



world revolution

In the face of capitalist bankruptcy and chaos: Class struggle is the only way forward!

Everywhere prices are shooting up: for fuel, food and housing! Workers everywhere face layoffs or mass unemployment and worsening living conditions. Climate-related disasters are widespread with thousands of deaths due to extreme temperatures, wildfires and floods. War and mass slaughter proliferates! Right before our eyes, capitalism is unleashing all manner of calamities in a destructive whirlwind, and the bourgeoisie, along with its states and governments, whether left-wing, right-wing, ‘socialist’, liberal, or populist is incapable of providing any kind of solution.

An economic crisis of extreme severity

The ruling class’s impotence is due to the uncontrollable economic crisis afflicting capitalism, a crisis potentially far more severe than that of the 1930s and than the one that threatened to bring

down the financial system in 2008. Its scale reveals the utter failure of a decaying mode of production. The war in the Middle East has further exacerbated the crisis by disrupting global trade and driving up energy prices. Military adventures, tariffs, trade wars, and blackmail: it is now a case of every nation for itself, with each national bourgeoisie fighting for its survival against all the others amid a total global anarchy. International cooperation is unravelling, the global market is fragmenting and overproduction is exacerbating. All states are buckling under the burden of debts that have reached astronomical levels, whilst global military spending stands at \$2,887 billion.¹ This arms race deepens the debt, fuels inflation and drains the social spending budgets.

1. We must also take into account the staggering costs of environmental destruction.

Workers are footing the bill

The attacks on workers are mounting and will only intensify. This is the only possible ‘agenda’ for every government, present and future. Unemployment and job insecurity are widespread. Both are at record highs, particularly for young people worldwide. Even Germany, the flagship of European capitalism, is undergoing a structural crisis unprecedented since 1945 and it is impoverishing the working class. The automotive industry is taking a direct hit: Volkswagen plans to cut 100,000 jobs by 2030, Bosch 13,000, and Mercedes is demanding an increase in working hours of 30 or even 40 percent! And further attacks are being prepared against the already strained healthcare systems and pensions, with plans for the retirement age to be raised from 67 to 70.

A resurgence of fighting spirit

Faced with this doomsday scenario and the sacrifices demanded to be able to finance rearmament, the anger is immense. The working class, whether unemployed, employed, or retired, blue-collar or white-collar, began to fight back during the “Summer of Discontent” of 2022 in the United Kingdom, demonstrating a tremendous fighting spirit after decades of apathy and resignation. In the aftermath the anger and fighting spirit have shown no signs of abating. While workers in the United Kingdom were still fighting, those in France took to the streets *en masse* during the movement against pension reform (in 2023); then it was Canada’s and the United States’ turn (2024), followed by Belgium (2025), and many more countries followed.

The fighting spirit of the working class is expressed in numerous conflicts that remain scattered, and above all among small minorities who are questioning the needs and means of the struggle, as well as the prospects and future of society. Strikes are on the rise in France, Italy, and Germany but this fighting spirit is still scattered and hesitant; the working class still feels largely powerless and has difficulty taking the initiative. So far, these outbursts of anger co-exist without recognising themselves as a single class movement defending shared international interests. The working class is still therefore vulnerable to a corporatist logic and to being confined within the company, the department, or the sector.

A step forward

The situation, however, is beginning to change. At Airbus in Spain, from August 25 to September 4, 2026, 14,000 employees from several sites (Getafe, Seville, Illescas, Albacete, Cádiz) staged an indefinite strike demanding wage increases. This struggle has begun to demonstrate the strength of

Faced with attacks from all sides, Unite and fight as a class!

“Long live the working-class struggle!” (a slogan from the 12 September demonstration in Madrid)

The eyes of the working class are drawn to the struggle of the Airbus workers. In Spain, as in other countries, inflation is on the rise and our wages are under attack.

And just like the situation of the automotive sector in Germany, mass redundancies are in the pipeline and working conditions are under attack. A growing sense of unease and a determination to fight back have spread across all sectors and in all countries. But the question is: how to fight? We’ve had enough of protests where we are sidelined and have no say in agreements reached behind our backs.

The struggle at Airbus is a working-class struggle. Workers are fighting against the significant loss of income caused by rising prices and against cutbacks to working conditions (to remote working, flexible working hours, holidays, staff canteens). The struggle has arisen from a spontaneous initiative of the workers and has united the different branches, the engineers in the company offices and those working on the production lines. It has created mass assemblies (of up to 1,500 workers) who discuss matters and take decisions by a show of hands, and then send ‘observers’ to negotiate with the company and the government.



The struggle started with the spontaneous initiative of the workers. It sought unity of the different categories in massive assemblies

The struggle has spread from Getafe and Seville to all the factories: Cádiz, Toledo and Albacete. The workers have also organised discussions via social media (Telegram, X) and have set up a website (Enfadados con Airbus – ‘Angry at Airbus’) where they publish news on how the struggle is progressing and even the documents of the assemblies.

We should take encouragement and gain confidence from the struggle.

The struggle is running out of steam from being isolated within the sector

Clearly this movement cannot grow and challenge the government’s arbitration if it remains isolated within the sector. After a month and a half on strike, fatigue began to set in and some comrades in the assemblies have said: “We’re leaving because we are exhausted and can’t wait for the

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Faced with the environmental crisis, capitalism is leading us towards catastrophe

With global temperatures reaching record levels, and the latest UN report predicting that the planet is heading rapidly towards a 1.8% rise above pre-industrial levels, the summer of 2026 is already demonstrating the devastating impact of global heating. It is no exaggeration to say that large parts of the Earth are on fire:

- We have seen wildfires in Europe (Spain, France, Italy, Belgium) and around the world (Algeria, Canada, China, Hawaii, India). According to *The Lancet*, air pollution from wildfires caused a record 154,000 deaths worldwide in 2024.
- The accelerated melting of glaciers leads to raging mudslides, such as the one that occurred on August 26 in Nepal, where the water level rose by nine meters locally within half an hour, burying hundreds of people and leaving nearly 1000 people dead.
- In a wide area across Indonesia, the Philip-pines and Malaysia, a devastating combination of drought, a ‘super’ El Niño and ruthless industrial exploitation of forests and peatlands have given rise to extensive wildfires and a toxic smog “*which in some areas has fuelled ‘acutely unhealthy’ pollution more than 15 times the World Health Organization’s recommended level*”.¹
- Heat waves cause tens of thousands of additional deaths. During this summer’s heat wave, an additional 35,000 people died in Europe. This figure is based on the data from half of Europe’s countries.
- In July 2026, the French department of Ar-deche was rocked by a historic and violent hail-storm, a descent of giant hailstones, which caused extensive damage to cars and property.
- There is also a growing shortage of fresh water. Due to a prolonged heat wave last summer, several major European rivers ran dry, making transport by boat impossible for an extended period of time and, over a longer period, changing the flora and fauna

And what is the bourgeoisie, a class that boasts of being in charge of the world capitalist system, doing about this growing disaster?

As ever, it is sacrificing the natural environ-ment to the imperatives of economic competition and ‘growth’ (i.e. the accumulation of capital). Trump’s policy of “*drill baby drill*”, backed by his idiotic insistence that global warming is nothing but a hoax, is only the most brazen statement of the bourgeoisie’s utter disregard for dealing with the ecological crisis. Climate denialism represents a growing trend within the bourgeoisie, a class ‘managing’ a system in full disintegration, and thus more and more incapable of developing a lucid vision of the planet’s future, more and more retreating into the fantasy worlds of worn-out mythologies. The number of populist regimes around the world that deny global warming is on the rise. These regimes often reject climate science, prioritise deregulation, resist multilateral cooperation, and redirect resources toward investments that go in the opposite direction to a coherent climate policy. “*The nature of climate and environmental politics is abstract and technical, and thus popu-lists can easily portray them as elite-driven and detached from citizens’ everyday needs*”²

But the more ‘sensible’ or ‘responsible’ factions of the ruling class cannot escape the system’s lack of perspective and are increasingly adopt-ing a purely pragmatic approach, from Macron’s ‘we will just have to adapt’ to UK Prime Minis-ter Andy Burnham’s decision to continue drilling for North Sea oil. Another telling example: until autumn 2025, the International Energy Agency had estimated a peak in global fossil fuel demand by 2030 and said there should be an end to new investments in coal, oil and gas projects in order to reach net zero emissions by 2050. But in 1. ‘Toxic wildfire haze spreads across South East Asia as ‘super’ El Niño intensifies, BBC News, 3.9.26. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/clyqw44w142o. For more information on the harmful effects of pollution on human beings, see: World’s leading medical journal details the climate emergency. The Lancet Countdown on Health and Climate Change. (29 October 2025) Findings of 2025 report

2. Robert A. Huber, The role of populist attitudes in explaining climate change skepticism and support for environmental protection

a sharp shift in tone the agency signaled, in its latest outlook, that oil demand should keep grow-ing through to 2050 and that more investments are needed in new conventional fields with fossil fuels. This retreat on peak oil demand by the IEA signified “a major shift” from its position over the last five years.

And above all, the bourgeoisie is everywhere engaging in wars and war preparations which run directly counter to any real mobilisation aimed at responding to the heating of the planet.

War increases the poisoning of the Earth

The wars in the Middle East and in Ukraine have pushed the issue of global warming completely into the background. Governments are cutting back projected ‘green’ measures in order to pour more financial resources into war. The massive destruction of buildings and infrastructure is lead-ing to a rapid increase in carbon emissions, and the weapons deployed in all this bring the added ‘benefit’ of several forms of pollution of air, wa-ter, and soil.

For example, during the first 90 days of the war in Gaza, airstrikes by the Israeli military re-sulted in the emission of 281,000 metric tons of CO2. The Iran war has unleashed a toxic mix of chemicals, heavy metals, and other pollutants that threaten everything from agriculture to drinking water to people’s health – and will leave behind environmental damage and health risks that could persist for decades. In addition, the military blocks on grain and fertilisers, both in the Black Sea and the Straits of Hormuz, are worsening the impact of famines resulting from the agricultural shortages caused by worldwide drought, wildfires and floods.

The interaction of war and ecological destruc-tion, driven forward by the world economic crisis of overproduction, is the central component of what some parts of the bourgeoisie call the “poly crisis” and what we refer to as the “whirlwind effect”. This is the menacing shape of capitalism in its phase of terminal decline or decomposition, which has been accelerating since the beginning of the 2020s and has shifted into a new gear with the war on Iran.

Renewable energy consumption at an impasse

Numerous bourgeois pundits, at least those who accept that the ecological crisis is real, tell us that the solution lies in the “transition” to renewable energy. No doubt a really human society will be largely powered by renewable and non-polluting sources of energy, but a “green transition” under capitalism is increasingly shown to be an illusion.

At this moment, renewable energy on a world scale accounts for 13% to 18% of total global final energy consumption, while policy changes in the U.S. (the elimination of the subsidy for wind and solar projects) and China (a new renewables pric-ing mechanism in 2025 that removed a guaranteed rate of return) have slowed the growth of renew-able energy. Renewable energy sources are indeed growing, but global fossil fuel consumption in the world is reaching new highs in absolute terms. Global coal consumption in 2023 was higher than ever before.

China is the largest renewable energy growth market in the world, adding more wind and so-lar capacity than any other economy. This has led leftist ‘degrowth’ advocates like Jason Hickel to sing the praises of China, which he claims is not driven by the law of value and the need for imperialist expansion³. But at the same time, it is still the world’s largest greenhouse gas emitter, responsible for over 30% of global fossil carbon emissions. This is typical of the contradictions capitalism is facing: the country that leads the way in the implementation of renewable energy tech-nologies still produces the largest number of glob-al CO2 emissions. And behind this contradiction lies the reality of China as a capitalist, imperialist

3. see for examle the podcast How to Overcome Capitalism | Jason Hickel on Socialism, China, and the West, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X5WU51sVn3Y&t=4634s

competitor in its own right, and by no means, as Hickel pretends, a ‘victim’ of imperialism, whose definition he restricts to the so-called “West”. China’s increasingly successful race to lead the world in the development of AI, and above all its “New Silk Road” project, a global enterprise with both economic and military aspects, are perhaps the clearest demonstrations of the Chinese bour-geoisie’s (openly stated) intention to overtake the declining US and establish itself as the world’s leading power.

The effort of capitalism to facilitate the transi-tion to renewable energy is further thwarted by the system’s growing chaos, which causes events (such as wars) to obstruct all previous plans and to set this process back by years. The world is undergoing a process of fragmentation in which the “every man for himself” mentality and prac-tice has gained the upper hand, and international cooperation (within the limits of what is possible under capitalism) is in essence a thing of the past.

Capitalism has no solution to the ecological crisis

Global warming and the destruction of nature are not natural phenomena, but the inevitable product of capital’s need to maximise profit, to commodify everything, to invade the last remain-ing corners of the planet, to exploit human labour power and natural resources to the maximum pos-sible extent. There can be no capitalism without this drive, any more than there can be a capitalism which puts international cooperation above eco-nomic and military competition between nations.

The only alternative to the impasse of the cap-italist mode of production is an entirely different mode of production, determined not by the end-less expansion of value but exclusively by the sat-isfaction of human need. Production for use, not profit, for free distribution not sale; the abolition of borders and the end of nation states. In a word,

“The only solution to the infernal spiral of ecological and military destruction is to overthrow cap-it-alism and move towards com-munism. But the bourgeoisie will never accept the end of its system, the end of its privileg-es, the end of its existence as a dominant and exploiting class. It will try to maintain its obsolete system at all costs. Only a world revolution can put an end to this agony. For all those who are concerned about the state of the planet and the fate of humanity, the essential question is: what social force is capable of bringing about revolution?”

communism.

The only force that can bring about this alterna-tive is the exploited class, the proletariat, which is driven to fight against capital by the system’s need to intensify exploitation to face up to its own internal contradictions.

Capital’s economic crisis, its wars, its drive to-wards destruction oblige the working class every-where to recognize its common interests and to develop a revolutionary perspective for the future. But the very decomposition of the system engen-ders powerful obstacles to the proletariat even recognizing itself as a class, let alone developing the vision of the communist future. Mounting ecological disasters, like the proliferation of wars across the planet, are, for now, tending to arouse feelings of powerlessness and ‘no future’ within the mass of the proletariat, while the minority who begin to glimpse the connection between the cli-mate crisis and the capitalist system are only too often derailed into supporting protest movements and parties which claim that the way forward is to appeal to the conscience of world leaders or look for green alternatives inside the existing order, in particular those who follow Greta Thunberg, or the various Green parties, or the more radical activists in the tradition of Extinction Rebellion.

Nevertheless, a minority within the questioning minority are discovering the marxist tradition, the tradition of the communist left, the treasury of its analysis of the relationship between capital, na-ture and humanity, and the revolutionary nature of the international working class. The emergence of such minorities is a product of an underground process of maturation, a signpost to the future, when a class that is going beyond divided, corpo-rate struggles and is fighting on an acknowledged class ground will have to integrate its response to all the various dimensions of this system’s down-fall into the historic project of overthrowing the reign of capital. **Amos**

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Class struggle is the only way forward!

workers’ solidarity, with the workers having taken control of their struggle by organising mass gen-eral assemblies for debating and making collec-tive decisions. The struggle at Airbus is inspiring but we must not stop there. The working class must go even further, clearly opposing the divi-sions put in place by the bourgeoisie’s forces on the ground, starting with the unions and left-wing parties that have consistently sabotaged the move-ment by succeeding in isolating workers within the workplace or steering them toward democrat-ic institutions, like elections, and in the defence of the nation.

Taking the struggle into our own hands

Fighting together: this is the challenge facing the entire working class. It must assert its auton-omy by recognising itself as one united class, by refusing to be kept isolated, by opening its gener-al assemblies to all proletarians and by creating a balance of forces through calling for other sectors to join the movement. Not in a purely platonic way, but through dispatching mass delegations to immediately expand the struggle by actively seek-ing solidarity from all sectors, whether public or private, in both small and large businesses with-out exception.

By confronting the attacks and starvation wag-es, the working class is beginning to confront exploitation and the blows of a deepening crisis. In doing so, it is opening a tiny gateway toward the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. The road to communism will be long, difficult, uncer-tain and fraught with obstacles. But it is the only one that can offer a future for humanity! **WH, September 14, 2026**



Even without winners or losers, the barbarity of war can only worsen

The war between the United States and Iran is bogged down, punctuated by a daily dance of contradictory statements: one day, the end of hostilities and the reopening of the Strait of Hormuz are announced with great fanfare; the next, further strikes are promised. These sham ceasefires change nothing: as always, Tehran and Washington continue to exchange deadly fire around the Strait of Hormuz, the naval blockade continues, and ships that dare to defy it are sunk. There is widespread chaos throughout the region, where nearly twenty countries have been swept up in a war with no clearly defined objective—a war from which even the United States no longer knows how to extricate itself. It was against this backdrop that, in early summer, an agreement was signed between three regional powers indirectly involved in this war: Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey. An agreement that isn’t making headlines, but is nonetheless deeply significant.

In the powder keg that is the Middle East, this pact deals a fatal blow to the 2020 Abraham Accords—signed under Washington’s auspices between Israel, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain—which were meant to cement cooperation and peace between the Jewish state and Arab countries in the face of the so-called Iranian Shiite threat. Hamas’s terrorist attacks against Israel on October 7, 2023 clearly marked the failure of this umpteenth attempt at “pacification” of the region under American and Israeli leadership, just as it highlighted the deadlock these powers face with Iran. The USA’s word is no longer worth much: its credibility has been severely undermined, both as a force of persuasion and as a guarantor of the interests of its regional ‘allies.’

Toward more bloodshed and instability

This pact, known as the Mecca Pact, signed in early August, confirms the emergence of an alliance among countries that now openly display their distrust of traditional security partnerships with the major powers—first and foremost with the United States. This distrust has been growing for nearly a decade and the war against Iran in 2026 has taken it to a new level. This pact also underscores that these countries have decided to openly play their own imperialist hand. For behind the joint statements about their good intentions regarding “collective deterrence” in the face of regional chaos, the three signatories state in black and white that “any act of aggression, any armed attack against one of the three states will be considered an attack against all of them.”

Given that Pakistan is a nuclear power, that Turkey fields one of the region’s most powerful and battle-hardened armies, and that Saudi Arabia brings its financial clout to the table, one can gauge the true weight of these promises of peace. The three signatories, of course, insist that their pact is purely defensive—a diplomatic formality required of any nascent alliance. But the commitment itself is unambiguous: by pooling their military resources, these three states ensure that even the slightest border skirmish, the most isolated strike, or the most minor incident at sea ceases to be a local matter and immediately becomes a three-way affair. This pact does not herald the end of war—it broadens the scope of future wars in advance!

Each country reacts on a case-by-case basis to defend its immediate imperialist interests, even if it means unhesitatingly renouncing the alliances of yesterday. Pakistan, yesterday a direct ally of China, offered to act as a mediator between Washington and Tehran, and now finds itself playing its own hand alongside Saudi Arabia and Turkey. Turkey, until recently NATO’s black sheep, intends to assert its desire for autonomy vis-à-vis Europe, Israel, and the United States, while maintaining good relations with Russia.

Behind such agreements lies no solid geostrategic restructuring, but rather the defence of short-term imperialist interests. And this is no accident: it is the very nature of the historical situation for all imperialist powers, without exception. Today, as in the future, there will be no consolidation of lasting alliances, no bloc aligned behind an American, Russian, Chinese, or European leader. Op-

portunity makes the thief, in an imperialist game that is constantly reshaping itself day by day and adding chaos upon chaos.

Where is U.S. control over the Middle East today? Let us imagine for a moment a war between Israel—the supposedly unwavering ally—and Turkey, a NATO member (with a theoretical obligation for the United States to intervene); it would be total, utterly unpredictable chaos! The Middle East is a perfect illustration of this, and it confirms, point by point, the analysis that the ICC has been developing for years regarding the evolution of imperialist wars and confrontations.

No blocs, no defeated proletariat

The facts confirm this more and more every day: the formation of stable imperialist alliances or blocs, dominated by an undisputed leader and heading toward a new world war, is not on the agenda. Certainly, a major rivalry pits the United States against its Chinese challenger. But this dynamic is constantly hampered by the rise of military clashes between second-tier imperialist states, and even among the great powers themselves.

The prospect of a third world war is nonetheless drummed into people’s heads at every turn, as soon as the war situation escalates in Ukraine, the Middle East, or the South China Sea. The bourgeois media never miss an opportunity to cry wolf in order to lend credence to the idea that the ‘camp of democracy’ must be defended above all else. All of this serves a single purpose: to justify astronomical military spending and intensified attacks on the working class, in the name of ‘necessary sacrifices.’

Leftists add another layer to this, one that is even more insidious: to hear them tell it, autocratic leaders of all stripes (Trump, Netanyahu, Putin, Milei...) are all stepping stones toward the return of fascism and world war, against which the working class must stand united. A united front with whom, if not with bourgeois democracy? This is the class struggle, pure and simple, being dissolved into the defence of the existing disorder and capitalist barbarism!

Even more regrettable: groups within the revolutionary movement are following suit with this analysis, arguing—like the Internationalist Communist Tendency (ICT)—that “*the growing anarchy among nations seeking advantages raises fears of a full-scale world war.*” By proclaiming that the world is heading toward World War III, these groups not only mislead the working class—they obscure its own strength, demoralise it, and contribute nothing to the development of its struggle.

Does this mean there is no escalation of war on a global scale? Of course not. Chaos is already here—growing, irrational—dragging the entire planet into a deadly ‘every man for himself’ scenario. Whether the United States intensifies its encirclement of China, whether China reacts by invading Taiwan, or whether Washington responds militarily: the risks of uncontrolled nuclear escalation are already very real. The same is true of a Russia that is increasingly on the defensive in Ukraine, utterly incapable of admitting defeat in a conflict that is costing it thousands of dead and wounded each month. The hundreds of thousands of deaths in Ukraine over the past four years, the carnage in Gaza or Iran—these are not prospects for tomorrow: they are immediate realities! These war-induced catastrophes are deeply rooted in the very process of every man for himself and growing imperialist chaos—without even needing to wait for the devastating fires of a world war.

It would therefore be irresponsible to underestimate the gravity of the global situation. But as we wrote in January 1990: “*This is why it is essential to emphasise that, while the proletariat’s solution (the communist revolution) is the only one capable of opposing the destruction of humanity (which constitutes the only ‘response’ the bourgeoisie can offer to its crisis), this destruction would not necessarily result from a third world war. It could also result from the continuation of this decomposition to its extreme consequences (ecological catastrophes, epidemics, famines, unchecked local wars, etc.).*”

Refusing to immediately consider the prospect of a third world war and asserting the worsening of widespread chaos that could lead to the destruction of humanity is not a matter of words, nor is it a scholastic debate on the evolution of barbarism and the dynamics of conflict. Two decisive conditions are missing from this perspective.

A necessary debate for the future

A world war requires stable blocs. It presupposes that the bourgeoisies are capable, on a global scale, of demonstrating a minimum of coherence and organisation in the game of imperialist domination, under the aegis of leading powers. Each bloc formed with a view to a world war must be sufficiently powerful economically and militarily, as well as in terms of strategic coordination. Nothing of the sort exists today, in a context dominated by centrifugal forces and an every man for himself mentality: current alliances—fluctuating and constantly shifting—in no way meet the conditions of stability and reliability that the preparation for a merciless global war would require. We cannot forget that, in current conditions, today’s allies to become tomorrow’s adversaries, and vice versa. Failing to recognize this difficulty the bourgeoisie faces in imposing the logic of blocs is not a mere circumstantial detail: it means condemning oneself to a complete failure to understand historical dynamics, the growing irrationality of the bourgeoisie on all fronts (military, economic, political...), and the consequences for the working class.

25 years after the 9/11 attacks, capitalism is sinking deeper than ever into chaos

The planes, the screams, the collapse of the Twin Towers... 25 years ago, the entire world was left in a state of shock as the deadliest terrorist attack in history unfolded. To mark this sombre anniversary, we invite our readers to read or re-read the article we published in 2001: ‘In New York and the world over: capitalism sows death’ (*International Review* no.107 - 4th quarter 2001)

In this article from the *International Review* 107, we argued that this attack was no accident of history. At the dawn of the 21st century, this spectacular attack served as a reminder to all that barbarism had not died out with the previous century – the century of two World Wars, gas chambers, nuclear bombs, Vietnam and the genocide in Rwanda. Behind the 11 September terrorists lurked an even more terrifying monster: decomposing capitalism.

This event was a striking confirmation that decadent capitalism had entered a new phase, its terminal phase: that of its “internal disintegration”, foretold by the Communist International as early as 1919. Marked by the collapse of the Russian imperialist bloc in 1989, followed by the ensuing fragmentation of the American bloc, this period saw capitalism’s inevitable tendency towards war take on unprecedented and chaotic forms, notably the explosion of terrorism on a global scale. Al-Qaeda’s involvement had not yet been clearly established when we wrote this article (Bin Laden would not claim responsibility for the attacks until April 2002). But the fact that they were carried out by an Islamist group that the United States had supported in the 1980s against the Russian occupation of Afghanistan already demonstrated the extent to which capitalism was sinking into instability and chaos. Far from the ‘New World Order’ promised by George Bush Senior after the collapse of the USSR, it was a state of growing disorder that took hold. From ‘allies’ in Europe to warlords such as Bin Laden, via second-tier powers such as Iran or Putin’s Russia, the United States’ former and new ‘partners’ now intended to defend their own interests amidst growing global disorder.

It was against this backdrop that the American

A world war also requires a defeated proletariat. It implies that the bourgeoisie has been able to mobilise the majority of the working class in the central countries, enlist it in the war effort, and lead it in a disciplined manner into mass slaughter. This is not the case today. The working class remains very vulnerable in its ability to react directly to the war in Ukraine or the Middle East, but in many countries it is already refusing to endure the worsening of its living conditions under the weight of the war economy. We have seen this since 2022 in Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States. We are seeing it even today in Spain and the Netherlands, where workers by the thousands are rejecting the consequences of a war economy that forces companies like Airbus to increase production rates and cut back on working conditions.

To assume that World War III is upon us and that it constitutes the major threat to the working class is to commit a double error. First, it underestimates the gravity of the current war-induced chaos and its immediate consequences. Second, it underestimates the proletariat’s reactions and potential in the face of economic attacks, as well as the maturing consciousness within its ranks. Recognising this reality as clearly as possible is not a theoretical exercise: it is the way to prepare for revolutionary action. In this context, the duty of revolutionaries is not to stand on the sidelines, but to help clarify the perspective of the revolutionary struggle. **Stopio, September 10, 2026**

bourgeoisie exploited the 11 September attacks to launch its operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Although the Taliban did indeed maintain close ties with al-Qaeda, these large-scale military operations were aimed above all at maintaining, by force, the United States’ waning status as the sole superpower, capable of containing imperialist disorder and imposing discipline on all.

Despite the US military’s incredible show of force, the 25 years that have passed have fully confirmed what the 14th Congress of the ICC adopted a few months before the attacks: “*The fragmentation of the structures and discipline of the former blocs has unleashed rivalries between nations on an unprecedented scale, leading to an increasingly chaotic, every-man-for-himself struggle, from the world’s greatest powers right down to the smallest local warlords [...]. The characteristic of wars in the current phase of capitalism’s decomposition is that they are no less imperialist than the wars in previous phases of its decadence, but they have become more widespread, more uncontrollable, and more difficult to halt even momentarily [...] Capitalist states are all caught up in a logic that is beyond their control and which makes less and less sense, even in capitalist terms, and this is precisely what makes the situation facing humanity so dangerous and unstable*”.

Twenty-five years later, the Middle Eastern powder keg has exploded: the Taliban have regained power in Afghanistan; Iraq and neighbouring Syria are veritable no man’s lands; the Arabian Peninsula is ravaged by war; Gaza and southern Lebanon lie in ruins; Israel is ruled by a band of bloodthirsty madmen; and the United States has become entangled and permanently discredited in an absurd conflict with Iran. Far from stemming the tide of imperialist chaos, the American invasions have become a major factor in accelerating it. Endless conflicts, tensions and ‘civil wars’ are spreading like wildfire across every continent: Ukraine, Libya, Venezuela, the DRC and perhaps soon the Far East... This is the result of a quarter of a century of the “war on terror”!

EG, 11 September 2026

The bourgeoisie’s cynical exploitation of migrants

At the height of summer, on 30 July, 60,000 migrants, mostly young people from Morocco, suddenly surged into the enclave of Ceuta in search of a better life and work in the European Union. The harrowing swim across the strait undertaken by these desperate young people resulted in the deaths of 77 of them. Upon their arrival, the exhausted survivors were met by overwhelmed law enforcement officers, who were immediately backed up by an impressive security deployment: units of the Spanish army, reinforced riot police, and the Spanish navy, in addition to the defences already in place along a fully militarised and fortified coastline. The forced return to Morocco was just as swift and cruel.

The bourgeoisie’s cynicism knows no bounds

This unprecedented episode is more than just another tragedy. This grim event certainly follows on from the numerous deadly attempts by migrants who, for decades, have been trying at all costs to reach European soil via the perilous crossing of a Mediterranean Sea transformed into a vast marine graveyard. But this time, the mobilisation was by no means spontaneous; the migrants overwhelmed the city in record time – an unprecedented feat – in less than 24 hours. All this can only be explained in part by the catalysing role played by social media and the ‘viral’ campaign of actors falsely claiming that ‘*the Spanish border is open*’. These actors were most likely state-backed, and it was, of course, impossible to trace them, as the accounts disappeared immediately as the event unfolded.

Migrants, victims both yesterday and today, are fleeing poverty that has become unbearable. The African continent, ravaged by the global economic crisis, by the spread and intensification of armed conflicts, by the chaos of disintegration and growing barbarism, is becoming unliveable. Inflation and unemployment are hitting this continent hard, as is the case in Morocco, where 37 per cent of young people are unemployed. The latest tragedy in Ceuta is, in this respect, the product of the same bankruptcy of capitalism. And it is always the same victims who bear the brunt of the consequences: the working class throughout the world, who have nothing but their labour to sell in the hope of making a living, all too often at the cost of the dangers of forced exile.

Those who attempted the journey in response to calls on social media risked drowning. They have been systematically pursued, hunted down and deported. The same is true on every continent, where barbed wire, walls and watchtowers are being erected – yet these measures are no longer sufficient. Spain, moreover, has very recently installed a 500-metre-long floating barrier off the coast of the enclave of Ceuta, subjecting new asylum-seekers to an even more daunting and deadly obstacle.

Other similar floating barriers, virtually impassable, have already been erected elsewhere, claiming further victims – for example, on the Rio Grande, where they brutally block the border between Mexico and the United States.

All states are either perpetrators and/or accomplices in these barbaric measures. And the fine words about the ‘right to asylum’ and ‘freedom of movement’ serve no other purpose than to mask the accounting-driven management, profit and control designed to uphold the capitalist order, serving exclusively the interests of the bourgeois state against the ‘undesirables’ who are desperately trying to cross barricaded borders in order to survive. Although the political rhetoric of the most democratic states and of the Left may appear more ‘humane’, it is nonetheless deceptive and deadly.

The French democratic state, for example, had sought to outsource the migrant issue to the torturers in abominable Libyan camps, while the EU itself continues to delegate the dirty work of repressing and imprisoning migrants to third countries in exchange for substantial payments. Britain itself signed a deportation agreement with Rwanda, whilst Meloni’s Italy had outsourced its policy to centres in Albania, and so on. What is certain, however, is that the left and the political movements fraudulently labelled ‘progressive’ have been no less effective than those on the right or the ultra-conservatives. On the contrary, they have

been ruthless!

In the United States, for example, Obama and Biden were far more effective than Trump and his ICE militia at deporting illegal immigrants, even going so far as to separate Hispanic children from their families. In terms of brutality, the Left is every bit as bad as the worst right-wing torturers, as was demonstrated in his day – with the EU’s approval – by the Spanish socialist Zapatero, whose security forces shot dead five migrants in 2005. That same socialist government had authorised the mass deployment of troops from the Foreign Legion and the Civil Guard, with instructions to turn migrants back in a ‘humane’ manner. This meant pushing migrants back to the Moroccan state, which took over by abandoning them in the desert south of Oujda, carrying out round-ups in the country’s towns, organising charter flights to repatriate them to Mali and Senegal, and transporting large numbers of people in ‘death buses’... towards the Sahara Desert.

Such barbarity continues behind the scenes and is only intensifying and becoming more widespread everywhere.

Vile exploitation

Today, while the aim remains to confine and corral migrants by hypocritically and despicably relying on third countries, the trend is towards using migrants more systematically and cynically as a geopolitical weapon. With utter disregard for human dignity, migrants are exploited without scruples, with states no longer hesitating to trade on their suffering to exert political pressure or destabilise rivals. It seems quite likely that Morocco has thus played a significant role in the current situation, with eyewitness accounts highlighting the ‘laissez-faire’ and ‘laissez-passer’ attitude of the border security forces. Moreover, this is not the first time that Morocco has openly used migrants as a bargaining chip against the Spanish government. In 2021, Spain’s hosting of the leader of the Polisario Front¹ – a source of diplomatic discontent for Morocco given the dispute over Western Sahara – was immediately followed by reprisals: 10,000 migrants then crossed the border into Ceuta and Spain!

Today, the Sánchez government is even more firmly in the firing line given its international political stances, particularly regarding Palestine and Iran. But this time, Morocco is far from being the only likely player, given the context and circumstances of the very sudden mass exodus on 30 July. Indeed, this tragedy is unfolding against a very specific backdrop, at a time when several countries wish to ‘sanction’ or carry out ‘retaliatory measures’ against Spain.

Firstly, Morocco – once again – is unhappy about the rapprochement between Madrid and Algiers. But above all, one must add to this Israel’s dissatisfaction with Spain’s recognition of the ‘Palestinian State’ and the Spanish government’s refusal to allow the US military to use air bases on its soil in Andalusia for military operations in Iran. Both Trump and Netanyahu have made it clear that Spain’s stance ‘would not be without consequences’... And the fact is that Tel Aviv and Washington support Morocco in its opposition to Spain, particularly since Morocco’s accession to the Abraham Accords in 2020, recognising its sovereignty over Western Sahara. Similarly, it is evident that associates of Secretary of State Marco Rubio are tending to question Spain’s sovereignty over the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, going so far as to point out that they are ‘geographically linked to Morocco’. Did Trump not want to “*cut off all trade with Spain*”? In one form or another,² everything suggests that the United States and Israel, with Morocco as their accomplice, have at 1. Spain no longer officially supports the Polisario Front and has accepted Morocco’s ‘autonomy plan for Western Sahara’. However, the reception of its leader has reignited the long-standing dispute.

2 This hypothesis can be supported by the precedent of the hybrid war waged by the Belarusian leader A. Lukashenko. In 2021, he attracted large numbers of foreign nationals (from the Middle East and Africa) by granting them visas, with the aim of pushing them *en masse* towards the EU’s borders to destabilise the region

the very least fostered the conditions that have, in a sense, led to “punishing Spain”.

But regardless of whether or not they played a direct role in triggering the sudden influx of migrants to Ceuta, one thing is absolutely certain: they immediately and despicably exploited this human suffering for political ends, revelling in the state of panic in Spain. Trump has ironically described the Ceuta incident as an ‘invasion’, boasting of his merits against bad actors should the Democrats win the forthcoming US elections, crudely implying that he would be the ‘sole bulwark against inevitable invasions’ in the United States. Trump also notes with satisfaction that the Ceuta crisis is driving a further wedge between EU member states. As for Israel, a telling example of its mindset can be seen in the remarks of its ambassador, Dany Danon, who, during the Ceuta crisis, accused Spain at the UN of “*maintaining colonial enclaves in Africa*”.

The member states of the EU are not to be outdone and have effectively laid bare their own rivalries by exploiting this tragic event in an equally despicable and inhumane manner for the sake of populism, fuelling the rhetoric of the far right and global disorder. Italy thus immediately distanced

itself from Spain, calling for the “suspension of the Schengen Area”. France promptly “stepped up its border controls”, whilst Denmark, Finland and Sweden proposed “restrictions”. At the expense of migrants, each state has exploited the situation to serve its sordid imperialist interests, laying bare the ‘everyone against everyone’ dynamic and the growing rivalries behind a belated, superficial unity during the emergency meeting of ministers from the 27 member states.

The deepening of capitalism’s historic crisis, and the process of decomposition that is rapidly undermining it, mean that all states are increasingly revealed for what they are: cold, lawless monsters. At the same time, the ruling class is using its own putrid fumes to turn it against the working class. It thus exploits fears to undermine class consciousness by turning migrants into scapegoats who must be repressed and driven out. Faced with this repugnant and barbaric rhetoric, the proletariat must turn a deaf ear and recognise that migrants are, first and foremost—just as much as the proletariat itself—victims of exploitation by a decaying and increasingly murderous capitalism. **WH, 7 August, 2026**

Burnham government Promises, promises – of future attacks on the working class

Burnham’s tub-thumping speech at the Labour Party conference was full of promises for a bright future for ‘working people’ in Britain. His government will end 40 years of neo-liberalism, reversing the Thatcherite de-industrialisation of the UK economy. He will set up a National Care Service which will provide social care free, just like the NHS. A massive programme of council house building, lowering rents, stricter regulation of negligent landlords. More public control to clean up the mess of the water industry. A new relationship with Europe – perhaps even rejoining the EU – to help boost economic ‘growth’. And so on.

We will come back to the substance of some of these claims in a future article. For now, let’s consider two rather contrasting slices of reality.

First, world capitalism is at a total impasse at the economic level, and the situation of the most powerful country in Europe, Germany, highlights the reality facing all the most developed economies: faced with a shrinking world market, it has pushed through massive lay-offs at Volkswagen and other prestige sectors of German industry.

And at the same time, the economic crisis is being exacerbated by the escalation of war tensions and conflicts all over the world, forcing the ruling class to increase its preparations for future wars. NATO is disintegrating and the US is more and more becoming not only an unreliable ally, but even an adversary. The European states are thus compelled to build up their war machinery and invest billions

in ‘defence’. Germany is leading the way, and the ruling class there knows quite well that this will only be possible through massive attacks on working class living standards: As we say in our article “Germany: a ‘turning point’ in militarisation – and for the class struggle” (ICC Online, June 2026): “*The bourgeoisie knows it has no alternative but to launch social attacks. The demand to raise the retirement age to 70 is a blatant attack on the living conditions of the working class. Spending on healthcare, education, and social security systems is being cut to finance military spending. Working hours are being extended, and the right to early retirement is being undermined*”.

The much weaker British economy has no prospect of evading these economic storms. And the British bourgeoisie is also aware that it must strive to become more ‘independent’ in its military capacities. The Burnham government is fully committed to this, and aims to increase military spending from 2.5 to 3.5% over the next decade. Indeed, a large part of the proposal for the ‘reindustrialisation’ of Britain involves rebuilding defence related industries.

The many forms of “hope” advertised in Burnham’s speech are false hopes. Workers can only defend their living conditions through a resolute development of the class struggle - and in the longer term, by overturning not only decades of “neo-liberal” capitalism, but capitalism itself.

Amos, 2/10/26

Communism is not just a nice idea, but a material necessity

As well as the book taking up communism and the 19th century workers’ movement, the ICC website has a wealth of articles on the communist programme in the revolutions of 1917-1923 and communism is on the agenda of history, which will eventually be published as 2 further volumes of this work.

There is a wealth of material to read on the ICC website for anyone wanting to understand the history of the workers’ movement and the perspective for communist revolution.

A policy of excluding the most consistent internationalists

In April this year, the Varna 26 Organising Committee, linked to the Konflikt group in Bulgaria¹, called for groups and individuals to register for an internationalist conference to be held in September in Varna:

“In the chaos and uncertainty of today’s world, it seems more vital than ever that internationalists start to find common ground, and begin to work on strategies to build working class resistance against war, and the attacks on workers living standards that accompany it. To that end, we are inviting you to a conference of internationalists, against all wars, and against all states. The conference will provide a possibility for internationalists across the continent, and beyond to meet, network, and discuss about how to go forward.

Who’s organising it? The event is being hosted by the Bulgarian group Konflikt, who have experience of organising big international events before, but it has the involvement of many internationalist groups. For example, the IWA International Secretariat is supporting the event, and there will also be groups from the IFA in attendance, as well as members of the NWBCW initiative supported by the ICT.

What can we expect there? The conference will include special sessions on the major wars going on today, such as the Russia-Ukraine war, and the chance to listen to comrades from those countries about their involvement in the struggle against war. There will also be a session on operating in countries with ‘national liberation’ movements, where we will hear comrades from Ireland talking about the situation there, from Turkey talking about the Kurdish question, and militants from both sides of the line from Cyprus. Also there will be sessions on workers actions against war, the increasing militarisation of society, and the move to a war economy, as well as the chance to hear what different groups think is the best strategy today....”

A comrade from the ICC wrote to the Committee and expressed our interest in taking part in this conference. We received the following response, dated July 30:

“We read your letter. We feel unable to invite your organisation. You have a reputation for disrupting the meetings of other groups and organisations, and we don’t think your presence would be conducive to what we are trying to achieve”.

In response the ICC wrote to the organising committee as follows:

“Dear comrades
We have received your message of 30 July 2026. We think that your letter is in contradiction with the stated goal of the conference, which is to bring together all genuine internationalists to have a wide-ranging discussion about the accelerating war-drive of capitalism; and at the same time, offering no concrete evidence whatsoever, you propose to ban an organisation which has consistently defended internationalism for over 50 years. It seems that your allegations about our disruptive attitude are based purely on ‘what you have heard’, on our ‘reputation’. Have you yourselves witnessed any such behaviour from the ICC? We thus urge you to reconsider the ban, or at the very least provide serious evidence demonstrating our disruptive behaviour at previous meetings, particularly at other attempts to bring internationalists together, such as the Prague Conference of 2024.
We look forward to your response
ICC”

To date, the Varna Organising Committee has not replied to our letters.

At the same time, we sent a letter to the Communist Workers Organisation/Internationalist Communist Tendency, containing Varna’s letter and our response, and posing the following questions to the ICT:

“We are sending you recent correspondence between ourselves and the hosts of the Varna conference in September. As you can see, we have been banned from this meeting and are contesting the
1. Konflikt’s website. <https://kon-flikt.org/en/who-are-we/>. The call for registration was published on libcom Registration: Internationalist Meeting Against War-Varna ‘26/Варна ‘26

decision.

The initial statement by the organisers says that the conference is supported, among others, by ‘members of the NWBCW initiative supported by the ICT’. Since the ICT is thus involved in the organisation of the conference at some level, we are writing to you to ascertain your attitude to this ban and, if you oppose it, what course of action would you propose?

You know our position: we consider that the communist left is the only historic current which has demonstrated a consistent capacity to defend internationalism in the face of imperialist war, and we thus affirm the imperative necessity for solidarity among the genuine groups of the communist left against any attempt to exclude them from debate among those searching for political clarity on the question of war.

We look forward to your response
Fraternally
The ICC”

This was the response from the ICT, received on 12 August:

“The Varna conference is being organised by Konflikt in Bulgaria, in conjunction with unaligned individuals from what might loosely be called ‘the revolutionary milieu’ in Europe. The ICT is not organising the conference. We have been invited to make a presentation at one session, and a delegate from the ICT has attended some preliminary meetings to discuss technical aspects, but the conference is not in any way sponsored, paid for, directed or otherwise organised by the ICT. We have no control over who is invited or who the other speakers are. We are attending because we think that meetings of revolutionaries are important, and Varna appears to us to be such a meeting; we are presenting because we were asked to speak about our experiences in the No War but the Class War committees, which we see an important tool for revolutionaries to come together to build a way of working for the future.

We will not be pleading your case with the Varna organisers. We support their decision to exclude from the conference potentially disruptive elements. And we have no confidence that you would not act in that manner, given how you behaved at our meetings in Paris and Nantes in 2023.

We will not communicate with you further on this matter.

Dave L for the International Bureau of the ICT”

A history of exclusions against the communist left...

This is not the first time we have been banned from meetings of those who claim to be internationalists. In the late 90s and early 2000s, the ICC was manoeuvred out of meetings of the original anarchist-inspired No War But the Class War group² - not because we were disrupting the meetings but essentially because of our criticisms of its practice and perspectives. More recently, this pattern has repeated itself with the Anarchist Communist Group, which in May 2023 barred us from their meeting in London - a meeting held in conjunction, with, among others, the CWO, who failed to express any solidarity with a fellow left communist group³. Subsequently ICC comrades have been allowed to take part in online ACG meetings; but at a recent one on the “Spanish Revolution”, an ICC sympathiser who was defending the position of the Italian Communist Left of the 1930s about these events - insisting that the armed conflict between the Republic (supported by the majority of anarchists) and Francoism was not a proletarian revolution but part of a wider imperialist conflict - found his first intervention denounced as “gibberish and deranged” and any possible response blocked by the hosts simply cutting him out of the meeting⁴.

2. On the history of the No War but the Class War groups, World Revolution 393. The article notes that these manoeuvres were also directed against a NWBTCW group in Sheffield, in which the CWO had a significant influence.
3. ACG bans the ICC from its public meetings, CWO betrays solidarity between revolutionary organisations, World Revolution 397
4. Anarchism and the mystification of the “Spanish

On the international level, the ICC – along with all the ‘established’ groups of the communist left, including the ICT - were formally banned by the organisers of the 2024 Prague “anti-war conference” because of our supposed “Leninist” politics and manipulative practices, with the ICC in particular being denounced as snitches by the Czech group involved in the conference, Tridni Valka/Class War. However, both the ICC and the ICT were able to participate in the ‘fringe’ events around the conference, where some of the most important discussions took place. We will return to this⁵.

.. in which the ICT and its predecessors have also played a role

Even though the CWO/ ICT has itself been targeted by some of these “anti-authoritarian” attempts to silence the criticisms levelled at anarchism by the communist left, the ICT and its political forebears have for a long time been drawn into very similar exclusionary policies. We could go all the way back to the 1940s and the way that the Partito Comunista Internazionalista, formed in Italy in 1943, sought to prevent its members from engaging in any discussion with our ancestors in the Gauche Communiste de France, which had exposed the deeply opportunist basis upon which the PCInt was cobbled together. In 1980, the ICC was effectively excluded from the international conferences of the communist left by a joint manoeuvre of the CWO and the PCInt, who later became the main components of the ICT; and we have already mentioned the CWO’s refusal to challenge the ACG for barring us from their 2023 London meeting.

However, the recent letter from the ICT, fully supporting our exclusion from the Varna conference as potentially disruptive elements, marks a new step in the ICT’s journey towards embracing an openly destructive policy towards the ICC. This is in effect the logical conclusion of its policy of forming No War But the Class War committees as a deliberate alternative to united action by the groups of the communist left. Turning their back on appeals by the ICC and others for a common intervention against imperialist wars, these committees have largely regrouped ICT members and supporters with anarchists, leftists, and fake groups of the Communist Left (such as the International Group of the Communist Left which has made no secret of its desire to destroy the ICC). The current stance of the ICT towards the ICC can only signify a complete capitulation to the position of Tridni Valka/ Class War which wants to ban all expressions of the communist left from any attempt to create a genuine forum of discussion among internationalists.

Defending revolutionary positions is not disruption

We have already replied to the ICT’s accusations that we behaved in a deliberately disruptive manner at their meetings at St Nazaire and Paris⁶. Our reply⁷ systematically refutes these charges, showing that all our interventions were motivated by a will to develop a political critique of the ambiguities and confusions of the ICT regarding the drive to war, the role of the trade unions, the ‘united’ front policy embodied in the NWBTCW committees, and their willingness to work with elements like the IGCL who have really behaved as snitches. The ICT may not like our style, but what is evident is that they object above all to the content of our criticisms. In this their reaction is no different from the anarchists who can only see our dismantling of the sacred idol of the “Spanish revolution” as deranged gibberish.

Revolution”, ICC Online July 2026

5. For our balance sheet of these events, see: Prague “Action Week”: Activism is a barrier to political clarification, International Review 172; Prague Action Week: Some lessons, and some replies to slander, World Revolution 401
6. See the ICT article Presentation and Reports from the Public Meetings in Paris and Saint-Nazaire; Impressions sur une première réunion de la TCI à St-Nazaire
7. Public Meetings of the ICT in France: a real political failure, ICC Online, November 2023

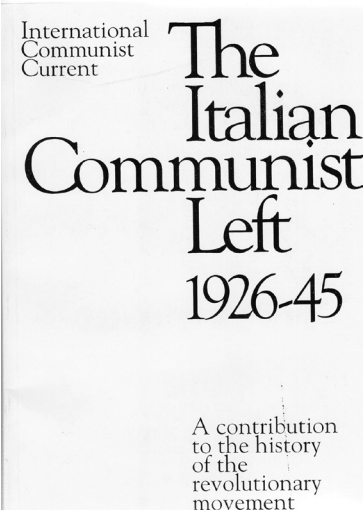
But we should not finish this article without pointing out that in the majority of cases where the ICC has attended ICT meetings⁸, for example in London, the discussions, despite sharp disagreements, remained fraternal, and we said precisely the same thing about a more recent ICT public meeting in Paris, where we wrote, in explicit agreement with a similar assessment by the ICT, that “*Public meetings, such as those organised by the Internationalist Communist Tendency (ICT) on 7 March and by the ICC on 21 March, in Paris and other cities around the world, provide forums for proletarian debate where the analyses and arguments of different revolutionary groups can be compared*” and remarked of the ICT’s Paris meeting that “*the debate was conducted in a fraternal spirit not only amongst proletarian groups, but also with the other participants, notably young people interested in the positions of the Communist Left, particularly on the central question of war and how revolutionaries and the working class must respond*”.⁹

No less significant was the capacity of the ICC and CWO delegations in Prague to work together faced with the truly disruptive policies of Tridni Valka/Class War and the (dis)organisers of the conference. We noted this fact in our first article on the Prague event¹⁰, and our third article concluded by saying that “*the modest beginnings of joint work between the ICT and the ICC in Prague confirms the ICC’s view that the best starting point for the communist left to have an impact on a wider but still very confused search for internationalist positions is a united effort based on very clearly agreed principles*”.¹¹

However, the third article also noted that the CWO’s assessment made no mention at all of this “modest beginning”, as though the CWO didn’t want to talk about something it subsequently felt ashamed of. And since then, it has become clear that the ICT is moving in precisely the opposite direction: not towards the unity and solidarity of the communist left, but towards an ever more systematic exclusion of the most consistent currents within it. **ICC**

8. The ICT, by contrast, no longer attends the public meetings of the ICC, no doubt part of their policy of trying to demonstrate our political irrelevance.
9. Should revolutionaries put forward the slogan of ‘revolutionary defeatism’? ICC Online April 2026
10. Prague “Action Week”: Activism is a barrier to political clarification
11. Prague “Action Week”: response to the CWO’s balance-sheet, ICC Online, June 2024

A contribution to the history of the revolutionary movement



This history of the Italian Communist Left is not neutral, looking down on the social battlefield. In today’s world of decomposing capitalism, the alternative posed decades ago by the Communist Left is more valid than ever: “*communist revolution or the destruction of humanity.*”

The aim of this brief history of the struggle of the Italian Communist Left is to help all those who have thrown in their lot with the revolutionary working class to bridge the gap between their past and their present.

What is communism? An Introduction

ICC Introduction

We are publishing a contribution we have received which demonstrates that in-depth reflection is currently taking place amongst small minorities within the proletariat. The subject addressed is particularly noteworthy and significant, in that the reflection does not focus on secondary aspects of immediate propaganda – in this case, Trump’s empty rhetoric and other antics – but addresses directly the question of the true meaning to be given to the communist perspective. With the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the lie that ‘Stalinism = communism’ was hammered home time and again. Today, the idea of communism continues to be widely distorted by the bourgeoisie and, as we can see, is still under attack. The approach taken in this contribution is all the more to be commended as it enables us to fight against capitalism’s no future and bears witness to the reality of a maturing consciousness that has been taking place, particularly since the struggles of the ‘Summer of Discontent’ in 2022 in Britain, marking a break with the apathy of previous decades. Whilst we agree with and support the bulk of the theoretical analysis presented, given its quality, we nevertheless believe that the question of the ‘transition period’ requires clarification. Indeed, we do not believe that, in the case of the Paris Commune—which was internationally isolated and arose from a movement that, whilst certainly remarkable, was premature in terms of historical conditions—one can still speak of a ‘transitional period’. For us, such a period can only be conceived after the working class has seized power at the international level. That said, this criticism in no way detracts from the serious effort represented by this work, which undeniably contributes to the long process of politicisation that the working class must undertake for its long and difficult revolutionary struggle. Our aim is therefore to encourage the continuation of this process of reflection.

Introduction

Communism is heavily distorted and obscured by the various ruling ideologies of our time. Just recently, Donald Trump claimed that communism is the greatest threat to the United States, which is significant because said country is the strongest imperial power in the world. We communists couldn’t agree more that the greatest threat to the United States, and the American ruling class which it represents, is a communist revolution. This goes for every state on the planet and their respective ruling classes. But, to be clear, when we communists say communism, we don’t mean the absurd caricatures which ruling ideologies conjure up in an attempt to dissuade the working class from the course of liberating itself. We don’t mean the state capitalism of China or the former USSR. We don’t mean the social democracy of the Scandinavian countries. We don’t mean movements which attempt to insert “communal” forms into a capitalist world which necessarily suppresses the emergence of a real community. And we certainly don’t mean it in such an incoherent fashion as it’s often utilized as an insult, barren of any sort of consistency, by those sections of the ruling class which lazily attempt to score cheap political points against their rivals due to the stigma of the term. Karl Marx even notes this absurd tendency in his time, saying in his *Eighteenth Brumaire*:

“Whether it was a question of the right of petition or the tax on wine, freedom of the press or free trade, the clubs or the municipal charter, protection of personal liberty or regulation of the state budget, the watchword constantly recurs, the theme remains always the same, the verdict is ever ‘ready and invariably reads: ‘Socialism!’” Even bourgeois liberalism is declared socialistic, bourgeois enlightenment socialistic, bourgeois financial reform socialistic. It was socialistic to build a railway where a canal already existed, and it was socialistic to defend oneself with a cane when one was attacked with a rapier”.

But if none of these are communism, what is it really? Before I answer this, an explanation of the historical materialist perspective must be undertaken.

Historical Materialism

Throughout history, necessarily and inescapably, the character and function of human society has been a product of the material basis within which humans reproduce themselves, of their interaction with nature and with each other. This is true of societies bearing the whole gamut of modes of production, from primitive-communal, to ancient, to feudal, all the way to capitalist. A mode of production is a type of society, at a particular stage of development in the productive forces, governed by a distinct set of economic laws. Of these, the primitive-communal mode had existed the longest, whether it be nomadic or sedentary, hunter-gatherer or agrarian. While modes of production did not follow a rigid, mechanical chain from “lowest” to “highest,” instead following a much more complex pattern, the dissolution of the primitive-communal mode did necessarily imply its replacement by one form or another of class society, of a mode of production in which there

existed the stratification of its members, of groups of exploited and those of exploiters. This stratification, in turn, produced the state, the political apparatus of the ruling class responsible for ensuring social cohesion both by keeping in check individual members and sections of the ruling class and, especially, the whole of the exploited class. This stratification was also, it should be noted, a result of the development of the productive forces, which became capable of producing surpluses that allowed for the elevation of certain classes above the general population, but not to the extent that a universal abundance was realizable for the whole of the community.

The capitalist mode differed from the others in that it came to encompass the entire world, necessitating the dissolution of all previous modes in its wake. This is quite astonishing considering its humble origins, emerging out of pockets within feudal European society and first personified in the medieval burgher. Nonetheless, what it has brought to bear is the universal extension of the market, unprecedented industrialisation, socialisation of the productive apparatus, and monstrous development of the state, both in terms of size and capability. At the same time, this immensely powerful capitalism has internal contradictions which threaten its very existence, the most important among them being the antagonism between wage labour and capital, between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Having created the proletariat, the class of wage labourers, the bourgeoisie has produced both the foundation for tremendous capital accumulation, on the one hand, and the only revolutionary class capable of overthrowing it, on the other. The antagonistic interests of the proletariat against those of the bourgeoisie compel the former to make revolutions against the latter by historical necessity, as has been demonstrated practically. So too do these antagonistic interests lead to the creation of the class party of the proletariat, the communist party, made up of the class’s leading militants, its vanguard, who bear the most revolutionary perspective and historical clarity, which, together, enables them to approximate practical prescriptions for the class as a whole according to the current situation. Upon successfully overthrowing the bourgeoisie, the proletariat forms its own state, or rather semi-state, known as the proletarian dictatorship, as occurred with the Paris Commune of the late nineteenth century and the council republics of the early 20th century. This semi-state, this state-in-decay, the administrators of which (the whole proletariat) aim at its ultimate demise, exists only as a means of suppressing the insurgent bourgeoisie and managing crises, in short, to safeguard the transition from capitalism to communism.

Communism

In terms of communism, it’s important, first and foremost, to distinguish it from another school, that of utopian socialism. Communism as a political movement is a scientific socialism in that it predicts the emergence of a communist society based on real historical developments and the social conditions which accompany them. These, however, matter little to the utopian socialist.

The utopian socialist draws up plans for an ideal society which it wishes current society to adopt based on moral justifications. This is, of course, backwards. As Marx maintains in *The German Ideology*,

“Communism is for us not a state of affairs which is to be established, an ideal to which reality [will] have to adjust itself. We call communism the real movement which abolishes the present state of things. The conditions of this movement result from the premises now in existence”.

To this point, communism isn’t possible without the social conditions created by capitalism. For one, the socialisation of the economy in general is impossible without capitalism having first socialised the productive apparatus, i.e., transformed nearly the whole of society into proletarians and put an enormous productive machine, the vast network of means of production, into their hands, despite them having no ownership over it. With the coming of the proletarian revolution, the proletariat will seize these means of production and socialise them in the sense of ownership as well, so that the absurd contradiction between social production and private appropriation is abolished. Another example of capitalism providing the foundations for communism is in the interconnection it has put into effect across the entire world. The proletarian revolution will carry forward this internationalisation still further by dissolving national boundaries and making way for a unified world community. Finally, capitalism has created unprecedented productive capabilities which more than allow for the universal abundance of all members of society, an outcome, ironically, which capitalism alone stands in the way of being realised. Proletarian revolution will destroy capitalism so that this universal abundance can be realized, and thus the abolition of classes and the state as well. One might object: “But wasn’t the USSR communist? Some emancipation that was!” In order to unpack this, one must be familiar with the history of the Russian Revolution. We communists unashamedly uphold the Russian Revolution as a proletarian revolution, just as much as we do the German Revolution and the Paris Commune. Bourgeois ideologues of all stripes point to the USSR, and, by extension, a great many other so-called “communist” and “socialist” states, in an attempt to dissuade the proletariat from revolution. The irony in this, however, is that the misery of the USSR lay not in communism, not in the

world-historic task of the proletariat to emancipate itself, but in capitalism, in bourgeois counter-revolution. After having been isolated due to the failure of other proletarian revolutions around the world, a bureaucracy developed in Russia which dissolved the proletarian dictatorship, the rule of the proletariat as a class. This bureaucracy took on the role of national capitalist, of the state becoming the primary employer of wage labour, as opposed to the traditional private capitalist. Thus it was, just as much as the United States or the British Empire, a capitalist society in which the proletariat was disempowered and exploited by the ruling class via wage labour, only the forms of this exploitation were configured in a peculiar way compared to most liberal democracies. Coming back to the question of internationalism, the Russian Revolution is a clear example of why communism can only emerge following a sweeping world revolution. Communism cannot exist in one country, nor can the proletarian dictatorship, the political transition to communism, even exist for long in one country without the emergence of proletarian dictatorship in other countries with which to fraternise. Internationalism is an inseparable aspect of communism for this reason, and the various shades of nationalists who attempt to undermine and distort it (be they leftists, liberals, conservatives, etc.) are unequivocally the enemy of communists. To conclude, communism means the abolition of capitalism, the abolition of classes, the abolition of private property, the abolition of the state, the abolition of nations, the abolition of exchange, the abolition of commodity production. It means the realisation of a world community of freely associated individuals interacting with one another and nature in a direct and conscious manner, wherein the means of production are held in common, unencumbered by the law of value, or any other impersonal law which guides the interaction of individuals in spite of themselves. It means the reconciliation of the individual with the community, indeed, wherein the community is but a collection of freely associated individuals. It means the dissolution of institutions of status and identity, enforced diversity, in favour of the organic diversity of individuals according to their varied skills and desires, and, along with this, the realisation of the principle “from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs.”

Synthesiz, July 2026

Continued from page 8

A struggle containing valuable lessons for the future

working class. On the other hand, it is clear that the self-organisation which triumphed amongst Polish workers in 1980 and amongst French students in 2006 was facilitated, respectively, by the total discrediting of the Stalinist trade unions in Poland and by the weakness of the unions in the universities. Confronting the union framework in most of the core countries will be a much more arduous and protracted process.

Two factors will fuel the struggles to come: massive discontent amongst workers and the still underground development of class consciousness. It is, above all, the economic attacks on the living conditions of the working class that lie at the heart of this dynamic. The military rearmament of all countries in the face of escalating imperialist tensions is forcing the bourgeoisie to abandon all caution in the face of its proletarian enemy. We are witnessing a brutal acceleration of attacks on the living conditions of the working class, and in order to defend itself, the working class will have to reclaim the lessons of 2006 and the whole experience of the workers’ movement. It began to discuss these lessons during the 2023 demonstrations against pension reform in France, as well as, indeed, the events of May ’68.

We can summarise these lessons as follows:

- Workers’ organisation is no longer a prerequi-

site for the struggle; it emerges during the struggle itself and, through general assemblies, enables the rapid unification of those engaged in the fight.

- The long, corporatist strike has definitively failed, and the trade unions have been co-opted into the state apparatus. A victorious struggle is one that spreads to all sectors as quickly as possible through the dispatch of mass delegations. The struggle for solidarity is waged in parallel with the struggle for unity.

- The media are never an ally of the struggle; they always defend the interests of the ruling class. The pursuit of spectacular, media-friendly actions is a trap.

- The workers’ struggle is, by its very nature, anonymous. It relies on collective organisation and manages perfectly well without leaders or other ‘orators’. This is a source of strength in the face of repression.

- It is not through physical clashes with the forces of repression that the working class can triumph. The priority is to thwart provocations aimed at fruitless confrontations. Even if, ultimately, class violence is inevitable, the greatest strength of the proletariat lies in its unity and its consciousness. It is in this way that it wins over the waverers and undermines the enemy forces.

Avrom E, 30 August 2026

Continued from page 1

Unite and fight as a class!

next collective agreement". Although the assemblies did vote to reject the arbitration agreement, the margin was very narrow: it fell from 81 per cent for the first draft agreement to a subsequent 51 per cent, with an overall majority of just 67 votes (this mainly from Madrid and Seville). Furthermore, even though the decision was to reject the agreement and continue the strike, the strike committee (comprising the UGT, CGT and UTIL) decided to 'put the strike on hold', provoking the anger of many comrades: "I don't understand what we voted on yesterday. You could call it something else, but we're back at work and the pressure's off." "The strike is ongoing and legal as long as there's no signed agreement on the table. If we put it on hold, it's a victory (for the government and the company) by technical knockout."

Despite their fighting spirit and determination, isolation is a dead end! The historic miners' strike in Britain in 1984-85 lasted almost a year, led by the workers most seasoned in the struggle and with the majority of mines involved, before they withdrew one after the other; it critically failed to extend the struggle beyond the mining sector.

This defeat played a central (though not exclusive) role in the demoralisation and the absence of any significant workers' struggles thereafter... up until 2022!

The demonstration on September the 12th in Madrid: the difficulties in extending the struggle

Some, or indeed many, probably thought that this demonstration would spell the end of the struggle. In the end, the UGT did not call for a demonstration, and perhaps a rally involving only a tiny minority of 'radicals' was expected (which is how many within the company are labelling those who want to continue the strike). But there were between 5,000 (according to the UGT) and 8,000 (according to the organisers) demonstrators from Madrid (Airbus has 14,000 workers, 9,000 of whom are based in Getafe alone, the company's largest plant in Madrid), with delegations from other sites present. Whilst the atmosphere was calm at the start, with the workers' families present in a show of solidarity, anger and defiance remained, manifesting itself in the organisation of a rally of over a thousand people at 2.30 pm under the scorching Madrid sun, in front of the Ministry of Industry, where one of the main slogans was: "this isn't the end".

The demonstration included delegations (mainly from trade union and political organisations) from the teaching sector, which is currently on strike in various regions (including Madrid), as well as students and social workers. And all the leaflets distributed called for the extension and coordination of the struggles. Some speakers at the rally even called for a general strike. Everyone was in favour of extending the struggle; but to extend it how?

The trap of the general strike and the 'coordination of the struggles'

The representative of the teaching platform, Menos Lectivas ('Fewer Teaching Hours') called for "co-ordinating all sectors in a general strike", for "Airbus workers to also defend state schools by taking part in the sector's demonstrations" and for "an assembly in every school to decide on its own terms". Although this stance shows that there is a desire for solidarity and for broadening the struggle, there is a great danger of falling into the

trap of a FALSE EXTENSION. What was called for was simultaneous action and coordination of the struggles; but in essence... everyone in their own corner! Everyone fights 'their own' battle, with their own demands, their own representatives and their own meetings, and from there they come together at the odd demonstration, each behind their own banner, until we end up with a 'sector-by-sector' general strike. And we've seen all this before.

In the struggles against the attack on pensions in France in 2023, the mobilisation was massive, but we had warned that this was not enough: we must take our struggles into our own hands through general assemblies open to all workers. It has nothing to do with closed meetings confined to individual workplaces or sectors, being in charge of 'their own' struggle.

To extend the struggle, unite as a class

So, has this been what extending the struggle looks like? No! During the 'Summer of Discontent' in 2022 in Britain, there was a massive return of the working class to struggle with action taking place simultaneously across many sectors (railways, postal services, education, etc.); but each sector acted on its own. The struggles were unable to unite, to form a social and political force capable of confronting the state and defending workers' living conditions. In the midst of a massive movement of struggles, the trade unions (and in Britain there is one for every sector and sub-sector) confined each group within the limits of its own specific, particular and differing demands.

In contrast, in Spain, in Vitoria in 1976, workers united their struggle and organised town meetings, putting forward common demands; or in Poland in 1980, when workers from across the country united, electing delegates from the assemblies (known as the MKS) that represented the working class of the entire country. And these are not just stories that grandparents tell their grandchildren. The working class learns from its experiences and passes them down from generation to generation. In the struggle against pension cuts and the raising of the retirement age in France, comrades said: "If you give us 63 (the retirement age to replace of the previous 60), we'll give you 68", recalling the May 1968 strike involving over 9 million workers.

Extending the struggle means sending picket lines (such as those sent to the Airbus factories to bring the entire site to a standstill) to all sectors engaged in struggle, organising joint assemblies, unifying demands and electing joint delegates (who can be recalled if they fail to fulfil their mandate) to represent the assembly in negotiations. It means transforming the simultaneous nature of the struggles into genuine unity!

If the Airbus struggle remains confined to its own sector, the energy and fighting spirit will gradually wane; but with the growing number of attacks on workers' living conditions and the will to fight back growing everywhere, it creates the conditions for a genuine extension of the struggle. This is the only way to stand up for our demands. This applies to all working class struggles that develop in whichever country: hence the importance for everyone to learn from the experience of the Airbus workers' struggle.

**International Communist Current
September 2026**

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A victorious struggle by the French students against the CPE

A struggle containing valuable lessons for the future

In 2006, the French government led by Villepin announced its Contrat Première Embauche (‘First Job Contract’ or CPE), a severe attack on the working class. It marked a sudden shift towards greater job insecurity for all young workers. It came on top of the ‘New Employment Contract’ (CNE), adopted the previous year, which aimed to make the employment situation even more precarious for the unemployed returning to work. The bourgeoisie’s aim was clear: to increase labour flexibility, reduce labour costs and put pressure on the entire working class.

Students, joined by secondary school pupils, understood this immediately, and their response was to be devastating. The first demonstrations began on 7 February 2006. It was a short-lived movement (lasting two months), capable of self-organisation, proclaiming the need for solidarity and for the struggle to be extended to all sectors and all generations of the working class – a movement which ultimately forced the government to withdraw its bill on 10 April.

Whilst the working class was still reeling from the ideological campaigns about the supposed end of the class struggle and the definitive triumph of bourgeois democracy, this victory heralded a restoration of the class’s confidence in its own strength. However, the context of a crisis of class identity prevented the immediate application of the valuable lessons emerging from this exemplary struggle.

Extension and self-organisation at the heart of the struggle

The CPE targeted young workers under the age of 26 and allowed them to be sacked during the first two years without the need to give a reason. The Prime Minister, Dominique de Villepin, announced his draft bill on 16 January and demonstrated his determination to lead the Republic’s attacks. The bill was fast-tracked through parliament and passed as early as 27 February. But he had misjudged the students’ reaction.

Taking advantage of the weak trade union organisation within universities and the poor reputation of the UNEF—a veritable training ground for Socialist Party cadres—the students initially set about forging their own unity. The most militant among them patiently engaged in discussion, without intimidation, with other students at the university gates to demonstrate to them, with supporting arguments, the gravity of the attack

and the need to take up the struggle. On 7 March, around twenty universities were on strike. In this drive towards unity, the general assemblies (GAs) played a decisive role. After some initial teething problems, the GAs became the true lifeblood of the movement. These were forums for discussion and decision-making where, to prevent idle chatter and infiltration by trade unions and political organisations, a three-member committee – with a different line-up each day – was appointed to allocate speaking time, alongside committees tasked with preparing the work between GAs. Another of their strengths was their openness to people who are not students. From the outset, the GAs welcomed secondary school pupils who had joined the movement; they also called on university staff – lecturers, administrative staff and technical staff – to take part. But they went far beyond that.

Workers and pensioners, parents or grandparents of students and secondary school pupils involved in the struggle, received a very warm and attentive welcome from the assemblies provided their contributions were aimed at strengthening and expanding the movement. Above all, from the very beginning they sent delegations, not only to other universities to unify the movement and spread its methods, but also to nearby workplaces. Naturally, they came up against union blockades, and this was a rude awakening for the less experienced among them. Yet their determination did not waver. All manner of ways to circumvent this obstacle were discussed at the general assemblies.

The general assemblies then decided to remove from their lists any demands that were exclusively ‘student-oriented’. They subsequently increased the number of slogans calling for solidarity with workers, but not in a passive sense: rather, by calling on them to join them in the struggle. This strategy proved highly successful. On 28 March, the mobilisation reached a record high, with between one and three million demonstrators marching across France. The same slogans were chanted everywhere: “*Unity in the struggle of workers from all sectors, of all generations!*” In Paris, the students took the lead in the demonstration. They remained there until the end of the movement. The issue of unity and solidarity, which had been at the heart of the general assemblies, spilled over into the demonstrations, which had become the central focus of the movement.

It is true that few workers were on strike, but they organised themselves to attend the demon-

strations in the late afternoon or on Saturdays. This unity and solidarity were impressive; the demonstrations spilled out onto the pavements, growing ever larger in number, with everyone keen to join the struggle – a dynamic that was building towards an explosion of strikes. The danger became too great for the bourgeoisie. Faced with the risk of an avalanche of strikes across several sectors, the government was forced to back down. It had to withdraw the bill on 10 April.

This expansion was made possible by the self-organisation of the struggle. The political vitality of the general assemblies made it possible to thwart the traps set for them by the bourgeoisie: the trap of spectacular actions aimed at the media, and the trap of violence in the face of the CRS (riot police) and certain young people from the suburbs who had come to attack students at the demonstrations. The discussions in the general assemblies and the decisions taken made it possible to neutralise these threats.

The weight of the loss of class identity

The struggle of this new generation of proletarians in 2006 forms part of a slow process of resuming struggles following the shock and setback caused by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Exploiting this fall, ‘democratic’ capitalism had presented itself as the only viable system, whilst the collapse of the USSR (and of Stalinism) in 1991—falsely portrayed as the camp of communism—had heralded the start of an ideological offensive by the bourgeoisie proclaiming the end of the class struggle. This, combined with the difficulties the working class had encountered in politicising its struggles during the 1980s, led to some fifteen years of decline in militancy and class consciousness.

The proletariat was shaken to the core regarding the recognition of its own class identity, no longer seeing itself as a class with common interests. Thus, 2006 confirmed the beginnings of a recovery first observed in 2003 with the mobilisation in the French civil service and the struggles in Austria, and in 2005 in the United States and the United Kingdom. The class was slowly reawakening.

However, the crisis of class identity was by no means over. This explains why very few wage-earning workers went on strike in 2006, and why the students failed to maintain control over

the national coordination body that was supposed to centralise the movement¹. This is why, above all, the lessons of this movement could not be put to immediate use. Concerned by the dangerous example set by the students, the bourgeoisie strove to undermine their message of self-organisation and solidarity. It managed, without too much difficulty, to channel the various movements within the universities – which continued until 2010 – as well as the strikes against pension reform².

At that time, only the struggle of the Indignados in Spain – which spread to several countries – was inspired by this resurgence. Mass demonstrations and general assemblies recognised the need for self-organisation and discussion in order to come together and understand how to move beyond this system in crisis. However, in these gatherings, the working-class dimension was pushed even further into the background, and ultimately the ideology of Attac and the DRY (Democracia Real Ya) movement—both expressions of the ruling class—prevailed, obscuring the irreconcilable opposition between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Towards growing workers’ solidarity and the politicisation of struggles

Today, twenty years after the movement against the CPE, the situation is different. The series of struggles in many countries that followed the ‘Summer of Discontent’ in England in 2022 signifies that a new step has been taken towards the restoration of class identity. But a word of caution is needed. Admittedly, the ideological campaigns proclaiming the end of the class struggle and the triumph of bourgeois democracy have lost some of their impact, but the deleterious effects of the period of decomposition – such as the weight of individualism and the destruction of social ties – make it more difficult for workers to achieve unity and solidarity. Society is caught in a maelstrom of self-absorption and nihilism that hinders the struggle for the future. Mass unemployment and the unleashing of warlike barbarism are, for the time being, having a paralysing effect on the 1. Theses on the spring 2006 students’ movement in France, *International Review* 125, in particular footnote 1

2. see ‘Résolution sur la situation sociale en France’ in *Révolution internationale*, n° 451 (mars-avril 2015).

Continued on page 6

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*.