



world revolution

Faced with war and capitalist chaos, The only solution for humanity is the international struggle of the proletariat!

From Venezuela to Kashmir, from Greenland to Sudan, Gaza, Ukraine and the Sahel, the capitalist world is burning on all sides. Guns are roaring in the China Sea, the Middle East is ablaze, Iran is sinking into immense chaos. And the United States, hitherto presented as the ‘champion of democracy’, is the biggest arsonist on the planet: for dubious projects in Greenland, Trump is hammering another nail into the coffin of the transatlantic alliance; in an attempt to drive China out of Latin America, he is destabilising an entire continent; he is relegating the UN bandits to the background in favour of a nebulous project, the ‘Board of Peace’, which has all the hallmarks of an extortion operation... We are witnessing a profound acceleration of militarism, chaos, and confrontation between bourgeois cliques.

Choosing one bourgeois camp over another is always a dead end

While the United States is at the heart of this global chaos, Trump is also the product of a capitalist system gone mad. For in every country, powerful or not, democratic or authoritarian, the bourgeoisie seeks to rally the exploited behind its sordid national interests, whether directly behind

a gun or by accepting ‘reforms’ and budget cuts to buy weapons.

In Ukraine, Putin is sending thousands of young people to the slaughter under the delusional pretext of saving Russian-speaking populations from Nazism. On the other side of the front, Zelensky’s arch-corrupt government is sending the population to the slaughter in the name of national sovereignty and democracy.

In Gaza, the Israeli army is turning 18- and 20-year-olds into killers, while Hamas cynically uses the population as human shields.

In Iran, while the mullahs are crushing anger in blood, rival factions, actively supported by Israel and the United States, are fuelling revolts in favour of ‘democracy’ and the return of the Shah.

Meanwhile, workers in Europe are being told that ‘sacrifices’ are necessary for rearmament, and minds are being prepared for a war economy: we must ‘accept losing our children,’ in the words of the French Chief of Staff. All this, as always, in the name of democratic values and peace!

And today, we are asked to choose between bloodthirsty mullahs and a ‘democratic’ Iranian bourgeoisie, made up of a bunch of mafiosi, archaic monarchists and upstarts supported by

Trump and the mass murderer Netanyahu!

Capitalism oozes misery and death from every pore! The immense chaos that has taken hold in the Middle East since the end of the Cold War is spreading across the entire planet. But we still have to choose the ‘good side’ or the ‘lesser evil’...

No! No faction of the bourgeoisie, democratic or not, powerful or weak, is capable of creating the conditions for a world of peace and stability. Mired in the vicious cycle of capitalism’s historical contradictions and dead-ends, they can only spread chaos and death. Choosing one bourgeois camp over another is always choosing our exploiters and murderers.

The only alternative to capitalist wars is world revolution!

Faced with this immense chaos, with the disastrous future that capitalism promises us, fear is spreading across all continents. How should we react? If no bourgeois camp has the solution, what do we do, here and now? Do we passively allow the massacres to continue while we wait for the revolution?

History has shown that the only class capable of ending the wars of capitalism is the proletariat in struggle, and no one else. This was the case when the workers in Russia overthrew the bourgeois state in 1917 and when the workers in Germany revolted in 1918. This revolutionary wave in Eastern Europe and the risk of it spreading to the West forced governments to stop the First World War. This was the case when the return of the working class, starting in May 1968 in France, after decades of counter-revolution, prevented the Russian and American blocs from clashing in a Third World War. The proletariat will have to conquer real and lasting peace by overthrowing capitalism on a global scale!

The proletariat certainly does not yet have the strength to directly oppose war, and the revolutionary perspective is clearly not for tomorrow. The road to the overthrow of capitalism will be long and fraught with pitfalls. But there is no other way. Today, there are two possible directions: either we allow ourselves to be drawn into false alternatives between bourgeois cliques for a fairer and more peaceful capitalism, an ideology that has always contributed to disarming the class in the face of imperialism, whether in the name of the ‘lesser evil’, the ‘right of the aggrieved to

defend themselves’, or the ‘right of peoples to self-determination’... Or we can patiently fight to develop our solidarity, our identity and our class consciousness, to develop a movement that is the only one capable of putting an end to capitalism and its wars.

Since 2022, as we have pointed out in numerous articles, the working class has begun to regain its combativity on an international scale.¹ And it is already through these struggles against the sacrifices demanded by militarism that the proletariat is concretely expressing its solidarity with its class brothers and sisters in countries at war.

But above all, this break with the passivity of previous decades is based on an underground development of class consciousness, which is essential for the politicisation of struggles. At different (and very heterogeneous) levels, workers are questioning the future of society, how to organise struggles, and how to recover our class identity. This reflection is the breeding ground for the revolutionary future. It is up to the small communist minorities to push this reflection as far forward as possible in order to prepare for the struggles of tomorrow. That is why, starting today, coming together to reflect, convince and push for debate wherever possible is not a waste of time; on the contrary, it is the best preparation for the future. **EG, 15 January 2026**

1. Hundreds of nurses at Henry Ford Genesys Hospital in Grand Blanc, Michigan, are on strike as we write these lines, as are 15,000 nurses in major New York hospitals, including the Mount Sinai and Montefiore campuses in the Bronx. All are demanding better living and working conditions and better care for patients.

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Popular protests around the world

Working-class youth are the future, not Gen Z!

In the second half of 2025, several countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, racked by intense and widespread poverty, were rocked by popular uprisings. These began in Indonesia in August, followed by Nepal and the Philippines in September. They then spread to Peru and several African countries (Togo, Morocco, Madagascar and Tanzania) and broke out in just a few months. Anger was fuelled by corruption, injustice, inequality and lack of transparency in countries heavily affected by the crisis of global capitalism.

The mainstream media exploited these movements, claiming that young people, Generation Z, were going to change the world. But should the world welcome these popular uprisings, and will they help to put an end to barbarism?

Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world and suffers from high inflation, chronic underemployment and low levels of investment. Its economy is kept afloat mainly by money transfers from hundreds of thousands of young people working abroad in appalling conditions. In Indonesia, the economy is also under severe strain, and there are signs that the country is approaching a debt crisis, with high unemployment, massive lay-offs in the industrial sector, and households hit by a crisis linked to the sky-high cost of living. These countries all suffer from underemployment, considerable income inequality, absolute poverty and recurring food crises.

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Continuing workers’ resistance despite the manoeuvres of the unions

For the past year, the deepening global crisis of capitalism, the growing destabilisation of the world economy, Trump’s disruptive “America first” economic policy, and the explosion of military spending in Europe following the split within NATO, have forced the European bourgeoisie as a whole to intensify their attacks on social budgets and workers’ wages. This is particularly true for Belgium, which is also burdened by heavy sovereign debt and a large state budget deficit, denounced by the EU.

Over the past year, taking advantage of unexpectedly favourable election results, the Belgian bourgeoisie has set up a new centre-right government under the leadership of Bart De Wever, which plans to cut nearly €26 billion from the budget in order to reduce the state debt (105% of GNP) and announcing a new package of measures worth nearly €10 billion to limit the budget deficit, while at the same time doubling the national defence budget.

For the past year, workers have been facing severe attacks on state social spending, particularly on unemployment benefits (now limited to a maximum of two years, which will result in the exclusion of 100,000 unemployed people from 2026 onwards), pensions (penalties for early retirement and cuts to civil service and teachers’ pension schemes), and health benefits (half a million long-term sick people risk losing their benefits due to ‘insufficient or uncooperative’ efforts to return to work). In addition, in terms of wages, bonuses for overtime or night work are being drastically reduced and the government plans to ‘temporarily and partially suspend’ the automatic indexation of wages and benefits to inflation in 2026.

The growth of workers’ resistance

As soon as the government’s plans were announced at the end of 2024, the unions rushed to occupy the social arena by announcing various actions to limit any workers reaction. However, workers’ response has been strong, exceeding the unions’ expectations, and forcing them to step up their actions and, above all, to increase the number of national demonstrations in Brussels.

Let us take a closer look at the dynamics. As soon as the first leaks about these plans emerged, the trade unions decided to organise a first day of action on 13 December 2024, with the aim of focusing discontent on the European Union’s directives. This first day brought together some 10,000 demonstrators, mainly trade union representatives, but the manoeuvre did not reduce discontent. On the contrary, it continued to grow, as evidenced by the second day of action on 13 January, which the trade unions wanted to limit to ‘the defence of pensions in education’. In reality, participation reached 30,000 demonstrators from an increasing number of sectors and from all regions of the country. On 27 January, a ‘historic’ regional sectoral demonstration by French-speaking teaching staff brought together 35,000 participants against the severe cuts imposed by the regional government, with the presence once again of many workers from other sectors and regions. The announcement of the ‘Arizona’ government’s austerity programme only fuelled the protests, and the third national demonstration on 13 February, aimed - according to the trade unions - at ‘defending public services’, brought together nearly 100,000 demonstrators from all sectors, who expressed their desire to move beyond the sectoral and regional fragmentation of the movement imposed by the unions and called for a global fight against the government’s attacks. Despite attempts by the unions to demobilise the movement during the spring through passive one-day general strikes, where everyone stays at home, or repeated and highly unpopular sectoral strikes in the railways, with divisions between unions, the last national demonstration on 25 June, on the eve of the holidays, still brought together nearly 50,000 demonstrators expressing their undiminished fighting spirit.

Beyond the figures, it is important to highlight the characteristics of this dynamic of growing militancy:

- it was triggered not by concrete and specific measures, but by the announced global plans.

More than ever, the slogan ‘enough is enough’ was at the heart of the desire to mobilise;

- it was marked by a refusal to be passive, to remain ‘isolated in one’s corner’, but on the contrary by a desire to mobilise ‘on the streets’;

- Finally, it was characterised by a refusal to fragment the movement, but pushed for the unification of resistance across sectors and regions.

Even if the combative dynamic of these first six months of 2025 in Belgium was still not able to detect, let alone oppose, the unions’ manoeuvres of diversion and sabotage, the development of resistance was firmly rooted in the class struggle, and its characteristics, as outlined above, are similar to those of the summer of discontent in the UK in 2022, the movement against pension reform in France during the winter of 2023, and the strikes in the United States, particularly in the automotive industry and at Boeing, in late 2023 and early 2024. Thus, the mobilisation of the working class in Belgium is part of the international dynamic of ‘rupture’.

It is essential to understand that this dynamic of workers’ struggle in Belgium is not isolated but is one of the expressions of a break with years of passive submission by workers to the attacks of the bourgeoisie, of atomisation, but also of underground maturation and the ongoing process of reflection. “*The recovery of worker’s’ combativity in a number of countries is a major, historic event which does not only result from local circumstances and can’t be explained by purely national conditions. [...] Carried forward by a new generation of workers, the breadth and simultaneity of these movements testify to a real change of spirit in the class and represents a break with the passivity and disorientation which has prevailed from the end of the 1980s up till now.*”

The bourgeoisie is trying to make people forget the gains made by workers’ mobilisations in early 2025

However, the summer holiday ‘break’ was largely used by the unions to take the lead and develop an insidious tactic with the intention of countering this rising dynamic of militancy and unity across sectors, under the guise of radicalism. Thus, they first called for a new national demonstration on 14 October with the intention of ‘breaking all records’, while taking care to hinder the momentum of militancy and reflection. They distributed more than 75,000 free train tickets to their members to come and spend the day in Brussels and avoided any gathering or discussion at the end of the demonstration, thanks in part to the confrontations between the Black Blocs and the police, which led to the rapid dispersal of the demonstration.

In short, the unions succeeded in creating a misleading image of great radicalism through the 130,000 participants, while largely dissolving any expression of combativity or reflection within the demonstration. Having succeeded in presenting themselves as the leaders of the struggle, the unions then announced two types of movements, presented as further steps in the escalation of the struggle: a series of three days of strikes leading up to a general strike on the last day from 24 to 26 November, and the implementation of radical actions in certain sectors, such as the possibility of a week-long strike by railway workers in December.

When the unions announce ‘attacking actions’, mistrust is in order. And indeed, on closer inspection, it is clear that the announced actions are precisely aimed at undermining the gains of the struggles from December 2024 to June 2025:

- totally passive general strikes, where strikers remain individually at home, aim to make people forget the dynamic of active mobilisation and gathering in the demonstrations of the winter and spring of 2025. In fact, the so-called three-day general strike from 24 to 26 November is a joke designed to blind the working class, with no real gatherings and no possibility of travelling and meeting up. Moreover, the calls for strike action differ according to sector and region, and companies such as La Poste, secondary education and 1. “Resolution on the international situation from the 25th International Congress of the ICC,” *International Review* 170 (2023).

many private firms are not participating.

- the organisation of sectoral movements (railway workers, bus drivers), regional movements (French-speaking education) or movements by social category (unemployed, long-term sick, retired), stimulated by the fact that the first concrete and specific measures are being taken, aims to counter the momentum for unification across sectors and regions that emerged from the demonstrations in the first half of 2025 and to exhaust these sectors in long and unpopular movements.

Furthermore, the trade union initiative is supported by a whole series of campaigns, propagated in particular by the leftists of the PTB, aimed at recuperating the more “critical” elements around the mobilisations for Gaza and a Palestinian state or against violence against women.

Finally, the bourgeois media constantly harp on about the “irresponsible” nature of workers’ resistance in the face of threats to national security (hype about unidentified drones over military bases) and the danger of bankruptcy for the “worst pupil in the European class” if budget cuts are not made. Even the unions subscribe to this argument and recognise that everyone must make efforts and tighten their belts, provided that this is ‘fair’, in line with the campaign developed by the left and far left of the bourgeois apparatus, which claims that ‘the wealthy must also accept sacrifices’.

Against the barbarism of capitalism, class confrontations will continue

Clearly, the unions have taken the lead, and the momentum of the struggle has reached a plateau for the moment as it faces a multitude of obstacles: not only those which, as we see in the case of the unions, are put in place by the capitalist state to prevent the development of a real fighting force of the exploited, but also those which are the product of the descent into misery, war and barbarism that global capitalism is bringing about in its final phase of decomposition. Faced with these obstacles, workers are only very slowly regaining their consciousness of being a social and historical force, the working class. In the current context of capitalist decomposition, characterised by fragmentation, withdrawal into oneself, and fear of the future, reconnecting with one’s international-

al class identity and the revolutionary perspective it contains is a difficult and tortuous challenge.

However, while the resistance of the working class is temporarily numbed in Belgium, this does not mean that it has been defeated, for several reasons:

- anger has not disappeared; the working class in Belgium has not been defeated; it retains its potential for struggle and reflection continues within it;

- the struggles in Belgium are part of an international dynamic of struggles and contribute to the maturing of consciousness that is developing at an international level within the class and which will grow;

- the economic situation continues to worsen and attacks will materialise and intensify on all fronts, as already announced in the government’s new plan for budget cuts of nearly €10 billion: unemployment, pensions, social and sickness benefits, indexation, working more for the same wage, flexible working without compensation (night work), price increases, etc.

- in addition, the destabilisation of political structures linked to the decomposition of capitalism is likely to increase pressure on the living and working conditions of the working class, as in the case of the Brussels region, where the inevitability of financial bankruptcy and budgetary paralysis is becoming clearer due to the absence of a government for more than a year and a half.

The class confrontations currently shaking Belgium are particularly illustrative of the context in which workers’ struggles will develop in the current period, especially in industrialised countries, with attacks coming from all sides due to the acceleration of the economic crisis, interacting in a whirlwind with the expansion of militarism and the spread of chaos. Whether or not they succeed in forcing the government to back down (necessarily temporarily), these struggles are not in vain. By raising their heads collectively, by refusing to resign themselves, workers are preparing for future struggles and, step by step, despite inevitable defeats, we are laying the foundations for a new world. It is only through struggle that the proletariat can become conscious that it is the only force capable of abolishing capitalist exploitation.

R. Havanais, 24.11.2025

Parties of the left in the service of nationalism and war

The bourgeoisie is not content with seeking to directly enlist the proletariat in its wars; it also relies on its left-wing organisations to push the proletariat to accept sacrifices and rally behind this or that bourgeois faction, deemed more ‘progressive’, ‘anti-imperialist’, etc.

Part of the left is thus calling for support for Maduro against Trump’s adventures in Venezuela. For the British Trotskyist group Socialist Workers Party (SWP), “*there can be no ambiguity or prevarication within the left and the trade union movement: the overthrow of Maduro by the United States will only delay the struggle for liberation in Venezuela and throughout Latin America. [...] Take to the streets, show your solidarity with the Venezuelan people who are resisting imperialism, demand that the British government condemn Trump’s gangster invasion.*” In truth, Venezuela’s ‘21st-century socialism’ is nothing but a sham, an abominable machine for exploiting the working class, a regime that has brutally repressed the struggles of the working class. This “*beacon for the left, progressive movements and resistance to imperialism*” (according to the SWP) has driven eight million migrants (out of a population of 28 million) to flee poverty and repression.

Similarly, fighting Trump’s ambitions in Greenland would be tantamount to preserving ‘European values’. For one of the leaders of La France Insoumise, Manuel Bompard, France should “*obviously*” defend Greenland militarily in the event

of an attack by the United States. Let us remember, however, that it is this democratic Europe that is pursuing the same policies of plunder and destruction in Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere! Its ‘values’ did not prevent the Danish state in the past from carrying out despicable eugenics campaigns against a population that it now claims to protect from American appetites!

Despite this, Trotskyism still manages to sell us its nationalist rubbish by defending Greenland’s independence: “*As anti-imperialists and internationalists, we declare our unconditional solidarity with the struggle for self-determination of the communities of Greenland,*” in the words of the Révolution Permanente group in France. This is what internationalism means to the left wing of capital: calling for the creation of a new imperialist actor that would inevitably join forces with the United States, Russia, or even China to defend its national interests!

There is nothing left to hope for from capitalist society! Everywhere, the bourgeoisie exploits and murders! Everywhere, wars are conflicts between competing nations, between rival bourgeoisies, where the exploited die for the sole benefit of the exploiters, of whom the leftists are the most zealous representatives! **EG, 15 January 2026**

A ruthless struggle between bourgeois factions, with the proletariat as the first victim!

A horrific massacre! The repression unleashed on protesters in Iran knows no bounds; the mullahs’ regime, the faction of the Iranian bourgeoisie in power, is fighting for its survival. It knows this and is responding like all bourgeois factions in such dire straits: it is shooting into the crowd! It is massacring as it did before, in sinister memory, during the 2019 protests against the sudden rise in petrol prices or during the protests triggered by the death of Mahsa Amini in 2022. But today, this particularly reactionary faction of the Iranian bourgeoisie is cornered by widespread protest and anger across the country, and is responding with unprecedented cruelty in an attempt to maintain its domination. At the time of writing, more than 16,000 dead are piled up in the country’s morgues,¹ not counting the wounded, particularly those with eye injuries, as the forces of repression favour shooting at the head. More than 26,000 people have been arrested² and thousands of death sentences have been handed down, making this large-scale repression the biggest massacre since the mass executions of 1988.

However, this repression will only increase hatred of the regime and will do nothing to resolve the economic turmoil shaking the country. The Iranian economy is increasingly suffering from the burden of the war economy, with considerable military expenditure, and has thus seen the collapse of the national currency (which lost 30% of its value in 2025) and runaway inflation (officially 52%). Nothing will stop the impoverishment of a growing section of the population and the misery affecting various social strata. But this time, it was not the most disadvantaged and oppressed sections of society that initiated the protests; the explosion of anger came from sections of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie that had previously supported the regime. It was these sections that immediately imposed their nationalist demands on the movement.

Starting in the Tehran bazaar, a political pillar of the current regime, the demonstrations quickly advanced slogans in favour of increased support for the national economy (*“Neither Gaza nor Lebanon, may my life be sacrificed for Iran”*), which expressed the grievances of shopkeepers and property owners. Despite the regime’s attempts to stem social discontent by giving a little ground on ‘individual freedoms’, the movement initiated by various factions of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie gained momentum and was joined by masses of demonstrators from all walks of life. The anger that was expressed massively at the end of December by the majority of the population could no longer be appeased by a few superficial concessions and turned into confrontations with the forces of repression throughout the country.

A deadly impasse exploited by the bourgeoisie

The extent of the anger and despair (*“we’re already dead”*) was the rallying cry of the demonstrators) is a tragic manifestation of the decomposition of capitalism, which breeds indignation and revolt against corruption, poverty and repression. However, due to their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois origins and their nationalist orientation in favour of saving the Iranian economy, these demonstrations developed on a terrain that necessarily led to their instrumentalisation by different factions of the Iranian bourgeoisie for the benefit of the opposition, itself riddled with rivalries and deep-seated hatreds between different factions. All of them are incapable of presenting an alternative for the management of the country, with some factions calling for the ‘democratisation’ of Iran and others for the return of the son of the former Shah... Behind these rival cliques lurked imperialist vultures, each with their own agenda, such as Trump, who promised aid to the demonstrators and on whom some even called on to intervene militarily as a matter of urgency to support the movement.

1. According to *Iran International* and *CBS News* on 20 January 2026.
2. Figures provided by the US-based *Human Rights Activists News Agency*.

Whatever the outcome of these internal confrontations and external interference, Iran is at serious risk of disintegration because it is composed of a mosaic of minorities, including Kurds, Azeris, Arabs and Baluchis, which are influenced by local factions and foreign powers. The centrifugal tendencies leading to the disintegration of the country can only increase and threaten to plunge not only the country but also the entire Middle East region into immense instability and barbarism. The protests in Iran are not taking place on a proletarian terrain. By getting involved, workers have everything to lose. And the risk is that an entire generation of workers will be wiped out for the sole benefit of bourgeois cliques that have no future and are just as barbaric and exploitative as the mullahs. As capitalism sinks inexorably into chaos, no faction of the bourgeoisie has any perspective to offer other than barbarism and misery.

The boundless hypocrisy of the world bourgeoisie

The hypocrisy of the world bourgeoisie knows no bounds when it comes to promoting its own national interests. Thus, Russia and China, allies of the bloody regime in Tehran, cynically express concern ‘over the spectre of chaos in the country’ and call for ‘peace and stability’ (sic). The various European states, for their part, have limited themselves to summoning the Iranian ambassadors to express their ‘disapproval’ of the situation. As for Trump, he led the demonstrators in Iran to believe that he was on their side, promised to come to their rescue and threatened the Mullahs’ regime with terrifying reprisals... only to ultimately do

an about-face and leave the field open to bloody repression, while cynically claiming to have received assurances from the Iranian authorities that the repression would cease. In reality, Trump couldn’t care less about the Iranian population: his main concern is to settle scores with a regime that has been an enemy of the United States since 1979, to prevent it from developing its nuclear power and continuing to play the spoiler in the Middle East, and finally to demonstrate the unrivalled military power of the United States. At the same time the Trump regime is bowing to pressure from the Arab oil monarchies, which fear above all else an implosion of Iran that would lead to chaos throughout the Gulf region. Finally, Israel can’t hide its hypocrisy either. Is there any regime that has shown its cruelty more openly in the last two years? After massive bombings in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Iran, after the massacre of innocent Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the relentless attacks on Palestinians in the West Bank, Netanyahu has the audacity to present himself as the defender of the Iranian people against the ‘yoke of tyranny’, calling on the population to take to the streets to be massacred. In reality, he is cynically calculating that these clashes will further weaken his main imperialist rival in the region.

As for the mullahs’ regime, which unblinkingly invokes its ‘revolutionary’ and moral superiority and claims, with the support of a section of the ‘anti-imperialist’ far left, to be fighting against the imperialist domination of the United States and Israel, it clearly has nothing to envy the latter in terms of cynicism and barbarism, whether

through the gigantic corruption that plagues the regime or the brutal repression it exercises over its own population, both during demonstrations and by massively executing members of the political opposition.

All the bourgeoisies of the world are cut from the same cloth as the mass murderers in Tehran. All of them have, in one way or another, shed the blood of populations and proletarians in their wars and other imperialist crusades, or simply in their numerous savage operations of repression. Far from being an isolated case, Iran is the caricatured expression of a fundamental trend in the period of capitalist decomposition that we are experiencing: the uncontrollable collapse of the world economy, the absolute impoverishment of increasingly large sections of humanity, including in the central countries, the all-out development of imperialist tensions leading to a general arms race, and the tendency of all regimes, whether democratic or not, towards an increasingly openly repressive, totalitarian mode of government. Faced with this situation, the working class must avoid being drawn into the bourgeois trap of revolts to ‘change the regime’ and must not allow itself to be drawn into the settling of scores between the different factions of the ruling class. On the contrary, it must wage the struggle on its own terms, based on the defence of its own class interests, as the Iranian proletariat has been able to do on a number of occasions since the late 1970s. This will be the only way for it to ultimately politicise its struggle, enabling it to assert its revolutionary perspective. **HG, 15 January 2026**

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80 years ago, the founding of the Gauche Communiste de France (Part 1)

within the French Fraction. At the end of 1945, the FFGC took the name Gauche Communiste de France. It was now the only revolutionary group determined to continue the revolutionary struggle, firmly based on the heritage and classical positions of the Italian Fraction and the International Communist Left. Taking up the critical approach developed by *Bilan* in its struggle against the opportunism of the Left Opposition led by Trotsky, the GCF would now continue this struggle within the revolutionary milieu, particularly against the totally opportunist approach on which the Partito Comunista Internazionalista had developed in Italy from 1943 onwards.

The struggle against opportunism within the Communist Left

The Gauche Communiste de France held its second conference in July 1945, during which it adopted a report on the international situation. While defending the classical positions of marxism on the question of imperialism and war, particularly in the face of the aberrations developed by Vercesi, this document constituted a real deepening of the understanding of the main problems facing the working class in the decadence of capitalism. In particular, the GCF understood that the attempts at proletarian response from 1943-1944 onwards, as in Italy, had not put an end to the counter-revolution. Learning from the revolutionary wave that arose at the end of the First World War, the world bourgeoisie had prevented any form of proletarian response and solidarity on an international scale, using the most cynical and ferocious means to do so.

Moreover, by adopting the position established by the Italian Fraction on the conditions for the emergence of the party,¹¹ the GCF was able to un-
11. Drawing on the experience of the revolutionary movement since the Communist League, the Italian Fraction theorised that the class party could not arise in just any situation, but only in the course of the real development of the class struggle. This is why the Italian Fraction opposed the aberrant decision of Trotsky and the Opposition to form the Fourth International in the midst of counter-revolution, on the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War.

derstand that this was absolutely not on the agenda, and that the task at hand was to continue the work undertaken by the Italian Fraction from the late 1920s onwards. It was under these conditions that the GCF engaged in a fraternal but uncompromising polemic against the catastrophic approach of the PCInt:

“The course is open towards the third imperialist war. It is time to stop playing the ostrich, seeking consolation in a refusal to see the danger. Under present conditions, we can see no force capable of stopping or modifying this course. The worst thing that the weak forces of today’s revolutionary groups can do is to try to go up a down staircase. They will inevitably end up breaking their necks ...

To throw oneself into the adventurism of artificial and premature party-building not only implies an incorrect analysis of the situation, but means turning away from the real work of revolutionaries today, neglecting the critical elaboration of the revolutionary program and giving up the positive work of forming its cadres.

But there is worse to come, and the first experiences of the party in Italy are there to confirm it. Wanting at all costs to play at being the party in a reactionary period, wanting at all costs to work among the masses means falling to the level of the masses, following in their footsteps; it means working in the trade unions, taking part in parliamentary elections -- in a word, opportunism.

*At present, orienting activity towards building the party can only be an orientation towards opportunism”.*¹²

And the GCF’s criticism did not stop there. The opportunism of the Partito was evident not only in the premature nature of its formation but also in the fact that it had been formed without the slightest clarification or definition of proletarian positions and principles. This is why, from 1945-1946 onwards, the party agreed to integrate into its ranks, without any prior discussion, both the Vercesi tendency, which a few months earlier had been part of the Anti-Fascist Committee in Brussels, and the minority of the Italian Fraction
12. “The task of the hour: formation of the party or formation of cadres”, *Internationalisme* 12, August 1946, republished in *International Review* 32

that had joined the anti-fascist militias during the Spanish Civil War, members of the former Union Communiste group and even militants who had participated in the ‘liberation’ of Turin alongside the partisans in 1945. Such was the consistency of this unprincipled conglomerate, the PCInt, in the aftermath of the war. The quest for immediate success and the attraction of the greatest number led it to turn its back completely on the method inherited from the experience of the revolutionary movement in terms of building the organisation, from the formation of the Communist League in 1848 to that of the Bolshevik Party in 1903. This was the message sent by the GCF in January 1946, drawing a parallel between the opportunistic construction of the Comintern from 1919-1920 and that of the Partito: *“In short, the method that the CI would use for the ‘construction’ of the Communist Parties would be the opposite of the method that was used and proved its worth in the building of the Bolshevik Party. It was no longer the ideological struggle around the programme, the gradual elimination of opportunist positions, which, through the triumph of the consistent revolutionary fraction, would serve as the basis for the construction of the Party, but rather the addition of different tendencies, their amalgamation around a deliberately unfinished programme, which would serve as the basis. Selection would be abandoned in favour of addition, principles sacrificed for numerical mass”*¹³.

The second part of this article will address the last phase of the political life of the GCF and show the contribution of this group to the understanding of the decadence of capitalism and its implications for the positions of revolutionaries. **Vincent, 19 January 2026**

13. “À propos du 1er congrès du Parti communiste internationaliste d’Italie,” *Internationalisme* No. 6 (January 1946).

The proletariat must reject all sacrifices for the growth of militarism!

“We have all the knowledge, all the economic and demographic strength to deter the Moscow regime. [...] What we lack [...] is the strength of character to accept that we must suffer in order to protect who we are. If our country falters because it is not prepared to accept the loss of its children, because, let’s be honest, it will suffer economically because priorities will be given to defence production, then we are at risk.” The Chief of Staff of the French Army did not mince his words, and was not disavowed by the political world: the future promised to us by the bourgeoisie of the whole world is the war of each against all! And to wage it, the ruling class needs combatants who are willing to be killed for the nation, and non-combatants who are willing to make draconian sacrifices to produce weapons! The so-called necessity of ‘national defence’ against ‘evil’ foreigners who threaten the country, which of course has no desire to wage war but feels ‘obliged’ (sic) to develop its military arsenal to ‘preserve peace’, is a hypocritical fabrication that has been repeatedly disproved by history.

On this point, the workers’ movement has long since exposed the bourgeoisie’s lie. Rosa Luxemburg, in her Junius Pamphlet, already denounced similar nonsense about the First World War:

*“Making war simply and solely for the protection of the Fatherland was, by the way, not Bismarck’s invention. He only carried out, with characteristic unscrupulousness, an old, well-known and truly international recipe of capitalist statesmanship. When and where has there been a war since so-called public opinion has played a role in governmental calculations, in which each and every belligerent party did not, with a heavy heart, draw the sword from its sheath for the single and sole purpose of defending its Fatherland and its own righteous course from the shameful attacks of the enemy? This legend is as inextricably a part of the game of war as powder and lead.”*¹ The Gauche Communiste de France, in a report dated July 1945, highlighted another equally important aspect of decadent capitalism: *“that*

1. Rosa Luxemburg, *The Crisis of German Social Democracy* (1915), also known as *The Junius Pamphlet*.

*war becomes the permanent way of life in decadent capitalism”*². We communists have long been warned: capitalism means war! And because of the exacerbation of the historical crisis of this system and the worsening of imperialist tensions, each bourgeoisie is actively preparing for war. But to do so, it needs a docile proletariat that accepts everything that war entails: blood, toil, tears and sweat! Hence, of course, in order to appear less bellicose than ‘the enemy’, the call to ‘protect who we are’.

This drastic development of militarism in Europe, imposed by the disappearance of the American umbrella, is not a temporary phenomenon, but rather a general trend on all continents. The reintroduction of military service, which is still not compulsory in France, Britain, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands, shows that the ruling class has understood that it needs to cultivate a more openly militaristic ideology among young people. Russia has understood this for several years, having introduced the army and its propaganda directly into schools. The prospect is for the development of a more explicit and brutal militarist ideology, and this is not only the work of openly warmongering far-right governments. On the contrary, the entire bourgeoisie, from the far right to the left-wing parties, is unanimous on this point.

In France, the return of a form of conscription is welcomed by all parties, from National Rally to La France Insoumise, with left-wing parties proving to be just as bellicose as the others: Mélenchon, the candidate for La France Insoumise (LFI), has been advocating compulsory military service since 2020, and his colleague Panot hypocritically advocates *“citizen conscription [in order to] face the major challenges of our century”*. For the Socialist Party, *“it is an important element at a time when we know that deterrence must be restored to prevent future confrontations”*; the Ecologists are committed to *“strengthening the operational reserve to be resilient in the face of attacks, but also in the face of climate and health risks”*. In short, all the bourgeois political factions in France

2. “Report on the International Situation, July 1945” Conference of the Gauche Communiste de France, quoted in “The Historic Course”, adopted at the 3rd Congress of the ICC, *International Review* No.18.

agree: to save the nation, we need soldiers who are willing to be killed, we need cannon fodder! In the United Kingdom and Germany, the bourgeoisie has also intensified its campaigns to recruit young people into the army. As UK Defence Secretary John Healey said: *“This is a new era for defence, which means new opportunities for young people to discover and learn from our armed forces.”*³ (sic).

Far-left parties, like their big brothers on the electoral left, compete in hypocrisy to hide their support for nationalist ideology, but their role is even more to divide the ‘youth’ and hide the fact that war is the product of all nations, of capitalism as a whole.

Thus, the group Klasse gegen Klasse (KgK), a Trotskyist group in Germany, *“opposes war, repression and budget cuts”* and proclaims: *“not a man, not a penny for the war machine!”*, but does not hesitate to support one imperialist camp against another in numerous conflicts, such as Palestine against Israel or Venezuela against the United States! The Internationale Sozialistische Organisation, another Trotskyist group in Germany, in turn approves of compulsory military service with the aim of *“creating a country that cannot be conquered because its people are armed.”*⁴. What this means is shown by this organisation’s encouragement of the ‘armed people’ of Ukraine, leading to a massacre that is decimating an entire generation of workers in that country. In France, the NPA, as usual, puts the division of the proletariat on the agenda: *“Universal National Service and Defence and Citizenship Day are instruments in the service of imperialism and capital. They reproduce oppressive and conservative logics that particularly affect young people of colour and those in precarious situations”*⁵. Their rhetoric seeks to

3. “Armed forces to launch ‘Gap Year’ scheme for young people to bolster skills and leadership”, UK Ministry of Defence press release, 27 December, 2025.

4. “Volk in Waffen, Gegen den Militarismus” (People in arms against Militarism), ISO website, September 23, 2025).

5. See the video “Against War Capitalism”, <https://npa-lanticapitaliste.org/videos/contre-le-capitalisme-guerrier>.

isolate young people from immigrant backgrounds from other sections of the working class!

These repugnant arguments, which ultimately aim to promote the interests of national capital, are merely a continuation of all the warmongering propaganda spread by all bourgeois factions. All nations are imperialist because they must defend their interests against their international competitors, and all bourgeoisies, whatever their differences, are nationalist because that is the basis of their existence. This is their central characteristic: from the defence of ‘free Palestine’ to ‘America First’, via the ‘defence of democracy’ or that of ‘socialist regimes’, the defence of the nation is the unmistakable sign of belonging to the ruling class. Nationalism is the flag behind which all bourgeois factions rally, from the far right to the far left. The call to ‘defend the homeland’ is just a way of saying that we must defend the national interests of the class that exploits us, to mobilise us for war with all its attendant miseries.

The reaction was immediate in Germany, a country where the militarism of the ruling class has probably left the worst memories: demonstrations by high school and university students took place despite threats from the authorities, bringing together 35,000 participants across Germany, with very clear slogans: ‘Not a man, not a penny for the Bundeswehr’, ‘Too young to vote, but old enough for war’.

The explosion of every man for himself is multiplying tensions and conflicts in all directions, accentuating economic destabilisation and increasing the danger of military confrontations between states. The only future that capitalism offers us is war of each against all and widespread misery. But the sacrifices demanded of the working class in terms of living conditions for the military effort can only clash with the current emergence of workers’ militancy: the proletariat alone offers a real alternative to the monstrous future that capitalism is preparing for us, and it alone holds the key to escaping it. **HG, 10 January 2026**

Support for ‘Free Palestine’: a trap to disarm the proletariat

In a previous article on pro-Palestinian demonstrations in Italy¹, we denounced the bourgeoisie’s trap designed to divert the outrage over the massacres in Gaza into nationalist support for Palestine, i.e for the Palestinian state and the Palestinian ruling class, which is at war, notably with its Iranian allies, against a rival bourgeoisie, that of Israel. Against war and the steamroller of nationalism, the only perspective for the proletariat is to defend the unity and solidarity of workers in all countries, to refuse to allow workers to be drafted into a war that is not theirs, in which they are forced to murder their class brothers and sisters. This perspective of concrete and living international class solidarity is still a long way off, or at least it is defended today only by small revolutionary minorities. But it is the only possible way to prevent the bourgeoisie from plunging the entire planet into military barbarism. The enemy is not the worker from another country who has been forcibly conscripted; *“the enemy is in our own country, it is our own bourgeoisie,”* proclaimed the revolutionaries during the first imperialist world war, when the proletariat was still reeling from the declaration of war. In 1912 in the United States, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) also pointed out that the national flag is always used to blindfold workers and make them lose sight of their class interests². In other words, the demand for a ‘free’ Palestine is the opposite of proletarian internationalism; it is a

1. ‘Strikes against the massacre in Gaza: The proletariat in Italy caught in the nets of pacifism and nationalism’, published on the ICC website (October 2025).

2. ‘Against all national flags!’, *World Revolution* 404

call to continue the imperialist war.

This is what those who waved the Palestinian flag at demonstrations in Italy fail to see.

We have often demonstrated in our articles that the era of capitalism’s ascendancy is well and truly over, an era in which the emergence of new nations represented progress in terms of the development of productive forces and the growth of the proletariat. However barbaric the wars that unified nations may have been, as was the case in Italy in 1860 and in Germany after 1870, they represented a step forward in the development of capitalism and, consequently, of its gravedigger: the working class. It was then possible for workers, under certain conditions, by organising themselves separately, to sometimes support wars of national liberation and struggles for democratic rights.

That time is irretrievably gone; capitalism is no longer and will never again be a factor of progress. The task of the proletariat is now to resist attacks on wages and working conditions and, by politicising their struggles, to constitute themselves as a class, to prepare to overthrow the bourgeois state everywhere, firmly rejecting all nationalist propaganda. This is a long-term task that requires workers to become aware of their interests and their ultimate goal. Revolutionaries must play their part in this politicisation and, even if they are still in the minority, continue to denounce without fail the dominant ideology, particularly when it’s propagated by organisations that claim to be working class or even revolutionary - all the ‘left-wing parties’ of the bourgeoisie. The latter, systematically advocating the defence of the small bourgeois Palestinian state on the pretext that it is ‘under attack’

or ‘weaker’, are merely endorsing the confinement of its proletarians in a logic of war, in the name of a supposed ‘liberation’. The slogan “Free Palestine” is a trap!

The genocide in Gaza provokes anger and indignation. These kinds of feelings have often radicalised the class struggle, especially when workers are victims of repression. The history of the workers’ movement provides countless examples of this. It is normal to get involved in the class struggle with our emotions, but these can also be bad advisers because they trap us in the immediate and in outward appearances.

However, the current situation has absolutely nothing to do with the class struggle. On both sides, the proletarians are hostages to an imperialist conflict, victims driven to crime and hatred towards each other. It is therefore necessary to take a step back and not allow ourselves to be drawn into the nationalist trap. This is obviously extremely difficult for the proletarians and politicised elements of Israel and Palestine, as they are directly immersed in this barbarism, without the political weapons of the proletariat, without the internationalist solidarity of their class brothers in other countries. They are caught up in the heat of events, amid provocations and revenge, the rage of despair and powerlessness, in an atmosphere marked by death and the ideology of war. We have seen that it was also very difficult for the proletarians in Italy because of the currently very low level of consciousness in the class, whose maturation is only just beginning on an international scale. They still have to take a step forward to be able to unmask the deceptive discourse of the ruling class.

Let us take a few fragments of this discourse:

1. *‘It is only fair to demand a national home for the Palestinians, as the Jewish people demanded and obtained after the Second World War.’* The creation of the State of Israel took place during the Cold War between the two great imperialist blocs led by the USSR and the United States. It is the product of imperialist war, as shown by the regional wars that have constantly bloodied the Middle East. If a Palestinian state is created in turn, the same will be true. Calling for a ‘free’ Palestinian state means formalising yet another competitor on the world stage, calling for the endless pursuit of imperialist war in this dog-eat-dog world that will once again pit all the states in the region against each other, each seeking to rely on the medium and great powers that defend their geostrategic interests on the international stage. All states, regardless of their size and power, are imperialist states. All are compelled to defend their national and strategic interests, their place on the bloody chessboard of decadent capitalism.

2. *‘To abandon the struggle for a free Palestine is to implicitly accept the massacre of the Palestinians and leave the way open for the annexation of all their territories by Israel.’* Rejecting the terrain of imperialist war and nationalism does not mean abandoning the struggle! For the proletariat, it means regaining the means to fight for their own class interests, it means being able to acquire the enormous strength that stems from the fact that Israeli and Palestinian proletarians have the same class interests, that they can overcome these

Venezuela, Greenland... Behind the show of strength, the United States is exacerbating capitalist chaos!

With the spectacular operation on 3 January, kidnapping Venezuelan President Nicolas Maduro and his wife Cilia Flores from their sleep in a highly secure residence, the world's leading power sent a warning to the entire world: the United States can use its overwhelming military force at any time to impose and defend its national interests everywhere. Blackmail, open pressure and now kidnapping, typical of mafia systems, are now commonplace within the former international community. And it is using these same open gangster methods that the American power has issued threats against other bandits around the world who, by contrast, appear more civilised, blowing hot and cold on Greenland or Canada, on the Europeans, NATO or the UN at the Davos Forum¹.

The completely fallacious official justification of a fight against Maduro's narco-terrorism was a mere pretext that fooled no one. Similarly, Trump's great flourishes on Venezuelan oil, widely echoed by all the international bourgeoisies and in particular their leftist factions, to reduce the event to a simple war for resources, is no longer really convincing: the high cost of extraction, dilapidated facilities and instability do not really interest the big oil companies, nor the investors who are not exactly rushing to the gate. The meaning of the event and the scope of the American offensive are indeed elsewhere, much more global, much more brutal and destructive!

An earthquake of historic proportions

In reality, the intentions of the Trump administration and the United States were to strike and intimidate their rivals, particularly China and Russia, in an attempt to deter them from aggressively encroaching on Washington's traditional sphere of influence in Latin America. Commercial incursions on the continent and the construction of port infrastructure are increasingly unwelcome to Uncle Sam, as evidenced, for example, by Trump's reaction in Panama regarding the flow of Chinese goods and control of the canal. Behind the rhetoric of 'consolidation by hemisphere' lies a strategic priority that remains absolutely intact: to contain China, the United States' main challenger on the world stage, and prevent its expansion. This is the main motive behind the military adventure in Venezuela.

This brutal policy, which merely reinforces the new National Security Strategy (NSS) announced and published barely a month earlier, is far-reaching. It further opens Pandora's box, accelerating global chaos and disorder to an unprecedented degree. And its method of trampling on international law amounts to nothing less than shattering the entire international order and the institutions put in place to guarantee it, which had been established since 1945 by the United States itself. In this sense, the American offensive marks a considerable deepening of the process of disintegration of capitalist society, a new quality in the evolution of imperialist rivalries and 'every man for himself'.

Trump's policy, mundanely uninhibited and unpredictable in its contours, is already having profound consequences. In just a few days, Washington has gone from escalating its intervention in Venezuela to making new and very direct threats against Denmark over Greenland, then to seizing a Russian ship in international waters, before announcing massive new arms programmes! Now it is Canada that is directly targeted by the American desire to destabilise the province of Alberta. This policy, which heralds a new escalation of militarism and tensions, is already being implemented in a context of growing instability and totally destructive wars, particularly in Europe between Ukraine and Russia, further accelerating the frantic arms race.² While the European Union's reac-

1. This is a *'den of thieves'*, an apt description used by Lenin in his time to refer to the League of Nations (the predecessor of the UN).

2. After recording colossal expenditure, all states continue to announce new budget increases for military spending. This is obviously the case in the United States, which is planning a defence budget of \$1.5 trillion, i.e. 50% more than initially proposed. Another example is France, with a promise of an additional €3.5 billion in the 2026 finance bill and an additional €3 billion planned for 2027.

tions to Trump's threats and his desire to make Greenland the 51st state of the United States were initially more firm than usual, the discord within NATO is only growing. Unlike Venezuela, Greenland is part of Denmark, whose integrity is being threatened for the first time by the United States, even though it has been a member of the European Union since 1973 and a founding member of NATO. Similarly, Canada, also threatened by the Trump clan, is a member of the British Commonwealth, NATO and a traditional ally of the United States.



The pursuit of national interests threatens the destruction of humanity

Such an acceleration of the situation and the nature of the threats only serve to inflame tensions, heighten nervousness and reinforce the already existing inability of the major powers to maintain long-term strategic coherence. Events are unfolding at breakneck speed, forcing immediate responses, an upheaval that states cannot take the time to assimilate, leading to tensions where already fragile alliances of the past are quickly called into question, also prompting ephemeral, circumstantial, changing reactions, now without any real compass. Trump's unpredictable threats, following the transatlantic divorce, such as his desire to withdraw support for Ukraine and unilaterally end the conflict, not to mention his threats of exorbitant tariffs on European countries, led to timid condemnation from the latter. Today, even if they are not entirely united, most European countries and the European Union have judged the threats to be 'unacceptable' and have taken a united stand. That is why this time they have stood their ground and sent symbolic military contingents to Greenland as a matter of urgency, pushing NATO Secretary General Mark Rutte, to perform a complex balancing act, with great exertions, in an attempt to ease the pressure, and apparently sway Trump's intentions and momentarily reassure the ever-worried European bourgeoisie. Such a situation fully confirms the ICC's analysis of the divorce between Uncle Sam and the European Union, highlighting the acceleration of war chaos in a free-for-all, while other groups in the proletarian political milieu continue to talk about a *"bloc strengthening itself in preparation for the Third World War"*.

More and more voices are now being raised in Europe to assert that the United States is no longer a reliable ally! This conviction has been further reinforced for some members of the European Union, particularly in the face of Trump's latest surprise move to bypass and completely withdraw from the UN framework by inaugurating, at the very moment of the Davos Forum, his own alternative structure, a so-called 'Board of Peace' entirely under his control. Ultimately, the European powers find themselves trapped in a situation of strong military and energy dependence on Washington, and their initial firmness appears fragile. This situation can only exacerbate the growing tensions between European states, and within them between pro- and anti-American factions, thus leading to increased political fragility and instability.

But none of this indicates a resurgence of American power and control over the world. On the contrary, the abandonment of multilateralism, the rules of the international order and the democrat-

ic mystifications put in place by the United States itself after the Second World War is the clearest expression of its historic decline. While the National Security Strategy (NSS) in no way marks a break with the hegemonic ambitions of American imperialism, it aims to defend its own interests in a context where it is no longer able to impose a "new world order" in the face of the "every man for himself" that dominates the world. So, while some people are concerned about Trump's mental health and wonder why we have reached such a level of chaos and danger in the world, where

the United States seems to be shooting itself in the foot in the long term, the answer cannot be found in Trump's personality or profile, however irrational his behaviour may seem. The reasons for his political behaviour and all this chaos are to be found in the historical evolution of the capitalist system. Trump is nothing more than the true face of a capitalism in full putrefaction.

A new acceleration in the phase of capitalist decomposition

After the implosion of the Eastern Bloc and the collapse of the 'Soviet' Union in 1989, which were both products and indicators of the new period of capitalist decomposition, President George W. Bush Sr. announced the advent of a "new world order" under the leadership of the United States and took advantage of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 to launch the first Gulf War in order to guarantee, in the name of the 'international community' and the UN, respect for international law, to align more than thirty countries behind them and to close ranks with their former European allies.

But soon, the global imperialist landscape was marked by a systematic and widespread questioning of American leadership, including by its European allies. From then on, the American policeman's reactions to defend its leadership became increasingly brutal. During the war in Yugoslavia shortly afterwards, NATO members openly and directly opposed Uncle Sam, who ultimately had the last word by flexing his muscles, leading to the signing of the Dayton Accords in 1995 and painstakingly bringing an end to the war in Bosnia. More seriously, during the second war and the invasion of Iraq in 2003, NATO "allies", including France and Germany, went so far as to refuse to support US policy and participate in military operations. It was without the consent of the UN and with reduced support from NATO members that the Bush Jr. administration invaded Iraq.

Originally, these tensions continued to be part of a multilateral legal and institutional framework that emerged after the Second World War, and the United States' goal at the time was to maintain it as best it could. What's more, all these operations bore the ideological stamp of the 'fight for freedom and democracy' against autocratic and dictatorial powers. More than a 'policeman,' the United States sought to appear as the herald of the victorious humanist values of the West, the champion of democracy. Wars were systematically waged under the hypocritical guise of 'humanitarian aid.'³ With the open crusade against terrorism followed. One example is the first Gulf War, with the 'Provide Comfort' food drop operation, intended to justify the bombing of Iraq.

ing the attack on the Twin Towers in 2001 and the 2003 Iraq War and its blatant lies about the alleged discovery of weapons of mass destruction, the United States increasingly tended to openly disregard UN decisions, unilaterally waging its own bloody campaigns. Since then, faced with the increasingly obvious failure of a US-sponsored "new world order", this tendency to increasingly openly disregard international law and intervene militarily, sowing chaos as in Afghanistan, has become more pronounced. The American 'world policeman' was in fact increasingly becoming the main gangster causing trouble and chaos.

While Trump is essentially a caricature of this increasingly overt violence, the start of his second term nevertheless represents a real shift in this regard, with the new administration's explicit desire to end the conflict in Ukraine without resorting to multilateralism and traditional diplomatic mechanisms and excluding the main European 'allies' from negotiations. The US President's thunderous statements against 'international law' and the international institutions supposed to guarantee it are torpedoing the famous democratic values to make way for the pragmatic 'America First', confirming a real divorce between the Europeans and Trump's America. The unilateral decision to destroy Iran's nuclear facilities in early summer 2025 confirms that the world order that emerged in 1945 has collapsed, even if the illusion persists of an intervention to *"destroy a nuclear threat posed by an anti-democratic power"*. With the show of strength in Venezuela, the world's leading bourgeoisie, which had made its democracy a model for the whole world, shows how much interest this class of bandits has in democracy, 'human rights' and 'freedom': these are nothing but lies intended to mask the true face of capitalism, a fundamentally lawless system where the strongest wins, whatever the cost!

Such vandalism on Trump's part can only encourage chaos and the development of tensions and ideological manipulations of all kinds. Russian imperialism will feel emboldened to impose its domination over its 'sphere of influence' in Ukraine, the Baltic states and Eastern Europe. China's ambitions towards Taiwan will be reinforced. Europe will be all the more fragile and threatened as it is already experiencing strong dissonance between member states, a process of fragmentation that is well underway. However, the United States cannot emerge victorious from such a dynamic of irrationality and chaos. They are becoming the agents and accelerators of their own decline, undermined from within by a kind of latent civil war, in which Trump and his clan find themselves increasingly isolated in a society fractured on all sides, including among those who supported his presidential campaign behind the MAGA banner. If Trump was forced to soften his stance on Greenland, it was due to external pressure from the Europeans, who reacted more firmly, but also because of the chaotic domestic political situation and the divisions that exist within the world's leading power.⁴ This situation reflects the decay of the political apparatus of the ruling class, linked to the phase of decomposition of capitalism.

And the worst is yet to come! Thus, the growing number of rivals will demand accountability and will only throw a spanner in the works of the United States by attempting to use their own weapons, those of destabilisation and chaos. This will be the case, for example, in Latin America, where, far from 'putting an end to drug trafficking', Trump's kick in the anthill will only generate a myriad of other types of trafficking. In short, it will be an endless spiral, a vortex that can only lead Uncle Sam to use his only strength, that of weapons, a logic that is becoming widespread and can only lead to the questioning of the very foundations of all civilisation, leading only to nothingness and death.

Faced with this monstrous dynamic, which could ultimately lead to the destruction of the human race, there is only one alternative: the struggle of the proletariat for a communist society. **WH**

4. Such as California Governor Gavin Newsom, a Democrat, who is encouraging Europeans to stand up to Trump's policies and has called on the international community to 'wake up'.

World revolution is the only realistic solution!

Our public meeting in December 2025¹ aimed to present the *Manifesto* published by the ICC on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of its foundation.² It is mainly devoted to a global analysis of the last fifty years of capitalist convulsions and class struggle.

The stakes

As both the *Manifesto* and the introduction to the meeting emphasised the profound responsibilities of the revolutionary minority in the current and future world situation, the first point of discussion focused on evaluating the ICC’s analysis of the main developments in the world situation over the last five decades:

The re-emergence of the proletarian struggle in the wake of the massive strikes in France in May-June 1968, a wave of movements which spanned most regions of the globe and led by a new generation of workers who had not been crushed by the deep counter-revolution which descended on the class following the defeat of the 1917-23 revolutionary wave.

This movement saw many advances in consciousness (which took a very concrete form in the revival of the international communist left and in the formation of the ICC itself) and in the extension and self-organisation of struggles, the high point of which was reached in the mass strike in Poland in 1980.

These struggles acted as a barrier to the bourgeoisie’s ‘solution’ to the deepening world economic crisis - mobilisation of society for a new world war – but at the same time they did not attain the level of politicisation required to present society with the alternative of proletarian revolution. By the end of the 1980s we had thus reached a kind of social stalemate which gave rise to a new and terminal phase in the decline of the capitalist system: the phase of decomposition

Even though this new phase brought the old division of the world into military blocs to a close, adding another element to the reasons why a Third World War was not on the historical agenda, the very advance of decomposition could lead to the destruction of humanity through a horrible combination of regional wars, ecological disasters, pandemics and other scourges.

The 2020s are seeing a clear acceleration of the disintegration of capitalist society and this combination of its various crises in a vortex or whirlwind which is making the perspective of barbarism more tangible than ever. And yet while this is the most visible pole in the world situation, there is a counter-pole: a world proletariat, and above all its most concentrated battalions in western Europe and North America, which has not been through the same level of defeat as in the period 1923-68 and which, from 2022, has inaugurated a new phase in the class struggle, a “rupture” with several decades of retreat in class combativity and consciousness.

The gravity of the world situation emphasises the gravity of the tasks facing those who stand for the communist revolution against capitalism, above all in pushing forward the politicisation of 1. These online meetings have two main objectives: to present our positions and analyses to as wide an audience as possible and, at the same time, to create a space for public discussion between the ICC and other proletarian political groups and, more broadly, all those around the world who are seeking a way to oppose decaying capitalist society. Admittedly, the development of such a space for discussion faces various obstacles, notably, as we pointed out in our introduction to the meeting, the fact that the current proletarian political milieu “*is riven by sectarianism, a refusal to engage in polemics and debate, opportunist practices of ‘recruitment’ and profound concessions to bourgeois ideology on such crucial issues as the internationalist response to capitalist war or the role of the trade unions*”. However, while very few of these groups responded positively to our invitations to participate, many comrades, long-time supporters of the ICC but also more recent contacts in search of revolutionary positions, took part in these meetings and contributed to the discussion of the topics on the agenda.

2. “Capitalism threatens humanity: World revolution is the only realistic solution” (*ICC Manifesto*, 2025)

the class movement and in constructing a bridge towards the future communist party, without which any revolutionary upsurge will be doomed to defeat.

What was striking about the first round of interventions at the meeting was the degree to which comrades understood that the alternative of socialism or barbarism is being demonstrated in a very concrete way by the acceleration of wars and ecological collapse across the planet. As a sympathiser wrote to us in response to our request for feedback on the meeting, this growth in understanding is evidence that there is process of subterranean maturation going on in the proletariat, “*the growing awareness in the class that we are facing an existential crisis of the present civilization/order. This realisation is unclearly formulated among the class but it is clearly growing in weight and becoming increasingly obvious to many, even if in a semi-conscious way*”.

A new phase in the class struggle

The main focus or questions and disagreements at the meeting was the question of the “rupture” in the class struggle. The disagreement was put forward in particular by MH, a member of the Old Moles Collective. MH agreed with us on the importance of what happened in May 68 and after, but argues that the ICC has not heeded its own warnings – formulated in particular at its 21st International Congress³ - against overestimating the class struggle, while at the same time underestimating the capacity of the bourgeoisie to respond to it. In his view, the class movement of the 1970s and early 80s was defeated by a counter-offensive of the bourgeoisie which also enabled the latter to introduce economic changes which gave the system a breathing space. He recognises a “limited revival” of the class struggle after 2022 but with its concept of the “rupture” the ICC is underestimating the long-lasting impact of the defeat of the 80s and making the same error of overestimation of the class struggle which lay behind its idea of a “turning point” in the struggle in 2003.

In fact, the ICC does not at all underestimate the depth of the set-back in the class struggle over the last three decades, which certainly included a number of important defeats, such as that of the miners in Britain in 1984-5. Nor do we deny the reality of a bourgeois counter-offensive from the late 1970s onwards – an offensive which expressed itself both at the political level (the re-alignment of bourgeois political forces and massive ideological campaigns) and in the 3. See “Report on the class struggle (2015),” *International Review* No. 156

economic level, although the “breathing space” allowed by so-called globalisation was largely the result of the collapse of the old bloc system and the consequent rise of China as a “locomotive” for the world economy⁴. The downfall of the USSR and its bloc was simultaneously the basis for the massive ideological onslaught about the “death of communism”, which was a major factor in the disorientation of the working class from the beginning of the 1990s. Neither of these latter developments can be separated from the process of capitalist decomposition, marked by the growing atomisation of social relations and the rise of all kinds of irrational ideas, which has greatly exacerbated the proletariat’s loss of confidence and its capacity to see itself as a distinct social class.

The gradual recovery of class identity (without which there can be no prospect of proletarian politicisation of the struggle) is linked to the worsening economic crisis, which can only lead to direct and massive attacks on the exploited and force them to react on their own class terrain, unlike specific phenomena of decomposition, such as the ecological crisis, which, in the absence of sufficient politicisation, tend to give rise to fragmented reactions on bourgeois terrain, particularly that of so-called democratic ‘reforms’. Alongside this danger, that of interclassism, mixing workers’ demands with those of small business owners or other intermediate social strata, as was the case with the Yellow Vests, presents the danger of diluting a still fragile proletariat into other strata of society, when it is still only at the very beginning of the process of regaining its own class identity.

Although fraught with difficulties, this struggle is well and truly underway. This is precisely what we believe has been happening since 2022, where workers have gone on strike and taken to the streets on the basis of resisting attacks (on wages, pensions, etc) that have been building up over a long period, together with a mounting feeling in the class that “enough is enough” and that the promised consolations for years of austerity have not materialised.

These class movements have therefore also been the product of a long period of subterranean maturation which gives them a depth far more significant than the “limited revival” which MH refers to. As we have already noted, this underground process is already giving rise to real expressions of class consciousness at various levels: in a very 4. See in particular the “Resolution on the balance of forces between the classes (2019)”, *International Review* No. 164, and “The historical roots of the ‘rupture’ in the dynamics of the class struggle since 2022 (Part 2)” in *International Review* No. 173.

small minority searching for marxist clarity and considering an organisational involvement; in a slightly wider minority looking for an internationalist response to capitalist wars; and in the more outward and massive manifestations of the struggle, for example in France, with young demonstrating workers reclaiming their continuity with May-June 68, or making a clear link between the build-up of the war economy and their declining living standards.

Building the bridge to the future party

In our conclusion to the meeting, we summed up the responsibilities facing revolutionaries in the present world situation. Because we are not living in a period of counter-revolution, of historical defeat, the road to the formation of the future party remains open, even if we are talking about a very long road with numerous obstacles to surmount on the way. The task we face today is not that of proclaiming ourselves to be the party already, in the Bordigist manner, but of building the bridge which leads to the party, an organisation capable of having a real impact on the course of the class struggle.

In our view, this work, similar to that of a fraction, can only be accomplished by a political organisation with a clear programme, centralised on an international scale, and able to pass on a wealth of experience at the organisational and political level. Evidently, we think that the ICC is uniquely qualified to carry out this role, not least because of the prevailing opportunism and sectarianism within the existing proletarian political camp. But the majority of the militants of the ICC come from the “1968” generation and our organisation needs to transmit the lessons of its 50 years of existence to new generations of comrades willing to join its ranks.

The Bolshevik tradition on the question of adherence to the revolutionary organisation, which is our tradition as well, is that the organisation has to be based on the profound militant commitment of all its members. But if the organisation must assume the role of a vanguard in the development of the revolutionary movement, its influence must also radiate outwards and draw towards it a whole network of sympathisers and fellow travellers who are ready to support and defend it. We gave two concrete examples of how comrades can assist the ICC in the short term: help us to distribute the Manifesto (and our press in general) as widely as possible and send us their reflections on the debates at this public meeting in order to take the discussion forward. **Amos, December 2025**

Continued from page 4

Support for ‘Free Palestine’: a trap to disarm the proletariat

divisions imposed by the bourgeoisie. Yes, this perspective is not immediately achievable. Yes, the working class does not yet have the means to oppose the massacres head-on. But the alternative proposed by the left wing of capital is the creation of a new imperialist state already in the orbit of Iran and Hezbollah. It is an exploited working class that is being sent to its death by Hamas or another ‘more presentable’ faction of the Palestinian bourgeoisie that is just as barbaric.

Far from putting an end to the massacres and preventing capitalism from sinking deeper into war, nationalist slogans in favour of a ‘free Palestine’ only serve to distract workers from the only perspective capable of truly ending capitalist barbarism: world revolution. Through these campaigns, the bourgeoisie seeks to prevent the proletarians of the major capitalist metropolises from developing their resistance to the effects of the crisis and the rise of militarism, which are essential stepping stones towards the politicisation of struggles and mass strikes, the only means capable of providing a beginning of a response to the imperialist, destructive and murderous adventures of the bourgeoisie. International class solidarity is a powerful lever, the only one that can give respite to the working class on the periphery of cap-

italism, deeply impacted by war, while awaiting the emergence of an international revolutionary wave.

3. ‘*The great powers or institutions such as the International Court of Justice have the means to end this war and impose peace.*’ The peace plan that Trump is seeking to impose reveals to us every day how much of a new deception it is. This attempt is doomed to failure and the hypocrisy is total. Trump would like to be able to resolve the problems caused by this war in Gaza so that he can deploy his forces in the Pacific against the Chinese enemy, that is, to prepare for other wars. The idea of ‘peace’ under capitalism is always a pure lie and a pipe dream. The rare moments of respite, when each nation prepared for war through an arms race, are now turning into a ‘hybrid war’, against a backdrop of rampant militarism and high-intensity conflicts. War is not simply the result of the will or a decision of the bourgeoisie. War is a product of the capitalist system. As Jaurès said, ‘*capitalism carries war within it like a cloud carries a storm*’.

To give in to support for the ‘nation’, an embodiment of this system, is not only to accept but to promote the logic of war. The only way to end war, or at least initially to hinder the bourgeoisie’s

warmongering projects, is to reject all patriotism and nationalism, defending the unity of the proletariat, first and foremost in the major capitalist metropolises, where the working class has a wealth of historical experience, but also on the periphery of capitalism where the class may be weakened by the weight of intermediate social strata. The communist revolution will put an end to imperialist war once and for all by abolishing the economic categories of capitalism: wage labour, value production, competition, classes and national borders. This is why it is so important to defend internationalist positions and the autonomous struggle of the working class throughout the world, a working class which, in Italy as elsewhere, is today capable of developing its consciousness, albeit slowly due to numerous obstacles and the still strong ideological hold of the bourgeoisie. **Avrom E, December 2025**

Continued from page 1

Working-class youth are the future, not Gen Z!

The population of all these countries is very young. Often, young people under the age of 30 represent 50%, and sometimes even 60%, of the population. And the unemployment rate among this generation is very high. For example, in Indonesia, it exceeds 15%; in Nepal, it is well over 20%; in Peru, it is around 30%; and in Morocco, it is even approaching 40%! The outlook is extremely bleak for a large part of the youth in these countries. This is one reason for their involvement en mass in these forms of protest.

Added to this is endemic corruption, which infuriates the wider population. According to “Transparency International’s 2024 Corruption Perceptions Index”, all the countries affected by these movements, which mobilise mainly young people, are among the most corrupt: Morocco and Indonesia rank 99th, Nepal 107th, the Philippines 114th, Togo 124th, Peru 127th and Madagascar 140th out of 180 countries. During the protests, the persistent corruption of the ruling clique is always one of the central issues.

Corruption, the spark that ignited the ‘Gen Z’ revolts

In Indonesia, the large popular demonstrations on 25th August were triggered by the announcement of a 50 million rupees per month housing allowance of for members of parliament. This came at the time of mass lay-offs (of more than 80,000 workers), a more than 100% increase in property tax and major budget cuts in education, public works and health. In response to these protests, the Trade Union Coalition (KSPI) decided to call for a general strike on 28 August, making economic demands strongly marked by nationalism and totally awash with democratic mystifications, such as an end to offshoring, an end to lay-offs, an increase in the minimum wage and a review of the anti-corruption laws. However, on 29 August, with the death of a delivery driver who was hit by a police car, the situation worsened and it sparked riots in 30 provinces across the country for a whole week, with dozens of public and private buildings set on fire and more than 2,000 people arrested.

In Nepal, the immediate trigger for the popular protests was the government’s ban on 26 social media platforms on 4 September. This blockade was seen as an attempt by the government to cover up its corruption. The banners and placards brandished at the rallies denounced the culture of nepotism, corruption and impunity. For a generation facing unemployment, inflation and disillusionment with traditional parties, these practices epitomise ‘a failing system’. When riot police used live ammunition on 8/9 September, killing more than 70 protesters and injuring more than 2,000 others, the protests escalated. In response, young people unleashed blind and vengeful violence: looting, attacking and chasing politicians, and setting fire to the headquarters of the Congress Party and the Parliament.

In Morocco, the deaths of eight women, who were victims of negligent health care in public hospitals in the town of the Prime Minister, led to a series of protests against widespread corruption among the ‘elites’ and nepotism among politicians. The gap between the lack of prospects for young people, massive unemployment, and the state’s costly investments in stadiums for the African Cup of Nations and the 2030 World Cup was a driving force behind the anger, which was fiercely repressed by the authorities, resulting in three deaths, hundreds of injuries and thousands of arrests.

Popular revolts are a dead end

While indignation and the desire to fight are legitimate, the protesters are directing their anger against the mismanagement of the state or the corruption of this or that politician or bourgeois faction, which is only targeting the symptoms of the putrefaction of the entire capitalist system. It is the capitalist economy, now undergoing an unprecedented crisis, that is the cause of the suffering and misery in these countries, a crisis that is sacrificing ever larger sections of the world’s population, starting with those in the most fragile countries, in an attempt to prolong its rule. It’s the historic crisis of capitalism that lies behind the total lack of prospects for the mass of the popu-

lation, and especially for young people, who are facing chronic unemployment.

Popular revolts are by definition heterogeneous and do not have a class character: they mobilise ‘the people’, but the working class is unable to develop its own autonomous struggle because the boundaries between classes are blurred. In fact, these revolts are incapable of developing any perspective other than the illusion of a nation-state abandoning its predictable abuses which means they feed all the democratic illusions in defence of the state that the bourgeoisie uses to distance the proletariat from its revolutionary perspective. They are thus not directed against the bourgeois state, but only against its ‘malign effects’ that are thought to be ‘fixable’.

However, when they are reduced to impotence and a lack of perspective, one of the intrinsic characteristics of popular revolts is aimless violence. Since demands cannot be met, immediately and satisfactory, rage begins to take over and the movements quickly degenerate into blind violence, destroying everything in their path. But clashes with the forces of repression, the occupation of government buildings, the hunting down of members of the government, and even the massive participation of workers in these actions do not give these social movements a revolutionary character, not even a potential one, despite the repeated efforts of the capitalist far left to make us believe so.¹

These popular revolts are regularly exploited and manipulated by bourgeois cliques and used to their advantage. Protests against corruption in the Philippines, against income inequality in Indonesia, or against the ban on social media in Nepal, etc.; all these pretexts provide bourgeois organisations with an excellent smokescreen for settling their rivalries, as was the case during the anti-corruption demonstration on 17 November in Manila, which was largely hijacked by a Christian sect in favour of Duterte’s camp.

We see the effects of this impasse in Iran, where the working class, unable to develop its struggle independently, to direct its discontent against exploitation, trapped by illusions about ‘democracy,’ ‘the people,’ “individual rights,” is caught up and massacred in bloody clashes between bourgeois factions, all of which promise a country free of corruption, freer, and more just.

All these protests end either in false victories, when the old bourgeois faction is replaced by a new one, or in outright state repression, or both. And the state’s response to these demonstrations is generally brutal: in Nepal, it has left more than 70 dead and hundreds injured; in Indonesia, thousands have been arrested; in Madagascar, 22 have been killed and more than a hundred injured. Popular revolts, reflecting a world without a future and characteristic of the system’s phase of decomposition, can only spread the ills of a putrefying capitalism.²

We must fight on our class terrain

Popular revolts perpetuate the myth of a fairer and better-managed capitalism and are in no way a springboard for class struggle. They represent a major obstacle and a dangerous trap for the proletariat. For the demands made during these movements “*dilute the proletariat within the general population, blurring its awareness of its historical struggle, subjecting it to the logic of capitalist domination and reducing it to political impotence*”³. The proletariat has everything to lose by allowing itself to be drowned in a wave of popular protests, totally blinded by democratic illusions

1. The English section of the Revolutionary Communist International (formerly IMT) gives one of its articles the title: ‘From Italy to Indonesia, from Madagascar to Morocco: a wave of revolution, rebellion and revolt is sweeping the world’.
2. The International Communist Tendency (ICT) has shown blatant opportunism by publishing a statement on the protests in Nepal (Statement on the Protests in Nepal), signed by the South Asian section of the NWBCW. By supporting the call for Nepal’s Generation Z to ‘engage in political and violent struggle,’ it is in fact inciting them to engage in adventurist actions that are tantamount to suicide!
3. “Popular revolts” are no answer to world capitalism’s dive into crisis and misery, International Review no. 163.

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and the possibility of a ‘clean’ capitalist state.

On the contrary, workers must impose their own slogans, their own demands and organise their own rallies, within the framework of a movement of their own. By fighting on the economic front (wages, ‘reforms’, redundancies, etc.), they are beginning, even without seeing it clearly, to oppose the very structures of capitalist society and wage-exploitation. In the long term, they are creating the conditions for broader reflection and an awareness of the revolutionary perspective.

The proletariat is, in fact, the only force in society capable of offering an alternative to the increasingly unbearable conditions of an obsolete capitalism. But this cannot succeed within the borders of a single country, especially when this proletariat is isolated from the battalions of the proletariat at the heart of capitalism and has little experience of the struggle against bourgeois democracy and the many traps that this class sets for it. Only by developing a common struggle with the working masses of the central countries, who have a long experience of dealing with the democratic mystification, will it be possible to bring about the necessary overthrow of capitalism and the emancipation of humanity.

Dennis, January 2026

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80 years ago, the founding of the Gauche Communiste de France (Part 1)

Keeping alive the spark of revolutionary organisation

In January 1945, the first issue of the journal *Internationalisme* was published, the theoretical organ of the French Fraction of the Communist Left (FFGC), which had been founded a few weeks earlier at its first conference in December 1944. ¹This group, composed of a handful of militants, later took the name Gauche Communiste de France - Communist Left of France - and carried out intense political activity until 1952. ² By continuing the political line of the Left Fraction of the Communist Party of Italy, it made an invaluable political contribution, particularly on the question of organisation and the conception of militancy. In the depths of the counter-revolutionary night, when revolutionary minorities were considerably reduced and very isolated from the rest of the working class, the GCF was the spark that kept the flame of revolution alive. Since its foundation in 1975, the ICC has never ceased to claim the legacy bequeathed by the Italian Fraction and the GCF. Eighty years after the founding of this group, this article aims to briefly retrace the trajectory of this organisation and, above all, to highlight its main contributions, on the basis of which the ICC was founded 50 years ago.

Defending the role of the fraction

From 1937 onwards, the Italian Fraction of the Communist Left of Italy ³ experienced serious political difficulties, particularly in relation to its analysis of the historical process. The majority of the group, as well as its central organ, began to defend the analysis that the wars of this period were aimed at the massacre of the proletariat and were no longer the product of inter-imperialist antagonism. It is important to note that the activities of the militants of the Communist Left took place for a whole period in clandestinity, under the constant threat of repression not only from the German occupation authorities but also from the ‘liberators’ because of the internationalism of this current, its uncompromising opposition to the war and its refusal to support any imperialist camp.

2. See our pamphlet in French, *La Gauche Communiste de France*, available online.

3. Its determined struggle against the degeneration of the parties of the Communist International led to the expulsion of the Left Fraction of the Communist Party of Italy, with Bordiga at its head, at the Lyon Congress in 1926.



Militants of the GCF, Paris 1945: left to right, Chirik, Bricanier, Mousso and Everard

onisms. This analysis was particularly defended and developed by Vercesi, one of the main leaders of the Italian Fraction, who theorised that capitalism could avoid generalised wars because of its ability to overcome its economic contradictions through the development of the war economy. According to him, the situation of “localised wars” that prevailed at the time, such as in Spain, Ethiopia, Manchuria, etc., should not be seen as a prelude to world war but as a war against the working class, intended to prevent it from taking the path of communist revolution. These serious errors of analysis plunged the Fraction into utter confusion when the Second World War broke out in September 1939. The majority of the Fraction, led by Vercesi, openly theorised the ‘social disappearance of the proletariat in wartime’ and, consequently, the abandonment of organised militant activity. Only a small minority strongly opposed this view. Fleeing the German occupation zone, this handful of militants took refuge in Marseille while attempting to maintain links with other militants in Paris. Thus, unable to establish a clear vision of their role in relation to a coherent analysis of the world situation, the International Communist Left and the Italian Fraction were unable to cope with the test of the outbreak of war.

By September 1939, the International Bureau of the Communist Left had dissolved, the Italian Fraction itself had broken up, and links between the sections had been virtually severed. It was only from June 1940 onwards that political activity was able to resume within the Marseille group, and in the following months the Fraction began to rebuild itself by re-establishing contact with militants scattered throughout France and Belgium.

It was under these conditions that the small nucleus of militants living in Marseille succeeded in winning over to its positions a few elements from Trotskyism. A few months later, this small circle of about ten militants, under the leadership of Marc Chirik, ⁴ formed the French Nucleus of the Communist Left on the basis of a declaration of principles: “*In 1942, in the midst of the imperialist war; a group of comrades, breaking organisationally and politically with the confusionism and opportunism of the Trotskyist organisations and with the imperialist war, has constituted itself into a nucleus of the Communist Left on the political basis of the International Communist Left*” ⁵

From 1943 onwards, the Italian Fraction and the French Nucleus undertook joint work to openly denounce the imperialist war and defend proletarian internationalism: “*Posters denouncing the imperialist war and all military camps were put up in several French cities. Leaflets written in German, English, Italian and French were thrown onto military trains leaving for the front. After the American landing on 6 June 1944, an appeal was made to all soldiers and workers asking them to show their class solidarity across borders; to cease fire and lay down their arms; to unite against global capitalism on ‘the international class front’ with a view to transforming the imperialist war into a civil war for the triumph of the world revolution*” ⁶ This intense work, carried out mainly by the French nucleus, resulted in particular in the numerical growth of the group in Marseille and 4. Marc Chirik was a member of the Italian Fraction of the Communist Left at that time. He was also one of the founding members of the International Communist Current. For more information on his political career, see the following series of articles:

- * “Marc, Part 1: From the Revolution of October 1917 to World War II”, *International Review* No. 65
- * “Marc, Part 2: From World War II to the present day”, *International Review* No. 66
- 5. «Statut d’organisation de la Fraction Francaise de la Gauche Communiste Internationale”, quoted in our pamphlet *The Italian Communist Left*, Chapter 8, available online. This nucleus set itself the goal of forming the French Fraction of the International Communist Left, but, rejecting the policy of ‘recruitment campaigns’ and ‘infiltration’ practised by the Trotskyists, it refused, under the influence of Marc Chirik, to hastily proclaim the immediate formation of such a fraction.
- 6. *The Italian Communist Left*.

Paris. In December 1944, at its first conference, the nucleus transformed itself into the ‘French Fraction of the Communist Left’. The International Communist Left now had a new Fraction, in addition to the Italian and Belgian Fractions, thereby realising the project formulated in 1937 by the International Bureau of the Communist Left. “*The programmatic bases were strictly the same as those of the Italian and Belgian Fractions: the 1938 resolution of the International Bureau of the Communist Left and the entire tradition of Bilan*” ⁷ The executive committee (EC) elected by the conference included a member of the EC of the Italian faction (MC) to mark the non-autonomous character of the new Fraction. ⁸

But the links between the survivors of the Italian Fraction and the French Fraction were to become strained very quickly, due to a certain mistrust of the former towards the latter. In fact, as was recognised at the 3rd conference in May 1944, the Italian Fraction had not completely overcome the crisis that had affected it at the end of the 1930s. The founding of the Partito Comunista Internazionalista (PCInt) in Italy in 1943 had further exacerbated the disorientation and dispersion within the Faction. ⁹ At its conference in May 1945, the Fraction decided to dissolve itself and for its members to join the new ‘party’ founded in Italy on an individual basis. Only Marc Chirik strongly opposed this decision as long as the positions of the new party, which were poorly understood, could not be verified. Faced with the Fraction’s suicidal undertaking, ¹⁰ he eventually resigned from its EC, left the conference in protest and decided to continue the revolutionary struggle.

7. This was the name given to the theoretical journal of the Italian Fraction between 1933 and 1938.
8. *The Italian Communist Left*.
9. For a more detailed discussion of this subject, see *The Italian Communist Left*, Chapter 9, The “Partito Comunista Internazionalista”
10. This dissolution was a coup de force and a piece of theatre. It was on the very day of the Conference that the members of the Fraction learned of it by reading the ‘political declaration’ drafted by only part of the Executive Committee. The latter indicated that if this text was not adopted, it would resign in order to defend it as a minority within the Fraction. The declaration was adopted, but in the absence of many militants who had been unable to attend.

Continued on page 3

Political positions of the ICC

World Revolution is the English language paper of the **International Communist Current** which defends the following political positions:

- * Since the first world war, capitalism has been a decadent social system. It has twice plunged humanity into a barbaric cycle of crisis, world war, reconstruction and new crisis. In the 1980s, it entered into the final phase of this decadence, the phase of decomposition. There is only one alternative offered by this irreversible historical decline: socialism or barbarism, world communist revolution or the destruction of humanity.
- * The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first attempt by the proletariat to carry out this revolution, in a period when the conditions for it were not yet ripe. Once these conditions had been provided by the onset of capitalist decadence, the October revolution of 1917 in Russia was the first step towards an authentic world communist revolution in an international revolutionary wave which put an end to the imperialist war and went on for several years after that. The failure of this revolutionary wave, particularly in Germany in 1919-23, condemned the revolution in Russia to isolation and to a rapid degeneration. Stalinism was not the product of the Russian revolution, but its gravedigger.
- * The statified regimes which arose in the USSR, eastern Europe, China, Cuba etc and were called ‘socialist’ or ‘communist’ were just a particularly brutal form of the universal tendency towards state capitalism, itself a major characteristic of the period of decadence.
- * Since the beginning of the 20th century, all wars are imperialist wars, part of the deadly struggle between states large and small to conquer or retain a place in

- the international arena. These wars bring nothing to humanity but death and destruction on an ever-increasing scale. The working class can only respond to them through its international solidarity and by struggling against the bourgeoisie in all countries.
- * All the nationalist ideologies - ‘national independence’, ‘the right of nations to self-determination’ etc - whatever their pretext, ethnic, historical or religious, are a real poison for the workers. By calling on them to take the side of one or another faction of the bourgeoisie, they divide workers and lead them to massacre each other in the interests and wars of their exploiters.
- * In decadent capitalism, parliament and elections are nothing but a masquerade. Any call to participate in the parliamentary circus can only reinforce the lie that presents these elections as a real choice for the exploited. ‘Democracy’, a particularly hypocritical form of the domination of the bourgeoisie, does not differ at root from other forms of capitalist dictatorship, such as Stalinism and fascism.
- * All factions of the bourgeoisie are equally reactionary. All the so-called ‘workers’, ‘Socialist’ and ‘Communist’ parties (now ex-‘Communists’), the leftist organisations (Trotskyists, Maoists and ex-Maoists, official anarchists) constitute the left of capitalism’s political apparatus. All the tactics of ‘popular fronts’, ‘anti-fascist fronts’ and ‘united fronts’, which mix up the interests of the proletariat with those of a faction of the bourgeoisie, serve only to smother and derail the struggle of the proletariat.
- * With the decadence of capitalism, the unions everywhere have been transformed into organs of capitalist order within the proletariat. The various forms of union

- organisation, whether ‘official’ or ‘rank and file’, serve only to discipline the working class and sabotage its struggles.
- * In order to advance its combat, the working class has to unify its struggles, taking charge of their extension and organisation through sovereign general assemblies and committees of delegates elected and revocable at any time by these assemblies.
- * Terrorism is in no way a method of struggle for the working class. The expression of social strata with no historic future and of the decomposition of the petty bourgeoisie, when it’s not the direct expression of the permanent war between capitalist states, terrorism has always been a fertile soil for manipulation by the bourgeoisie. Advocating secret action by small minorities, it is in complete opposition to class violence, which derives from conscious and organised mass action by the proletariat.
- * The working class is the only class which can carry out the communist revolution. Its revolutionary struggle will inevitably lead the working class towards a confrontation with the capitalist state. In order to destroy capitalism, the working class will have to overthrow all existing states and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale: the international power of the workers’ councils, regrouping the entire proletariat.
- * The communist transformation of society by the workers’ councils does not mean ‘self-management’ or the nationalisation of the economy. Communism requires the conscious abolition by the working class of capitalist social relations: wage labour, commodity production, national frontiers. It means the creation of a world community in which all activity is oriented towards the full satisfaction of human needs.
- * The revolutionary political organisation constitutes the vanguard of the working class and is an active

- factor in the generalisation of class consciousness within the proletariat. Its role is neither to ‘organise the working class’ nor to ‘take power’ in its name, but to participate actively in the movement towards the unification of struggles, towards workers taking control of them for themselves, and at the same time to draw out the revolutionary political goals of the proletariat’s combat.
- OUR ACTIVITY**
- Political and theoretical clarification of the goals and methods of the proletarian struggle, of its historic and its immediate conditions.
- Organised intervention, united and centralised on an international scale, in order to contribute to the process which leads to the revolutionary action of the proletariat.
- The regroupment of revolutionaries with the aim of constituting a real world communist party, which is indispensable to the working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a communist society.
- OUR ORIGINS**
- The positions and activity of revolutionary organisations are the product of the past experiences of the working class and of the lessons that its political organisations have drawn throughout its history. The ICC thus traces its origins to the successive contributions of the *Communist League* of Marx and Engels (1847-52), the three Internationals (the *International Workingmen’s Association*, 1864-72, the *Socialist International*, 1884-1914, the *Communist International*, 1919-28), the left fractions which detached themselves from the degenerating Third International in the years 1920-30, in particular the *German, Dutch and Italian Lefts*.