are neglected.

Companies involved in the development of weapons, surveillance systems and dual military/civilian technology secure contracts worth billions of dollars through their control over the state, its politicians and higher officials, where corruption in Denmark is carried out under a nicer term named lobbying.

Keeping the last four years of inter-imperialist war in Europe going has led to massive demand for services and equipment from the war industry. The war industry is developing at an unprecedented pace in line with the arms build-up in all Europe. In Denmark in February this year, the coalition and the government al-

ready has allocated almost all of the DKK 365.1 billion earmarked for rearming the Danish “defense forces” by 2033.

Investment at Terma, the largest Danish military concern, rose by 11.5% last year. It supplies components for the F35 jet-fighter program and radar systems, which are installed on war-ships and along ports and coasts, among other places. It produces drone technology, which has developed rapidly during the inter-imperialist war in Ukraine and now plays a significant role in warfare. Terma has a partnership with Ukrainian companies such as the drone company Odd Systems. Terma has also been appointed as the main supplier to the Danish air and missile defense system, where it will be responsible for overall integration and maintenance.

The state pension fund ATP (Arbejdernes Tillægs Pension, Workers Supplementary Pension) has invested more than one billion kroner of the workers' and employees' pensions money in Terma. *“There is a lot of inner beauty in the fact that Denmark's largest fund is investing, so that all of us as Danes are actually becoming part of Terma's future journey”*, Terma's CEO stated.

At the EU level, billions of euros are being redistributed to promote the military industry, for example through the Defense Fund. Even before the abolition of the Danish referendum of NO to participation in the EU military buildup, Denmark was involved in the rearmament of the EU's war industry, only renamed industrial policy by Danish politicians and authorities.

Inflation and withered green capitalism

The war economy is developing with great social consequences for the working class and the majority of the population; resources are being taken from social security, health, education, housing and climate change and are being increasingly transferred to military budgets at the national, EU and NATO level.

But not even these major social cuts, the redistribution of social values and exploitation can pay for the insane financial contributions to keep NATO's and the EU's war machines and budget requirements going. War is being waged with borrowed money, including from the government's so-called “economic space”, which is fictitious money, on top of the fact that joint EU loans (for the first time in the EU's history) will increase debts and interest rates.

With the war economy, the government and the state are transferring large sums from society's tax revenues to armaments and state support for the monopolies. They tie the people and future generations to gigantic loans for armaments and support for the arms industry.

The working class and the poorest part of the population in particular have felt the decline in their purchasing power in the form of wages and social benefits. Public sector cuts, with a few temporary patchwork solutions and the repeated negative collective agreements, have led to years of declining real wages, which again are constantly being eroded by inflation and price increases.

But contrary to the bourgeois lie, inflation is not caused by wage increases, rising oil and energy prices, or supply chain disruptions triggering a price spiral. Inflation has a clear class character. It is an expression of intensified exploitation of the workers and large sections of the population. The causes of inflation stem from capitalist relations of production, economic laws and their contradictions.

A major cause is the militarization of the economy with weapons and military production for stockpiling, wars and the apparatus of repression. All this unproductive spending leads to chronic deficits in state budgets that must be covered by increased exploitation and social cuts.

With the war economy at the center, so-called "green capitalism" is withering. The phrase "for the sake of the environment" has been replaced by "for the sake of security" when it comes to the continued plundering of resources, destruction of nature, wars and military production. The accelerating environmental degradation of the planet is the responsibility of the capitalist system. Today it is manifested in ever more extreme climatic upheavals: unprecedented heat waves, devastating floods, massive forest fires and an accelerating loss of biodiversity, destruction of soil, water and air and human living conditions. War and military production is the largest source of pollution on the planet.

Parliament and the Trade Union leaders support and facilitate this

The SVM [Social Democrats (S), Liberals (V), and Moderates (M) – *translator's note*] government was formed in December 2022 as a national unity government, with Mette Frederiksen con-

tinuing as Social-Democratic Prime Minister after her prior government with the Socialist People's Party and the Unity Party as supporting parties. This government waged class war against the workers, youth and the poorest part of the population and an increasingly aggressive war policy from day one. Despite its policies and actions, it has been able to stay in power due to an almost invisible parliamentary opposition from both left and right and a Trade Union national leadership and labor aristocracy that support the war policy, war economy, and reductions in working conditions and raising the retirement age to 72 years.

Not the least, a party such as the left-wing Unity List (Enhedslisten), which is now openly a pro-NATO, pro-EU, pro-imperialist party, has been completely silent in terms of criticism and opposition, not to mention their lack of mobilization to protest the government's and Danish imperialism's war policy and economy. Yet they are trying to present themselves as a parliamentary solution and alternative with a "red government".

We must also expose the arguments of the Trade Union leadership and the labor aristocracy for supporting the war economy because it creates jobs. What it creates is huge stock dividends adding to the fortunes of the merchants of death. As the country's largest owners of capital fund, they steal the workers hard-earned pension money to invest in global war monopolies and the Danish war industry. We flatly reject the National Trade Union Federation's class collaboration with the tripartite (bosses, state and Trade union leadership) negotiations on so-called socially balanced state armament budgets, made to ensure that they meet with the least possible resistance from the working class.

The employment aspect of the arms industry, like the location of production, plays a political role, not the least in relation to the development of the peripheral areas that are economically and socially starved under capitalism. This is understood and exploited by both war policy politicians and the industry itself when it comes to discussing and negotiating defense budgets and creating support among voters for more money for the military. We must demand a completely different civilian and social investment in rural areas instead.

A striking characteristic of reformism and social democracy in all its guises is their rabble-rousing in support of certain monopoly groups in their rivalry and competition with other monopoly

groups. The Euro-social democrats not only stand guard over European monopoly capital, they directly advocate to the workers that the EU and the Euro are a defense against US (and Chinese and Russian) imperialism against the US security strategy and all its monstrous consequences for the peoples of the world. They have long harnessed the workers to the economic “war” bandwagon, wishing for the EU monopolies to be able to compete in the economic war and assert themselves as a global superpower.

The social democrats, the reformist left and the labor aristocracy with their control of the trade union movement are repeating the betrayal of the Second International under the guise of defending the values of Western imperialism wrapped in national homeland defense, where workers go to war and fight against other workers.

The working class has no interest in the imperialist war of the monopolies, or in making money from other workers who die in wars paid for with stolen pension funds – for the working class it is about fighting against the imperialist war, the consequences of the war economy and for international solidarity.

Anti-globalization and protectionism

Since World War II and the Cold War, the Danish economic growth model has been built as an export-oriented model under the security umbrella of the US and later the EU. This has been shaken by Trump's update of the Monroe Doctrine, where the US has introduced national security-centered protectionism with tariff walls and trade wars against European monopolies, among others.

The fact that globalization no longer provided net gains for the US economy and proved to strengthen its geopolitical rivals has been one of the main dynamics for the change in the US's previous globalization policy, with the Trump administration largely building a new class alliance centered around industrial, fossil energy, military and technology capital. As the US still is Denmark's largest export market, this change has consequences for the Danish economy. Right now, the smaller and medium-sized companies whose export production is situated in Denmark are being hit, while the monopolies and the largest companies had already moved their main production to the US and countries with cheaper labor and are less affected in profits, like Mærsk.

Behind it lies an overproduction crisis and unemployment

Just behind the seemingly robust Danish economy lurks a major economic crisis, as in the EU and globally, which will further increase the war economy in the countries, including Denmark. Beneath the surface of the alternating promises and threats of the ministers and experts, that if we just grit our teeth, work harder and pay at the till, we will make it, the laws and internal contradictions of the capitalist economy are at work.

Recurring economic crises and overproduction crises are inherent and inevitable in the capitalist economy. They are in their essence overproduction crises, where more goods are produced than people can afford to buy with their decreasing purchasing power. Layoffs, crashes, and mass unemployment follow in their wake and, most importantly for monopoly capitalism, production must be moved to where maximum profit can be made, the rivalry and battle for markets and world domination intensifies. In some cases, this is to a point where it pays for monopoly capitalism to destroy the means of production through war, to redistribute markets and create a new production apparatus for greater profits.

The workers and the people are not responsible for the capitalist crises and debts and should not pay for them. It is the employers, the rich, the parasites, the warmongers who must pay.

By creating a united front of the working class, economic and social demands must be fought for in the context of the struggle against the militarization of the economy and society, war policy and all imperialism and for the liberation of the working class.

March 2026

The Revolutionary Work with Youth in Today's World

The youths of the world are living through one of the harshest and, at the same time, most decisive periods in history. They are called upon when it is convenient, they are used as a consumer force, they are manipulated with empty discourses of "opportunity" and "entrepreneurship", but very rarely are they listened to in their deep truth. There is not a single youth. There are many youths, diverse, unequal, hurt and rebellious.

There are the young workers, who suffer from precarious employment; the students, in debt for studying, which should be a right; peasant women, torn from their land; Afro-descendants, struck by structural racism; migrants, persecuted for seeking to survive; those in the popular neighborhoods, surrounded by violence and unemployment; LGBTIQ+, who still face discrimination from societies marked by conservatism.

They are all different, but come from the same root: the oppression of the capitalist system and imperialism.

Young people are sold a lie under the guise of freedom. They are told that they can do anything, that all they have to do is "believe in themselves". But behind that rhetoric lies a cruel reality: unemployment, the privatization of education, the impossible cost of living, environmental collapse, and state violence. They are pushed to migrate and then condemned for doing so. They are told about meritocracy, but they are denied the real possibility of competing. Entrepreneurship is imposed on them as an individual way out, when what they need is collective justice.

Capitalism not only exploits the labor of young people; It tries to colonize their mind, their emotions, and their dreams. Social networks have become a battlefield which promotes political indifference, unlimited competition and the cult of empty success. But parallel to this confusion something different is also growing: a new consciousness, that of those who discover that their supposed

"personal failure" is not their individual fault, but the logical result of a system that concentrates wealth and distributes misery.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, young people bear the weight of a history marked by colonization, dependence, and foreign interference. We are peoples rich in culture, in resources of all kinds, in creativity, in strength, but impoverished by the structures that dominate us. And still, when the people have said "enough", the youth have always been at the forefront. In Chile, Colombia, Haiti, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, in Europe, Africa and beyond. The youth have shown that when they rebel, the powerful tremble.

Revolutionary work: to accompany, train and organize

Doing work with young people is not "recruiting" them, nor talking to them from a pulpit. It is walking with them. It is to understand their pains, their fears, their anger, but also their hopes. It is to transform indignation into consciousness and consciousness into organization. Revolutionary work must start from respect for their realities and the commitment to accompany them in their process of political awakening.

The Marxist-Leninist organizations have a responsibility that does not allow for rest: to build a living, formative, transformative youth policy. We cannot present Marxism as a dogma, but as a tool to understand the world and transform it. Every school, every neighborhood, every factory, every digital or recreational space can be a cell of consciousness, if there is political will and ideological clarity.

The digital field cannot be ignored. There is also contention for power there. Corporations shape thoughts, direct desires, and censor rebellions. But that same space can become a trench of combat if we fill it with content, creativity, revolutionary words. It is not a matter of following the logic of the market, but of breaking it from within, with critical thinking and organized action.

In the Dominican Republic, as history bears witness: no revolutionary process has been possible without the imprint of the youth. During the resistance against the Trujillo dictatorship, in the popular insurrection of April 1965, in the university struggles, in the street days against corruption, it has always been the youth who first raise their voices.

Today the new generations face the same enemies with different faces: miserable wages, repression, discrimination, digital exclusion, cultural expropriation. But in the midst of all this, a new generation is also flourishing: irreverent, critical, aware of the fact that it is not a matter of "integrating" into the system, but of transforming it from its roots.

Today that same enemy also inoculates its ideological poison in a special way in sectors of the youth that it manages to manipulate through processes of systematic alienation. That is why the contention for the masses of the youth between the ideal of revolution and socialism on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and all kinds of reactionary, neo-fascist options in these times constitutes a real challenge for the revolutionary militants and the communist party.

**The revolution will be made with the youth
or it will not take place**

The youth are not the future: they are the present that breathes, fights, and sustains itself.

We Marxist-Leninist parties must resolutely and boldly accompany the broad masses of the working and popular youth in the process of accumulating revolutionary forces and building people's power from below. Because only when the youth recognize themselves as a working class, as a people, as a political subject, will the revolution cease to be a dream and become a reality.

There will be no national and social liberation without the youth.

And there will be no truly free youths as long as capitalism continues to dictate the rules of the world.

The challenge of our time is immense but clear: to turn the different forms of being young into a collective, conscious and organized force. To build socialism not as a distant utopia, but as an urgent, human and possible necessity.

Because the revolution is not a memory of the past. It is a living task of the present. And the youths of the world, in each act of rebellion, with their criticism and questioning of capitalist oppression and domination, are already beginning to write it. In order for the enormous rebellious potential that exists in the working, student and popular youth to be effectively channeled into the cause of national liberation and social revolution for the sake



of socialism, the political and ideological work of the Communist Party is fundamental. This work advances or retreats according to the march of revolutionary propaganda among the young people. It is a real challenge in these times when the adoption of related codes of communication is urgent, capable of connecting the ideal of socialism, the struggle for social transformation, with the imagination and expectations of change that always, in all ages, have existed in young people.

This is our challenge as Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations: to better improve and increasingly strengthen the work we do among the youth in our respective countries. Creativity, perseverance and audacity to win the hearts and minds of the broad masses of the youth, to promote their struggles and demands, giving them a perspective towards the revolutionary change of capitalist society, towards national liberation and socialism, the only real change.

Communist Party of Labor (PCT) of the Dominican Republic
April 2026

The Revolutionary Movement of the Masses, the Responsibility of the Communists

For the bourgeoisie and its apologists, the capitalist-imperialist system is the result of economic progress and development, it comes from the "creative nature of capitalism." According to these views, the future of humanity will be the relentless development of capitalism.

We proletarian revolutionaries, enlightened by the revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism, maintain that the capitalist-imperialist system exists as a consequence of the development of the productive forces, of the surplus value generated by thousands of millions of workers in all countries. It is the result of the plundering of natural resources, of imperialist domination and oppression. The capitalist-imperialist system expresses the wealth and omnipotence of a small group of industrial and financial monopolies, of a few imperialist countries, of their partners and lackeys, the local bourgeoisies and also expresses the appropriation of the wealth created by billions of workers on all continents. It causes the continuous impoverishment of the working classes, unemployment, hunger, the misery of the workers, the subjugation of dependent countries.

Capitalism has not solved and, under no circumstances, can solve the problems of the workers. Imperialism will never be able to create the independent progress and development of countries and nations.

The Social Revolution is the Alternative

The triumphant rise of capitalism was broken by the victory of the October Revolution in 1917 in Russia. This great event opened a new stage for humanity, the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. Other revolutionary processes led the working class and the peoples to power in Europe, Asia and Latin America, confirming in fact the probability of organizing and making the revolution.

It is true that the revolution and socialism suffered a defeat in the USSR and other countries, that the economic and social gains of the workers and peoples were reversed, that capitalism once again came to rule.

It is also true that the return of capitalism restored the chains of wage exploitation, which riveted the chains of exploitation and imperialist domination. Events undermined the propagandistic preaching of the capitalists who proclaimed the liberation of the workers and peoples from communist totalitarianism. They showed once again capitalism and its scourges: the exploitation of wage labor, poverty, hunger and misery, unemployment.

The defeat of these revolutionary processes must be understood as part of the process of development of history in spirals, as an expression of a harsh loss inflicted on the workers and peoples; on the revolutionaries and communists. These are battles lost by the proletariat in the struggle for its emancipation, but they do not mean that socialism and revolution were annihilated.

The scourges of capitalism, the chains of exploitation of the workers, unemployment, hunger and misery, imperialist plunder have not ended. In fact, they have spread to all parts of the planet. They are not going to end by themselves. They must be destroyed, eliminated. And their gravediggers will be the workers themselves.

The wealth accumulated and concentrated by the capitalist classes is the result of the work of millions of workers, who will inevitably become their gravediggers through the social revolution.

The Necessity and Probability of the Revolution and Socialism

The 20th century was shaken by great battles of the proletarians and peoples for the revolution and socialism. The peoples won a good part of these revolutionary wars. These facts show the probability of organizing the revolution and leading it to victory, they also make clear the need to defend it.

These events are part of the historical accumulation of humanity. These are experiences that must be studied and taken up as a reference point for the continuation of the revolutionary struggle. They are expressions of the determination of the proletarians and communist revolutionaries to confront capitalism and reaction, of their ability to accept setbacks, to fight new battles

and achieve victory. The historical lessons that we proletarian revolutionaries take up in the 21st century include the legacy of the proletarians and communists, the lessons of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin regarding the necessity and probability of the revolution.

The revolution and socialism are a necessity, but they cannot be organized voluntaristically, by the desire and will of men. Specific conditions are needed that must be taken into account.

The hunger, misery and exploitation of billions of workers raise the need for revolution, but they require concrete actors, the social subjects who become protagonists of its development, of the process of organizing, taking it up and leading it to victory. They also need objective and subjective conditions that are in correspondence.

The working class, the other working classes of the city and the countryside are dissatisfied with the material situation that they endure, they yearn for the change of these conditions, they rebel against them and fight to resolve them in their favor.

The strikes, the struggles for immediate demands show the disagreement, they express the desire for change, but, fundamentally, they put forth concrete situations to representatives of the class enemy in the company, in the jurisdiction and at some times and places in the country.

When the struggle of the working masses and youth develops in a general way, when they take place in a large part of the country, when they aim to change the general situation, when they grow in intensity and breadth they can be part of what is called a revolutionary situation. According to Leninist teachings, it is necessary for the masses to proclaim their dissatisfaction with the present, but at the same time to be clear – at least in their advanced sectors – of the need to change it.

In order for the social struggle to be evaluated and aimed not only at the concrete boss, but at the class of bosses, it is necessary to clarify its objectives, its purposes. It must develop, in fact, the fight for popular power.

Lenin stated [in “The Collapse of the Second International”]: ***“For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for ‘the lower classes not to want’ to live in the old way; it is also necessary that ‘the upper classes should be unable’ to live in the old way; (2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown***

more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses."

Historical experience shows that the organization and leadership of the social revolution of the proletariat requires conditions and protagonists. The existence and development of a revolutionary movement of the masses, of popular armed forces that can lead the political struggle by military means, and the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the communist party that organizes and leads them, are indispensable.

On some occasions we have referred to the role of the Party of the proletariat, in this article we will refer to the building of the revolutionary movement of the masses.

The Masses are the Protagonists of history

A tenet of historical idealism affirms that history is a consequence of the actions of personalities: of emperors and kings, presidents, caudillos.

Obviously, this conception ignores the fact that great historical events, as well as the facts of everyday life, respond to the aspiration to achieve and solve material, social and political needs. The struggle for the achievement of these objectives mobilizes the masses and personalities to get involved, seeking leadership and personal or group advantage of their actions.

Since the appearance of private property and social classes, the working masses have played a leading role in the development of history; they have been actors in the great transformations and revolutions. But, in the results of these feats, it has been the exploitative personalities and other groups and social classes that have benefited from these results and have become the new masters.

This historical development changed substantially when the social revolution of the proletariat took place, when millions of workers became involved in the struggle for change and led it for their own benefit. The revolution was, for the first time, the work of the great majorities for the benefit of themselves. This was the social revolution of the proletariat. It happened for the first time in old Russia.

Great social events and revolutions involve the working masses in their development and outcome. This is the result of the

fact that the working masses see in these processes the satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs, immediate and mid-term; in the pursuit of these objectives they are incorporated, to a large extent, voluntarily.

In the epoch of imperialism, in the dependent countries, Ecuador among them, the working masses are made up of the working class, the poor and middle peasants, the self-employed workers and the semi-proletariat.

Transform the Social Movement of the Workers and Youth into a Revolutionary Movement of the Masses

The working class takes part directly in production; without its activity there would be no material and spiritual goods that humanity requires for its subsistence and development. It, the working class, has no relation to the ownership of the instruments and means of production; therefore, as Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the working class has nothing to lose in the revolutionary struggle, only its chains.

In the dependent countries, the poor and middle peasants are part of the working classes; they are exploited and oppressed by capital and the capitalist class, by the bourgeois government, by its laws and institutions. As long as they have an interest in the satisfaction of their needs, they can advance to understand, in their advanced sectors, the need to fight for social transformation; they can constitute detachments of the revolutionary movement of the masses.

Teachers constitute a significant sector of the working classes; essentially they are intellectual workers. They constitute one of the means for the transmission of the ideas and proposals of imperialism and the capitalists to the thinking of the working classes of the city and the countryside. Public school teachers form a social sector that has a significant level of organization and a long tradition of struggle for their interests and rights, in defense of public education, democracy, freedom and national sovereignty. Private education teachers are also part of the teaching profession and face exploitation by their employers directly. The Ecuadorian teachers have been playing a role in the struggle of the workers and peoples.

Self-employed workers in the city and the countryside are also part of the working classes. They are self-employed, they are in-

dependent producers, they do not directly confront a boss, they have a share of the ownership of the instruments and means of production that allow them to participate in the economic life of society. They are integrated into capitalist society, they suffer oppression and exploitation from the capitalist classes. They face competition from large industrialists and merchants. They bear the weight of bourgeois institutions. Their advanced sectors can be incorporated into the struggle for social transformation. They have important levels of organization, associations and committees, provincial and national federations. They have to fight permanently to sustain their source of work, a part of them is incorporated into the organization and struggle of the trade unionists and people.

A vast sector of the working masses is integrated into the semi-proletariat, there are tens of thousands of workers who have the ownership of some means and instruments of production, who work with them, but who are not able to meet their needs and must resort to wage labor, in the city and the countryside. A part of their productive activity is carried out on their own account, another is developed through the sale of their labor power. They live in poverty, they do not have full access to health and education, they are forced by life to fight for their subsistence; they are part of the working masses of the city and the countryside.

The poor and middle peasants, the small and medium self-employed workers, the semi-proletarians are part of the working classes, because they own the instruments and means of production; for the most part, they are part of the petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletariat.

The social sector made up of high school and university students has an important significance in society. The students come, for the most part, from the working classes of the city and the countryside. A good part of them do not manage to finish their studies, they drop out of schools in search of work and do not find it, they swell the sector of the unemployed. Boys and girls who manage to finish secondary studies cannot as a whole access universities due to lack of resources and the restriction of quotas in public universities.

A significant sector of the youth does not work or study, they are victims of the system, they have no direction and their aspira-



tions are diluted, they disappear. They are plagued by alcoholism and drugs. Some of them are recruited by gangs.

The student youth has a long tradition of struggle. They mobilize in defense of their interests and aspirations, but they also get involved in the general struggles of the workers and people. In the struggle for democracy, against imperialist domination, on the barricades against authoritarian governments and the dictatorships, they form combative shock brigades. They can become, in their advanced sectors, with the work of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, contingents of the forces fighting for the revolution and socialism. However, the vast majority of them will join the system as intellectual workers, as part of the ideological support for the domination of capital.

A question of great importance for the strengthening of the social movement of the working masses, for their leap onto the stage of revolutionary force, is unity. Unity for the struggle for their interests and rights. Unity to confront the capitalist class and its government, its laws and repression. Unity for the struggle for social change, for the revolution and socialism.

The revolutionary movement of the working masses and youth has been working for decades for unity.

Unity for the defense of the interests and rights of the workers, unity to confront the bosses and the government of the capitalists, the repressive laws and anti-worker policies, unity for building a combative workers' movement, unity for the struggle for a new society, for the revolution and socialism are banners

that must be raised by communists every day and, in particular, when the strike struggle is taking place.

Unity is expressed in the first place in the trade union and rank-and-file organization, in the peasant commune, in the association and the committee. It is becoming concrete in the work of building a united and combative union.

A second level of unity is evident in the life of the cantonal and provincial federation, which is projected to the national federation of branches, to the trade union federations.

The Popular Front is a concrete expression of the unity of the workers and people; it integrates the General Union of Workers of Ecuador, UGTE, the Single Federation of Affiliates to the Peasant Social Security, FEUNASSC, the teachers unionized in the UNE, the National Coordinator of Small Merchants, CUCOMITAE, the Coordinator of Neighborhoods of Ecuador, CUBE, the Federation of Secondary Students, FESE and the Federation of University Students, FEUE. It is a place for debate, coordination and leadership of the struggle of an important segment of the revolutionary movement of the masses. It has been participating in the general struggle against the repressive policy of the governments in office, against looting and imperialist domination. It is part of the FUT.

Beyond that, the Ecuadorian trade union movement has been building unity among the class-oriented trade union federations in the Unitary Workers' Front, FUT. It is an organization born in the struggle, over several decades, that has been fighting for the defense of the interests and rights of the workers, against the employers as a whole, against the bourgeois laws and institutions. It has been the protagonist of important national strikes.

We pointed out above that the revolutionary process can advance and achieve victory if it manages to integrate the working classes and the youth as protagonists, if in this development, the communist party fulfills the role of bringing revolutionary consciousness to the thought and action of the working masses and youth.

In building the revolutionary movement of the working masses, it must be borne in mind that the activity of the Party must win over the decisive sections of the working class for revolutionary politics and activity. If this purpose is achieved, it will be

possible to win over the other working classes of the city and the countryside to fight for the revolution.

The social revolution of the proletariat, the struggle for people's power and socialism is a great feat in which millions of people participate and do so voluntarily. But it needs to be organized by working men and women who take up the understanding and conviction to fight for their purposes, for socialism and communism and are integrated into the communist party.

The revolution and socialism are strategic objectives that are carried out in the day-to-day life of communists. It is a zigzagging process that must take into account the situation of the working masses, the balance of forces in their development, the forms of domination of the capitalist class, the dominant ideas of society and the longings and desires of the workers, the dissatisfaction of the youth and the need to provide them with guides and leadership for their incorporation into the revolutionary struggle.

The Communist Party must take into account that the whole of the working masses is subservient to the ideas of the ruling classes. Therefore, it will not be possible to incorporate them as a whole into the struggle for revolutionary change. In the totality of the working masses there are backward sectors that accept their situation because it has always existed and will continue to be so, despite their poverty and the abuses they endure. But, obviously, there is an intermediate sector on which revolutionary policies can and must have an impact. But, above all, we must rely on the advanced sectors, those who are dissatisfied, who yearn for change and who are in the fight, initially, for the solution to their immediate needs.

We said above that the working class can fulfill its role as the vanguard of the revolution as long as it is empowered by its own ideology. That question is not going to take place naturally, spontaneously. For it to take place, the social practice of the party of the proletariat is necessary.

The Communist Party must spread revolutionary politics in the ranks of the working class, in the trade unions and works' committees, in the factories and in the places of concentration and mobilization. The leaflets denouncing the situation, the abuses and arbitrariness of the employers and the authorities, of the laws and regulations of the institutions; the circulation of the Party newspaper and the agitation of its proposals are, among

others, the activities that must be carried out on a regular basis by the communist militants.

The organization of collectives, incorporating the outstanding workers in the struggle, in the work for the organization of the union and for its democratic functioning, the debate about the problems of the class, the situation of the country, international events, the dissemination of the ideals of the revolution and socialism, the objectives of the classless society, communism, are responsibilities to be fulfilled daily by the militants of the party.

The majority of the working class in the country is disorganized; one part is subjected to the employers directly or through the employers' unions, or yellow unionism; and only a small segment, which is growing, are members of the class-oriented unions that defend their interests and those of the people and the country.

The objective of a single workers' federation is a slogan felt by the rank and file, at certain times, it has become a command for important sectors. It is a just slogan and we must continue to raise it.

These ideas and proposals must be taken to the organization and struggle of the other working classes of the city and the countryside.

The Ecuadorian peasantry has been the protagonist of important battles for their interests and rights. It is currently organized in associations, committees, and cooperatives and their main demands are fair prices for seeds, inputs and products; health care and education, as well as irrigation, neighborhood roads and transportation. An important aspect of the peasantry's organization is the FEUNASSC, which contains tens of thousands of peasants affiliated to the Peasant Social Security and which has been developing important days of struggle for their concrete demands; it is involved in the struggle of the other workers for freedom and democracy. The communists must continue to wave the banners of the revolution and socialism, the Party's agrarian program.

We communists must continue to work with the self-employed. There are hundreds of thousands of Ecuadorian self-employed workers who work in the artisanal workshop, in small businesses, they are owners of small capital that allows them to face their work. They are part of the informal economy, they do not

have stability, they do not have social security. They are persecuted by the municipalities and the big business owners of commerce. A good part of them are integrated into the struggle for their interests and their organization, they are involved with the trade union and popular movement.

A demand of hundreds of thousands of workers in the city and the countryside is decent housing. The country has a deficit of more than 800,000 homes. The struggle of the homeless is constant and we are involved in several of its forms. The Party must take up this pressing demand of the working masses in the various provinces.

Among the demands of the working masses, full access to health and education is still continuing. These banners must be wielded decisively by the militants.

The building of the revolutionary movement of the masses is an ongoing process; it must continue now, in the struggle for power and later in the process of building the workers' society, socialism.

Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador

October 2025

Fight against Militarisation in France and Europe

Militarisation is inherent in the capitalist system and takes on a considerable scale in the stage of imperialism.

French imperialism is a case in point, with a military-industrial complex that exerts significant influence over the economy and over national and international political decisions.

The concept of the **military-industrial complex** refers to the intertwining of the monopolies within the defence industrial and technological base, the armed forces that use the weapons, and the state, particularly the executive branch which makes decisions regarding the procurement of armaments programmes. This is an exclusive prerogative of the executive branch and, more specifically, of the Head of State, with parliament being informed only *after the fact* of major decisions.

This army is equipped with weapons ranging from the most ‘primitive’ to the most sophisticated, produced by about ten arms monopolies (land, naval, aerial, satellite, communications, etc.) and their 4,000 subcontractors, whether occasional or long-standing ones. They are located in the major industrial regions (20% in Rhône-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, 12% in Île-de-France, 11% in Brittany, 10% in Centre-Val de Loire).

This is the only sector in which the State is both virtually the sole purchaser of this output – which is entirely in the hands of a few monopolies – and the regulator of all exports, which account for 30% of production. In 2024, France was the world’s second-largest arms exporter, according to data from SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute – www.sipri.org), which is considered authoritative.

The image of the Head of State acting as a travelling sales representative for the arms monopolies, taking their executives and senior military officials on his rounds of negotiations for aircraft sales, has become a recurring one.

**Militarisation is not a new phenomenon, but its scale
is causing great and legitimate concern**

French imperialism is distinctive in that it produces virtually all types of weapons used by its armed forces and deploys them on national soil, in its colonies¹, in a number of neo-colonies in Africa, at bases in the Middle East² and in international military operations³ under the auspices of NATO, the EU, the UN, etc.

The production and control of the majority of weapon types, the armed forces deployed across vast regions of the world, and participation in the world's largest military alliance, NATO, place French imperialism among the most militarised and aggressive imperialist powers, acting against the peoples.

Its aggressiveness is linked to the growing difficulties it faces in maintaining its standing vis-à-vis other imperialist powers. Among these difficulties is the rejection by the peoples, particularly in Africa, of its military presence⁴, which has resulted in withdrawals from several countries; this does not, however, signify the end of French imperialism's domination over these countries, nor the end of the plundering of their natural resources. But the end of the presence of French armed forces in these countries leaves the field more open to rivals: Russian imperialism, but also US, German, Chinese imperialism and others, and a whole host of regional powers, such as Turkey.

¹ Antilles (FAA): 1,100 troops, French Guiana (FAG): 2,650 troops, Mayotte/Réunion (FAZSOI): 2,100 troops, New Caledonia (FANC): 2,200 troops, French Polynesia (FAPF): 1,000 troops.

² Ivory Coast: 80 troops, Gabon: 100 troops, pre-positioned forces in Djibouti: 1,500 troops, in the United Arab Emirates: 750 troops. This represents a total of 2,430 troops.

³ In Iraq, Operation CHAMMAL, 1,100 troops; in Estonia: 350 troops, Romania: 1,400 troops, in the Baltic states, in Kosovo, in international operations: 2,500 troops under NATO; EU missions: 600 troops; in UN missions: Daman (Lebanon): 800 troops, in the Sahara, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

⁴ The withdrawal of French troops: Mali (17 February, 2022), Burkina (19 February, 2022), Niger (22 December, 2023), Chad (31 January, 2025), Ivory Coast (15 February, 2025), Senegal (17 July, 2025).

Militarisation at the European level

Macron sought to be the leader in the accelerated militarisation of Europe. French arms monopolies have forged numerous links with the monopolies of the imperialist EU member states. Several major joint projects have been launched across all sectors: land-based armaments (tanks), missiles of all calibres (cruise missiles, etc.), space (Ariane), drones, the navy (corvettes), aeronautics (civil and military Airbus), etc. all of which involve the monopolies of the various states.

Militarisation at the European level is mobilising considerable sums of money. It is being driven forward at a rapid pace: French imperialism is one of its driving forces, but German imperialism—which is rapidly bolstering its military capabilities and pouring billions into developing world-class German monopolies—is vying for leadership.

The ambitions of French imperialism also come up against a reality: the EU's dependence on US arms monopolies. Purchases of US arms by EU states increased between 2020 and 2024, rising from 52% to 64%, representing an increase from \$50 billion to \$70 billion⁵. This shows that all the talk about the need to strengthen European defence has but one objective: to justify a long-term policy of militarisation and to continue to embed it within the strengthening of NATO, even though US imperialism, which places its own interests above all else, is making its allies pay ever higher prices for its participation in their defence.

The war in Ukraine has led to a considerable increase in arms expenditure across all EU member states. The European Commission, led by Ursula von der Leyen, has taken initiatives to mobilise financial resources to purchase weapons and deliver them to Ukraine on behalf of the EU.

It has also established financial mechanisms to encourage member states to increase their defence budgets, and to push for the militarisation of their economies and of the EU.

⁵ Figures based on SIPRI calculations.

This trend has been ongoing since the Treaty of Lisbon, which overruled the ‘no to the ECT’⁶ and established the ‘Common Security and Defence Policy’ (CSDP).

An ‘EU military staff’ was established: ‘the embryo of an EU armed forces headquarters’, according to the website ‘toute-leurope.eu’. Then came the European Defence Agency (2004) ‘to strengthen the European industrial and technological base in the defence sector and create a competitive European market for defence equipment’.

In March 2025, the Commission presented an 800-billion-euro plan (ReArm Europe), which provides for a loan mechanism for EU countries to encourage them to increase their defence spending. These sums will not be taken into account in the calculation of the ‘excessive’ budget deficit, which is a significant departure from the sacrosanct ‘Stability Pact’.

U von der Leyen announced this plan on the very day the Trump administration announced the suspension of its military aid to Ukraine. In a sense, she was implementing Trump’s demand that European states take over the provision of military aid to Ukraine.

The accelerating militarisation is, of course, linked to the intensification of inter-imperialist contradictions, which are manifested as regional conflicts and wars with international consequences, as is the case with the imperialist war of aggression against Iran.

Militarisation is also reflected in the economy. This forces the labour and trade union movement to understand it properly and to take a stand, notably by affirming opposition to militarisation and war.

⁶ During the debates on the draft European Constitution (TCE) championed by Giscard and supported by Mitterrand and the oligarchy, the issue of European defence was debated within the broad ‘No to the Constitution’ movement – which won on 29 May 2005.

The draft constitution had sought to promote the idea of a European defence policy aligned with NATO (of which almost all EU member states are members). This was one of the arguments for calling for a ‘no’ vote.

Class-based trade unionism in the face of the militarisation of the economy

Industries directly or indirectly involved in arms production employ hundreds of thousands of people. The militarisation of the economy is an issue the trade union movement cannot evade, with numerous questions it must address, forms of resistance it must organise, and the considerable pressure it must withstand.

Arms production is presented as a major opportunity to boost the economy and employment.

In April 2024, while in the Dordogne to inaugurate an extension to the Eurengo factory which produces gunpowder for ammunition, Macron praised the revival of an industry that “*generates wealth*”. The town’s mayor (LR [The Republicans – *translator’s note*]) was quick to add that “*the entire local economy will benefit from France’s rearmament, as we know there will be indirect jobs*”.

This puts intense pressure on the trade union movement.

On 12 December 2024, when Sophie Binet (General Secretary of the CGT) visited the Fonderie de Bretagne in Morbihan, she took the same stance in defence of jobs. This earned her unexpected praise from the factory director, who stated: “*I don’t always agree with the CGT, but on this particular issue, we have a common goal ... , we share a common view on this issue, on safeguarding jobs and skills*”. In May 2025, following the takeover of the site by Europlasma and the conversion of this former Renault subcontractor to shell manufacturing, S. Binet hailed “*a victory [which] proves the value of trade unionism*” and “*a source of hope for many workers elsewhere in France*”. The secretary of the CGT union at Fonderies de Bretagne clarified that this conversion to shell manufacturing was not “*a source of pride, but a necessity to enable 266 families to keep their fridges stocked*”.

Capitalist exploitation is intensifying in companies working for the military

The “war economy”, as termed by Macron and Lecornu – who, before becoming Prime Minister, was for a long time his ardent Minister of the Armed Forces – is leading to urgent calls to produce more and in greater quantities. This entails intensified ex-

plotation, increased production rates, longer working hours, the widespread introduction of continuous shifts and a tightening of “management”. This is the primary battleground for class-struggle trade unionists in defending the interests of those who “*are compelled to sell their labour power in order to survive*”⁷. In these companies, as in all others, the struggle for wages and working conditions, and resistance to the intensification of labour, cannot be allowed to falter.

‘Moral’ condemnations coming from outside the labour and trade union movement are unacceptable. In the capitalist mode of production, the use-value of commodities takes a back seat to their exchange-value; it is not the workers who have control over what they produce. Few of those who have only their labour power to sell can ‘choose’ their employer, let alone the nature of the production in which they will be involved.

Production solely to ensure the defence of the country?

In the policy document for its 53rd congress, the CGT stated that “*weapons are not a commodity*” and that “*in fact, their trade must be regulated and exempt from market forces*”. It specifies that France must withdraw from NATO and that “*military budgets, in France and worldwide, must be reduced to the bare minimum to ensure solely the defence and security of the territory*” and that “*the funds thus freed up must be redirected towards education, health and culture in particular*”. This last point, which is reflected in slogans such as: “*money for schools, healthcare, social services, etc., not for shareholders and not for war*”, is a just demand that has been expressed in many ways during protests against austerity budgets.

But the idea that arms are produced solely for ‘defence’ is illusory. The reality is that France is an imperialist country, a key player in the global imperialist system marked by a brutal intensification of inter-imperialist contradictions: it is engaged in the

⁷ “By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labour. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live.” Note by Engels for the 1888 English edition of the *Communist Manifesto*.

arms race to defend its interests as an imperialist power within the context of the fierce competition waged by imperialist powers over the redistribution of strategic resources and markets.

The reality is also that, within a market economy, the French military industry, having reached the technological level and level of investment we are familiar with, cannot survive without arms exports, in which France is one of the world's leaders.⁸

The struggle of class-conscious trade unionists against the 'war economy'

This struggle is a collective trade union struggle against the intensification of capitalist exploitation, control and repression of workers in these sectors.

It is a struggle that also has a political and ideological dimension. It is a struggle of resistance against those who refuse any debate on the political purpose of the weapons and components produced, who hide behind a narrow and strictly corporatist approach. It is a struggle against those who seek to rally workers into a national union behind the warmongers, seeking to make them willing accomplices of imperialist policy.

In this class struggle, the aim is to raise awareness of the political nature of the French state, which serves the rich, the bosses and the arms dealers; of the nature of the capitalist-imperialist system; and of the need to put an end to this system and establish socialism, for this is the only solution that will give workers control over what they produce.

In several issues of *La Forge*, we have addressed the question of *“denouncing and resisting the normalisation and widespread acceptance of the direct and indirect production of arms and everything that contributes to the development of the military-industrial complex.”* In this context, we have highlighted **the important role played by the mobilisations against arms deliveries to the Zionist state of Israel, which “powerfully contribute to developing anti-imperialist consciousness within the trade union movement”.**

⁸ This is a point highlighted in the 2025 Report to Parliament on French Arms Exports. Emphasising *“the essential role of exports in the sustainability of the defence industrial and technological base”*, the report states: *“Such an industry is not viable on domestic orders alone”*.

The example of the Italian dockers

It is in this country that the workers' mobilisations and those of part of the trade union movement have been strongest. We will not go into detail here: we refer to the texts by comrades from the Organisation for the Communist Party of the Proletariat of Italy. But we wish to emphasise the importance of the strikes, notably the general strike on 28 November against low wages, the finance bill and war policies, which was followed the next day by powerful demonstrations in Rome and Milan in solidarity with the Palestinian people, with strong involvement from sections of the working class, particularly dockers, in the strikes, the demonstrations and the blockades of military supplies destined for the genocidal state of Israel!

In France, last June, the dockers of Fos-sur-Mer prevented the departure of French military equipment bound for Israel. They refused to load parts for machine guns manufactured by the Marseille-based company Eurolinks onto a ship bound for Haifa.

On 6 February 2026, an international dockers' strike took place in some twenty ports across Italy, Greece, Spain, Turkey, France and Morocco under the slogan "*Dockers do not work for war*".

In the manufacturing sector, several trade unions have carried out information and mobilisation campaigns to denounce their companies' direct or indirect involvement in the genocidal war waged by Israel against the Palestinian people. This was notably the case with the CGT-STMicroelectronics: in response to the call from Palestinian trade unions in October 2023, the union carried out extensive investigative work to uncover the group's numerous links with Israel, before challenging management, raising the issue at the central works council, and then organising a rally outside the Crolles site in April 2025. Similar work has also been carried out by the CGT-Thalès and the CGT Airbus and others.

This is a concrete way of developing anti-imperialist consciousness within the trade union movement and the working class.

Germany's Path to War and a New, Young Anti-War Movement

The current escalation on the world stage is also prompting Germany to accelerate its rearmament. The EU plays a decisive role in this. On the domestic front, war propaganda is intensifying—yet a new, young movement has declared war on militarization.

A new international situation

With the release of the new U.S. National Security Strategy last November and the rapid developments related to this strategic shift early this year, the dynamics of inter-imperialist conflicts are evolving at a new pace. From Venezuela to Greenland and Iran, we can observe how U.S. imperialism is rapidly resorting the world order to suit its needs. To weaken its main opponent, China, the means and methods for securing U.S. hegemony are being redefined depending on the specific situation and region. It is not only in Latin America and the Middle East that the U.S. is reorganizing all relations according to the “America First” principle. While under Biden the transatlantic alliance was still regarded as crucial for the struggle against China and Russia, it is no wonder that the European imperialists fell into a panic with Trump’s return to office. For he is redefining the means of the struggle. On the one hand, the weakening of Russia is left to the European states (hence the Europeans’ panic that the U.S. would “leave them alone” with the Ukraine dilemma); on the other hand, the U.S. is attempting to undermine the emerging alliance between Russia and China by moving closer to Putin.

In Germany and Europe, these latest developments have not been well received. German Chancellor Merz stated in January before the Association of Metal Industry Employers (Gesamtmittel): “What we once called the normative West no longer exists in this form. It is, at best, still a geographical designation, but no longer a normative bond that holds us together.... We are not at war in Europe, but we are also no longer at peace.” Despite the drastic

tone, the conclusions and measures now proposed to adapt to the new situation are not new: Germany is using the escalation of conflicts as an opportunity to further accelerate its own rearmament and, consequently, its independence from U.S. imperialism. The EU plays a decisive role in these efforts.

Germany and the EU

Economically, the Federal Republic of Germany is now the world's third-largest economy (GDP of \$4.5 trillion, 2023), behind the United States (\$27.7 trillion) and China (\$17.8 trillion). However, Germany's economic output is only one-quarter that of China's and one-sixth that of the United States. Germany is in a similar league to Japan (4), India (5), the United Kingdom (6), or France (7). This means it is effectively no match for the two largest economic powers. The picture looks quite different if one considers a "United Europe" led by German capital (\$19.8 trillion). Then it would catch up with China and would, in economic terms, truly be a world power. Without Europe, Germany is indeed a strong economic power, but it remains dependent on an alliance with a stronger power and is therefore always forced to make compromises at its own expense. This is very evident in its relations with the U.S., where German capital strives for independence but is repeatedly forced into subordination. Currently, efforts are being made at full speed to turn the EU into a third player on the world stage that must be reckoned with. In this regard, a few issues are at the top of the agenda for German imperialism:

On the one hand, there is the economic strengthening of the EU, for which Mario Draghi, former head of the European Central Bank, drafted a strategy paper commissioned by the EU in 2024. The stated goal is to strengthen the EU's competitiveness in the face of competition from China and the U.S. The paper proposed measures costing approximately 800 billion euros by 2030 to support the European economy. It is this strategy that the EU Commission under von der Leyen is already following in many respects. The EU also plays a key role in trade relations, where German capital is seeking diversification. For example, Germany is particularly pushing for the rapid implementation of the EU trade agreement with the MERCOSUR states, which primarily serves the interests of export-oriented big capital while endangering jobs, the environment, and small farmers in Europe and Latin America.

However, the problems German capital faces in ratifying the agreement within the EU are also an expression of the struggle between the various imperialist powers in the EU, which is evident across the board.

“Digital sovereignty” also plays a crucial role. Restrictions on U.S. tech giants such as Meta and X, as well as the independence of intelligence agencies, are important factors. As early as the beginning of January, a law was passed in Germany granting the Bundesnachrichtendienst (Germany’s foreign intelligence service) greater powers. What caused an outcry a few years ago regarding the NSA or in the wake of the Snowden revelations is now being legalized quite openly—all in the name of intelligence independence. Just how critical this issue is can be seen in the developments in Ukraine—Ukrainian military operations have been directed from Wiesbaden since 2022 where a headquarters was established to coordinate Ukrainian military operations using U.S. intelligence information. European “support” for Ukraine would have hardly been effective without this information. At the EU level as well, a new security strategy is now to be drafted by the end of June, which will also consider closer integration of intelligence agencies, potentially leading to a European intelligence service.

The direct military strengthening of the EU is also being pushed forward at full speed. In 2025, military spending by EU member states totaled 392 billion euros. Now, the EU Commission estimates that implementing the 5% target will cost around 900 billion euros. In this process, the EU is assuming the role of balancing the differing interests of imperialist actors and various capital groups within the EU to enable action that is as unified as possible. However, this is very difficult, as is currently evident, for example, in Hungary’s veto of further war credits for Ukraine. It is equally clear in the failure of plans for a joint combat aircraft (FCAS) due to competition between German and French arms manufacturers. It is obvious that the two strongest imperialist powers in Europe, Germany and France, are competing for leadership.

Moreover, other imperialist powers are also working to hinder the EU’s rise to global power status. It is very clear that the U.S. is working intensively to keep its rivals in check and is more or less openly supporting corresponding forces such as the Rassemblement National in France or the AfD [Alternative for Ger-

many] in Germany. Imperialist Russia, too, supports forces like Orbán in Hungary. Although it is becoming increasingly difficult to reconcile the various powers within the EU in light of the intensifying struggle among the major powers—the U.S., Russia, and China—the EU is constantly working toward this goal.

As early as 2003, it developed a “European Security Strategy” and openly set the goal of shaping the EU into a global player. In the 2016 update of this strategy, the development of “cutting-edge military capabilities” was called for even more explicitly. In 2022, the “return of power politics” was postulated, and the United States was identified as a competitor alongside Russia and China. In 2025, the “White Paper on European Defense” was published. The magazine “Wehrtechnik” saw this as a “paradigm shift” for the EU “from a junior partner in security policy to a strategic actor.” Indeed, the White Paper clearly lays out what the rearmament efforts are intended to achieve in the coming years. The draft of the White Paper states: “The only way to overcome this dependence is to develop the necessary capabilities through joint European projects, especially now that the U.S. is rethinking its approach and might consider the decision to restrict or even halt the use of enablers [strategic core capabilities]” (p. 4). Although Article 41(2) of the EU Treaty expressly prohibits military spending, the EU circumvents this by framing arms-related programs as “industrial support.” Under cryptic names like EVF, EDI-PRA, ASAP, or EDIP—which mean little to anyone but insiders—it has created arms-related support programs worth many billions of euros. They aim to create a strong and unified European arms industry. To receive funding, several corporations from multiple EU countries are required to collaborate. This promotes concentration and the formation of monopolies. Thus, economic means are being used to gradually achieve—through the creation of large European arms monopolies—what is currently not succeeding very well in the political sphere. A strong imperialist EU is to be created through the profit interests of the large monopolies. One goal is “to make at least 50% of all defense investments in the EU by 2030 and 60% by 2035.” (EU Regulation on EDIRPA, Oct. 18, 2023) The aim is thus to reduce arms purchases from the U.S. and build up a powerful domestic arms industry. The ASAP program aims to “put our industry into war economy mode now.” (euractiv.com, May 3, 2023). As already noted, Germany leads the

EU when it comes to rearmament. In his first government statement, Chancellor Friedrich Merz announced plans to expand the Bundeswehr into “Europe’s strongest conventional army.” These objectives have the potential to transform the EU into a military player far beyond its current scope.

The Evolution of War Propaganda

While the conflict between the U.S. and China provides the global backdrop against which various other imperialist powers are attempting to assert their positions, direct confrontation with China currently plays a secondary role in the discourse within Germany and the EU.

Russia remains at the forefront of these disputes, which is understandable for geographical reasons and due to the “division of labor” within NATO pushed by the U.S., in which European countries are tasked with covering this flank. But the publicly effective factor of the “threat from Russia” also plays a decisive role.

Narrowing the debate to a potential war with Russia also lends credibility to the defense narrative and thus directly increases public support for rearmament. In Germany, much of the justification for the current rearmament rests on the claim that Russia will not stop at Ukraine and that, sooner or later, NATO territory will be next if it is not deterred. The key date here is 2029—that is the deadline by which Germany must become “war-ready” (a quote from Defense Minister Boris Pistorius), as Russia could attack in 2029. A non-public NATO document on the one hand and intelligence information on the other are said to be the sources. The year 2029 is actually not exact—Russia is reportedly already capable of matching NATO militarily as early as 2028. But the figure was in circulation following a well-known speech by Pistorius in the summer of 2024, and so they simply left it at that. Even political scientists openly admit that the year 2029 is “above all a means of communication” (political scientist Sarah Pagung towards Bayerischer Rundfunk). In other words: The year 2029 serves more as a publicity tool than as an actual threat assessment. It is intended to prepare the population to accept sacrifices and cuts and to make personal sacrifices in order to avert the “threat in the near future.” This is precisely the goal of numerous “military experts” who have been a constant presence in the media since the start of the war in Ukraine. The best known of them



is Carlo Masala. In his book: “If Russia Wins: A Scenario,” he imaginatively describes a 2028 in which Russia pretends to pursue relaxation and then ambushes NATO, which has not properly prepared itself. The conclusion: We must rearm now to prevent this from happening.

This entirely unscientific book sold out multiple times shortly after its release in March 2025; by March 2026, the publisher reported 100,000 copies sold. Based on these narratives, which have since become widespread among the population, war propaganda has taken on a certain autonomy in today’s public debate.

A recent example of this was the public coverage in the fall of 2025 regarding alleged Russian drone overflights and espionage operations over Europe. While German media reported for days on a wave of drone sightings over European airports, all of which were linked to Russia, in almost all of these cases it was later determined that the drones were not Russian:

On October 3, Frankfurt Airport was closed due to a drone sighting—on October 4, the government clarified that this was the work of a hobby pilot with no ties to Russia. On October 4, Vilnius Airport was closed due to drone sightings—a few days later, it became clear that the drones were being used by cigarette smugglers. And in Denmark as well, a government official admitted as early as October 4 that they were no longer certain whether it had actually been a drone. Russian drone overflights or espionage operations are by no means impossible, but the hysteria we saw last fall illustrates very well what the debate achieves: the corrections to the claims of Russian drone overflights received no-

where near as much public attention as the initial reports. For most people, only the initial reports remain in memory, making the narrative of the threat seem more real. In December, fittingly, a new aviation security law was passed in Germany, and a new drone defense center was opened with great fanfare.

It is this dynamic that today leads to many steps toward war preparations and rearmament, facing little resistance. One exception, however, is a new movement that emerged in late 2025 and brought public resistance to militarization onto the streets: the youth movement against conscription.

A new movement has emerged

On December 5, 2025, 55,000 students across Germany went on strike against mandatory military service, the gradual reintroduction of which is part of the new military service law passed by the Bundestag that day. On March 5, 2026, the second strike—in which over 50,000 students once again participated—demonstrated that this was not a one-time event and that it has the potential to become a long-term youth movement.

The debate surrounding conscription was a constant presence in late 2025. The government’s hesitancy, as it repeatedly put forward new proposals—ranging from immediate compulsory service for all to a lottery system—was no coincidence. On the one hand, there are indeed differing views on how the Bundeswehr’s troop strength can be most effectively bolstered. Some argued that universal military service would be too expensive and would overload the Bundeswehr’s structures. Others sought to kill two birds with one stone by using a “social service year” to simultaneously secure urgently needed, low-cost labor in the social sector. But the fact that these different positions were publicly weighed also had another effect: the reaction was being tested. We know that just a few years ago, it would have been unimaginable to conscript the entire youth into military service using the argument of an impending major war. In the meantime, a social climate has been created that has broken numerous taboos. It was impossible to predict whether the reintroduction of compulsory military service would go through without significant resistance. So the debate went back and forth, the aspect of voluntariness was increasingly removed from the drafts, and in the end a compromise was agreed upon that is meant to look like the

lesser evil: the Bundeswehr shall comprise 260,000 soldiers—that would be 80,000 more than today. To achieve this, everyone who has his 18th birthday, starting with all born in 2008 or later will be sent questionnaires (including one regarding willingness to perform military service), which men must answer. Women can answer voluntarily. Men are then to be medically examined nationwide at 24 recruitment centers still to be established, as soon as the capacity is in place, to assess their fitness for military service. Military service itself will remain voluntary for the time being—should the Bundeswehr’s desired troop strength not be achieved this way, the law provides for a quick and easy reintroduction of conscription, and voluntary service will quickly become a thing of the past.

In the weeks and months leading up to the introduction of this law, protests were planned in numerous cities under the banner “No to Conscription.” This was to be combined with a strike by those who would be most directly affected by this law: the school students. The movement gained momentum in the weeks leading up to December 5. Strike committees were formed at many schools with the aim of mobilizing for the major school strike—as early as November 27, the coalition announced that such committees existed in 90 cities. In some federal states, state student councils joined the call. The GEW (the Union of Education and Science, organizing many teachers) and the youth wings of the trade unions also supported the actions in many places, while local student councils, youth organizations, and the Left Party joined the call as well.

The strike also became an increasingly prominent topic on social media, with videos on the subject going viral. This was reason enough for Defense Minister Pistorius to record a video the day before, in which he praised the fact that freedom of expression in Germany allows such strikes to take place at all and that the state and democracy must be defended—which is what military service serves to do. But the students on the strike committees often felt first-hand that this was not true: In the media and at many schools, attempts were made to intimidate students and threaten them with consequences for striking, including expulsion. Additionally, some strike rallies were prevented and banned by the police and assembly authorities, or the students present were intimidated. Yet the striking students remained undeterred. The first

reports came in as early as the morning: 10,000 in Berlin, 5,000 in Hamburg, 4,000 in Munich the previous evening, 1,000 in Essen, 1,000 in Frankfurt, 1,500 in Göttingen, nearly 1,000 in Stuttgart, etc. A total of 55,000 students took to the streets. The protest marches were marked by signs and banners conveying a clear stance: against conscription, but also against war in general. Many messages highlighted a clear class perspective: “Merz, go to the front yourself,” “We won’t fight your wars,” or “The rich want war, the youth want a future.” In many cities, alongside students from the strike committees, youth wings of trade unions, student councils, and supportive workers also spoke. In some places, teachers brought their school classes to the strike, and in Munich, tram workers who refused to drive trams displaying Bundeswehr advertisements spoke out. On December 5, something that had been simmering for a long time finally came to the surface. Young people’s rejection of the draft has turned into resistance—and that was just the beginning.

The movement decided to hold a second strike on March 5. At a nationwide strike conference against conscription, the 250 students present—representing over 60 strike committees—clearly articulated an anti-militarist stance:

“The introduction of conscription is about neither defense nor the values of ‘freedom’ or ‘democracy,’ as Defense Minister Pistorius would have students believe. Defense Minister Pistorius wants to make us believe that the nationwide conscription of an entire age group serves to defend democracy. But we say: This state is not interested in our freedom or our opinion. Foreign deployments, militarization, and conscription are against our interests. The introduction of conscription is not about defense, nor is it about values such as freedom or democracy. Conscription is part of Germany’s struggle for power in the world over markets, resources, and trade routes. To this end, billions in new funding for rearmament are repeatedly approved, paving the way for the next major war. Meanwhile, the stock prices of arms companies like Rheinmetall, ThyssenKrupp, KNDS & Co. are skyrocketing. But we have nothing to gain from rearmament and war. Even though military service remains voluntary today and is primarily intended to recruit young people into the military through incentives, this ‘freedom’ is not a positive one.... We demand:

1. No conscription – No compulsory service!

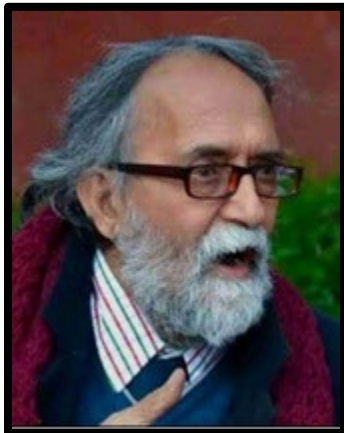
2. Money for education, social services, and environmental protection instead of rearmament and war preparations!
3. Get the Bundeswehr out of schools! Military service refusal counseling for all graduating classes!
4. For the establishment of strike committees at every school and the right to strike for students!
5. Disarmament instead of rearmament! Negotiation instead of shooting!"

In the weeks and months leading up to the strike in March, the movement gained momentum. The result: On December 5, there were 55,000 students from over 90 cities; on March 5, 50,000 from over 130 cities. The movement spread to new cities and was able to sustain participation, even though the issue was barely on the media's agenda at that time, unlike around the first strike. The reason for this success is the movement's continuous work through strike committees in schools, which were the decisive factor in mobilization. It was striking that very young students in particular were out on the streets. The next strike date has already been set: May 8th, the day of liberation from fascism. It is clear that this young movement will need a lot of stamina. Resistance to war and militarization is difficult to co-opt and steer into channels that preserve the system, as has been repeatedly attempted with the environmental movement. With the "Zeitenwende" (a term coined by chancellor Scholz in 2022 after the invasion of Ukraine), militarization aimed at war readiness was declared one of the primary goals of German imperialism, in order to be able to defend its own interests militarily in the face of international competition. A movement that challenges this goal can become a problem for the objectives of German imperialism. Accordingly, it is crucial today to strengthen, broaden, and sustain this movement.

***Organization for the Construction of the Communist
Party of the Workers of Germany
April 2026***

Comrade Vijay Singh (1946-2026) – A Life Spent in the Struggle against Revisionism

Comrade Vijay Singh, our founder editor, breathed his last after a two-month long battle with cancer. Even in his very final days he was concerned with continuation of this journal and the printing of the current issue, which he had already assiduously prepared for publication. Despite his failing health, he was at his work every day, examining documents, translations, and articles for publication, contacting contributors to the journal and responding to comrades



who came to him with queries. His love and care extended far beyond his own family to include a very wide circle of friends and comrades, generous to their faults but always prodding all of us to work relentlessly for our chosen cause.

Vijay Singh taught history at the University of Delhi. – He was a very considerate teacher who spoke in low tone but went out of his way to help his students. At the university he was perennially engaged in making the history curriculum meaningful and politically relevant, in fighting for the legitimate rights of the teachers and university staff and at the same time insisting on professional accountability. He was a fearless defender of democratic rights of all oppressed people, dalits, adivasis, women, religious minorities, revolutionary activists, Kashmiri activists, besides workers and peasants. Above all he was engaged in relentless but deeply respectful dialogues and debates with revolutionary comrades across the globe. His internationalism was reflected in his endearing relationship with comrades from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal besides other countries. His singular pursuit was to uphold the

tenets of Marxism Leninism and the work of the CPSU (b) under Joseph Stalin, and fight against all forms of revisionism which sought to compromise these tenets. For this purpose, he delved deep into libraries and archives across continents, especially the Russian archives, locating relevant documents and publishing them with his scholarly annotations and introductions. He brought high professional standards of a serious historian to this work, ensuring the reliability of such publication. Vijay Singh had developed a deep and critical appreciation of different art forms; literature, paintings, films, architecture, besides classical, jazz, blues and revolutionary music of the toiling peoples. A communist at heart with a strong moral fibre, he demonstrated the intrinsic humanism of Communism by his gentle and softspoken demeanour and utter lack of egoism or self-centeredness.

Vijay Singh was born in pre-partition Rawalpindi on 27 October, 1946, and the family migrated to Delhi during the partition of the country. His father joined the Indian High Commission in London and Vijay moved to England with his parents in 1950. There he went to Haberdasher's School a celebrated private school and then to Christ's College in Cambridge. He had joined the youth wing of the Labour Party even as a school student and was radicalised during the anti-Vietnam war struggles of the late 60s. That's when he turned to Marxism Leninism and came under the influence of organisations like the Indian Marxist Leninist Association (IMLA) and the Marxist Leninist Organisation of Britain (MLOB) and had close interactions with activists like Mike Baker and Bill Bland besides artists like Mauriene Scott. In the early 1970s he met and married Tripta Wahi, then a Ph D student in School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). They chose to return to India to carry on their political work. Both of them joined as history lecturers in Punjab and then shifted to Delhi where they groomed hundreds of students across decades. They have two daughters.

The MLOB was a product of the Great Debate and was critical of CPSU's policies since 1956, and concluded that capitalism had been restored in the USSR. They were at the same time also critical of the Chinese Communist Party and Mao whom they considered to be a bourgeois nationalist. They also had a streak of syndicalism and left extremism, as a result of which they rejected the United Front Theses of the VII Congress of the Comintern and the policies advocated by G Dimitrov. Thus though Vijay Singh was ap-

preciative of some aspects of their criticism of the CPSU and CCP, he distanced himself from their left extremist positions.

Vijay Singh began his political work in India in the early 1970s. When the Emergency was declared democratic rights were suppressed and the state took on extra-ordinary powers. Those were difficult times for political activists. It was during this phase that he along with another comrade set up the Stalinist Nucleus of India (SNI) and began to engage in discussions with various strands of the Indian left. It was natural to engage more closely with the various groups that had emerged to the left of the CPI-M, largely clubbed as 'ML' or adherents of 'Mao Tse Tung Thought'. They were critical of the CPSU, defended socialist construction under Stalin and opted for a revolutionary path instead of the 'parliamentary' path which the two mainstream CPs were pursuing. Vijay Singh's principal critique of these groups was that they had abandoned work with the urban proletariat and focussed their attention on building 'rural bases' which was theoretically justified in terms of identifying feudalism as the 'principal contradiction'. He was also of the opinion that in entirely abandoning participation in parliamentary process, these groups were committing a left extremist error. Some of these groups also engaged in 'revolutionary terror' which the Marxist-Leninist movement had condemned as being counter-productive and which only enabled the consolidation of the reactionary state.

It was also the time when the difference between CCP and the Party of Labour of Albania came to the surface as the latter formally criticised the CCP for its adherence to the Three Worlds Theory and opening its doors to the USA. PLA's Enver Hoxha emerged as the defender of Marxism Leninism and the work of JV Stalin.

Vijay Singh was instrumental in the setting up the India Albania Friendship Association, in October 1978 with the objective of publicising the views of the PLA and achievements of socialist construction in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The association published a monthly journal, Socialist Albania during 1978-79. The journal was instrumental in bringing together political groups which were getting disillusioned with both the mainstream left and ML politics. It was in the course of these discussions that Comrade Lashkar Singh of Punjab and Comrade Moni Guha, a veteran Communist revolutionary and Vijay Singh established a fruitful dialogue on the history of revisionism and the anti-

revisionist struggles waged by several far sighted individuals in the Indian Communist Movement. The result was the publication of a new series of the Proletarian Path under joint editorship of Moni Guha, Lashkar Singh and Vijay Singh in 1981. The last issue of the journal under this editorial board was published in 1982, devoted entirely to the emergence of Solidarity in Poland. Vijay Singh in a rigorously researched article traced the dismantling of socialist economic framework of Poland and restoration of capitalism resulting in the severe economic crises which triggered the movement in 1981-82.

During the 1980s Vijay Singh was deeply involved in the teacher's movement in Delhi University, participating in the elections to the Delhi University Teacher's Association (DUTA), and playing an important role in the strike actions called by the DUTA, which resulted in significant gains for the teachers. He was also involved in the efforts undertaken by the history department of the university to revamp the undergraduate and post graduate syllabi to bring them in line with contemporary concerns and closer to Marxist analysis of social history. Besides teaching in a college he also taught courses on European history and Russian / Soviet history in the University. Innumerable students fondly remember his intense teaching and also his concern for the welfare of the students. He often lectured to the students in Hindi, so that they could understand better even though the university did not provide for Hindi medium instruction. He actively sought to ensure that good quality academic materials were available to students in Hindi and assisted the 'Hindi Implementation' board of the university in this.

The 1980s in India saw the assertion of ethnic identities; caste, language and religious identities began to play an important part in mass politics. Oppressed castes like the dalits, and castes which had improved their economic status during the last few decades, sought a share in political power. As a counter, right wing Hindu identities and Muslim identities were whipped up. The Left was caught in a fix with rather weak theoretical frameworks to address the new challenges. At this time Vijay Singh stood firmly on the side of the oppressed castes and in opposition to the emergent religious fanaticism.

It was also during this decade that Vijay Singh enrolled himself for a formal Ph.D under Prof Parthasarathy Gupta so as to be able

to access archival materials on Soviet history. He began visiting libraries and archives in Western Europe and subsequently in Russia when the archives of CPSU were opened for scholars in 1991-2. Vijay Singh used this opportunity to locate crucial documents relating to policy debates and decisions during the post war period, documents relating to debates about the strategies of the people's democracies and communist and worker's parties in various countries, etc. Vijay Singh visited the archives year after year collecting valuable materials. These he studied himself, having learnt Russian in the meanwhile. He also selected the most important among them to be translated and made available to the movement at large. It was in this context that Vijay Singh felt the need for a theoretical journal which delved into the complex manifestations of revisionism, made the long forgotten old debates available to younger comrades and used them to understand contemporary problems facing the movement. The journal was to be a bridge between the past of the world communist movement and the present, a bridge that would be built by the present generation to get illuminations from the past. Thus began the unique dialogue that Revolutionary Democracy has been since its inception in 1995. He subsequently teamed up with a number of comrades to create the Revolutionary Democracy website which became an online repository of crucial documents relating to world communist movement, easily accessible to all.

Vijay Singh had established close contacts with like minded comrades and organisations in several countries and was an active member of several international organisations like the ICMLOP. In all his conversations he was keen to put across what he considered to be Marxist Leninist positions which were advocated by Stalin, the CPSU under his leadership, the Comintern, and the Cominform. We summarise below some of his key positions.

Law of Value and Socialism

One of the earliest articles published in RD relates to an abiding concern of Vijay Singh, the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. He built upon a rich body of literature on the subject which began with the 'Great Debate', but was developed by the Irish Communist Organisation, MLOB, Red Star, etc. besides Marxist scholars like Martin Nicolaus, in the 1960s and 1970s. Several Marxists in India too had worked on this and these were eventu-

ally brought to wider notice later on. Vijay Singh built upon these but delved much deeper into the roots of the capitalist restoration and also the process by which it was achieved. For this he accessed both the Russian libraries and subsequently the freshly opened archives of the CPSU and GOSPLAN. As a historian of revisionism, he traced the continuity of revisionist thinking from Bogdanov, Bukharin, Trotsky onto the leading Soviet economists in the time of Stalin and subsequently.

Thus, he was able to trace the strong ideological roots of Soviet revisionism which was to play an important role in the capitalist restoration not only in the USSR but in the entire bloc of peoples' democracies.

Vijay Singh's essential argument on this can be summed up as follows:

- i. The foundations of socialism had been laid in the USSR by the end of 1930s in so far as all industrial production was carried out in the state sector controlled by the dictatorship of the proletariat and agricultural production was partly under the state and partly under collective farms, a kind of group property. Even so, the collective farms did not own the means of production, namely land which had been nationalised and machines and tractors etc which were owned by the state. Both the state sector and the collective farm sectors were under centralised planning through which resources were allocated. Resource allocation was not based on the law of value as in the capitalist system but by the overall needs determined by the proletarian state. A clear indicator of this was the high allocation of resources to the sector of economy producing producers' goods (ie Department I) compared to sector producing consumer goods (Department II). This was essential for sustained growth of the socialist economy.

- ii. This only constituted the first stage of building of socialism and communism in the USSR. There were widespread debates and discussions on the task before the proletarian state to take forward the process. One line of argument was that since the foundations of socialism were so firmly laid, now it was just a matter of rationalising and increasing production. Such rationalisation of production should be done using the law of value which established the relative price of different commodities being produced in the economy. Law of value did and should play a decisive role in the allocation of productive resources (means of production)

among different sectors / enterprises. The antecedents of this view went back to pre-revolutionary theorists like Bogdonov and Bukharin.

iii. In opposition to the above-mentioned line of argument, Stalin had argued that the transition to communism required a profound restructuring of Soviet Society and not mere 'rationalisation of production'. Since at the foundation of the Soviet economy was the duality of property – the state sector on the one hand and the multitudes of group controlled collective farms, transition to higher form of socialism required 'raising' of the collective farms to become state farms. This multiplicity of property was the basis of commodity production and the operation of the law of value even if in a muted form. What was required was not opening the scope of law of value to allocate means of production, but to further restrict the scope of the law by homogenising forms of property and social relations of production in the country.

iv. Stalin had further argued that Department I required to be allocated higher resources so as to sustain future growth of the economy which will be an essential condition for being able to undertake the tasks outlined earlier.

v. Politics being the concentrated expression of economics, the process could be steered only by further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat without diluting it. The proletariat (both urban and rural) had to lead this final transformation of Soviet peasantry into Soviet proletariat.

vi. The debates over Soviet planning between 1941 and all the way up to the publication of Stalin's Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, and the changes in the leadership of the leading economic bodies like the GOSPLAN, show the issues at stake. In hind sight it appears that the 'rationalisation of production through law of value' school of thought had widespread support among both economists and the political leadership. It was Stalin's authority and the support of some of his steadfast comrades that held them at bay.

vii. Subsequent to Stalin's death (which may or may not have been related to this debate) we see almost immediately the rolling back of the plans and unfolding of the policies to 'free' the laws of value in the USSR. Vijay Singh documented this process minutely from the very days following the death of Stalin, the 20th

Congress of CPSU and further on. To Vijay Singh the most significant shift came with the selling away of the Machine Tractor Stations to the Collective Farms in 1958 which essentially meant that now in the USSR, the means of production had become commodities and hence allocation of productive resources was governed by the law of value, an essential attribute of capitalism.

Some of his seminal articles on this subject are as follows:

1. 'Stalin and the Question of 'Market Socialism' in the Soviet Union After the Second World War', RD April 1995
2. Introduction to 'Two Letters of Friedrich Engels', RD, September 1995
3. 'The CPSU(B), Gosplan and the Question of the Transition to Communist Society in the Soviet Union 1939-1953', RD April 1997
4. Stalin and the Making of the Political Economy of Socialism, RD September 1998
5. Some Reflections on 'Khrushchev Lied' by Grover Furr, RD September 2022
6. Preface to 'On the New Letter of Yaroshenko' RD, April 2023
7. Preparation of the 1947 Draft of the Third Programme of the CPSU (b), RD October 2023
8. Introduction to K. Ostrovityanov's 'Commodity Production and the Law of Value under Socialism' April 2025

People's Democracy

A related issue which was of great concern to Vijay Singh was that of People's Democracy. Marxist literature in general takes them to be 'socialist' or just another capitalist country aligned with 'Soviet imperialism'. This category had emerged towards the end of the anti-fascist war and was widely seen as a product of broad nationalist united fronts that fought the axis powers whose theoretical underpinnings go back to the united front theses of the VII Congress of the Comintern. It is fairly well known to those familiar with the Great Debate that Yugoslavia under the leadership of Marshall Tito chose to follow a path which was contradictory to the one recommended by the Cominform and CPSU under Stalin. Major events pertaining to the East European Peoples' Democracies included the Hungarian revolt of 1956, Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and subsequently the emergence of

Solidarity movement in Poland and the final dismantling of the Berlin wall. The Party of Labour of Albania led by Enver Hoxha initially aligned with the CCP under Mao and subsequently became critical of them when China decided to open doors to US imperialism. A group of countries of the South East Asia like Vietnam, Kampuchea, North Korea besides China and Cuba are also placed in the category of People's Democracies, most of them claiming to be socialist today. Vijay Singh went beyond names and studied the idea of Peoples' Democracy as a path to socialism and the actual practice of the countries taking this name. As he examined the Soviet archival materials especially the documents of Cominform and stenographic records of conversations and correspondence with fraternal communist parties and the Soviet leadership under Stalin, Vijay Singh realised that the CPSU held People's Democracy as an important path for social revolution not only in semi-capitalist or colonised countries, but also for advanced imperialist countries like Japan, the USA and Britain. Study of political consultations with the CPSU leadership and the programmatic documents of most of the countries dating around 1951 clearly showed that Stalin and CPSU favoured Peoples' Democracy as a preferred path for transformation of these countries. Broad based alliances which would establish genuine democracies in which the interest of the broad masses would be the driving force which will dismantle the power of survivals of feudalism like monarchies, large landholdings, bonded labour, national and ethnic discrimination, and dismantling the hold of 'monopolies'. This was to be the first stage in the transition to socialism. Given the very wide diversity of the countries to which this form of revolution was recommended, there has been much theoretical confusion. Vijay Singh sought to examine the key documents to unravel the different models of People's Democracies and also the stages by which they were to transit to socialism and the actual paths taken by them.

One of the earliest articles he wrote on this issue (a case study of Poland) was published in the Proletarian Path issue devoted to Solidarity movement in Poland in 1982. He returned to this theme in 1999 which was also the fiftieth anniversary of the Chinese Revolution. He studied the discussion in the Soviet academia about the historical and political nature of People's democracies, the different stages of their development, different models of people's democracies etc while also considering the applicability of the Chi-

nese model to other Asian countries like India. What was underlined is that Peoples' Democracies arose under the specific condition of the existence of the USSR as a bastion of socialism and proletarian dictatorship which enabled countries with relatively weakly developed proletarian movements to complete the tasks of democratic and nationalist revolution and move forward towards building socialism. In fact, it even considered the case of a country like Mongolia which was supposed to lack a proletarian class altogether.

Vijay Singh noted that around 1950-51 the CPSU and Stalin held extensive discussions with communist parties from different countries and helped them to formulate revised party programmes taking into consideration the experience of anti-Fascist struggles and the new realities of the post war world. This of course included the overwhelming presence of the USSR, the fact that entire Eastern Europe and China had become Peoples' Democracies and were embarking upon the road to building democratic and socialist societies. Thus, most Communist Parties had come up with new programmes around 1951-2. The conference of Soviet Academia referred to above was also a part of this very process.

It appears from these documents that Stalin and CPSU had come round to the view that under the new conditions of the post war world, communists and workers should seek to identify the unfinished democratic tasks in their countries which may include focussing struggles against monopoly capitalists of those countries which were seen as the main champions of imperialist policies. This would mean forming broad alliances with not only other working people like peasants and artisans but also small capitalists like traders and petty businessmen who were said to be oppressed by the monopoly capitalists. While the leadership was to be firmly in the hands of the working class, it was not a 'dictatorship' of the proletariat but where power was shared between the proletariat and other classes. Likewise, it did not necessarily mean a Soviet form of democracy but could include parliamentary forms of democracy (parliament elected through universal suffrage). Such a state would be constituted through a revolutionary process. If the reactionary classes (landlords, monopolists, capitalists) resorted to violence or sabotage, the state would put them down with full force. However, these were seen as transitional in the

sense that once the democratic tasks were completed, there was to be a seamless move to the socialist stage, implying expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the rural kulaks and moving on towards collectivisation in agriculture. What is of significance is that these tasks were to be accomplished by the same state: “the people’s democratic regime is performing the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle for building the foundation of Socialism”. Vijay Singh interpreted this to mean that even in the state the parties representing bourgeoisie (small, middle, nationalist etc) were to be exposed and removed from positions of power.

In 2007 Vijay Singh wrote a comprehensive article on the programme of Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) 1951, showing its difference from the previous 1935 programme and also the changes introduced after 1956. He pointed out the changes made subsequent to the XX Congress of CPSU, which gave a radically new interpretation of Peoples’ Democracy paving the way for ‘peaceful parliamentary path’. Some years later he returned to the theme and wrote a longish article based on his research into certain basic formulations relating to peoples’ democracies in Eastern Europe and China, Korea etc. (‘Some Questions of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the People’s Democracies’ RD April 2022) and finally one of his last articles which was a reply to a defender of North Korea and Kim Il Sung, (Some Problems of the People’s Democratic Revolution in the DPRK RD, October 2025).

Vijay Singh argued that the Peoples’ Democracies of Eastern Europe had embarked on the socialist stage after 1948, while Korea and China were in the process of completing the tasks of democratic revolution (abolition of landlordism, land redistribution, expropriation of the pro-imperialist capitalists and properties held by Japanese colonial governments, etc). As such China and Korea were considered to be forms of ‘democratic dictatorship of Proletariat and Peasantry’ with power shared with patriotic forces. He further pointed out after 1953-56 most of the Peoples’ Democracies with the notable exception of Albania retracted from moving on to the second stage, that is of Socialist transformation, decollectivizing agriculture, or admitting bourgeois elements into the cooperatives or collective farms and not expelling the bourgeois elements in the state. In effect apart from Albania none of the

People's Democracies made the transition from the democratic to the socialist phase. All of them without any justification claimed to be socialist after 1958. Thus, to Vijay Singh this was part of the process of global assault of revisionism and dismantling of socialism. He therefore considered the defence of the Party of Labour of Albania led by Enver Hoxha as an important task of communists leading to the steps to form the India Albania Friendship Association mentioned earlier in this tribute.

In this context it is worth going over Vijay Singh's understanding of the contributions of Mao to the communist movement. He was of the opinion that till 1953 Mao broadly followed Marxist Leninist principles and subsequently adopted either a left extremist line or a right revisionist line. In fact, he was able to point out how the early publications of Mao's works dating earlier than 1953-4 carried formulations which were either dropped or revised in subsequent editions. Nevertheless, despite these reservations, Vijay considered Mao to be a revolutionary.

A revolutionary programme for India

Though Vijay Singh had planned to write a comprehensive account of the evolution of the programme of CPI of 1951-2, he had only managed to locate very important archival materials relating to the discussions between the CPSU leadership including Stalin and the different tendencies within the leadership of the CPI. He wrote important notes introducing these documents, most of which were made available in English for the first time. After a profound analysis of these various trends, he had come to the conclusion that the 1951 Programme was the most appropriate and that it continued to be relevant to Indian communist movement to date.

When Vijay Singh began his political work in India, in the early 1970s, it coincided with an upswing in the working class movement as organised strike action had begun to peak just prior to the declaration of Emergency by Indira Gandhi government. This was accompanied by a kind of downturn in the agrarian revolution program initiated by the so called Naxalbari movement. He felt the need to enter into a dialogue with Naxalbari tendencies as they seem to be neglecting several key areas of revolutionary work and mistakenly focussing on creating rural and subsequently forest bases. He was convinced that a revolutionary movement

had to be led by organised working class under the leadership of a Communist Party, and creating peasant or tribal supported bases was not enough especially in the context of a consolidated unitary Indian state supported by imperialism. He felt that communist organisations needed to combine their work with peasantry with organising and leading the urban workers. He also saw the need to include legal and parliamentary work as part of revolutionary strategy as abandoning this work left the field to the reformists, revisionists and those who advocated the 'parliamentary road'. Vijay Singh was also opposed the practice of individual terrorism practiced in the name of liquidating 'class enemies' which he thought only strengthened the state apparatus in the long run. Discussions on this, as earlier spelt out led to the joint editorial board of Proletarian Path. The collaboration, however, slackened as Moni Guha and his comrades began to argue that the stage of revolution in India was now socialist and not democratic and that communists had to work for dictatorship of the proletariat. Vijay Singh sharply disagreed with this formulation, and polemic ensued between Proletarian Path and Revolutionary Democracy. He was of the opinion that India continued to be semi colonial with survivals of landlordism, continuation of tribal and caste based oppression and suppression of national and ethnic minorities. The material conditions for socialism i.e. a strong industrial base with emphasis on the production of producer's goods ('Department I'), was not there in India. As such the working class had to enter into alliance with the oppressed peasantry, lower castes, tribes and minority nationalities to complete the democratic tasks and then move forward to socialist construction under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He was thus convinced that the stage of revolution remained democratic to be achieved by a broad alliance of the proletariat and peasantry.

Around this time Vijay Singh began to examine the CPSU archives where he discovered important stenographic records and letters pertaining to the exchanges between the fractured leadership of the Indian communist movement and the leadership of CPSU headed by Stalin. These documents were collected, painstakingly translated, annotated and published in the journal over several years. They throw immense light on the internal debates within the CPI and the significant contributions of the CPSU to resolving them and pointing the way forward. The result of these

conversations was the new programme of the CPI issued in 1951, the 'Tactical line' and 'Policy statement' of the same date. Vijay Singh took to energetically advocating this programme and engaged in widespread discussions with comrades of the Indian left.

The above discussions would make it clear why Vijay Singh was so interested in defending JV Stalin and his work and the USSR and CPSU, Comintern and Cominform under his leadership. For him deviating from the clear path enunciated by Stalin was the road to revisionism and the eventual liquidation of socialism not only in USSR and the Peoples' Democracies but also the very socialist dream across the world. Therefore it was imperative to him to defend Stalin from all the calumnies and misrepresentations promoted by the imperialist, liberal and revisionist press. This was necessary both for clearing the name of Stalin but also unravel the revolutionary path advocated by him. The journal published a large number of such articles but always after careful evaluation of the authenticity of the information and fact checking.

It would be fair to record that Vijay Singh's thought process and method was not without some weaknesses. Firstly, I think his historical method was very firmly rooted in documents, printed and archival materials. This Rankeian reliance on archives and documents gives us no doubt a very sound understanding of the issues but the fact remains that they do not represent the entire reality or even the actual complexities of life. Secondly he seldom applied his sound methods of analysis to contemporary world and its problems leaving it for others to do so. He almost assumed that basic parameters of conflicts remained constant from the 1950s. I think it is now all the more important for us to now use his methods and perspective to study the contemporary world.

The polemical style of Vijay Singh was unique in its own way. He did not try to denigrate or ridicule his opponents. Instead, he treated those he disagreed with, with utmost respect and dignity. He would merely try to demonstrate that the contention of the opponent was not factual or in consonance with the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin. And in many cases he would show how the views of the opponents were more aligned to the several revisionist trends that arose in the course of the movement and had been subjected to criticism by the classical authorities. Such dignified polemic enabled him to continue to converse even when the disagreements were apparent.

INDIA – VIJAY SINGH... A LIFE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

**The tireless work of Comrade Vijay Singh illuminates our path
towards democracy and socialism!**

Long Live Comrade Vijay Singh!!

Long Live Revolution!!!

The Fight against Remigration, an Important Aspect of the Struggle against Imperialism and Reaction

The phenomenon of migration and its causes

The worsening of the general crisis of the international capitalist system, with the intensification of the struggle between monopoly groups and imperialist powers for sources of raw materials and the territories of other countries, has caused economic and social destabilization in vast areas of the planet.

Entire poor countries and regions have been completely devastated by conflicts, civil wars, aggression, the plundering of millions of hectares of land and mineral resources by multinational corporations and the governments of the richest countries that they control, blackmail by predatory organizations such as the IMF and World Bank, the continuous policies of robbery carried out by global finance capital, and systematic environmental destruction, with tragic consequences that are now plain for all to see.

Poverty and hunger, mass unemployment, wars of plunder, and reactionary regimes are the causes that have led millions of people to seek their fortune by emigrating.

The contradictions of the capitalist-imperialist system have caused the exponential exodus of millions of migrants from the poorest and weakest countries. On the one hand, imperialism pushes the proletariat, the semi-proletariat, and poor peasants to emigrate; on the other, it attracts them to the richest metropolises and “special economic zones” as cheap labor, under humiliating conditions, employing them mainly in jobs rejected by workers of the country, who are driven by reactionary propaganda to compete with immigrant workers.

Mass immigration has thus increased steadily, resulting in a surge in the number of international migrants, which rose from about 150 million at the beginning of the millennium to over 300 million in 2024.

The destination countries were, of course, mostly OECD members, concentrated in North America, the EU and EFTA (European Free Trade Association) countries, East Asia and Oceania. Russia, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries are other significant destinations.

Lenin on worker migration

The phenomenon of migration caused by the continuous aggression of global imperialism has been extensively analyzed by revolutionary Marxist thought.

In an October 1913 essay entitled “Capitalism and Workers’ Immigration”, Lenin emphasizes that *“Capitalism has given rise to a special form of migration of nations. The rapidly developing industrial countries, introducing machinery on a large scale and ousting the backward countries from the world market, raise wages at home above the average rate and thus attract workers from the backward countries.*

“Hundreds of thousands of workers thus wander hundreds and thousands of versts. Advanced capitalism drags them forcibly into its orbit, tears them out of the backwoods in which they live, makes them participants in the world-historical movement and brings them face to face with the powerful, united, international class of factory owners.

“There is no doubt that the dire poverty alone compels people to abandon their native land, and that the capitalists exploit the immigrant workers in the most shameless manner.”

Lenin highlights the economic basis of immigration, which is the uneven development of capitalism, pointing out that it is the most advanced capitalism that is tearing millions of workers away from the most backward countries.

Citing statistics on immigration in the United States and Germany, Lenin shows that the development of proletarian migration movements continues to grow, but that its structure changed between 1880 and 1890. Whereas in the previous period European emigration came mainly from the “old civilized countries” (England and Germany), where capitalism had developed more rapidly, now it is the “backward” countries (beginning with Eastern Europe) that are supplying America and other advanced capitalist countries with increasingly unskilled workers.

Thus, Lenin continues, *“the most backward countries in the old world, those that more than any other retain survivals of feudalism in every branch of social life, are, as it were, undergoing compulsory training in civilisation”*.

Moving from the economic to the more strictly political sphere, Lenin notes that while Russian workers are more backward in this respect, they are more advanced in the struggle against the bourgeoisie's attempts at racist division among workers.

In this sense, in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), analyzing the contradictions inherent in the final stage of capitalist development characterized by *“parasitism and decay”*, Lenin highlights the political consequences, characterized by *“the tendency of imperialism to split the workers, to strengthen opportunism among them and to cause temporary decay in the working-class movement”*.

The relevance of Lenin's analysis shows how immigration and the living conditions of immigrant workers must be considered within the framework of the theory of imperialism, outside of which the current forms of this phenomenon would be abstract and incomprehensible.

Migration and the far right in Europe

In today's scenario, characterized by increasingly massive migration of millions of proletarians from the poorest and most devastated areas of the planet, the imperialist countries, faced with the cyclical economic crises of capitalism and the development of the tendency toward war for a new division of the world, have been characterized by an ever-increasing rise in nationalist, neo-fascist, and xenophobic groups and parties.

In recent decades, the feeling of hatred towards “migrants”, fueled by shameful disinformation campaigns in the bourgeois press with the aim of dividing the proletariat by pitting workers against each other, has rapidly transformed into a socio-political process known as “remigration.”

This process, which initially developed in Western Europe, particularly in France and Germany, involves the expulsion, through forced deportation, of masses of first, second or third generation immigrants to their “native” countries. It is a violent response by global capitalism to the systemic inequalities and scourges it has itself created.

The concept of “remigration”, in its contemporary version, appeared in the 1990s in imperialist France, within far-right circles, which also spread it to the working-class suburbs, where native workers and immigrants, mostly second-generation descendants of migrants from the French colonies, had been living together for decades.

The conflict within the proletariat, deliberately created by the French bourgeoisie, had led to violent clashes between workers, culminating in the 2005 riots in the *banlieues*. In this context, growing hatred towards migrants, fueled by furious press campaigns and the rise of xenophobic movements, was quickly channeled into the far-right National Front party, which in 2018 changed its name to Rassemblement National. It found support in the theory of the “Great Replacement,” put forward by writer Renaud Camus, an exponent of white supremacy, consisting of the alleged “mutation” of France following its “colonization” by Islamic migrants from the Middle East and Africa.

The rise of neo-fascism in France has become even more concrete in recent years with the birth of the *Reconquete* [Reconquest] political party, which won a seat in the European Parliament.

In recent years, in the wake of growing xenophobia and rising electoral support for the far right, French government policy has been characterized by a crackdown on immigration flows, introducing, on the one hand, so-called “assistance for voluntary return,” which provides economic incentives for those who decide to leave the country, and, on the other hand, increasingly restrictive measures. For example, family reunification now requires 24 months of residence, compared to 18 months prior to the December 2023 reform.

While imperialist France remains one of the preferred destinations for African migrants fleeing despair, day after day we are witnessing the planned demolition of the French “assimilationist” model, which was based on the formal equality of all citizens, native and immigrant, before the law.

In Germany, the tendencies in favor of repatriating migrants are mainly concentrated in two far-right groups: Alice Weidel and Tino Chrupalla's AfD (Alternative for Germany) party and the German Identitarian Movement (IBD), the twin of Martin Sellner's Austrian group of the same name. Both are characterized by en-

thusiastic approval of policies of mass expulsion of asylum seekers and “unassimilated” citizens.

Using the slogan “only remigration can save Germany,” the AfD (which won 20.8% of the vote in the last election) has long pursued aggressive political propaganda in large areas of the country, from Potsdam, where a meeting with the IBD and other neo-Nazi groups on the subject of migrants took place in 2024, to Karlsruhe, where, in January 2025, it had flyers depicting “expulsion tickets” delivered to immigrants' mailboxes.

The xenophobic campaign, with the slogan “remigration of uninvited foreigners,” launched in Austria by Herbert Kickl's FPO [Freedom Party of Austria], can also be included in the same manner. Thanks to the 29,2% of the vote it obtained in the last parliamentary elections, Kickl is likely to become the Austrian chancellor in the near future. It is no coincidence that the “international” demonstration of the far right on the theme of remigration and “stopping Islamization” was held last summer in Vienna.

Trump and the hunt for immigrants

In recent decades, faced with the mass arrival of thousands of immigrants from Mexico and other countries of Latin America (as well from Asia, Middle East and West Africa), US immigration policy has been characterized by the construction of a wall (“the wall of shame”) along the border with the Central American country, begun under the George H. W. Bush administration in 1990 and continued by subsequent presidencies (Clinton, George W. Bush, Obama and Trump).

Today, with Trump's second presidency, the US imperialism undoubtedly plays a leading and spearheading role in pursuing increasingly reactionary, aggressive, and warmongering policies.

With words full of chauvinist rhetoric and marked by the most vulgar nationalism, Trump has outlined the so-called “American strategy”. This is a set of provisions and guidelines characterized, on the one hand, by direct or indirect intervention in all international issues where important interests are at stake, masking such aggression, interference, and operations under the guise of humanitarian emergencies, nuclear threats, or the fight against drug trafficking; on the other hand, by the fight against so-called “mass immigration” which, as Trump has expressly stated, represents one of the obstacles to be eradicated in order to guarantee the

defense of the fundamental rights and freedoms of American citizens.

Promoted under the false pretext of “internal security”, remigration has thus become a cornerstone of Donald Trump's policies in his second term, beginning to take concrete shape in 2025.

It is not limited to the deportation of “illegal” immigrants, but aims at large-scale deportation, also involving individuals with legal status, refugees, people with protected status, or those considered “unassimilated”.

In parallel with remigration, the Trump administration has suspended immigration applications from various countries that are considered “high risk”.

The mass deportation of immigrants has thus become a program of gigantic proportions. Trump has promised to expel millions of people from the US (some estimates cite between 10 and 20 million).

In pursuing these goals, the Trump administration has further strengthened federal control agencies, such as the notorious ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement), which has become an armed militia of a racist and fascist nature unleashed in every corner of the country to implement the repressive and discriminatory policies imposed by the federal government, carrying out thousands of arrests every day.

Although already widely active during the Biden presidency, ICE saw its powers and methods of intervention greatly increased under the second Trump administration. This was evident in several federal states, from Oregon to Minnesota, where violent control activities reached levels of ferocity demonstrated in the murder of some US citizens: Keith Porter in Los Angeles on December 2025, Renée Nicole Good and Alex Jeffrey Pretti in Minneapolis in January 2026, who were shot dead, in a completely unjustified manner, by ICE agents.

At the same time, there has been a drastic increase in detention centers for migrants (from Alligator Alcatraz to Guantanamo), separating the families of deported immigrants. The strategy is aimed at creating a climate of fear that will push immigrants to “deport themselves”.

The US executive power pursues political objectives with its terrorist hunt for immigrants: it seeks to shift the blame for the worsening working and living conditions of workers, for the im-

poverishment and precariousness of large segments of the working class, onto migrants. This maneuver aims to distract the working masses from the real problems and safeguard the interests of the financial oligarchy that dominates the declining US imperialism. Trump pursues these objectives directly, aggressively, with no regard for the lives of the population, the fate of millions of migrants, refugees, and proletarians, violating international law, human rights, and even the US Constitution itself.

The mass resistance that developed in the Twin Cities (Minneapolis-Saint Paul) and other cities in the United States against ICE deportations, in solidarity with and protection of migrants, against violence and deportation of immigrants and national minorities, and against the collaboration of local authorities, represented an important moment in the struggle to stop the Trump administration's infamous racist policies. Based on this experience, the workers' and popular movement will be able to march towards successive and higher stages of struggle against capitalist and fascist oppression.

The migration policy in Italy

The “Trump model” has encouraged neo-fascist and chauvinist organizations in Europe, particularly in Italy, which have begun to take up the same approach, in line with the migration policies long pursued by the bourgeoisie.

In recent decades, imperialist Italy, in order to manage the contradictions caused by mass migration, has in fact adopted policies of containment, rejection, and discrimination against asylum seekers, following the example of other imperialist and capitalist states that are members of the “fortress EU”, for example through the strategy of “externalization” of borders. This means moving control of borders and migration flows outside of one's own territory, delegating it to dependent countries.

Mechanisms have therefore been put in place for the progressive relocation of controls, surveillance, and detention. These have been entrusted to the police and militias of reactionary African regimes (like Libya, Tunisia, Niger) whose task is to prevent migrants, including many women and children, from reaching Italy, by holding them in an ever-expanding network of concentration and sorting camps, often run by human traffickers.



Imperialist Italy has played a major role in the process of externalizing borders, with the substantial consent of European institutions and the imperialist states that comprise them.

With the advent of the Meloni government, migration policy has taken on even more reactionary connotations, fueled by unbridled, demagogic propaganda about an “invasion”.

Migrants are increasingly becoming the scapegoats for all the social ills that the government itself is exacerbating, through its policies of austerity and war.

Every day these scapegoats are splashed across the front pages, accused of every misdeed. They are said to import crime, drugs, prostitution, disease, etc.; they are portrayed as a grave danger, to be removed by any means necessary.

The strict measures adopted by the Meloni government on immigration include: a blockade using the Navy to stop boats crossing the Mediterranean (result: 600 migrants dead in the first months of this year); a ban on entry into territorial waters; opposition to NGOs accused of encouraging illegal immigration; rapid expulsions and forced repatriations; international agreements with Tunisia, Libya, and detention centers outside the EU (in Albania); and the planning of entries linked to the need to find labor in certain sectors (farm workers, caregivers, etc.).

The fascist plan for remigration in Italy

In recent months, the political debate on immigration and remigration has become even more heated, marked by the “entry

into the fray” of General Roberto Vannacci, a member of the populist and xenophobic right wing with fascist military roots.

Vannacci was initially affiliated with Matteo Salvini's Lega party, of which he became deputy secretary, before leaving to found Futuro Nazionale, an extreme chauvinist political party that is part of the same group as the AfD in the Strasbourg Parliament.

In a reality such as Italy's, already dominated by a right-wing, pro-Zionist government subordinate to the diktats of the US and the EU, Vannacci's arrival on the political scene represents another “lock pick” that the imperialist bourgeoisie utilize to speed up the adoption of new repressive measures directed against mass movements, migrant workers, and the native proletariat.

The political dispute on this issue in Italy has seen a further acceleration and polarization following the proposal of a popular initiative law, presented in early 2026, called “Remigration and Reconquest”.

This proposal, which originated from an organizing committee made up of neo-fascists from CasaPound (House of Ezra Pound, a neo-fascist movement – *translator's note*) and three other nationalist and far-right groups (Patriots Network, VFS, and Brescia ai Bresciani (Brescia for the Brescians), consists of 24 articles that, according to the promoters' intentions, aim to combat illegal immigration and the exploitation of foreign workers.

The fascist, xenophobic, and racist nature of these regulations, which lead to aggressive, inhumane acts that are outside any constitutional and international legitimacy, in reality does not aim at security, nor, even less, at combating the exploitation of immigrant workers, for which it would be necessary to target companies that realize high profits with the low cost labor-force of immigrant proletarians.

This proposal contains provisions that affect working-class families, with increasingly severe provisions on family reunification, increasingly restrictive control systems on the lives of migrants, more stringent removal and expulsion procedures, and greater institutionalization of Temporary Stay Centers for Repatriation, veritable concentration camps where migrants' “stay” becomes prolonged detention in the open air.

The true goal of the “sovereignists” who support the national remigration program – backed by the US right wing (as evidenced by Trump's National Security Strategy) – is to replace class

conflict with ethnic conflict, calling for an alliance between Italian workers and bosses against all immigrants, in order to create an even more marginalized workforce subject to blackmail that can be exploited more intensely (in Italy, immigrants make up about 10.5% of the workforce, equal to about 4 million workers).

This political objective, pursued by the most aggressive and chauvinistic fractions of the industrial, agrarian, and financial bourgeoisie, is today seeking mass consensus among the middle classes, crushed and impoverished by capitalist crises and monopolistic policies, which unleash their resentment on immigrants, rather than on the dominant social regime.

The bill has gathered the signatures necessary for its presentation to the Court of Cassation (the highest judicial Court in Italy). Its eventual approval will depend not only on the support it manages to obtain within the bourgeois bloc, but also, and above all, on the mobilization of the proletarian and popular masses called upon to fight against this further authoritarian and racist measure.

The issue of migrants is central to the development of the class struggle

Faced with this dangerous scenario unfolding in imperialist countries, we must loudly proclaim that what is presented as a mere attempt to regulate migration flows, given the “appealing” term “remigration”, is in reality a project of forced mass deportation based on ethnicity, culture, and social status. This project must be fought in all countries with all the weapons available to the proletariat and other workers.

It is a project that aims to divide workers, blackmail them, and increase the exploitation of the workforce, both immigrant and native.

The issue of defending immigrant workers is one of the most important issues of our time, and must be fully integrated into the policies of the proletarian united front and the united anti-fascist and anti-imperialist front.

If the bourgeoisie and governments resort to every means to pit native proletarians against immigrant proletarians, to create barriers of misunderstanding and hatred between them, our task is to highlight the fundamental common interests of native and immigrant workers, to defend the weakest, most blackmailed, and poorest sections of the proletariat.

It is our duty to cooperate in the struggle and unity of migrants, to help their integration with the organizations of struggle of native workers, to participate in the class struggle of the exploited against the exploiters, demanding a policy of dignified and respectful reception of migrants and their rights, regularization and equal pay and rights, the abolition of racist laws and measures against migrants, of deportation centers and “administrative” detention, and other partial demands.

Mass campaigns must be launched to oppose the approval of racist and discriminatory bills (as in Italy), to strongly condemn all forms of repression carried out in imperialist states, starting with Trump's USA, and to organize support networks for immigrant workers.

The demonstrations in Tuscany against the provocations of the “remigration committee”, with slogans like “no space for fascists” and “we can stop them”, were an important example of struggle, in which immigrant workers played a crucial role. It is the fascists and the private fascist and racist militias who should be expelled from our cities, not workers from other countries!

It is necessary develop the denunciation and condemnation of the capitalist and imperialist system that causes the devastation of entire countries, encouraging mass emigration and the flight from poverty of millions of the “wretched of the earth,” who are then exploited, repressed, and deported to shameful detention centers.

The mobilization against anti-migrant policies must take place on a mass scale, as demonstrated by the great struggles that have developed in the United States itself, combining the struggle against remigration with that against the dangers of war and rising fascism in different countries, including both in the more general struggle for a new society without exploitation, racism, and predatory wars.

On the ideological level, it is our task to fight against chauvinism, educating workers and the exploited and oppressed working masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, of international solidarity among workers and peoples.

***Organization for the Communist Party
of the Proletariat (Italy)***
March, 2026

Fascism and Fascistization

What is fascism?

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 marked a historic turning point; for the first time, the proletariat seized power, undermining the foundations of the world capitalist system. From that moment on, capitalism entered its epoch of general crisis. That is, in addition to the economic sphere, expressed in the recurrent cyclical crises of overproduction, mass unemployment and the destruction of productive forces, the crisis also acquired a political and ideological character. The rise of the revolutionary workers' movement and the strengthening of the communist parties placed the bourgeoisie in an unprecedented situation. Under these conditions, bourgeois democracy began to show its limits as an instrument to guarantee the reproduction of capital.

It is in this context that fascism emerges. Fascism is the response of the bourgeoisie, of its most reactionary sector linked to finance capital, faced with the sharpening of the contradictions of the capitalist-imperialist system and the underlying danger of the proletarian revolution. As Dimitrov defined it in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, *"fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."*¹ Dimitrov's own contribution did not consist in the definition itself, but in the strategic and tactical transformation built on it: the policy of the Proletarian United Front Popular Front that would become the new line of the Communist International from 1935 onwards. Dimitrov further added a complementary characterization:

"Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign pol-

¹ Definition taken by Dimitrov from O. W. Kuusinen's report entitled "Fascism, the Danger of War and the Tasks of the Communist Parties"

*icy, fascism is jingoism in its crudest form, fomenting bestial hatred of other nations."*²

This definition situates fascism as a specific form of political domination in conditions of deep crisis. Fascism represents the taking of state power by the financial oligarchy, which abandons traditional parliamentary mechanisms and resorts to open terror to destroy the organizations of the working class, eliminate democratic freedoms and ensure the continuity of the system of capitalist exploitation.

Fascism and the Capitalist State

In times of prosperity, the bourgeoisie can maintain its domination through democratic mechanisms; it has no need to resort to openly terrorist forms. But when the contradictions become sharper, when the rise of the revolutionary movement threatens the existing order, the bourgeoisie resorts to fascism as an instrument to preserve its rule. In this sense, fascism represents the most open, most concentrated and most violent form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The state arises as a product of the irreconcilable character of class contradictions and constitutes the organ through which one class exercises its domination over another.³ Bourgeois democracy is a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, since in essence it preserves capitalist relations of production and guarantees the domination of capital over labor. Fascism, on the other hand, is the other specific form to which the bourgeois state resorts, characterized by the abandonment of democratic forms and the establishment of an open terrorist dictatorship at the service of finance capital. For its part, the dictatorship of the proletariat represents the political power of the working class aimed at the abolition of relations of exploitation and the construction of a new classless society, through proletarian democracy, as the ef-

² G. Dimitrov, "The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class Against Fascism," Report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, August 2, 1935.

³ V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (1917). In *Collected Works*, Vol. 25. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

fective, conscious and real intervention of the working class and the broad popular masses in economic, political and social life.

The Origins of Fascism

Understanding the class character of the state allows us to refute liberal interpretations that present fascism and socialism as equal phenomena under the abstract category of "totalitarianism." Particularly influential in this regard has been Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), which argues that both fascism and Soviet communism constitute essentially similar forms of rule. However, this interpretation ignores the material bases and class character of both systems. The equivalence between the two eliminates the fundamental distinction between a state destined to preserve exploitation and a state aimed at its abolition, replacing the scientific analysis of social relations with a formal comparison based solely on the external form of political power.

The historic development of fascism in Italy and Germany fully confirms its character as an instrument of domination by finance capital in conditions of a deep crisis of capitalism. In Italy, the end of the First World War opened a period of deep economic crisis, political instability and the rise of the workers' movement, known as the "Biennio Rosso" ["Two Red Years"] (1919-1920), during which there were mass strikes, factory occupations and a growing radicalisation of the proletariat. Faced with the real threat of socialist revolution, broad sectors of the Italian bourgeoisie began to support and finance the fascist organizations led by Benito Mussolini.

These paramilitary organizations developed a systematic campaign of terror against trade unions, workers' parties and peasant organizations, physically destroying the structures of the workers' movement. At the same time, fascism managed to mobilize sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, particularly impoverished merchants, professionals, small landowners and former soldiers, who had been deeply affected by the crisis and feared their proletarianization. Through an ideology based on extreme nationalism, anti-communism and the promise of restoring social order, fascism channeled the discontent of these social strata into the defense of capitalism.



Mussolini's coming to power in 1922, with the backing of King Victor Emmanuel III and the support of the dominant sectors of Italian capital, marked the beginning of the transformation of the state into an open fascist dictatorship, aimed at the destruction of the workers' movement and the consolidation of the rule of monopoly capital.

A similar process took place in Germany, although in even more acute conditions of economic and social crisis. Its defeat in the First World War, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and the economic collapse caused by the world crisis of 1929 caused the ruin of large sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and a profound destabilization of the political system. In this context, the National Socialist Party managed to build a significant mass base among ruined sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and of the industrial reserve army through an ideology that combined extreme nationalism, racism and anti-communism. This ideology diverted social discontent toward fictitious enemies, while preserving intact the fundamental relations of the capitalist-imperialist system.

Adolf Hitler's rise to power in 1933 was the result of a conscious decision by the dominant sectors of German capital⁴, who

⁴ The so-called *Industrielleneingabe* (industrialists' petition) drawn up by a group of industrialists, bankers and landowners addressed to President Paul von Hindenburg asking him to appoint Hitler as chancellor. Among the signatories were Hjalmar Schacht (for-

saw in fascism the necessary instrument to destroy the workers' movement and stabilize its rule. Once in power, the Nazi regime eliminated all political freedoms, outlawed the workers' parties, destroyed the trade unions, and established an open terrorist dictatorship that directly served the interests of German monopoly capital.

The historical experience of Italy and Germany shows that fascism arises when the bourgeoisie, faced with a deep crisis, resorts to the reorganization of the state in the form of an open terrorist dictatorship in order to preserve the capitalist system. Although fascism succeeds in mobilizing sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and other social strata affected by the crisis, its historical function is not to represent their interests, but to ensure the rule of finance capital.

The Process of Fascistization

Georgi Dimitrov, in his analysis of fascism and the tasks of the proletariat, stressed that fascism should not be understood only as a consolidated political regime, but also as a tendency developing within imperialist capitalism. Between bourgeois democracy and open fascist dictatorship there is a transitional process, in which the bourgeoisie strengthens the repressive apparatus of the state, restricts democratic rights, intensifies the persecution of workers' organizations and promotes a reactionary ideology aimed at dividing and disorganizing the masses. This process reflects the bourgeoisie's effort to preserve its rule in conditions in which traditional forms of political control are becoming less and less effective.

The Role of Social Democracy in the Process of Fascistization

A central element of the process of fascistization that is often underestimated is the role of social democracy. As established in the XII Plenum of the ECCI [Executive Committee of the Communist International] (1932), the fascistization of social democracy constitutes a specific phenomenon in which it adopts the lan-

mer president of the Reichsbank and Hitler's future Minister of Economics), Fritz Thyssen (steel magnate) and Kurt von Schroder (banker from Cologne). See: H. A. Turner Jr., *German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

guage and tenets of fascism, develops an ideological convergence with fascists, and participates in common practices such as the repression of the communist movement, the facilitation of fascist coups d'état, and even forming a joint government with fascist groups.⁵

Although the line of social-fascism upheld by the XII and XIII Plenums of the ECCI was later superseded by the policy of the Proletarian United Front—Popular Front promoted by Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of the CI—recognizing that social democracy was not identical to fascism and that unity of action with social democratic workers was necessary to combat fascism—, the analysis of the objective role of social democracy in the process of fascistization remains valid.⁶

The rightward shift of social democracy is one of the mechanisms through which bourgeois democracy moves towards increasingly reactionary positions. When social democracy abandons the defence of the interests of the working class and subordinates itself to the demands of finance capital, accepting neoliberal structural reforms, supporting militarisation and participating in the repression of the workers' movement, it objectively opens the way to reaction and fascism.

The contemporary development of capitalism confirms the tendency towards fascistization. The global economic crisis that began in 2008 and its consequences subsequently prolonged by the COVID-19 pandemic, coupled with geopolitical tensions, have deepened the contradictions of the capitalist system. The increase in social inequality, the deterioration of the living conditions of broad sectors of the working class and the growing precariousness of work have created deep social discontent. Faced with this situation, the bourgeoisie has intensified its offensive against social and labor rights, while at the same time strengthening the repressive apparatus of the state.

⁵ Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended: Thesis and Resolutions of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1932.

⁶ G. Dimitrov, "The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class Against Fascism," Report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, August 2, 1935.

Fascism and Economic Crises

A quantitative study that analyzed 20 advanced economies and more than 800 general elections over 140 years showed that far-right parties increase their share of votes by an average of 30% in the five years after a financial crisis.⁷ This effect is confirmed in the experience of Europe after 2008, in which parties characterised by their extreme nationalism, their anti-immigrant policy and their open anti-communism have managed to position themselves in elections.

At the same time, the international context is characterized by the intensification of imperialist conflicts, the increase in military spending and the growing militarization of international relations. Wars, the current armed conflicts and growing threats reflect the sharpening of the contradictions between the imperialist powers for the control of resources, markets and spheres of influence, and are accompanied by the strengthening of the military and repressive apparatus of the states.

ICMLPO: Build a World Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist United Front!

In the face of these tendencies, the struggle against fascism and fascistization is a central task of the workers' and revolutionary movement. Historical experience has shown that fascism requires the organized mobilization of the working class and the broad popular masses. For this reason, the practical and concrete construction of a broad Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist United Front world-wide and in each country, and of the evolution of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations towards the Marxist-Leninist Communist International, acquires decisive importance. The unification of the workers', popular and democratic forces, against imperialist war, for peace, for the defence of workers' rights and for international solidarity among the peoples is an urgent task. Only through the conscious and organized mobilization of the masses, under the leadership of the proletariat and its revolutionary organizations, will it be possi-

⁷ M. Funke, M. Schularick, and C. Trebesch, "Going to Extremes: Politics after Financial Crises, 1870-2014," *European Economic Review*, Vol. 88, 2016, pp. 227-260.

ble to confront the advance of reaction, defeat fascism in all its forms and open the way to the revolutionary overpowering of the capitalist system and the construction of a socialist society.

Communist Party of Mexico (Marxist-Leninist)

April 2026

The Digital Death Ride of Techno-Capitalism

Imperialism in its desperate final phase resorts to methods reminiscent of feudalism.

However, monopoly capitalism still prevails.

We are not facing a new feudal mode of production, but monopoly capitalism in its most destructive form.

In his work “*Imperialism*”, Lenin showed how banking and industrial capital merge into a financial oligarchy that controls economic and political life under imperialism. This was – and is – the class dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists, in which the smaller capitalists must assent to playing second fiddle.

The first two points in Lenin's brief definition of imperialism are:

“1) *The concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life;*

“2) *The merging of banking capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this ‘finance capital’ of a ‘financial oligarchy’.*”¹

A little over a hundred years later, this is obviously still the reality, except that the concentration of capital and the dominance of the new finance capital have become far more extensive than was the case in the time of Lenin. Now this dictatorship appears in part in a new form and with a new elite stratum within the class of monopoly capitalist proprietors.

The era of the tech oligarchs

Tech oligarch was the new phrase of the year in 2025, according to the Norwegian Language Council. At the inauguration of Donald Trump as the 47th president of the United States in January 2025, the VIP tribune was filled with the mightiest of these tech oligarchs. The direct link between the government apparatus and finance capital has rarely been more evident.

¹ Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: “*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*”

Elon Musk, Jeff Bezos, Mark Zuckerberg, Tim Cook, etc. represent a technology industry that forces other capitalists, workers and the petty bourgeoisie into a unique symbiotic relationship. This is a new phenomenon and a new feature of the imperialist stage of capitalism that neither Marx nor Lenin could have imagined. For lack of a better term, we will call it *techno-capitalism*.

The personal union between the top echelons of finance, industry and the state apparatus, even in the most democratic countries, is abundantly clear. The representatives of monopoly capital walk in and out of the revolving doors between banks, finance, industry and government offices. This is also the case in Norway. It is a fiscal oligarchy that swaps hats and contracts between themselves.

Nevertheless, something new is happening with the technological AI revolution. The new oligarchs, especially in the US, do not even bother with revolving doors and role changes. They do not try to hide the fact that they have an iron grip on politicians, industry and financial markets. They boast about it.

Does new technology and artificial intelligence (AI) mean that we are entering a post-capitalist mode of production, that is, a completely new type of social relationship of production that is neither capitalist nor socialist? Several "socialist" theorists and economists claim that this is the case.

If so, then Marx and Lenin were wrong, as they believed that socialist (communist) society was the necessary next step after capitalism. Admittedly, the qualitative leap to socialism and communism would undergo different forms of transition in different countries, but not with any intermediate economic systems or modes of production.

The former Greek finance minister and leader of *Diem25* [Democracy in Europe Movement 2025], Yanis Varoufakis, is one of those who most vociferously argues that "capitalism is dead". According to him, we are entering into production relations that are replacing capitalism with something even worse, and which offer little hope for socialism at all. According to him, capitalism died in 2008 and its final funeral took place during the pandemic.

"Humanity is now being taken over by something I can only describe as a technologically advanced form of feudalism. A techno-

feudalism that is far from what we had hoped would replace capitalism," he writes in his book *Technofeudalism*.²

The book deserves its own review, for which there is no space here. Varoufakis, who describes himself as a "liberal Marxist", makes many important and interesting observations. But his conclusion about the end of capitalism is wrong and premature – and therefore a dangerous distraction. He has no other answers to offer than "decentralised markets" and "self-management", which is to say a repetition of defeatism and reformist illusions.

The commons that disappeared

The Internet, the World Wide Web, digital platforms, artificial intelligence (AI); by the end of the 20th century, it seemed that humanity had gained a new commons available for all. Most of it was free, or almost free, and accessible to anyone with a PC and an internet connection. Ironically, the Pentagon contributed to the creation of a new global commons because of the opportunities it offered to *obtain* information as well as to *share* information for research purposes.

When something seems too good to be true, there is usually a catch. We are now seeing a repeat of what happened to the commons with the rise of capitalism in England and Scotland in the 16th and 17th centuries, only in a far more sophisticated and partly "invisible" form.

What were once open and cultivable communal lands were fenced in and privatised. Poor farmers were deprived of their livelihoods and could now only eke out a living as proletarians in the industrial factories of emerging capitalism, or as agricultural labourers.

"The systematic robbery of the Communal lands helped especially... to swell those large farms... and to 'set free' the agricultural population as proletarians for manufacturing industry." (Marx: *Capital*.)

Similar processes in the form of "land grabbing" and privatisation of common property have taken place more recently on a large scale in the former Soviet Union, particularly in Russia and Ukraine.

² Varoufakis, Yanis. *"Technofeudalism: What Killed Capitalism."*

Today, something similar is happening with the commons we know as the internet, with its fibre cables, server parks, ISP providers, search engines, apps, streaming services, etc. The so-called "cloud", which holds millions of terabytes of data, that is, physical data centres and server parks, is already in the process of being monopolized by companies such as Apple, Meta, Google and Amazon.

Many of the data centres are located in Norway due to the abundant power supply and favourable temperature conditions for the server parks. In August 2025, there were 73 such centres registered in Norway, according to the Norwegian Communications Authority (Nkom). This was an increase of 25 per cent from the previous month (58).

The processing power needed to meet the expectations of power- and data-consuming artificial intelligence (AI) and cryptocurrency in its many forms is enormous – and this has driven the share prices of companies such as Nvidia and Intel to astronomical heights on the New York Stock Exchange. This makes the already staggering investment costs in the new technology even greater.

AI investments alone now account for 40 per cent of total growth in the US GDP. A full 80 per cent of all share growth in the US comes from the major tech companies investing in AI. A recent MIT study showed that 95 per cent of the 300 largest AI companies in the US have so far had a return of zero dollars.³ This sounds like a recipe for a bubble. But the investment rush continues for now.

Google is investing over 6 billion Norwegian Kroner to build one of the world's largest data centres and associated infrastructure in Skien on a 500-acre site.⁴ The centre is scheduled to be operational starting in 2026. Such leases usually last for a period of 20–30 years. The county council expects rental income of tens of millions per year, but the details are not public. The size of the investment, the annual rental costs and any tax liabilities give an indication of the income Google expects the facility to generate.

³ “\$30 billion down the drain? MIT says 95% of companies see no returns from Generative AI.” *The Economic Times*, August 2025

⁴ <https://telemarkfylke.no/no/aktuelt/gigantinvestering-til-telemark/>

This is, in a double sense, a form of privatisation of communal property. Data centres are privately owned cloud storage facilities that one has to pay in order to store or access data in what was supposed to be a digital commons. In addition, they seize waterfalls and power that should also be the common property of the people, with the result that the spot price on the dysfunctional electricity market will be inflated throughout the relevant bidding zone (region).

A single facility in Telemark county will, when fully developed, absorb five per cent of Norway's electricity consumption.

Landowners and rentiers

Ground rent and profit are different economic categories, both derived from the surplus value created. They are Siamese twins in the "neo-feudal" version of imperialism. This is the new reality, not that capitalist profit is "disappearing". The massive investments in digital infrastructure in the form of cables and data centres are, in principle, no different from when British, Swedish and French companies bought into Norwegian waterfalls at the beginning of the last century. The aim then, as today, was to secure future ground rent and a head start on competitors. The same applies to the Norwegian "oil adventure", with huge capitalist investments in platforms and pipelines to reap a ground rent that increases tremendously as a result of the investments. A significant difference in Norway's case, however, is that the privatisation of water resources and the seabed was temporary in nature, thanks to concession laws and reversion rights. No such reversion rights have been set as conditions for the tech companies.

In many cases, municipalities are the formal landowners and can charge a certain amount of rent. However, shadow monopolies such as Google have secured guarantees in advance that the rental charge will be low, in exchange for promises of a handful of jobs and "business development". They have also often allied themselves with, or bought into, the energy industry, particularly the wind power industry, which also occupies huge areas of common land. Negotiations between municipalities and developers often take place in secret, allegedly to protect "competition-sensitive information". In Narvik, the agreements were concluded secretly in the middle of the night.

A survey done by E24 [a Norwegian online newspaper – *translator's note*] shows that more than half of the data centres in Norway are foreign-owned. We have already mentioned Google. Aker, in collaboration with the British company Nscale, is planning a data centre outside Narvik at a cost of NOK 10 billion. This data centre for artificial intelligence (AI) is called "Europe's largest brain". It can consume as much power as the entire Norwegian capital of Oslo. The centre will use hardware from Nvidia, and OpenAI has already signed an agreement for capacity. Major expansions are planned. Aker Nscale has secured ten sites in northern Norway, including in Fauske and Korgen. The motive is obvious. The "locked-in" electricity in northern Norway (price zone NO4) costs far less than electricity further south in the country.

Green Mountain was originally Norwegian-owned by the family company Smedvig. It is now wholly owned by the Israeli Azrieli Group Ltd.⁵ and builds and operates data centres according to a business model where the company is also the landowner. Green Mountain builds and operates large centres in Rjukan, Østfold, Akershus and near Hamar. The entire OSL [Norway's main airport] centre near Hamar is reserved for a single customer, the Chinese media platform TikTok.

What is happening in Norway is only part of a rapid international expansion. The technology giants (Apple, Meta, Alphabet, Google, etc.) are seriously taking over the digital commons, or *the cloud*, in the wake of two crises: the so-called subprime or "financial crisis" in 2008 and the pandemic in 2020.

While these crises crippled industry or put industrial investment on hold, the digital aristocrats still managed to grow and thrive. How was that possible? Because central banks across the West were running the printing presses at full speed and pouring "free" money into the financial sector to save the banks and "keep the wheels spinning". This happened in parallel with drastic cuts in welfare and wages, which only exacerbated the impact of the crisis.

It was a time of recession, but nevertheless a bonanza on the stock markets after 2008 – a stock market rally that lasted for the next ten years. Since investors knew that central banks were con-

⁵ "Israeli company signs billion-kroner deal in Norway", TV2. no. 31 December 2025.

stantly pumping out new (fiat) money, they could invest in completely meaningless shares in the certainty that the overabundant money would drive the paper value further upwards.

The digital giants managed to rake in billions. They used their interest-free loans to buy shares in their own companies. This allowed them to propel their market value and bonuses. The same companies also managed to attract some of the massive subsidies for the "green transition", both directly and in close collaboration with the wind-power barons in the power industry. What they additionally received in compensation for sharing so-called behavioural data with the intelligence services, as Edward Snowden revealed in his book *System Failure*, is unlikely to be reflected in the accounts.

Rent rather than profit

Hence the technology giants and their data centres must pay a certain ground rent – unless they have bought land where the data centres are located.

In return, they charge interest in the form of rent from all users of the storage services. It is a market that is growing exponentially as more and more takes place in "the cloud". Goods and services that we used to be able to buy, we now only get to rent access to. If you do not pay, the product is unavailable or unusable when the term expires.

The same cloud is increasingly being used by public authorities to store endless amounts of health and tax information about citizens. The storage space is far from free of charge. And it is no easy matter for a municipality to change storage provider when the rent is helping to scrape the bottom of the municipal coffers. Software suppliers, companies and public institutions must pay rent to the owners of the data centres – with or without intermediaries – in order for their systems to be operational.

They – and we – therefore only have a time-limited right to use the product or service. This allowance lasts as long as we pay this rent (or interest) for a day, month or year, without knowing whether the rent may be doubled at the next main due date. This is the case with a number of streaming services, films, music, applications and software.

Car owners are also now finding that they do not have unrestricted rights of use for the cars they have purchased and paid

for. New electric cars require constant updates to the car's software, and locking, charging, etc. are controlled by an app on your mobile phone. It turns out that if the owner wants to keep a particular function of the car, she suddenly has to pay for an update to the application. This is probably just the beginning. Volkswagen has already taken the step of charging owners a monthly surcharge if they want full engine power.⁶ Everything is controlled through the app, allowing the manufacturer to restrict functions if the customer does not pay. This is one of the methods manufacturers can use to compensate for the ever-increasing base rent they have to pay to the sky barons and the data centres controlled by them.

This is not pure profit in the usual sense. Profit and ground rent, two completely different economic categories, merge to a certain extent as a result of monopolisation. This trend is not new. It has only intensified with the development of imperialism in the form of monopoly capitalism.

*"Speculation in land situated in the suburbs of rapidly growing big towns is a particularly profitable operation for finance capital," wrote Lenin. "The monopoly of the banks merges here with the monopoly of ground rent and monopoly on the means of communication, since the rise in the price of land and the possibility of selling it profitably in allotments, etc. is mainly dependent on good means of communication with the centre of the town, and these means of communication are in the hands of large companies which are connected, by means of the holding system and by the distribution of positions on the directorates, with the interested banks."*⁷

What is highlighted in the above quote, about how the monopoly of finance capital in our era merges with the monopoly on ground rent, is key to understanding the enormous power of the new giants.

Ground rent constitutes an increasing share of the three components of value (ground rent, profit and wages) at the expense of the other two. This is because rent paid to digital landowners comes at the expense of the profits of productive capitalists.

⁶ <https://elbil.no/vw-krever-manedlig-betaling-for-full-motoreffekt/>

⁷ Lenin: *"Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism."*

Not only that. Every time we as consumers interact with these services, we have to give up a greater or lesser amount of personal information, which is then used to tailor our behaviour and bind us more closely to one or other of the cloud giants. This is a form of “voluntary” free labour that we perform, which perfects the algorithms and increases their exchange value vis-à-vis competing monopolies.

Tech giants such as Google combine large investments in research, development and fixed capital with monopolies that enable them to extort ground rent.

In some cases, ground rent exists in combination with other interest and loan capital, making it difficult to distinguish between them. When a commercial data centre owns its own land and buildings (or mountain halls) with its own server park, it charges both ground rent and loan interest (rent) to its customers. The ground rent stems from the limited access to data centres with the necessary infrastructure, while the loan interest or rent stems from the use of storage space on the fixed capital in the form of servers and wear and tear on the machinery. If we disregard periodic technical maintenance operations and upgrades, there is minimal value creation through human labour. We cannot therefore talk about pure profit in the usual sense, but rather about ground rent, monopoly rent and money rent.

"Competition is for losers"

The founder of PayPal and the notorious spyware company *Palantir*, Peter Thiel, has said it bluntly: *"Competition is for losers,"* he wrote in 2014.⁸ *"If you want to create and secure lasting value, get a monopoly."* This was several years before the AI revolution began.

Fundamental to capitalism is that there must be a market, and that competition for shares of this market is what creates profitable business for those who survive the competition.

Much can be said about old capitalism, but the drive to reap profits in a market has led to innovation, technological advances and increasingly rational working methods. This inherent urge for renewal, to overcome old barriers and create new things, made

⁸ Peter Thiel: "Competition Is for Losers." *Wall Street Journal*, 12 September 2014.

capitalism a historically progressive bulldozer compared to the stagnant feudal society.

When the market becomes monopolized, much of this motivation disappears. Ideas and patents are more about filling niches in existing monopoly structures in the hope of becoming a takeover candidate. We see this most clearly in the flora of mobile operators and electricity sales companies. Pricing models and varying degrees of customer service are what distinguish them from each other. It is a matter of slightly different packaging of more or less the same product and service, delivered on the infrastructure of monopolies such as Telenor and Telia, Lyse and Elvia.

Profit as a result of added value created in the production process, realised through workers' unpaid labour for a certain part of the working day, is characteristic of capitalism. This differs from exploitation under feudalism, where a tenant farmer or leaseholder had to pay the landowner in the form of labour rent, rent in kind or money rent. In the feudal system, exploitation was in the open and transparent, unlike under conditions of capitalist production where workers are apparently paid for their work.

For industrial monopolies in various industries, we see that a decreasing share of profits comes from surplus value per mass-produced unit. A growing part of the increase in value occurs prior to mass production itself, that is, relatively more surplus value is created in research and development of the product to be produced, and in instructions (algorithms) for the production process itself. In addition, the share of profits in the form of various types of interest income is growing. This is a trend that characterizes the age of modern monopoly capitalism. Hardly any industrial group is now engaged solely in industry. The industrial giant Siemens, for example, is considered a financial company that also engages in industrial activities.

Cloud-based services create little new (exchange) value, as they involve little human labour. Apart from transferring part of their value through depreciation, they help to accelerate capital circulation and shorten the capital turnover time, that is, the time that elapses from investment in means of production, raw materials and labour until the goods or services are realised on the market in monetary form and can be reinvested.

Adam Smith's old dream of a free market presupposes freely trading individuals and actors, where no one can manipulate pur-

chases and sales – or the minds of market actors. That dream has never been entirely true. Now the dream is less true than ever.

This is because the new techno-capital is not content with manipulating the market using other methods and on a completely different scale than before (such as through advertising and product placement). They bind to themselves an army of voluntary and involuntary digital servants and "cloud proletarians"; this however does not take place under normal market conditions. The market is no longer a market. The owners of these services and the land they stand on do not primarily reap profits, but interest and rent. And as we shall see, they collect this rent in several stages and from all social classes.

Rent in various forms

Rent takes several different forms, depending on the industry and the nature of production. For the capitalist, (monetary) interest is added to the profit of enterprise and is included in the average profit. This is related to the advance payment of money capital to the production process and "salaries" to directors and supervisors who are not involved in the actual production. Here, we are interested in other forms of rent.

Ground rent is essentially a feudal remnant whereby landlords and landowners receive a completely unearned income by leasing their property to productive activities carried out by farmers or capitalists. Investments and improvements made by tenants on the property or land (irrigation systems, soil improvement, etc.) enable the landowner to demand more rent without having to lift a finger.

"Landed property has nothing to do with the actual process of production. Its role is confined to transferring a portion of the produced surplus-value from the pockets of capital to its own," writes Karl Marx in *Capital* (Vol. III [Chapter XLVIII]).

Marx goes on to explain differential ground rent:

"Wherever natural forces can be monopolised and guarantee a surplus-profit to the industrial capitalist using them, be it waterfalls, rich mines, waters teeming with fish, or a favourably located building site, there the person who by virtue of title to a portion of the globe has become the proprietor of these natural objects will wrest this surplus-profit from functioning capital in the form of rent." [Chapter XLVI]

In addition to the absolute ground rent, landowners can reap differential ground rent, that is, an extra rent for particularly fertile land or plots in particularly attractive locations. The same would apply to the landowner of a server park with particularly favourable temperature conditions. Extremely fast processors and greater computing power than that of their competitors would generate extra profits in addition to the ground rent, refer to Green Mountain's business model.

Furthermore, *monopoly rent* arises in certain industries, where one or a handful of oligarchs (or their transnational corporations) have secured exclusive rights to certain production processes, formulas or patents. We see this, for example, in the pharmaceutical industry. The same applies increasingly to digital supermarkets such as Amazon, Google Play and Apple Store.

In some cases, these trading platforms are necessary to sell the main product, and they are often indispensable for the product to be used effectively or to be as "user-friendly" as possible. The manufacturer must therefore relinquish part of the added value to Google, among others, in order for the product to be "functional".

Finally, we have what we might call *brand rent*. Skilful marketing, consistent design and integration between different products attract and captivate consumers into brand loyalty. Apple is a prime example of how your mobile phone, your iPad, all the photos you store in Apple's cloud services, etc. trap you in a synchronised digital enclosure of seamless services that eventually control your life. At the same time, you unconsciously feed the "jailer". Every time you stream something, send a message, upload a video, or feed in health data so that Apple can advise you to walk more stairs, reduce your calorie intake, etc., you are helping Apple perfect the digital net around you and make the mesh size smaller and smaller, free of charge.

Monopoly and brand capitalists reap the latter two forms of rent, while the first form – ground rent – accrues to the landowner.

"The rent, then, forms a portion of the value, or, more specifically, surplus-value, of commodities, and instead of falling into the lap of the capitalists, who have extracted it from their labourers, it

*falls to the share of the landlords, who extract it from the capitalists."*⁹

This cost-increasing element is included in the final product price, but the capitalist must relinquish ground rent to the landowner at the expense of his own profit.

Vassals and tenant farmers

Tech companies have ostensibly become the new feudal lords, as Varoufakis, for example, believes, while the productive capitalists in certain industries are reduced to vassals and tenants. Industrial capital must submit to the tech giants. Car manufacturers such as Volkswagen, BYD, Toyota and Ford are increasingly at the mercy of tech companies such as Apple, Google and China's Baidu. The car is controlled by algorithms and the driver's actions are monitored by sensors and cameras. The software is updated wirelessly via the internet – for as long as the supplier wants or permits. The car owner controls functions such as locking, charging and remote parking via a mobile app. In most cases, this app must be downloaded from the Apple Store or Google Play. If the apps become unavailable, many of the car's operating functions are lost and its market value will plummet. Manufacturers compensate for the tech companies' skimming of profits by imposing extra charges on users in the form of creative usage fees.

The rent paid to cloud capital (those who own and operate servers and infrastructure) is collected from users or directly from manufacturers and app developers, who, to the extent that they have the power to do so, demand compensation from the industrial group.

But this is only one side of the coin.

On the other hand, artificial intelligence contributes to product development for industrial companies, and they contribute in return. Swedish-Chinese Volvo has integrated closely with Alphabet (the owner of Google) and is the main developer of car-related software on the Android platform.¹⁰ Such product development is obviously productive creation of value.

⁹ Karl Marx: *Capital*, Vol. III [Chapter XLV].

¹⁰ "Google, Volvo Cars deepen partnership to develop Android software for vehicles" Reuters, 21 May 2025.

Ideally, from the point of view of monopoly capitalists, the optimum is to gain control over all links in the chain, as Elon Musk is trying to achieve. Competition is for losers, to cite the Palantir boss once more. But the dream of competition disappearing completely remains a pipe dream for the monopoly bourgeoisie. On the contrary, competition is becoming even more aggressive, for example between technology companies in the US and China.

The robbery of the digital commons seems in some ways to be the opposite of the robbery of communal land during the original accumulation of capital. Back then, the tenants became proletarians; now the proletarians are also becoming a kind of tenant. Even software developers are gradually being reduced to platform workers or cloud proletarians.

The individual users of the technology – from Spotify listeners to car owners – have become unpaid tenant farmers who feed vassals and monopolists in “the cloud” with the personal data they must relinquish in order to access the various services. This data is fed into the algorithms as unpaid product improvements. In spite of this, users usually have to pay rental fees to make use of these services – at least if they do not want to be interrupted by advertisements every minute. If they do not pay the rent, they lose the right to use their “digital plot of land”, much like the tenant farmers of old.

These terms of use affect all individuals in society, regardless of class. The working class is hit hardest because paying for these subscription services hurts them the most. Some of these services can be opted out of, but not all.

Capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie are feeling the pinch, too. The many digital cloud services are mandatory if the company is to have any hope of positioning itself, securing logistics and remaining relevant in the market. Even a farmer or peasant is gradually becoming a tenant farmer subject to the digital barons, as he has to buy seeds from or sell cucumbers to wholesalers via digital services and algorithms over which he has no control whatsoever.

Tenants used to pay the landowner in the form of either labour rent, rent in kind or money rent. Today's tenant farmers pay both labour rent and money rent.

It gets even worse with the new AI agents that are included in operating systems for mobile phones and PCs. While AI of the ChatGPT type is under a certain degree of user control, that is, it

is the user who gives a command or prompt for action, the roles are reversed with AI agents. Now it is the AI agent that takes the initiative and asks the user to confirm. It continuously collects information about what you are doing and where you have been by taking screenshots of your screen every few seconds. An innocent example could be; "Isn't it time you sent a picture of your grandchildren to your elderly mother and gave her flowers? Would you like me to arrange that?"

That may sound practical and convenient. It is just as easy to imagine what other calls to action you might receive, based on what you once thought was your private life.

Capitalism or techno-feudalism?

Are we living in what Varoufakis calls techno-feudalism, a new oligarchic system of oppression based on a post-capitalist mode of production? Have we left capitalism behind only to end up in a new and worse nightmare that makes socialism even more distant and unattainable? On the surface, it may seem that way, but that would be a dangerous and erroneous conclusion that would derail the struggle for a different social system.

If we are to believe Elon Musk, working will become optional in the near future. "In less than 20 years – maybe even in just 10 or 15 years – advances in artificial intelligence and robotics will take us to a point where working becomes optional," Musk said in an interesting podcast with People by WTF on 1 December 2025.¹¹

What he does not explain in detail in the long interview is how people will make a living if they do not have income-generating work. He also sidesteps the delicate problem that without human labour, no new added value and profit will be created for Musk & Co.

This is what Marx called the falling rate of profit. Since only living labour creates new (added) value, fewer workers and more machines mean that the amount of profit per unit produced is declining. Capitalists take a number of countermeasures to slow down this trend, but the trend itself is irreversible.

"The increase in labour productivity consists precisely in that the share of living labour is reduced while that of past labour is increased, but in such a way that the total quantity of labour incorpo-

¹¹ People by WTF 1 December 2025. t.ly/Ln2SH

rated in that commodity declines; in such a way, therefore, that living labour decreases more than past labour increases." (Capital [Vol. III, Chapter XV, Section IV].)

In the foregoing, we have seen how digital oligarchs and cloud barons are today the most powerful and influential people in the world. They have direct access to presidents and government offices and power that surpasses that which the old nobility and petty princes had in relation to the church or royal power. A man like Musk comes and goes more or less freely in President Donald Trump's office. He grants himself a "salary supplement" of ten billion dollars. The board members of Tesla accept this without batting an eye.

Feudal traits have also re-emerged in certain industries. Over the past twenty years, hired labourers from other countries have become new serfs, completely at the mercy of temporary staffing agencies or contractors in return for poor wages, food and shelter. With their passports confiscated and no rights, they are in a more vulnerable position than serfs, with no right to leave the estate without first asking the landowner's permission. The capitalist freedom to sell one's labour power to whomever one wants has been taken away from tens of thousands of workers.

The new so-called (digital) platform workers are a separate category of their own. They have complete "freedom" to perform delivery and transport services on behalf of digital capitalist "contractors" such as Foodora, Wolt, Uber, Bolt, etc. Platform workers are more like itinerant labourers, employed when they are most needed and at times when the algorithms (piecework) provide more than the usual starvation wages. On their part, the contractors (such as Wolt) must pay 15-30% of the transaction amount to the App Store or Google Play Store, as well as transaction fees to banks and credit card companies. The relatively modest remaining amount, after deduction of the actual value of the goods and transport service, is divided between the profit for the contractor and the remuneration of the "independent" platform worker.

In this form, we see that capitalism in its imperialist era is re-introducing structures with feudal characteristics in several areas – structures that the young capitalist bourgeoisie had to break down in the past.

Imperialism persists

This paradox does not refute, but rather confirms, that imperialism is dying, parasitic and decaying capitalism. In its death throes, imperialism is suffocating and reversing all the progressive and democratic ideals of capitalism's infancy, when the young bourgeoisie emerged in struggle against medieval despotism and stagnation.

The capitalist system and mode of production still remain. What is new is that the monopoly bourgeoisie has introduced a new, dominant faction of techno-capitalists and techno-oligarchs who are displacing other factions. For decades, commercial capital has managed to wrest a larger share of surplus value from industrial capital. Now the techno-capitalists are in the process of displacing parts of the old commercial capital and gaining an iron grip on industrial capital. All this in symbiosis with banking and finance.

Modern technology is being used to maintain and defend a system in decay.

What we are experiencing and being oppressed by is not a new system and a new mode of production. It is decaying capitalist imperialism (monopoly capitalism) in its most destructive form. Modern technology is being used to maintain and defend a system in decay. It is on a trajectory that leads straight towards fascism, total control – and devastating wars.

Does this mean that we should lose all hope and renounce any dreams of socialism? Must we content ourselves with demanding influence over how technology is used and wealth distributed, hoping that the oligarchs will sooner or later listen to reason?

The answer is no. Artificial intelligence and other new technologies offer fantastic prospects for a social system without capitalists and exploiters. A society where the necessary working time is reduced to a minimum and the "realm of freedom" is within sight.

In the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, however, the leap in the development of productive forces threatens to put an end to all civilisation. Revolution and socialism are therefore on the agenda. What is lacking is the subjective awareness of what is needed. The working class faces new challenges and demands in terms of political education, mobilisation and organisation.

The Ruthless Verdict of History: The Shifting Balance of Global Power and the Decline of America

History bears witness to the fact that the wheel of rise and decline never stands still. Whether it was the greatness of ancient Greece, the conquests of Alexander the Great, the dominance of the Roman Empire, or the long rule of the Arabs in Spain—whenever a power exceeded its natural limits through expansion and arrogance, history eventually turned it into a lesson for others. Today's global situation, particularly the alliance between America and Israel in the Middle East, appears to stand at a similar historical turning point from where the disintegration of great empires often begins.

The Middle East has become a strategic quagmire, and the greatest crisis of the present century is America's direct intervention in the region. In the past, the United States mostly maintained its dominance through proxies, which preserved the illusion of its military invincibility. However, direct confrontation with Iran has shattered this illusion. Iran, despite suffering decades of sanctions, has emerged as a significant missile power capable of wounding a superpower like the United States.

During the eight-year Iran-Iraq war, America acted merely as a supporter, but today it finds itself on the front line. This is the same mistake the Soviet Union made by directly intervening in Afghanistan, a decision that ultimately contributed to its own collapse.

Another major strategic mistake for the United States may prove to be its misuse of power in Latin America. Efforts against the Venezuelan government and attempts to control the country's oil reserves are alarming for the entire region. Whenever a superpower violates the sovereignty of other nations, it effectively creates enemies within its own "backyard." This situation is pushing Latin America closer to China and Russia, which may further deepen America's global isolation.

The Wounded Snake and the Strength of Ants

There is a famous saying in political science: once a snake is wounded, even ants that once seemed insignificant can eventually kill it. Today, Iran, Venezuela, Cuba, and other resistance blocs are becoming those “ants” that are slowly draining the power of the “wounded snake” of the global order. The United States is simultaneously entangled in the Middle East, Ukraine, and Taiwan, dispersing its economic and military strength across multiple fronts.

The New World Order and BRICS

It is a ruthless law of history that when an old status quo collapses, a new order takes its place. America’s declining credibility and its use of the dollar as a political weapon have compelled many countries to search for alternatives. Alliances such as BRICS are no longer merely economic blocs; they are emerging as the foundation of a new global financial and political system where the center of power appears to be shifting away from Washington toward Beijing, Moscow, and Tehran.

President Donald Trump and the American administration currently seem trapped in a situation where every wrong decision could threaten America’s own security. Unconditional support for Israel and the willingness to gamble with global peace are pushing the United States into a dead end from which return may become impossible. If America fails to act according to the principle of survival rather than arrogance, history may force it to shrink just as Britain was reduced to its island boundaries after the Second World War.

Time’s verdict is inevitable: once the illusion of power is broken, it can never truly be restored.

At present, as tensions between Iran and the United States continue to intensify, America appears determined to pressure Iran into accepting an agreement on Washington’s terms. At the same time, it continues to threaten renewed military action if such an agreement is not reached. However, the Iranian leadership neither rejects negotiations outright nor appears willing to accept American conditions.

Experts who understand the dynamics of warfare argue that after the ceasefire between Iran and the United States, it will no

longer be easy for America to launch another attack on Iran. During the pause in hostilities, Iran has likely gained a much clearer understanding of the extent of damage America and Israel can inflict, as well as how to defend itself more effectively. Moreover, during this period, public opinion across the world—including within the United States—has increasingly turned against American policies.

Countries such as Russia and China, whose economic, political, commercial, and regional interests are closely tied to Iran, also appear to be drawing closer to Tehran in opposition to Washington. Under such circumstances, another American attack on Iran would not be an easy undertaking.

Considering the evolving situation, it may be said that President Trump's recent visit to China included discussions regarding a peaceful resolution of this important issue, although the full details may not immediately become public.

What is becoming increasingly clear, however, is that the Middle East crisis is likely to take a decisive turn in the coming days. If the crisis is not resolved and instead escalates further, the greater damage may ultimately be suffered by the United States and its allies.

Shaukat Ali Chaudhry
Secretary General,
Pakistan Mazdoor Mahaz

From Presidentialism to Parliamentarism: How the Peruvian Congress Concentrates Power and Redefines Bourgeois Hegemony

Elections of 2026:

The elections held on April 12, 2026 were yet another expression of the class struggle in Peru, with 36 candidates for the presidency, a historic record that reflects the decline of democracy and the strategy of the mafia pact to divide the vote. The electoral process took place normally, mainly in the provinces, however, in Lima there were some complications with the installation of polling stations; approximately 266 polling stations were not opened. Despite the fact that this number is statistically insignificant, the National Jury of Elections (JNE) decided, under pressure from the pact, to violate the electoral principles by extending the voting by one more day.

The irregularities committed by the ONPE [National Office of Electoral Processes] are intended to be capitalized on by the ultra-right to build a narrative of fraud, in order to question the results unfavorable to the far-right candidate López Aliaga. The candidate of Popular Renewal, after learning of the projections of the polls for the second round, reacted angrily, threatening to harm the president of the JNE and to carry out a "revolt" if supplementary elections were not held for those who did not vote on election day. In addition, the pressure of the media and the forces of the pact led to the illegal resignation of the president of the ONPE, in the middle of the electoral process. Now, the Congress, controlled by Fujimorism, must elect a new president of the ONPE to take over for the second round. The bourgeois institutions are increasingly being delegitimized in each electoral process, while the bourgeois media cries out for a coup d'état to prevent a possible left-wing government.

According to the progress of the count in the minutes, the second round will be decided between Fujimorism and Castillismo [referring to supporters of former presidents Fujimori and Castillo – translator's note]. On the one hand, Keiko Fujimori, leader of Fu-

ujimorism, heads this pact that governs from Congress and Roberto Sánchez, who leads the Together for Peru Party and who has received the votes of supporters of Pedro Castillo. Roberto Sánchez is a member of congress and in the process of the removal from the presidency of Pedro Castillo he abstained. He remained on the sidelines in the process of the struggle that the people carried out, which resulted in more than 70 deaths. This is relevant because Castillo's removal was unconstitutional and did not conform with the votes required for his removal. In this context, Roberto Sánchez's actions do not generate confidence in some leftist forces; however, it is likely that he will manage to create a consensus in various sectors due to the broad anti-Fujimori vote in the country. So it is expected that he will moderate his speech and they will demand that he sign a “roadmap” [outline of policies – *translator's note*], similar to what happened with Ollanta Humala, so as not to affect macroeconomic policies.

The results for senators and deputies are much more concerning; the majority of senators elected continue to support the mafia pact, Fuerza Popular [Popular Force] (22 senators) and Renovación Popular [Popular Renewal] (8 senators), which would prevent a possible government of Roberto Sánchez from lasting the 5 years in office. The reconfiguration of the state gives the senate much more power than the president; these were the elections that mattered.

From presidentialism to parliamentarism

What is happening today in Peru is not just another political crisis or an institutional dysfunction. It is a reconfiguration of the bourgeois state driven by an alliance of factions that, incapable of governing through consensus and hegemony, are moving towards direct and authoritarian control of the state apparatus. Thus, the shift from presidentialism to de facto parliamentarism is not a democratic evolution, but a desperate measure of the bourgeoisie.

As in other countries, the rise of new authoritarian right-wingers is due to the crisis of capital; as it is incapable of guaranteeing stability in the exercise of power through traditional mechanisms, the ruling class resorts to changing the form of the regime. That is exactly what is happening in Peru: Congress has become the effective center of power, replacing the Executive and subordinat-



ing the autonomous agencies. This is nothing more than an operation to shield bourgeois power dressed up as a reform of the political system.

We are facing a systemic crisis in which the ruling classes can no longer govern as before and the subject classes no longer accept being governed in the same way. Peru has been experiencing this crisis for years with the collapse of parties, the delegitimization of the Executive, the discrediting of Congress, and intermittent social outbursts.

In this context, faced with the unsustainability of the farce of democracy that followed Fujimorism, the bourgeoisie has opted for an authoritarian solution: to remove politics from the electoral terrain to the institutional terrain. This is because, as was seen in 2021, presidentialism, even when weakened, always implies a risk, which is the popular vote. On the other hand, they have learned that parliamentarism *de facto* allows them to manage power from a situation that they control, in which money, lobbies and business connections count for more than the popular will.

We are facing a restorative force led by Congress that is reorganizing the political system without popular participation, through reforms that seem to be administrative, but whose objective is to ensure that the parliamentary bloc retains power even if it loses the street, the ballot box or social legitimacy.

Politics always expresses the material interests of social classes and their factions. And that is why it is worth identifying those who represent the parties that control the current Congress:

- Fujimorism: primary-faction of commercial export-, with a strong presence in agribusiness, imports, large transporters and sectors that live off regulated informal labor.

- Popular Renewal: conservative, moralist real estate-and financial bourgeoisie profoundly opposed to any modern state project.

- Avanza País (Go On Country): neoliberal business technocracy, connected to corporate law firms, business associations and finance capital.

- Alliance for Progress: emerging regional bourgeoisie, concentrated in private education, construction and networks of cronies.

This bloc is joined by the party We Are Peru, which holds the presidency. This party has functioned for years as a political expression of medium-sized businessmen, municipalists, contractors and local operators linked to the cycle of public works and urban services. It is not the big financial bourgeoisie or the traditional elite; It is the middle bourgeoisie, hungry for power, pragmatic, opportunistic and perfectly functional to the dominant bloc that is capable of doing everything to look good for those in power. That is why its presence in the presidency does not alter the parliamentary project since a weak Executive, led by a party without a national project and dependent on congressional alliances, is the ideal Executive for any transition towards oligarchic parliamentarism.

During these last 25 years it has been shown that presidentialism exposes the Peruvian bourgeoisie to the risk that every five years, new actors (outsiders) may emerge who may have their own agenda. Congress, on the other hand, allows one to take power without having a social majority or a project for the country.

We will review what these actions are that change the moderate presidential system in Peruvian politics and shift the power to Parliament.

- 1) The elimination or restriction of the question of confidence: This destroys the main tool with which a weak Executive could compensate for congressional power. There is no longer political control of Congress.

- 2) The rules that facilitate disqualification and removal from office: They seek to hold the president under a permanent system

of political blackmail. A president who can be ousted at any time does not govern, he obeys.

3) Control over appointments: Constitutional Court, Ombudsman's Office, National Board of Justice, electoral bodies, etc. This is the real loot. Since whoever controls the appointments controls justice, supervision, elections and, finally, the deep state. In this way they take over the entire state apparatus.

4) Systematic blocking of legislative powers and tax reform: The Peruvian bourgeoisie does not want a state that receives [funds] or plans [spending]. It wants a weak state, incapable of regulating its business.

Without a Constituent Assembly, Congress already acts as the supreme power since it decides, supervises, sanctions, blocks and conditions.

As in any authoritarian project, the conservative faction of the bourgeoisie has created a cultural enemy, in an attempt to modify common sense so that the population sees the destruction of the State as a moral reconquest. Its "anti-caviar" discourse serves the function of destroying democratic common sense and replacing it with an authoritarian-corporate one, where any limit on parliamentary power is presented as an "ideological conspiracy".

Accusing someone of [being someone who eats] caviar or of terrorism, depending on the opponent's class background or the color of their skin, has become the excuse to justify taking over institutions.

We are not facing an abstract debate between presidentialism and parliamentarism. Rather, it is necessary to understand which class runs the State and for what purposes? The parliamentarism that is being built today in Peru is not that of European social democracy or of an advanced democracy. It is an oligarchic parliamentarism, designed so that the conservative bourgeoisie governs without winning elections, without social consensus and without a national project.

In this context, the task of the working classes and their Marxist-Leninist vanguard is not to defend presidentialism in the abstract, but to unmask the class content of this transition, to organize the subject classes and to contest the hegemony in which today the bourgeoisie only offers control and systemic violence. Because when Parliament becomes the center of power without the

people, what follows is not stability; it is bourgeois authoritarianism with a legal façade.

Understanding that the bourgeoisie intends to resolve the crisis with more authoritarianism and shielding itself with impunity places us at the center of the political dispute. Because the working class and its historic aspirations to build a more just society, through the construction of a new political power, based on an genuine democracy, is the only one that really opposes the vileness of the bourgeoisie and its system of hunger and violence.

Peruvian Communist Party Marxist-Leninist

April 2026

Rosa Luxemburg's Theory of Imperialism

Between 1870 and 1914 the great European capitalist powers, joined by the United States and Japan, set out to conquer Africa and Asia. In this period the imperialist countries divided 25 million square kilometers, with France and England being the main beneficiaries of this territorial plunder. At the beginning of the 20th century, 63% of humanity lived under imperialist domination¹.

This phenomenon was the object of analysis by the parties of the Second International and the main theoreticians of social democracy participated in a fruitful debate that left notable works by Lenin, Hilferding, Otto Bauer and Rosa Luxemburg, among others². And it could not be otherwise, because the exact characterization of imperialism, its nature and mechanisms of domination were fundamental for the social-democratic parties to draw a correct tactical and strategic line on the road to the proletarian revolution.

1. THE EXPANDED REPRODUCTION OF CAPITAL

In 1913 Rosa Luxemburg published **"The Accumulation of Capital"**, her most important work on political economy, in which she revised Marx's mathematical schemes on the accumulation of capital. It was, without a doubt, a huge task and carried out from an honest position. When we use the term revise, we do not do so

¹ The following works on imperialist distribution are especially interesting: ACOSTA SÁNCHEZ, José: *El imperialismo capitalista. Concepto, períodos y mecanismos de funcionamiento. (Capitalist Imperialism. Concept, Periods and Mechanisms of Operation)*. Barcelona, Blume, 1977; FIELDHOUSE, David: *Economics and Empire 1830-1914*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1973 and HOBBSBAWM, Eric: *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, United Kingdom, 1987.

² On the different theories in relation to imperialism, see J. M. VIDAL VILLA: *Teorías del imperialismo. (Theories of Imperialism)* Barcelona, Anagrama, 1976.

in the sense that we use it to define Bernstein's work, but in the sense of analyzing Marxist formulations from a revolutionary perspective.

The work is divided into three parts or sections. The first (*The Problem of the Reproduction of Capital*) deals with the problems of the simple and expanded reproduction of capital. The second (*Historical Exposition of the Problem*) deals with the economic controversies between various authors and in the third (*The Historical Conditions of Accumulation*) develops her own theory, trying to show how the invasion of primitive economies is a necessary condition of capitalist development, as well as the process through which it destroys them.

The book received numerous criticisms from different spheres of social democracy, including those of Lenin, who judged that the ideas contained in this text regarding the expanded reproduction of capital, crises and imperialism were basically wrong.

To understand the reason for the divergences between the two, it is necessary to start from Marx's conception of the development of capitalism. The causes of crises of overproduction are inseparable from the internal dynamics of capitalist production, from the materialization and appropriation of surplus value, and should not be sought in factors external to the production process. In the words of Marx and Engels:

"The history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity -- the epidemic of over-production.... and why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they

overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."³

In Volume II of *Capital*, the simple and expanded reproduction of capital is analyzed. Marx divides all the production of capitalist society into two sectors: Department I, production of the means of production, and Department II, production of consumer goods. Marx begins by analyzing the conditions of equilibrium for exchange between the two sectors under conditions of simple reproduction (that is, without accumulation), and concludes that, in simple reproduction, the sum of variable capital (invested in wages) and surplus-value in Department I, production of means of production, must be equal to constant capital in Department II, production of consumer goods. In the case of expanded reproduction (accumulation), the conditions vary. Their starting point is that accumulation requires a surplus of means of production, a surplus which requires the conversion into capital of a part of the surplus-value obtained by the capitalists. In other words, under the conditions of accumulation, the increase in the means of production exceeds the increase in consumer goods: sector I, therefore, has to grow faster than sector II. Marx's mathematical diagrams showed that such accumulation was possible in a capitalist society despite the disproportionality between the two sectors of production.

Based on these premises, Rosa Luxemburg considered that Marx's mathematical schemes on the expanded reproduction of capital were not correct and pointed out a series of conditions for the accumulation process to be carried out: 1) Society had to dispose of an increasing amount of labor power to be employed; 2) In each period, the immediate needs of society have to allow part of the production to be used to increase social capital, that is, not

³ MARX and ENGELS: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. FLP Peeking, 1970, p. 38.

to consume the total produced (the possibility of saving); 3) The production of capital goods must be sufficient for social capital to be materially increased (the possibility of investing) and 4) Effective demand should also grow, since its existence is a *conditio sine qua non* for capitalists to decide to invest. Her question, then, would be the following: Where does this continuously increasing effective demand come from, which ensures new investments, that is, which ensures a stimulus to the capitalists as a whole to expand global production? This demand must be sought outside the scope of the capitalist economy, in the conquest and domination of those areas of the world where non-capitalist forms predominate. From these places would come the demand to solve the problems presented by the expanded accumulation of capital:

"Thus capitalism expands because of its mutual relationship with non-capitalist social strata and countries, accumulating at their expense and at the same time pushing them aside to take their place. The more capitalist countries participate in this hunting for accumulation areas, the rarer the non-capitalist places still open to the expansion of capital become and the tougher the competition; its raids turn into a chain of economic and political catastrophes: world crises, wars, revolution.

*"But by this process capital prepares its own destruction in two ways. As it approaches the point where humanity only consists of capitalists and proletarians, further accumulation will become impossible. At the same time, the absolute and undivided rule of capital aggravates class struggle throughout the world and the international economic and political anarchy to such an extent that, long before the last consequences of economic development, it must lead to the rebellion of the international proletariat against the existence of the rule of capital."*⁴

Imperialism did not arise at a specific stage of capitalist development, but it was the product of the contradictions implied by the accumulation of capital; that is, of its reproduction in an expanded form:

"Imperialism is the political expression of the accumulation of capital in its competitive struggle for what remains still open of the non-capitalist environment... With the high development of the cap-

⁴ R. LUXEMBURG: *The Accumulation of Capital, An Anti-Critique*. 1915.

*italist countries and their increasingly severe competition in acquiring non-capitalist areas, imperialism grows in lawlessness and violence, both in aggression against the non-capitalist world and in ever more serious conflicts among the competing capitalist countries. But the more violently, ruthlessly and thoroughly imperialism brings about the decline of non-capitalist civilizations, the more rapidly it cuts the very ground from under the feet of capitalist accumulation. Though imperialism is the historical method for prolonging the career of capitalism, it is also a sure means of bringing it to a swift conclusion."*⁵

2. THE LENINIST CRITIQUE

The fundamental mistake of this Polish revolutionary was to place the solution to the problems of the expanded reproduction of capital in the sphere of the market and in consumption through the conquest of non-capitalist regions of the world. Imperialism would thus be a partial solution to the crises, to the impossibility of realizing surplus value in the imperialist metropolises. These approaches implied that capitalism would collapse at a certain point. When non-capitalist societies no longer existed, accumulation would be impossible and, therefore, the system would collapse.

Reality has shown that the collapse of capitalism has not occurred, even with crises as catastrophic as the ones of 1929, 1973 and 2008. Capitalism carries within it deep contradictions, but also the mechanisms that allow it to overcome them temporarily: mechanisms such as imperialist wars, the super-exploitation of the workers and peoples of dependent countries. That is to say, suffering and social disaster accompany the development of the capitalist mode of production, but this will not disappear unless it is overthrown by the conscious action of the proletariat and the popular classes⁶.

Imperialist expansion occurs, as Lenin explained, when capitalism reaches a certain stage of development. The search for higher rates of profit through the export of surplus capital in the

⁵ R. LUXEMBURG: *The Accumulation of Capital*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1951, p. 446.

⁶ On the theory of collapse, the work of H. GROSSMANN: *The Law of Accumulation and Breakdown of the Capitalist System* is essential. Pluto Press, 1992 (first edition in German in 1929)

forementioned metropolises explains the conquest of the Afro-Asian world that took place between 1870 and 1914.

The fundamental contradiction of the capitalist mode of production is located in the sphere of production and not in that of circulation. In his polemic against the economic conceptions of the populists, Lenin addressed this question, showing the theoretical inadequacies and errors of populism:

*"When the Narodniks assert that the foreign market is 'the way out of the difficulty' which capitalism raises for itself in the realisation of the product, they merely use this phrase to cover up the sad fact that for them 'the foreign market' is 'the way out of the difficulty' into which they fall owing to their failure to understand theory... not only products that serve as articles of consumption but also those that serve as means of production—all these products are realised in the same way, in the midst of 'difficulties,' in the midst of continuous fluctuations, which become increasingly violent as capitalism grows, in the midst of fierce competition, which compels every entrepreneur to strive to expand production unlimitedly, to go beyond the bounds of the given country, to set out in quest of new markets in countries not yet drawn into the sphere of capitalist commodity circulation. This brings us to the question of why a capitalist country needs a foreign market. Certainly not because the product cannot be realised at all under the capitalist system. That is nonsense. A foreign market is needed because it is inherent in capitalist production to strive for unlimited expansion—unlike all the old modes of production, which were limited to the village community, to the patriarchal estate, to the tribe, to a territorial area, or state. Under all the old economic systems production was every time resumed in the same form and on the same scale as previously; under the capitalist system, however, this resumption in the same form becomes impossible, and unlimited expansion, perpetual progress, becomes the law of production."*⁷

The root of Rosa Luxemburg's error, and not only hers, lies in prioritizing the thesis of underconsumption in Marx's theory, instead of placing it in a secondary position. The contradiction between the production and the realization of the product is part of the functioning of capitalism, but the materialization of crises is

⁷ LENIN *A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism*, in *Collected Works*, Volume II. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1972, pp. 167-168.

related to deeper factors, such as the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. The theory of underconsumption was also criticized by Lenin:

*"The scientific analysis of accumulation... undermined the whole basis of this theory, and also indicated that it is precisely in the periods which precede crises that the workers' consumption rises, that underconsumption (to which crises are allegedly due) existed under the most diverse economic systems, whereas crises are the distinguishing feature of only one system—the capitalist system. This theory [Marxism] explains crises by another contradiction, namely, the contradiction between the social character of production (socialised by capitalism) and the private, individual mode of appropriation.... The first theory explains crises by the contradiction between production and consumption by the working class; the second explains them by the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation. Consequently, the former sees the root of the phenomenon outside of production... the latter sees it precisely in the conditions of production... But the question is: does the second theory deny the fact of a contradiction between production and consumption, does it deny the fact of underconsumption? Of course not. It fully recognizes this fact, but puts it in its proper, subordinate, place as a fact that only relates to one department of the whole of capitalist production."*⁸

In his great work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin also indirectly responds to Rosa Luxemburg's error, in the sense that the world has already been divided physically, but not definitively, since new redivisions are possible:

"The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits. And they divide it 'in proportion to capital,' 'in proportion to strength,' because there cannot be any other method of division under commodity production and capitalism.... the characteristic feature of the period under review is the final partition of the globe—final, not in the sense that a repartition is impossible; on the contrary, repartitions are possible and inevitable—but in the sense that the colonial policy of the capitalist countries has completed the seizure of the unoccupied territories on our planet. For the first time

⁸ LENIN: *Op. cit.* p. 163, 164.



*the world is completely divided up, so that in the future only redivision is possible, i.e., territories can only pass from one 'owner' to another."*⁹

The redivision was not about the accumulation of capital, but about the goal of gaining greater profits and benefits. With the Second Industrial Revolution, competition among the great powers became more acute and the enormous industrial development made it necessary to procure raw materials massively and cheaply. Territorial conquest becomes the means of ensuring their supply.

In addition, the possibility of obtaining large profits by investing capital in new territories is a key factor in understanding the interest of banks and large industries in colonial expansion, since indigenous labor could be subjected to greater exploitation than European workers, who already had important union organizations.

Imperialism is a product of the contradictions of capitalism. When it reaches a certain degree of development, characterized by monopoly, the formation of finance capital and the concentration and centralization of capital, as defined by Lenin in the book

⁹ LENIN: *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, FLP, Peking, 1970, pp. 88-89, 90

cited above, capitalism necessarily develops its imperialist tendency, giving rise to a structure of relations of domination and exploitation that is continuing until today.

3. CONCLUSION

Rosa Luxemburg's theory did not pass the test of empirical verification. For some time now, capitalist relations of production have encompassed the planet as a whole and accumulation has not stopped, nor has the development of the productive forces slowed down, although it is true that capitalism currently rests more than on a productive base on a massive flow of parasitic speculative capital, to the point that this financial capital becomes independent of the productive sphere and acquires its own dynamics.

On the basis of a Marxist analysis, imperialism in the 21st century is characterized by the following aspects:

- 1) Imperialism constitutes a set of relations of domination and exploitation between two groups of countries: those that make up the center of the capitalist system (developed countries) and those that constitute the periphery of the system (underdeveloped countries).
- 2) In each group of countries the class struggle is intensifying. The popular classes confront the ruling classes in both developed and dependent countries. In the face of class collaboration, communists must raise the banner of proletarian internationalism.
- 3) So-called globalization has not created a super-imperialism nor has it erased the borders of the nation-state. The internationalization of capital has not weakened imperialist rivalries, which, as is evident, tend to become more acute. As in Lenin's time, the struggle for the control of markets and sources of raw materials remains the goal of the great imperialist powers.
- 4) The contradictions of capitalism are becoming deeper and deeper and reformist policies are not able to stop social deterioration. It is clear that parliamentary democracy is beginning to be an obstacle to the very domination of the bourgeoisie and fascist forms of domination are making their way into different countries.
- 5) The danger of a world war is real and the ruling classes are al-

ready using strategies of communication to spread this message and to prepare the masses for a military confrontation.

- 6) In these circumstances, the ideological and political strengthening of the ICMLPO is an urgent and high priority task. In broad sectors of our societies there is a feeling of resignation, of fatalism, as if the capitalist order were permanent and we had to necessarily adapt to living under this barbarism. This is the result of the mass spreading of bourgeois ideology, which seeks precisely the passivity of the masses, individualism, the acceptance of the established order. To overcome this situation, it is essential to wage a constant ideological struggle through the propagation of Marxist-Leninist thought and analysis.

Communist Party of Spain (M-L)
March 2026.

The Chinese Economy in the Light of the Leninist Characteristics of Imperialism

In his book "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Lenin identified the fundamental characteristics of imperialism:

1. The concentration of production and capital up to the emergence of monopolies that play a decisive role in economic life.
2. The fusion of banking and industrial capital and the formation of a financial oligarchy based on finance capital.
3. The export of capital, which has become extremely important and distinct from the export of goods.
4. The formation of international capitalist monopolies that have divided the world among themselves.
5. The completion of the division of global spheres of influence among the major capitalist powers.

These are the five characteristics that Lenin used to concisely define imperialism. To what extent do they apply to the situation in China?

1. Monopolies in China

Lenin considered the emergence of monopolies to be the main characteristic of imperialism. He stated clearly: "If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism." It is therefore appropriate to examine this fundamental characteristic of imperialism in the case of China.

Monopolies are a tangible reality in China, falling into two categories. The first category comprises state monopolies, controlled by the state bureaucracy, which operate both domestically and internationally, following the standards of multinational and transnational corporations. The second category comprises private monopolies. Both types aim to maximize profits. The figures show the rapid development of Chinese monopolies on the global stage. In early 2000, according to Forbes Global, China surpassed Japan in the ranking of the world's 500 largest companies. By 2021, it held second place with 73 companies, compared to 132 for

the United States, which held the top spot. By 2024, China was closing in on the United States, with 133 companies compared to 139 for the US. These companies create enormous profits through their domestic and international activities, and some have even achieved leading positions in certain sectors of production and marketing.

It is important to note, in this context, the evolving role of the private sector in the Chinese economy, according to recent figures. Private enterprises, particularly monopolies, account for 60% of GDP, 70% of China's innovation capacity, 80% of urban employment, and 90% of new jobs. Private manufacturing firms now represent 96.1% of all businesses, up from 95.9% in 2019. The private sector controls 96.4% of public commercial business units, according to the State Administration for Market Regulation of China. Furthermore, it now controls 94.4% of scientific research, technical services, and transportation, compared to 91.9% in 2019. Of course, these figures do not signify a decline in the public sector, which still controls strategic sectors such as banking, technology, energy, and other productive sectors. Moreover, the state plays a central role in defining the country's major directions, especially since most of the richest people in China are leaders of the Communist Party or their children.

The concentration of production and capital has led to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a small minority of super-rich individuals, as is the case in traditional imperialist capitalist countries. The number of billionaires in China, including Hong Kong (which was recovered from the United Kingdom at the end of the last century), reached 814 in 2024, compared to 800 in the United States, 271 in India, 146 in the United Kingdom, 140 in Germany, 76 in Russia, 53 in Canada, and 44 in Japan. At the top of the list of Chinese billionaires that same year was Zhang Peiming, 41 years old, the founder of TikTok, whose fortune, according to the Hurun ranking of China's richest people, amounted to \$49.3 billion—nearly double the budget of Tunisia. Undeniably, this monopoly concentration of wealth has been at the expense of the Chinese workers and working people, who have been victims of a brutal exploitation aimed at maximizing profits.

According to the same Chinese sources, the primitive accumulation process, carried out coercively during the first and second rounds of reforms, led to the migration of 200 to 300 million im-

poverished peasants, 140 million of whom went to work in the cities under inhumane housing conditions (living in dilapidated houses, tents, arcades, or even tunnels, etc.) as well as inadequate healthcare, social security, and other forms of protection. Official statistics indicate that the formal urban sector employed only 30 to 37% of the working population during the first decade of the 21st century, condemning the rest of the population to precarious employment. Furthermore, the monopoly companies, including foreign ones, did not hesitate to exploit the workers' difficult conditions to reduce their wages. Official figures also show a decline in the share of wages in national income: this share fell from 57% in 1983 to just 37% in 2005. In summary, the development of monopolies in China, their increased competition with the monopolies of the traditional imperialist countries and their rise to the status of dominant power are largely attributable to the brutal exploitation of the Chinese workers, compared to their counterparts in those countries.

2. Finance Capital

The second characteristic of imperialism, according to Lenin, is the fusion of banking capital and industrial capital to form finance capital and the emergence of a financial oligarchy. This phenomenon occurred in China, where banks began acquiring shares in industrial enterprises, which in turn acquired shares in banks. Thus, the two sectors merged, giving rise to the Chinese financial oligarchy, which gradually took control of the country, including the government. In this regard, it is worth noting that four of the world's ten largest banks are owned by Chinese interests. These are the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC), the largest (\$2.8 trillion), the China Construction Bank (\$2.2 trillion), the Agricultural Bank of China (\$2.1 trillion), and the Bank of China (\$2 trillion). It is important to emphasize that these four banks are headed by individuals holding key positions within the Chinese Communist Party and the government. As mentioned earlier, their presence in these positions allows them to control the country's overall economic policy and steer investments toward specific sectors.

Alongside this financial concentration in banks, as in traditional imperialist capitalist countries, symbols of the new financial oligarchy have emerged: individuals and families who pull the

strings, either behind the scenes or directly. Among these figures are, for example, the Chinese billionaire Zhang Peiming, the head of the Hanzhou Wahana beverage group, the Zhong Qin Guo family, the Wu Yujun family (who head Long Four Properties Beijing), and the family of the former Premier (2003-2013) Wen Jiabao, among others. It is clear that this financial oligarchy relies on the working class, as described by Lenin, by creating a labor aristocracy that feeds on the crumbs distributed to it by this oligarchy. This labor aristocracy is widespread in the trade unions and in the professional and peasant organizations controlled by the party and the state. This oligarchy has also created its servants within the middle classes (the petty bourgeoisie), whose circle has widened and whose numbers have exploded with the development of monopoly capitalism, reaching tens of millions of engineers, university graduates, lawyers, managers, small intermediaries, etc. It is on them that it relies: to undermine the consciousness of workers and working people.

3. Export of Capital

Capital export is one of the most important characteristics of imperialism, that is, monopoly capitalism. As Lenin stated in his classic work, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," the export of goods was "typical of the old capitalism," when free competition reigned supreme. "Typical of the latest stage of capitalism," he argued, "is the export of capital." China effectively joined the ranks of capital-exporting nations after its transformation into an imperialist country dominated by monopolies, finance capital, and the financial oligarchy it spawned. Like traditional imperialist countries, China's need to export capital stemmed from the enormous surplus of capital accumulated during years of rapid and feverish capital accumulation. This vast surplus of capital was not used to develop China's impoverished countryside or to improve the living standards of the working masses; such actions would have been deemed incompatible. Despite its class-based nature and objectives, its export orientation is driven by a relentless pursuit of ever-greater accumulation of profits. While China directs its foreign investment toward the major capitalist powers on the one hand, and toward developing countries on the other, this investment has steadily declined in the former in favor of the latter, due to the higher profits they offer

(high demand for capital, cheap labor, etc.). In other words, the export of capital has become a necessary condition for the maintenance and development of capitalism in China, in a fierce struggle with other monopoly countries for control of raw materials, markets, and strategic areas.

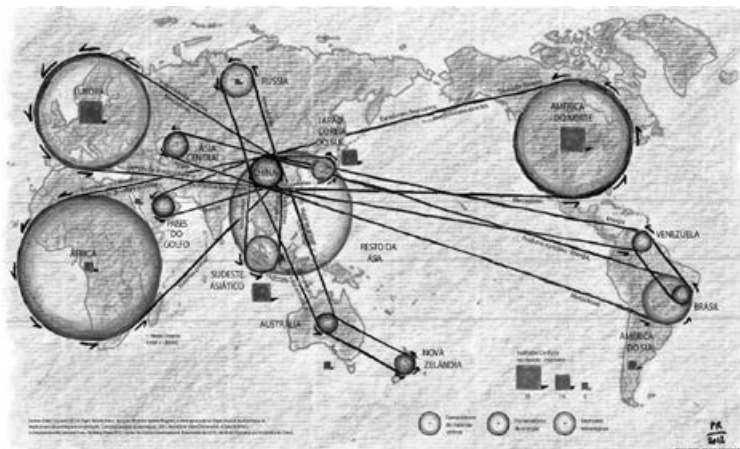
The first point to emphasize is the massive accumulation of capital by the Chinese monopoly bourgeoisie, encompassing both its bureaucratic and private sectors. The volume of its exchange reserves, both domestic and foreign, has grown rapidly since the beginning of the 21st century, increasing from \$165 billion in 2000 to \$3.305 trillion in 2012. These reserves have been used for both borrowing and direct investment. Currently, China is the second-largest foreign creditor of the United States after Japan, with its holdings of US Treasury bonds increasing from \$101 billion to \$885 billion, compared to \$1 trillion for Japan, which remains the largest creditor of the United States.

Furthermore, China provides loans to developing countries. According to some sources (electronic data), the total volume of Chinese loans to these countries amounts to at least \$1.1 trillion, excluding interest. Eighty percent of these loans are destined for countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America experiencing financial crises. In this area, China surpasses the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. According to a report by the U.S. Office of Government Accountability (GAO), between 2013 and 2021, China provided \$679 billion in loans under the Belt and Road Initiative to finance infrastructure projects (highways, power plants, telecommunications networks, etc.) in low- and middle-income countries, thus exceeding those of the United States, which provided only \$76 billion. This situation prompted the European Union and the G7 countries to launch similar initiatives to finance analogous projects: the EU's "Global Gateway" program and the G7's "Rebuilding a Better World" initiative. Many experts believe that this awareness on the part of these two groups came too late.

Regarding foreign direct investment, the figures confirm the leap forward made by China compared to its previous level, both in terms of volume and relative position compared to other world powers. Between 1991 and 2003, Chinese foreign direct investment increased tenfold, and then 13.7 times between 2004 and 2013, rising from \$45 billion to \$613 billion. By 2015, China had be-

come the world's third-largest investor, and its capital outflows exceeded its inflows. Moreover, Chinese foreign investment reached \$147.85 billion in just the year 2023, an increase of 5.7% compared to 2022. It should not be assumed that the loans granted by China to "developing countries" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, nor the investments it makes in these countries, differ in nature and objectives from those of loans from other imperialist nations. These are loans and investments whose sole purpose is the plundering and accumulation of profits at the expense of the populations of the countries concerned—their workers, their farmers, and their poorest citizens—and at the expense of their wealth, their national sovereignty, and their environment. The spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs clearly stated at the beginning of the year, in the face of growing criticism regarding the Chinese loan system, its pitfalls, and its disastrous consequences, that “cooperation between China and developing countries in the field of investment and finance is conducted in accordance with international practices, market rules, and the principles of debt sustainability”—in other words, according to the rules that govern the world’s imperialist capitalist powers.

China provides loans to governments and public institutions to finance infrastructure, commercial, or agricultural projects, or to help them overcome severe financial crises. The interest rate on loans China grants to developing countries, particularly those facing financial difficulties, reaches 4%, a high rate close to the market rate and four times higher than that of similar loans offered by the World Bank and even by some countries (France, Germany, etc.). Furthermore, the repayment period generally does not exceed 10 years, compared to 28 years with other lenders. China typically imposes strict conditions for loan repayment. Among these conditions is the commitment to repay the loans in hard currency using funds created by the sale of natural resources. If the countries concerned fail to repay their debts, China could take control of key assets in these countries (a form of receivership). It goes without saying that China's sole concern, both in granting these loans and in its foreign investments, is profit. Under the guise of “non-interference in the affairs of other countries,” China, like other imperialist powers, does not hesitate to support dictatorial and bloodthirsty client regimes that oppress their people and violate their most fundamental rights. This re-



flects the pragmatic mentality of the Chinese government and its leaders, in accordance with the famous maxim of the father of economic reform, Deng Xiaoping: “It doesn’t matter what color a cat is, as long as it catches mice.” In other words, this allows China to seize the resources of other nations, particularly low- and middle-income countries, to exploit them and reap enormous profits. Naturally, the effects of these loans on “developing countries” in difficulty are the same as, or sometimes even more severe than, those of loans granted by traditional imperialist powers and international financial institutions, given their higher interest rates and shorter repayment periods.

Chinese loans are placing a heavy burden on low- and middle-income borrowing countries, especially as interest rates continue to rise, leading to decreased investment and slower growth. For example, the debt owed to China by countries like Djibouti, Zambia, and Kyrgyzstan alone represents 20% of their annual GDP. Thus, countries that borrow from China, or at least some of them, fall into a debt trap and find themselves unable to repay their loans on time. China then exerts considerable control over the affected country in numerous ways. This year is exceptional, with some even referring to it as a financial tsunami, due to the repayment of loans and interest owed to China by many developing countries. The world’s 75 poorest countries are expected to repay China a record amount, between \$19 billion and \$22 billion. It is unlikely that all of them will be able to repay their debts.

Chinese direct investment abroad is subject to the same imperialist capitalist logic. China seeks to deploy its capital in sectors essential to its industries and creating substantial profits, such as copper, iron, gold, oil, and other minerals and raw materials. It also invests in infrastructure, including ports, roads, railways, communication networks, and agriculture. These investments extend to Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where Chinese capital exploits local populations using the same brutal and traditional colonial methods and practices, thereby reaping enormous profits.

3.1 Capital Exports to Asia, Latin America, and Africa

3.1.1 China is striving to transform the Asian continent into a sphere of influence, or even a strategic zone of influence, in order to protect its interests against its rivals, primarily the United States. It has a presence in a significant number of countries on that continent. In Pakistan, its investments currently amount to \$50 billion, mainly for the construction of roads and railways. China is also investing heavily in the construction of a strategic naval base, which could serve the interests of both regimes in containing India, their “common enemy,” or serve China’s own interests in the face of U.S. competition.

Chinese investments are not limited to economic or strategic sectors; they include considerable sums devoted to helping the right-wing, reactionary Pakistani regime prepare itself to deal with “uprisings” and “insurrections” and to establish “stability.” China is also present in Laos, where it systematically exploits the forest and mineral resources of this country, which, like Vietnam and Cambodia, experienced U.S. occupation. The exploitation of Lao-tian forests has forced the indigenous population to abandon their lands and settle in impoverished neighborhoods of the capital. Chinese capital, deeply entrenched in Laos, has managed to acquire a large portion of the rubber plantations. To transport timber, rubber, and minerals, China is building a \$7.1 billion railway. Ultimately, this small, impoverished country has become a Chinese protectorate. Sri Lanka also illustrates the imperialist and colonial nature of Chinese expansion in Asia. Faced with the country's inability to meet its financial obligations, a Chinese company acquired 70% of the shares of the “Hamba Ntoba” port for a period of 99 years. According to numerous studies, this proves that

China, like any imperialist country, uses a method of drowning the borrowing country in debt and then seizing its "assets".

3.1.2 In Latin America, the situation is similar to that of the rest of the world. Chinese banks have granted several countries in the region \$137 billion in investment loans to finance infrastructure, energy, and mining projects. Environmental and human rights organizations have studied 26 Chinese investment projects in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador, and concluded that the methods employed by China do not differ from those of any other imperialist power seeking profit and aiming to extend its domination.

Systematic human rights violations, the displacement of local populations, and environmental destruction are commonplace wherever Chinese investments are made in mines and large-scale projects. Two striking examples illustrate this. The first concerns the copper mine in Peru's Apurimac province, one of the largest in the world, operated by the Chinese company MMG. Faced with the devastation caused by the company, local residents rose up, prompting MMG to seek assistance from the Peruvian government, which "sells" security services to foreign companies to protect their operations. Clashes with the residents resulted in dozens of deaths. Such behavior by the Chinese company is typical of monopoly corporations, which use the country's security services to displace local residents in order to create conditions conducive to the exploitation of the country's resources.

Besides the Peruvian example, there is also that of Venezuela, mentioned earlier. Chinese investments are concentrated primarily in the oil sector. China requires the Venezuelan government to deposit foreign currency earnings from oil sales directly into a bank account under its control, allowing it to withdraw funds in the event of default. Latin America is not only a source of capital exports but also a significant market for China, enabling it to reap substantial profits. Trade between China and Latin American and Caribbean countries has exceeded \$500 billion, more than 40 times its level at the beginning of the century, according to a statement by the Chinese president.

3.1.3 Furthermore, China has always been interested in Africa, which holds approximately 30% of the world's mineral reserves, including 8% of natural gas, 12% of oil, 42% of gold, 90% of chromium and platinum, 48.1% of cobalt, 38% of uranium, 47.6% of manga-

nese, 42% of bauxite, 44% of chromite, 95% of vanadium, 1% of lithium, and 5.9% of copper. In 2021, China was one of the main, if not the main creditor, of the African continent. According to the World Bank, it held 13% of African sovereign debt and 41.8% of its bilateral debt, making it the continent's largest bilateral creditor. These loans are often intended for countries in crisis.

Chinese investment in Africa has grown exponentially since 2003. Twenty years ago, it did not exceed \$75 million, but by 2023, it had reached \$3.96 billion. China invests directly in oil in Angola, Nigeria, and Sudan. It also invests in oil and mining in the Democratic Republic of Congo, mining in Zambia, railways in Uganda, textile factories in Lesotho, and logging in the Central African Republic. As is the case in some Asian and Latin American countries, Chinese companies cause significant problems for African communities living near their operating sites. For example, water pollution in Ghana is due to the activities of Chinese mining companies.

Besides capital outflows in the form of loans and investments, China is Africa's largest trading partner. According to official Chinese sources, it has held this position for six consecutive years, from 2018 to the end of 2024. The General Administration of Customs of China indicates that the China-Africa trade index has seen significant growth, rising from 100 points in 2000 to 1,056.53 points in 2024. The latest official Chinese statistics show that the volume of trade between China and Africa reached a record high in the first five months of 2025. This trade volume reached \$134 billion, representing an annual increase of 12.4%. Clearly, one consequence of the influx of Chinese goods into African countries is the destruction of already underdeveloped local industries due to competition. This phenomenon perpetuates the underdevelopment of these countries, worsens their poverty, and exacerbates the misery of the working and lower classes. Combined with the wars and conflicts fomented by colonial powers and their local agents, it drives millions of people to migrate in search of a better life.

4. Creation of economic blocs

4.1 BRICS

In addition to its bilateral relations with various countries, China has diligently worked to create or contribute to the creation of new economic blocs, enabling it to expand its interests and face its competitors from traditional imperialist countries grouped into monopolistic blocs such as the European Union, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Area of Economic Cooperation and Development, the G7 and others.

Among the most important blocs that China has helped revive is the BRICS group, founded in 2009 and initially composed of five countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). Other countries have gradually joined as members or partners. Contrary to popular belief, this group is, in class terms, a capitalist bloc, just like the others. While it includes superpowers and near-superpowers seeking hegemony and a redistribution of spheres of influence (China, Russia, India, etc.), it also includes other capitalist countries, sometimes deeply reactionary and hostile to the people, seeking to promote their interests with the aim of becoming regional powers (South Africa, Iran, Ethiopia, Egypt, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, etc.). Consequently, this group does not constitute, and cannot constitute, a "progressive" alternative to the traditional Western imperialist countries, foremost among them the United States of America.

Today, the bloc has ten members, following the accession of Iran, Ethiopia, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, and Indonesia. These countries represent 30% of the Earth's landmass, 45% of the world's population, 27% of global GDP, and \$5.2 trillion in foreign exchange reserves (2024 figures). Despite their internal contradictions, the BRICS are striving to be an alternative to the Western G7. The member countries meet annually and have created the New Development Bank, which aims to become an alternative to the World Bank. Its authorized capital amounts to \$100 billion, of which \$52.7 billion has been disbursed. It has approved financing for 96 projects, both in its member countries and abroad, for a total of \$32.8 billion.

China plays a central role in the bank, working to support and expand it in order to benefit from it. In addition to the New Development Bank, the BRICS group established the Contingent Re-

serve Mechanism (CRM) in 2014, headquartered in Shanghai, China. This fund aims to provide an alternative to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) by assisting member countries facing crises and providing them with liquidity in the event of cyclical balance of payments pressures. China contributes \$41 billion to this fund, the largest contribution among member countries, giving it 26.06% of the voting rights. China is followed by India, Brazil, and Russia, with \$18 billion each, and South Africa, with \$5 billion, for a total of \$100 billion. Whether it is the New Development Bank or the emergency fund, the rapid pace of China's economic development gives it increasing influence over these institutions. Furthermore, the BRICS continue to consider the creation of a monetary union and a common currency in order to reduce their dependence on the US dollar and to develop economic cooperation and trade between their member states.

4.2 The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)

In addition to its participation in the BRICS group, China contributed to the creation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), an international organization with a political, economic, and security focus in Eurasia. Founded in Shanghai in 2001 by six countries—China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan—the SCO welcomed India and Pakistan in 2017. Iran joined in 2023, followed by Belarus in 2024. Mongolia and Afghanistan have observer status. The SCO, in which China plays a central role, focuses on security issues (terrorism, separatism, extremism), economics, and culture.

In this context, since 2005 member states have regularly conducted military exercises and maneuvers under the guise of combating “terrorism and other external threats and maintaining regional peace and security,” a clear reference to the activities of the United States, its allies, and proxies in the region. This situation serves the interests of China, which represents the United States’ main strategic challenge globally, as well as those of Russia, since both countries wish to avoid any conflict or dispute that could pave the way for US intervention in their neighboring regions. Consequently, some observers view this group, which includes the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), as a military-political bloc that could serve as an alternative to NATO. It is

worth noting that the United States applied for observer status in the organization in 2005, but its application was rejected.

Economically, cooperation among members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) has developed rapidly, particularly in the areas of renewable energy, infrastructure, mining, and petrochemicals. Numerous projects have been undertaken in this sector, totaling 18 projects carried out by the organization's eight members. According to figures released in April 2025 by an official from the Chinese Ministry of Commerce, China's trade with SCO member states, observer states, and dialogue partners reached a record high of \$890 billion in 2024.

Thus, China relies on the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and the BRICS group to extend its influence across the globe, seeking to create profits through loans, investments, and trade. In this context, it is essential to recall China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative, a modern revival of the ancient Silk Road that traversed more than 50 countries, linking China to Europe via Central Asia and the Middle East. This ancient trade route was used from the 2nd century BC to the 16th century AD to transport Chinese goods, particularly silk, to various regions of the ancient world.

4.3 The Belt and Road Initiative

The new project, the Belt and Road Initiative, enshrined in the Chinese Constitution in 2017 and extending until 2049, the centenary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, aims to create a vast market dominated by China. This project is expected to mobilize hundreds of billions of dollars in infrastructure investments linking China to Europe, making it the largest infrastructure project in history. It would involve more than 68 countries, 65% of the world's population, and account for 40% of global GDP in 2017. The project includes the construction of ports, roads, railways, industrial zones, and much more. This is undeniably China's imperialist project, seeking to challenge the declining U.S. empire, which the populist and fascist Donald Trump is trying to revive and revitalize through his "America First" and "Stronger America" programs, which he is implementing with extreme brutality and arrogance.

5. Developing China's Military Capabilities

It is clear that China, a monopoly capitalist state, cannot extend its economic, financial, and commercial “empire” globally without developing its military capabilities. It is fully aware that its rivals, foremost among them the United States, which has dominated the global capitalist system for decades, possess the most powerful and destructive weapons in history, and that their fleets and military bases are ubiquitous. It will not allow any other power to rise at its expense. The history of the global capitalist system confirms this: the struggle for the redistribution of spheres of influence has spawned two world wars and dozens of other regional and local conflicts. Nothing illustrates this phenomenon better than the devastating war currently ravaging the Middle East. This war aims to reaffirm U.S. and Western hegemony over the region and to curb, or even eliminate, Chinese and Russian expansion by targeting the regimes and forces likely to facilitate it.

China, having become an economic, financial, and commercial superpower and a serious rival to U.S. imperialism, is continuing to develop its military power and aims to catch up as quickly as possible with its main competitor, which far surpasses it in this area. China's military budget has grown exponentially since the beginning of the century. Between 2002 and 2011, it increased by 170%. Rising from \$131 billion in 2014 to \$146 billion in 2016, it is projected to reach \$250 billion by 2025. China will thus become the second-largest military spender in the world, behind the United States, which holds first place with estimated expenditures of approximately \$900 billion according to the current year's budget, not including other expenditures that may be included in this sector. China currently ranks third with 600 nuclear warheads among the countries possessing the most nuclear weapons, after Russia (4,309 nuclear warheads) and the United States of America (3,700 nuclear warheads), and ahead of France (290 nuclear warheads) and Great Britain (225 nuclear warheads).

China also ranks third in the world in terms of military power according to this year's rankings, behind the United States (first) and Russia (second). Currently, China is focusing its efforts on protecting its borders, particularly the South China Sea, a crucial waterway for a third of global maritime traffic. Several countries (China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Brunei)

dispute sovereignty over portions of this sea, under the watchful eye of the United States, which maintains a strong presence in the region. These disputes in the South China Sea are creating tensions between China and Japan, and between the Philippines and Vietnam. Furthermore, China has established a presence in various countries around the world, including Nepal, Afghanistan, and Chad, and its arms exports have increased, although they remain relatively modest compared to those of other imperialist powers that preceded it in the arms market.

Conclusion

All the data we have presented concerning China show its transformation into an imperial power. It is rapidly striving not only to occupy a place among the major imperialist powers, but also to dominate them, driven by an urgent need for expansion to secure its sources of raw materials, supply its factories, find markets to promote its products, and develop export and capital investment opportunities. However, this ambition inevitably draws it into conflicts with other imperialist powers, particularly the United States. This foreshadows major conflicts that could escalate into military confrontation. Moreover, the United States has designated China as a strategic adversary and, alongside its Western allies, is preparing to confront it. At the same time, China is striving to close its military and technological gap and is forging alliances, particularly with Russia, which is itself heavily armed.

Workers' Party of Tunisia
April 2026

The Imperialist Attack on Iran and What It Reveals¹

On the last day of February, while talks between the two countries were still ongoing and had been postponed until the beginning of the week, the rogue-in-chief, American imperialism, together with Israeli Zionism, launched a heavy airstrike against Iran.

Later came the aggressors' ridiculous justifications: Trump, alluding to assassination attempts against him, claimed, *"If I hadn't struck Khamenei, he would have struck me!"* Netanyahu's justification, referring to Iran's nuclear activities, was no less absurd: *"Iran would have destroyed the US."*

Days before the attack, Trump also played into the widespread protests in Iran and the regime's oppressive stance, threatening it with intervention if the regime kills protesters. Trump, who tries to treat everyone like fools, wanted people to believe that he loves and stands by regime's opponents, as if he weren't the one defending the ICE chiefs who killed three people protesting anti-immigrant policies in the US. Yet Trump, an imperialist leader defending the established order, neither supports anti-regime sentiment nor approves of anti-regime protests and demonstrators. It is common knowledge that he imposes his regime on the world through American interests.

Another justification for the aggressive imperialism Trump spouts is Iran's nuclear research and uranium enrichment activities. Iran's nuclear activities are not a new issue. European countries and the US had conducted nuclear negotiations with Iran and signed an agreement in 2015. And it was Trump who withdrew from this agreement in 2018 during his first presidential term, proving that these nuclear research activities are being used as a pretext.

Aggressive American imperialism also attempts to enlist the Iranian people, a significant portion of whom have organized anti-

¹ This article was written on the 25th day of the imperialist-Zionist attack on Iran, based on developments up to that point. •

regime protests, as a reserve force for its imperialist plunder and enslavement campaign targeting their own country. The latest pretext it has put forward, with the fantasy of using them as a “ground force,” reveals that it has no connection whatsoever to nationalism and national values and fails to grasp their meaning. The imperialist aggressor, citing the cruelty of the Iranian regime, calls on the Iranian people to overthrow the regime, hoping that the people will not fight against the imperialist attack but will instead join the aggressor in waging war against their own country, of which they are the true owners, plundering its resources!

Maybe the imperialist aggressor assumes that the Iranian people are not aware of the plunder and oppression committed by the US, which made numerous calls for regime change in recent history. In Iraq, the call to overthrow the Saddam Hussein regime did not bring welfare and democracy but destruction and bloodshed, leading to the deaths of 1.5 million Iraqis and the spread of the ISIS scourge across the Middle East and even the world. In Libya, the call to overthrow the Gaddafi regime brought nothing but disaster to the country, creating two hostile governments and a civil war that continues to this day. The US war in Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban regime under the pretext of bringing democracy and defending women’s rights, ended years later, handing the Afghan people, along with the women, back over to the Taliban. With the call for regime change in Syria, the Assad regime was replaced by the Salafi (radical Islamist) terrorist groups led by Jolani and the Hayat Tahrir al-Sham group, leaving behind a Syria in ruins and a population plunged deeper into poverty, shattered by civil war, and pitted against one another, with its south under Israeli occupation and its north under Turkish occupation. The US’s latest attempt at regime change was witnessed in Venezuela, with President Maduro and his wife being kidnapped, and the former vice president, who took his place, coerced into cooperation through power politics, and the US has now seized control of the country’s oil.

Moreover, expecting the Iranian people – who are paying the price for the hardships caused by US sanctions against Iran, including the spread of disease due to lack of medicine, as well as deepening shortages and poverty – to respond positively to these calls is nothing but shortsightedness.

The US's calls for regime change have ended up with massacres, destruction, the deepening of peoples' miseries and the plundering of those countries' resources; American calls have brought nothing but disaster to their targets.

Moreover, it is well known that under Trump, American imperialism has openly threatened to use force not only against countries like Iran but also against Denmark – an EU member state – via Greenland, and Canada, without regard for its so-called allies.

In short, regardless of the justification, an attack on Iran without recognizing any norms of international law is nothing short of banditry.

**An attack on Iran cannot be attributed solely to Trump
and his recklessness!**

Iran did not just recently appear on the agenda of American imperialism. Since the overthrow of the Shah in 1979, Iran has been a problem for the US.

- Under the “Great Middle East Project” which was later renamed “Greater Middle East Project” (GMEI) frameworks, Iran was a key target in the US's efforts to renew and consolidate its hegemony in the Middle East during the 1990s.

- The US embargo against Iran began as early as 1979 and has been progressively intensified.

- Immediately following the Shah's overthrow, Saddam Hussein was directed to target Iran, leaving Iran engulfed in an eight-year war of attrition.

- In 1984, during R. Reagan's presidency, the US placed Iran on the list of “*state sponsors of terrorism*”. In 2002, G. Bush designated Iran, along with Iraq and North Korea, as part of the “*Axis of Evil*”.

- During last year's 12-Day War, US-Israeli attacks once again targeted Iran.

None of these, except the last one, were Trump's actions, and it is clear that Iran is not merely Trump's target, but that of American imperialism.

Is the aggressive “Master” the US or Israel?

It is claimed that the US attacked Iran by following Israel's lead, having fallen into its trap.

This is not a reasonable claim given the scale of American imperialism and its goal of renewing its hegemony in the Middle East and the world, and the fact that Israel can only claim to be a regional power leaning on the US. The source of this claim, which has also come to the fore in the US for various reasons, lies in the approach of the ruling classes in the Muslim-majority countries of the Middle East, who boast of their good and cooperative relations with the US and, by extension, seek to exonerate their own collaboration. While Iran emphasizes Israel's religious dimension and its aggressive nature over that of the US, the ruling elites in Turkey find it convenient to ignore the US and, by exaggerating Israel—which they consider a rival in the region—portray it as the source of all evil.

Nevertheless, the unique relationship between American imperialism and Israeli Zionism, and the fact that Israel is almost always unconditionally supported by the US, needs explaining.

American and Israeli financial capital groups are virtually intertwined, and this intertwining serves as the primary basis not only for the unconditional American support for Israel but also for claims such as *“Jews control the US – and even the world”* and *“Israel forced the attack on Iran,”* as well as the power of the influential *“Jewish lobby”* in the US. As is known the Coca-Cola and Nestlé monopolies are frequently the subject of boycotts due to their investments and support for Israel. Setting aside the widespread but incorrect views regarding the Jewish origins of major American financial capital groups such as Rockefeller, JP Morgan, and DuPont, the owners, CEOs, and families of American high-tech and financial investment companies are Jewish. In addition to their direct aid, their significant investments in Israel, as well as their partnerships and collaborations in the US and other countries, are activities that reinforce their sense of ownership of this country in the US. Activities of the following people may fall into that category: Mark Zuckerberg (founder and CEO of Facebook), Larry Ellison (Oracle), Larry Page (co-founder of Google), Sergey Brin (co-founder of Google), Michael Bloomberg (former Mayor of New York City and investor), Michael Dell (founder of Dell Technologies), Steve Ballmer (former Microsoft CEO, new owner of the LA Clippers), Jan Koum (WhatsApp), Marc Benioff (Salesforce founder and CEO, and owner of TIME), Goldman Sachs, Lehman

Brothers, Schiff (which later merged with Lehman Brothers) and its CEO Kuhn Loeb, and George Soros.

Why has the attack on Iran intensified now?

The Middle East was placed on the redesign table to renew and reinforce American hegemony, taking advantage of Hamas's 7th October 2023 attack on Israel. The primary target of the region's redesign was Iran.

The so-called "Shiite Crescent", the anti-American forces centred around Iran, which also includes Hamas, as well as the Lebanese Hezbollah, were targeted in the initial attacks of this redesign process to weaken them, while the Assad regime in Syria was overthrown, the Popular Mobilization Forces (Hashd al-Shaabi) in Iraq and Ansarullah in Yemen were isolated, and pressure was brought to bear on Iran.

Why is Iran being targeted?

First and foremost, Iran is an oil and natural gas-rich country. Its huge reserves attract imperialist powers, every one of which seeks to acquire these reserves for next to nothing, or at the very least, at a bargain price.

Secondly, the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz, along with the Strait of Bab al-Mandeb and the Suez Canal, constitute one of the world's most critical waterways. Especially in terms of energy supply chains and shipping routes, Iran's strategic importance, given its control over the Strait of Hormuz, cannot be overlooked. A significant portion of oil and gas, not only Iran's but also Saudi Arabia's and the Gulf countries', is transported through this strait.

Thirdly, as a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Iran holds political and strategic importance due to its role as a pillar of Russian and Chinese imperialism in the region. And it is well known that imperialists do not content themselves with merely seeking to bring resources and transit routes under their control; they also strive to weaken their rivals by preventing them from benefiting from these resources and routes, a strategy of equal importance.

Iran is not American imperialism's sole target

It is well known that American imperialism's objective is not limited to the redesign of Iran and the Middle East. Its fundamental goal is global hegemony, and its primary targets are Chinese imperialism and Russia, the former being its main rival and the latter China's key ally. The indispensability of the Middle East stems from its importance in terms of global hegemony.

It is true that the US's immediate goal—to bring the Middle East under its full control by purging it of anti-American forces and securing its energy resources and transport routes—is Iran, the power centre that rallies and directs the anti-American forces in the region. However, the primary objective of American imperialism is not merely to eliminate Iran but to cut off the region's energy reserves and strategic transport routes from its rivals, China and Russia.

If the US succeeds in eliminating Iran, it will have deprived its rivals of their main foothold in the region. China, which imports 80% of its oil and gas from Iran, is expanding its presence in the region by focusing its efforts on Iran, with which it has signed a \$400 billion deal. For this reason, the US did not settle for last year's 12-Day War but renewed its attack with a much larger force.

If the US brings Iran down, China will not only be deprived of its primary foothold in the region, but it will also lose a major energy supply hub, and its ability to utilize energy transport routes will face serious difficulties.

Moreover, for China, the importance of these waterways is not limited to energy imports. China conducts over 60% of its exports to European and African countries using the same waterways and primarily through UAE ports.

Losing these capabilities would plunge Chinese imperialism into a serious crisis, and it is no secret that while American imperialism strikes Iran, its true target is China.

Condemning the imperialist-Zionist attack and defending Iran's independence does not mean endorsing the reactionary-religious regime that is shedding its people's blood.

Iran, where power is in the hands of the reactionary Mullah regime, is a country dominated by the monopoly bourgeoisie. The monopoly rule of the corrupt mullahs, drawing strength from Shi'ite ideology, leaves no breathing room for the working class and the labouring people. The bloodstained dictatorship does not recognize any democratic, workers' or women's rights, nor the right

of oppressed nations to self-determination. This is the reality, and therefore, the Iranian people frequently protest and that often turn into anti-regime uprisings.

At the international level, with the exception of China and Russia, virtually no country endorses or supports Iran's reactionary mullah regime.

France, which initially announced it would intervene, did not maintain this stance and is not supporting the US-Israeli attack despite Trump's explicit call. Germany announced that its military would not participate in this war. Britain also said "no," but is providing the US with a timid show of support by granting permission for use of its bases in the region for "defensive" purposes. However, aside from the condemnation of China, Russia and Spain, no other country has openly opposed the US-Israeli attack; instead, they are condemning Iran's strikes on US bases in the region, stating that they condemn "*Iran's attacks on third countries*". Their justification for this is the brutality of the Iranian regime.

Turkey also has a similar stance. It is aware of Iran's power and fears that the war might spill over to its territory. However, it is also tied to the aims and strategies of US imperialism in the region through Syria. President Erdoğan does not want to strain relations or anger Trump.

Turkey has not uttered a single word against the US, and officially blames Israel, yet the two US bases in the country are openly providing intelligence for the attack. It accuses Iran of attacking its neighbours by striking US bases in the Gulf, yet it is also looking for an opportunity to mediate. It appears that behind Trump's announcement that they had met with Iran and wanted to reach an agreement, the two countries had been exchanging messages through Pakistan, Turkey, and Egypt.

In the statement issued by the meeting held in Riyadh on the 18th day of the attacks on Iran—which included Arab countries in the region as well as Turkey, Pakistan, and Azerbaijan—neither the US nor Israel, nor their attacks, were mentioned at all. Yet, they accused Iran for targeting the US bases in the region where the attacks were launched, and they demanded that Iran cease these attacks and lift the blockade in the Strait of Hormuz.

At the national level, monarchists confined to a few affluent neighbourhoods in Tehran, along with pro-Shah elements abroad,

are blaming the Iranian regime and supporting the US-Israeli attacks. They aspire to power, but are rightly labelled as national traitors and lack significant influence.

The majority of regime supporters believe that the US-Israeli attack has proven the validity of their support for the regime.

Opponents participating in demonstrations—including labour organizations such as the Iranian Labor Confederation and the Iranian Workers' Union—hold anti-regime views, yet they also oppose the US-Israeli attack. They do not engage in anti-regime activities under the auspices of the aggressors, and despite their lack of organization, they should not be underestimated.

The timid pro-Americans on the right and left in Europe and in countries such as Turkey, those inclined to compromise with imperialism, and those liberal leftists who reduce opposition to reactionary forces and support for democracy to mere criticism of religious politics—all of them attempt to balance criticism of imperialist aggression with criticism of the Iranian regime, and as a result, they either remain indecisive or timidly endorse the American attack by saying *“but the mullahs did this and that...”* However, a *“neither this nor that”* stance in the face of imperialist aggression is unacceptable and indefensible.

The character of a country's regime, whether progressive or reactionary, does not justify either the imperialist attack against that country or the endorsement of such an attack. Lawless imperialist aggression that blatantly tramples on Iran's independence and right to sovereignty—regardless of the regime's nature—is banditry, and Iran has the legitimate right to defend itself against imperialist aggression.

Two things are important. First, opposing the imperialist attack is not the same as defending the Iranian regime, and the two cannot be equated. Opposing the imperialist-Zionist attack does not require defending the regime and its policies, or being pro-regime. It is possible to oppose both the regime and the imperialist attack, and under conditions of imperialist aggression, there is no better stance for communists than to direct the *“sharp end of the spear”* against imperialist aggression. Communists can only overthrow the Mullahs' monopoly regime by building strength through the struggle against imperialism, not as national traitors or compromisers who support or remain neutral toward imperialist aggression.

The regime is not what is being defended while opposing the imperialist-Zionist aggression. American imperialism, alongside Israeli Zionism, is attacking the Iranian nations—the Persians, Azeris, Kurds, Baluchis, Arabs, etc.—with its tens of millions of workers and labourers, aiming to enslave them and plunder their wealth, particularly their energy reserves, and seizing control of the supply chain through energy transport routes. While opposing the national enslavement of peoples and the plundering of their wealth, the Iranian people defend their own national interests and values, as well as their own freedom and independence. This is precisely what the Communists support.

The second important point is to avoid being swept into the vortex of contradictions and conflicts among imperialists. It is known that Iran maintains close ties with and is in a certain alliance with Chinese and Russian imperialism, which are rivals of the US. However, the current imperialist attack on Iran, while taking place against the backdrop of imperialist contradictions and conflicts, is not—at least for now—a component of an imperialist war; rather, it is primarily directed against Iran's independence and sovereignty. Nevertheless, it is of decisive importance not to harbour even the slightest illusion about Russian and Chinese imperialism and to maintain the utmost vigilance regarding their aims and strategies.

The overall picture of the war 25 days after the attack

As expected, the US and Israel have secured air superiority and continue to bomb Iran's major cities, focusing on its military infrastructure.

However, the bombings are not one-sided. Iran is responding to the attacks with missiles and drones whose range and payload capacities are steadily increasing. It is targeting the American ships massed in the region, American military bases in the Gulf and Cyprus, and even in Diego Garcia, as well as Israeli cities, primarily Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, and military facilities.

Unlike during the 12-Day War in June last year, this time Iran's missiles and drones are capable of “*precision strikes*” and are hitting their targets with a certain degree of success. US radar and missile defence and attack facilities in Gulf countries have sustained serious damage from Iran's counterattacks. The US aircraft carrier Lincoln, struck by Iran, was forced to withdraw beyond

range and cannot approach the Strait of Hormuz. The more modern US aircraft carrier G. Ford was pulled into maintenance in Crete following a 35-hour fire. A US F-35 fighter jet, once deemed “unbeatable” and “undetectable by radar,” was shot down. Given the US’s advanced intelligence and electronic warfare technology, the fact that Iran has acquired “precision strike” capabilities suggests that Iran, despite lacking its own satellites, may be using real-time intelligence from space provided by Russia or China to guide its missiles. While Western imperialists have provided such intelligence to the Ukrainian military in Ukraine, Russia and China have not provided anti-American intelligence to any country to date. The reason was their fear of an American backlash. Since China is much more insistent on pursuing a “soft power” approach to avoid provoking war, it is more likely that Russia, which signed a 47-article “Comprehensive Strategic Partnership Agreement” with Iran last year, could provide such intelligence. If this possibility is correct, it is clear that this would intensify the contradictions and struggles among imperialist powers.

Iranian missiles and drones are produced at a significantly lower cost compared to American and Israeli ones. From the perspective of imperialist-Zionist missile defence systems, at least five missiles are required to intercept and shoot down an Iranian missile in mid-air, and this is by no means inexpensive. Moreover, there is already talk that US stockpiles are dwindling. While Iran under bombardment is paying a heavy price, it is clear that the war is already becoming too costly for the US as well. The Pentagon is seeking an additional \$200 billion military funding from Congress.

Alongside its missiles, another key weapon of Iran is the Strait of Hormuz, the primary energy export route for Gulf countries. By closing the strait, Iran has plunged the world into an energy crisis, thereby exerting significant pressure on the United States. The closure of the Strait of Hormuz immediately had an impact, causing a spike in oil and natural gas prices. Within a few days, the price of Brent crude oil surpassed \$115 per barrel, reaching a peak.

And after Iran retaliated by striking Israel’s refineries, including the strategic Haifa refinery, as well as Qatar’s Las Raffan refinery, thereby rendering a significant portion of global gas shipments impossible, Trump announced that he had prevented Israel from striking Iran’s oil facilities.

The energy bottleneck resulting from the attack created inflationary pressure worldwide due to rising energy prices, while the Strait of Hormuz's importance for the shipment of essential industrial inputs—particularly energy and petrochemicals such as plastic and fertilizers—carries the potential to trigger disruptions in supply and production chains, leading to production cuts. For this reason, Trump was forced to back down from his threat to “*strike Iran's power plants within 48 hours*” and announced that they were in talks with Iran and sought to reach an agreement.

How long will the war go on for?

The American imperialist leaders, who began their attacks by claiming they would “*end quickly*,” have continuously extended the timeframe they initially set for the operation's success, starting from 24 hours. Finally, after mentioning September, they have begun seeking a way to end the war in a manner that would not be considered a failure. However, ending the war through negotiations will, in any case, amount to a defeat for the aggressors.

Clearly, Iran is not Venezuela. It has a 3,000-year-old state tradition and is relatively well-armed and organized. Moreover, the imperialist-Zionist attack has led to a surge in nationalist sentiments among the factions of the Iranian people opposing the regime-, causing them to take a stance against the aggressors and thereby easing the regime's position. When Maduro and his wife were kidnapped, Venezuela moved toward reconciliation, and the US is seizing Venezuelan oil. Iran's “Supreme Leader” was assassinated but the resistance has not been broken, and American imperialism is now weighing its options on how to back down.

Moreover, it is clear that Iran's resistance cannot be broken by air operations alone, and that Iran can only be “persuaded” to surrender through a powerful ground operation. Initially, proxy forces were sought for a ground operation, and the first to come to mind were the Kurds and Baluchis of Iran, and Iraq. However, the Kurds, whom the US recently abandoned in Syria, are not willing to wage a proxy war.

It is clear that American imperialism, which found even the invasion of Iraq to be costly given that its generals were bought off and its army was rotten from within, has no intention of embarking on an invasion adventure in Iran. At most, it is keeping in reserve the option of landing on the Gulf's Hark Island, which serves



as Iran's energy distribution hub, and a few other islands, though this does not seem very feasible. Even if a few thousand US Marines were sent to the Gulf, Iran's resistance, which includes targeting these deployed troops, along with the growing anti-war sentiment in the US itself, makes this scenario highly unlikely. Moreover, Trump, who won the election with a promise of peace but is now dragging the world into war, is in a difficult position domestically, and midterm congressional elections are this year.

Judging by Trump's statements regarding "*willingness to negotiate and reach an agreement with Iran*"—which have also been endorsed by Netanyahu—a ground attack on Iran will be put on hold, at least until the next one. However, this does not appear to be straightforward, as Iran has stated it will not engage in talks without receiving guarantees and war reparations, despite having been attacked while negotiations were ongoing. A rumour circulating suggests a compromise where Iran would collect a transit fee from ships passing through the Strait of Hormuz.

What the attack on Iran revealed

- The US imperialist attack on Iran, following its attack on Venezuela—driven by an effort to halt its retreat, particularly against China, and to renew its global hegemony—along with threats against Cuba, Colombia, Canada, and Greenland, shattered the illusions about imperialism that had been constructed through its glorification. Under conditions where the term "*impe-*

rialism” has been increasingly replaced by softer euphemisms like “imperial,” the world has once again witnessed imperialism and its aggression in all their glory in Iran. It has been demonstrated once more that there is no room for illusions in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

- As much as the intensification of contradictions, competition, and conflict among imperialists is a sign of that, this imperialist attack on Iran—which deepens these contradictions, competition, and conflicts with effects extending beyond the region to the entire world—demonstrates that the possibility of a world war is not so far off, thereby exposing the shortsightedness and absurdity of the view that “a world war is impossible.” The thesis put forward by the modern revisionist leader Khrushchev—which still has many proponents today—that “*a world war is impossible because the accumulation of nuclear weapons and the ‘balance of terror’ prevent war,*” has once again been proven unrealistic in Iran, following the situation in Ukraine, further straining relations among imperialist powers.

- Even if imperialism is not yet a “*paper tiger,*” it is far from the all-powerful force its exaggerated propaganda portrays it to be; rather, it is riddled with weaknesses. It became clear as early as the 25th day of the war launched by American imperialism—the most powerful force of our time, particularly in military terms—against Iran that imperialism stands on an exceedingly “*fragile*” foundation. Above all, it became clear that it is not “*all-powerful*” and cannot do whatever it wants or achieve every goal it sets. The “*forward steps*” American imperialism—supposedly an “*invincible armada*”—attempts to take end up backfiring on itself, or, as imperialism is built on irreconcilable contradictions, it “*cuts the branch it’s sitting on*” with nearly every move it makes. The recklessness of underestimating Iran and the energy shortages and price spikes resulting from its inability to prevent the closure of the Strait of Hormuz are proof of this. Qatar’s response to Israel’s attacks on Iran’s refineries and Trump’s call to stop Israel from striking Iran’s oil refineries are further proof. Trump’s appeal even to China to intervene in the Strait of Hormuz is a sign not only of the deadlock he has been dragged into but also of his bewilderment.

- Russia had encountered unexpected resistance in Ukraine. Although its rivals—the US and European imperialists—are not

merely aiding Ukraine but have become parties to the war, the conflict in Ukraine is, in reality, a war between Russia and the US and European imperialists, with Ukraine acting as their proxy. Now, in its attack on Iran, where the conflict is not a war between imperialist powers, unlike in Ukraine, the US has encountered unexpected resistance and is falling into dilemmas. While it is prudent to avoid definitive conclusions—given that the war in Ukraine has entered its fourth year, whereas the war in Iran has not yet reached its first month—the situation is one of a classic *“between a rock and a hard place.”* Moreover, its rivals, China and Russia, are not on the same side of the conflict as in Ukraine and are not openly supporting Iran; it has become clear that a swift victory is unlikely, and it cannot decide whether to *“call it quits”* or *“press on”*.

The weaknesses and fragility of imperialism have been proven once again, but unfortunately, the revolutionary movement, and especially the international revolutionary workers’ movement, is not strong either, and imperialism’s weaknesses have not yet strengthened the proletarian revolution.

- The intensifying contradictions and competition among imperialists are not limited to the conflict and competition between the primary rivals—US, Russian, and Chinese imperialism. It is a fact that the contradictions and competition between the US and European imperialists, as well as Canada, have also sharpened following the US imperialists’ recent aggressive moves.

In terms of achieving the desired outcome from the attack on Iran, the task facing US imperialism—which is seeking to secure its interests through a policy of power, even at the cost of alienating its closest allies—appears difficult not only in terms of its relations with its main rivals, China and Russia, but also in terms of its relations with imperialist powers that have traditionally been its allies, particularly the Europeans.

The US, which is moving toward a separate *“peace”* with Russia in Ukraine without regard for the interests of European imperialists, is pressuring Canada to become a US state, while threatening European imperialists by pressuring Denmark, an EU member, to allow the US to annex Greenland, and causing the prime ministers of Canada and Italy to visit China and sign agreements with that country. Even the UK could not avoid visiting China, while Germany and France have begun to consider reviewing and

renewing their relations with Russia and China. For example, the EU postponed its decision to completely stop purchasing Russian gas.

During the bombing of Yugoslavia and the invasion of Iraq, virtually all imperialist powers stood by the US. In Libya, a significant portion distanced themselves from the US. Now, in the attack on Iran, only Israel stands by the US, and the US is isolating itself through its aggression. Trump's call for intervention to open the Strait of Hormuz, directed at all states—including imperialist powers like China and Japan and NATO members—was explicitly rejected by European imperialists, who stated that “NATO does not have such a mission,” and in response, they faced Trump's rhetoric suggesting he might abandon NATO.

Under imperialist conditions, there is no room for permanent alliances; imperialist “peace” is nothing more than a ceasefire between two conflicts.

Labour Party – Turkey (EMEP)

24 March 2026

The Increase of Intolerance: Understanding the Global Rise of Xenophobia, Nationalism and Military Annexation

In a period characterized by extensive global connectivity through trade, migration, and digital networks, human societies are demonstrating a marked tendency toward distinct tribalistic identities. Notable phenomena include *xenophobia*, defined as apprehension or hostility toward foreign individuals; *chauvinistic nationalism*, denoting an assertive belief in national superiority often linked to exclusionary practices; and *militarist-annexationist* tendencies, typified by territorial expansion via military force.

These ideologies exert significant influence on contemporary geopolitical dynamics, domestic policy formation, and cultural discourse. Their emergence is attributable not only to psychological factors but also to structural responses such as capitalist crises, elite consolidation of authority, and strategic manipulation of working-class interests. Ruling groups frequently employ these narratives to undermine global labor solidarity, redirect economic dissatisfaction, and justify imperial policies.

These trends have intensified, spurred by ongoing conflicts, electoral outcomes favoring far-right governments, and widening socioeconomic inequality.

The resurgence of ethnonationalism and xenophobic policies presents serious risks to global stability, human rights, and sustained economic progress. Such policies undermine international cooperation on transnational challenges, including climate change and pandemic response. For instance, unilateral border closures and vaccine nationalism during the COVID-19 pandemic delayed equitable vaccine distribution and prolonged the public-health crisis in highly interdependent regions. Ethnonationalist and chauvinistic ideologies frequently correlate with increased political violence and the erosion of democratic norms. In the United States, the FBI reported an 11% increase in hate crimes from 2020 to 2021, with anti-Asian incidents notably linked to inflammatory “China virus” rhetoric. Similar patterns of minority suppression and media restriction



have accompanied nationalist surges in multiple jurisdictions.

From an economic perspective, protectionist measures associated with nationalist agendas typically generate substantial net welfare losses. The United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European single market and customs union following the 2016 Brexit referendum, driven in significant part by anti-immigration and sovereignty-focused nationalism, has reduced British GDP by 8%.

At the geopolitical level, ethnonationalist narratives have served as partial justification for territorial revisionism and military escalation, as seen in Turkey's cross-border operations in northern Syria (2016–2019) — framed by the AKP government as the reclamation of a “safe zone” to protect ethnic Turks and repatriate Syrian refugees while neutralizing Kurdish YPG militias portrayed as existential threats to Turkish national unity. Unchecked, this resurgence risks accelerating a broader shift toward authoritarian governance and state-sponsored chauvinism, intensifying the exploitation and disempowerment of working-class communities worldwide through suppressed wages, eroded labor protections, and the scapegoating of migrant and minority workers.

Militarist-annexationist policies serve as a strategic means by which ruling groups maintain their dominance, often resulting in adverse effects for the working class. In response to stagnating profits and over-accumulation concerns, business interests may leverage nationalist sentiment to channel surplus labor into the military-industrial sector, thereby converting unemployed individuals into

military recruits and directing public funds toward corporate gains.

Annexationist conflicts aim to secure access to resources and affordable labor markets for transnational corporations, frequently drawing conscripts predominantly from economically disadvantaged regions; for instance, in the Saudi/UAE-led war in Yemen since 2015, the invading coalition has relied heavily on tens of thousands of Sudanese child and adult recruits from Darfur and other marginalized regions, while Emirati and Saudi defense conglomerates and logistics giants (including companies linked to the ruling families) secured billions in arms contracts and gained effective control over Yemen's southern ports, oil terminals, and Socotra Island, and in the United States military enlistment rates remain far higher among lower-income households.

The working class bears multiple costs: through direct participation in conflict, reductions in social spending (notably, U.S. defense budgets surpass the federal allocations for education, housing, and healthcare combined), and inflationary pressures on wages caused by sanctions and disruptions to supply chains. Consequently, annexationist initiatives tend to reinforce economic dependencies between labor and capital, framed within narratives of national interest.

These obstacles can be addressed by building authentic international solidarity among workers and consistently exposing how the ruling class deliberately promotes nationalist and chauvinist ideologies to divide the global working class and protect their own power. Creating cross-border trade unions and cooperative structures provides the organizational basis for coordinated actions, effective mutual aid networks, and independent communication channels that reveal the shared material interests of wage-workers everywhere. Such structures help make clear that imperialist rivalries, border disputes, and resource wars primarily generate super-profits for monopolies and corporations, rather than serving the true needs of ordinary people.

A clear, materialist education that focuses on common class position rather than artificial national or ethnic differences dismantles nationalist mythology and reorients people toward their real interests, empowering the working class to see themselves as part of a unified global struggle.

American Party of Labor
April, 2026

The Experience of Socialist Albania and the Present

Although almost 35 years have passed since the triumph of the counter-revolution that overthrew the victory of the proletarian revolution in Albania, the attempts of bourgeois and revisionist propaganda have historically sought to bury the revolutionary process of the Albanian people. It is extremely important for us to put back on the agenda the need to always keep in mind every legacy of progress of this experience and its importance in the development of the proletarian revolution today.

We say this without any nostalgic-folkloric objective, but it is necessary to insist that any historical evidence must necessarily be linked to our practice, or must inspire us to improve it.

Undoubtedly, the legacy of the PLA [Party of Liberation of Albania] and of comrade Enver Hoxha is something that disturbs many, especially those who strive day in and day out to sweep history under the rug, knowing that it incriminates them. This has led more than once to the creation of myths and accusations such as that Albanian socialism was the product of Soviet loans, lies about alleged dogmatism, and in the worst case of unprincipled pragmatism or opportunism, as they currently do from the ranks of Maoism, which is expert in always seeing the speck in someone else's eye.

In view of this, it is necessary to raise the question and insist a thousand times over: How did the Albanian people build socialism and what were its main merits and particularities? Why should we more than ever defend the legacy of the PLA and make it known among the masses?

First of all, it must be stressed that the process of building socialism was a hard and long process with great achievements and difficulties, taking into account the backwardness of the old feudal-bourgeois Albania. It had been plunged into ruin first by years of subjection to the imperialists; and then, because of the considerable damage generated by the Nazi-fascist invasion.

It was here that the Communist Party of Albania – later the PLA – led the formation of the National Liberation Front (FLN), a force comprised of all progressive sectors of Albanian society with the aim of expelling the fascist invaders and unmasking the false "patriots" of the Balli Kombëtar¹ and its allies, the first obstacle on the road to the liberation of the Fatherland.

To give you an idea, that country with few capitalist relations of production, plagued by feudal remnants, was the one that had the most damage per capita once the Second Great Imperialist War was over, even so, without preventing the subsequent development or collaboration with the world anti-fascist front.

Taking this to the numbers, it is managed that despite the little more than one million inhabitants that little Albania had before the war began, the Albanian people gave 28,000 martyrs to the cause of the elimination of Nazi-fascism. To this we will add that, despite the unfavorable conditions, the FLN managed to have some 70,000 guerrillas, who were able to eliminate 27,000 fascist soldiers, wound more than 21,000 and take 20,800 prisoners, to which is also added a significant degree of material damage.

As if this were not enough, once the withdrawal of the German army was achieved, the FLN mobilized 20,000 fighters for the total liberation of the Balkans. ("The Albanian People, Active Participants in the World Anti-Fascist Coalition." 1985)

Once the Nazi-fascist invaders were expelled, the representatives of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie allied with the "nationalist" collaborators with the invading troops, with the encouragement and financing of the Anglo-American imperialists, showed their desperation at seeing their class interests threatened. They unleashed a civil war, which would once again force

¹ The Balli Kombëtar was a bourgeois "nationalist" organization created in 1942 as a supposed republican resistance, but with a markedly anti-communist framework. During World War II, they collaborated with the Nazi German occupation in its fight against the partisan movement led by the Party of Labor of Albania. Their program combined territorial nationalism (including the idea of a "Greater Albania") with the defense of private property, which objectively placed them in the counterrevolutionary camp in the face of the advance of the struggle of the Liberation Front led by the PLA.

the NLF to take up arms and choose between the path of economic dependence and subjection to Anglo-American imperialism, in the same way that King Zog did with Italian imperialism, or undertake a hard struggle for the establishment of a new regime of People's Democracy.

Far from being immobile and passively waiting, the Albanian communists emphasized their solid conviction to defend Albanian territory and organize not only resistance but also the leap towards the People's Democratic Republic.

The partisans with the Communist Party at the head did not hesitate for a moment, and a sign of this was that on November 29, 1944, they official created the State of People's Republic of Albania, thus taking the road of the Worker-Peasant Revolution and the construction of socialism.

Without taking a break when it came to putting forward the Socialist Revolution, the Agrarian Reform Law was immediately promulgated, accompanied by an ambitious plan for industrialization in agriculture.

This was not a minor event in terms of the advance of the Albanian people in the struggle for their rights, since for the first time the land would be distributed to the peasants, while the latifundia and the feudal ownership of the land were completely eliminated.

This would result in the rapid fulfillment of bourgeois-democratic tasks and the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance, thus creating the conditions to advance towards socialism in a country with a peasant majority.

To get an idea; before the implementation of the law, 52.4% of all land in Albania was in the hands of large landowners while only 18.7% belonged to small farmers and the State. After this measure, the landowners only had 16.4% of the total, 43.17% remained in the hands of small peasants and 34.6% was destined for the former landless peasants. This was the first of the major steps taken by the new State in the field of agriculture.

In conjunction with these measures, the Industrialization Plan of the national economy began to be applied in the cities, beginning with the nationalization of the few large industries that existed in the country.

This sector of the economy went from 3% of the total being in the hands of the State before the nationalization process to 17% in

1945 and 89% in 1946, clear signs of the great decisiveness with which the PLA and the Albanian State took on the task of nationalizing and rebuilding the industrial sector.

As expected, the results became remarkably visible almost immediately: already in 1945 it was possible to equal the pre-war production and in 1948 it was doubled, which also gave signs of the success of the strategy of recovery of the Albanian national economy.

With these measures, the People's Republic of Albania was on the road to the construction of socialism and undertook the goal of moving from an economy plagued by feudal relations to an industrial agricultural- one.

After the First Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, the plan for the development of the economy was based on the following foundations:

"1) The simultaneous and harmonious development of industry and agriculture, considering industry as the leading branch of the economy and agriculture as its basic branch.

2) The priority development of heavy industry, which is the heart of socialist industrialization.

3) The accelerated rates of development of industry.

4) The development of industry in those directions which guarantee and strengthen the principle of relying on our own strength.

5) The priority development of heavy industry, without neglecting light industry and consumer goods." (Banja Toci).

On this road, the foundations of the new Albania began to be built materially, while politically the workers' and peasants' government was strengthened, ties with the new regimes of People's Democracy and the Soviet Union were strengthened. Albania rejected the harassment of the Anglo-American imperialists and their puppets, the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Italian imperialists and later Tito's Yugoslavia, which did not hesitate to prepare its troops to prevent the independence of Albania.

Following this path, with the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania, that once semi-feudal country with the lowest national income in Europe, mired in backwardness, hunger and exploitation, managed to enter the 1960s with the construction of the economic base of socialism established and began to propose to



make a leap from an industrial-agricultural economy to an agricultural-industrial economy.

To do this, it improves its technique, develops its industry and also improves the living conditions of its people, who at that time were completely unaware of unemployment, had free access to all levels of education and above all, had the means of production and the Power of the State in their hands.

As a reflection of these achievements, agricultural production, which began to advance in collectivization in 1956, ended this process in 1967.

Thus, it went from 201,000 tons in 1950 to 887,000 tons in 1985, tripling the yield of each hectare planted, which gave rise to the magnificent advances in technical matters of Albanian agricultural production. In 1976 it achieved self-sufficiency with respect to the production of cereals for making bread, thus ensuring a large part of its food sovereignty.

As for industrial production, it rose from 442 million leks (PRA currency) in 1950 to 16,082 million in 1985, of which 10,224 went to heavy industry. As a demonstration of the importance of these successes, a article of the period in 1981 emphasized that just three days were needed to achieve the total pre-war production.

Thus, Professor Papajorgji emphasized in an article published in the magazine *Albania Today* [1981, issue 4] that "The high rates of the development of the main branches of industry are illustrated with the following comparative figures: in 1980 the produc-

tion of electric power increased 14 fold, the extraction of coal 4.5 fold, of chrome 4 fold, of copper 25 fold, the production of the chemical industry 50 fold, of the engineering industry 21 fold, etc. as against the level of 1960."

With this I believe that we can clearly show the successes of socialist construction in economic matters.

It is only worth clarifying one point: there are many "critics" who point out that the success of the Albanian economy and the results of socialism in Albania were due to the aid provided by Yugoslavia first, and then by the USSR and China. This is totally false.

One cannot underestimate the internationalist aid provided by the Soviet people after the liberation of the country from the Nazi-fascist occupiers, as well as the material incentives provided by the Yugoslav revisionists along with the beneficial trade agreements reached with China. However, the strategic merit of the Party of Labor of Albania in strengthening its alliances and using economic aid as a demonstration of the importance of the Communist Party of Labor in the Communist Party of Albania in strengthening its alliances at the time and using economic aid must be seen as a demonstration of the importance of the Communist Party of knowing how to take advantage of contradictions under the principle of tactical flexibility and tenacity in principles. The main thing has always been the construction of socialism and the maintenance of people's power.

In this sense, unlike other countries that were members of the CMEA [Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, or Comecon] or Yugoslavia itself, the PLA trusted at all times in the abilities of its people and in the resources of its territory and was bound by the fundamental laws of Marxism-Leninism with regard to the economic construction of socialism. Despite external blackmail, it prioritized the development of its heavy industry as the engine of the economy, applying the law of sustained development of the productive forces and their expanded growth as the only way to achieve economic and political sovereignty.

After breaking off relations with China in 1978, the Albanian state was an example of self-sufficiency, surviving a ferocious blockade by the Western powers, the Soviet Union and China, accompanied by actions of internal and external sabotage by the enemies of socialism.

During this whole period, small Albania showed how to trade on an equal footing with capitalist countries, how to defend its sovereignty and fundamentally how to develop socialism based on its own strength, which could undoubtedly be achieved thanks to the successes and good use of the economic growth of former times.

In short, the great legacy of Socialist Albania and the Party of Labor is this: to trust and demonstrate in practice the absolute superiority of Socialism as a mode of production in the conditions of a small mountainous, semi-feudal country hidden in the Balkans, which in less than 50 years transformed itself from a semi-feudal country to a highly developed country in which the people decided on their own destiny.

In the light of history, we see how the PR of Albania did not hesitate or hide behind excuses when it came to uniting, organizing and arming its people first against the occupiers, then against internal reaction and the permanent attacks of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

Also, despite its small territory and the little development of its productive forces, it was able to move forward and exceed the limits of the People's Democratic Revolution and not stop halfway, and consequently ruin the struggle as happened with other People's Republics that never put forward the construction of the Socialist Society².

In short, this experience shows us and serves as an example of how a people and its Marxist-Leninist Party can, through a cor-

² It would deserve a separate article, but the study of the people's democracies is a very clear example of how the seizure of power by the masses of people is only the first step. It must be recognized that the people's democracies of Eastern Europe hesitated under the pressures of internal and external reaction quickly without being able to make the leap from a people's republic to a socialist republic. Revisionist historiography always blames reaction as the cause of the degeneration of revolutionary processes (especially in Hungary and Czechoslovakia) by minimizing their constant attempts to downplay the class struggle. The consistency and permanent continuing on revolutionary paths by Socialist Albania is the product of nothing other than the innumerable number of purges for which the PLA and in particular Enver Hoxha are so criticized.

rect assimilation and application of the fundamental laws of Marxism-Leninism, overcome geographical limitations (the surface of Albania can be compared with that of Galicia and Catalonia in Spain, the provinces of Misiones and Tucumán in Argentina or a sixth of a small country like Uruguay), a poor economic legacy and an extremely hostile imperialist-revisionist siege.

This teaches us today that in the face of the worst difficulties it is necessary to trust the people, unite and thus be able to advance in the objectives of the Socialist Revolution.

Socialist Albania did not surrender to the numerical and economic superiority of the Nazi-fascists; it built the economic basis of socialism despite the pressures of Soviet social imperialism and achieved its economic independence despite the pretensions of the Chinese revisionists.

The heroic struggle of the Albanian people was also a beacon for thousands and thousands of revolutionaries who fought against imperialism and the bourgeoisie throughout the 20th century and a guide for the new Marxist-Leninist Parties formed at that time.

It is also worth mentioning very briefly that the theoretical legacy formulated by the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha during this experience are also invaluable.

If we review the entire work of both Enver Hoxha and the different cadres of the PLA, we find that Albania was not the "rebellious and isolated socialist state" nor was Hoxha "the one who told Khrushchev the plain truth." This is nothing more than part of the caricature that remained as a legacy of nostalgia and folkloric vindication.

In more than 40 years, the PLA left an invaluable theoretical legacy for the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the present, since it encompasses the period from the first steps of the building of the Marxist-Leninist Party, its process of revolutionization and the struggle against bureaucracy; everything related to the unity of the Party and the working class with other classes, the more than remarkable contribution represented by the writings of the relationship between the Party and the masses, the role of the cadres and the work of the youth, manifested above all in the internal struggles of the 1970s. It showed the ways to overcome the contradiction between the countryside and the city and between intellectual work and manual work; not to mention everything re-

lated to the struggle against revisionism and for the economic construction of socialism.

Of course, the above is said in passing and the entire theoretical and political legacy is enough for an entire work, but without any doubt it can be affirmed a thousand times over that the work of the PLA has no reason to envy anyone and maintains particular validity today.

However distant they may seem, the successes won by the Albanian proletariat and its Party, far from nostalgic demands, must necessarily be a constant beacon, a more than pertinent orientation for today's Marxist-Leninist Parties.

It teaches us the great ability that the peoples have in order to overcome the hardest difficulties as long as they are guided by a Communist Party guided by Marxism-Leninism.

After that there are no limitations related to geographical or economic development that prevent the working class from taking power and fulfilling its destinies.

Today, when readings predominate that reduce the problems of the masses to individual adaptation and dilute the perspective of social transformation, the experience of socialist Albania once again raises a central theme: the concrete possibility of building socialism in adverse conditions, relying on the conscious organization of the working class and the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist Party.

Far from being an anecdote of the past or a merely historical reference, the development promoted by the Party of Labor of Albania shows that socialist construction is not an abstraction, but a real process, with verifiable results in the transformation of the material conditions of society.

In this sense, defending its legacy does not imply a formal claim or the repetition of slogans, but rather recovers a concrete experience that allows the question of the construction of socialism to be again placed at the center as a practical and current problem.

Communist Reconstruction Uruguay
April 2026

The Process of Fascistization Continues to Advance Worldwide

We are living in a very special situation that is marked by the accelerated advance of the process of fascistization promoted by reactionary governments and by the international movement of the extreme right. This is strengthened by the impossibility of social democracy to resolve basic problems of the majorities and its electoral political debacle, while the revolutionary left has not yet managed to be a real alternative of the masses.

It is clear that capital – mainly the representatives of finance capital – is advancing in the control of the various branches of the economy, imposing its interests on the whole of society through various mechanisms and seeking to impose subordination to governments and the domination of markets at the world level.

To achieve its hegemonic objectives, finance capital is resorting to the most reactionary tendencies; for this reason we see how imperialism is increasingly filled with fascist ideas and, especially, with its most violent and criminal tendency, such as Zionism. It is using messianic justifications to trample on entire peoples, justify genocides and atrocious crimes, and normalize the appropriation of territories and wealth, as the Israelis are doing in Palestine and Lebanon, or the United States in Venezuela, to name just a few recent examples.

As a result of this perverse alliance between traditional fascist forms of finance capital and the new Zionist forms, extremely violent policies are emerging that ignore the most elementary norms of coexistence between nations or within countries, resorting to the brutal aggression of the extreme dictatorship of capital against labor, of Zionist fascist imperialism against the working class and peoples.

This criminal phenomenon, promoted by extreme right-wing governments, is not something new nor does it arise spontaneously. It is one of the responses of the bourgeoisie to the impact of the general crisis of capitalism and its cyclical crises, which are creating great problems within the system of bourgeois exploita-

tion and are leading it down the path of its internal debacle due to the decomposition of the capitalist mode of production. In the face of this, the theft of the wealth of other countries, the extreme exploitation of the labor force and the arbitrary appropriation of markets are the ways that remain to breathe life into an exhausted system in a situation of extreme crisis.

In the search for the survival of imperialism as the current form of the capitalist mode of production, the bourgeoisie must resort to wars of aggression and plunder; so they promote the accelerated advance of militarization, national oppression and the super-exploitation of the working class as means to try to overcome its crisis. To do this, they need to strengthen the military industrial apparatus and direct looting, without hiding their true objectives due to the urgency of seeking palliatives for the deep crisis that affects them. Their first victim is the migrant proletariat and the dependent countries, which they subjugate, invade and plunder without respecting any norms.

The advance of fascistization must be analyzed, understood and confronted in its economic, political and ideological forms with the greatest dialectical rigor, in order to reach the most correct conclusions that guide actions within the framework of the class struggle, in order to prepare the popular resistance and the revolutionary counteroffensive with solid bases in each country and together on an international scale.

If we do not understand that we are facing fascism, if we do not analyze in depth its economic causes and think that it is only the egocentric and messianic madness of some rulers, this would be a terrible mistake that will cause the international proletariat and the revolutionary vanguard a lot of pain.

Confronting this process of expansion and normalization of fascist ideas implies developing organizational spaces for struggle, people's democracy, sovereignty, independence, national liberation and socialism through the Popular Front, as well as other initiatives of anti-imperialist and anti-fascist revolutionary unity at the international level and in each country.

The Situation in Venezuela

In the face of the current reality, we can clearly see the advance of the fascist offensive in Latin America. We have seen how organizations with leaders and proposals typical of fascism have

managed to form a government and implement reactionary measures, expanding through the subjugation of the peoples. At the same time, the imperialist countries have deepened their offensive on the dependent countries.

In this sense, it is appropriate to analyze the situation in Venezuela in particular, not only because of the military aggression, assassinations and kidnapping of President Maduro and his wife, Congresswoman Cilia Flores, which occurred on January 3 – violating all norms and providing yet another proof of the arbitrariness that seeks to stop the struggles and resolve the contradictions that arise in the framework of a new division of the world by resorting to violence. It is also because of the significant and largely decisive fact of the collaborationist attitude of the new government of the president in charge, Delcy Rodríguez, which undoubtedly marks a profound change between the current executive and that of Maduro.

Mainly, the difference in policy with respect to Yankee imperialism is observed, which was previously the fundamental enemy of the government and is now the one that determines policy and is taken by the Venezuelan high government as an ally.

Another very important point to evaluate is this method of direct and indirect submission of the governments of dependent countries by fascist imperialism of Zionist influence, which has taken over the U.S. government.

It is very clear that the government of Venezuela is going from having been a main actor of resistance to the offensive of imperialism and the extreme right in the region and the country, a promoter of regional unity, to being a collaborator with the gringos, by providing oil, gold and other resources. The new government allows Yankee Zionist fascist imperialism to advance within the country in the control of strategic elements that serve, externally, to weaken other peoples who have been firm in the fight against the aggressors, as is the case of Iran.

Similarly, it is possible that, in the immediate future, the Trump administration could make the current government of Venezuela resign from OPEC in order to weaken this organization, as has just happened with the United Arab Emirates and other countries. This is part of a policy to end control of oil production and trade.

The government of Delcy Rodríguez is leading to a clear shift from the international policy of the Chávez and Maduro govern-



ments, moving from an alignment with the China and Russia bloc, with approaches to Latin American sovereignty and unity and solidarity with Iran, Nicaragua and Cuba, to a submission to the US-EU bloc and a distancing from its former allies.

Many people around the world are asking questions about the events of January 3 and the immediate weak military resistance, as well as about the little anti-imperialist action that followed.

From our point of view, even before the imperialist attack, in the preparations for the plans of resistance, the vision of the petty bourgeoisie on the defense of national sovereignty was seen.

The vision of bourgeois pacifism and the fear of class conflict shows the ideological weakness of the petty bourgeoisie that is in the government in Venezuela. It failed to understand how the practices of fascism advance and, moreover, it ignored the role of the proletariat in the construction of practical mechanisms of armed and unarmed resistance to imperialism.

At first, Zionist fascist imperialist violence left the political and military leadership of Maduro's government disoriented. It is clear that there were – and continue to be – ideological agents of Yankee imperialism who facilitated the kidnapping of Maduro and the weak resistance, as well as the subsequent submission "because they had a gun to their head." This hindered carrying out the plans of resistance established in the decrees of internal commotion [equivalent to a State of Emergency" – *translator's note*] that were never applied.

Not to propose a true plan of war of the people and the corresponding army of the people, remaining only with a militia with-

out creating armed, active and decentralized popular military structures, was a mistake typical of the petty bourgeoisie's vision of war. We must study this because this type of behavior serves as a means of entry for imperialism and fascism.

In the popular movement, there are great fears that the government itself tried to neutralize it by various means in the framework of the political and ideological struggle. It has not been able to avoid questions, disagreements and demands that are increasing every day, especially in the face of the docile behavior of the government leaders in the face of the subjection to the Trump administration.

Progressively, a critical conception and demands in relation to the Rodríguez government is being consolidated in the revolutionary organizations and the people, because the anti-imperialist features that existed during the previous periods of government of the Bolivarian process have disappeared and, on the contrary, attitudes of submission to the directives coming from various institutions of the U.S. government are seen, including the CIA or the State Department.

The struggle to rescue independence and national sovereignty will be in the focus in coming times, since the impact of the political shift and the abrupt way in which the departure of the Maduro government and its replacement by Rodríguez took place leaves a large part of the population with a feeling of confusion and distrust that is very underscored.

In the face of such a complex and multifaceted reality, the organization of popular resistance and counteroffensive is an urgent task for the revolutionary movement.

From the people of Venezuela who are resisting and fighting in the face of a violent imperialist aggression in a framework of betrayal of revolutionary principles, we are grateful for the international solidarity and call for continuing the demonstrations of support for the popular movement and the revolutionaries, especially the Marxist-Leninists, who are increasingly committed to the various struggles against imperialism and fascism, for national liberation and socialism.

Political Bureau of the PCMLV

May 2026