

# Platform

November 2025 No.30

The World Anti-imperialist Platform

A stylized illustration of a woman with dark hair, wearing a light-colored long-sleeved shirt, holding a large, dark red flag aloft with her right arm. The background is a solid red color. The illustration is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page, partially overlapping the text area.





# Contents

October 21, 2025

1st International Conference of World Anti-imperialist Women's Platform

## **“Anti-imperialist struggle and Women’s movement”**

---

**“Peace and stability are prerequisites for the comprehensive development of women”** . . . . . 6  
Lizette Vila Espina | Palomas Project, Audiovisual Production Company for Social Activism (Cuba)

**Consciences, resistance, and struggles (Towards the Articulation of a Leftist Feminist Strategic Agenda)** . . . . . 7  
Aminta Beleño Gómez | Colombian Communist Party

**Argentina: Milei’s Necropolitics and the Organisation of Women and Oppressed Bodies** . . . . . 23  
Ayelén Correa Ruau | Network of Media and Communication Collectives (Argentina)

**“No revolution has ever succeeded without the participation of working-class women”** . . . . . 27  
Joti Brar | Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

**Women, class, emancipation: a common struggle** . . . . . 28  
Yannick Vanonckelen | Communist Party of Belgium

<b>“Without anti-imperialism, there is no women’s liberation”</b> . . . . .	30
Revolutionary Women’s League (Kenya)	
<b>“We are not free until all women are free”</b> . . . . .	32
Labour Women (EKA, Türkiye)	
<b>“The only path for women’s liberation from exploitation and oppression is the struggle for a different society: socialism”</b> . . . . .	33
Panagiota Materi   Revolutionary Theory Group (Greece)	
<b>The Situation of Women in the ‘Republic of Korea’ and the Path to Anti-imperialist Women’s Liberation</b> . . . . .	35
People’s Democracy Party (‘Republic of Korea’)	

October 21, 2025  
9th International Anti-imperialist Conference, Caracas

## **“Comuna o nada”**

---

<b>The “Great Human Network” of Workers’ Self-Organisation</b> . . . . .	38
Dmitry Novikov   Communist Party of the Russian Federation	
<b>Socialist Communes and Anti-Imperialism: The Marxist Approach</b> . . . . .	42
Chris Gilbert   Monthly Review	
<b>Venezuelan Communes: Territorial Socialism in the 21st Century</b> . . . . .	57
Ayelén Correa Ruau   Network of Media and Communication Collectives (Argentina)	
<b>“The Commune or Nothing: The Ancestral Roots of African Resistance and Resilience.”</b> . . . . .	59
Adama Coulibaly   Dynamique Unitaire Panafricaine	
<b>From the Commune to the People’s Power: Anti-imperialist Struggle and the Path of National Liberation in Neocolonial Kenya</b> . . . . .	61
Booker Omole   Communist Party Marxist Kenya	
<b>Statement: “Commune or Nothing – The Path Toward Genuine Freedom”</b> . . . . .	76
Philippine Communist Party (PKP-1930)	

October 22, 2025

9th International Anti-imperialist Conference, Caracas

## “Anti-imperialism and Anti-fascism”

---

**Revolutionary movement in front of imperialism and fascism during WWII** ··· 78

Dimitrios Patelis | Revolutionary Theory Group (Greece)

**“Eastern Europe at the Frontline of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle”** ······· 86

Eastern Initiative

**Imperialism on the Threshold of World War III,  
the Modern World, and Armenia** ······· 87

Lusine Karapetyan | Communist Party of Armenia

**“Venezuelan people have entered the vanguard of  
the anti-imperialist front”** ······· 89

Temur Pipia | Socialist Platform of Georgia

**Long Live the Victory Over Nazi Germany and  
Fascism! Long Live Peace between Peoples!** ······· 90

Communist Party of Belgium

**The process of fascistization in France 2017-2025** ······· 93

Camila Monge | Union for Communist Reconstruction (URC, France)

**“Let’s turn our resistance against the imperialists into an attack!”** ······· 99

Party of the Committees to Support Resistance—for Communism (CARC Party, Italy)

**“Against Imperialism, For Peace and Socialism.”** ······· 102

Luca A. Rodilosso | Italian Communist Party

**Anti-fascism and Anti-imperialism** ······· 103

Pablo Gomez Acevedo | Communist Party of the Galician Republic (PCRG)

**“The Only Way to Defeat U.S. Imperialism Is  
Through the Unity of All Popular Forces”** ······· 104

Edil Osinaga | Communist Party of Bolivia

**Statement on the political situation in Peru** ······· 106

Fidel Humberto Andia Guzman | Peruvian Communist Party

**“Building Anti-Imperialist Solidarity in Latin America”** ······· 110

Carolina Michelle Cabrera Martínez | Socialist Chair Antonio Gramsci (Mexico)

<b>“Africa and the Global Struggle Against Imperialism and Fascism.”</b> . . . . .	112
Adama Coulibaly   Dynamique Unitaire Panafricaine	
<b>Official Speech Presented at the International Conference on the Political Situation in Guinea-Bissau</b> . . . . .	115
Adama Ancumba Djata   African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape verde (PAIGC, Guinea-Bissau)	
<b>Anti-imperialism and Anti-fascism</b> . . . . .	117
Rafael C. Cardino   Philippine Communist Party (PKP-1930)	
<b>Anti-fascism must be anti-imperialist</b> . . . . .	119
Daniel O'Brien   Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist)	
<b>Anti-Imperialism, Anti-Fascism and the Necessity of Anti-Capitalist Struggle</b> .	124
Mücadele Birliđi (Struggle Unity, Türkiye)	

## Resolution

---

<b>Baltic Resistance to Imperialism</b> . . . . .	126
Baltic Platform	
<b>Against the Imperialist Wars of the EU-NATO and Macron’s War Economy</b> . . .	127
Union for Communist Reconstruction (URC, France)	
<b>Faced with an ungovernable France and a discredited and fascist EU-NATO axis, we demand Macron’s resignation and withdrawal from the EU and NATO</b> . . . . .	129
Pole of Communist Revival in France (PRCF)	
<b>Stand with British workers who are being criminalised for opposing genocidal British imperialism</b> . . . . .	132
Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist)	
<b>Under the fascist government of Javier Milei</b> . . . . .	134
Liberation Party (Argentina)	

**“Imperialism and War!” – Global Anti-Imperialist Mobilisation Against  
the France–Africa Summit** . . . . . 136  
Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK)

**Resolution of Dynamique Unitaire Panafricaine** . . . . . 138  
Dynamique Unitaire Panafricaine

**Down with NATO, the Murderer of Peoples!** . . . . . 140  
Mücadele Birliđi (Struggle Unity, Türkiye)

**We Resolutely Oppose the Unlimited Currency Swap that  
Tramples Upon Monetary Sovereignty!** . . . . . 142  
People’s Democracy Party (‘Republic of Korea’)

**Founding Declaration of the World Anti-Imperialist Women’s Platform** . . . . . 144

**Declaration of 9th International Conference “Comuna o Nada”  
The Venezuelan people united around the commune will surely win** . . . . . 146  
World Anti-imperialist Platform

**Declaration of 9th International Conference “Anti-imperialism and Anti-fascism”  
Imperialism Shall Fall! The Peoples Shall Triumph!** . . . . . 149  
World Anti-imperialist Platform

**Conclusion of 9th International Conference in Caracas** . . . . . 151  
World Anti-imperialist Platform

## “Peace and stability are prerequisites for the comprehensive development of women”

Lizette Vila Espina | Palomas Project, Audiovisual Production Company for Social Activism (Cuba)

Dear friends, because the feminism of many of us also needs to relate to men who were not born as machistas, abusers, or aggressors. They are the result of a colonizing and imperial model that subjugates them, enslaves them, and reduces them to the most primitive aspects of the human species.

We come to this gathering recalling that in 1975 in Mexico City, in 1980 in Copenhagen, five years later in Nairobi, and in 1995 in Beijing, governments, institutions, and women from all over the world reflected on our challenges, struggles, and hopes.

Some people may wonder why so much effort is being put into revitalizing Beijing 30 years later, amid the many tensions experienced by our peoples, particularly our beloved Palestine and Venezuela. The answer is very simple but equally challenging! To this day, the Beijing Platform for Action remains the most visionary, comprehensive, and progressive program for the realization of the rights of all women and girls, in all their diversity.

In September 1995, the governments of 189 countries unanimously declared that equality between women and men was a matter of human rights, a condition for achieving social justice, and a fundamental requirement for development, sustainability, and peace.

We must return to Beijing at a very complex time, when anti-rights, imperial, colonizing, warmongering, and patriarchal tendencies at the global level threaten the few achievements made in favor of gender justice, environmental justice, and social justice.

A high-level meeting held on Monday, September 22, at the United Nations General Assembly warned that none of the Sustainable Development Goals

related to gender equality are on track to be met. Unfortunately, in today's world, six times more is spent on war than on protecting women and guaranteeing their rights.

It is time to build a broader consensus, open more fertile paths, and take more practical actions for this cause, as the comprehensive development of women still faces very complex challenges, such as jointly establishing a governance model to protect women's rights and interests and writing a new chapter in promoting global cooperation among us.

A few days ago, Chinese President Xi Jinping declared that states must “expand channels for women's participation in political life and decision-making” and promote their presence in national and social governance. This will be a way to ensure that the freedom, emancipation, and sovereignty of our peoples are not a pipe dream but a project of humanization where all people have the same opportunities and possibilities.

To this end, it is urgent that we have greater representation in politics and public administration so that gender justice is truly internalized in all societies.

Peace and stability are prerequisites for the comprehensive development of women, and it is necessary to strengthen mechanisms against violence and thus refute all forms of abuse.

Continue to count on Cuba, free, independent, sovereign, and conscious, as the empire insists on rolling back our achievements to return to those stories disguised as false freedoms.

To Palestine, Venezuela, and anywhere else where women and girls, men and boys suffer, Cuba's embrace reaches out... for Cuba is also a woman.

Thank you very much.

# Consciences, resistance, and struggles (Towards the Articulation of a Leftist Feminist Strategic Agenda)

Aminta Beleño Gómez | Colombian Communist Party

## Introduction

After overcoming a global pandemic that filled us with uncertainty, anguish, sadness, and pain, with the most varied hopes for the flourishing of a new humanity; in opposition to the most dramatic projections of a future of total domination by the Western corporate elite that fed off the global spread of Covid-19; we find ourselves in a very complex reality that fits neither one nor the other.

The post-pandemic era awakens us to a context marked by the decline of capitalism and the advance of its destructive logic against those it considers objects of appropriation: nature, territories, peoples, women, girls, and boys, generating dissimilar and sophisticated forms of oppression.

And, in parallel, an awakening of consciences, resistance, and struggles, with a perspective of essential transformation, which seek to avoid the planetary chaos outlined without masks, from the hegemonic imperialist power. Consciences, resistance, and struggles that allow us to find ourselves, identify ourselves, and moralize ourselves, that is, to continue to exist.

This work is part of that cosmos of transformative practices that seek to come together to build another social existence. Six lines are proposed for the organization of a Leftist Feminist Strategic Agenda that aims to break the genome of all systems of oppression known to humanity: Patriarchy, developed to the maximum by transnationalized Capitalism<sup>[1]</sup>, like oxygen that renews its neurons.

A Strategic Agenda among left-wing women will

be a leap forward against the patriarchal hegemonic system, because it will allow us to articulate all the struggles that the multiplicity of injustices, exploitation, and violence generated by capital on a global scale forces us to wage.

A Strategic Agenda that is, and must be, feminist, because feminism is potentially transformative; it aims to destroy the genome of all the oppressive systems that humanity has experienced: patriarchy, a cursed legacy that operated against women in the first privatization and, from then on, protected all other known injustices and exclusions.

The six lines for a Leftist Feminist Strategic Agenda emerged at the Second Congress of Left-Wing Women (II Conarmiz), held in Caracas in 2019. They have now been edited to fit the 1st Conference of the World Anti-imperialist Women's Platform, to be held in Caracas on October 20, 2025.

## I. The struggle against war and for the massification of political mobilization

When I speak of war, I am not referring to confrontations of various kinds, in the class struggle or battle of ideas; much less to the exercise of armed struggle as legitimate defense of the peoples against systemic violence and imperialist occupation; but rather to the context of military offensive, the exercise of politics with weapons, or as Karl Von Clausewitz described it: "...the pure extension of politics by other means... an act of violence, committed to force our adversary to comply with our will..." (Clausewitz, 2003).

In this sense, a Left-wing Feminist Strategic Agenda must address the struggle against war, that is, anti-war activism, above all for the following reasons:

1. The destructive capacity developed by US imperialism and its allies, as well as the response of other world power blocs (Russia, China, North Korea, India, and Iran), even if conceived as defensive action, is the greatest danger we face, because it could lead to the destruction of the conditions for planetary life. Moreover, if we understand that systemic logic is unnatural, self-destructive, and totally different from our logic.

In this regard, the economic forecaster Jorge Beinstein warned of the contradiction, from a rational perspective of working humanity, of US warmongering policy:

*We are faced with the concrete historical dynamic of instrumental rationality (bourgeois rationality), as it presents itself at the beginning of the 21st century, as an expression of the evolution, contradictions, dramas, needs, and possibilities of the dominant imperialist forces that develop it; in this case, the Western elites. This is a rationality interested only in the effectiveness of mechanisms for preserving and expanding power, increasingly bogged down in the short term and completely uninterested in the long-term consequences. In this sense, the chain of “rational solutions” to specific problems can become a sure path to disaster, to the collapse of the system, the rational (and amoral) effort to rebuild and preserve decadent capitalism becomes self-destruction... (Beinstein, 2014:21).*

2. War is promoted to oxygenate the system: armament is a capitalist economic policy. Ideas in dispute are no longer of much interest. War corporations sell weapons to anyone who can buy them. This explains the constant global conflicts, as Jorge Beinstein noted:

*...for just over a decade, we have been witnessing a kind of mega Vietnam diversified across various geographical areas, with different intensities and modalities; the empire’s view of the rest of the world*

*is mainly military, with the periphery appearing to its ruling elite as a vast battlefield. It is a curious phenomenon in which the aggressors think and act as such, but where significant portions of those attacked have not realized that they are at war; they view the tragedies in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, or Colombia as limited theaters of war... (Beinstein, 2014:19).*

This rationality of Western imperialism promotes conflicts within our peoples, with the preamble of lumpenization and exacerbation of the reptilian brain, from the prior implementation of mechanisms that desensitize and denature our younger generations, using another of the corporate arms industry’s tentacles: the media.

Above all, because it is difficult to distinguish the lines that separate journalism, propaganda, and war, since the substantive alliance between propaganda and war was coined (Beleño, 2016), masterfully articulated by Joseph Goebbels, Adolf Hitler’s Minister of Propaganda, the real ancestor of all the manipulation that is exercised today, from the communicational miracles of telematic networks. It is worth considering that:

*The consequences of this perversion can be measured in different levels of distress, uncertainty, anxiety, confusion, psychotic dissociation, and loss of collective memory; in addition, in the internalization of violent behaviors, insensitive attitudes, and apathetic behaviors in large segments of the population lacking the ideological resources to overcome the media offensive that daily infiltrates their most intimate corners through the press, television, radio, computers, and cell phones. (Beleño, 2016:30)*

3. War is anti-woman: the greatest victims of all wars are women, because the patriarchal gene treats us as trophies, uses us as a moral reference against the formal enemy to be destroyed, takes away our children, mothers, fathers, siblings, and comrades; it disrupts our existence so that we reproduce chaos and weaken our resistance. All this because, through-

out human history, women have taken on the role of defenders of territory and culture.

Furthermore, wars bring consequences of violence that weigh heavily on women, from the economic impoverishment of the peoples who are the targets of aggression, to the affected psyches that respond aggressively to any disagreement, in the face of those who are considered, according to the patriarchal system, to be inferior or privatized beings. The wars we face are planned, they are a systemic strategy: warmongering. And this is:

*...genetically patriarchal, since it was from patriarchy that the entire warlike praxis was built, which succeeded in destroying the original communal life, privatizing collective domains, depoliticizing the domestic space, naturalizing gender inequality, the heteronormative family, and class division; as well as creating the State, paternal law, and language, which legitimizes exclusion, dispossession, and violence...*

*...The warmongering of decadent global capitalism develops all forms of patriarchal violence and oppression, because it knows of women's capacity for the natural defense of territories and cultures, as well as the economic wealth that their triple exploitation brings to all nations, including those that declare themselves revolutionary. It therefore places them as a moral reference point to be opposed as a trophy to the formal enemy.* <sup>[3]</sup>

Warmongering is the perpetrator of sexual violence against women and girls as a mechanism of political confrontation. Let's take a look:

*In several Latin American countries, various recently formed research teams are currently studying the sexual crimes that occurred during internal conflicts in those countries and creating forensic and legal categories to apprehend, investigate, and prosecute this specific type of violence as war crimes...*

*...a case on which there is abundant literature, which even focuses on the analysis of systematic violence against indigenous women as a central component*

*of the "internal conflict," is that of Guatemala. There, military forces acting as paramilitaries attacked women from the various Mayan peoples who make up the indigenous majority in that country, subjecting them to acts of extreme cruelty and systematic rape that became public and resulted in the stigmatization and ostracism of these women, as a way of dissolving the social fabric, sowing mistrust, and breaking community solidarity. (Segato, 2018:78)*

We find reliable and current evidence that women are the target of warmongering in Colombia: by October 2020, there had been 185 femicides, perpetrated by groups of armed men,<sup>[4]</sup> whose immediate and visible consequence was mass displacement. A specific case was recorded with Sandra Meneses, president of the Community Board of the village of La Esperanza, in La Caucana, Antioquia, northwestern Colombia, who was murdered on August 30 of the same year, after which 12 families were displaced, understanding the sacrifice of their leader as a collective threat.<sup>[5]</sup>

Likewise, the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war against women was evident in the repression exercised by the government of Iván Duque against those who participated in the national strike that began on April 28, 2021, in protest against neoliberal government measures that were strangling the working population: 22 days after the protest began, there were 27 reported cases of sexual violence carried out by police forces.

One case that gained notoriety due to the tragic magnitude of its consequences was that of the young Allisson Lizeth Salazar Miranda, who was detained by a group of officers belonging to the Mobile Anti-Riot Squad (Esmad) on the night of May 12 and raped at the place of her detention by four of those officers. Because she was a minor, Allisson was handed over to her relatives, but the next day she committed suicide, unable to bear the pain of the cruel humiliation. In messages she wrote to a friend, she revealed

her agony: “...they groped me to my soul...”, she revealed.

It is impossible to hold back the tears, especially when watching the video recorded by one of the protesters, which shows the moment of the arbitrary arrest: the girl was fighting against a large number of police officers, dressed like typical Robocots. Allisson never showed fear, shouting: “Let me go, you’re undressing me!” Already on the ground, she took off the backpack she was carrying on her back and threw it at the feet of her captors. With all her bizarre innocence, she was heard to say: “I’m not doing anything, there’s the fucking bag...”

A day later, the world heard about her again when her family found her lifeless body. Her name continues to appear in the streets and at every march or protest.

4. War is ecocide: armed conflicts have always affected ecosystems. Arms production is polluting, and the use of bombs and missiles destroys life in all its forms, on land, in the air, and in water. Now, the ecocides of the wars of decadent capitalism are by no means a side effect; they are part of a destructive plan against ancestral and/or peasant communities, fauna, and flora, for the appropriation of territories that offer sources of enrichment, such as those treasured in the subsoil. In this regard, Beinstein pointed out that:

*At the beginning of the 21st century, bourgeois civilization has turned its petty instrumental rationality into a death delirium, into a thanatic force that seeks to survive by feeding on the destruction of the planet (its population, its environmental context). (Beinstein, 2014:13)*

Regarding the harmful relationships that Western capitalist patriarchal thinking seeks to impose, it is worth noting that:<sup>[6]</sup>

*Decadent global capitalism is advancing on our common body: nature. It already knows how to control the reproduction of species by modifying their genetics. It is committed to breaking the fabric that*

*the sun, moon, earth, wind, rain, plants, insects, birds, and female wombs weave to reproduce life...*

*...It has violated the bowels of the earth to steal its fossilized past and destroyed territories to erect commercial moles; it is also intervening in feminized bodies to use them as objects of commercial morbid curiosity and violating wombs to prevent childbirth and tax births. Furthermore, it is seeking to replace millions of women and men who work the land, mechanizing the historical agriculture that links us to our origins, cultures, memories, and sense of existence.*

With equal clarity, Amaranta Herrero delves into the dangerous philosophy that guides the systemic moment:

*Capitalist patriarchy reduces all of life to the value of money. The driving force behind the capitalist system is a logic of capital accumulation and profit-making. Through a series of social, cultural, economic, and political structures, it benefits a few at the expense of the majority and dangerously accelerates planetary entropy, with a suicidal dynamic. It puts all of life at the service of capital and, in doing so, not only increases social inequalities, but has also managed to bring the planet into a new geological era, hostile and unpredictable, irreversibly damaging the living beings that make up the fabric of life and even threatening human survival itself. (Herrero, 2017:22)*

Beyond theoretical considerations, there is a terrifying reality generated by warmongering, which is rarely visible. According to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP): “The wars that Afghanistan endured since 1979 left a legacy of millions of landmines, contaminated water, ravaged forests, and cities without basic sanitation...”

Regarding the tragedy left by the war in that nation, Jorge Ballester Prieto<sup>[7]</sup> stated that:

*...this country lost a third of its forests due to the war...the six protected areas that exist cover barely one percent of the territory. These reserves are home*

*to rapidly declining species such as bears, sheep, various birds, and snow leopards. Most of the animals are hunted for food or sold by refugees or farmers desperate for food...*

Likewise, we are faced with environmental chaos, in addition to the human chaos we are familiar with, caused by the Zionist invasion of Palestine:

*...environmental degradation, water pollution, loss of vegetation, and waste management are factors that have had a severe impact on the environment. The increase in hazardous waste, the contamination of shared aquifers, and other environmental damage in the territories occupied (by Israel) threaten this generation and future generations...*

Similarly, Ballester Prieto sounded the alarm by detailing the environmental impact of the 1991 invasion of Iraq, known as the “Gulf War”:

*...it marked a turning point in the environmental consequences of wars. It was the first time that pollution was used as a tactic of war. More than 700 oil wells were deliberately set on fire... and between six and eight million barrels of oil were spilled into the sea to defend against attacks by the international coalition. As a result, 80,000 tons of greenhouse gases were released and 500 kilometers of coastline were contaminated.*

5. War is the antithesis of the political participation of the majority, and of women: the structures that must be created to confront the armed aggression of imperialism, even from unconventional popular resistance movements such as guerrillas or militias, are bound by verticality, by command and obedience. And, because violence and brute force generally determine the outcome, women are usually excluded from decisive positions of command.

After the end of armed conflicts, these traces mark the journey of the people who took up arms. Restructuring to collectively exercise thought and action requires many factors that extend over time, where the system takes advantage and advances, with patriarchal marks at the forefront. On the other hand, true

revolutions are made by willing majorities, capable of orienting themselves and making decisions when necessary. Essentially, armed confrontation is not the determining factor, but rather a result:

*The use of weapons as a decisive factor and/or main form of struggle, which enshrines armed conflict as the beginning and end of any process of liberation and transformation, is another myth that not only individualizes and masculinizes the protagonists, but also erases the stages prior to any military confrontation, which begin with a collective awareness of organization and political mobilization, where weapons are considered necessary when other practices prove insufficient.*

*It also obscures the importance of methods of struggle that are essential to enabling the formation of armed insurgencies and victorious parties, such as intelligence and counterintelligence, propaganda, planning, logistics, and political organization. Because no people form liberation armies without first realizing that they are subjugated, understanding that only through struggle will they achieve emancipation, and organizing themselves to that end.*

*So, we return here to the excluded masses and the gender rendered invisible by patriarchal mythologizing. Returning to the process of our First Independence in the Patria Grande, we find that, until the end of the last century, 70% of historiographical production was devoted to the period of the War of Independence; and of that 70%, the narrative of battles and biographies of male military heroism is overwhelming.*

*Neither the gestating process of the War of Independence, which lasted more than three centuries, nor the participation of the masses, nor the civilian protagonism, much less that of women, who were essential, is weighed.*

*What is glorified is the military confrontation, which lasted barely fifteen years, and the individual protagonism of military leaders, who were a collective result that owes the female gender transcendental*

*elements for the accumulation of forces: from the descendants born and raised with an ideology of independence oriented towards struggle, to the political practices that tracked information, confused the enemy, spread ideas, challenged institutions, generated uprisings, provided logistics, and, when the time came, took up arms<sup>[8]</sup>.*

Therefore, if we want to build a new society, it is urgent to socialize popular democracy and horizontality, where gender equality is imperative; premises that are incompatible with war.

For all these reasons, we must take up a frontal struggle against imperialist war, organize national and global campaigns for the political resolution of conflicts, against atomic, nuclear, and all types of weapons, especially those that cause mass destruction and ecocide.

Likewise, we must fight against any mechanism that promotes and encourages the use of weapons, such as war toys, whether tangible or virtual. Left-wing feminism must embrace the slogan “Territories free of war, territories for peace.”

At the same time, we left-wing women must promote the massification of political mobilization and electoral participation. We must oppose the imperialist and systemic enemy with insurrections, popular uprisings, boycotts, general strikes, or takeovers. Likewise, legal decisions, from elections to consultations, plebiscites, referendums, and repeals. To their military power, we must oppose our collective, constructive, and defensive power.

Examples of the potential of the masses as popular power can be found. For example, in Colombia: the mass insurrection of 2021 transcended months throughout the territory, inventing forms of collective denunciation, defense, and protection, managing to turn the world’s gaze toward itself, and defeating two of the four anti-popular reforms proposed by the government of Iván Duque, which were the ones that generated the National Strike.

Recently, it was the ongoing popular mobilization in

support of the social reforms proposed by President Gustavo Petro Urrego that succeeded, after multiple attempts by the right wing in Congress to oppose them, in getting the pension and labor reforms approved, which are essentially aimed at vindicating the rights of the working class.

Likewise, in Haiti, the collective unconscious of that libertarian Africa that beat the first triumphant drum against European colonialism in Our America has fought in the streets and continues to actively resist a tyranny that senses its end.

Cuba, as a state, nation, and people, fights against the blockade and sanctions from a geographical position that makes it vulnerable to any attempt at isolation, with its own ammunition: dignity, solidarity, scientific urgency, love of art, fondness for sports, and an irrefutable conviction that it will never again be a U.S. colony. Ignoring its limitations, knowing that only 80 miles separate it from the most dangerous military power on the planet, it maintains a national security policy that is alien to the armament of its population, with inevitably admirable results because it does not register the normalized violence of the rest of the world. In the midst of the pandemic, while some powers continued to compete to show off their missile power, Cuba surprised the world with five anti-COVID-19 vaccines.

And here in Venezuela, the ideology of 21st Century Socialism that Commander Chávez raised up from his Bolivarian Revolution is being built in a silent, constructive resistance that includes productive trials, where social property is promoted. Such socialist embryos coexist with capitalist production and exchange, which is widely dominant; that is to say, Chávez promoted a model where different types of property are juxtaposed (Figueroa, 2020). For our purposes, it is worth noting that:

*...the proletarians of the Patria Grande (Great Homeland) have, therefore, in the collectivist experiences developed in Venezuela over the last two decades-even with their shortcomings-experiences*

*and elements for theoretical and practical construction. Undoubtedly, this is an invaluable contribution to the goal of rebuilding a strategic horizon for humanity... (Figueroa, 2020:11)*

Furthermore, and within the framework of the Unilateral Coercive Measures imposed by the United States Government against the Bolivarian Government, which weigh heavily on women; every day, countless women living in Venezuela's popular communities move with stoic heroism to maintain the continuity of social programs, such as the Local Councils for Socialist Supply and Production (Claps), structured by the national government to alleviate the affected economies of millions of families through the delivery of subsidized food. This is what has come to be called "social motherhood," the extension of the sacrifice in time and labor that women make in their domestic space to the social family, which attempts to establish itself in the communes.

## **II. The battle for national independence, towards the end of colonialism in all its expressions and spaces**

Internationalism is feminist. It implies recognizing the right to self-determination and independence of all nations oppressed by anachronistic but surviving colonialism. We must take a leap against the global complicity that has kept the specter of colonialism alive.

It is feminist to fight for the rights of nations that have not been allowed to be sovereign or achieve statehood, because colonialism is a breeding ground for the permanent regeneration of patriarchy, which is internationally untouchable.

Colonialism denies origins, ancestral culture, language, and mother territory; it violates national identity and distorts colonial exploitative relationships, covering them up as state affinities, misplacing the memory of violence that inhabits every state built on an invaded nation.

In today's world, there are peoples who continue to

walk with the shackles of feudal colonial parasitism, the survival of a past that is rendered invisible from the shadows of capital globalization and narrated on the world stage as a thing of the past.

One example among many is the Canary Islands, located in the Atlantic Ocean off the northwest coast of Africa, a nation that has maintained its status as a colony of Spain since it was invaded in the 15th century, with the consequent enslavement of its original people: the Guanches community.

We can learn firsthand about the dire consequences of the Spanish state's continued colonial occupation of the Canary Islands from those who claim to be descendants of the original inhabitants:

*As a result of persistent Spanish colonization, exacerbated by the current global systemic crisis of world capitalism, Canarian society suffers from the most negative socio-economic indicators in the entire Spanish state, namely: plundering and pillaging of the economic resources generated on the islands (the Spanish treasury and foreign capitalist companies extract enormous amounts of money and wealth every year, which are never disclosed); an unemployment rate of 21%; 40.2% of the Canarian population is at risk of poverty and/or social exclusion in 2017, according to the 2018 AROPE report by the European Anti Poverty Network (EAPN); high school failure rates (less than 3% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is spent on education); strong cultural alienation, deterioration of healthcare with overcrowding and long waiting lists; lack of democracy with an electoral law that imposes restrictive thresholds of 4% nationally and 15% on the islands to obtain institutional representation in the Canary Islands regional parliament; fragile and undiversified socio-economic structure (more than 80% of the economy is concentrated in hospitality-tourism and cement-construction); high social inequality, high dependence on foreign food (more than 90% of the food consumed by the Canarian people is imported); malnutrition exceeding 20%, strong administrative*

*division into two provinces in constant conflict and litigation, the working class with the lowest wages and longest working hours in Spain; high prevalence of mental illness and high consumption of psychotropic drugs, especially among women (anxiolytics, antidepressants, and sleeping pills); total absence of public banking, finance, and fiscal policy in the Canary Islands; mass media in the hands of the bourgeoisie and oligarchy, more than 95%; urban planning paradox: a shortage of housing for the Canarian people, but an abundance for Spanish and European colonizers (one-third of homes are unoccupied, as many are second or third residences of Spaniards and Europeans who live there seasonally for a few months a year)<sup>[9]</sup>.*

*To the current plundering of the wealth generated in the Canary Islands, we must add the future and potential plundering of the hydrocarbons and multiple metals contained in the Atlantic ocean floor off the Canary Islands. Likewise, in addition to potential underwater mining, there is the possibility of land-based mining of “rare earths” contained in the earth’s crust of some islands such as Gran Canaria, as nine researchers from four universities have published in the prestigious scientific journal Journal of Geochemical Exploration.*

*Oceanographic studies of the seabed surrounding the Canary Islands carried out since 2010 reveal the existence of the world’s largest reserves of strategic minerals of high value for modern technology, such as tellurium, hafnium, nickel, cobalt, iron, manganese, antimony, arsenic, lead, and molybdenum. Likewise, oceanographic and terrestrial studies point to the existence of light rare earths containing metals and elements of high value for telephony, defense, computers, and space devices (lanthanum, cerium, praseodymium, neodymium, promethium, samarium, scandium, yttrium).*

In addition to the picture described above, which reveals the radical essence of the Spanish state and the fatal feudal genetics of capitalism, the main-

tenance of this territory under European colonial rule represents a constant threat to any project of emancipation in the world, due to geopolitics and globalization, which translates into the possibility of globalizing the exercise of force against libertarian thought, which is still defended in dispersion and has not yet achieved the utopia of its articulation.

For the geopolitics that ties together systemic action, the Canary Islands, located opposite Morocco, the Sahara, and Mauritania, give this territory “a tri-continental nature and an enclave of high geopolitical and geostrategic value between Africa, Europe, and America. This geopolitical position makes the Canary Islands a very desirable property for the deep state that governs the decadent imperialism of the gringos.”<sup>[10]</sup>

As Rita María Rodríguez, spokesperson for the Colectivo de Mujeres Independentistas de Canarias (Collective of Independentist Women of the Canary Islands), stated after the Spanish and European colonization of the Canary Islands:

*...added to this is the imperialist strategy of the US, which has turned our islands into a platform for aggression, exploitation, plunder, and looting of the wealth of our sister peoples on the African continent. The plans of the Africa Command (Africom) and the Terrorist Organization for the Attack on Nations (NATO) with the military and mining ports of Arinaga and Agaete (Gran Canaria), Granadilla (Tenerife) and Puerto de Tazacorte (La Palma) are the most tangible demonstration of such threats.*

Therefore, taking up the fight against colonialism and for the right of all invaded nations to be independent and to organize themselves as sovereign states is not only an internationalist principle; it is a necessity for our very existence. Nations fighting against the colonial yoke are fighting against global capitalism in its dangerous imperialist existence.

In this regard, Rukaden Arehukas Teguisse, spokesperson for the Canarian National Liberation Movement, said:

*The Canarian people said, overwhelmingly: NO! to NATO in the referendum of March 12, 1986; and that democratic decision of our people has not been respected by Spain, the European Union, or the United States of America.*

*...we continue to defend that the solution...is the decolonization and independence of our islands, which will pave the way for the national, social, and psychological liberation of the Canarian people.*

*...the female sector of the Canarian population is the most negatively affected... we are aware that we need international solidarity and the hard work of raising awareness and organizing our Canarian women to achieve their mobilization and active participation in the exciting emancipatory process that awaits us. The liberation of the Canary Islands will undoubtedly have positive repercussions, not only for the women of the archipelago, but also for the women and peoples of Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The sisterhood between Africa and America passes through the Canary Islands...*

The consciousness and struggle of the original nation of the Canary Islands, the Guanches community, which survives in the current Canarian generations, is just one example of the significance of the independence struggles waged by other peoples, such as the Catalans, Basques, and Galicians, within the Spanish state. Not to mention Palestine, the people of Kurdistan and the Sahrawi, among many other nations that face both the oppressive specter of the colonial past and the ill-fated, decadent, eco-genocidal capitalism.

It is up to us, as left-wing feminists, to raise our banners for the definitive elimination of colonialism, for a world of sovereign territories and populations.

### **III. The integration of ecosocialism among feminist banners, as a duty to defend Mother Nature**

If any defense is feminist, it is one that promotes respect for the first mother: nature, the space where

diversity does not contradict itself, but rather complements itself. It is women who reproduce and protect life. Therefore, every left-wing feminist woman must be outraged by any practice that harms and sacrifices the first mother, embodied in the air, the earth, the water, the plants, and other animals.

Left-wing feminists must join the environmental struggles that are taking shape in a varied and colorful range, including: the fight against extractivism, because it violates the bowels of the earth to plunder its sap in order to increase the wealth of global elites, destroying ancestral spaces and indigenous cultures; as well as criticizing and taking action against the industrialization of life, which aims to replace natural and collective processes in order to mechanize every possible space from the perspective of systemic hegemony; the same hegemony that is invading us with genetically modified products, whose essence, in addition to poisoning us, is the privatization of seeds, stem cells, and the very natural dynamics of life's reproduction.

Ecological battles also take on the defense of the rights of other animals to a life free from abuse, torture, and unnecessary sacrifice; a struggle that has made progress, such as the "Universal Declaration of Animal Rights," approved by the UN,<sup>[11]</sup> a victory against insensitivity to the suffering of the different species that accompany us on this planet; and which is the foundation of indolence against any injustice, since it is based on the malevolent patriarchal human-centered (androcentric) conception.

It is a way of thinking structured around the terrible binary opposition between the categories of nature and society, in order to legitimize patriarchal, classist, and unnatural violence. This binary opposition was imposed on us:

*From the foundational Judeo-Christian myth that posits, by divine mandate, of course, the right of man to dominate the Earth and all the species that exist on it, imposed by European colonization against the ancestral visions of respect and admiration for*

natural forces; to the human-centered reasoning of Greek philosophy: "...man is the measure of all things...", inherited by rationalism and the bourgeois revolutions in their humanist philosophy; we arrive at decadent global capitalism, practicing the greatest abuses against Mother Nature, in application of those theories that deify the human species above all that exists, inside and outside the planet, since even the colonization of the moon and other stars is already planned.<sup>[12]</sup>

The unity of Feminism with Environmentalism has been proposed for more than three decades, when extensive dialogue began on different forms of feminism, including Environmental Feminism, later identified as Ecofeminism;<sup>[13]</sup> after recognizing characteristic links between the plundering of women and the exploitation of Mother Nature.

Just as women are diverse and the inequalities and injustices imposed on us by the patriarchal capitalist system are varied, Ecofeminism also has a complex set of guidelines, including essentialism, spiritualism, constructivism, animalism, and the queer tendency. In general terms, it is a praxis constructed by the articulation of three social currents: Feminism, Environmentalism, and Pacifism.

In this sense, it is up to us, as left-wing women who advocate for the necessary transition towards the construction of a different system, the total antithesis of capitalism, to assume, from our feminism, the necessary unity with ecofeminists, especially when:

*Ecofeminisms are expanding and becoming increasingly important. The ecofeminist perspective is gaining momentum and influence, expanding responsibilities and alliances between different social movements. At the root of ecofeminism lies the idea that multiple systems of oppression feed off each other. Both in theory and in practice, ecofeminists build alliances among those who fight against sexism, capitalism, racism, heterosexism, colonialism, speciesism, and environmental destruction.*

*In short, ecological feminisms are developing a new*

*ethical, social, cultural, and political project in response to the crisis of patriarchal, consumerist, and individualistic values promoted by Western societies (Herrero, 2017: 27).*

Eco-socialism is part of this inevitable convergence of thoughts and actions, a movement that emerged from among the dogmas that did not understand the class struggle as a struggle for respect for all life, for the consecration of the nature-humanity community.

Yet, my memory is still fresh with the stigma levelled against those of us who brought environmentalism and feminism into debates and actions. These vindications of the ancestral collective unconscious, which lived on in our militant generation, were classified as distractions from the right, thrown into the arena of class struggle to divert us from the main objective, among other erroneous assessments.

Now, the global left agrees on the urgent need to defend the ecosystem, because environmental destruction is leading to the destruction of the planet. And so, we are reminded of true Marxism/Engelsism:

*In the development of productive forces, a stage is reached where productive forces and means of exchange arise which, under existing relations, can only be sources of evil, since they are not forces of production, but rather forces of destruction (Engels and Marx, 1974:81).*

It is worth remembering Jorge Beinstein, always determined to delve into the honest complexity of the studies bequeathed to us by Engels and Marx, manipulated thousands of times on a whim by the self-proclaimed vanguards, who viewed with suspicion some of the issues that both fighters identified as related to the struggles of the proletariat, included in their liberating self-praxis<sup>[14]</sup>; among these: Feminism and Environmentalism.

Beinstein dedicated his last work, Marx: Pending Issues (completed hours before his journey to immortality), to demonstrating that there is a total affinity between Marxism-Engelsism and the issues forbidden by orthodoxy. Let us read:

*The devastation of natural resources, threatening the reproduction of the system, was pointed out by Marx, and the emergence of environmental issues highlighted his observations on the existence of the metabolism between human society and nature, subordinating the sustainable reproduction of humanity to that of a larger, overarching space that includes it in such a way that social development that manages to break this metabolism, damaging the environmental context, makes human existence itself unviable.*

*Marx's concept of the fracture of the humanity-nature metabolism, a product of capitalist development, has been repeatedly presented as proof that Marx did not limit his analysis to the economic contradictions of the system, but extended his focus to the ecological sphere (Beinstein, 2019:10).*

In one of his concluding notes, this thinker asserted:

*It is possible to broaden Marx's vision to include issues such as racist, ethnic, religious, ageist, and other forms of oppression, leading to the perception of bourgeois civilization not as a simple capitalist machine for extracting surplus value, but as a complex articulation of different forms of oppression and destructive exploitation of human beings and their environment, where levels, relative weights, and concrete channels of interaction appear. This in no way dilutes the class struggle into an amorphous whole, but rather places it historically within the dynamics of civilization (Beinstein, 2019:48).*

Finally, let us leave Engels telling us that holistic power over existence "...is not the domain of someone outside nature, but that we, through our flesh, our blood, and our brains, belong to nature, we are at its heart..." Likewise, that "...nothing in nature happens in isolation. Each phenomenon affects another and is, in turn, influenced by it..." (Engels, 1876:5).

#### **IV. The appropriation of the media battle as a frontline scenario against systemic war**

Information, communication, and propaganda, ex-

ercised from the media hegemony of the system, have generated two realities: one virtual and the other social. Today, the media is the forefront of systemic, imperialist, and patriarchal warfare.

A Left-wing Feminist Strategic Agenda must approach the media battle from two directions and with one objective.

The first direction: to contradict, block, and neutralize the alienating orientations of the enemy's hegemonic media (Beleño, 2017); the second, to generate content that strengthens the popular imagination, the female worldview, and social sensitivity (Beleño, 2018).

The objective: to rebuild our inner field, made up of family, community, and grassroots organizations, in order to build essential and defining trenches against the ideological battle that sustains the perpetuation of all forms of oppression.

It is important to question the dominant language and semantics that, visibly and invisibly, are imbued with an absolutist systemic logic, where inequalities of all kinds are hidden and naturalized. And, if we understand that language is an expression of power and also sustains it, the hegemonic media can only offer us codes that legitimize both the ruling elite and the culture of domination.

Therefore, we must view the media as a globalized arena, where traditional media, the Internet, telephony, telematic networks, and Artificial Intelligence are inscribed.

And it is not enough to understand it as an enemy arena of conflict; we must also stand up against this vanguard of capital, study it, and learn which media outlets exert the most influence on our peoples, which platform dominates content in our community, and which formal, semantic, and positional language codes underpin the systemic patriarchal culture. It is essential to identify gaps, denials, conceptual distortions, and legal omissions that legitimize and/or render invisible violence, normalize sexism and the objectification of women, girls, boys, and sexual di-

versities, behind which sexual exploitation, human trafficking, and the induction of psychotropic drug use, among other crimes, are protected.

It is possible to overcome victimization and leap over the traps that decadent capitalism, in its globalization, has set for us. Those buried mines that explode every day, denying and distorting us, that rumble in those two inverse realities: the social and the virtual, carry a code for their deactivation: collective consciousness and its articulation.

During the pandemic, we learned a lot, among other things, to find ourselves beyond the physical and the usual. Telematic networks have displaced traditional media and have been embraced by our vulnerable population. Now, they are serving as a support for us to debate, denounce, accompany, support, assist, study, add, and make visible.

Therefore, we must schedule our offensive media articulation to confront this fatality staged on blind spots and begin to turn on the lights to reveal the sinister maneuvers of capital.

## **V. Study as an urgent necessity for existence**

Theory and practice are inseparable. Our strategy must focus on educating ourselves and our women to confront ideas, critically identify and materially combat everyday practices where patriarchy and other injustices operate and reproduce themselves.

In this regard, I propose to move beyond the concept of cadre schools and replace it with spiral schools, for one simple reason: cadres are closed spaces that have nothing to do with the dialectical development of life, thought, or social being.

This concept is a transfer of masculine war mechanics, carried over from the old colony; it is a metaphor very typical of vertical, rough spaces, where conditioning operates rather than critical thinking. They have embedded it in our slang and tattooed it on our tongues, repeating ad nauseam that the most prominent people in a struggle are “cadres.” And that our highest aspiration, as left-wing activists, must be

to become a cadre. Well, it is time to confront the historical semantics that do not reflect us. We, the women of the left, the feminists, the granddaughters of the witches they could never burn, do not fit into a square. The closed lines that are constantly repeated do not define us. We belong to the line drawn by nature itself: the spiral.

Spirals are constant and ascending developments. Our feminine, revolutionary identity is outlined as a perfect spiral, in sublime connection with the primordial grandmother: the Milky Way.

Now, the consciousness of the feminine imagination, where that stolen past of our ancestral origins is always screaming, that collective unconscious or that latent presence that psychoanalysis spoke to us about, is recognizing the contradiction of the sketches that distort our natural subjectivity; the one that, if we ignore it, anchors us.

In this regard, it is pertinent to review the reflections of the women’s organization “Espiral Feminista Revolucionaria” (Revolutionary Feminist Spiral), who live in the state of Lara, Venezuela:

*...the proposal to live life in a Spiral dynamic, as a certainty of the evolution of consciousness, from a comprehensive view of the world, is a liberating principle that poses multiple challenges in the construction of Feminist Socialism; from the small, from the space closest to us, which is ourselves; from our ally, the Comrade Body, which allows us to have a feminine worldview for the re-signification of oppression.*

*This dynamic allows us to return to the natural cycles that Patriarchy and Capitalism have taken from our memory and recover the way we relate to everything in a Spiral, non-linear time, reconnecting us with the relationship of respect between humans and nature; saving its fruits for sustenance, and not for the accumulation of capital...*

*We dive into deep waters and understand that, by starting to reclaim the wisdom of our ancestors, we can understand ourselves in many situations and*

*move towards achieving Buen Vivir (Good Living). By trying to innovate and contribute new terms and forms of organization, we propose to build a feminist aesthetic committed to our ancestors, to knowledge, and to our advancement.*

*We feel the closeness of the dream we have achieved, re-signifying the feminine to rediscover ourselves as guardians of the ancestral seed, messengers of the voice of the women who came before us, disposers of dreams, sowers of the libertarian word, and singers of the song that awakens us to life each morning; in a dynamic Spiral that transforms material and spiritual conditions through political action at all stages of life, and in a permanent decision to recover from our ancestry a whole matriarchal space that protects our sisterly coexistence along the paths we walk, in step with the moon (Beleño, 2018:133).*

This need to study strengthens our fighting spirit, because it illuminates our journey, revealing both denied truths and infinite connections with the diverse, suffering, and thinking world of which we are a part.

The importance of educating ourselves, of always studying, does not imply a simple accumulation of knowledge, but rather a rethinking of the philosophy that moves us, in that need to turn the social universe upside down, where we are a celestial body.

And it is linked to the analysis of the three known dimensions of time: past, present, and future, because the only thing that can transform is strategic thinking, the awareness that we are championing a historical cause that will not be resolved in the immediate present, which requires the application of a tactical multiplicity that involves our inner field and those outer domains.

In this critical approach to history, which ties together the three dimensions of the old chronos, we women of the left must leverage ourselves; for everything that afflicts us lies further back than the present and can disappear into the history we dream of for the granddaughters of these witches, who today

invoke torrents and untie winds against the bonfires planned by the inquisitors of decadence.

## **VI. The Commune as a future commitment to the creation of another economy**

Categorically, no state will be able to liberate us. As long as the state exists, there will be oppressive classes and structures, because the state arose after patriarchy, private property, and classes, and through violence, in order to sustain itself from this. Friedrich Engels explained it to us in these simple terms:

*The state is by no means a power imposed from outside society. Nor is it “the reality of the moral idea” or “the image of reality and reason,” as Hegel claims. Rather, it is a product of society when it reaches a certain stage of development. It is the confession that this society has become entangled in an irremediable contradiction with itself and is divided by irreconcilable antagonisms that it is powerless to resolve. But in order to prevent these antagonisms, these classes with conflicting economic interests, from devouring themselves and consuming society in a fruitless struggle, a power is needed that is apparently above society and called upon to cushion the clash, to keep it within the limits of “order.” And that power, born of society but placed above it and increasingly divorced from it, is the State (Engels, 2007:258).*

The Commune as a form of economic, political, and social organization, as a defense and preservation of the micro, a valorization of ancestral knowledge and natural mestizaje, must be our strategy. No, the Communal State, even if that is the concept coined and conceived as a transition to the Communal Society.

Because even the strategy, which is the Communal Society, cannot be achieved by decree or by invocation alone. There must be a long process of qualitative changes, which will accumulate to bring about the leap.

We women of the left must be united by the Commune proposal, because it brings together the original element of common space for common beings, with

common rights and duties. The space where we live and care for life, produce and reproduce, study and project ourselves; where we meet and unite.

From the Commune, we can rethink the systemic industrial parameters of production:<sup>[15]</sup>who, what, how, and for what is produced? This is a reflection/transformation that only Communal Power can achieve.

Likewise, the redefinition of the concept and organization of the family to transcend blood and kinship ties, towards the rescue of the Gens, from the perspective of our present context, with our sights set on our ideal future.

It is not very difficult to imagine a near future that restores the beauty of the ancient past, similar to how remote communities lived in their vernacular form of large families, called Gens: ...without soldiers, gendarmes, or police, without nobility, without kings, governors, prefects, or judges, without prisons or trials, everything runs smoothly. All quarrels and conflicts are settled by the community concerned... (Engels, 2007:177)

The Commune is the fundamental commitment to transforming the patriarchal, standardized, unjust, and unequal family, which broke the natural social fabric, since Barbarism, and continues to overlap with the struggles of the affronted collective unconscious.

Doesn't the social motherhood that our women community members exercise on a daily basis, to guarantee food, services, information, unity, and sisterhood, represent a step on the ladder to the heaven of communal society? Of course it does.

By raising awareness against the parameter that burdens women with domestic tasks, that is, by socializing these tasks, we can perceive the implantation of an embryo with the genome of a New Possible World, growing in the womb of our praxis.

The communes that today are an example of conviction and resistance in Venezuela<sup>[16]</sup> are confronting the concentration and monopoly of productive processes in spaces outside the collective, the common; This implies the industrialization of all life, which

disarticulates us as common social beings, turning us into cogs in the toxic, consumerist serial production of global capitalism, which in no way consults the real needs and natural possibilities of our territory, our workforce, or our articulated social thought.

However, the patriarchal parameters that govern the economic, social, and political life of the community project are still not being clearly and consciously questioned. For example, domestic and care work continues to weigh heavily on the shoulders of our women. For all these reasons, our Leftist Feminist Strategic Agenda must recognize the Commune as a potential space for fighting against all patriarchal foundations of the popular economy.

From these spaces, we can begin to deconstruct transcendental issues such as the lack of real recognition of the value of domestic and care work, a fact that creates domestic slavery for women and girls. We must consider the organization of communal kitchens and laundries, for example, where these tasks are collectivized, with the participation of all inhabitants: women and men. This would give community members free time to study, enjoy recreation, and participate equitably and decisively in public and political affairs. It would also help to break down a fundamental pillar of all class-based societies: the assignment of roles by gender and the appropriation of domestic and care work by the dominant male elites.

Similarly, in the Commune, shelters and safe houses can be built for our women and children in vulnerable situations, facing the patriarchal violence that is reproduced in the home, thus bringing to light this type of crime that is hidden in our neighborhoods.

In the Commune, meeting centers can be created for the exchange of ancestral knowledge, which remains in the hands of mothers and grandmothers. Schools for the formation of spirals that transcend these times have their genome in the Commune.

In short, the potential of the Commune for the other economy, the collective, equitable, communist economy, is the potential for another society, that of utopia.

Let us join Commander Chávez in his cry: "Com-

mune or Nothing!” Of course, adding something magical: “Anti-patriarchal Commune or Nothing!”

## Conclusion

The end of the previous decade surprised us with a pandemic that only distinguished human bodies, but which took root in the pre-existing vulnerabilities of those who had only their labor and inventiveness to keep them going.

The global consequences were viewed from opposing perspectives. Meanwhile, from the hegemonic power, the tragedy was narrated in terms of calculated losses of profit; for the exploited, everyday life was disrupted by catastrophes that brought about helplessness, hunger, sudden and unburied deaths, and a horizon of infinite uncertainty.

Meanwhile, for the vast majority of women, the patriarchal curse increased its violence, redimensioned domestic slavery, and limited sisterly defenses in the face of the physical distancing required to prevent the spread of COVID-19.

In the current decade, in the post-pandemic era, we have been assaulted by a monstrosity developed to an unimaginable level: the eco-genocide perpetrated against the ancestral people of Palestine by the new Nazi fascism, called Zionism, has broken any globally established parameter on the basic right to life. All international conventions for the respect of human rights, all codes of war, have been repealed by the will of imperialism.

Faced with the impunity that violates our souls, in every corner of the planet, humanity has taken to the streets in clear rebellion against this 21st-century barbarism, to the point of assuming internationalist heroism, at all risks, with initiatives such as the Freedom Flotillas, which set sail to bring aid to the people of Gaza who are resisting the bombs and the siege of food, water, medicine, and basic supplies for life.

The death statistics, the images of child suffering, of the pain endured by mothers, of the torture of those who are captured, among other aberrations of

Zionism, reflect the magnitude of the tragedy that we will face, as humanity as a whole, if a global decision is not made to confront and stop imperialism.

At the same time, the resilience of the Palestinian people, the various forms of struggle they have taken up to continue to exist and triumph against the decision to exterminate them, as well as the instinctive popular rebellion against Zionist eco-genocide, both in the bowels of the monster and throughout the world, demonstrate that there is a counter-hegemonic subjectivity, a mass awakening of critical consciousness that can be transformed into an objective force to rebuild ourselves planetarily and defeat capitalist decadence. Consciences, resistance, and struggles that cry out:

We are still here, we still exist!

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## Notes

[1] By transnationalized capitalism, I am referring to that specific historical phase in the development of capital, noted and characterized by Lenin as "imperialism."<sup>1</sup>

[2] *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, written by Friedrich Engels in 1884, describes with precise sources how humanity moved from a communal life based on the gens and maternal law to a society of exploitative elites sustained by inequalities of gender, class, race, and ethnicity. Available at: [https://www.fundacionfedericoengels.net/images/PDF/engels\\_origen\\_familia\\_interior\\_alta.pdf](https://www.fundacionfedericoengels.net/images/PDF/engels_origen_familia_interior_alta.pdf)

[3] Beleño Gómez, A. (2023). *Tras las huellas del gen maldito/Crítica a la sociedad patriarcal (In the footsteps of the cursed gene/Critique of patriarchal society)*. Editorial Trinchera.

[4] See: Observatorio de Femicidios Colombia (Colombian Femicide Observatory), Red Feminista Antimilitarista (Anti-Militarist Feminist Network), Bulletin, September 15, 2020. Available at: <https://observatoriodefemicidioscolombia.org/index.php/seguimiento/noticias/439-alerta-el-52-de-los-femicidios-en-colombia-son-cometidos-por-hombres-en-armas>

[5] Beleño Gómez, A. (2023). *Tras las huellas del gen maldito/Crítica a la sociedad patriarcal (In the Footsteps of the Cursed Gene/Critique of Patriarchal Society)*. Editorial Trinchera.

[6] Beleño Gómez, A. (2023). *Tras las huellas del gen maldito/Crítica a la sociedad patriarcal (In the Footsteps of the Cursed Gene/Critique of Patriarchal Society)*. Editorial Trinchera.

[7] "Impact of wars on the environment," Jorge Ballester Prieto in Scientific Information System Network of Scientific Journals of Latin America, the Caribbean, Spain, and Portugal. Santiago de Cuba, 2008. Available at: <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=181515031005>

[8] Beleño Gómez, A. (2023). *Tras las huellas del gen maldito/Crítica a la sociedad patriarcal*. Editorial Trinchera.

[9] Report extracted from the presentation given by the Canary Islands Independent Women's Collective (CMIC) and the Canary Islands National Liberation Movement (MLNC) at the Second Congress of Left-Wing Women (II Conarmiz), held between November 8 and 11, 2019, at the Venezuelan School of Planning in Caracas.

[10] Ibid.

[11] The Universal Declaration of Animal Rights was adopted by the International League for Animal Rights and affiliated National Leagues during the Third Meeting on Animal Rights, held in London from September 21 to 23, 1977. It was proclaimed on October 15, 1978, by the International League, the National Leagues, and individuals associated with them. In 1998, it was approved by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

[12] Beleño Gómez, A. (2023). *Tras las huellas del gen maldito/Crítica a la sociedad patriarcal (In the Footsteps of the Cursed Gene/Critique of Patriarchal Society)*. Editorial Trinchera.

[13] The term "Ecofeminism" is credited to Françoise d'Èaubonne, in 1974. At the end of that decade, it was socialized in the context of global protests against the destruction of the ecosystem.

[14] The concept of "liberating autopraxis" or "autopraxis of the oppressed" is part of the current discussions on profound expressions by Marx and Engels that have undergone alterations in various interpretations and translations from their original language to others, such as Spanish. In general terms, it is interpreted as opposed to the conception of a left-wing intelligentsia, located in a position superior to the working classes of the proletariat, who attribute to themselves, or are granted, the role of drawing the lines for building socialism.

[15] On this subject, we recommend consulting Pérez and Soler (2013): "Agroecology and Ecofeminism to decolonize and depatriarchalize globalized food," in *International Journal of Political Thought*.

[16] In this regard, Venezuelan historian Amílcar Figueroa Salazar, in his essay "The Commune: a substantive element of the socialist transition," mapped out the potential of communes in Venezuela, in the contradictory context of economic development in the national reality. The text will be available in digital format on the Editorial Trinchera networks.

## Argentina: Milei's Necropolitics and the Organisation of Women and Oppressed Bodies

Ayelén Correa Ruau | Network of Media and Communication Collectives (Argentina)

Firstly, I would like to celebrate the holding of this first Women's Conference, understanding that the gender and intersectional perspective needs to be part of all struggles against imperialism, colonialism, and patriarchy. At the same time, the struggle of women and feminisms must find their own political instruments and mediations for the construction of a society free from oppression based on gender and sex. This means that women and feminised bodies oppressed by capital must also construct new political forms that do not reproduce the sexual division of labour, the binary stereotypes assigned to the masculine and the feminine, verticalism, specialisation, and competition.

Now, I would like to talk to you about the country I come from and where I am currently developing my life experience. Argentina is undergoing a period of neoliberal, neo-fascist, and patriarchal advancement.

It is a bloc of economic, political, and military forces that operates in connection with global techno-feudalism, which is showing another dimension of extractive financial capitalism:

they use communication and information technologies, AI, fake news, social media, and digital harassment to persecute, defame, and stigmatise political activists, indigenous people, feminists, and journalists who defend human rights and territorial sovereignty.

Although history cannot be told by one government alone, since December 10, 2023, an anti-communist, misogynistic, anti-feminist, colonised, and pro-genocidal Israeli-state narrative has been institutionalised

in Argentina's highest state power.

As soon as he took office, Milei fulfilled his promise and began to dismantle the state and all public policies that provided rights for women and the LGBTQ+ community. With the craft of necropolitics, in 2025, Milei's government defunded programmes for people with disabilities, gutted the health system, and cut the HIV response budget by 76%.

We have already experienced this scenario, which has historical precedents both in Argentina and in other territories: the elimination of essential public policies fundamental to the development of life, economic recession, increased poverty, and institutional repression by the police and other military forces.

In order to control social and popular protest, attempts were made to restrict the right to strike, and an anti-picket protocol was legalised, prohibiting the occupation of public space for protest and enabling arbitrary detention by the police. In addition, cyber-patrolling by the intelligence services targeting members of political parties, trade unions, social movements, and journalists was approved.

Furthermore, Javier Milei's government denies the state terrorism that was perpetrated in the country between 1955 and 1983. In other words, they justify the forced disappearance of more than 30,000 people and the systematic theft of more than 300 babies from families who were kidnapped or born in captivity in clandestine detention centres, where torture and sexual violence against women were carried out for political and gender-based reasons.

According to Argentine human rights organisa-

tions, in the first six months of Milei's government, key policies for the process of Memory, Truth, and Justice were totally or partially dismantled.

"30,400 comrades present, now and forever! There were 30,400!" We want to know what happened to our sexually diverse comrades who were victims of state terrorism.

In the project for the country proposed by the global far right in Argentina, with the collusion of the government, some political parties, and the media, there is a permanent vindication of military authoritarianism and submission to the United States.

On March 12 this year, Pablo Grillo, an Argentine photographer covering a social mobilisation, was attacked by police forces in Buenos Aires. Seven months later, he continues to face the aftermath in a neurological rehabilitation hospital after a tear gas canister exploded against his head. The protest Pablo was photographing was that of pensioners who demonstrate every Wednesday in Plaza de Mayo, demanding that the government increase pension benefits.

Pablo Grillo's case shows the extreme nature of censorship and the suppression of freedom of expression. With Milei's rise to power, journalists and press workers began to be persecuted, criminalised, and detained. As a communications worker and part of the alternative media, I must refer to this.

This context of institutional violence occurs in a scenario where hate speech and fascist rhetoric circulate in different spheres of reality and virtual life, fostering intolerance and the denial of diversity. On September 2, 2022, an event took place that directly affects the situation of women and politics in Argentina: an attempt was made to assassinate the then Vice-President (2019–2023) of the country, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (CFK), the only female president elected by popular vote (2007–2015) that Argentina has ever had. Members of an anti-Kirchnerist group calling itself "Revolución Federal" attempted to assassinate her.

This attack took place in a context of political mobilisation by CFK's supporters, who remained in front of her house in a show of support during a criminalisation process or what some call "lawfare." During those days, the hate speech circulating on social media towards CFK and Peronism was very explicit. Meanwhile, media corporations only served to reinforce the idea that diversity cannot coexist. Anti-rights and hate speech are finding expression in political violence.

On October 26, Argentina will hold elections to vote for provincial and national legislators. After CFK, leader of the main opposition party, publicly announced her candidacy for senator, the judiciary ratified a conviction riddled with irregularities that deprives her of her freedom and permanently bars her from running for any elected office. Her political disqualification and imprisonment also represent the expulsion of women from political participation.

More than 100 countries in the world have yet to have a female president. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the outlook is not encouraging. Although in some countries the struggle for gender parity has become law, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela are still waiting for leadership that escapes dominant masculinity.

It is not just a question of the political participation of women and feminists; it is about the stigmatisation and systematic violence faced by those who decide to do so.

Milagro Sala, a member of the Parlasur and leader of the Tupac Amaru neighbourhood organisation in the province of Jujuy, in northern Argentina, has been deprived of her liberty since 2016. This is a clear case of the criminalisation of social protest, denounced by international human rights organisations.

No comparison is fair, but Milagro and Cristina face the same violence—that of a system that seeks to nullify the presence of women and of sexual and gender diversity, brown and mixed-race people, in-

indigenous people, and people of African descent in decision-making spaces.

*Freedom for Milagro Sala, imprisoned for fighting!  
Stop persecuting social and grassroots organisations!  
Stop stigmatising feminism and transvestite activism!*

As Verónica Gago says, together with feminists: Milei expresses the structural and conservative counter-offensive to the feminist and popular offensive that has a long historical accumulation but has become widespread in the last decade. It is important to highlight this subjective position: the offensive was ours—that of women and sexual diversity—which we were able to express in the streets through urban mobilisations and in community assemblies in neighbourhoods: no more violence against women, the right to identity for LGBT people, and the socialisation of care work.

In Argentina, the National Women's Meeting has been held for more than 30 years. Since 2019, it has been called the Plurinational Meeting of Women, Lesbians, and Transgender People of Argentina, recognising the existence of indigenous nationalities and all sexual and gender identities. From there, laws were passed against violence, for comprehensive sex education in schools, and for mainstreaming gender and diversity perspectives in public authorities. A Mental Health Law was passed that ended the pathologisation of diverse sex and gender identities, as well as the Equal Marriage Law, the Gender Identity Law, and the Labour Inclusion Law for transvestite and trans people.

With the conservative and neoliberal counteroffensive expressed by Milei in Argentina, women, feminised bodies, and people from the LGBTQ+ community face a situation of extreme social vulnerability.

In January 2025, Milei participated in the World Economic Forum in Davos. There, he linked paedophilia with homosexuality, which, in addition to being false, represents a homophobic and discrimina-

tory discourse towards sexual diversity. At the same forum, he said that gender inequality does not exist and that the legal concept of femicide, which criminalises gender-based murders, should be eliminated.

In recent weeks in Argentina, we have been confronted with a dozen femicides—hate crimes against women because of their gender. One of the perpetrators, Laurta, was the founder of the Uruguayan organisation Varones Unidos, which is specifically militant against feminism and in favour of hatred towards women and sexual and gender diversity. In this case, there is an explicit relationship between the femicide of his partner and mother-in-law and the political economy of the patriarchy of salary, based on gender domination through the extraction of labour from women and feminised bodies, which are those that hegemonic masculinity can dominate or eliminate through the use of violence.

Stigma and defamation surrounding Comprehensive Sex Education (ESI) exist in almost every country on the continent; the media, churches, and political parties have a clear responsibility in this regard. President Milei has publicly repeated that gender inequality does not exist, ignoring an immeasurable wealth of scientific studies and evidence that prove otherwise.

In addition, legislators from Milei's government presented a bill to amend the Gender Identity Law. This law, passed in 2012, recognised as citizens all persons who identify with a gender different from that assigned at birth. LGBT groups denounce this violation.

It is important to mention that the transvestite community is fighting for a 'Historical Reparation Law.' Being a transvestite in Argentina, Latin America, and the Caribbean means living with a life expectancy of 40 years, having sex work as the only option, and surviving trans-phobia, expressed in exclusion from homes in childhood, systematic violence by the police, and hate crimes in a society that does not recognise its trans-phobia and misogyny.

With this Historical Reparation Law, they are demanding a law that guarantees participation in the design of public policies, community consultation, parity in political participation spaces, investigations into crimes, policies of non-repetition, specialised legal representation, and educational programmes to raise awareness in society.

On June 3, 2025, the 10th anniversary of the first “Ni Una Menos (Not One Less)” march was commemorated. It is a very particular context, where violence and persecution against women and dissidents are on the rise, with strong hate speech. In this context, the women’s movement, feminisms, and trans-feminisms are taking on a leading role in the political struggle for freedom and human rights, in a context of extreme violence and the criminalisation of women and political sex-gender dissidents.

Internationalist solidarity and decolonisation are fundamental to the liberation of women and diversity around the world, respecting the self-determination of peoples and their diversity according to each territory and history.

Finally, taking advantage of the fact that this Conference is being held in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, I would like to celebrate the initiative ‘Acompañarlas’ (Accompanying Them), which is part of the National Campaign for Women’s Rights in Venezuela, which has been calling for: the decriminalisation of abortion in cases of rape and incest in girls and adolescents, the training of health personnel in the management of sexual violence, and the guarantee of sexual and reproductive health services in the public network. Abortion is a public health issue, and the secular state has a responsibility to care for girls. In Argentina, after more than 40 years of organising by women and the feminist movement, abortion was decriminalised, and laws and public policies were created to support the sexual and reproductive health of the population.

## “No revolution has ever succeeded without the participation of working-class women”

Joti Brar | Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

Comrades, I'm very happy to greet today the founding conference of the Women's Anti-Imperialist Platform in Caracas. This is a very significant development for our movement and a project that is very close to my heart.

All over the world today, as the global economic crisis becomes ever worse, the burdens on working people are becoming ever more intolerable—and on working women in particular. We know that in general, it is women who bear the extra burden of trying to make ends meet, trying to feed their families, raise their children and grandchildren, care for the elderly, sick, and disabled—often while working two or three jobs just to help their families survive in increasingly difficult times.

And of course, these problems are being compounded by the spread of war across the globe—targeting more countries, more communities, and breaking up more families. Many suffer massacres or are forced to flee as refugees. And this is only going to worsen as the crisis develops and the march into a third world war deepens and spreads across more of the world.

Because of these burdens, many women feel they don't have time for politics—they're just too busy holding everything together. But what our movement must help women understand is that it's exactly because of these hardships that they must make time for politics. It is our politics—the politics of anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism—that can free them from the double and triple burdens they face, and offer them and their children the hope of a decent, peaceful, and cultured future.

History shows us that no revolution has ever suc-

ceeded without the participation of working-class women. And when a movement successfully mobilizes them, nothing can stop it. The February Revolution in Russia was sparked by a march of women demanding land, peace, and bread—and their mass participation triggered the events that led to the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR.

We've seen the same in China, the DPRK, Vietnam, Burkina Faso, Cuba, and especially Venezuela. I've seen for myself how Venezuela's mass movement for socialism is held together by working-class women in communes.

Venezuela is a powerful example of the strength and significance of mobilized working-class women. I'm sure it's the communes—and the women who built and sustain them—that allow Venezuela to stand strong against aggression, sabotage, and economic warfare from imperialists.

Despite 25 years of attacks, Venezuela has endured. But the imperialists aren't giving up—they're doubling down. They want to destroy Venezuela's good example and take back control of its oil, especially now that they're losing their grip in the Middle East.

Venezuela stands firm because of its working-class communities, built and defended by committed, militant women.

That's why mobilizing women into our movement is essential. We must help them see that our politics offers them and their families a truly bright future.

So comrades, I wish your meeting great success. I wish success to our movement in this time of growing struggle. And I hope to see you all soon.

## Women, class, emancipation: a common struggle

Yannick Vanonckelen | Communist Party of Belgium

Comrades,

First of all, I would like to thank the World Anti-imperialist Platform for this initiative and tell you that I am happy and honored to represent the PCB-CPB in the World Anti-imperialist Platform women's organization here in Caracas!

We are gathered here today to talk about women. But not just women as an isolated subject. We are here to talk about women in their concrete reality: that of work, precariousness, exploitation, invisibility. Because the condition of women cannot be understood outside of the class struggle.

Being a woman in a capitalist society means suffering a double penalty: economic exploitation as a worker and patriarchal oppression as a woman. And for working-class women, it is often a triple penalty: worker, woman, and poor.

For too long, feminism has been presented as a battle “between the sexes,” a war against men. But that is not our fight. Our struggle is against the system that divides in order to rule. A system that pits women against each other, women against men, male workers against female workers, and masks the root of injustice: capitalist exploitation.

It is no coincidence that it is working women who suffer the worst working conditions. It is no coincidence that they are the ones on the front lines in so-called “essential” jobs—nurses, nursing assistants, cashiers, cleaning ladies—but always the least recognized, the lowest paid, the most despised.

Patriarchy, far from receding, has infiltrated feminist movements, disguised as activists who claim to be progressive without questioning the relations of

domination.

Defend women, YES! Create another box dividing our class, NO.

So, comrades, let's be clear: the emancipation of women will not happen without the emancipation of the entire working class. And conversely, a labor movement that ignores women, that marginalizes them, will never be revolutionary.

What we want is not for a few women to reach the top of the system. What we want is to change the system so that no one is crushed anymore. Not women. Not men. Not the poor. Not the exploited.

Because working-class men, too, are victims of a destructive model of masculinity. They are taught to dominate instead of cooperate. To remain silent instead of speaking out. To control instead of understand. They also suffer, and they too need this human revolution.

Our struggle is not between men and women. It is the people united against all forms of domination.

And in this fight, women are not passive victims. They are fighters, resisters, workers, laborers, activists. From Rosa LUXEMBURG to Lyudmila PAVLICHENKO, from Argelia LAYA to today's undocumented workers, the history of communism is also the history of women in struggle.

So let us join forces. Let us reject divisions. For until all women are free, none of us will be free.

Women of the people, men of the people: our future is shared, our struggle is shared, and our victory will be shared.

THANK YOU, COMRADES!

- **Rosa LUXEMBURG**

Internationalist, Marxist theorist, co-founder of the Spartacist movement and later of the Communist Party of Germany. Assassinated on January 15, 1919 (two weeks after the party's founding) in order to crush the Spartacist revolt during the German Revolution.

- **Lyudmila PAVLICHENKO**

A sniper in the Red Army, she killed 309 Nazis during World War II on the Eastern Front in Odessa/Sevastopol. Among other things, she is remembered for her famous speech to Roosevelt: "I wear a uniform, I have killed fascists. And you, what have you done?" She remains an emblematic figure of the Soviet resistance and an icon of the role of women in combat.

- **Argelia LAYA**

A feminist figure in the PCV, a teacher, and a former member of the armed struggle, here is a quote from her autobiographical book "Nuestra causa" when she was drawing attention to herself within the Communist Party of Venezuela.

Machismo reduces women to an inferior status; it is the legitimate offspring of the exploitation of man by man, capitalism's best ally. Men and women of the exploited classes, activists who defend machismo and practice it in their families and in their relations with society, serve as instruments of their oppressors because, consciously or unconsciously, they marginalize women in the class struggle.

## “Without anti-imperialism, there is no women's liberation”

### Revolutionary Women's League (Kenya)

*Solidarity Message of the Revolutionary Women's League (RWL) of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK) to the 1st International Conference of the World Anti-Imperialist Women's Platform*

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the working and the oppressed women of Kenya, on behalf of the Revolutionary Women's League (RWL)—the militant mass women's organisation of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK)—we extend our warmest, most militant revolutionary greetings to this historic gathering.

We salute the convening of the 1st International Conference of the World Anti-Imperialist Women's Platform. We salute the women of Venezuela, whose strength has given this Platform its birth. We salute the fighters of the world who declare: the liberation of women will never be a gift from imperialism; it will be won through revolution.

Why Caracas? Why now? Because Caracas is a living symbol. Caracas is the land where women defend the Bolivarian Revolution, shoulder to shoulder with workers and peasants. Caracas is the land where women in the Comunas advance socialism against the brutal aggression of US imperialism. And so, it is here, in the trenches of anti-imperialism, that the World Anti-Imperialist Women's Platform takes its first step.

Comrades, in Kenya the condition of women is one of semi-feudal oppression and neocolonial bondage. In the countryside, women peasants till the soil yet own nothing. The land is monopolised by landlords, comprador chiefs, and foreign agribusiness. Women labour twice: in the fields and in the home; yet remain

chained by custom and poverty. In the cities, women workers are super-exploited in the Export Processing Zones, stitching clothes for imperialist brands, working long hours, harassed by supervisors, denied protective gear, denied wages that feed their children.

In the slums, women of the urban poor carry the impossible burden of survival; queuing for water, struggling with hunger, fighting evictions, while landlords and moneylenders squeeze the last coin from their hands. And across all these classes, women are chained by the usury system; by mobile loans, micro-credit schemes, and ruthless moneylenders that drive entire households into debt, turning the daily survival of women into a battlefield against imperialist finance. Across all classes of the oppressed, women also face patriarchal violence; rape, forced marriages, beatings, police brutality, and the suffocating weight of tradition.

This is the condition of Kenyan women under imperialism. This is the condition of Kenyan women under semi-feudalism. This is why our liberation cannot be postponed, cannot be bargained, cannot be divorced from the liberation of the whole society.

Comrades, Lenin taught us that every country must find its revolutionary road. Mao taught us that in semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries, the road must pass through the New Democratic Revolution. For Kenya, for Africa, for all neocolonial countries, the immediate task is the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). The NDR means smashing feudal landlordism. The NDR means uprooting imperialist domination. The NDR means defeating comprador capitalism. The NDR means breaking the chains of usury that strangle women and peasants alike. The

NDR means building people's democracy led by the working class in alliance with the peasantry. And without the liberation of women, the NDR cannot advance. Because women peasants are the backbone of agriculture. Because women workers are the muscle of industry. Because women in the slums and villages are the living heart of the masses. To liberate Kenya, we must liberate the women of Kenya. To liberate the women of Kenya, we must liberate Kenya from imperialism, feudalism, and usury.

Comrades, usury is not only a Kenyan wound; it is a global chain of imperialism. In Asia, women garment workers in Bangladesh and Cambodia are trapped in micro-credit debts, their meagre wages swallowed by moneylenders. In Latin America, peasant women are crushed by IMF structural adjustment programmes, forced to borrow to pay for food and medicine, only to be trapped in cycles of debt. Across Africa, women farmers are lured into donor-backed micro-finance projects, only to lose their land and labour to imperialist banks. Usury is the daily face of imperialism in the lives of women. It is the IMF and World Bank in the village. It is Wall Street in the slum. It is imperialist finance capital tightening its grip on the wombs and stomachs of the oppressed. To defeat imperialism, we must smash usury. To smash usury, we must unite women with workers and peasants in revolution.

Comrades, we must be clear: there are two lines in the women's movement. One line is the pro-imperialist, bourgeois feminism; tied to NGOs, tied to donor funds, tied to imperialist embassies. It speaks of "empowerment" while leaving intact the chains of imperialism. It preaches individualism, division, and hatred. It cannot speak for the women of Africa, Asia, or Latin America. The other line is the anti-imperialist, socialist women's movement. This line unites women's liberation with the liberation of society. This line rejects illusions and insists that women's freedom must be fought for in unity with workers and peasants. We, the Revolutionary Women's League,

stand firmly on the second line.

Comrades, the World Anti-Imperialist Women's Platform is not only an organisation. It is a weapon—a weapon of solidarity, a weapon of unity, a weapon of revolution. It will link the struggles of women peasants in Africa with the struggles of women workers in Asia. It will link the struggles of Palestinian women resisting Zionist occupation with the struggles of Venezuelan women resisting sanctions. It will link the struggles of Sudanese women in famine and war with the struggles of Cuban women resisting blockade. It will forge one mighty current of women's power. It will forge one mighty current of anti-imperialist resistance. It will forge one mighty current advancing toward socialism.

Comrades, let us remember: without women's liberation, there is no people's liberation. Without anti-imperialism, there is no women's liberation. Without socialism, there is no emancipation for humanity. Without the defeat of usury, there is no freedom for the peasant and no relief for the working woman.

Comrades, the road ahead is long and difficult. However long the night, the dawn will surely break. The dawn is coming. The dawn of women's liberation. The dawn of people's liberation. The dawn of socialism.

*Long live the World Anti-Imperialist Women's Platform!*

*Long live the unity of women in the anti-imperialist struggle!*

*Long live the National Democratic Revolution in Kenya and across Africa!*

*Long live proletarian internationalism!*

*Forward to socialism! Forward to victory! Forward to women's liberation!*

## **“We are not free until all women are free”**

### **Labour Women (EKA, Türkiye)**

Hello Dear Comrades,

We are just at the moment of the history shaken by wars, revolutionary actions and uprisings. Undoubtedly, we, the women, are the ones most affected by all these wars, standing at the forefront of revolutions and rebellions.

In Poland and Argentina, we turned the streets into a field of action against the abortion law, shouting “Our bodies, our choice!” In India, we organized the largest peasant march in history against poverty.

In Rojhilat, Iran, we started a public uprising by removing compulsory headscarves and pulling down the turbans of the mullahs. In Rojava, we defended our land and our lives against ISIS, the most barbaric gang in human history, and we were at the forefront of the revolution.

In Latin America, we embraced our nature and our land, raised the flag of rebellion against violence with the cry of “Basta!” In Spain, we carved the slogan “No Revolution Without Women!” into the strike.

In Turkey, we took to the streets with the slogan “We Will Fight” against religious family policies, the massacre of women, hunger, and fascist attacks on all our gains. In Switzerland, we raised the demand for “equal pay for equal work” with a women’s strike.

In Palestine, we fought for freedom at the cost of our lives against Zionism! While destruction rages in imperialist wars across the globe, we are growing the idea of freedom against occupation, war, and those who encircle our lives, from Palestine to Kurdistan, and we are intensifying the struggle for our liberation.

Comrades,

Wherever in the world, we know that every victory, every action is a step we take towards the liberation of all women. The struggle of women transcends borders. Women around the world are expanding the international struggle with the slogan “We are not free until all women are free.” Our slogans are becoming the shared cry of women throughout the world. The slogan “Jin, Jiyan, Azadî”, meaning “Woman, Life, Freedom” is spreading across continents despite all bans, rising in women’s footsteps from language to language.

We, the women, learning from each other, drawing strength from our collective struggle, engraving every experience into our memory of struggle and moving forward, are at the dawn of a new and free era. At this breaking point of history, when we are so close to the liberation of humanity, it is of immense importance for the world’s working women to weave together a common ideological thread of women’s internationalism. Being here means taking this struggle further. Women’s quest for freedom is growing, organizing in various formations and platforms around the world, demanding a more united struggle. Each and every space we come together is at most importance; however, the vital thing is to strengthen this women’s uprising around a common goal and ideology, in the revolutionary struggle for women’s freedom. That is why we are excited to be here. We trust in this goal that has brought us together across borders and wish everyone success in the productive discussions we will continue together.

Long live the international struggle of women!

## **“The only path for women’s liberation from exploitation and oppression is the struggle for a different society: socialism”**

Panagiota Materi | Revolutionary Theory Group (Greece)

In the current era, particularly as the Third World War escalates, the unity of action among the forces of socialism and anti-imperialism, and of all progressive forces, is essential at both local and international levels. Imperialism, led by the USA, is becoming increasingly threatening to the entire planet due to its impasse and crisis. It has opened many fronts in various parts of the planet, such as in Ukraine, Palestine, Syria, Iran, and Yemen, and has destroyed countries using the principle of “divide and rule.” The primary objective of the World Anti-imperialist Platform is to help create fronts, both within each country and at the international level, to confront it. Imperialism uses fascism to subjugate and colonize countries, to transform countries and peoples into expendable forces of aggression, into “cannon fodder” for its predatory interests.

At this moment, we are witnessing the annihilation of the people of Gaza and the destruction of their cities and infrastructure with great pain. In the genocide carried out by the imperialists and their various proxy instruments-fascist, racist, Zionist, and so on-they place mainly women, children and motherhood. The very possibility of biological existence and reproduction of “hostile” populations is placed in their murderous crosshairs. The impunity of the murderers leads to situations where genocide is presented as a “normality” we must accept, while they even boast of their achievements when, for example, they kill pregnant women in Palestine!

The World Anti-imperialist Platform, in the course of its activities, founded a Youth Platform to address

the problems of young people in the current era. Its next step is the founding of a World Anti-imperialist Women's Platform, as half of the planet's population consists of women, and experience proves that the success of all revolutionary projects and liberation movements depends directly on the degree of women's participation in them. Women, despite technological advancement, are subjected to double exploitation: on the one hand, class-based, and on the other, based on their sex. They face economic exploitation in the workplace, the persistence of social problems (e.g., domestic violence, new barriers to education), and the treatment of child-rearing and housework as their individual responsibility. According to Engels in his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, the oppression of women began with the emergence of class society and private property. Women were transformed into a means for the transmission of inheritance and into unpaid workers for the family.

The only path for women's liberation from exploitation and oppression is the struggle for a different society: socialism. Socialism lays the foundations for the equality of the two sexes. The socialization of the means of production guarantees women unprecedented rights in the spheres of work, health, motherhood, and more.

Bourgeois ideology and parties perpetuate reactionary views on women's issues, diverting women's attention from their genuine interests. They deny the class dimension of women's oppression, pitting men against women instead of promoting class struggle.

Contemporary feminism and the struggle for multiple “gender identities” focus on individual identity, diverting attention from class-based issues. By focusing on the individual and the cultural, these views undermine the importance of economic/class exploitation and divide the relations between men and women, creating artificial divisions that dissolve and disorient the movement at the very moment when unity is urgently necessary. Men and women are not enemies. They are the basic components of the sexual reproduction of the human species, distinct yet with organically interconnected positions and roles in the economic, social, and cultural life of society. Therefore, they have common interests. Only in unity can they demand better living conditions in the workplace and in their communities, and fight for a society without exploitation.

Therefore, alongside the main objective of establishing anti-imperialist fronts, the struggle against the ideological constructions that undermine the movement is also necessary: against the manipulation of the people and of society’s perception of the sexes, sexual reproduction, the family, and motherhood.

## The Situation of Women in the 'Republic of Korea' and the Path to Anti-imperialist Women's Liberation

People's Democracy Party ('Republic of Korea')

Women in the 'Republic of Korea (ROK)' are trapped within a structure of double and triple exploitation. Although Korea was liberated from Japanese colonial rule in August 1945, the US military occupied the southern half of the Korean Peninsula in September of the same year and established a pro-US puppet regime, through which it has continued to dominate 'ROK' politically, exploit it economically, and subjugate it culturally. Under this colonial rule by US imperialism, 'ROK' failed to eliminate the remnants of feudal customs and instead transformed into a distorted capitalist society in the 1980s. The chaebol conglomerates in 'ROK' are not monopolistic capital but comprador capital—historically and structurally subordinated to US imperialism.

Women in 'ROK' therefore suffer not only the oppression and exploitation imposed on all colonial working people but also the unequal treatment rooted in lingering feudal traditions. As of 2024, the gender wage gap in 'ROK' stands at a staggering 29%, the worst among the 35 OECD member states. The wage gap among those in their 50s reaches 44%. 23.8% of female workers are classified as low-wage workers—more than twice the rate for men. Despite enduring various forms of inequality, women are often blocked from economic and social participation due to so-called “career breaks” caused by childbirth and child-rearing. As a result, they are forced into low-quality, low-paid jobs that carry a constant risk of dismissal. Even when women and men participate equally in economic activity, women still endure more than 2.5 times the amount of do-

mestic labor compared to men.

To illustrate the persistent nature of gender and class inequality, consider the following historical comparison: During the Japanese colonial period over a century ago, when a Japanese man earned 100 units, a Korean man earned 50, and a Korean woman earned only 25. Today, in 'ROK's colonial, semi-capitalist society ('semi-capitalist' means deformed and subordinate society by the US), regular workers earn the equivalent of 100, while irregular workers earn 66 units, and among them, women make up 57% of the irregular workforce, yet their wages are significantly lower than those of male irregular workers. Just as 'ROK' society remains colonial in nature even after 100 years, the miserable condition of women has never truly changed.

As economic crises deepen, livelihoods collapse, and the threat of war escalates, the oppression of women takes on increasingly extreme forms. Since the 2010s, 8 out of 10 victims of violent crimes have been women. Such “misogynistic violence” has become alarmingly widespread. By structurally embedding gender discrimination, imperialism and comprador capital not only maintain domination and exploitation over the masses, but also cunningly deflect attention from the root causes of inequality. They incite both misogyny and misandry, encouraging antagonism between men and women so that blame is directed at one another rather than at the oppressive system itself. In this context, it is not surprising that extreme forms of feminism have emerged among certain segments of women—an expression

of frustration shaped by systemic injustice. Therefore, the “women’s question” must be addressed not only as a matter of gender, but also as a national and class issue. The true oppressors of women are not men themselves, but rather imperialist and comprador—capitalist systems that systematically exclude women from economic and social participation, subjecting them to multiple layers of exploitation and dispossession precisely because they are women.

Amid the escalating threat of World War 3 and the looming crisis of renewed conflict on the Korean Peninsula, the suffering and oppression of women in ‘ROK’ continues to deepen. The fascist puppet regime of US imperialism, led by Yoon Suk-yeol, attempted a series of provocations: a local war against the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) between September and November 2024, followed by the declaration of martial law in December, and preparations for a false-flag operation aimed at justifying internal repression. These plans, however, were thwarted—the former by the DPRK’s strategic patience and deterrence power, and the latter by the heroic December Uprising of the ‘ROK’ people. Reports indicate that Yoon’s regime had drawn up plans for mass killings reminiscent of Suharto’s purges, as part of a broader scheme to establish permanent authoritarian rule. In any war or massacre, women and children are the greatest victims. Fascist forces go so far as to take “motherhood” itself hostage. In conscription-based ‘ROK’, Yoon’s militarized repression inflicted severe psychological trauma on women who had sent their sons into military service, only to see them mobilized against their own people.

Today, the storm of World War 3 is sweeping from Eastern Europe, through West Asia (the Middle East), and into East Asia and the Western Pacific. For the imperialist warmongering forces, the latter half of 2024 was intended to serve as a “D-Day” for war in ‘ROK,’ and the war in East Asia. After the failure of this operation, they are raging to trigger local wars at global hotspots, intensifying the war in Ukraine,

Palestine, and West Asia, in order to fully launch World War 3. This aggressive agenda is evident in NATO’s threats against Kaliningrad, Israel’s “Operation Rising Lion,” US strikes on Iranian nuclear facilities, conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, skirmishes between India and Pakistan, conflicts along the Thai-Cambodian border, NATO’s Military Spending Increase to 5% of GDP and the “Militarization of Europe”.

Confronting the most severe global crisis in military, political, and economic terms, the imperialist warmongering forces are making a desperate final attempt to resolve their internal contradictions by constructing a “New Cold War” system through World War 3. Meanwhile, Donald Trump has launched “tariff offensives” against countries around the world, while simultaneously intensifying aggression toward Venezuela as part of a drive to secure global oil dominance, and frenziedly pushing for the occupation of Gaza. As a result, they are facing a backlash: the rising anti-US sentiment in the ‘ROK’; India and Brazil’s Closer Alignment with BRICS—the Anti-Imperialist Bloc; the anti-US popular resistance stance of Venezuela’s people’s government; and desperate resistance by anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist armed forces.

When war breaks out, the dignity and lives of women are completely trampled. In the ‘ROK,’ the extremely tragic issues of 200,000 women subjected to sexual slavery under Japanese colonial rule and military sex slaves under the US invasion army remain unresolved to this day. Our women have vital interests in the anti-war and peace movement, and in the anti-imperialist and anti-US struggles.

Women’s liberation must be achieved by women themselves, as equal participants in both revolution and the construction of a new society. No one can grant it on their behalf; only by realizing through their own strength can women rise proudly as a master of society and their own destiny. Historically, Korean women have stood at the forefront of

national liberation struggle. During the early phases of resistance under Japanese colonial rule, they courageously shouted “Long live independence” in the face of bayonets, refusing to surrender their dignity even under brutal torture. In the era of anti-Japanese armed struggle, they were not simply supporters of male fighters—they took up arms themselves, stood on the front lines as soldiers, and devoted everything for the path of self-determined liberation. Through their blood and sacrifice, Korean women have written the history of anti-imperialist women’s liberation.

With the launch of the World Anti-Imperialist Women’s Platform, we will oppose imperialism and fascist lackeys, the root causes of violations of women’s rights and destruction of dignity, while exposing and crushing the false propaganda of so-called ‘women’s rights advocacy’ by imperialist and revisionist forces. We will firmly unite in the world anti-imperialist united front to achieve global independence, lasting peace, and genuine gender equality. As one of the two wheels driving the revolutionary cart, we, the women will accelerate the building of a new world that values and respects women, and a new people-centered society through our own strength and struggle.

# The “Great Human Network” of Workers’ Self-Organisation

Dmitry Novikov | Communist Party of the Russian Federation

Dear comrades!

We are going through difficult times. The US imperialists are trying to attack the Venezuelan people and their government. In these circumstances, solidarity and fraternal cooperation between anti-imperialist forces is particularly important. I welcome you all on behalf of the Russian communists, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and its Chairman, G.A. Zyuganov.

‘No one will give us salvation: neither God, nor the Tsar, nor a hero. We will achieve liberation with our own hands’—these lines from ‘The International’ perfectly reflect the importance of every person’s efforts in the struggle for a better life. In the struggle of left-wing parties and governments against imperialism and reaction, it is extremely important to rely on mechanisms of popular self-organisation and self-government.

Our opponents like to claim that Marxism is an ‘artificial doctrine, detached from reality,’ which does not take into account the ‘truth of life.’ They immediately turn the thesis of ‘natural diversity’ into a justification for ‘natural inequality.’ In doing so, they promote the right of the strong to rob the weak. This is the basis of any exploitative society.

In fact, there is nothing closer to real life and the needs of the people than communist ideas. Communism did not arise out of thin air. It was the result of a thousand-year search for justice. This search is reflected in the works of hundreds of philosophers, thinkers and writers. Marx, Engels and Lenin put these aspirations on a scientific basis. They transformed them from vague constructs and naive

dreams into a programme of struggle against class-divided societies.

This was beautifully reflected in the practice of the Soviets as a form of people’s power. This year marks the 120th anniversary of the beginning of the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907. This was a time when the parties of the Second International believed that, in the transition from capitalism to socialism, the optimal form of political organisation of society was a parliamentary democratic republic.

Contrary to them, the Bolsheviks, led by V.I. Lenin, approached the issue creatively. They saw enormous potential in the Soviets of Workers’ and Peasants’ Deputies. Growing out of the communal traditions of the Russian people, the Soviets became a concrete form of the realisation of people’s power. They emerged as a genuine popular initiative, became an expression of the revolutionary energy of the masses and a manifestation of genuine democracy.

Lenin wrote that as soon as the opportunity arose after the February Revolution in 1917 to take power arbitrarily and everywhere, workers, soldiers and peasants began to create ‘democracy in their own way.’ And this happened before any party had time to proclaim this slogan. The Soviets took control of law enforcement, food supplies and transport. At the same time, they did not get bogged down in a multitude of ‘everyday’ issues. The Soviets also expressed their position on larger-scale issues—on questions of land and peace.

The Bolsheviks managed to lead the popular uprising and used it to radically transform life. In his ‘April Theses,’ Lenin proclaimed the transition of

power from the bourgeois revolution to the socialist revolution. This meant the transfer of power to the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasantry. The Bolshevik leader emphasised that there was no need to invent such a government. It had been created by the people themselves. As Lenin stated, ‘humanity has not yet developed anything higher or better than this type of government, such as the Soviets of Workers’, Farm Labourers’, Peasants’ and Soldiers’ Deputies, and we still do not know of anything better.’

Life proved the Bolsheviks right. Relying on the creativity of the masses and on the Soviets helped Lenin carry out the socialist revolution, save Russia from collapse and enslavement by imperialist predators, expel foreign interventionists, build a great socialist power, and defeat fascism.

The creativity of the masses is characteristic of the national liberation and revolutionary movements of many countries. To a large extent, the struggle against the colonisers in Latin America was also based on this.

The anti-Spanish movement of the 18th century in Paraguay is a typical example. Its participants were mainly united around municipal bodies—communes.

The revolutionary movement in Mexico actively relied on traditional forms—peasant communities. After the revolution of 1910-1917, they grew into communal farms. The potential for popular self-organisation was demonstrated during the uprising of the indigenous people of Chiapas in 1994. One of the reasons for the uprising was the attempts of Mexico’s neoliberal government to destroy the system of communal land ownership. The Zapatista Army of National Liberation created a network of autonomous municipalities—organs of popular democracy. They ensured the preservation of collective land ownership, access to healthcare and education, law enforcement, and water supply. On average, such municipalities consist of 300 families. Any resident

over the age of 20 can participate in decision-making, and meetings strive to achieve consensus.

The Cuban Revolution was a striking example of the use of mass self-organisation. Shortly after the overthrow of the Batista regime, Committees for the Defence of the Revolution were created. They participated in the fight against acts of sabotage and terror, against attempts by imperialists to return Havana to a colonial ‘harbour.’ As Fidel Castro explained, ‘The Committees for the Defence of the Revolution are a collective system of revolutionary vigilance.’

The committees became a mechanism for involving the masses in the transformation of society. They were formed according to place of residence, uniting the people around the defence of the achievements of the revolution. The Cuban people were given broad opportunities for social activity. Through the committees, the revolutionary masses had a serious influence on the resolution of vital sanitary, educational, production and ideological-educational tasks. It was the Committees that became the basis for the campaign to eliminate illiteracy, eradicate polio, combat tropical diseases, and protect the population during hurricanes. The Committee premises also became small clubs for local residents. This work is based on the ideology of mutual assistance.

Today, Committees for the Defence of the Revolution exist on every street in Cuba. They unite about 90% of the adult population. Their members voluntarily monitor compliance with the law. They are engaged in socially useful work, political education and the organisation of leisure activities.

Other forms of self-organisation also exist in Cuba. After the revolution, the Federation of Cuban Women, the National Association of Small Farmers and other organisations were created. They represent the interests of different groups of the population, but together they solve the tasks of defending the country in the face of imperialism.

Activists from the Committees and other organisations are represented in the People’s Councils

of Cuba, established in 1986. The latter unite the population of several districts of the municipality and exercise civil control over the implementation of the decisions of the municipal assembly and the municipal council. This allows the principles of 'participatory democracy' to be put into practice.

In Venezuela in 1992, Hugo Chávez made an unsuccessful attempt at a military coup against the corrupt neoliberal regime of Carlos Pérez. Upon his release, Chávez acted as a politician who understood the need to rely on the broad masses of the people. In 1994, he embarked on a 100-day tour of the country, visiting cities, villages and indigenous communities. This was a strategy to politically activate grassroots forces.

This marked the beginning of the Bolivarian committees, which played an important role in the life of Venezuela. Their development took off after Chávez's victory in the 1998 presidential elections. The main task of the committees was to educate the masses politically, spread the ideas of the Bolivarian Revolution and organise social mutual aid. Chávez called them 'a great human network' and 'the main organising unit of popular power.'

In 2001, Hugo Chávez called for the creation of committees so that they would be present in every neighbourhood and every building, and so that their members would pursue the goal of defending the Revolution. Within the first few days, more than 2,000 such groups had been created in the country. The only condition for membership was acceptance of the Bolivarian ideal. Each cell studies the problems of society and conducts ideological training based on historical knowledge.

The Bolivarian Revolution opened the door to big politics for the people. This ensured the mobilisation of the masses. In addition to the Bolivarian committees, communal public councils were created. They were established by Chávez's decree in 2003 to 'directly manage state policy,' meet the needs of communities, and build 'a society of equality and social justice.' Three years later, the Law on Com-

munal Councils was passed. They are made up of both urban and rural residents, ranging from 200 to 400 families. Communal councils vigorously express the interests of low-income Venezuelans and are a key element of direct democracy.

There are now over 45,000 communal councils in Venezuela. There are also medical councils, food committees, energy committees, technical water committees and sports committees.

The creation of a network of grassroots organisations is the answer to the question that so torments Venezuela's enemies. The question is: how did this country survive under such intense external pressure? Bolivarian committees and other forms of self-government played an important role in this. They largely neutralised the system of non-governmental organisations created by the liberals. In doing so, Venezuela's leaders put into practice the theory of Italian communist thinker Antonio Gramsci.

Gramsci showed that the hegemony of big capital is ensured not only by direct coercion. The bourgeoisie also uses 'molecular' methods of influence. It influences everyday life through the media, art and other means. Today, these methods are often referred to as 'soft power.'

Antonio Gramsci called on left-wing forces to actively use this approach. Bolivarian circles, communal councils and other organisations did not allow the forces of imperialism to impose their views on the people of Venezuela. They exposed the machinations of the right-wing opposition, mitigated the effects of sanctions, and participated in the distribution of food and other essential goods.

The masses rose up to defend the achievements of the Bolivarian revolution, taking up arms. A people's militia, the 'colectivos,' emerged. It helps the authorities fight crime and block imperialist provocations. The Bolivarian National Militia was created on its basis. Its 4.5 million members are a conscious force of people ready to defend their homeland.

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, Argentina

suffered greatly from neoliberal experiments. The consequences of this policy were mitigated thanks to a network of free public canteens. After the start of the corona-virus pandemic, people's committees were created to provide social support to the population.

In Bolivia, the victory of the left in 2005 was preceded by the struggle of peasant communities for their rights. In essence, the Movement Towards Socialism is an alliance of social movements. Its structure is largely decentralised. Grassroots organisations have considerable weight and influence on the party. The closest ally of the Movement Towards Socialism is the Confederation of Indigenous Communities of Bolivia.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista National Liberation Front relies on a broad network of public organisations. They are a form of 'democracy from below.' This has made it possible to protect the country from attempts to carry out a color-revolution.

It is not surprising that organs of popular self-government are one of the main targets for the forces of right-wing reaction. Wherever the right wing comes to power—in Argentina, Ecuador, Bolivia, Brazil—they try to destroy the system of self-organisation of the people. But it is not easy to deal with this great tradition. It is impossible to defeat a people who are aware of their interests and ready to defend their rights.

As long as capitalism exists, the rights and interests of workers and entire peoples will always be under threat. The main enemy of social justice is imperialism. The only true path to building a just society is the path of socialism.

I whole-heartedly welcome our comrades who have gathered these days for an international conference in Caracas. The Communist Party of the Russian Federation stands in solidarity with this initiative of the World Anti-imperialist Platform.

In April, on the 155th anniversary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birth, the CPRF held the Second In-

ternational Anti-Fascist Forum in Moscow. Even then, Dimitrios Patelis told me about his desire to hold a conference in Venezuela. I am glad that these plans have come to fruition. I am confident that our joint actions will help build a strong front against imperialism.

*Long live the Venezuelan people's struggle for sovereign development!*

*Long live the forces of justice and progress!*

*For the victory of socialism!*

# Socialist Communes and Anti-Imperialism: The Marxist Approach

Chris Gilbert | Monthly Review

*“The direct antithesis to the empire was the Commune.”*  
—Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*

Israel’s genocidal war on Gaza, which has gone hand in hand with ruthless assaults on the West Bank, Lebanon, Iran, Yemen, and Syria, all of it enthusiastically backed and bankrolled by the United States, has served as a wake-up call to people around the world about the devastating effects of imperialism. Carried out with the complicity of all the Western governments, the genocide should also open our eyes to the larger, U.S.-led imperialist system. That system, even when not waging outright war against countries of the Global South, places most under a sort of generalized siege, sometimes through sanctions (for example, Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua, China, and Iran) or hemming them in with military bases (as in the cases of China, North Korea, and Venezuela, among others), to say nothing of imperialism’s systematic drain of value and material resources from such countries, which has devastating social and environmental effects.

Given this context, in which imperialism versus oppressed nations and peoples clearly represents the principal contradiction, one could well wonder about the importance of a socialist commune. Why discuss communes at all? What do communes have to do with the urgent struggle against imperialism, which is evidently the central struggle today? Even more troublingly, one could point out how the imperialist-Zionist project has itself deployed communes, the kibbutzim, to colonize Palestinian territory, arming them with militias to extirpate and exterminate Pal-

estinians in its settler-colonialist project. A few of these kibbutz-communes were targets—understandable targets, given the right of a colonized people to fight its oppressors—of the Hamas-led Operation Al-Aqsa Flood in 2023.<sup>[1]</sup> There are also communal organizations elsewhere in the world that, while not being settler-colonialist like the kibbutzim, nevertheless have difficulty seeing beyond their autonomous territory, thereby hindering their participation in broader projects of national liberation from imperialist domination. For all these reasons, it would be understandable if socialist communes were not seen to be a priority in the crucial struggle against imperialism, the central challenge of our time.

One person who feels otherwise, and seems to do so very strongly, is the celebrated Palestinian revolutionary Leila Khaled. Last November, Khaled came to Caracas as part of an antifascist, pro-Palestine event organized by the Bolivarian government. Once there, she went almost immediately to El Panal Commune in the working-class 23 de Enero barrio. Speaking to the communards and members of the public gathered there, she expressed her enthusiasm and admiration for the commune. She noted how that 20-year-old project, like other communes in Venezuela, was taking concrete steps toward securing the very sovereignty that her people on the other side of the ocean were also struggling for at that moment. Despite U.S. aggressions, the communes had helped Venezuelans to be “free in their territory.”<sup>[2]</sup> Khaled’s words were moving, while her heartfelt and also highly informed anti-imperialism was echoed by the assembled communards of El Panal, who pointed out

the similarities between the struggles in Venezuela and Palestine. Some even expressed a desire to join the Palestinian resistance movement, following in the longstanding tradition of militant internationalism in the 23 de Enero barrio, but Khaled thought their work was so important that they should stay. For Khaled and the communards at El Panal, then, the communal project they had built was virtually synonymous with anti-imperialist struggle. The question remains, however, what is the connection between anti-imperialism and the making of a socialist commune? When and where does a commune qualify as anti-imperialist, and how can communes fit into the larger strategy of socialist anti-imperialism that leftists, particularly those of the Marxist variety, pursue in the world? These are questions that this article will try to answer.

### **Contemporary Communal Projects**

Worldwide, but especially in Latin America, there is currently much interest in communes just as there are, even more importantly, actual projects of communal construction. Some of the most compelling examples of the latter are the efforts to build communal socialism or “socialismo comunitario” (communitary socialism) that have emerged in Venezuela and Bolivia respectively. In Venezuela, President Hugo Chávez proposed in 2009 that Venezuelan socialism—a project initiated three years earlier—would be built based on communes as its “basic cells” of democratic self-government and collective production. In Bolivia, the process of change that began in 2006 and has roots in both the country’s Indigenous resistance and its workers’ struggles also proposed a variant of communitary socialism. Connected to the concept of *buen vivir*, Bolivia’s socialism was to be built relying on Indigenous communes, or *ayllus*, as one of its main “levers.” A parallel can be found in Brazil’s Landless Workers’ Movement (MST), which struggles for agrarian reform by occupying land and subsequently establishing communal living and pro-

duction arrangements called *acampamentos* and *assentamentos*. Although a social movement, MST has long defended the goal of building a sovereign nation in the face of imperialism, and since 1990 has included socialism as one of its strategic aims. These are, in my opinion, some of the most promising examples.

Yet, both the discourse and the practice of commune-building can be highly ambivalent in relation to projects of socialist construction and national liberation. Sometimes, a community-based project that makes radical claims to autonomy, often influenced by autonomist, postmodern, or anarchist theory, can fail to embody a viable process of national liberation from imperialism, or may turn its back on existing ones. This is undoubtedly part of the history of neo-Zapatismo (Zapatista Army of National Liberation, EZLN) in Chiapas and is also a frequent criticism leveled at Kurdish autonomous communities.<sup>[3]</sup> Further, community-level work is often promoted by nongovernmental organizations precisely to avoid larger issues such as land reform and national sovereignty in the face of imperialism. In what follows, with the goal of determining when and where a socialist commune qualifies as anti-imperialist, I will look at Karl Marx’s own reflections on the commune, which took on greater centrality in his vision of social change in his last years, taking them to be a kind of model for what it is to be a socialist, anti-imperialist commune. My aim will be to show how these reflections by Marx, despite being most fully developed in his last period (1870–1883), are nevertheless connected to his whole theoretical apparatus and project. That project involves a revolutionary intervention in the state, followed by a transformation of the whole economy and society, and it is by its very nature opposed to imperialism. Thus, if communes are assumed in the way defended by Marx, they will be part of an unfolding anticapitalist and anti-imperialist strategy.

The argument will proceed by showing, first, how

Marx's best-known reflections on traditional or agrarian communes, such as those found in the Ethnological Notebooks and his late letters and drafts to Vera Zasulich, went hand in hand with his defense of colonized, peripheral peoples against capitalist expansion. This is an aspect of Marxism that Rosa Luxemburg picked up on, with impressive sensitivity to the colonial question. However, Marx went further than her by endorsing the rural commune as a basis for socialism in a project of national liberation, even as he laid out very clear conditions under which this could happen. In the second step, I will show how Marx's claim that the commune could be a building block of socialism, even if it is most evident in the work of what can be called the "late Marx" (1870–1883), does not represent a break with his overall oeuvre. Many have been tempted to celebrate this late period of Marx as something sharply distinguished from the rest of his work, with echoes of the "epistemological rupture" once claimed in relation to the young Marx.<sup>[4]</sup> In fact, however, Marx's late-life defense of the rural commune grew out of the very centerpiece of Marxist theory: the discussion of value relations in his critique of political economy that he carried out in the midcentury. Moreover, since Marx's value-centered theoretical apparatus unfolds to include other categories used to construct a critique of the concentration of capital, monopoly formation, and the world market, it follows that Marx's fundamental alternative to commodity exchange—which was communal production since at least the late 1850s—cannot be separated from his fully developed critique of capitalism and its expansionist, imperialist tendency. Nor can it be separated from the strategies Marx sketched for the working class in the capitalist world system, such as the project of national emancipation that he thought was embodied, even if imperfectly, in the Paris Commune. In the final section, I will look at how the Venezuelan and Bolivian conceptions of communal or community socialism, each in its own way, coincide with

the Marxist strategic vision of a communal project, which is not a matter of building isolated or radically autonomous communes, or even networks of communes, but rather involves integrating them into strategic national projects that oppose imperialism. The same holds for MST's project of a "people's agrarian reform" that emphasizes communal organization and cooperativism, but operates within an overall anti-imperialist, anticapitalist framework.

### **The "Late Marx" Was a Tricontinental Marx**

There are numerous investigations that look at the last period of Marx, in which he studied and defended communal forms as a possible basis for socialist construction. Some authors go so far as to hail this as a discovery, announcing the appearance of a new and heretofore unknown Marx.<sup>[5]</sup> Yet, despite this enthusiasm for Marx's last period, it is rarely sufficiently emphasized that Marx's reflections on rural communes at that time almost always focused on the periphery of the capitalist world system: the Russian countryside, the Indian village, the Algerian peasant community, and the Indigenous communities of North and South America. Marx's work on rural communal life during his late period is scattered across notes, drafts, and correspondence. For example, the discussion of the Russian rural commune appears in his 1877 unsent "Letter to the Editorial Board of *Otechestvennye Zapiski*," his letter and drafts to Vera Zasulich, and his notes on Maxim Kovalevsky's work. His reflections on the Algerian peasant community appear in a series of letters written during Marx's last trip, taken for health reasons, to the city of Algiers in 1882 and also in the notes on Kovalevsky. In this period, Marx also took notes on Indian land tenure, which had been a longstanding interest of his, and on Australian Aboriginal social organization, based on an ethnographic work by Richard Bennett.<sup>[6]</sup> Despite the wide-reaching diversity of these materials and the breadth of Marx's studies at this time, they all have one thing in common: the communal forms he

was studying are all located on the frontiers of capitalist expansion and—it is important to add—were sites of anticolonial resistance.

In Marx's notes on such agrarian communities, he highlighted not only how they came under attack by expanding capitalism but also how they proved resilient in defending themselves against it. He consistently pointed to indigenous resistance, even as he criticized the colonizers in no uncertain terms. In Algeria, Marx noted how the French colonialists, with their "barefaced arrogance," expropriated the Arabs with a view to providing French settlers with more land and to "break the strength of the clan unions."<sup>[7]</sup> Yet the Algerian people were not passive, and Marx noted with approval how their collective land tenure had resisted such onslaughts. Looking at India, Marx called the colonizers' suppression of communal ownership "an act of English vandalism, pushing the native people not forwards but backwards."<sup>[8]</sup> At the same time, Marx consistently pointed out that such village communes had outlived all kinds of invaders over the centuries, and he celebrated Indian rebellions against those he called "British dogs" and "asses."<sup>[9]</sup> Marx's studies of the peasant commune in Russia are the most extensive ones he carried out on agrarian communities anywhere.<sup>[10]</sup> They led him to acknowledge the possibility of a rural commune in a peripheral context becoming a fulcrum of socialist construction. However, he also pointed out that this would require overthrowing the Tsarist state that was subordinated to Western powers, and which fostered only dependent growth through "the domiciliation of certain businesses."<sup>[11]</sup> Remarking on the late Marx's focus on resistant communities in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, Argentinian author Néstor Kohan once quipped that in Marx's reflections on rural communities in the periphery he was developing a "Tricontinental" *avant la lettre*, alluding to the anti-imperialist conference organized in revolutionary Cuba in the next century.<sup>[12]</sup> This Tricontinental spirit, very much present in Marx, is precisely what

is lacking in so much that is published about Marx's late investigations into the rural commune.

Although most interpreters have underplayed the anticolonial character of Marx's late work on communes, there is a second-generation Marxist who pursued an analogous line of thought. This is Rosa Luxemburg, who took deep interest in the peoples and nations in what is today called the Global South. If Luxemburg's reflections closely parallel those of the late Marx, this is because of her similar method, interests, and sources, for she did not have access to Marx's notes and drafts from his last years, which only later became available. Most of Luxemburg's work on the social formations and lifeways of noncapitalist peoples and nations appears in her underrecognized book, *Introduction to Political Economy*, based on the courses that she gave in the school of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) beginning in 1907. The book makes an impressive sweep of what is now called the Global South. For example, it considers the Indian village community and its diverse manifestations, noting that "the property of the land corresponded simply to the Indian peasant communities who had worked it over the millennia...a great social culture, in which the land is not a means for exploiting the labor of others, but simply the foundation of the existence of the working people themselves."<sup>[13]</sup> The book also analyzes what Luxemburg called "agrarian communism" in Peru and Mexico, which she contended was the dominant precolonial form in those contexts.<sup>[14]</sup> When Luxemburg turned to North Africa, she celebrated the resilient communal property relations of Arab and Berber peoples and their "stubborn resistance" to "the grip of European capital."<sup>[15]</sup>

While following closely in the late Marx's footsteps (though in great measure unbeknownst to her), Luxemburg also coincided with the late Marx in giving an overall positive evaluation of what she understood to be instances of original communism or, in her words, "communist institutions." The contradiction between such communal forms and capitalist expansion

is also part of Luxemburg's account. For example, she noted that colonial conquest leads to a "violent abolition of common property" resulting in the destruction of "the communistic community."<sup>[16]</sup> Her message, which can be seen retroactively through the lens of her "Socialism or Barbarism" slogan, was that capitalism acts barbarically in its expansion around the world and in its treatment of noncapitalist peoples and their communities. Far from bringing progress, the effect of capitalist expansion was simply harmful, with "the old ties being annihilated and replaced with disputes, discord, inequality, and exploitation."<sup>[17]</sup> What Luxemburg brought out, and is completely resonant with Marx's late work, is the anticolonial, anti-imperialist character and potential of the commune. That is to say, both the late Marx and Luxemburg examined rural communes at the frontiers of capitalist expansion—where the dynamic of expropriation is often felt as much as exploitation—and both theorists understood such communities to be resilient sites of resistance to capitalism.

### **Nuclei of Socialism, but with Conditions and Context**

Luxemburg's investigations were carried out in an extremely inimical context, marked by the SPD leadership's generally apologetic attitude toward colonialism.<sup>[18]</sup> This made her defense of colonized peoples, and her celebration of the resistance they maintained from their "communistic" communities, all the more impressive. She was also aware of the potential connections between the anticolonial struggles in the periphery and those of the working class in the core countries, observing that the European bourgeoisie had sensed "a connection between the ancient communist survivals that put up stubborn resistance in the colonial countries...and the new [revolutionary] gospel of...the proletarian mass in the old capitalist countries."<sup>[19]</sup> It could even be argued that Luxemburg's extensive reflections on the communities of the periphery, for whom capi-

talist expansion was not merely a labor issue but an existential threat, implicitly highlighted the revolutionary agency of the peoples of the periphery and their communities. Even so, Luxemburg failed to take the additional step of allowing that the agrarian commune or Indigenous community could become building blocks of a new socialist society. Here Marx's analysis, perhaps because of the greater importance he gave to national self-determination, surpassed hers, since he took the step of affirming in his last years that such communes had the potential to be fulcrums ("points de appui") of social regeneration, or cells of socialism. However, realizing that potential came with some conditions, if it were to occur—that is, if the rural commune were to contribute to modern socialism.

What kinds of conditions are we talking about? These we can see clearest in Marx's discussion of the existing communal formation that he most fully studied and had the most information about: the *obshchina* of Russia. His viewpoint was expressed in his "Letter to the Editorial Board of *Otechestvennye Zapiski*" (1877), the letter and drafts to Zasulich (1881), and the 1882 preface to the Russian translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, which was written by Frederick Engels but had Marx's approval. In these documents, Marx took the time to sketch how a commune, with collective ownership and some degree of internal self-government, could fit into a strategy of socialist transition and national liberation in a peripheral country. One issue was the productive forces: Marx argued that the commune had to incorporate the technological achievements of the capitalist system, for which he felt the Russian commune was particularly suited because, as a late communal form that was not based mainly on kinship relations, it was "capable of broader development."<sup>[20]</sup> It could thus easily replace "fragmented agriculture with large-scale, machine-assisted agriculture." These new productive forces were also important because they would allow the commune to go "from fragmented

to collective labor,” collective labor being particularly important in Marx’s perspective on communal production.<sup>[21]</sup>

A second issue was that the communes needed to be connected among each other. According to Marx, it was “a debilitating feature” that the existing obshchinas were “localized microcosms,” and he even suggested that their isolation was the “natural basis for” despotism.<sup>[22]</sup> Third, there had to be a political revolution that would transform the existing state and establish a new relation to the communes in what was essentially a process of national liberation. Marx perceived that late nineteenth-century Russia was what we would today call a “dependent state.” Like many third-world states today, the tsarist regime developed only “certain branches of the Western capitalist system” that were most “easily acclimated.”<sup>[23]</sup> Rather than aiding Russia’s rural communes, that dependent state fostered a host of parasites, usurers, and speculative capitalists.<sup>[24]</sup> (Marx called them “capitalist pests,” and they roughly coincide with the comprador bourgeoisie in third-world social formations today.)

Overall, when we look at Marx’s relatively developed discussion of the Russian commune, we can see how Marx saw in it not socialist perfection but socialist potential. He recognized the rural commune to be a site of internal contradictions—including emergent hierarchies—that was therefore undergoing ongoing evolution. Hence, if Marx affirmed that the obshchina could be a starting point for a socialist system, he was careful not to fall into romantic idealizations or isolate it from strategic and geopolitical considerations.<sup>[25]</sup> For example, he recognized the need to replace the communes’ traditional volost assemblies, headed by male elders, “with a peasant assembly chosen by the communes themselves.”<sup>[26]</sup> Likewise, he conditioned his defense of the Russian commune on its being integrated with strategic concerns, specifically a national revolutionary process, with which it would need to be embedded. This was

because, as Marx said, the commune’s “further development merges with the general course of Russian society.” Marx’s lapidary conclusion was: “To save the Russian commune, there must be a Russian Revolution.”<sup>[27]</sup>

### **Marx’s Critique of Political Economy Appeals to Communal Control**

The idea that the late Marx represents an unknown, distinct Marx points to a desire to separate Marx into two.<sup>[28]</sup> From the dream factories of fashionable Marxism, we are sometimes encouraged to believe that there is a more-up-to-date, ecological (even “de-growth”), decolonial, and community-friendly Marx who emerged around 1870, that can be contrasted with the grim “middle-Marx” who wrote about class, political economy, state power, and political parties and is probably stagist and “Stalinist” to boot. This presumed separation is suspicious in itself. Does it not point to a desire to promote an “updated” Marx, focused on communities, that is separated both from Marx’s own critique of capitalism and from Marxism’s later analysis of imperialism? Does not this risk repeating the gesture by which the allegedly more humanist Marx of the 1844 Manuscripts was used to fuel strands of Western Marxism that distanced themselves from the contributions and learning processes of really existing socialism, often even rejecting the Marxist critique of imperialism? I believe that it does. Yet it also relies on a textually spurious interpretation. For the interest in the communal form goes back early in Marx and permeates the whole of his mature work.<sup>[29]</sup> This can be seen clearly in Marx’s evolving reflections on value-based exchange after his first engagement with political economy that occurred in the 1840s. As the century progressed and Marx came to understand the importance of value as a social form—which we can see occurring in the 1857–1858 Grundrisse manuscripts—he immediately posited communal exchange as the fundamental antithesis of commodity exchange. From there, he

began to see that some social form involving communal production, communal exchange, and communal consumption would be necessary to overcome the social form of value.

Let us see how this happens. Early in the *Grundrisse*, in the chapter on money, Marx lays out the social nature of value. He observes how, in contemporary society, exchange value expresses the social nexus; it embodies the mutual and general dependence of individuals who have nothing to do with each other except as private producers connected through the market.<sup>[30]</sup> Exchange value is a social nexus that confronts the individual as something alien and object-like (as money, you can carry it in your pocket, he says). Because of this object-like character, Marx concludes: “The social connection between persons is transformed into a social relation between things.”<sup>[31]</sup> Yet Marx immediately perceives that the communal bond is the fundamental antithesis of this situation. There is an inverse relation, he observes, between community control and the rule of value: “The less social power the medium of exchange possesses...the greater must be the power of the community.” Here Marx is juxtaposing two essentially contrary systems. On the one hand, there is the capital system of generalized commodity relations with its indirect sociality, via the exchange of money and commodities. On the other hand, there is the communal system in which a worker’s “productive activity and his share in production are bound to a specific form of labour and of product.”<sup>[32]</sup> In these communal arrangements, there is directly social labor due to a preordained planning or control over work and distribution.

From here, Marx begins to develop the idea that social production in the future needs to be itself controlled like a common patrimony (“common wealth,” is the usual English translation). He thus projects a future postcapitalist situation in which people’s “social relations [become] their own communal [*gemeinschaftlich*, or community-based] relations...subordinated to their own communal con-

trol.”<sup>[33]</sup> He calls this future arrangement “communal production” and points out how it requires directly social—or “directly general”—labor.<sup>[34]</sup> Hence, what is being proposed is the organized exchange of activities rather than the indirect, post festum socialization that is achieved in commodity exchange. From these passages and their spare postulates regarding the future society, it will be a short step to Marx’s defense of the Russian peasant commune as a fulcrum for social regeneration.<sup>[35]</sup> It is worth noting that, in these very passages of the *Grundrisse* that contrast communal exchange with private exchange, Marx consistently maintains a perspective on the totality of capitalism. For just a few lines after laying out the basic juxtaposition Marx observes how commodity exchange and its division of labor leads to “agglomeration, combination, cooperation, the antithesis of private interests, class interests, competition, concentration of capital, monopoly, stock companies... world trade...dependence on the so-called world market, and [the] banking and credit system.”<sup>[36]</sup> It is implicit, then, that only ending private exchange and restoring some kind of communal coordination of labor activities will circumvent the concentration of capital and monopoly formation, which is the basis of imperialism.

Here we can see the way that private exchange of commodities is connected, very early in Marx, to the whole structure of capitalist society and therefore also to the posterior development of capitalism toward concentration of capital, expansion, financialization, and imperialism. As Marx says further on in the *Grundrisse*, “The later relations are to be regarded as developments coming out of this germ.”<sup>[37]</sup> By contrast, communal exchange of activities and communal bonds that subordinate production to collective control are proposed as a metabolic alternative to the alienated system that issues into monopoly and credit. (This is the very point that Marx is making early in the *Grundrisse* by insisting that capitalism’s contradictions cannot be solved by the kind of bank-

ing or monetary reform that Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and his followers proposed.) These latter emerge from the alienation of labor and of the labor process that accompanies the dynamics of generalized commodity exchange. Since Marx's vision in these passages goes from the micro-particular (communal control versus private commodity exchange) to the macro-whole that includes world trade, market expansion, and monopoly, it logically follows that Marx's positing of an alternative model of communal production—essentially based on communal control over productive activities—cannot be separated from his critique of the whole of the capitalist economy and society, up to and including its state and monopoly formations and the imperialist rivalry that plays out in the world market.

### **The Communal System in the Transition to Socialism**

It is from Marx's theorization in the *Grundrisse* that Hungarian philosopher István Mészáros would base his arguments on the need for a communal system to overcome the capital system, developing theses which later served as an inspiration to Chávez's project of building communal socialism in Venezuela.<sup>[38]</sup> Mészáros's major work, *Beyond Capital*, focuses in chapter 19 on the law of value, which is at the center of the capital system. Following Marx, Mészáros contended that the law of value, which measures social wealth through abstract labor time, can only be overcome by another social configuration, an approach that involves the participation of all members of society in a planned organization of labor and allots disposable time in a rational way.<sup>[39]</sup> What is the social framework for overcoming the imposed rule of abstract labor time? Mészáros highlighted that Marx always insists that it is deliberate communal decision-making that overcomes the generic social law of value that is imposed behind producers' backs.<sup>[40]</sup> Hence the communal system, which Mészáros proposed as the radical alternative to the capital one.

Importantly, however, Mészáros's approach to the communal system—like the one he inspired in Chávez, as we will see below—was never myopic: it never lost sight of the bigger picture. For both proposed a communal project that, true to Marx's totalizing approach, would go from the micro to the macro, and involved an overall strategy that called for a political revolution (introducing a new command structure into the state) followed by the building of an alternative social metabolism based on the communes that would ultimately lead to a complete transformation of the whole society and abolishing all alienated political institutions. Since that project involved a comprehensive approach to the totality of the capitalist system, it also recognized that the communes were part of a strategy for the transition, the implementation of any given mediating step of which would have to take into account not only the strategic horizon, but also the concrete realities of a particular situation, including global geopolitics and local correlations of forces. In this spirit, Mészáros insisted on the need for “historically specific...mediatory strategies” and accepted that “the full realization of this Marxian vision calls for the historically feasible articulation of the necessary material mediations in their global context.”<sup>[41]</sup>

Neither Mészáros nor Chávez demonstrated any particular interest in the late Marx and his comments on the rural commune, despite their affinities with that line of thought.<sup>[42]</sup> Yet, it is a fact that after laying out the basic schema of communal production in the *Grundrisse* (referred to later as “production by freely associated people” in *Capital*) Marx would begin, in the last decade of his life, to investigate concrete examples of communal production in both historical and living rural communes, such as those of the Haudenosaunee people, as well as in Algerian, Russian, and Indian communes and communities. That is how we get to the late Marx, which precisely for this reason we refuse to separate from the rest of his oeuvre. It is worth pointing out that there is a very

complete, multilevel continuity between the middle Marx and the late Marx's approach to communes. For not only is it a relatively straightforward transition from Marx's proposing communal control of social production in the *Grundrisse* to his posterior defense—coinciding with Nikolai Chernyshevsky—of the Russian commune as a fulcrum of social regeneration, but it is also true that the communal alternative he is proposing in both his middle and late accounts always remains connected to his larger critique of capitalist categories and the totality of the capitalist (later, imperialist) system.

Evidence of this second kind of continuity—the embedding of the communal alternative in the larger project—is to be found in the late Marx's insistence that the Russian commune, if it is to be a fulcrum of social regeneration, needs to be accompanied by a political revolution that involves taking state power and overcoming the condition of dependency. Hence, as mentioned above, the late Marx was not defending the absolutely autonomous Russian commune in a state of perfection, but the commune as part of a revolution that is carried out by the organized working class, most likely in a political party, that has national and also international dimensions. This aspect of Marx's approach to the Russian commune becomes particularly evident in the 1882 preface to the Russian translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, which points to the need for a “proletarian revolution,” if the communes are to survive and advance. It is also relevant that Engels (with the approval of Marx) wrote a critique of Russian writer Pyotr Tkachev pointing out how the existing Russian state is not merely “hanging in the air,” as Tkachev contended, but is structurally connected to the ruling classes.<sup>[43]</sup>

Marx's geopolitically informed and fundamentally class-based approach to the Russian rural commune also resonates with his somewhat earlier approach to the Paris Commune of 1871. In his discussion of the Paris Commune, which Marx called “the political form at last discovered under which to work out

the emancipation of labor [i.e., the working class],” he stressed that it emerged from a struggle against a foreign power and a capitulationist government.<sup>[44]</sup> Marx also emphasized the commune's incompatibility with the existing configuration of the state (it was the “antithesis of Empire” referred to in my epigraph). Just like the Russian state, the French state was not “hanging in the air” but rather was the bourgeoisie's “ultimate form of the State power.”<sup>[45]</sup> It was therefore an instrument of class rule that needed to be seized and radically repurposed by the workers.<sup>[46]</sup> This kind of continuity between Marx's views in 1871 and 1881 is hardly surprising given the arguments for communal production that Marx had established in his mature work on political economy. That totalizing vision, which linked the productive model (communal or private) to the whole encompassing social formation, including national and international structures, is what led Marx to celebrate the Paris Commune having formed a “truly national government,” a key pillar of which was the “armed people”—in effect, a popular and sovereign army.<sup>[47]</sup> Clearly, the project's explicitly political character, despite its vigorous internationalism, included the dimension of national liberation, which would have been a key reason for its coinciding with Marx's vision of how to achieve emancipation through reliance on the communal form.<sup>[48]</sup>

### **Venezuela: “The Isolated Commune Is Counterrevolutionary”**

It is very common—in fact, one of the clearest expressions of Eurocentrism among intellectuals—to hastily declare processes of change in the Global South over and done with whenever they encounter the smallest setback. In the eyes of mainstream intellectuals, such processes are forever spiraling downward, as demonstrated by the chorus of expert voices always ready to declare the “end of a cycle” or the ebbing of the latest progressive tide.<sup>[49]</sup> Yet, more often than not, the now 25-year-old Venezuelan rev-

olution has found ways to spiral up in a process of creative reinvention and implicit self-critique. In fact, nothing could better illustrate commune-building as a part of a comprehensive anti-imperialist and socialist strategy of the kind that Marx would endorse than the way the Bolivarian Process has accumulated definitions: it became anti-imperialist in 2004, then incorporated socialism in 2006, then began using communes as the basic cells of its anti-imperialist socialist project in 2009–2010. Notably, at the very moment that Chávez proposed communes as the building blocks of socialism, he also warded off any idea of an autonomous communal project, by indicating that the isolated commune was “counter-revolutionary.” That was in *Aló Presidente Teórico No. 1* in 2009.<sup>[50]</sup> Further, in the next year, the government put into law the idea that communes should be connected through communal cities, federations, and, finally, the “communal state.”<sup>[51]</sup> Clearly, then, just as Marx saw the communal form as part of a whole system that was the antithesis of the system based on commodity exchange that also included monopoly, global markets, and imperialism; so the Venezuelan commune was an organic component of an anti-imperialist and socialist revolutionary strategy. It was a continuation, a spiraling up, of a national anti-imperialist project, and therefore a continuation of the effort at national liberation that had been integral to the Bolivarian Process since its inception. Tellingly, when Chávez coined the slogan “Commune or Nothing!,” he was consciously echoing Simón Bolívar’s slogan “Independence or Nothing!” The implication was that building the commune was to be the guarantee of independence and sovereignty, while the nothing option that was being avoided included the prospect of imperialist domination.<sup>[52]</sup>

The anti-imperialist character of the Venezuelan commune would receive ongoing corroboration in the years after Chávez died. This was true, in the first place, in an economic sense. For under the devastating effects of the U.S. sanctions and economic war

against Venezuela that began in the 2010s, the commune became the site where social reproduction was assured for many Venezuelans, as viable processes of production and solidarious exchange were developed both inside and among communes to overcome the effects of the blockade-imposed scarcity. This is what Cira Pascual Marquina and I documented in our *Resistencia comunal* book series, which looks at the communes’ responses to the blockade.<sup>[53]</sup> Yet the Venezuelan commune was not only a grassroots economic stronghold, it was also a political one.<sup>[54]</sup> For it was in great measure from the communes that the socialist project was reaffirmed in Venezuela through a series of steps that involved building the *Unión Comunal* and other communal associations.<sup>[55]</sup>

However, the most telling expression of the anti-imperialist potential of the Venezuelan commune occurred in the spring and summer of 2024, when the communes became the grassroots force that President Nicolás Maduro turned to under the grave imperialist assault that occurred in the context of the most recent presidential elections. At that point, when oil minister Tarek Al Asami’s once powerful pro-business current was in free fall, the communal project became once again the explicit mainstay of the government’s national strategy. Properly understood, it was a strategy whose continuity had been made politically possible by the government’s stubborn refusal to bend to imperialist demands and its creativity in surviving the blockade, while it was made socially possible because of the grassroots work developed by the communes. In this way, the potential of transformed state power to both foster and benefit from popular power—one of the most important lessons of the Bolivarian Revolution—was reaffirmed in the “commune-state alliance” that provided the key to resisting imperialism.<sup>[56]</sup> The centrality of the communes in the new revolutionary bloc would be strengthened and ratified by the implementation of quarterly communal consultation processes in early 2024, expanded financial support for the communes,

and a projected 2025 constitutional reform giving them more powers.<sup>[57]</sup>

### **Parallel Communal Projects in Bolivia and Brazil**

Like the Venezuelan communal project, those promoted by the MST in Brazil and in the Bolivian process of change also coincide broadly with the Marxist communal strategy, having both socialist and anti-imperialist orientations. The Bolivian project of community socialism has roots reaching back well before Evo Morales Ayma assumed the presidency in 2006. His party, the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), was conceived of as a political instrument of social movements, and was based especially in Indigenous and campesino struggles, where there had been a longstanding defense of the Indigenous ayllu community as an organizational unit, sometimes in coordination with or as an alternative to the trade union model.<sup>[58]</sup> Morales himself had entered the political panorama as the leader of a cocalero (coca grower) movement, always under the eye of the politically driven U.S. “war on drugs.” This meant that his leadership gave a clear anti-imperialist cast to the project, just as he brought with him the crucial practice of always translating local economic and social issues into national and international ones.<sup>[59]</sup> On a theoretical level, it was Morales’s vice president, Marxist theorist and former guerrillero Álvaro García Linera, who developed the most ambitious conceptualizations of community socialism.

The trajectory of García Linera’s reflections about the commune and socialist construction reveals striking parallels with the evolution of the Venezuelan project. As part of the Túpac Katari Guerrilla Army (EGTK) in the 1980s and ’90s, García Linera began to look closely at the commune form in Marx’s late texts, such as the notes collected in the Cuaderno Kovalevsky that his clandestine organization published in 1989 (translated from English by EGTK militant Raquel Gutiérrez).<sup>[60]</sup> As an engaged the-

orist, García Linera made the connection between Marx’s claims about the Russian peasant commune and the Andean ayllu community in the Bolivian context. Avoiding the dogmatic idea amply embraced by the Bolivian left that the ayllus were simply backward feudal forms and therefore had to be dissolved, García Linera followed the late Marx in affirming that they could become a “revolutionary force” in the socialist movement.<sup>[61]</sup> At first, García Linera’s vision of the state was simply one of antagonism between the community and state.<sup>[62]</sup> However, he quickly realized that the communities could not remain geographically separated singularities but would need to be coordinated in a strategic project that employed state power over the middle or even long term.

By 1997, García Linera was proposing that a transformed state apparatus could strengthen the potential of the communities.<sup>[63]</sup> In this way, the future vice president, responding to unfolding events with concrete analyses, came to locate his defense of the “socialist fulcrum” of community in a larger structure that included the geopolitical situation and a repurposed state apparatus. By the turn of the century, he had recognized the importance of incorporating various social sectors into the revolutionary “plebeian bloc,” thereby transcending whatever remained of the narrowly autonomist communal vision he might have once had. Clearly, for the mature García Linera, the community that he defended was conceived not as something isolated—like the hypothetical “counterrevolutionary” commune that Chávez had warned against—but as part of a national project pursuing liberation from imperialism. Likewise, there was the realization, which has since been borne out, that a long period of transition would be required, which he referred to as “a bridge” in 2010.<sup>[64]</sup> From the perspective of the present, we can see how the Bolivian project, based on “community socialism” as a strategic orientation, has made important advances in a number of areas. These include women’s and Indigenous rights, the historic achievement of

a constitution that establishes Bolivia as a pluri-national state, and the nationalization of hydrocarbons, among many other advances. However, progress in realizing communitary socialism in a concrete sense has been impeded by the 2019 coup d'état and its lasting aftereffects, as well as the leadership's difficulties in projecting a program beyond the diverse mandates provided by its sometimes fragmented social base.

The project of the MST in Brazil is also one that points to a broad strategic horizon beyond the communal projects embodied in its land occupations. Although the movement began in the mid-1980s with the immediate goal of promoting land reform through direct seizure of unused and underused terrain (followed by collective management in *acampamentos* and *assentamentos*) it has never separated itself from the political sphere.<sup>[65]</sup> In 1990, the movement, which is now a million strong, took the step of declaring itself socialist, and it has always defended national sovereignty in the face of imperialism (“*Terra, Trabalho e Soberania Nacional*” is one of the organization’s main slogans). Likewise, the MST has sought symbiotic relations with progressive parties (principally the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* but also the *Partido Socialismo e Liberdade*) and governments on the regional and national levels when they are in progressive hands. Moreover, MST has evolved over the four decades of its existence from focusing on a particular struggle—essentially the “agrarian question”—to challenging the totality of the capitalist-imperialist system. At the same time, it has come to understand that this requires organizing the whole Brazilian working class, both urban and rural (see our interview with João Pedro Stedile in this issue). An example of a strategic political project assumed by the MST in recent years was the long and costly struggle that it organized to free Luiz Inácio “Lula” da Silva from prison in Paraná state, thereby making possible his successful 2022 presidential campaign. That campaign was an intervention in national politics that went beyond any limited economicist or

local objective, and it led to the defeat of the fascist candidate.

### **Comprehensive Anti-Imperialist Strategies**

The three movements we have examined above all have a great deal in common, despite their different contexts and histories. Inter-movement dialogue is surely an important factor that has contributed to their parallel development and shared strategic objectives. Even so, one could still wonder at the striking combination of grassroots communal work with strategic anti-imperialism in these quite distinct Latin American projects. In fact, this combination represents a long tradition in Latin America. Almost a century ago, José Carlos Mariátegui, who is often taken to be the founder of Latin American Marxism, declared that socialism was the form that Latin American anti-imperialism would take. In a context marked by the overt imperialist intervention in Nicaragua of the late 1920s, Mariátegui wrote: “It is only possible to effectively oppose a capitalist, plutocratic, imperialist United States with a socialist Latin...America.”<sup>[66]</sup> Mariátegui thereby established a close link between anti-imperialism and socialist projects on the continent, whose communal character he also highlighted.<sup>[67]</sup> This is a link that has held up through the present. Indeed, as we have seen, the three projects examined above all exemplify the Peruvian Marxist’s claim by carrying out their communal-socialist constructions within a strategic anti-imperialist horizon—a horizon that incorporates national liberation.

In the preceding, we have attempted to respond to the question: When and where is a commune anti-imperialist? Our response followed Marx’s overall line of reasoning in establishing the conditions and context for an anti-imperialist commune. We first observed how the actually existing communes that Marx looked at and defended were most often in dependent or colonial situations, and he saw them as sites of resistance to colonialism. In the rural com-

mune he investigated most thoroughly, the Russian one, Marx laid out the conditions—most centrally the need for a national revolutionary project—that were required if a commune was to become a cell of modern socialism. Next, we looked at how Marx’s investigation of communes, even if it occurred most intensely in his last period (1870–1883), did not represent a major shift in his thought, but rather was continuous with the results of his mature work on political economy. We saw how, as early as the *Grundrisse* manuscript (1857–1858), Marx recognized that communal relations were the fundamental contrary of commodity-based exchange relations. He pointed to how they had existed before capitalism, but he also deduced that some form of restored communal production would be part of the future emancipated society.

This meant that communes could be used to build socialism and, where communes already existed, they could be incorporated into the socialist project. However, to do so, Marx realized, both at this time and later on, would require taking into account the whole of capitalism’s development, including the state, banking, credit, and the world market. It would also require a comprehensive strategy that would include elements of geopolitics, such as opposition to capitalism’s aggressive expansion in the world, which in our time has become imperialist expansion and extermination. Therefore, if communes are to be used as the cells of socialism in the way that Marx proposed, they will be part of an anti-imperialist strategy that does not ignore the need to intervene in and employ state power. In conclusion, we looked at how various Latin American projects are true to this vision, by combining communal construction with an anti-imperialist and socialist vision. However, to come full circle and reach outside of Latin America, it is also abundantly clear that, in sharp contrast to the settler-colonialist kibbutzim that are actually functional to imperialism, it is the entire united armed Palestinian resistance (including Hamas) with its heroic fight

against imperialism and its insistence on national liberation, that is closer to the Marxist strategic ideal of the commune. This is what El Panal’s communards sensed during Khaled’s visit to their barrio—and they were right.

## Notes

[1] Kibbutzim in general, whatever the diverse motives of the individuals who participated in them might be, are part of a settler colonial project with inevitable military dimensions. It usually involves arming the inhabitants or using special “security” teams. Beginning in the 1980s, most kibbutzim abandoned their egalitarian dimension and socialist character to increasingly privatize through a process that was euphemistically called “reform” and led to the widespread implementation of salary relations. On the processes of privatization in kibbutzim, see Raymond Russell, Robert Hanneman, and Shlomo Getz, *The Renewal of the Kibbutz: From Reform to Transformation* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2013).

[2] Andreina Chávez Alava, “The Day Leila Khaled Visited a Venezuelan Commune,” *Venezuela Analysis*, January 6, 2025, venezuelanalysis.com. While Leila Khaled belongs to a different organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, she defends Hamas, considering both organizations to be integral parts of the broader Palestinian resistance movement.

[3] Territorial autonomy was not so much the initial aim of the EZLN’s project as it was an eventual outcome. When the EZLN launched its insurgency, it had the goal of intervening in national politics, even aspiring to take down the central government—though without seizing power itself. From the outset, the EZLN also succeeded in garnering widespread sympathy and support, both nationally and internationally, at one point seeking an alliance with the Partido de la Revolución Democrática. However, shifting circumstances and military-political setbacks compelled the organization to settle for establishing autonomous control over its territory, which has been its stance throughout the current century despite efforts such as *La Otra Campaña* of 2005. Fabiola Escárzaga, *La comunidad indígena insurgente: Perú, Bolivia, México (1980–2000)* (Coyoacán, México: UAM, 2017), 311–410. Leandro Vergaro-Camus, *Land and Freedom: The MST, the Zapatistas and Peasant Alternatives to Neoliberalism* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 257–84.

[4] Among those emphasizing the novelty of the late Marx are Enrique Dussel, Haruki Wada, Kohei Saito, and (in a qualified way) Teodor Shanin. Saito even uses the term “epistemological rupture” to refer to an alleged break occurring in Marx around 1867, contending that Marx became a “degrowth communist” afterward and even abandoned historical materialism. Kohei Saito, *Marx in the Anthropocene: Toward the Idea of Degrowth Communism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 208; Enrique Dussel, *El último Marx (1863–1882) y la liberación latinoamericana* (Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 1990); Haruki Wada, “Marx and Revolutionary Russia,” and Teodor Shanin, “Late Marx: Gods and Craftsmen,” both in *Late Marx and the Russian Road:*

- Marx and the Peripheries of Capitalism, ed. Teodor Shanin (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983). For an alternative vision, emphasizing continuity, see Derek Sayer and Philip Corrigan, “Late Marx: Continuity, Contradiction and Learning,” which was included in *Late Marx and the Russian Road*. Marcello Musto also argues for continuity and questions the positions of Dussel, Wada, and Shanin in his *The Last Years of Karl Marx: An Intellectual Biography* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).
- [5] See note 4.
- [6] Musto, *The Last Years of Karl Marx*, 23.
- [7] Musto, *The Last Years of Karl Marx*, 109, 21.
- [8] Musto, *The Last Years of Karl Marx*, 66.
- [9] Musto, *The Last Years of Karl Marx*, 23.
- [10] Shanin notes that Marx had more information about Russia, because “Russia was closer not only geographically [than China and India] but in the basic sense of human contact, possible knowledge of language and availability of evidence and analysis, self-generated by the natives.” Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road*, 19.
- [11] Presumably, the need to replace the dependent and distorted Tsarist state is part of what made Marx sympathize with the vanguard *Narodnaya Volya* group, who were attempting a revolutionary overthrow of tsarism. On Marx’s sympathy with the populists of the *Narodnaya Volya* group, see Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road*, 20–21.
- [12] This occurred offscreen in a program of Escuela de Cuadros, “Néstor Kohan: Marx frente al colonialismo,” Escuela de Cuadros, YouTube video, 1:51:55, November 7, 2023.
- [13] Rosa Luxemburg, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, ed. Peter Hudis (London: Verso, 2013), 157.
- [14] Luxemburg, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, 155.
- [15] Luxemburg, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, 154.
- [16] Luxemburg, *Complete Works*, vol.1, 249.
- [17] Luxemburg, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, 153.
- [18] Néstor Kohan, “Karl Marx y la dialéctica del Sur global,” in *Marxismos y pensamiento crítico desde el Sur global*, eds. Néstor Kohan and Nayar López Castellanos (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Akal, 2023), 28–33.
- [19] Luxemburg, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, 163.
- [20] According to Marx, the incorporation of Western technology into the Russian commune was possible because it “exists in a modern historical context: it [the commune] is contemporaneous with a higher culture, and it is linked to a world market in which capitalist production is predominant.” Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road*, 102.
- [21] Marx thought the process of going from fragmented to collective labor would be facilitated by the Russian peasants’ familiarity with the cooperative associations called *artels*. Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road*, 121–22.
- [22] Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road*, 103.
- [23] Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road*, 115.
- [24] Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road*, 115.
- [25] Marx’s approach was distinct from that of Lewis Henry Morgan, who cut close to the “noble savage” ideal. Instead of the return to a past form of life, Marx saw socialism as a “higher form of society.” See Musto, *The Last Years of Karl Marx*, 30.
- [26] Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road*, 111. There is an implicit critique of patriarchy in Marx’s comments on the *volost*, which he called “an assembly of bearded men.”
- [27] Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road*, 116.
- [28] See note 4.
- [29] A very early expression of Marx’s defense of the commons can be found in his 1842 articles defending Rhineland peasants’ rights to gather wood on common land in the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works* (New York: International Publishers, 1975), vol. 1, 224–63.
- [30] In the *Grundrisse*, Marx did not yet distinguish between value and exchange value.
- [31] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy* (London: Penguin, 1973), 157.
- [32] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, 157.
- [33] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, 162.
- [34] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, 172.
- [35] This article does not address the celebrated *Formen* section of the *Grundrisse* dealing with precapitalist social formations, since there Marx is discussing communal forms that he sees as belonging essentially to the past, without considering how they could be nuclei of modern socialism.
- [36] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, 159. Marx’s outline of his future work in the *Grundrisse*, which includes projected books on the state, international trade, and the world market, also points to his totalizing approach.
- [37] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, 310.
- [38] Chris Gilbert, *Commune or Nothing!: Venezuela’s Communal Movement and Its Socialist Project* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2023), 85–102.
- [39] István Mészáros, *Beyond Capital: Toward a Theory of the Transition* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1995), section 19.5.1, 763–65.
- [40] Mészáros, *Beyond Capital*, 19.1.1, 764.
- [41] Mészáros, *Beyond Capital*, 19.3.1, 753; section 19.5.3, 769.
- [42] There is a brief discussion of the Vera Zasulich correspondence in Mészáros’s *Beyond Capital*, section 13.6, 487–88.
- [43] Frederick Engels, “On Social Relations in Russia” (1875), in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), 388.
- [44] Marx, “The Civil War in France” (Third Address), in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Writings on the Paris Commune*, ed. Hal Draper

(New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 76.

[45] Marx, “The Civil War in France,” 72.

[46] Of course, the state will ultimately need to be abolished, but this requires an extended process, during which time a transformed state power will have to exist.

[47] Marx, “The Civil War in France,” 80.

[48] The class-based character of the Paris Commune is expressed in Engels’s claim that it was the model of the dictatorship of the proletariat in his 1891 introduction to Marx’s *The Civil War in France*. Note that Marx defended the commune but did so critically, pointing out, like V. I. Lenin after him, that it did not act decisively enough, was not sufficiently centralist, was not enough of a national government, and presumably did not have enough of a strategic vision. Engels, Introduction in Marx and Engels, *Writings on the Paris Commune*, 34.

[49] The deluge of articles and symposia proclaiming the “end of the progressive cycle” or the retreat of the Pink Tide—a veritable festival of *schadenfreude*—that occurred in the mid-2010s epitomized this Eurocentric perspective. It was a favorite theme of the Latin American Studies Association and its congresses.

[50] Hugo Chávez Frías, *Aló Presidente Teórico*, No. 1, September 6, 2009, transcript at [todochavez.gob.ve](http://todochavez.gob.ve).

[51] *Ley Orgánica del Poder Popular*, *Gaceta Oficial de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela*, December 21, 2010.

[52] Gilbert, *Commune or Nothing!*, 27–39.

[53] Chris Gilbert and Cira Pascual Marquina, *Resistencia Comunal* book series (Caracas: Observatorio Venezolano Antibloqueo, 2021–2025).

[54] Cira Pascual Marquina and Chris Gilbert, *Venezuela, The Present as Struggle: Voices from the Bolivarian Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2020).

[55] Gilbert, *Commune or Nothing!*, 126–39.

[56] The longstanding approach of the Bolivarian Revolution—which emphasizes building people’s power through a two-way, dialectical relationship with the state—contrasts with the more strictly autonomist principles of neo-Zapatismo.

[57] Beginning in May 2024, there have been quarterly communal consultation processes. These involve organizing elections in communes to determine the use of state-supplied funds for projects that commune members have debated in previously organized assemblies. In late 2024, the government committed to supplying 600 million USD to some five thousand communes and communal circuits in the country (a “communal circuit” is essentially a commune-information). The consultation process has been important because, for existing communes, it increases participation and ratifies the commune in the eyes of its constituency. For communes that are still in a process of formation, the consultations serve as a strong incentive to those in the communities to carry forward the process of consolidating the commune.

[58] The aim of being a political instrument of social movements is captured in the MAS party’s full name: *Movimiento al Socialismo—Instrumento Político por la Soberanía de los Pueblos* (Movement for

Socialism—Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples). The 1970s saw a surge in Bolivia’s Indigenous movements, in which the memory of Túpak Katari, an Aymara revolutionary of the late eighteenth century, figured prominently. Founded in 1986, Felipe Quispe Huanca’s *Ayllus Rojos* movement promoted Indigenous forms of organization and also self-determination in the communities. Another important milestone occurred in 1988 when the by then highly Katarista-influenced campesino organization *Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos* stepped up to defend “communal power.” Fabiola Escárzaga, *La comunidad indígena insurgente*, 217–18, 230–32.

[59] Soledad Valdivia Rivera, *Political Networks and Social Movements: Bolivian State-Society Relations under Evo Morales 2006–2016* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019), 138, 145.

[60] Karl Marx, *El Cuaderno Kovalevsky*, trans. Raquel Gutiérrez (La Paz: Ofensiva Roja, 1989); Karl Marx, “Excerpts from M. M. Kovalevsky,” in Lawrence Krader, *The Asiatic Mode of Production* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1971), 343–412.

[61] Álvaro García Linera, “Introducción al Cuaderno Kovalevsky” (1989) in Karl Marx, *Comunidad, nacionalismos y capital: Textos inéditos* (La Paz: Vicepresidencia del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2018), 22, 37–38.

[62] J. Fabian Cabaluz and Tomás Torres López, *Aproximaciones al marxismo latinoamericano: teoría, historia, y política* (Santiago de Chile: Ariadna ediciones, 2021), 93. Cabaluz and Torres show that García Linera never fully coincided with the autonomist approach of Gutiérrez and the Bolivian *Comuna* group of intellectuals, moving further from their positions as the twenty-first century progressed.

[63] Álvaro García Linera, *Forma Valor y Forma Comunidad: Aproximación teórica-abstracta a los fundamentos civilizatorios que preceden al Ayllu Universal* (La Paz: CLASCO/Muela del Diablo Editores, 2009 [1997]), 203–29. For more on this transformed vision of the state, see García Linera’s Sorbonne conference on Nicos Poulantzas: “Estado, Democracia y Socialismo,” in Álvaro García Linera, *Socialismo Comunitario: Un horizonte de época* (La Paz: Vicepresidencia del Estado, 2015), 34–66.

[64] Álvaro García Linera, “Socialismo Comunitario: Un aporte de Bolivia al mundo,” *Revista Análisis* 3, no. 5 (February 7, 2010): 7.

[65] In the process of occupying land, MST first establishes an *acampamento* (encampment) where landless peasants prepare, plan, and often hold a portion of the land that they aim to obtain. Once the state recognizes their possession of the land, it becomes a permanent *assentamento* (settlement).

[66] Eds. Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker, José Carlos Mariátegui: *An Anthology* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011), 129.

[67] Mariátegui believed that “practical socialism” existed in the Andean *ayllu* communities and argued that it should be a basis for constructing socialism in that context. José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación sobre la realidad Peruana* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1979). See especially the chapter entitled “El problema de la tierra.”

# Venezuelan Communes: Territorial Socialism in the 21st Century

Ayelén Correa Ruau | Network of Media and Communication Collectives (Argentina)

This text is a reflection on the Guerreros de Azua, La Integración del Pueblo, Los Kenikes, and Juan Pablo Peñaloza Communes, experiences from the state of Táchira in western Venezuela. It represents a sounding board for dialogues that took place in a context of trust, reflection on practice, and the construction of horizons for deepening communal democracy in Venezuela between 2014 and 2017.

The organisation of the communes in Venezuela bears witness to a geo-historical accumulation (Vargas Arenas & Sanoja Obediente, 2017) of community, neighbourhood, and district associations that have been articulated with social movements, peasant movements, political organisations, and state mechanisms for citizen participation and the transfer of powers to the organised community. Through the communes, we can also see the construction of a new Venezuelan statehood.

This work is based on the experience of citizen participation in the communes, made possible by a constituent process of transformation of the nation-state in Venezuela beginning in 1999. The time frame constructed takes as its reference points milestones in the recent socio-historical context related to Chavista statehood initiatives for what Vargas (2020) calls the densification of democracy. The first event considered is the approval of the first Law on Community Councils in 2006, which was the legal framework that promoted the first system of territorial aggregation, a precursor to the commune. In turn, this law underwent modifications until 2010, when the foundations were laid for what, starting in 2007, Chavismo would call ‘revolutionary, protago-

nist democracy.’ The event that closes the time frame is the Presidential Council of Popular Government with the communes, a political forum for dialogue and co-management between spokespersons from communes across the country and high-ranking officials from different areas of the executive branch, which was introduced in 2015.

The objective is to problematise the symbolic disputes that exist in the experiences of citizen participation in the communes, providing a perspective on the statehood that builds the participatory democracy promoted by Chavismo.

It should be noted that there is an ongoing debate on this issue, with at least three fluctuating and interrelated positions: those who analyse the communes as part of a clientelist network with the state, Chavismo in government, and the official party; those who deny any linear relationship between the state and popular power, with a somewhat naive view that there is a harmonious articulation without power relations; and, on the other hand, exploratory work on the micro-social experience of the communes as a construction of popular power and new political subjectivities. I intend to contribute to this last field, problematising the first two positions.

The microsocial approach allows us to generate knowledge from specific subjective processes, but it also builds bridges between that particular experience and larger contexts of reference; it is a matter of being able to simultaneously articulate, through a dialectical process, the universal in the singular and the singular in the universal (Alfonso and Catino, 2009). Subjectivation processes are understood as part of

collective history, and instead of dividing them into scales (micro–macro), we prefer to mix them in a geometry that recognises their comings and goings.

In this sense, based on the experience of the communes recovered in this work, political subjectivities are configured in a problematic field where:

- a) popular protagonism is opposed to anti-politics;
- b) people not linked to “politics” enter politics (Offerlé, 1996; Ferraudi Curto, 2010); and
- c) participants in the communes—who had been considered pre-political—constitute a new political subject (Iturriza López, 2016).

In the Venezuelan context, the commune is a territorialised social organisation that defines a geographical area of scope, which may be located in a municipality or combine different municipal jurisdictions, without affecting its organisation administratively. It holds a popular referendum in that geographical area to approve its formation, for which it must consolidate a census of its electoral population, as well as a census of needs, a Community Development Plan, and a proposal for spokespersons for the communal government. It acquires legal status, which enables it to implement co-management mechanisms in public policies, take on services and activities, and manage loans and public and/or private subsidies. The mass organisation of communes began in 2010, following the approval of the Organic Law.

Despite the absence of a law, the communes began to organise themselves in 2007, following important social debates on an attempt at constitutional reform promoted by Chavista forces, which proposed decentralising power through the recognition of communal governments. This is not a minor detail in approaching the subject, because despite being constitutionally and legally legitimised instances of organisation and participation, much of their history is similarly marked by intuitive action, interacting with Chávez’s performativity and existing public policies. At the same time, community members claim that citizen participation laws are rights that enable

places of possibility—a gateway (Ferraudi Curto, 2010) to political life in the country.

To understand the communes, one must include the community councils, not only because they are community-based and territorialised organisations that preceded them, but also because, in order to obtain legal status, the communes require a certain number of community councils (CCs) within them.

The territorial tensions expressed in the organisation of the communes and community councils are manifold: within communities, between pro-Chávez and anti-Chávez neighbours; in relation to the construction of state authorities, between different areas of public policy implementation, appointed officials and elected officials (mayors, legislators), and the different structures of the ruling party. Whether because they were seen as areas of power accumulation or because they were attempting to meet state planning goals, the territorial organisation of these mechanisms of participatory democracy is strongly influenced by the power relations that arise in other spheres of Venezuelan political life.

It is interesting to look at the ways in which these networks generate meaning, as a living process that can be explored as it unfolds (Fernández Álvarez, Gaztañaga, and Quirós, 2017), taking into account the profound impact they have had on the politicisation of society, revealing social constructions of political and social power which, according to Rauber (1999), generate processes of complexity ranging from the simple to the complex, without assuming that they belong to a pre-political “level.”

## “The Commune or Nothing: The Ancestral Roots of African Resistance and Resilience.”

Adama Coulibaly | Dynamique Unitaire Panafricaine

Dear Comrades,

The foundation of the resistance, survival, and resilience of Africa, Africans, and people of African descent lies in centuries-old forms of community organisation, most of which have survived several historical tragedies:

- The barbarity of Arab and Western slave deportations, which tore communities apart and imposed degrading conditions and identities on the deportees in order to erase their memory and culture.
- The savage brutality and violence of colonisation, which redrew the geography of Africa like a cake without consulting Africans, separated peoples and communities, despised and trampled on African culture, cosmogony, and religions, while plundering its art objects, which are widely present in Western museums.
- Neo-colonisation, which continued this evil work of dehumanisation, psychological degradation, and mental domination, brilliantly explained by Frantz Fanon in his book ‘Black Skin, White Masks’.

Despite these multifaceted catastrophes, which contributed greatly to the birth and development of capitalism, communities in Africa have managed to survive and have always been a vital reference point and foundation for social organisation, unity of action, and peaceful or armed resistance by patriots, independence activists, pan-Africanists, and sovereignists.

The ‘Maat’ in ancient Egypt, “Ubuntu” in the greater Swahili region and beyond, and the Mandén Charter of 1236 (Mandén Siguikan), which stemmed from the

Oath of the Wise Men of 1222, are all based on the same unique humanist philosophy: the sanctity of life—‘all life is life’—to be preserved and respected. Our duty of solidarity and coexistence is natural. This understanding, taught from an early age, guarantees our individual and collective rights to live in an order of peace and harmony. King Ghezo, quoted as a slogan by the FEANF (Federation of Black African Students in France), said: ‘If all the sons of the country came together to plug the holes in the pot with their hands, the country would be saved.’

Capitalism has always needed the labour of slaves and colonised peoples. This was undoubtedly its ‘mistake’ and the ‘luck’ of Africans compared to other peoples who were exterminated by imperialist colonial occupation on other continents. However, we must not minimise the cases of genocide and massacres in Africa, including napalm bombings such as those in Cameroon.

Despite these great historical misfortunes that have caused deep wounds, communities have provided the inspiration and fighters to resist the hordes of slave traders, then colonialists and neocolonialists. Toussaint Louverture in Haiti, Amilcar Cabral in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Ruben Um Nyobé, Félix Moumié, and Ernest Ouandié in Cameroon, Samora Machel in Mozambique—all led armed struggles against colonialism.

It was from within these organised communities that resistance arose and was led.

In certain regions of Burkina Faso and other parts of Africa, some ethnological studies have referred to ‘stateless societies’, such was the importance of com-

munities—truly self-sufficient communes, jealous of their relative independence—a reality that was and still is found in many places.

It is precisely these communes that have preserved African and Afro-descendant identity and culture as a form of survival and resistance alongside the slave master, the brutal coloniser, and the domineering capitalist neo-colonialist.

The Mandén Charter (intangible heritage of humanity since 2009) suggests that all communities deserve respect and consideration, in their linguistic differences and their professional and cultural specialisations, which were self-sufficient. The autonomy of the communities that made up the Mandinka Empire was never questioned. Within communities, mutual aid was the norm in the production process. Agricultural production, for example, which occupied most of the workers, was organised around collective and individual fields, with plots often allocated to women. This form of work organisation did not prevent great prosperity: Mansa Musa, the 10th of the title, who reigned between 1312 and 1337, is considered one of the richest men of all time.

To preserve social peace and prevent conflict, the Sounankouya, or joking kinship, was established by the Mandén Charter. This mechanism for regulating relations between communities still exists today throughout the former Mali Empire's sphere of influence.

Amilcar Cabral's PAIGC relied heavily on village communities during the armed liberation struggle against the Portuguese colonial army, rather than on the petty bourgeoisie.

Thomas Sankara's CNR created the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution as community bases in neighbourhoods, villages, and even workplaces. Sankara also encouraged village communities to better organise the pooling of production tasks, with the slogan 'produce what we consume, consume what we produce'. Food self-sufficiency was achieved within four years. The women's economic groups set up at

that time contributed greatly to this.

After the genocide in Rwanda, the traditional community courts, the Gacaca, demonstrated their effectiveness and showed the vitality and inventiveness of the communities. After these judgements, new villages were built to accommodate new communities—victims and perpetrators of the genocide who had served their sentences. Forgiveness for the sake of living together sometimes comes at this price: a proven political will after consultation with grassroots communities, based on concepts that these communities understand.

The terrorist conflict in Cabo Delgado was not resolved solely by the military presence of Mozambique, the country concerned, and Rwanda. These two armies and political leaders were able to engage with local communities, convince them to participate in resolving the conflict, and work together to build the conditions for reconstruction and coexistence.

In Burkina Faso, the Volunteers for the Defence of the Fatherland (VDP), set up under the civilian government of Roch Kaboré and continued and expanded by the military powers of MPSR 1 and 2, stem from the same desire to rely on local, communal, and national organisations to defend freedom and the fatherland in danger.

The Commune or nothing demonstrates its relevance through these few examples of resistance, survival, and resilience. More than a slogan, it is a rallying cry—a revolutionary socialist perspective following the example of Venezuela.

*Long live the Commune!*

*Long live militant internationalism!*

# From the Commune to the People's Power: Anti-imperialist Struggle and the Path of National Liberation in Neocolonial Kenya

Booker Omole | Communist Party Marxist Kenya

## Comuna o Nada: The Question of Power in the Age of Imperialist War

Comrades, the slogan “Comuna o Nada”—the commune or nothing—is not merely a Venezuelan proclamation; it is a universal cry of the proletariat in our epoch of crisis. It affirms that without transforming the relations of production, without uprooting imperialist domination, and without transferring power from the exploiting classes to the working people, there can be no socialism.

Today, humanity lives under the thunder of a new imperialist world war—a war not yet declared in name, but already raging in form. From Palestine to Donbass, from the Sahel to the Caribbean, from the Congo Basin to the South China Sea, imperialism seeks to preserve a dying order through violence, blockades, and fascism. The United States, NATO, and their comprador allies have turned entire continents into battlefields to maintain the profits of monopoly capital.

Yet amidst this storm, a new world is being born. The Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela, standing firm against imperialist aggression, continues to illuminate the path of people's power. When President Hugo Chávez, in his historic “Golpe de Timón” on 20 October 2012, declared “Comuna o nada!”, he was not making a rhetorical appeal—he was defining the strategic question of the revolution: how to build socialism not from above, but from below; not through decrees, but through the organised power of the masses.

The commune, in its Venezuelan expression, carries forward the spirit of the Paris Commune, the Soviets of 1917, the Chinese people's communes, and the African traditions of collective production and community solidarity that imperialism sought to destroy. It is the embryo of the new state, the form of proletarian power that fuses political authority with social production, administration, and defence.

For the Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK), “Comuna o Nada” is not a Venezuelan slogan alone—it is a historical necessity for all neocolonial societies trapped in the vicious cycle of dependency, underdevelopment, and comprador betrayal. In Kenya, as in much of Africa, the political independence of the 1960s masked a deeper economic and structural subjugation. The comprador and bureaucrat capitalist classes replaced the colonial settlers as the local agents of imperialist capital. Thus, the question of power remains unresolved.

Our revolution, therefore, must answer the same question that Chávez posed and that Marx resolved in the fires of the Paris Commune: Who rules? In whose hands lies power? The commune, in our conditions, becomes the revolutionary organ through which workers, peasants, and the poor exercise collective authority—politically, economically, and ideologically.

In participating in this conference, the CPMK affirms its unwavering solidarity with the Bolivarian Revolution, with the Venezuelan working class, and with all anti-imperialist forces resisting the new fas-

cist order of capital. Our paper seeks to contribute to the collective theoretical advance of the world movement by grounding the principles of Comuna o Nada and Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Fascism in the material conditions of semi-feudal, neocolonial Africa.

It proclaims that the African revolution will triumph only when the working people seize power through their own organs—the communes, the people’s assemblies, and the revolutionary committees.

### **The Historical Roots of Neocolonial Domination in Kenya**

*“Imperialism leaves behind germs of rot which we must clinically remove from our soil if our independence is to be real.”*

— Amílcar Cabral

Every revolution must first confront its own history. For Kenya, the present crisis of dependency, poverty, and comprador rule cannot be understood outside the long arc of colonial and neocolonial domination. The chain that binds the Kenyan working people today was forged in the furnaces of British settler colonialism and later refashioned by imperialism through local agents—the comprador and bureaucrat capitalist classes.

### **From Colonial Conquest to Settler Capitalism**

British imperialism seized Kenya not for civilisation, but for land, labour, and profit. By the dawn of the twentieth century, vast tracts of fertile soil in the White Highlands were expropriated by a handful of settlers. The colonial state became the armed gendarme of this expropriation—built upon forced labour, hut and poll taxes, and the bayonets of the King’s African Rifles. The peasantry was uprooted and proletarianised, compelled to serve as cheap labour on settler plantations, in railways, and in the emerging colonial towns.

The colonial economy was never designed for the development of Kenya but for the enrichment of British finance capital. Every railway line led to the port;

every plantation produced for London’s markets; every administrative decree ensured the supremacy of imperial profits over native welfare. It was in this furnace of oppression that the first embers of resistance were kindled—from the squatter uprisings of the 1920s to the revolutionary Mau Mau war for land and freedom in the 1950s.

### **The Betrayal of Independence**

The 1963 flag-raising ceremony did not end colonial rule—it merely changed its colour. The settler flag was lowered, but imperialist domination persisted through economic, military, and political control. Kenya’s comprador and bureaucrat elites inherited the colonial state intact and became its new administrators. The so-called independence constitution safeguarded private property and foreign capital, ensuring that imperialism retained command over the country’s economy through banks, agribusiness, and multinational corporations.

This betrayal was not accidental—it was structural. Imperialism restructured its domination through neo-colonialism, as Lenin foresaw in his analysis of finance capital. British and later US imperialism shifted from direct rule to indirect control through loans, trade agreements, and “development aid.” The old colonial governors were replaced by presidents trained in the ideology of bourgeois nationalism—men who wore African skins but carried foreign minds.

The comprador class arose from this betrayal. It is the class that lives by mediating between imperialism and the national economy, enriching itself through commissions, tenders, and contracts, while strangling the productive forces of the nation. Alongside it stands the bureaucrat capitalist class—those who use the machinery of the state for private accumulation, looting public resources and repressing the masses. Together they form the twin pillars of neocolonial rule.

## The Structure of Neocolonial Dependency

In the decades that followed, imperialism perfected its grip on Kenya through the mechanisms of debt, trade, and militarisation.

1. Debt: The IMF and World Bank imposed structural adjustment programmes that dismantled public services, de-industrialised the economy, and opened national markets to imperialist monopolies.

2. Trade: Kenya's export economy was tied to the production of primary commodities—tea, coffee, flowers—whose prices are dictated by foreign markets, while the country imports manufactured goods at inflated rates.

3. Militarisation: Through AFRICOM, NATO partnerships, and intelligence pacts, imperialism has turned Kenya into a forward base for US military operations in the Horn of Africa. This militarisation is the armed wing of economic dependency.

The result is a distorted, hybrid economy—half-feudal, half-capitalist—where landlords dominate the countryside and foreign capital dominates the cities. It is a system of dependent capitalism, unable to develop the forces of production without deepening the exploitation of workers and peasants.

## The Class Character of the Kenyan State

The Kenyan state, inherited from colonialism, remains an instrument of class rule. It is not a neutral arbiter but a weapon in the hands of the exploiting classes. Every government since independence—whether cloaked in liberal democracy or “developmental” rhetoric—has preserved the same economic base: private ownership of the means of production, subservience to foreign capital, and repression of the working class.

The façade of parliamentary democracy masks the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Beneath the electoral circus, the comprador elite govern on behalf of imperialism, using the police, military, and judiciary to protect their interests. The state's violence against striking workers, landless peasants, and protesting

youth exposes its true nature as a bourgeois dictatorship of the comprador class.

## The Persistence of Semi-Feudal Relations

In the countryside, colonial land relations persist. Millions of peasants remain landless or confined to small plots under the domination of landlords and agribusiness corporations. The so-called land reforms of independence merely redistributed titles among the elite, not the soil among the tillers. This semi-feudal structure binds the peasantry in debt and dependency, perpetuating hunger amidst abundance.

As Marx wrote, “The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living.” In Kenya, that nightmare is the persistence of colonial property relations under neocolonial flags.

## The Revolutionary Lesson

The lesson is clear: there can be no national liberation without the destruction of the comprador-bureaucrat order. The Kenyan working class cannot free itself without overthrowing the local agents of imperialism. True independence demands the creation of a new state—rooted in the alliance of workers and peasants, expressed through their own organs of power: the communes.

This is why the question of Comuna o Nada is not foreign to Kenya. It is the very question our revolution must answer. The old state cannot be reformed—it must be smashed and replaced by the democratic dictatorship of the people. Only through this process can we realise what Dedan Kimathi proclaimed from the gallows: “We are fighting for self-rule, for land, and for the rights of the people to govern themselves.”

## Class Structure and the Question of Power

*“Without a correct understanding of classes and class struggle, there can be no talk of revolution.”*

— Mao Zedong

Revolution is not born of slogans, nor sustained by sentiment. It is born from the contradictions that

tear a society apart, and it advances only when the revolutionary class consciously grasps these contradictions. The central task of Marxism-Leninism in Kenya today is therefore to identify the class structure of neocolonial society, define the principal enemy, and unite the motive forces of the revolution around the struggle for power.

### **The Principal Classes of Neocolonial Kenya**

The material reality of Kenya reveals the coexistence of capitalist and semi-feudal relations. The dominant mode of production remains dependent capitalism—tethered to imperialist finance, agribusiness, and comprador accumulation. Beneath this, feudal remnants persist in land tenure, labour relations, and patriarchal domination. Within this social formation, we distinguish the following classes:

#### a) The Working Class (Proletariat)

Born in the colonial era and expanded under neocolonial capitalism, the Kenyan proletariat constitutes the most advanced and revolutionary class. It includes:

1. Industrial workers in manufacturing, transport, and construction;
2. Public-sector workers in education, health, and administration;
3. Informal and casual labourers in urban centres, who represent the semi-proletariat, oscillating between wage labour and petty production.

Despite its militancy—from the 1960s strikes of the East African Railways workers to the contemporary teachers', doctors', and factory workers' struggles—the working class remains politically unorganised on a national revolutionary scale. Yet, its objective position makes it the leading force capable of providing ideological and political direction to all other oppressed classes.

#### b) The Peasantry

The peasantry forms the majority of Kenya's popu-

lation. It is differentiated into:

1. Rich peasants, who own sufficient land and employ others' labour;
2. Middle peasants, who produce mainly for subsistence but sell small surpluses;
3. Poor peasants and landless peasants, who own little or no land, depend on seasonal wage labour, and bear the heaviest burden of exploitation.

The poor and landless peasants are the most revolutionary section, for they suffer doubly—from landlords who extort rent and from imperialist agribusiness that robs their produce. Their liberation is inseparable from land redistribution and the destruction of feudal property.

#### c) The Petty Bourgeoisie

This class includes small traders, artisans, teachers, low-ranking civil servants, and sections of the intelligentsia. It is a vacillating class—revolutionary in times of crisis, reactionary when fearful of losing its privileges. Within its ranks arise both progressive intellectuals who side with the people, and opportunists who seek assimilation into the bourgeois order. The revolutionary party must win the left wing of this class through ideological education and mass work.

#### d) The National Bourgeoisie

A small stratum of Kenyan capitalists engaged in production, transport, and small-scale industry, whose interests occasionally conflict with foreign monopolies. Under certain conditions, sections of the national bourgeoisie can participate in the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). However, history shows that this class tends to compromise with imperialism rather than confront it. As Lenin warned, it “vacillates between revolution and reaction.”

#### e) The Comprador and Bureaucrat Bourgeoisie

This is the principal enemy of the Kenyan revolution. The comprador bourgeoisie accumulates wealth through its subservient relationship with imperialist

capital—through import–export monopolies, foreign franchises, and financial speculation. It controls the banks, parastatals, and political parties.

The bureaucrat bourgeoisie, rooted in the state apparatus, uses political power for personal accumulation—through contracts, tenders, and corruption. Together they constitute the ruling class of neocolonial Kenya, guardians of imperialist interests and the domestic face of global capital.

As Mao described the Chinese bourgeoisie of his time, they are “dependent on imperialism, allied with feudalism, and opposed to the people.”

### **The Nature of the Kenyan State**

The Kenyan state is the dictatorship of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie, supported by landlords and imperialism. It pretends to be democratic, but its democracy is limited to the bourgeoisie. Elections serve only to legitimise the same ruling bloc under different names. The police, army, and judiciary exist to defend private property and suppress class struggle.

This state, built upon colonial foundations, cannot be captured through elections or reformed through constitutional amendments. It must be overthrown and replaced by a new state of the working people—a People’s Democratic State—led by the proletariat and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

### **The Alliance of Workers and Peasants**

The revolution in Kenya cannot succeed without the unity of workers and peasants. The working class brings ideology, organisation, and consciousness; the peasantry brings numbers, resilience, and the demand for land. This alliance forms the core of the National Democratic Revolution.

As Lenin taught, “The alliance of the workers and the peasants is the cornerstone of the socialist revolution.” In our conditions, this alliance must take practical form in communes, people’s assemblies,

and cooperative production units where both classes exercise power collectively.

These organs of people’s power will constitute the embryo of the new state—the Kenyan commune—linking the Comuna o Nada spirit of Venezuela to the historical struggles of our own people.

### **The Revolutionary Party and the Question of Leadership**

Every revolution demands a vanguard. Without a party grounded in Marxism-Leninism, the working class cannot fulfil its historic mission. The Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK) stands as the conscious detachment of the proletariat, armed with theory, rooted in the masses, and disciplined in practice.

Our task is not merely to interpret class relations but to transform them—to unite the advanced elements of the working class, organise the revolutionary peasantry, and forge alliances with all progressive strata against imperialism and its local agents.

The Party’s ideological weapon is Marxism-Leninism, its political form is democratic centralism, and its strategic goal is socialism. The Party educates, organises, and mobilises—applying the mass line: from the masses, to the masses. In doing so, it prepares the working people to replace the old state with a new one built from below.

### **The Revolutionary Essence of the Commune**

The commune is not a utopian dream—it is the concrete expression of class power. In the words of Marx, it is “the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour.”

In the Kenyan context, the commune represents the organised unity of workers, peasants, and the oppressed—controlling production, distribution, education, and self-defence. It is the nucleus of people’s power, the anti-thesis of the bourgeois state, and the embryo of socialism. The struggle to build such organs of power, even in embryonic form, is the task

of every revolutionary in our time.

### **The Question of Power**

Ultimately, the revolution is a question of power—who holds it, in whose interests, and through what institutions. As long as the state remains in the hands of the comprador-bureaucrat class, imperialism will continue to suck the blood of the Kenyan people. The liberation of Kenya requires nothing less than the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the people's power.

It is through this seizure of power that Comuna o Nada becomes not just a slogan, but a living reality—the point where national liberation and socialism converge.

### **The Commune and People's Power under Neocolonial Conditions**

The question of the commune is, in essence, the question of people's power—who governs, how they govern, and in whose interest. Under neo-colonialism, the bourgeoisie seeks to mask its dictatorship behind parliamentary facades, constitutional reforms, and decentralisation schemes. Yet beneath this surface lies the same colonial state, armed and intact, serving imperialist and comprador interests.

In this context, the commune arises not as an administrative experiment, but as an act of rebellion. It is the political, economic, and ideological weapon through which the working people begin to wrest power from the bourgeois state and exercise self-rule.

### **The Commune as a Revolutionary Form of Power**

When Chávez declared “Comuna o nada”, he was not inventing a new doctrine but reviving the historical essence of the proletarian revolution. The commune expresses what Marx discovered in 1871: that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes—it must smash it and replace it with new

organs of power rooted in the masses.

In Venezuela, the commune has emerged as the living cell of the Bolivarian Revolution—uniting production, governance, and social welfare under collective ownership and control. It demonstrates, in practice, that socialism is not decreed from above but constructed from below through conscious participation.

For the Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK), this lesson is central. The commune is not foreign to our soil; it resonates with the historical memory of African communalism—the precolonial forms of collective labour and shared production that imperialism sought to destroy. But unlike the precolonial commune, which was based on natural economy and limited consciousness, the socialist commune is built upon modern production and proletarian leadership. It represents the revolutionary restoration and transformation of communal relations on the basis of class struggle.

### **Embryonic Forms of People's Power in Kenya**

The Kenyan working people, even without naming it, are already advancing along the path of the commune. Across the country, under the pressure of oppression and neglect, the masses have begun to create self-organised structures that perform the tasks the bourgeois state refuses to undertake. These include:

1. The People's Assemblies in the urban slums, where the people investigate police killings, organise community defence, and document state violence.
2. Food Sovereignty Committees and peasant cooperatives, which reclaim land for collective farming, seed exchange, and agroecological production.
3. Self-help groups and harambee initiatives that mobilise labour and resources for education, health, and water—though often depoliticised, they show the latent potential for socialist organisation.
4. Youth collectives and revolutionary student organisations that challenge state repression, unem-

ployment, and imperialist ideology.

Each of these formations represents a germinal commune—a form of dual power emerging under neocolonial conditions. Their evolution depends on political direction, ideological education, and the leadership of the working class organised in its vanguard party. The task of the CPMK is to guide these spontaneous efforts toward conscious political power—transforming self-help into self-rule, protest into people’s governance, and cooperation into class organisation.

### **The Dialectic of Mass Line and Commune Building**

Mao Zedong taught that “to lead correctly, one must go to the masses, learn from them, and return to them their own ideas concentrated.” This is the method of the mass line, which must guide the building of communes in Kenya.

Communes cannot be proclaimed; they must be built through social investigation, class analysis, and participation. Each people’s committee, cooperative, and youth organisation must become a school of socialism—linking theory with practice and uniting the people around their most immediate needs: land, food, housing, and justice.

Thus, the commune grows organically from the contradictions of everyday life. It is born in struggle, nurtured in solidarity, and defended through collective consciousness. As the people organise to solve their problems independently of the bourgeois state, they begin to realise their capacity to govern—and with that realisation, the old order trembles.

### **The Commune as the Embryo of the People’s Democratic State**

In Marxist terms, every revolutionary process must resolve the question of the state. The bourgeois state, built on coercion and private property, serves the exploiting classes. The commune, by contrast, is the political form of proletarian democracy—a state of

a new type.

It fuses legislative and executive functions in the hands of the people. Delegates are elected, accountable, and recallable. Production, defence, and welfare are organised collectively. Education and culture become instruments of socialist consciousness rather than bourgeois indoctrination.

In the Kenyan context, such a people’s democratic state will not arise from the parliamentary chambers of Nairobi but from the communal assemblies of workers, peasants, and youth—from the self-organised organs of struggle in factories, farms, schools, and neighbourhoods. The commune, therefore, is not a reform but a revolutionary rupture—the destruction of the comprador-bureaucrat state and the creation of a new power from below.

### **Obstacles and Revolutionary Tasks**

Imperialism and its Kenyan agents will not surrender power willingly. The ruling class understands that the growth of people’s power is the death sentence of the old order. Thus, they will seek to co-opt, repress, or discredit every attempt at autonomous organisation.

The revolutionary movement must therefore:

1. Unite all democratic and anti-imperialist forces under the leadership of the working class.
2. Build clandestine and open structures that link community struggles to the Party’s political line.
3. Develop armed and ideological self-defence against state repression, in line with the principles of people’s war under neocolonial conditions.
4. Integrate production and political education within the commune, ensuring that economic self-reliance strengthens class consciousness.
5. Forge proletarian internationalism, learning from the experiences of the Venezuelan communes, Cuban popular councils, and the revolutionary people’s governments of the Philippines and Palestine.

Only through such organised, conscious struggle will the Kenyan commune mature from embryo to

embryo of state power.

### **The Revolutionary Culture of the Commune**

A revolution that does not transform the culture will perish. The commune must nurture a new culture of collective production, equality, and service. It must bury tribalism, patriarchy, and individualism—the ideological weapons of imperialism.

The revolutionary commune is both a political and cultural project. It educates by example: through cooperative work, democratic decision-making, and social solidarity. It restores the dignity of labour, revives the communal spirit of ujamaa without its bureaucratic distortions, and arms the masses with the consciousness that freedom is not granted—it is built. In the words of Cabral, “Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people’s history and the seed of their liberation.” The commune is that seed.

### **The Commune as the Bridge to Socialism**

The commune is not the end but the beginning of socialism. It is the transitional structure through which the people learn to govern themselves, reorganise production, and transform social relations. From the commune will arise the People’s Democratic Republic of Kenya—a state grounded in the alliance of workers and peasants, guided by Marxism-Leninism, and linked in solidarity with the anti-imperialist nations of the world.

It is through the commune that the NDR finds its socialist content; it is through the commune that the slogan Comuna o Nada becomes flesh in Africa. The path to socialism passes through the commune. The path to people’s power passes through organisation. And the path to victory passes through unity.

### **Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Fascism: The Global Struggle**

*“Imperialism is a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the world’s population*

*by a handful of ‘advanced’ countries.”— V. I. Lenin*  
*“The struggle against imperialism is the struggle for life itself.”— Fidel Castro*

The age in which we live is the age of imperialism—the highest and final stage of capitalism—and of the world proletarian revolution that will bury it. The battle lines are drawn: on one side stand the imperialist powers led by the United States, NATO, and their comprador allies; on the other stand the oppressed nations, working peoples, and socialist forces struggling for liberation. The crisis of capitalism has entered a stage of generalised war, fascisation, and environmental collapse. Yet, precisely in this chaos, the forces of revolution are again ascending.

### **The Crisis of Imperialism and the Drive Toward War**

The contradictions of monopoly capitalism—between labour and capital, between imperialist powers, and between imperialism and the oppressed nations—have reached explosive levels. The world economy is paralysed by over-production and under-consumption; the financial oligarchs export capital not for development but for speculation. To escape their own crisis, the imperialists resort to war, sanctions, and militarisation.

The United States, facing economic decline, seeks to re-divide the world through military aggression. NATO’s wars in Yugoslavia, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and now its proxy war in Ukraine, expose the naked violence of imperialist “democracy.” Its strategy extends to Africa through AFRICOM, to Asia through AUKUS, and to Latin America through endless coups and sanctions.

Imperialism today wages a hybrid world war: by bombs and drones, by debt and sanctions, by propaganda and digital surveillance. Its essence remains unchanged—the plunder of resources and the suppression of peoples’ sovereignty.

## **The Rise of Fascism as the Political Face of Decay**

Fascism is not an accident; it is the political expression of monopoly capital in crisis. As capitalism's contradictions sharpen, the bourgeoisie abandons its liberal mask and resorts to open dictatorship. The growth of right-wing populism, religious extremism, and chauvinistic nationalism across continents marks the fascist turn of the bourgeoisie.

In Africa, imperialism nurtures fascism through militarised regimes, mercenary companies, and religious militias. In Europe and North America, fascism manifests as racist xenophobia and the criminalisation of dissent. Everywhere it serves the same purpose—to divide the working class, crush revolutionary organisation, and defend imperialist profit. Lenin's warning echoes true: "Imperialism is the epoch of wars and revolutions." Fascism is the desperate war policy of a dying order; anti-fascism is the banner of the new world being born.

## **Africa: The New Frontier of Imperialist Re-colonisation**

Africa stands once again at the crossroads of history. The imperialists seek to recolonise the continent through economic dependency, debt traps, and military bases. The Sahel burns under the boots of NATO and its proxies; the Congo bleeds for coltan; Sudan starves under sanctions; and Kenya, under AFRICOM partnership, has become a forward operating base for US militarism in the Horn of Africa.

Every military base is a chain around Africa's neck; every foreign loan is a noose around its sovereignty. The struggle against imperialism in Africa is therefore inseparable from the struggle against the comprador regimes that serve it.

But resistance is rising. In Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso, the people demand liberation from French domination. In the Congo and Sudan, popular movements challenge neocolonial plunder. Across the continent, a new Pan-African consciousness is

awakening—one that rejects bourgeois nationalism and asserts proletarian internationalism.

The task of revolutionaries is to transform this awakening into organised anti-imperialist struggle, under the leadership of the working class.

## **The Global Anti-Imperialist Front**

In every corner of the world, the oppressed are uniting against the common enemy. The heroic resistance of Palestine, confronting Zionism and US imperialism, stands as a beacon to all. The Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela and the Cuban Revolution remain strongholds of socialism in the Americas. The people's wars in the Philippines and India, the armed struggles in Palestine and Congo, and the mass movements across Asia and Africa demonstrate that the spirit of October 1917 still lives.

This is not a collection of isolated uprisings but the material basis of a new international alignment—the world anti-imperialist front. Its unity must be ideological, political, and organisational:

1. Ideological, through the reaffirmation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism;
2. Political, through coordinated struggle against imperialist war, sanctions, and plunder;
3. Organisational, through solidarity networks, joint campaigns, and conferences such as this one.

The World Anti-Imperialist Platform, in convening this conference, provides a vital arena for forging this unity. It is the embryonic centre of a new International of resistance—a comintern of the oppressed, where revolutionary parties and movements share strategy, theory, and solidarity.

## **Kenya in the International Division of Imperialist Labour**

Kenya's ruling class, in alliance with imperialism, has positioned the country as a regional outpost for US, British, and EU interests. Its army fights imperialist wars under the banner of "peacekeeping"; its ports, skies, and intelligence serve foreign masters.

Its economy is a workshop of foreign capital—flower farms for Europe, coffee for America, and cheap labour for the Gulf.

This subservience is not diplomacy; it is class collaboration at a global level. The Kenyan comprador bourgeoisie sells national sovereignty in exchange for aid, loans, and military training. It turns the blood of our people into the oil that greases imperialist machinery.

Therefore, the anti-imperialist struggle in Kenya must be waged simultaneously at two levels:

1. Against the external enemy—imperialism itself;
2. Against the internal enemy—the comprador and bureaucrat classes who serve imperialism
3. This dual struggle defines the National Democratic Revolution and binds Kenya's destiny to that of the world proletariat.

### **The Dialectical Unity of Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Fascism**

Imperialism breeds fascism; fascism defends imperialism. To fight one is to fight the other. The anti-imperialist movement must therefore be consciously anti-fascist, mobilising the masses not only against foreign domination but also against domestic reaction.

In the Kenyan context, anti-fascism means resisting state repression, police killings, and ethnic chauvinism—all tools used by the bourgeoisie to maintain its rule. Every People Assembly that documents police violence, every workers' strike crushed by armed force, every peasant who defends land from eviction—these are acts of anti-fascist resistance.

The Party must weld these struggles into a single political current, guided by revolutionary theory and united under proletarian leadership. Only a socialist programme can extinguish both imperialism and fascism at their root.

Revolutionary Internationalism: The Only Road to Victory

Proletarian internationalism is not charity—it is

strategy. The working class of Kenya cannot liberate itself in isolation; its victory is bound to the triumph of all oppressed peoples. The same enemy that blockades Venezuela, bombs Palestine, and militarises Africa exploits the Kenyan worker and peasant. Therefore, our solidarity is not sentimental but practical—expressed through coordination, exchange, and common struggle.

As Marx proclaimed, “Workers of all countries, unite!”—and today we must add, “Oppressed nations and workers of all continents, unite!” The new world is already gestating in the womb of the old. The Bolivarian communes, the Cuban people's councils, the Philippine people's governments, and the rising African revolutionary movements are the embryos of the future socialist world. Our task is to nurture, defend, and link them into one unbreakable chain.

### **The Anti-Imperialist Duty of the CPMK**

The Communist Party Marxist Kenya, as a detachment of the international proletariat, recognises its duty to the world revolution. It commits to:

1. Exposing imperialism in all its forms—economic, political, cultural, and military;
2. Building solidarity with anti-imperialist movements in Africa, Latin America, and Asia;
3. Educating the masses on the nature of imperialism and the necessity of socialism;
4. Developing organs of people's power that link local struggles to global strategy;
5. Defending socialist nations such as Cuba, Venezuela, DPRK, and China from imperialist aggression.

In this unity of thought and action, we declare that the liberation of Kenya is a front in the liberation of humanity. Comrades, we are neither East nor West—we are the struggling South, the rising Red South, whose destiny is to bury imperialism beneath the weight of its own crimes.

### **Towards the Commune Constitution: Lessons for Africa**

In every genuine revolution there arrives a moment when the people must give political and constitutional form to the power they have seized. Such a moment has now come for Venezuela—and through it, for the world’s revolutionary movement. The proposal for a “Commune Constitution” represents not merely a reform of bourgeois legality but the birth of a new kind of state: one that expresses, institutionalises, and defends the power of the working people. It marks a decisive step from the struggle to seize power to the struggle to consolidate and reproduce power in socialist form.

### **The Historical Meaning of the Commune Constitution**

The Venezuelan Revolution, born in the flames of anti-imperialist struggle, has traversed a profound dialectic: from the Bolivarian Republic to the Bolivarian Commune, from state reforms to people’s power. When Chávez declared “Comuna o nada!” in 2012, he was summing up decades of experience—the truth that socialism can only endure when power belongs to the organised masses.

Now, under the leadership of President Nicolás Maduro and the revolutionary institutions of the Bolivarian Republic, Venezuela advances towards a Commune Constitution—a new social contract that elevates the communes from local initiatives to the foundational units of the state. It seeks to legally enshrine what history has already created in practice: the dual power of the people. This constitutional process has world-historic significance. It challenges the liberal conception of sovereignty based on individual property, and replaces it with collective sovereignty based on social property. It transforms the commune from a “participatory” body into the primary cell of socialist governance.

### **The Commune Constitution as the Vanguard of Socialist Democracy**

Bourgeois constitutions codify the power of the

exploiters; the Commune Constitution codifies the power of the exploited. It embodies three revolutionary principles:

1. Economic sovereignty—the socialisation of production and distribution under communal control.
2. Political sovereignty—the fusion of legislative and executive power in people’s assemblies, elected and recallable.
3. Cultural sovereignty—the elevation of socialist values, human solidarity, and collective ethics as the moral basis of society.

Where the bourgeois constitution proclaims “rights” without material means to realise them, the Commune Constitution seeks to guarantee those rights through the direct control of the people over the material base of society. It transforms democracy from a ritual of voting into a system of direct participation and collective administration.

This is the highest form of people’s democracy—not parliamentary but popular, not representative but participatory, not individualistic but social. It brings to completion the vision of Marx in the Paris Commune and Lenin in *State and Revolution*: the withering away of the old bureaucratic state and its replacement by a state of the working people.

### **Lessons for Africa: From Sham Independence to People’s Power**

Africa, six decades after the flag of colonialism was lowered, still lives under the chains of neocolonial domination. The constitutions imposed by imperialism have preserved the colonial state—its armed forces, bureaucracy, and courts—while wrapping it in nationalist colours. These constitutions protect private property, foreign investment, and comprador privilege, not the liberation of the masses.

To advance the African revolution, the working people must draft their own constitutional order—one rooted in the realities of class struggle and in the traditions of communal democracy that pre-dated colonial conquest. The Commune Constitution of

Venezuela offers invaluable lessons for this task.

From it we learn that a genuine people's constitution must:

1. Emerge from the masses, not from legal experts or elite assemblies;
2. Be tested in practice before codification—as the Venezuelan communes have already demonstrated their viability;
3. Subordinate private property to social need, replacing bourgeois law with socialist justice;
4. Institutionalise the alliance of workers and peasants, ensuring that production and governance serve collective interests;
5. Recognise international solidarity as a constitutional principle, linking national liberation to world revolution.

These lessons must guide the struggle in Africa from sham independence to real sovereignty, from bourgeois constitutions to people's constitutions, from neo-colonial parliaments to revolutionary communes.

### **The Commune Constitution and the National Democratic Revolution (NDR)**

For the CPMK, the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is the necessary bridge between the anti-imperialist struggle and socialist transformation. It is not the end of revolution but its beginning. The NDR aims to destroy the power of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie, liquidate semi-feudalism, and establish people's democratic power under proletarian leadership.

In this framework, the Commune Constitution corresponds to the political form of the NDR. It provides the mechanism through which the alliance of workers and peasants governs society and directs production. It gives the revolution a stable base of legality while preparing the conditions for the socialist transition.

Thus, the Bolivarian experience does not contradict the African path—it illuminates it. The Venezuelan

commune, the Cuban people's councils, the Mozambican and Angolan people's committees of the liberation war—all reveal the same universal truth: the revolution must organise the people's power, or it will perish.

### **The Tasks of Revolutionaries in Africa**

The road from the old constitution to the Commune Constitution will not be peaceful. Imperialism and its African agents will resist with every means—from coups and blockades to ideological warfare. Therefore, African revolutionaries must prepare on all fronts:

1. Ideologically, by exposing the falseness of bourgeois democracy and affirming the proletarian conception of power.
2. Politically, by building organs of people's power at local level—people's assemblies, cooperatives, and community defence.
3. Economically, by developing self-reliant production and socialist planning to break dependence on imperialist markets.
4. Culturally, by decolonising education and media, restoring revolutionary consciousness rooted in African reality.
5. Organisationally, by strengthening the vanguard party as the nucleus of the new state.

The transformation of society must be mirrored in the transformation of the individual. The commune educates new men and women who labour not for profit but for the collective good; who think not as tribes, sects, or consumers but as builders of a new civilisation.

### **From Bolivarian Venezuela to Revolutionary Africa**

The Bolivarian Revolution demonstrates that socialism is possible even under siege, when guided by the people's power and proletarian internationalism. Its constitutional advance is therefore not only a Venezuelan victory but a universal blow against

imperialism.

Africa must take up this banner. The road to continental liberation lies not in new trade blocs or neoliberal pacts, but in a federation of communes—a revolutionary Pan-Africanism grounded in socialism, not bourgeois diplomacy.

The Commune Constitution of Venezuela is thus both a model and a mirror—a model of socialist construction, and a mirror reflecting what Africa must still accomplish. Its essence can be captured in a single truth: revolutionary power belongs to the people, or it ceases to be revolutionary.

### **The Revolutionary Synthesis**

In Kenya, the commune will rise from the factories, the plantations, the informal settlements, and the rural villages. Each will be a school of socialist governance and collective production. As these communes unite into a national network of people's power, the basis of a Kenyan Commune Constitution will emerge—expressing, in law and in practice, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the democratic rule of the people.

Thus, the Venezuelan experience and the Kenyan revolution converge on one truth: the path to socialism passes through the commune; the path to people's power passes through the constitution of the communes.

### **The Commune or Nothing—The Future Belongs to the Proletariat**

History is once again at a turning point. The old world trembles beneath the weight of its own contradictions; imperialism, rotting yet rabid, clings to life through war, lies, and fascism. But wherever there is oppression, resistance is born—and wherever resistance is organised, revolution becomes inevitable.

Today, that resistance bears many faces: the communes of Venezuela, the armed struggle of Palestine, the people's wars of Asia, the youth uprisings of

Africa. Beneath their diversity lies a single historical current—the march of the proletariat and the oppressed towards the mastery of their own destiny.

### **The Commune as the Form of the New World**

The commune is not a dream but a necessity. It is the answer to the question that has haunted every exploited class: how shall we govern ourselves after the destruction of the old order?

In the commune, production serves use, not profit. Power serves the people, not the few. The division between ruler and ruled begins to disappear; labour regains its dignity; solidarity replaces competition. The commune is at once a weapon of war and a seed of peace—war against exploitation, peace among the producers.

For the Kenyan working people, the commune is the bridge between the struggle for national liberation and the construction of socialism. It fuses the revolutionary wisdom of Marx and Lenin with the lived traditions of African communalism and self-organisation. It transforms uhuru from a flag into a material reality.

### **The Crisis of Neocolonialism and the Inevitability of Revolution**

Neocolonial Kenya stands as a microcosm of the world imperialist order—dependent, unequal, and violent. A handful enrich themselves by serving foreign masters, while millions toil in hunger. The peasant still ploughs another man's field; the worker still sweats for another man's profit; the youth still wander without future.

But as Lenin reminded us, “There are decades when nothing happens, and weeks when decades happen.” The contradictions of Kenyan society are ripening towards such a moment. When the masses realise that their suffering is not fate but policy, not misfortune but class design, the earth will tremble again as it did in the forests of Dedan Kimathi. The task of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya is to turn that spon-

taneous anger into organised power—to transform the cry of protest into the discipline of revolution.

### **The National Democratic Revolution as the African Road to Socialism**

Our revolution is not an imitation of any foreign path; it is the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of semi-feudal, neocolonial Africa. The National Democratic Revolution (NDR) remains our strategic stage—the overthrow of imperialist domination and the destruction of the comprador-bureaucrat order, leading inexorably to socialism.

The NDR's political form is the People's Democratic State; its economic form is collective ownership and planning; its ideological form is socialist consciousness grounded in African reality. And its living institution—its beating heart—is the commune. Thus, to advance the NDR is to build the commune; to defend the commune is to defend the revolution; to link all communes is to create the socialist state of the future.

### **Proletarian Internationalism: From Kenya to the World**

No revolution stands alone. The victory of one front strengthens all others. The Communist Party Marxist Kenya salutes the Venezuelan people for carrying forward the banner of Comuna o Nada under siege; the Cuban comrades for their unbroken defiance; the Palestinian people for their heroic resistance; and the struggling peoples of Congo, Sudan, and Haiti for their courage in the face of imperialist aggression.

We declare that the liberation of Africa is inseparable from the liberation of humanity. The same bullets that kill our peasants in Laikipia are forged from the same steel that bombs Gaza and sanctions Caracas. Therefore, our answer must also be one—international solidarity grounded in class struggle. Let the revolutionary movements of the South form an anti-imperialist continental and global alliance—a red

front of the oppressed—linking the communes, people's armies, and vanguard parties in one chain of resistance.

### **The Ideological Vanguard: The Party as the Mind of the Revolution**

Without a revolutionary party, the people's energy disperses; with a revolutionary party, it becomes a torrent that no dam can hold. The Communist Party Marxist Kenya stands as the organised will of the proletariat—disciplined, united, and rooted in the masses. It must study the laws of class struggle, guide the building of communes, and forge cadres who live for the people and die for the revolution.

Our theory is Marxism-Leninism, our practice is the mass line, our faith is the creative power of the working people. The Party is the red thread that connects every commune, every strike, every land occupation into one historic mission: the seizure of power and the construction of socialism.

### **The Future Belongs to the Proletariat**

The bourgeoisie boasts of its civilisation, yet that civilisation rests upon exploitation, hunger, and war. It destroys the earth and calls it development; it enslaves nations and calls it order. Its time is over.

The future belongs to those who build, not to those who plunder—to those who produce, not to those who speculate—to those who unite, not to those who divide. The future belongs to the working class, to the peasantry, to the revolutionary youth and women, to the international front of the oppressed.

It belongs to the communes that will rise from the ruins of imperialism, to the red banners that will flutter again over liberated Africa, and to the solidarity of peoples who know that socialism is not a dream but a necessity for survival.

### **Final Call**

Comrades, the choice before humanity is stark and simple:

Comuna o nada. Socialism or barbarism. Life or extinction.

Let us therefore stand shoulder to shoulder with the Venezuelan people and with all oppressed nations of the earth. Let us carry the spirit of the Commune Constitution into our own revolutions. Let us turn every factory into a school of socialism, every farm into a fortress of resistance, every village into a commune of the people.

When the people govern themselves, no empire can enslave them. When the proletariat holds power, no force can turn back history.

*Long live the Bolivarian Revolution!*

*Long live proletarian internationalism!*

*Long live the alliance of workers and peasants!*

*The Commune or Nothing—Genuine Freedom or Death!*

# Statement: “Commune or Nothing – The Path Toward Genuine Freedom”

Philippine Communist Party (PKP-1930)

The call “Commune or Nothing” reflects the deep struggle of peoples against all forms of exploitation, oppression, and foreign domination. It declares that genuine freedom cannot be realized under systems that prioritize private profit over human need, or under states that serve the interests of a privileged few. The commune stands as the organized expression of the people’s collective power a framework for equality, cooperation, and shared progress.

## The Commune as the Foundation of People’s Power

The Commune embodies the highest form of people’s democracy. It represents the direct participation of workers, farmers, and ordinary citizens in governance, production, and community development. Unlike systems controlled by elites and bureaucrats, the commune rests on the principle that political and economic power must arise from below from the people themselves.

By uniting collective labor with social planning, the commune transforms production into a service for the common good. It rejects the capitalist logic of profit and competition, replacing it with cooperation and solidarity. It is, therefore, not merely a political structure but a social and moral transformation one that nurtures consciousness, dignity, and unity among the masses.

This vision has been put into practice in various revolutionary contexts, including the communal initiatives of Venezuela’s Bolivarian process, where people’s councils and cooperatives embody efforts to build national sovereignty and social justice through

popular participation.

## The Philippine Reality and Neo-Colonial Dependence

In the Philippines, the people continue to suffer under a neo-colonial order sustained by foreign powers and domestic elites. The economy remains dependent on imports, debt, and export-oriented industries, while millions of workers and peasants remain in poverty. Landlessness, low wages, and lack of national industry have prevented the country from achieving real development.

At the same time, neo-fascist repression has intensified targeting activists, journalists, and organizations that challenge the status quo. Red-tagging, militarization, and surveillance aim to silence the people’s resistance and maintain the rule of oligarchs and foreign interests.

The commune provides a concrete alternative to this oppressive structure. It envisions a people-centered economy based on community ownership, agrarian reform, and industrialization driven by national needs. It offers a model of governance where ordinary citizens are empowered to make decisions about their lives, labor, and future.

## Commune, Justice, and the Pursuit of Lasting Peace

A peace founded on exploitation and inequality is not true peace. The commune asserts that peace must be built on justice, the fair distribution of wealth, equality of opportunity, and respect for human dignity. Only through collective control of resources and

the dismantling of exploitative relations can peace become genuine and lasting.

The communal path cultivates solidarity, self-reliance, and mutual aid. It transforms communities into active agents of development and liberation. By building communal structures, people strengthen their capacity to defend their sovereignty, sustain their livelihoods, and nurture a culture of cooperation over greed.

### **Toward a New and Just World**

“Commune or Nothing” expresses a universal aspiration the struggle of peoples worldwide to reclaim power from systems of oppression. From Latin America to Asia, from Africa to the Middle East, communities are rising to build new forms of social organization grounded in equality, justice, and independence.

The commune stands as both a vision and a concrete step toward a new social order one that rejects imperialism, exploitation, and environmental destruction. It points to a world where the wealth of the earth serves humanity, not private capital; where progress is measured not by profit, but by human well-being and solidarity.

### **Conclusion**

The choice remains clear: Commune or Nothing. Humanity must advance toward a cooperative and just future or remain bound to systems that breed inequality and war. The commune represents the organized will of the people the living path toward national freedom, social justice, and a humane world built on solidarity and equality.

## Revolutionary movement in front of imperialism and fascism during WWII

Dimitrios Patelis | Revolutionary Theory Group (Greece)

One could say that resistance to imperialism and fascism is a timeless and self-evident principle not only for communist revolutionaries, but also for every progressive human being.

However, neither imperialism nor the fascism associated with it are beyond time, but are historically concrete phenomena, which are changing in their forms and content in different historical eras and situations.

Insofar as they change historically, the struggle against them cannot remain unchanged. Moreover, such historical changes of imperialism and anti-imperialism, fascism and antifascism can be scientifically investigated only based on the dialectical development of the achievements of revolutionary theory and methodology.

Otherwise, there is a danger of the revolutionary movement being trapped in positions of *ex post facto* reaction to every action of the forces of imperialism and fascism, in a barren oppositional determination of positions, in a primitive and totally predictable counterpoint against the enemy. In this case, people not only turn the enemy and his action into their basic system of reference, but they definitively lose any initiative of their movements, initiative which is so important for the outcome of the struggle, condemning the movement to becoming the tail of the enemy.

The dialectical development of revolutionary theory and methodology based on the concrete investigation of the structure and history of contemporary social reality is the only path which offers the possibility of positive knowledge, of description, explanation and

prediction, of positive determination of strategy and tactics. This is the opened by Victor Vaziulin path with his discoveries in the “Logic of History” project<sup>[1]</sup>.

Based on the imperative needs of the times and the circumstances of the First World War, Lenin proceeds to an accelerated exploration of the new stage of imperialism, monopoly capitalism, as the highest and last stage of capitalism, the eve of the socialist revolution. The scientific theory of imperialism was founded by Lenin who established that at the end of 19th—beginning of 20th century the capitalist mode of production acquired some new important features: in the development of productive forces—a high level of concentration of production leading to the formation of capitalist monopolies; in the sphere of production relations—the establishment of domination by these monopolies. The exploitation of the working class by the financial oligarchy of global imperialist capital takes place not only within individual nations, but on a worldwide scale.

According to Lenin, “domination, and the violence that is associated with it” (Lenin. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. I. Concentration of Production and Monopolies*), which was introduced by monopolies into the economic relations of capitalism, caused in its political superstructure a turn from bourgeois democracy to reaction (up to the establishment of fascist regimes). All this enabled Lenin to draw the conclusion that capitalism had entered a special, imperialist stage of development: “imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance

capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance, in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed” (VII. Imperialism as a Special Stage of Capitalism. Vol. 22, pp. 266-67).

Monopolisation of economy determines the historical place of imperialism as the highest stage of the development of capitalism, as decaying, parasitic and dying capitalism. It determines the peculiarities of functioning of all economic laws of capitalism at this stage, including the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalist countries. This unevenness is sharply increasing and acquiring spasmodic, conflicting character, which in the conditions of complete division of the world among the imperialist states generates world wars. The imperialist states and their coalitions pursue aggressive foreign policies, which reflect the striving of monopolies for world domination. Within the country this policy is accompanied by growing militarisation of the economy. Monopolisation leads to an ever-increasing socialisation of production and thereby to still sharper aggravation of class antagonisms, thus creating objective prerequisites for the victory of socialism.

Lenin, in correctly highlighting the basic features of this stage, emphasised the findings concerning the connection, of vital importance for the revolutionary movement of the time, between the law of unequal development under imperialism and the problematic of the “weak link in the imperialist chain” (on which the Bolsheviks’ methodical and effective revolutionary action is based) and the prospect of the outbreak of revolutionary situations that can lead to victorious revolutions, initially in a group of countries or even in one country (as it eventually happened in imperialist Tsarist Russia and its colonies). Several countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia currently fulfil the criteria of the “weak link” concept.

Thus, Lenin did not arbitrarily identify the “rentier states” which serve as the headquarters of the major monopolies and of financial capital and, today, of the huge multi-branch transnational monopoly groups and corporations. These states, together with such corporations, extract monopoly super-profits from the whole world, on a regional and global scale.

With his discoveries, Lenin’s aim was to develop the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle under imperialism and concretise it, showing that the matter of the revolution is fundamentally linked to the study of this global dimension of exploitation. It is this, and the resulting uneven development that underpins his concept of the “weakest link” and clarifies the possibility and inevitability of the global revolutionary process—in contrast to the dogmatism and opportunism of the representatives of the Second International.

Lenin stressed the need to identify where the focal points of intertwined internal and external global contradictions arise, where it is easiest to break the weakest link of the global imperialist system. Thus, Lenin connects anti-imperialism with class struggle not superficially but essentially and internally. Anti-imperialism is not a rejection of the class approach—it is the class approach of our time: “The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the real anti-imperialist force, the socialist proletariat, to make its appearance on the scene. [...] We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat’s great war of Liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilise every popular movement against every single disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis” (Lenin V.I. The Irish Rebellion of 1916. Collected Works, Moscow 1962, Vol. 22).

From the beginning of the 20th century, with the First World War (WWI), it became clear that, in the monopoly stage of capitalism, the periodic long-term

structural crises of the system do not only incubate fiercely imminent scientific and technological revolutions (only partially and distortedly attainable under capitalism) but also waves of early socialist revolutions. Of the number of armed insurrections and revolutions that erupted in Europe after WWI, the Great October Socialist Revolution, which took place in Russia and its adjacent colonies, was victorious.

Beginning with the victory of the October Revolution and the other early socialist revolutions, the era of humanity's global historical transition to communism has already begun. The era of the structural crises of the world capitalist system and the wars under imperialism now bear the stigma of the general crisis of the capitalist system, a system which has accomplished its historical mission, and therefore, it does not constitute only a barrier, an obstacle to the further development of humanity, but also the greatest reactionary and regressive force, a threat to the very existence of humanity and all life on planet Earth. This era marks the passage of the socialist perspective from the abstract possibility to actual historical process, to the law governed, necessary and attainable active process of revolutionary transformations.

Since then, capitalist development cannot be viewed in isolation from the course of early socialism. Similarly, early socialism cannot be viewed as detached from the course of the rest of the world, which is no longer under complete, structurally homogeneous and uninterrupted domination of imperialism.

Particularly after the WWI, emerged the necessity of the transition of imperialism to its State-monopoly stage. Historically, two forms and versions of state-monopoly regulation were used to prevent the working class from turning towards revolution, under the influence of the October Revolution, but also for war preparations:

1. in the form of the state interventionist measures proposed by bourgeois economists like Keynes, e.g.

in the context of the "New Deal" in the USA, and

2. in the form of the imposition of a fascist dictatorship of the financial oligarchy for the militarization of the economy and society, in the face of the coming WWII (in Italy, Germany, Spain, etc.).

Fascism (Italian *fascismo*, from *fascio* = bundle, a sheaf, league) is an ideological and political trend and system of government that emerged during the period of the general crisis of capitalism (after the victory of the first early socialist revolution, the Great October Revolution). It represents the interests of the most reactionary and aggressive forces of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

"Fascism is not a form of state power "standing above both classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie," as Otto Bauer, for instance, has asserted. It is not "the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the state," as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. No, fascism is not a power standing above class, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpen-proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is jingoism in its most brutal form, fomenting bestial hatred of other nations.... The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume different forms in different countries, according to historical, social, and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities, and the international position of the given country."

Fascism promotes the terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary and aggressive forces of monopoly capital, for the preservation of the capitalist regime, for the strengthening of the forces of imperialist reaction and counter-revolution, against the popular democratic forces of anti-imperialism, social progress, revolution and socialism/communism.

Fascist ideology and practice are characterised by extremely aggressive anti-communism, claims to

subjugate the working class, intolerance, nationalism, chauvinism, and racism.

Fascist “movements” and regimes, despite their common characteristics, present certain differentiations and variations depending on the national and other historical peculiarities of their fields of application. A common feature is the association of fascism with the secret services of the bourgeois state, with the deep state, with paramilitary, organisations adjacent to the church, etc.

WWII began as a continuation of WWI, to resolve the unresolved contradictions of imperialism. However, after the attack on the USSR by a united Europe under Nazi Germany, the war became anti-fascist.

Global conflicts are an inherent element of the imperialist stage of capitalism, manifesting themselves with a periodicity corresponding to that of large-scale structural systemic crises. This periodicity also includes waves of revolutions and counterrevolutions.

The crushing of fascist Germany and its allies by the forces of the anti-fascist coalition in 1945 was a great defeat for fascism. As a result of the USSR and the world antifascist movement (spearheaded by the communists), crushing the axis of the ‘anti-Comintern’ pact, the camp of socialist countries in Eastern Europe in Asia and later in the Americas (Cuba) emerged after WWII.

Alongside the victories of the early socialist revolutions and with their internationalist support, a wave of anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and national independence movements emerged, which led to uprisings and revolutions of national liberation.

After WWII, fascism was temporarily weakened but not completely eradicated. After the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Greece, a monarcho-fascist regime was imposed by the foreign intervention-occupation of Britain and the USA with their local collaborators, followed by short-lived pseudo-democratic regimes, and then by another openly fascist military junta imposed by the CIA, the USA and NATO (1967-1974). Fascist dictatorships were suc-

cessively installed in a number of countries through imperialist interventions and coups: South Korea, South Vietnam, Turkey, Iran, Indonesia, Pakistan and several other countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

The character of the current war may share some similarities, but it is qualitatively and essentially different from the two previous ones, due to the era, the context and the character of the powers that are de facto involved in it. Therefore, the attitude of the progressive, anti-imperialist and communist forces cannot be determined mechanistically, through metaphysical analogies, as if nothing had changed since 1914 or 1940 until today... The WWII has many elements in common, but even more and major differences from the WWII. It arose from the unresolved contradictions of the new stage of imperialism.

The current stage of imperialism is the stage of transnational monopoly imposition, of the attempt to completely subordinate humanity to the most powerful international multi-branch monopoly groups, the Transnational corporations (TNCs) to the most powerful in terms of capital, to the imperialist countries and their transnational organs. The sphere of circulation (export of goods and capital) no longer plays a dominant role in the structure of the relations of production of the present stage of imperialism. This role is now played by the sphere of production itself, distributed on a planetary scale and rooted in the technologies and organisation of this production. At this stage, the division of the world between the most powerful international multi-branch monopoly groups and between the most powerful imperialist countries in terms of capital (which are the main TNCs countries of residence) on the basis of inequality and the extraction of monopoly super-profits on a global scale has been completed, while a rapid shift of power is taking place with the rapid progress of the PRC and the emergence of a new pole led by the latter and Russia (BRICS, etc.): the pole of the forces of socialism and anti-imperialism.

WWIII is leading to the rapid shrinking of the parasitic capacities of the pole of the traditional imperialist centres. Imperialism led by USA, despite the rampant push towards fascism in the countries of its territory, no longer has the need to establish typical outright fascist regimes in the frontline imperialist countries (as in inter-war Germany) with the claim to develop an antagonistic military-industrial complex and armed forces competitive with those of the USA, independent and self-sufficient. This would challenge the de facto US hegemony in this axis. The regime in the imperialist countries and the satellite countries of its near periphery today succeeds in effectively manipulating the working class and the wider popular strata through consensual means and ways.

Fascism today is even more deeply linked to the ideology and practices of extreme neo-liberalism, social Darwinism and “postmodern” irrationalism<sup>[2]</sup>.

The US-NATO-EU imperialist axis is instrumentalising and “exporting” fascism and nazism to install its subordinate regimes in countries that until the 1980s were part of the USSR, Yugoslavia or other countries that passed through phases of early socialism in Europe, South Korea, etc.

During WWIII, fascism functions as an instrumentally useful and expendable “strike force” in proxy wars against those who resist the continuation of its domination, against the forces of anti-imperialism and socialism. This is evident in the way the imperialists are treating the people of Ukraine today (as “cannon fodder”) against the people of the rebellious Donbass since 2014, and against Russia and its allies since 2022. The same fate awaits tomorrow the peoples of Poland, Moldova, the Baltic States, South Korea, Taiwan, Greece and other Balkan countries, Latin America countries etc.

This is also the role of the Zionist racist formation of Israel, the proxy state and war arm of the US-led axis, which has been the brutal occupying power in Palestine for 7 decades, launching repeated geno-

cidal operations against the Palestinian people, while acting as an aggressive imperialist bulwark and arm of the axis in this strategically important region.

During WWII, the formation of an anti-fascist front at national and global level to crush the fascist/anti-communist/anti-Comintern axis constituted a strategic objective. The USSR, the Third International and the global communist movement concentrated their forces on this objective. The Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy exploited the inter-imperialist contradictions with extraordinary skill to divide the imperialist world of that time, to inactivate a significant part of the imperialist powers (Great Britain, USA, France, etc.) and to integrate them in the anti-fascist alliance against the axis.

During WWII, the imperialist powers had the “luxury” of dividing into two camps due to the irreconcilable inter-imperialist contradictions. Thanks to the brilliant foreign policy of the Soviet Union, however, a rift was driven between them. Of course, we know what kind of allies they were—even those who joined the anti-fascist coalition against the axis of the Anti-Comintern Pact...

On the contrary, during WWIII, inter-imperialist conflicts cannot play an important role due to tectonic rearrangements in the global balance of economic, political and military forces. Any continuation of the parasitic imperialist function of the Euro-Atlantic axis, any prolongation of its declining course requires, for existential reasons, the open consolidation and subordination of the former colonialist and the present neo-colonialist imperialist powers into a unified, united, aggressive axis led by the USA. This is evident in the imposition of ultimatums, the humiliation of the EU and Germany in terms of energy, etc. with new forms of cannibalism, economic and military strangulation and coercion by US imperialism (destruction of gas pipelines, deindustrialisation, subordination of the military-industrial complex to US purposes, increasingly direct involvement and transfer of the costs of supporting the nazi regime in

Ukraine to the EU and NATO countries, etc.).

The bourgeois counterrevolutions in the USSR and in the early socialist countries of Europe led to crude imperialist interventions in collaboration with sections of the newly formed local bourgeoisie, to civil wars, separatist nationalist movements, the fragmentation of countries, coups and a series of fascist-style dictatorships. Typical are the cases of the racist regimes of the three Baltic ‘democracies’, openly led for decades by the descendants and spiritual successors of Nazi collaborators, with the full support of the US-NATO-EU. These regimes have imposed apartheid on the ‘non-natives’, who are institutionally considered as ‘non-citizens’...

Similar coup regimes were imposed in the states that emerged from the US-NATO-EU foreign intervention, the “civil war”, the “colour revolutions” and the dissolution of Yugoslavia, but also in the formations that emerged from the counter-revolution and capitalist restoration in the USSR. Such was the “Black October” of 1993 in Russia under B. Yeltsin, the juntas in Georgia and especially the successive coups in Ukraine, culminating in 2014, which led to the imposition of an openly nazi-racist regime by the Euro-Atlantic axis and the unleashing of a genocidal war against the insubordinate population of south-eastern Ukraine.

Fascism is the spawn of capitalism in the stage of imperialism, it is its aggressive vanguard, especially today in the midst of the escalating WWII.

All these characteristics make it clear that the world capitalist system today is not in the stage of 20th century imperialism, whose defining feature was state monopoly regulation at the level of the nation state, a particular form of forced militarisation was the “classical” fascism of the inter-war period.

Moreover, in contrast to the necessity of fascist/counter-revolutionary repression of the then strong revolutionary movement, the regime in the imperialist countries and the satellite countries of its near periphery today—seemingly, in the near future—suc-

ceeds in effectively manipulating the working class and the wider popular strata through consensual means and ways. This manipulation has now been consolidated through takeovers, corruption, fraud, demagoguery and the undermining of the workers’ movement by its opportunist agents, but above all through atomisation and patterns of consumerism.

The bourgeois regime achieves this by handing out crumbs of its parasitism, using the resources from the siphoning off of monopoly super-profits from around the world. It also achieves this through extreme alienation, individualism and competition, through the undermining of even the biological core of personality and the family, in combination with all the means and ways of undermining and invalidating the constitution of the revolutionary subject and the subject in general. As the imperialist countries are drastically cut off from their sources of parasitism throughout the world, the ability of the financial oligarchy to buy off, corrupt etc. the domestic working class at the trade union, ideological/political and cultural levels will also decrease. This will lead to a mass organic reintegration of the working class of the imperialist countries into the world revolutionary workers’ movement—under conditions of weakening imperialism and strengthening the forces of socialism and anti-imperialism on the planet—and will put the late socialist revolutions in the imperialist metropolises on the agenda.

At the stage of transnational-monopoly imperialist imposition, the very instrumental use of fascism is subject to the transnational planning of the aggressor axis led by the USA.

Entire countries and peoples are placed under brutal and open foreign management, turned into expendable “private military companies” of the aggressor Euro-Atlantic axis.

However, fascism was and remains the most consistent misanthropism and anti-communism, the most militant fighting force of counter-revolution, of the financial oligarchy of imperialism.

The struggle against fascism must be consistent, patriotic and internationalist/anti-imperialist, aiming its arrows at the attacking imperialist axis led by the USA and at the reactionary policies of every government that, through NATO-EU, facilitates fascist actions and supports nazi-fascist proxy regimes, such as those of Ukraine and the Zionist state of Israel.

War and fascism reproduce each other. A necessary condition for the working people's uprising is the destruction of both fascism and the imperialism that instrumentalises it when it's appropriate. They go together, one cannot be done without the other. Imperialism is the matrix that produces and reproduces fascism at every historical stage and in every era.

These conditions also radically change the character of today's fascism-nazism, transforming it into an instrument of war, intervention and coups d'état, into an "exportable" model of transnational monopoly imposition of regimes that act as subordinates, outposts and strike forces of the unique and deadly aggressive unified US-NATO-EU axis.

Therefore, in contrast to WWII, today, during WWIII, the strategically important frontal policy, the victorious policy of alliances, must give priority to the consistent and militant anti-imperialism, to the prioritisation of the aggressor united US-NATO-EU-Zionism axis as the №1 enemy of humanity, whose tool is the current versions of fascism.

It is only through the consistent frontal anti-imperialist struggle that antifascism/antinazism today gains meaning and is organically linked to the socialist aims of the communists. Those who do not put forward consistent antiimperialism in today's struggle are objectively acting in a disorientating and undermining way.

The most consistent version of this deception is linked to the irrational metaphysical dogma/ideological construction of the "imperialist pyramid", which the current leadership of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) shamelessly promotes<sup>[3]</sup>. Based on this anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist deception, all existing

states on the planet are projected as "more or less imperialist", fully and/or "in the making". Therefore, according to similar doctrines, today we do not have a singular WWIII with many fronts/battlefields on the planet, but a multitude of conflicts of undefined character, "bourgeois settling of accounts between imperialists/ bandits", so that both antifascism and anti-imperialism are practically undermined and devoid of meaning...

Due to the effective theoretical and methodological intervention and ideological confrontation, WAP managed to expose on an international level the fallacy of the ideological construction of the "imperialist pyramid" and the undermining role of its agents and propagandists for the movement. As a result, any reference to this terminology is now treated with irony; thus, the opportunists who struggled so hard to introduce this dogma are now avoiding any reference to the words "imperialist pyramid" ... This fact by itself constitutes a major success of the WAP. However, the opportunists of the "Communist" Party of Greece are continuing with the same intensity to promote the opportunist line of "equal distances" in the WWIII. A line which is aimed to confuse the movement, so that the aggressive imperialist axis remains practically out of the picture, and the forces of socialism and anti-imperialism are presented as "enemies of the movement"!...

During WWIII, a coordinated anti-fascist action within the framework of a global militant anti-imperialist front with the communists at the forefront is necessary. Also necessary is the theoretical, ideological and practical struggle against the forces of opportunism and revisionism, which sow confusion and discord, which deny the necessity of a frontal anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle, which separate fascism from imperialism.

There is an urgent need for a great front in which the unity of the people, the youth, the women, and the working class is forged against imperialism, for the defeat of NATO, the anti-people and anti-work-

ing-class policies of the governments that are the lackeys of imperialism, fascism, the state, deep state and transnational terrorism, with a view to the socialist revolution and the unification of humanity, communism.

The escalation of WWII due to the aggression of the imperialist axis includes the strong possibility of a brutal attempt to invade and to occupy Venezuela and other Latin American countries by the US imperialists.

The establishment and strengthening of proxy fascist regimes in Latin America are a key tool for achieving the imperialists' goals. The award of the Nobel Prize to CIA agent Maria Corina Machado is part of the plans for violent regime change and the imposition of a fascist-type proxy regime in Venezuela.

This is precisely why a militant frontal anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle is needed in Venezuela, in Latin America and all over the world. In this struggle the role of the World Anti-imperialist Platform is irreplaceable<sup>[4]</sup>.

*Understand fascism deeply; it will not die on its own, crush it!*

*Death to fascism and imperialism!*

*Defeat the criminal U.S.-NATO-EU imperialist axis!*

*Victory to the united forces of anti-imperialism and socialism!*

*Long live the Bolivarian Revolution!*

*Long live the heroic people of Venezuela, unyielding fighters for independence against imperialism and fascism!*

*Death to fascism and imperialism!*

*Solidarity is the weapon of the peoples against imperialism and neocolonialism!*

*Yankees, go home!*

## Notes

[1] See the "Logic of History" V.A. Vazulin's conception, <https://www.ilhs.gr/en/index.htm>

[2] It is no coincidence that the fascist junta in Chile, led by CIA agent Augusto Pinochet (from 1973 to 1990), acted as the first attempt to dictatorially impose the ideology and practice of Chicago School neoliberalism. The cases of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil and Javier Milei in Argentina are typical in this respect.

[3] Patelis D. 10 commandments of the most volatile opportunism and revisionism, in: 'Platform' July 2023 № 2, pp 44-50. <https://waporgan.org/?p=2484>

[4] World Anti-imperialist Platform <https://wap21.org/>

## **“Eastern Europe at the Frontline of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle”**

### **Eastern Initiative**

Comrades and friends,

We would like to congratulate you on holding this conference of the World Anti-Imperialist Platform in Venezuela and send the warmest greetings to the organizers and participants!

This event is taking place at a critical historical moment, on the eve of World War III, in a country at the frontline of the struggle against imperialism. The brave people of Venezuela, under the leadership of Chávez and Maduro, have stood up to US imperialism and consequently become a target of both covert and open, economic and military aggression. We stand with Venezuela and express our full solidarity with the Venezuelan people and the Venezuelan government.

Comrades and friends,

Recent developments have confirmed the correctness of the analysis presented by the World Anti-Imperialist Platform since its first meeting in 2022. The world is accelerating towards polarization between the imperialist camp, represented by the forces of Western capital fighting for complete domination, and the anti-imperialist camp centred on socialist China and allied countries defending their national interests against imperialism.

We are entering a new era of wars and revolutions. For us in Eastern Europe, it is crucial now to unite everyone under the banner of resistance and anti-imperialism, regardless of political orientation. The imperialist bourgeoisie has already begun mobilization and is rallying all possible opportunist forces under its banner of Western European chauvinism,

including so-called left forces. Even those who call themselves “communists” often answer this call, showing their true faces.

Our population has been held hostage by the comprador bourgeois administration, which is grooming our people to be used as cannon fodder against Russia. The people are waking up, but it could be too late to prevent an escalation. Under these circumstances, we continue our mission against imperialism and its lackeys for national and social liberation.

We wish you a successful and inspiring event.

The people united will never be defeated!

# Imperialism on the Threshold of World War III, the Modern World, and Armenia

Lusine Karapetyan | Communist Party of Armenia

Dear comrades:

First of all, allow me to thank the comrades of the World Anti-Imperialist Platform for organising this conference and for the honour of having extended this invitation to me.

In analysing current events in world politics, we, Armenian communists, believe that the fundamental dispute between capitalism and socialism is far from over.

Capitalism, which prevails today in most of the world, has not changed its essence. Capitalist states continue to protect the interests of big capital, and the exploitation of the working class is intensifying. The contradictions between labour and capital continue to deepen beyond doubt. Furthermore, the nature of modern capitalism is expressed in a growing fascistization of imperialism, moving from democracy to political reaction and unprecedented militarisation.

As we know, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, many former socialist countries entered the capitalist camp and became semi-colonial capitalist countries. Since then, world politics has become unipolar, with the United States and its satellites playing the leading role. To maintain their political and financial dominance over the world, the United States and its satellites constantly need chaos and wars in different parts of the world. Now, as we can see, Eastern Europe, Western Asia, and East Asia constitute the three main theatres of a world war.

Thus, German Defence Minister Boris Pistorius stated that war with Russia is possible and entirely realistic in the near future. German Chancellor Frie-

drich Merz has stated that Western countries have allowed Ukraine to attack Russia with long-range missiles. French President Macron proposes the creation of a nuclear shield for the European Union and is organising military intervention in Ukraine. US Senator Marco Rubio admitted for the first time that the war in Ukraine is a proxy war between the United States and Russia. US President Trump has stated that the reason for the war in Ukraine lies in Biden's decision to expand NATO eastward. In Europe, there is a widespread renunciation of political-military neutrality. Finland and Sweden have joined NATO despite decades of neutrality. Austria and Switzerland have participated in all sanctions, including the freezing of \$300 billion in Russian assets. Neutral Moldova has conducted 17 military exercises with NATO. US President Trump openly threatens all those who consider abandoning the US dollar. The US struggle for world domination inevitably leads to imperialist wars on a global scale. Under imperialism, the governments of capitalist countries are not elected by the people, but by the oligarchs of finance capital. The imperialist camp employs the neo-Nazis in Ukraine, the Zionists in Israel, and the reactionary forces in Europe.

The main point of the current situation is the emergence of World War III. In this confrontation, an anti-imperialist front has been formed that includes Russia, China, and North Korea. And now this front includes Iran, which is fighting against the imperialist Zionism of Israel. We also believe that if the anti-imperialist forces win this global confrontation,

the imperialist forces will definitely lose, and a new and long period of revolts will begin, marked by a significant expansion of socialist and national liberation forces.

The effective construction of an anti-imperialist front and the struggle against capitalism are possible only on the basis of the ideas of socialism and the socialist economic system. The unresolved imperialist contradictions of the modern era require that the national-patriotic and socialist-oriented strata and classes unite in the struggle against the imperialist front. Armenian communists are convinced that the most justified option for our country, and the one that most benefits the majority of the people, is the socialist path of development. The communists of Armenia have set themselves the task of actively supporting and defending the socialist path of global development by all possible means. Based on the general patterns of human development, Armenian communists believe that all peoples of all countries will apply them, taking into account their own specificities and historical experience.

### **Description of the Current Economic and Political Situation in Capitalist Armenia**

Under the slogans of “independence” and “democracy,” the liberal forces that ruled Armenia in the early 1990s established a market economy in the country and adopted the path of integration into the global Western capitalist system. The Bretton Woods financial and trading system, created as a result of the Second World War and based on the dominance of the US dollar, has meant that the existence of a market economy in a particular country implies that that country is economically and, therefore, politically dependent on the United States. Thus, Armenia’s integration into the Western capitalist world has resulted in Armenia becoming a semi-colony of the West. Armenia is formally independent, but in reality it is politically and economically dependent on the West. Consequently, all the most important decisions

of the Armenian authorities, both in foreign and domestic policy, are considered not from the point of view of Armenia’s own interests, but from the point of view of the interests of the West. The Armenian authorities, to the detriment of Armenia’s state and national interests, are clearly promoting and serving the interests of the West, in exchange for which they receive loans in the form of state debt.

As historical experience shows, the political interests of the West (along with Zionism and Pan-Turkism) and Armenia have always been, are, and will be in contradiction. Therefore, the fact that Armenia is under Western control does more harm than good to the majority of the country’s population. Capitalist Armenia is an economically backward country because the West is not interested in an economically developed Armenia. The West does not invest its billions or provide development technologies to Armenia, as it does with other capitalist countries. Capitalist Armenia is unable to guarantee its security, constantly loses territory, and the Armenian people are subjected to new genocides. The pro-Western policy of the Armenian authorities towards EU and NATO membership, the ratification of more than 70 Council of Europe conventions, the rejection of Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh), the deterioration of relations between Armenia and Russia, and the establishment of relations with Turkey based on Turkish conditions—all this is nothing more than de facto confirmation of the absence of sovereignty.

The political and socio-economic situation of the modern capitalist Republic of Armenia is characterised by a deep crisis, degradation, and decline in all areas. The forced introduction of capitalism led to a bipolar division of society, with the wealthy minority concentrated at one pole, holding power and the economy in their hands, and at the other pole, the overwhelming majority of the population, deprived of rights, with neither power nor control over the economy. The capitalisation of social relations exacerbates social contradictions, and discontent among the pop-

ulation is growing due to the constant deterioration of living conditions, rising prices, unemployment, increasing poverty, economic crises, and continuous emigration. The introduction of Western norms, globalist values, and ideas alien to the Armenian people, which discredit the past and lead to the self-destruction of the state, continues in the education system, public consciousness, and culture.

The majority of the population of Armenia lacks a decent standard of living and social security. The Armenian authorities, with their anti-democratic policies both domestically and externally, constantly violate the country's laws and Constitution, becoming a criminal government. The anti-Armenian

authorities in Armenia are pursuing a repressive policy in the country, constantly lying, falsifying elections, and violating the democratic rights of the people. The irresponsibility of the Armenian authorities threatens the individual and public security of citizens. The majority of the country's population is becoming aware that the prospects for the "development" of capitalist Armenia with Western loans are extremely limited, and that the continuation of such a policy will lead to the loss of state sovereignty and a national catastrophe. The Communist Party of Armenia opposes the market economy, capitalism, and Armenia becoming a semi-colony of the West.

## Anti-imperialism and Anti-fascism

# “Venezuelan people have entered the vanguard of the anti-imperialist front”

Temur Pipia | Socialist Platform of Georgia

Dear friends, comrades,  
Dear participants of the International Conference,  
On behalf of the socialists and communists of Georgia, I would like to greet everyone gathered in Caracas, the capital of Venezuela.

Today, Venezuela is a country that opposes international imperialism led by Washington, and the Venezuelan people have taken the lead in the anti-imperialist front!

Therefore, moral support for the Venezuelan people is very important, and it is important to hold such international meetings in Caracas.

We, the Georgian leftists, socialists, and com-

munists, are trying to contribute to the common anti-imperialist struggle. Georgia is under unprecedented pressure from the West, led by Washington, to join the imperialist camp, namely the anti-Russian economic sanctions and military-political bloc. Georgia is resisting, and we are doing everything possible to ensure that it maintains this position to the end.

Once again, I would like to thank the organizers of the Caracas International Meeting for their efforts and wish them every success in their work.

*Victory to you!*

*Victory to the Venezuelan people!*

# **Long Live the Victory Over Nazi Germany and Fascism! Long Live Peace between Peoples!**

## **Communist Party of Belgium**

Dear comrades and friends,

The victory over fascism is a great moment that the Communist Party of Belgium wishes to celebrate with you, at your side. We warmly thank you for inviting us once again to be among you and to speak.

This new international meeting of the World Anti-Imperialist Platform is being held at a glorious moment in the history of peaceful and free peoples—the victory of 1945, which saw the defeat of Nazi Germany, the surrender of Hitler, and the red flag flying triumphantly over Berlin, taken by the Red Army at the cost of millions of innocent lives.

What is Fascism?

The first fascist states were founded in Italy in 1922 and in Germany in 1933. The concept of fascism has political, economic, and military dimensions.

Georgi Dimitrov, in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, defined fascism as “the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialist elements of finance capital.” In his book *Unity Against Fascism* (1935), he called for the creation of a united front of the working class against fascism. This front, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, ultimately defeated fascism in 1945.

Today, the states of Israel and Ukraine meet the economic, political, and military criteria of fascist states. Financial capital, particularly U.S. finance capital, as the driving force of imperialist monopoly capital, took power in Israel after British imperialism, weakened by World War II, was replaced in Palestine-Israel by U.S. imperialism. Now Israel is as the

bridgehead for U.S. economic and military penetration in the Middle East.

In 1997, Zbigniew Brzezinski’s “The Grand Chessboard” the U.S. strategy in Eastern Europe, aimed at dividing the Soviet Union, separating Ukraine from Russia to weaken and further divide it. The involvement of former President Joe Biden’s son in Ukrainian business ventures is a good illustration of U.S. economic imperialism in that country.

For decades in Israel and since 2014 in Ukraine, fascism has abandoned the “democratic” and hidden forms of fascism, such as elections, and has organized a terrorist and genocidal regime, killing tens of thousands of people.

This glorious moment of victory on May 8 is nevertheless overshadowed by many events, a major turning point, new wars dangerous for humanity, a great historical upheaval, and large-scale brainwashing aimed at shaping public opinion.

The wars in Ukraine (which began in the Donbass), Gaza, Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen all reveal the same pattern. U.S. imperialism continues to supply bombs, missiles, and drones, and detonate them with its own military forces in Yemen.

Regarding Ukraine, instead of taking advantage of the change of U.S. presidency and Donald Trump’s supposed willingness to seek peaceful solutions, “Old Europe”—the oldest of all colonial and imperialist powers, which already caused two world wars within 25 years—is re-launching a monstrous arms race, costing hundreds of billions, and imposing its boomerang-like and ineffective sanctions against Russia, with which it claims to be at war, with China as its

ultimate target.

Old Europe is deluding itself that Russia could be defeated by Zelensky's fascist regime and that the conquered territories might be reclaimed. Zelensky does not say what he would do with the millions of Russian speakers living in these regions that the Kiev regime has been bombing and massacring for 11 years, under the command and with the silence of the USA, "Europe" and NATO.

Pushed by his fascist allies, by Biden, by Europe, by the warmongering NATO, and by his own Russophobia, Zelensky refuses to recognize that it is in his interest to abandon this useless war and negotiate the terms of peace directly with Russia, rather than see his country ransomed by Trump for its black earth and other riches.

This "Old Europe," which proclaims itself capitalist, liberal, free enterprise and competitive, increasingly expansionist and annexationist, is a sham. It does not want peace, it wants to wage wars of conquest.

This is one of the reason why the Communist Party of Belgium calls for Belgium to leave NATO and for NATO to be dissolved. NATO has been an imperialist instrument since its foundation, seeking world domination. We also demand that Belgium leave the imperialist alliance that now constitutes the European Union.

It is with sadness that we see certain "left-wing" parties joining it, voting to help fascist Ukraine, declaring that a European army is necessary since we have abandoned our American masters, whom we revere as our protectors, our "liberators," and that Russia should not be invited to the celebrations of the 80th anniversary of Victory Day, because of its "aggression" and "invasion" of Ukraine.

The "Russian threat" narrative did not begin with the war in Ukraine, but with Churchill's infamous "fear speech" delivered with President Truman at Westminster College on March 5, 1946. At that time, the alleged "threat" was "Soviet expansion." This same myth persists, even though the Gorbachev

counterrevolution brought Russia back into the capitalist camp, dissolving several Soviet republics and reducing the USSR's territory by over five million square kilometers.

Some on the left are content to proclaim that "imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism." This leads them to denounce the three imperialists that are supposedly "the global West," Russia, and China.

They forget that when capitalism enters a deep crisis—which is currently the case—it evolves into its final phase: strong power, its most racist (including Russophobia), brutal, bestial, and murderous form—fascism—and ultimately war. This is what threatens all of "Europe" today.

Belgium now also has a Flemish nationalist prime minister whom no one wanted ten years ago because the N-VA was considered extreme right-wing, and therefore anti-democratic and unfit to govern. That changed after the elections of June 9, 2024, when a far-right coalition made up of liberals, Flemish nationalists, Christian Democrats, and so-called Flemish "socialists" also came to power.

This "democratic" and "free" Europe is seeing this brown plague increasingly coming to power in most of the countries that once made pacts with Hitler: Hungary, Italy, Germany (obviously), Austria, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Spain and even the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, Sweden (a formerly neutral country, but which still sold 80% of its steel to Uncle Adolf) are infected. As for Ukraine, enough has been said about its past, its present, its carefully cultivated Russophobia.

In Europe, there are leaders, parties, trade unions, and pacifists who let it happen. Yet these fascists also exist elsewhere and are already putting their skills to "good use": this is the case are also visible in Gaza concentration camp, where 2.2 million Palestinians have been imprisoned for 18 years and are now being massacred by Netanyahu's fascist government.

The Europe of Von der Leyen, Macron, Starmer, and others remains silent does nothing because it is

complicit, as it has been in Donbass for 11 years, and as it is doing Syria, the Balkans, and Libya—where it helped install corrupt regimes.

At this moment, the 80th anniversary of the victory over fascism, we must reaffirm that Russia does not seek war, nor does it wish to invade Europe. London, Paris, Brussels, and Rome can continue to sleep peacefully. Russia, larger than all EU countries combined, possesses immense untapped resources that ensure its self-sufficiency.

Russia, like China, is preparing vast development projects that will astonish the world. Within BRICS+, both great countries are laying the foundations for a new international order based on peace, development, and cooperation, despite differences in their political systems.

On May 8, 2025, we celebrate once again the victory over fascism—made possible by the immense contribution of the USSR (now Russia), the Western Allies, the partisans, the resistance fighters, and the underground press. Without the USSR and without Stalingrad, Nazi Germany could have prevailed, thanks to the vast resources and collaborators it had at its disposal.

This is what today's revisionists cannot forgive—neither Stalin's Soviet Union nor Putin's Russia. This is the root of the Russophobia of the Kiev regime and its allies in the Baltic states, Finland, Poland, Germany, and elsewhere in the so-called new European empire.

*Long live the victory over Nazi Germany and fascism!*

*Long live peace among peoples!*

*Stop the new arms race and bloc politics!*

*Peace in Ukraine—start negotiations now!*

## The process of fascistization in France 2017-2025

Camila Monge | Union for Communist Reconstruction (URC, France)

Major economic groups in France, such as Auchan, Michelin, Société Générale, Valéo, Forvia, etc.: the cascade of social plans that use state money to pay companies and lay off workers has been relentlessly hitting workers and intensifying since the last quarter of 2024. This wave comes after a year marked by a massive struggle against pension reform in 2023, forcing the government to make use of Article 49.3 of the French Constitution, which allows the Prime Minister to pass a bill without a vote in the National Assembly. This article has been used more than 20 times by Macron's government to push through its reactionary reforms.

The radicalization of attacks on our social gains has therefore been met with a radicalization of the working class, and more broadly of the people, which in turn has led to a radicalization of the ruling class's attacks on workers. The concrete reality has blown apart decades of ideological propaganda aimed at disarming the labor movement and, more broadly, the social and democratic movement.

In recent years, three massive popular social movements have made it possible to analyze the organization of the dominated class as well as the fascist methods employed by the ruling class. These are the Yellow Vests movement, the massive demonstrations against the murder of young Nahel Merzouk, and the movement against pension reform.

The first movement, the Yellow Vests, mobilized the precarious section of the workforce employed in companies on the one hand and in intermittent work on the other. It also mobilized social strata in rapid decline. With little union organization and wage levels that make it difficult to sustain a strike,

these sections of the working class and, more broadly, the popular classes are revolting by occupying public spaces, blocking roads, and organizing themselves.

The revolts in working-class neighborhoods following the murder of young Nahel Merzouk are affecting the entire country. Despite the mainstream media's desire to depoliticize these revolts, they highlight young people's concerns about a bleak future, growing precariousness, widespread impoverishment, and deadly police practices. More and more people are seeing the state for what it really is: a tool serving the ruling class and its profits.

In France, the pay-as-you-go pension system is based on solidarity: every euro contributed is immediately used to pay the pensions of current retirees. The reform imposed by the government via Article 49.3, which raises the legal retirement age from 62 to 64, has met with strong opposition. More than a million people have demonstrated across France against this measure. In response, the unions called for renewable strikes in many sectors.

The ruling class and its servants in government did not underestimate the significance of these three intense movements of class struggle. They responded with massive repression. They also perfectly analyzed the weaknesses of the workers' camp, which remains fragmented, with each segment of our class camp entering the struggle separately.

The process of fascistization (with the normalization of state violence against social movements, increasingly frequent attacks on democratic rights, racist campaigns of division instigated at the highest levels of the state and relayed daily by the media, and right-wing and left-wing politicians trivializing

the ideas of the far right, etc.) has accelerated considerably, indicating that part of the ruling class is now seriously considering resorting to fascist power in the short term.

As Bertolt Brecht said: “Bourgeois democracy in crisis feeds fascism.”

Finally, all the class confrontations of the last five years are unfolding against the backdrop of a crisis of hegemony of the Western imperialist camp, which is facing the rise of multifaceted resistance from peoples, states, and countries (the development of China and emerging countries, the deployment of the alternative dynamic of the BRICS, patriotic coups in West Africa, resistance to destabilization in South America, etc.). This has led to an increase in localized wars caused by imperialist aggression and an acceleration in preparations for a generalized war. The dominant imperialist capitalist class, always seeking to maximize its profits, is pulling out all the stops to spread the poison of “sacred union” by creating an internal and external enemy (Muslims) in its preparation for a third world war.

The process of fascistization and its acceleration also respond to this international dimension.

The national and international are thus two facets of the same reality.

### **Macron and the process of fascistisation**

A few months after his election, Macron resumed his attacks on workers’ social gains at the start of the 2017 school year. He did so through a series of five decrees abolishing the CHSCT (health, safety and working conditions committees). The CHSCTs, which represent workers and are responsible for prevention and responding to issues related to health, safety, and working conditions in private and public sector companies, were an essential tool for prevention in the workplace. Their abolition is clearly part of a policy of rolling back workers’ rights: even as working conditions deteriorate in all sectors, workplace accidents skyrocket, France is the European

country with the highest number of workplace accidents, this is a deliberate attempt to eliminate or weaken those involved in prevention, removing employee representation bodies, reducing the means of action available to trade unions, particularly delegation hours, individualizing negotiations within companies, facilitating dismissals, etc. It should be noted that the main members of the CHSCTs were employee representatives trained in occupational health and safety prevention. Created at the end of the Second World War as one of the major social achievements of the post-war period, the CHSCTs represented the real arena for class struggle within companies. It was precisely this dimension of worker counter-power that led the so-called “socialist” governments to abolish them. The abolition of CHSCTs This time, it is not only the living conditions of employees that are under attack, but also their means of defense. This is nothing less than the greatest challenge to labor law since 1945.

While the national protests against the decrees are once again bringing people together, they are far from matching the momentum of the previous movement. Massive job insecurity, the “minimal” opposition of the FO (Syndicat Force Ouvrière) union, the objective support of the CFDT (French Democratic Confederation of Labor) to Macron, the limitations of repeated national strike days, etc., all these factors are paralyzing the struggles, even though social anger has never been so strong and the demand for radical action is growing. This is evidenced by the long strike by the SNCF (Société Nationale des Chemins de fer Français) in the spring of 2018 against the introduction of rail competition and the end of hiring under the railway worker status. Rail competition is a direct result of the European Union bourgeoisie’s commitment to abolishing the public sector monopoly on national territory: competition is open in the postal and telecommunications sectors, gas and electricity distribution, and rail transport.

It is precisely the scale of this challenge that ex-

plains the government's intransigence despite the extent of the financial losses. The movement ended without succeeding in stopping competition, but it served as a learning experience for many workers. In December 2019-January 2020, rail workers went on another long strike, this time against pension reform.

This strike was the largest in the history of the SNCF. During the same period, the RATP (Régie autonome des transports parisiens) experienced an indefinite strike that lasted 45 days.

The scale of social anger revealed by these long sectoral strikes was confirmed by the outbreak and subsequent national spread of the Yellow Vests movement from October 2018 until the lockdown in March 2020.

The movement was unprecedented, with the only precedent being the much more localized and short-lived "Red Caps" movement between October 2013 and June 2014, which shook Brittany. While the trigger was the introduction of a "heavy goods vehicle tax" in the form of "eco-tax gates," the real cause was the increasing number of bankruptcies among small businesses and small farmers. This movement revealed the process of impoverishment that now affects not only the working classes but also the middle classes.

The Yellow Vests movement is marked by the diversity of its participants, for whom this struggle is, for the vast majority, their first experience of activism. Many communist and Marxist-Leninist activists, as well as CGT activists, have participated in this movement without identifying themselves as members of any particular organization, in order to build a class-based discourse rooted in the material reality of workers, in the face of fascist elements attempting to infiltrate the movement. It is precisely this spontaneity that explains why the only common points among the participants are, on the one hand, opposition to Macron and, on the other, the demand for greater social justice, i.e., a different distribution of wealth.

Despite the ideological vagueness, these two common points express an awareness of the damage caused by neoliberal policies over the past four decades. The Yellow Vests are the spontaneous reaction of those who have found themselves marginalized from the world of work and who are experiencing social decline due to widespread impoverishment and precariousness. We are therefore witnessing a movement of proletarians: temporary workers, unemployed people, retirees, self-employed workers, artisans, etc. This is why it was wrong to present this movement as a Poujadist movement manipulated by the far right. Of course, the far right was present—especially at the beginning, in an attempt to exploit the protests—but the social nature of the movement was popular.

Despite the diversity of the participants, they shared a precarious existence, suffering from economic fragility, of which single-parent families are a striking example. The sociology of the participants and supporters of the Yellow Vests reveals that the working classes were not mistaken about the social and political significance of the movement, unlike certain union and political leaders who did not hesitate to label it Poujadist.

In December 2018, a CEVIPOF survey concluded that the working classes overwhelmingly supported the movement: 74% of workers, 81% of private service personnel, and 71% of unemployed people who had never worked. At the other end of the spectrum, only 33% of managers and engineers supported the movement. Although weaker than that of the working classes, support among the middle classes is also high: 62% of civil service managers and 65% of private sector technicians<sup>[1]</sup>.

The increase in fuel taxes was therefore only the straw that broke the camel's back in terms of raising awareness among those sacrificed by imperialist globalization.

For them, the violence of impoverishment is compounded by a feeling of class contempt on the part

of the right-wing and “left-wing” politicians who have ruled the country for four decades. Macron quickly realized the danger posed by the momentum of such a movement. This is evidenced by the police violence deployed, which, while not new, was unprecedented in its scale and systematic nature.

“Kettling” techniques were frequently used, as were explosive grenades, crowd control grenades, and LBD ball launchers. In other words, the so-called “forces of order” did not hesitate to use military equipment.

The human toll bears witness to this state violence, which until then had been reserved solely for riots in working-class neighborhoods, such as in November 2005. As early as December 2018, Amnesty International warned of the number of injured and seriously injured: 1,407 protesters, including 46 seriously injured, according to official figures<sup>[2]</sup>.

A year later, in November 2019, the NGO estimated the number of injured at 2,500 and referred to “massive and indiscriminate repression.”<sup>[3]</sup> For its part, AFP reported 23 people blinded during the movement, with no convictions of the perpetrators five years later.<sup>[4]</sup>

Mass repression also took the form of arrests and legal proceedings: 11,203 people were taken into custody between November 2018 and July 2019, of whom only 5,962 were released without charge; 20,280 people were found guilty of “contempt of public authority” in 2019 alone.

The same techniques of repression and violence were repeated during the great pension battle of 2023 and during the repression of the revolt in working-class neighborhoods following the assassination of Nahel in Nanterre in the summer of 2023. At its peak, the former brought together nearly 3 million people in demonstrations. The second was the most widespread in the history of revolts of this type.

All large and medium-sized cities were affected, as well as many small towns. The number of participants is estimated at 500,000 according to official figures. The repression resulted in 3,651 arrests and

380 often severe prison sentences. In less than a decade, all segments of the working class took action with increasing radicalism—but separately and at different times. This separation allowed the ruling class to curb each of these movements, but also made it quickly aware of the dangers of a potential general uprising.

It was this realization that led to the shift of part of this class towards fascism (symbolized by the billionaire Bolloré) and the government’s adoption of the racist themes of the far right to prevent the working class from realizing that they had common interests.

This process of fascistization is therefore not a reversal of the Macron government, but its evolution in a situation of crisis of legitimacy and representativeness. Once again, Brecht’s lesson is proven true: “Fascism is not the opposite of democracy, but its evolution in times of crisis.”

### **The need to unite the working classes**

The rise of social anger in all segments of the working classes and a radicalization of the struggles we are witnessing. We are seeing periods of ebb and flow of varying lengths, but these do not call into question the intensification of the class struggle. The latter is taking place against the backdrop of the crisis of French imperialism in Africa, which has been further exacerbated by the demand by several Sahel countries for French troops to leave. Between its threatened neo-colonial superprofits and an increasingly radical social movement, financial capital as a whole feels the urgent need to divide the working classes by any means necessary in order to prevent convergence. For part of this capital, the shift towards a fascist path has already been made. This gives rise to the vital need to unify the working classes, unity never being a starting point but the result of common struggles. It also gives rise to the need for a structured, offensive trade union offensive, drawing on the lessons of the great struggles of recent years.

The trade union movement can play the role of

unifier of the working classes, if it sets this as its objective. Finally, it highlights the need for a broad anti-fascist front capable of responding to a fascistization that can only accelerate. For all these tasks, we need more than ever an organized communist movement capable of promoting the need for class unity everywhere in order to resist and to bring about the conditions for a social revolution in the long term.

### **The dialectic between economic and political class struggle**

Contradictions within social democracy

“Goodbye 1945, let’s reconnect our country to the world! The French social model is the pure product of the National Council of the Resistance. A compromise between Gaullists and Communists. It is high time to reform it, and the government is working on it. [...] Civil service status, special pension schemes, social security reform, joint management... everything that was put in place between 1944 and 1952, without exception... Today, it is a question of leaving 1945 behind and methodically undoing the program of the National Council of the Resistance!”

With these words, spoken in 2007, Denis Kessler of the MEDEF (French Business Confederation) clearly indicated what monopoly capital is making successive governments do, especially since the conversion of social democracy to liberalism, initiated by the Socialist government, flanked by the leadership of the PCF (French Communist Party), under the leadership of François Mitterrand. The right-wing social democracy of the labor movement has mutated into the left wing of capital. For clarification, MEDEF: The Movement of French Enterprises is a French employers’ organization founded in 1998. MEDEF is responsible for the dismantling of the Labor Code, the relentless rise in the retirement age, industrial relocations, the de facto freezing of wages, and the massive decline in “producing in France.”

While resistance from workers and the people delayed the systematic destruction of the CNR, this

turning point accelerated monetary integration in the EU—first through the Maastricht referendum and then through the Constitutional Treaty (TCE). The victory of the popular class NO vote led to a qualitative leap in the process of differentiation between the union rank and file and the leadership, and within the PS (Socialist Party), thereby undermining the PCF’s follow-the-leader policy.

It is essential to remember that it was within the National Council of the Resistance (CNR) that all the forces of the Resistance fighting Nazism and collaboration united during the Second World War. This united front was not content with armed struggle alone: it also had an ambitious social project, formalized in its 1944 program, which included strategic nationalizations, the creation of universal social security, and the establishment of a solidarity-based, interprofessional, and intergenerational pension system, all of which were the founding pillars of what would later be called the “social gains” of the postwar period.

It should also be noted that the European Constitutional Treaty (ECT), although clearly rejected by the French people in the 2005 referendum, was ultimately imposed on us by force, notably through the Treaty of Lisbon, which incorporates the content of the Constitution.

Democracy for the ruling class ends where its interests begin. This democratic betrayal paved the way for a series of European measures that accelerated the deindustrialization of the country, trivialized precarious work, and gradually dismantled social rights. Since then, large sections of the population, faced with deteriorating living conditions and contempt from the elites, have gradually become radicalized.

From that point on, fascism, organized within the National Front (now the National Rally: RN), gradually capitalized on the discontent and despair of large sections of the working class. This strategy has been greatly facilitated by the major private media outlets, owned by fascist and ultra-Catholic oligarchs such as

Bolloré, who have set up a vast propaganda machine designed to divide the working class, stigmatize migrants, and isolate the militant forces of the left. In 2021, a poll by the Journal du Dimanche indicated that the RN's influence within the police force had already reached 30%. Today, in 2025, several studies estimate this rate to be between 55% and 60%.

The cycle of social struggles in all their diversity has accelerated this process of rupture, particularly with the anti-liberal collectives, then the Front de Gauche (FG) and La France Insoumise (LFI). These various anti-liberal, anti-fascist, and anti-war fronts are the expression of popular resistance ranging from trade union bases, social revolts such as the Yellow Vests and Red Caps, working-class neighborhoods, anti-war, anti-racist, and anti-fascist movements, etc.

These conjunctural fronts reflect the impact of the increasingly radical social struggles of the social classes that are victims of the socially devastating offensives of capital. Objectively, LFI appears to be the most radical expression of scattered inter-classist popular resistance. Hence the need to forge the anti-capitalist wing of the anti-liberal, anti-fascist, and anti-war fronts on the ground of struggle.

The need for communist reconstruction The PCF's tailism/submission to the PS has accelerated the social democratization of its leadership, which at each stage of its evolution has led to departures from the PCF. After the resistance of the 9 under the leadership of Jeannette Veermeersch in the early 1980s, the defeat of the socialist camp in Europe in 1989/91 precipitated the reformist "mutation" of the PCF, which gave rise in the mid-1990s to the Communist Coordination, then in 2000 to the Rouges Vifs network, the PRCF, RC, ANC, etc.

Renewing the revolutionary tradition of the French section of the Communist International as an independent political expression of the working class is the stated objective of these communist resistance movements, both internal and external to the PCF.

The crisis of bourgeois democracy and its current

fascistization is both a consequence of the systemic crisis of the imperialist capitalist mode of production and the decline of the imperialist hegemony that has dominated humanity since the 15th century. It is also a crisis of the alliance of European bourgeoisies subject to the Atlantic alliance dominated by US imperialism. This decline of imperialism in general is bringing about social regression, fascistization, and wars, the barbarity of which is illustrated by the genocide in Palestine committed by the Zionist Israeli state with the complicity, including repressive fascist complicity, of our governments.

Accelerating the process of communist reconstruction on the basis of unity of action in the field of struggle has become imperative if our national proletariat is to establish itself as the only real political force capable of restoring our sovereignty against the choice of vassalage to the EU and/or NATO by our imperialist bourgeoisie.

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## Notes

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## **“Let’s turn our resistance against the imperialists into an attack!”**

**Party of the Committees to Support Resistance—for Communism (CARC Party, Italy)**

Comrades, the CARC Party thanks the World Anti-imperialist Platform for organizing this Conference and wishes that a similar one will be held in our country in the near future, in order to continue on the path that the Platform has taken and to which we are joining. It expresses its utmost solidarity with the Venezuelan people and their government, the government that the people have given themselves and which, strengthened by the legacy of Hugo Chavez, defends them against all internal and external aggression, the government we thank for hosting this conference, which is both a moment and a tool of defense against the imperialists who attack the Venezuelan people and all the peoples of the earth, and at the same time a sign of the movement of the popular masses and the rebirth of the communist movement that is manifesting itself in many parts of the world.

Comrades, what has been done cannot be erased. The steps forward taken by the Venezuelan people in recent decades, as well as the struggles for the establishment of socialism by all the peoples of the world and the parties that have led them for more than a century, have left indelible marks on present history, point the way to future history, and urge us to advance along this path.

In the face of proletarian revolutions (socialist and new democracy), struggles for the liberation and independence of peoples, and the resistance movement of the popular masses, the international community of US, Zionist, European, and associated imperialist groups (Canadian, Japanese, South Korean, Australian, and the like) responds with the extension of war. It is war on the eastern front of Europe: the imperi-

alists started it more than ten years ago in Ukraine with the massacres of the population in Kiev, Odessa and then in Donbass, and today they are retreating in the face of the Russian Federation’s intervention in support of the people. It is war in Palestine, where the Zionists are carrying out a genocide against the Palestinian people like that of the Nazis against the Jewish people in the last century, and which is now forced to withdraw from Gaza in the face of popular resistance in Palestine and in the imperialist countries, on whose support the survival of the Zionist state of Israel depends.

There is mobilization against the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, with the US imperialists sending their warships to its seas, the latest act after all attempts to destabilize the government from within by mobilizing their infamous serfs, traitors to the nation.

These are all overt and covert destabilization maneuvers on various continents around the world, and attacks on the living conditions of the masses in all countries, both imperialist and oppressed by imperialists. It is war on the military, political, economic, social, and cultural fronts, and part of this war is the awarding of the Nobel “Peace” Prize to Marina Corina Machado, a vile tool of the US imperialists, an enemy of the people of Venezuela, and one of the worst figures of reaction on the South American continent.

The international community of US, Zionist, European, and associated imperialist groups has become embroiled in World War III because it now has no other way to deal with the crisis that is corroding and devastating its system at its roots: an economic,

political, and cultural crisis, a general crisis that affects every aspect of society and has only two possible solutions, proletarian revolution or war. War is the only option for the imperialists, who continue to wage it even in the face of defeats such as those in Ukraine and Palestine, and as will inevitably happen when they extend it to East Asia, against states such as the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The imperialists will be defeated, as the Nazi-fascists were in World War II. The imperialists are faced, among other things, with socialist states that are powerful on every level: political, economic, military, social, and cultural. Neither they nor anyone else can defeat a country where the people and their government are united, where communists lead the masses to advance in the construction of socialism, learning from the victories and also the defeats of the communists who preceded us, correcting the mistakes and overcoming the limitations that caused the first world wave of proletarian revolution to run its course and the communist movement to retreat. The imperialists have failed to subdue a small nation like Cuba, they have been defeated on a small peninsula like Vietnam, they have failed in every attempt to overthrow the governments of Venezuela in the last two decades. Nor have they succeeded in breaking the resistance of the Palestinian people, which turned into an attack with the operation carried out on October 7, 2023, the Al Aqsa Storm.

Mao Zedong and the Chinese communists taught us that "imperialism and all reactionaries, from a long-term and strategic point of view, are paper tigers. On this, we build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers, and they eat men. On this we build our tactical thinking." Imperialists sow death and destruction, they have no moral rules, they do not stop at any horror, and in this sense, they are real tigers. But fundamentally they are paper tigers: every step they take is a step toward the precipice, they go for-

ward blindly driven by the pursuit of profit, every step they take arouses resistance and rebellion that communists can and must transform into revolution: into the revolutionary people's war that will defeat the imperialists and establish socialism. For this reason, the communist and anti-imperialist forces, each in their own field and together, while confident of their victory, must devote all their attention and utmost rigor to developing and implementing a plan of action to advance the revolution in their own country and unite with those who, under all skies, raise the banner of the struggle against imperialism, of the struggle to end World War III and the imperialist system of which it is the fruit.

This Conference is precisely a tool for better understanding the situation and how to intervene to transform the ongoing war into revolution. We therefore wish it every success, and that it may cement the establishment of a world anti-imperialist front.

Our will is to commit our best energies to a world anti-imperialist front, with the confidence and strength that comes from the knowledge that this front includes nations such as China and Russia, which are also committed on an economic level to forming alliances such as the BRICS, that this front includes nations such as North Korea, Vietnam, Venezuela, and many others, and which includes parties and organizations active in every part of the world. At the same time, and above all, we are dedicating all our energies to advancing the socialist revolution in Italy, that is, to overthrowing imperialism in our country and making Italy a new socialist country. The way to do this today is to create an emergency government of popular organizations, a People's Bloc Government that will address the increasingly devastating effects of the crisis among the popular masses of our country. This is the greatest contribution we can make today to the struggle against imperialism at the international level and for each country, our best contribution to the Venezuelan people, the Palestinian people, and all the peoples of the world. This

government, which the CARC Party has been working to establish for more than fifteen years, already includes among its measures the establishment of international relations with any country willing to establish them, privileged relations, for example, with governments such as that of Venezuela.

The tradition of revolutionary struggle of the Italian people is for us not only a source of pride but also a basic stone for advancing the socialist revolution and, today, for establishing the People's Bloc Government. This glorious heritage has also been shown in recent days, with general strikes, blockades of ports, roads, highways, and railways, and demonstrations by millions of people in support of the Sudum Flotilla, under the slogan "Let's block everything," which started with the dockers of Genoa, who are currently at the forefront of the Italian working class.

All this gives us confidence, lights our way, and allows us to send a message of joy to you who are taking part in this Conference and to all those who are listening to us.

*Long live the Venezuelan people and their government!  
Let's turn our resistance against the imperialists into  
an attack!  
Forward, until victory!*

## **“Against Imperialism, For Peace and Socialism.”**

**Luca A. Rodilosso** | Italian Communist Party

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Italian Communist Party, we send a fraternal communist greeting and our internationalist solidarity to this conference in Caracas and to the political and social forces participating in it.

War scenarios continue to plague entire areas of the world—not least, Trump’s threat to Venezuela and the shameful awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Mrs. Machado, who has not hesitated to call for military intervention in her homeland to overthrow the Venezuelan socialist government. Unable to win in society, she appeals to brute force and this shows the bad stature of her character.

With the genocide of the Palestinians in Gaza, for now in a state of apparent truce, we have seen what the power of money and finance can do, deciding on the lives and destinies of entire peoples, trampling upon the most elementary right to life and existence. For two years, Israel has implemented its neocolonial, imperialist, bloodthirsty and racist project without any real restraint.

The West, on the other hand, has fully demonstrated its double standards, for the wars that suit it, and only and exclusively in the interest of preserving colonization, while in the face of the war in Ukraine it has used and continues to use all legal as well as military tools to fight Russia.

This is the response of imperialism to the emergence of a new multipolar world order, an order that we Italian communists firmly support and hope. In view of this, it is necessary to strengthen the unity of the forces of progress and anti-imperialist, variously organised in different international networks, which must face this wave of massacres and wars.

The ongoing conflicts in Gaza and Ukraine are fundamental pieces of a single world conflict that has as its stakes the perpetuation of a US-led unipolar world or the construction of a multipolar one that is a prelude to democratic and mutually beneficial international relations.

Peoples suffer and struggle in every part of the world, divided in a strategy of continuous tension, which after Trump’s election has also seen Europe added to the theaters of conflict. Europe has sacrificed the well-being of its populations and its own states the name of market rules without any relevance to investments in the real economy. It has become the direction of the NATO Deep State and various financial entities that act and put pressure on the member countries.

At present, the moment we are living in Europe sees the hegemony of various bourgeois nationalisms and sovereigntisms that on the surface criticize globalism, but in fact feed on the same dynamics of capitalist exploitation that also affect public health.

Only by fighting for a more just and socialist society, a prerequisite for peace among peoples, facing enormous challenges in a very dangerous time such as today’s, pursuing the ambitious goal of making a just peace prevail that respects the self-determination of peoples, will our political work make sense.

We sincerely thank all the political forces that have intervened and will intervene and the organizers of the international meeting in Caracas. Only united and cohesive will we win.

To work and struggle comrades.

## Anti-fascism and Anti-imperialism

Pablo Gomez Acevedo | Communist Party of the Galician Republic (PCRG)

Comrades, on behalf of the Communist Party of the Galician Republic, I would like to begin by thanking you for allowing us to be here today, in the homeland of Commander Chávez, who, with his defense of Bolívar's revolutionary legacy, represents today an example of anti-imperialist dignity and sovereignty for all the peoples of the world. Now that the vulture elites in Washington are barking to intimidate the Venezuelan people and redoubling their efforts to overthrow this revolution, now more than ever we are proud to say that we are your comrades and share your struggle.

I would also like to greet the other international delegations representing the best of the proletarian, revolutionary, and anti-fascist heritage from all corners of the world.

Spanish fascism was the weapon used by the bourgeoisie to crush the attempts of the working class and peasants to achieve decent living conditions. Bankers, landowners, and businessmen joined forces with the Nazis and Italian fascists and carried out genocide and systematic persecution of all communist, anarchist, socialist, trade unionist, intellectual, and republican teachers... They installed an autocratic, corrupt regime of absolute vassalage. In other words, fascism fulfilled the historical role defined by Dimitrov as the open dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinistic, and imperialist elements of finance capital.

Therefore, Latin America was a center of resistance for the Galician people in the last century. Escaping the clutches of fascist barbarism, which overthrew the Second Spanish Republic, and the genocide committed in Galicia, many Galician anti-fascists found their home here.

Venezuela played a special role, welcoming a huge

number of anti-fascist refugees who formed political and cultural resistance organizations here, such as El Centro Galego de Caracas. Through the vindication of our culture and our language, persecuted and hated by Spanish fascism, it acted as a breeding ground for the emergence of ideas of resistance, which matured until the first outlines of Galician communism began to take shape, closely linked to our people's desire for independence. It is, therefore, that our communism is born as a brother to all those peoples who cry out "Patria o Muerte" (Fatherland or Death), which means the same as "socialism or barbarism."

Today, our tasks remain unchanged: the emancipation of oppressed peoples, the establishment of an international order based on respect for sovereignty, collaboration, and equity, and the struggle against an exploitative bourgeoisie that uses fascism as a weapon of shock on both the ideological and military fronts.

These are the goals of international communism, which can only be achieved through the conquest of power by the working class. We understand, in short, that anti-fascism and anti-imperialism are one and the same, and that without socialism, neither is possible. Socialism is the most perfect form of humanity's collective project to date, and we are committed to making Galicia a Socialist Republic that stands alongside all sister peoples in the common struggle against imperialist barbarism. For all these reasons, in this homeland that has stood with Gaddafi and Fidel, and now stands with the Palestinian people and all the oppressed, we say with conviction: long live the anti-fascist struggle!

## **“The Only Way to Defeat U.S. Imperialism Is Through the Unity of All Popular Forces”**

**Edil Osinaga** | Communist Party of Bolivia

Good afternoon, comrades!

It is an honor to be here today, on behalf of the Communist Party of Bolivia, to express our support for the Bolivarian revolution and President Nicolás Maduro.

We are at a crucial moment in history. The global capitalist system is undergoing a profound structural crisis. A crisis that is not only economic, but also social, political, and moral. And it is in this context of decline that we must understand the desperate actions of US imperialism.

Since the fall of the USSR, the US has assumed the role of global policeman, deploying its hegemony with a network of nearly a thousand military bases. Its dominance has expanded so much that today, even on the European continent, one cannot speak of an independent “European imperialism,” but rather of an unacceptable submission to the dictates of Washington.

Faced with the weakening of its hegemony and the inevitable advance toward a multipolar world, US imperialism reacts with the aggressiveness of a wounded beast. This is why US imperialism is today the greatest threat to humanity, as it will not hesitate to drag us all into the abyss in order to maintain its power.

And, as always, its gaze turns to us. To Our America. Because our continent is not poor; it is impoverished. We are immensely rich. We are the planet’s great strategic reserve of natural resources: oil, water, lithium, biodiversity, minerals. Everything they need to try to revive their obsolete model.

In this adverse scenario, the Bolivarian Revolution appears as a beacon of hope and dignity, demonstrat-

ing to the world that US imperialism is not invincible. Venezuela is living proof that it is possible to say “No!”, that it is possible to challenge the giant and, despite a criminal blockade and a fierce economic war, to remain standing. It is an example of dignity and courage for all the peoples of the world. And for that very reason, it is being punished with a vengeance!

Imperialism knows that its greatest threat is not missiles or armies, but our unity. It knows that if the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean unite, we will be unstoppable. That is why its strategy is and always has been: to divide us!

It sabotages every attempt at true integration. It encourages fictitious conflicts between sister countries. And it fuels differences within the popular movement in our countries. It pits us against each other based on gender, race, acronyms, tactics, and egos, while it, the common enemy, continues to advance.

Commander Hugo Chávez understood this better than anyone. That is why he gave the utmost importance to the creation of instruments of unity such as ALBA, CELAC, and UNASUR. That is the legacy that Commander Chávez has left us.

Our duty, as anti-imperialist parties and organizations, is to support the Bolivarian Revolution and every struggle in the world that confronts US imperialism, such as the case of heroic Cuba and the just cause of Palestine.

We cannot afford the luxury of division. Let what happened in my country, Bolivia, serve as a lesson! As a result of internal divisions, fruitless fights, and losing sight of the class enemy, we ended up handing

over the government to the bourgeoisie. That is the direct, bitter, and concrete consequence of disunity: the defeat of our peoples.

That is why, today, from this podium, I want to leave a message:

We must understand, once and for all, that the only way to defeat US imperialism is through the unity of all popular forces.

Thank you, comrades.

Hasta la Victoria, siempre!

## Statement on the political situation in Peru

Fidel Humberto Andia Guzman | Peruvian Communist Party

Comrades, friends, and comrades attending this great event held in this beautiful and courageous country, birthplace of our liberator Simón Bolívar, the great general of Ayacucho Antonio José de Sucre, and the eternal revolutionary Hugo Chávez Frías:

Allow me to address you on behalf of the historic Peruvian Communist Party, which on October 7 celebrated its 97th anniversary since its founding by the amauta José Carlos Mariátegui La Chira.

The era in which we live corresponds to the imperialist phase of capitalist development and to the various proletarian and anti-imperialist revolutions that began in the mid-19th century and reached their peak in the 20th century.

Imperialism is the highest stage of the capitalist system. “Its essential characteristic,” said Lenin, “is that it is monopoly capitalism.” Imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism implies that the phenomenon exists worldwide. All countries with a capitalist economic base are embedded in the imperialist system, linked and interdependent, although, due to uneven development, capitalist economies occupy different places in the imperialist system, in accordance with the thesis of uneven development and not as part of the basis for the absurd thesis of the “imperialist pyramid.”

Comrades, Peru, like other Latin American countries, still retains the old oligarchic legacy of a bourgeoisie that remains trapped in colonialism, which has been incapable for more than 200 years of building national identity and sovereignty, much less being the ruling class that could lead the country toward development and progress.

Except for the temporary milestone that occurred between 1968 and 1975, during the revolutionary government of General Juan Velazco Alvarado—who implemented agrarian reform and nationalized foreign companies, among other measures—all other governments have acted in the interests of the bourgeoisie and the large national and foreign economic power groups. Velazco’s political achievements were gradually dismantled by the governments that succeeded him.

In 1990, at a time when Peru was undergoing a severe economic crisis and political violence initiated by the armed groups Shining Path and the MRTA, Alberto Fujimori was elected president. In April 1992, he staged a coup d’état, closing Congress and taking control of the judiciary with the support of the armed forces. Previously, he had created the conditions to gain the support of a submissive press that demonized political parties, paving the way for a Constituent Assembly with almost no opposition. A new neoliberal Constitution was drafted, providing for the privatization of public companies, creating the concept of “law contracts,” and assigning the state a role as a promoter of private investment. This Constitution turned Peru into a primary exporting country and dismantled what little industry existed. It also suffocated the smallholders who were the heirs of the agricultural cooperatives, who had no access to credit and were forced to sell their land, returning it to the old large estates concentrated in a few private hands, under the name of “agro-industrial or agro-export companies.”

Fujimori ruled Peru in a dictatorial manner disguised as democracy, concentrating absolute power

and controlling the legislature, the judiciary, and the public prosecutor's office, with the support of the armed forces. He used the proceeds from privatization as a political weapon, promoting patronage and ac-customizing the impoverished population to handouts in exchange for political support. Many labor rights were eliminated; employment became informal, out-sourced, and precarious, and private investment was allowed in basic services such as health, education, and pensions. The only company to survive the pri-vatization maelstrom is PETROPERÚ, which is the target of a media smear campaign aimed at forcing its sale.

In 2000, Fujimori illegally ran for a second re-election, but when serious acts of corruption were uncovered—including the buying of media outlets, congressmen, and politicians—in which he was in-volved along with his chief advisor and part of his family, he fled the country to Japan, where he re-signed by fax. However, he had already been removed from office in absentia, and Valentín Paniagua as-sumed the presidency, calling for general elections.

Between 2001 and 2016, Alejandro Toledo, Alan García, and Ollanta Humala governed; the latter had the support of leftist and progressive forces in his election, although he later submitted to the interests of the right wing and the bourgeoisie. These years were marked by economic prosperity due to high mineral prices, the main source of income. However, a corrupt mafia gained ground and took over various levels of the state, seizing power, which is reflected in the country's current situation.

Since 2016, following the election of the conserva-tive PPK as president, Peru has entered a period of unprecedented political instability. Since then, there have been seven presidents, produced by a corrupt Congress controlled mainly by Fujimorism, with sec-tors linked to drug trafficking, illegal mining, and the state mafia. Nevertheless, the economy is sustained by high mineral prices and the momentum of infor-mal workers, who account for more than 70% of the

economically active population, as well as a reserve bank that is managed autonomously.

According to a study conducted in 2022, the top 25 Economic Power Groups (EPGs) account for 79% of the total income of the 100 EPGs. In other words, there is an elite within the business elite. In addition, in the two main export sectors, there are clear trends toward concentration (of markets, land, etc.) as well as foreign ownership, re-primarization, multinationalization, and accelerated territorial pri-vatization. One of Peru's weaknesses is that, despite the agro-export boom, food insecurity is on the rise because a large part of basic food products such as rice, sugar, and flour is imported.

Peru is considered a highly corrupt country—not for nothing does it currently have three former presidents in prison for these crimes and one who committed suicide to avoid going to prison.

In 2021, Pedro Castillo, a rural teacher from Caja-marca of indigenous descent, was elected with the support of left-wing parties and progressive sectors, despite a fierce media campaign by the right wing and Fujimori supporters. The so-called “Brute and Anchored Right” appealed to the OAS and the U.S. Southern Command to prevent Pedro Castillo from assuming the presidency, accusing him of being a “communist,” “terrorist,” or “enemy of democracy and freedom.” Nevertheless, he took office, and im-mediately a brutal campaign was launched using all possible and available means to remove him from power. During Pedro Castillo's short stay in office—just over a year and four months—three requests for his removal were filed, and on December 7, 2022, ill-advised and pressured by the circumstances, as a fourth request for his removal was to be debated that day, he read a manifesto calling for the closure of Congress and other institutions, after which he was illegally arrested by the police, minutes before Congress—despite not reaching the necessary votes—officially declared his removal from office.

Thus, Dina Boluarte, then vice president of the

Republic—against whom Congress had previously withdrawn all charges filed before her election as part of the Peru Libre presidential ticket—assumed the presidency, establishing a servile executive branch that was a puppet of the far-right congressional majority, confirming from that moment on a mafia pact directed from Congress.

Since December 2022, Peru has been living under the shadow of a regime disconnected from reality, shrouded in corruption and impunity, with a Congress and Executive focused on building the legal and institutional framework to ensure impunity for crimes committed and yet to be committed. Meanwhile, the country is bleeding dry, victimized by the ferocity of common crime, illegal mining, and the accelerated decomposition of the Peruvian National Police, which, as of the date of this report, has more than 240 police officers of various ranks who are members of criminal organizations dedicated to extortion, contract killings, and illegal mining.

Boluarte, convinced of her greatness, surrounded herself with an entourage of ministers linked to the legal defense of criminals, such as the lawyer Santivañez, whose role is to clear the way for impunity in the face of more than 70 massacres during the protests of December 2022 and January 2023. She was unable to confront the extortion and contract killings that have claimed the lives of drivers, taxi drivers, warehouse workers, artists, doctors, engineers, merchants, street vendors, and construction workers. This social scourge affects only the middle and lower classes, so it cannot be ruled out that these acts, which remain unpunished to this day, are part of a psychosocial strategy of fear and subjugation of society for the benefit of the untouchable large economic power groups.

The absence of a balance of power has allowed the mafia pact to reform the Constitution at will, enacting laws aimed at controlling other branches of government and autonomous bodies such as the Constitutional Court (TC), the National Justice

Board (JNJ), the Office of the Attorney General, the National Elections Board (JNE), the National Office of Electoral Processes (ONPE), and the National Registry of Identification and Civil Status (RENIEC), all in preparation for the electoral fraud of 2026.

The repressive and mafia-like zeal of the congressional majority led by Fujimorism is evident when, in the same style as Fujimori's dictatorial government, it abuses the use of provisional judges, such as those who judge Pedro Castillo and other defendants—judges who lack authority and are more concerned with protecting their jobs than administering justice in accordance with the law.

The recent ousting of the usurper Dina Boluarte from the presidency, which took place in the context of massive popular demonstrations rejecting the coalition government in power since December 7, 2022, revealed, on the one hand, the absolute isolation of the regime, which was rejected by almost 98% of the population, and, on the other hand, confirmed its complicity with organized crime, given that the corrupt Congress openly relaxed various regulations that had served to combat organized crime.

The public witnessed how the ruling mafia—made up of Fuerza Popular, Somos Perú, Acción Popular, Renovación Popular, Alianza Para el Progreso, Avanza País, and the support of Perú Libre—consistent with its ambition to seize state powers, modified the constitution and numerous laws to impose the bicameral system that had previously been rejected by popular referendum, modified the law on organized crime to protect its main leaders from prison, and more. Part of the same plan has been to disqualify potential electoral contenders such as Martín Vizcarra, Sagasti, Antauro Humala, Betsy Chávez, etc.; to keep Pedro Castillo in prison for a crime that was not committed; so that the mafia's candidates have a clear path to take over the government.

The new interim president responds to the interests of the same mafia coalition that has been ruling the country since December 2022, so he does not guaran-

tee any real change in the state's economic and social policy. Not only because José Jerí faces allegations of rape, corruption, bribery, illicit enrichment, and legal proceedings that delegitimize his investiture, but also because he comes from a political group that is still part of the ruling mafia and that voted to protect criminal gangs and other abuses of the discredited Congress. All this means that, with the vacancy maneuver or the new right-wing cabinet, the nature of the regime has not changed at all, but rather impunity has been consolidated.

Comrades, Peru is subjugated by the corrupt oligarchic right, by illegal mining, and by state corruption, compounded by the servile attitude of our ruling political class toward the U.S. empire. The leftist and communist forces, battered by the campaign of terror and the actions of right-wing and CIA infiltration, have been unable to build unity in the face of the upcoming electoral process, presenting themselves in up to four different blocs. It is also urgent to carry out a profound self-criticism within our organizations, distancing ourselves from infiltrators until they are banished. In unity, let us redouble our efforts to build a program and project for the country's development, aimed fundamentally at solving the problems of employment, poverty, health, housing, education, and pensions; and to draft a new Constitution for the industrial development of the country with added value.

*For Unity in the Face of the Mafia Pact and the Threat of Fraud!*

*For a New Peru in a New World!*

*Close Congress—Let Them All Go!*

*In Memory of José Carlos Mariátegui, Jorge del Prado, and Pedro Huilca, Examples of Struggle and Social Commitment!*

## **“Building Anti-Imperialist Solidarity in Latin America”**

**Carolina Michelle Cabrera Martínez** | Socialist Chair Antonio Gramsci (Mexico)

### **To the Anti-Imperialist Platform:**

I would like to clarify that the political definitions and tasks we propose here are primarily aimed at strengthening anti-imperialism in Latin America and the Caribbean. We are focusing on the cases of Venezuela, Colombia, and Mexico, countries that are currently the main targets of Washington’s intervention. However, these proposals also seek to enrich and enhance the valuable work of the Platform at the international level.

### **Analysis and proposals from Mexico:**

In the case of Mexico, there is a favourable scenario for us to speak out against imperialism’s actions in Gaza; sympathy for the Palestinian people is enormous. Furthermore, in the face of Trump’s constant interventionist threats against our government, the willingness of the population to mobilise is practically unanimous.

However, this broad solidarity with Palestine, Venezuela, and Colombia is not reflected equally towards the latter two countries. Fascism in Latin America has deployed counter-revolutions in different forms, dismantling the left and advancing the right.

Demonstrations of strength on the left cannot be limited to mass or crowd simulations; it is necessary to lead the struggle from an organised and politicised people in each locality. A left-wing social process that does not deepen favours the return of the most recalcitrant right-wing forces. The Mexican right wing knows this well; recently, an expression of fascism has been reconstituted through the National Action Party with the slogan ‘Homeland, Family, Freedom,’ an ultra-conservative gamble with fascist roots. Meanwhile, the left continues to fail to mobilise the

people in an urgent anti-fascist struggle.

For this reason, we began a solidarity movement with all of Latin America some time ago, whose core and greatest strength currently resides in Mexican universities, through the Mexican University Network against Imperialist Aggression, which is committed to the union of Latin American peoples. In addition, we work in collaboration with trade unionists, feminist movements, and other social actors.

In Latin America, we must move from limited solidarity, based on a lax, ‘bourgeois’ liberal-democratic vision, to active and militant solidarity. This requires something fundamental: building effective political action that is not only intense activism, but also, and above all, a strategy for the accumulation of forces in defence of our cause. In other words, coordinated activities that respond to a common purpose: in the short term, to establish an interpretative bridge between Washington’s recent and historical threats against Mexico, Venezuela, and Colombia.

### **On Colombia:**

In Mexico, we do not yet have significant experience of broad solidarity movements with Colombia, beyond small groups that support various political forces in that country. Next week, we will have a meeting in Mexico City with members of Colombia Humana, where we will address this issue.

### **Regarding Venezuela:**

Solidarity with Venezuela remains limited. This is due, in part, to the constant and massive campaign by the hegemonic media that has bombarded Mexican public perception, fuelling prejudices and irresponsible statements such as: ‘We are not Venezuela,’ ‘Our

economy is doing well, we are not like Venezuela’, or ‘We will not be Venezuela’. These phrases have been repeated, with decreasing intensity, by governors, senators, deputies, and left-wing leaders, creating a common prejudiced view.

However, President Claudia Sheinbaum, due to her socialist background, has shifted this narrative, making it clear that a sister country should never be treated with contempt, especially when it has been harassed by imperialism since Chávez came to power.

**Commitment and actions:**

We take on the tasks and duties that the World Anti-imperialist Platform has entrusted to us in Mexico. We strive to link the anti-imperialist struggle currently being waged by the people and government of our country with those being carried out by other countries in Washington’s sights. In addition, we are working to build an anti-fascist struggle that we must lead from the left, in parallel with the anti-imperialist struggle. We will urgently prioritise coordination and solidarity with Venezuela and Colombia—in that order—and then move towards integration and co-operation with all the peoples of Latin America in an active and committed struggle within the World Anti-imperialist Platform.

Last but not least, we reaffirm as a maxim that the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle will be feminist, or it will not be; and that the feminist struggle will be equally anti-fascist and anti-imperialist, or it will be meaningless.

*With Bolívar and Hidalgo in our minds and hearts!*

*Long live the Patria Grande!*

*And to hell with imperialism!*

## **“Africa and the Global Struggle Against Imperialism and Fascism.”**

**Adama Coulibaly** | Dynamique Unitaire Panafricaine

Dear Comrades,

The Pan-African Unitary Dynamic (DUP) is honored to once again take part in this international conference in Caracas, dedicated to the themes “Comuna o Nada” and “Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Fascism.”

Africa, like South America, has long endured the torments and barbarity of imperialism—and, in more recent times, the predatory and degrading dictates of the capitalist institutions of Bretton Woods, the IMF, and the World Bank. Today, these same forces are imposing fascism and war upon us. Our concerns and our struggle are shared.

The DUP brings together more than twenty African and Afro-descendant organizations—political, civic, and associative—from the continent, from territories still under French colonial rule, and from the diaspora. Our struggle aims to free the continent from all forms of domination and to rebuild a united, sovereign, and prosperous Africa—serving the peoples of Africa in active solidarity with other nations, for a peaceful world at the service of humanity.

We stand for a pan-Africanism that is anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, revolutionary, and sovereignist. We reaffirmed this commitment at the Dakar International Conference, through the voices of our comrades who outlined the state of the struggle across different countries.

This conference takes place amid a global context marked by the madness of a system in deep crisis—a system seeking to survive by any means necessary: provoking conflicts, destroying the environment, spreading terrorism, and globalizing war in all its

forms. War has always been the imperialist-capitalist system’s way of resolving crises, turning the people into cannon fodder. Yet, the peoples have always resisted—and they stand for peace.

Comrades,

Like the Caribbean, Venezuela, and other parts of the world, Africa remains one of the main victims of the destabilizing and criminal actions of this system of domination, which destroys all values other than profit.

Let us remember: Africa has been treated as a sordid testing ground for over four centuries, ravaged by continuous wars of occupation designed to enslave and exploit its labor, exterminate its peoples, and plunder its resources. Africa lives under a state of permanent war—too often ignored by the rest of the world, eliciting little solidarity beyond the African and Afro-descendant diasporas.

Yes, Africa—a vast continent, rich in peoples and resources—has been deeply scarred by nearly five centuries of the slave trade, during which tens of millions of men and women were scattered across the globe to contribute to the accumulation of Western capital. Tens of millions more perished in armed and unarmed resistance, through Arab slave raids, and on the horrific voyages across the Atlantic.

These massacres continued with the partition of Africa at the Berlin Conference of 1884–85: through colonial wars of invasion, forced labor, the conscription of youth as cannon fodder in the two imperialist world wars, and the establishment of neo-colonial puppet regimes.

Political and armed resistance, both past and present, has been led by patriots, sovereignists, and independence activists—many of whom were eliminated by imperialism: Toussaint Louverture in Haiti; Patrice Lumumba in Congo; Barthélémy Boganda in Central Africa; Ruben Um Nyobé, Félix Moumié, and Ernest Ouandié in Cameroon; Sylvanus Olympio in Togo; Amílcar Cabral in Guinea-Bissau; Thomas Sankara in Burkina Faso; and Muammar Gaddafi in Libya.

Imperialism and its local allies have flooded countries with weapons and divided communities, often resorting to genocide—as in Congo under King Leopold II, which cost over ten million lives, or in Rwanda, where nearly one million were killed and the violence spilled into the DRC, claiming fifteen million more over the past three decades. The U.S.–DRC agreement signed this year has done nothing to end this ongoing genocide.

A new imperialist war offensive is underway in Africa, led by NATO—imperialism’s armed wing. This new campaign of subjugation and recolonization intensified after the destruction of Libya and the assassination of Gaddafi, the arming of militias, and the spread of deadly terrorism throughout the Sahel and Gulf of Guinea. Added to this are civil wars in Sudan and rebellions in the DRC.

The resistance of young people and the masses has emerged powerfully across many countries, uniting around slogans against imperialist domination, against the plunder of wealth, and for sovereignty. Recent developments—such as the regime change in Senegal through the ballot box and the flight of Madagascar’s president in the face of the Gen Z movement—show this growing popular will. As usual, French imperialism exfiltrated its puppets, just as it did with Blaise Compaoré in 2014.

In the Sahel, imperialism amassed an armada of heavy weapons and tens of thousands of troops under the G5 Sahel framework—supposedly to fight terrorism. It was a total failure. Terrorism spread, the

people rose, and NATO forces were expelled from Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Chad.

These new military regimes came to power on the wave of popular protest—expressing hope and the will of the people. Their anti-imperialist and sovereignist measures include:

- The expulsion of NATO military forces (French, European, and U.S. armies) from Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger.
- The denunciation of colonial agreements and unfair contracts, especially with France.
- The diversification of diplomatic and economic partnerships based on mutual respect.
- Strengthening military cooperation with Russia and other partners.
- Breaking from ECOWAS, exploited by imperialism.
- Pooling resources through the AES and its Confederation for common defense and diplomacy.
- The nationalization of strategic sectors and the pursuit of bold economic projects amid the ongoing war on terrorism.

These actions—long demanded by generations of activists and youth—resonate across Africa and the world. Yet, we must not overlook the weaknesses and authoritarian tendencies of these new regimes, which risk undermining progress and giving imperialism new pretexts for attack.

As Frantz Fanon and Amílcar Cabral warned, the petty bourgeoisie must undergo “class suicide” in favor of revolution and socialism. The social base of these regimes remains fragile; in several countries, anti-imperialist leaders and trade unionists have been repressed or disappeared.

Long-standing anti-imperialist activists must not be targeted—they are a vital resource in mobilizing popular forces for liberation. Extrajudicial executions, especially against the Fulani community, endanger social cohesion and unity, which are essential for victory over terrorism and imperialist domination.

We must forge revolutionary unity of action to defend our peoples and leaders—the only endur-

ing way to weaken imperialism, which must also be fought within its own centers of power.

The DUP continues to unite determined pan-Africanist and anti-imperialist organizations in support of the growing struggles across Africa. The imperialist powers and their local proxies are responding with sabotage, repression, terrorism, and military escalation—now involving Ukrainian drones and mercenaries in the Sahel.

Our “communes,” the member organizations of the DUP, represent resistance movements across Africa and the Afro-descendant world. Without these organizations, our struggle would not have the impact it has today.

Together with the peoples of Africa, we are working to reclaim full sovereignty and unity, to end capitalist plunder and exploitation, and to ensure that all foreign and UN troops leave African soil.

This goal—liberation and progress for all peoples—can only be achieved through concrete internationalist solidarity in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. We are ready for this united struggle with comrades across all continents.

This is not only a political and economic fight, but an ideological one. The militarization of capitalism goes hand in hand with the rise of fascism in imperialist countries and their zones of influence. The political and ideological education of youth, women, and workers is essential to counter it.

The DUP prioritizes this educational work and welcomes collaboration with other anti-imperialist organizations to share experiences and strengthen our collective struggle.

We are committed to building strong ties with all forces working to create a world based on solidarity—one in which no nation dominates another, where the right of peoples to self-determination becomes a living reality, and where peace and cooperation prevail.

*Long live active solidarity among peoples and their true*

*representatives!*

*Against war and fascism, for peace—the workers and peoples of the world will prevail!*

*Nan lara, an sara! (If you lie down, you are dead!)*

*Only struggle liberates!*

## Official Speech Presented at the International Conference on the Political Situation in Guinea-Bissau

**Adama Ancumba Djata** | African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC, Guinea-Bissau)

Speech on the Political Situation in Guinea-Bissau  
Your Excellencies,  
Distinguished Representatives of the International Community,  
Esteemed Delegates,

It is with a sense of patriotic responsibility and a spirit of peace that the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) addresses this august assembly to present the serious political and institutional crisis currently plaguing the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Since the legislative elections of June 2023, the PAI-Terra Ranka coalition, led by the PAIGC, has achieved a clear and unequivocal victory at the polls, winning an absolute majority in the National People's Assembly (ANP), in accordance with the principles of democratic legality and respect for popular sovereignty.

However, in flagrant violation of the constitutional order and the mandate conferred by the Guinean people, the President of the Republic, General Umaro Sissoco Embaló, has chosen a path of authoritarianism, illegally dissolving Parliament and establishing a regime of personal and autocratic governance.

Among the most serious violations of the Constitution and the democratic rule of law are:

- The unconstitutional dismissal of the President of the National People's Assembly, without any legal basis, an act that constitutes direct and inadmissible interference by the Head of State in the legislative power;

- The irregular dissolution of the National People's Assembly, without any valid legal justification;
- The appointment of governments without parliamentary legitimacy;
- The arbitrary exclusion of the PAIGC and its President, Domingos Simões Pereira, from the presidential elections scheduled for November 2025;
- The expulsion of international media outlets (RTP, RDP, Agência Lusa) as well as the internal censorship imposed on independent radio stations and journalists;
- The systematic judicial persecution and intimidation of political leaders and opposition activists;
- The attempt to unconstitutionally extend the presidential term, based on distorted interpretations of judicial decisions.

These actions constitute a deliberate strategy to erode democratic institutions, weaken Parliament, silence civil society, and consolidate personal power outside the law.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Democracy in Guinea-Bissau is under a real threat. The freedom of our people, won with courage, sacrifice, and blood, is now being undermined by a regime that refuses to accept the limits imposed by the Constitution, democratic oversight, and the alternation of power.

The PAIGC, the founding party of the nation and heir to the national liberation struggle led by Amílcar Cabral, reaffirms in this international forum its unwavering commitment to peace, constitutional

legality, justice, and human rights.

We reject any form of violence or institutional breakdown. We will continue our struggle through peaceful and democratic means, certain that no power can resist the will of the people forever.

Guinea-Bissau is not the property of any one man. It is the collective heritage of its people—a people who knew how to fight for freedom and who will also know how to defend it.

We therefore urgently appeal for:

- The active solidarity of the international community;
- The constant vigilance of multilateral and regional organisations.

## **Anti-imperialism and Anti-fascism**

**Rafael C. Cardino** | Philippine Communist Party (PKP-1930)

Dear Comrade,

Today the world is facing its greatest danger...the threat of imperialist global nuclear war and the end of civilization, it is regression! Never it did it happened to mankind. Never did it face its greatest menace that civilization march towards progress and prosperity it is now at its juncture. Move towards continuity or halts and face its greatest obstacle within the system of its material existence.

Lenin define imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism; a social and economic order bound to its decaying and moribund stages. Characterize by monopoly of production, financial oligarchy, political and economic division, by war and by colonial and neocolonial conquest to control the vast material resources of the world. It is a social order facing transition to new and more responsive social order which is socialism. This is the volatile and predictable globalized world we are facing today.

There is no doubt that the imperial crises are at its decaying stage, its material basis as a social system is decaying and is characterized by the decaying social order wherein the parasitic few are living in luxury and extravagant while other are living in a shanty without the necessities such as water, food, basic health system and other. Recession is now haunting the old imperial Europe and the United States, the old system of parasitism and exploitation of the vast continent of Africa, in Latina America and in Asia is collapsing and nations are rising to untied this economic, political, and social order impose by the century old imperial dominance. New multi polar world order is rising... BRICS is fast developing to be the alternative world order, from the womb of the old and decaying capitalism. It is the law of nature that dying and moribund organism will utilize and

muster all its forces to prevent it demise, to resuscitate itself, to prolong its system of exploitation and dominance and this factors the rise of fascism. As regressive evolution of the capitalist order. It is the most reactionary, terroristic, and chauvinistic form of governance and policies. Its emasculate suppressive governance against its people and subject, it destroys democratic institution and ideas, it destroys whatever form of dissent and consciousness by people specifically of the working class. It prevents the progressive growth of system that will cause its downfall, it is ready and adopt suppressive measure which are aggressive, cruel, and dictatorial. Purposely to preserve and support the system which they are the dominant circle.

Today it is globally manifested in its economic sanctioned and blockade against Cuba, against China, North Korea, in Russia, Iran, Nicaragua, Brazil and India. The world will never forget the destruction and suffering it had caused to millions of civilians in Libya, Yemen, Afghanistan, Syria, and Iraq. In Venezuela where the threat of direct invasion by the USA looms under the pretext of combating drugs are but a mere facade to hide its true intention of taking its vast oil reserves and prevent the country from claiming its new found liberty and charts its own destiny. The (USA) globalist cohorts cause the genocidal reign; attack by the Zionist proxy regime of Israel against the people of Palestine, it causes fascist war in Ukraine with an aim of regime change in Russia, it is provoking China and destabilizing the Indo-Pacific Region. USA being the leader of the fascist world want to weakened and destabilize Europe and Asia, purposely to prolong its global economic and political hegemony as a weakened and inflated Europe and Asia will bolster its global economic hegemony.

Worst they believe that it can be achieved by conducting proxy war in Asia pitting our country... the Philippines, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea against China and North Korea. They (USA) had successfully achieved this Europe by the recent proxy war in Ukraine, wherein Ukraine acted as its proxy warrior and NATO as its supporter. Consequently, NATO economy is collapsing, it regresses from pre-conflict period till today where there is an ongoing recession in Germany, in France, in Italy, and in Great Britain. The trade and financial sanctions had backfired, and instead of crippled and weakened Russia a new Russia emerged financially, politically, and materially. It progresses rather than regressed. It is failure in the conflict and regime change is now haunting the fascist leader of Europe. Europe which was once the center of the globalized is socially regressing towards anarchy and social chaos. Their century old system and governance is now confronted by the people. Their social idea of governance and consciousness is now challenge and the need for change is now the call of its people. This is not only true in Europe it is also happening now at the center of the imperialist empire. Financially and economically, it is ruined and so to its social order causing the federal state to utilize fascist tactic and militarization of its member to quell the social unrest. In Asia specifically in the Far East and particularly in my country...the Philippines the clamor for an overhaul of the corrupt government is now haunting right within the present government. The collusion between the politician and the oligarchic which is bleeding both the government and the people is causing dissent. The member of the ruling neo-colonial puppet government is now blaming each other: who is the culprit? Who benefited from the construction oligarch? Who are the corrupt? Each is seeking to oust itself from the quagmire of their misdeed and corruption. And the people are peacefully challenging the order. The dollar dependent economy is now on the deficit and continued peso devaluation against the dollar is causing much to the national treasury. It cannot sustain the social, health, shelter, and other program of the government. Be-

sides this problem is our government adventurous action regarding our countries claim on the Philippine Sea (China) and its impending implication to global peace order. The commitment of the puppet government aligning its economic and military towards the imperialist USA and NATO. What if China will be provoked? though we believe that China will not cause an action that will heighten and will escalate the tension. As it was stated by Chinese President Xi Jeng peng in his address during 80th anniversary that China is after peace, cooperation. But what if it will be provoked? We will suffer the same fate as the Ukrainian that are suffering today because we are the immediate battleground.

History teaches us that imperialist needs war occurred specially when it is in period of an unsurmountable economic depression as what was waged by Germany in 1914, and the same was repeated in 1936 by militarist Japan and by Fascist Germany in 1939. The same predicament is now happening in Europe and the USA. Both economies are facing recession and both are suffering political and social collapse. We need not elaborate the said events as we believe that each one is familiar and.

Therefore, our only recourse is peace and no to war. This is timely and urgently needed. It will be our global campaign and battle cry. Peace and no to war. Peaceful mutual resolution of conflict. But our campaign is not only universal it must incorporate our national aspiration. This is our greater and wider task, to resolve our national economic, political, and social problem which will be specifically on the basis varied national objective realities.

Thank you.

*No to imperialist fascist war!*

*No to genocide in Palestine!*

*No to fascist war in Ukraine!*

*Peace for Asia and Pacific region!*

*Support the struggle of the Venezuelan people against US imperialism!*

## Anti-fascism must be anti-imperialist

Daniel O'Brien | Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

It is no secret that the imperialist nations, the USA in particular, face drastically deepening economic crises. The current economic bubble, driven by the growth of AI infrastructure and technology, threatens to be several times larger than the bubble that led to the 2008 financial crisis.

The respite that the imperialist economies gained from the destruction and subsequent plundering of the socialist nations of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was short-lived. The continued cannibalisation of social welfare and the public sector in the imperialist nations cannot save monopoly capitalism, any more than a sieve can bail out a sinking ship.

It is because of these deepening crises that the bourgeoisie in the imperialist nations begin to openly look again to fascism to save them from the masses of workers at home and the forces of national liberation fighting against neocolonial exploitation abroad. It is of vital importance that we understand our class enemy, the bourgeoisie, and the forces it brings to bear against the working class in our struggle for emancipation, and to understand how to mobilise the masses for the cause of humanity rather than capital.

### The rehabilitation of nazi fascism

While WW2 pitted the dominant imperialist nations against German, Italian and Japanese fascism, there is no doubt that the bourgeoisie of those same imperialist nations would have preferred fascism rather than socialist revolutions at home. Indeed, those bourgeois and their officials had hoped that German fascism would break the back of the Soviet Union and destroy the great example, as well as material support, that the Soviet Union gave to revolutionary

struggles and wars for national liberation all over the world.

After the war, many nazi officials were integrated into the West German government and military, for example Reinhard Gehlen (founder of the BND), Hans Speidel (commander-in-chief of Nato in central Europe), and Adolf Heusinger (chairman of the Nato military committee).

Furthermore, Operation Gladio saw Nato, the CIA and MI6 establish clandestine networks of fascists across Europe to combat socialism, who targeted socialists and trade unionists and conducted false-flag terrorist attacks.<sup>[1]</sup> In east Asia, the USA continually plotted to use the remnants of the Japanese imperial military in a war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China.<sup>[2]</sup>

Imperialist designs on Ukraine have seen the most recent rehabilitation of nazi collaborators and neo-nazi organisations, who were kept in reserve in the west, and underground in Ukraine, until the destruction of socialism and the creation of an 'independent' Ukraine (independent as long as it served imperialist interests, and was not too friendly to Russia). Brigades of far-right and fascist soldiers, policemen and political activists were unleashed during the US-backed Maidan coup in 2014.

Such was the extent of their involvement in the coup, and later integration into the official political, civil, and military structures of Ukraine, that even western news organisations occasionally raised the question of Ukraine's "neo-nazi problem".<sup>[3]</sup> Britain's first arms delivery to Ukraine went to the Azov brigade, which was subject to a US ban on arms until 2024 due to its neo-nazi ideology.<sup>[4]</sup> These fascist

organisations do not, and cannot, represent the ordinary people of Ukraine. They are mercenary forces hired by the imperialists to provoke and continue the fight against Russia at all costs.<sup>[5]</sup>

### **Wahhabist and zionist fascism**

Imperialism primarily sponsors two kinds of fascism in the middle east: wahhabism and zionism.

Wahhabi fundamentalists have long been used as frontline proxies to assault socialist movements and nations that have gained their independence from the imperialists, from Afghanistan to Mali.

For example, Britain allowed operatives from the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, an ally of al-Qaeda, to travel freely between Britain and Libya to assist in the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi,<sup>[6]</sup> some of whom would later then travel to Syria to fight against the secular government of President Bashar al-Assad. It was one of these same terrorists who carried out the atrocity of bombing the Manchester arena during a pop concert.

In 2012 Jake Sullivan, then an official in the US department of state, later the national security advisor to Joe Biden, told Hillary Clinton that “AQ [al-Qaeda] is on our side in Syria”.<sup>[7]</sup> Much like in Libya, the Nato imperialists supported the most backward, reactionary forces of the ‘Free Syrian Army’, a mishmash of constantly rebranded terrorist groups with western PR and arms deliveries.

After the fall of the secular Syrian government, Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, an al-Qaeda offshoot, has taken over the majority of the country. Despite being officially proscribed as a terrorist organisation by the UK, the UN and the USA, HTS has been warmly welcomed by the imperialists, with British foreign minister David Lammy rushing to shake the bloody hand of unelected dictator Ahmad al-Sharaa, also known as ‘Abu Mohammad al-Julani’.<sup>[8]</sup>

This new regime showed its true colours immediately by failing to oppose or even condemn further Israeli invasion of the Golan Heights, strikes against

targets across the country, and using their airspace to strike Iran. In addition, they began targeting Palestinian and Lebanese resistance forces while conducting sectarian pogroms against the minority alawite and christian populations.<sup>[9]</sup>

Zionism has been the favoured form of fascism in the middle east because it is entirely dependent on imperialist sponsorship for its survival. It is therefore more effective and dependable than islamic fundamentalism, which has had to compete with popular nationalist and socialist movements for followers, and which also has to (albeit superficially) present itself as being in opposition to the western imperialist cultures. This in turn makes it incredibly unpopular in the imperialist nations that nevertheless sponsor it.

Settler-colonial zionism, on the other hand, functions as “a little loyal jewish ulster in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism” as Ronald Storrs, British governor of Jerusalem from 1917-26, succinctly put it on behalf of the imperialists.<sup>[10]</sup>

The criminality and brutality of the zionist regime is undeniable to anyone willing to see it, and to many who do not want to. The relentless propaganda of the imperialists in favour of zionism cannot hide the reality of the situation – that Israel is a fascist settler-colonial state that inculcates its citizens with the belief in jewish supremacy so they will be prepared to oppress, rape, expel, and murder Palestinians on a mass scale.

This supremacist ideology is now causing issues for imperialist propagandists. While they try to claim that Israel is the only free, secular democracy in the middle east, the zionists pass laws proclaiming Israel as an exclusively jewish state,<sup>[11]</sup> defend torture and rape in the parliament<sup>[12]</sup> and encourage illegal settlements.<sup>[13]</sup> A significant proportion of the jewish Israeli population supports the expulsion of the entire remaining population of Gaza and the ethnic cleansing of the whole of historic Palestine.<sup>[14]</sup>

## Fascism in the imperialist countries

In both the USA and Britain, governments have been eroding the veneer of freedom and democracy they claim to uphold, preparing the state apparatus to be more effective at directly repressing their own citizenry on the one hand, and on the other to be completely ineffective at protecting their citizens from attack. In other words, while this may not be fascism yet, it is setting the stage for “the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital”.<sup>[15]</sup>

A notable milestone to achieving this in the UK was the anti-terror legislation passed in 2000. This law has been used to detain and harass journalists, academics and citizens for daring to question or oppose Britain’s role in coups, wars and genocides all over the world. Labour and Tory governments alike have worked hard to suspend habeas corpus and trial by jury, and to implement draconian censorship through official policy rather than laws (adopting the IHRA definition of antisemitism in state institutions, for example). Increasingly, organisations or groups that threaten the war machine are being persecuted as ‘terrorists’.<sup>[16][17]</sup>

Much of this is being done to suppress the growing dissent against Britain’s support of, and direct involvement in, the genocidal zionist project. The current Labour government sold £127m of military equipment to Israel in the last three months of 2024,<sup>[18]</sup> and is currently considering Israeli weapons firm Elbit for a £2bn contract to train the British armed forces.<sup>[19]</sup> Palestine Action, which Labour proscribed as a terrorist organisation earlier this year, primarily targeted Elbit Systems facilities in the UK.

In the USA, lawmakers have approved legislation to outlaw criticism of Israel as ‘antisemitic’ as per the IHRA definition,<sup>[20]</sup> and have introduced bills to prevent boycotts or sanctions of Israel by companies and international governmental organisations.<sup>[21]</sup>

To misdirect workers from their class enemy, all of the western imperialist countries are increasingly scapegoating migrants, legal or illegal, as well as other groups of workers based on ethnicity, race,

or any number of cultural differences. The current US government has increased the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency’s annual budget from \$8.7bn to \$27.7bn.<sup>[22]</sup>

If ICE were a nation’s military, it would have the 17th-largest budget in the world. This budget has been used to build bigger detention centres (concentration camps) and hire more enforcers to raid workplaces and homes across the country.

The imperialists also need pretexts for foreign intervention and invasions, coups and direct military action. For much of the 20th century, owing to the influence of the Soviet Union and other socialist nations, this was under a (albeit feeble) pretext of spreading ‘freedom’, ‘democracy’, and ‘human rights’. Now that the old lies are wearing thin, the imperialists are exposing themselves more and more often by dropping the facade and revealing the truth: they intervene to control resources and markets, and to defend their monopolies.

Recently the USA has ramped up its aggression toward Venezuela, ordering extrajudicial executions of people on boats that they claimed (with no evidence) were smuggling drugs. Echoing the usage of anti-terror legislation in the UK, Trump has ordered that criminal gangs be classified as terrorist organisations.<sup>[24]</sup> In a clearly imperialist-directed event, the Nobel peace prize was awarded to María Corina Machado,<sup>[25]</sup> who has had links with the USA for decades via the National Endowment for Democracy, an organisation that funds and promotes US imperialist interests (and regime-change operations) around the world.<sup>[26]</sup>

The USA is clearly still working hand-in-glove with Machado, as she hopes the renewed aggression based on the false claims of fighting drug trafficking (including ludicrous propaganda such as president Nicolás Maduro being the leader of a gang) will help her instigate a coup in the country.<sup>[27]</sup> It is no coincidence that she is also a supporter not just of Israel generally, but specifically of the Likud party and its war criminal leader Benjamin Netanyahu. Just one week after receiving her ‘peace’ prize, she called Ne-

tanyahu to congratulate him on his “achievements in war”.<sup>[28]</sup>

Thanks to the mass mobilisation of Venezuelan workers and peasants, the USA’s regime-change plans are unlikely to succeed. If such reactionary forces were to gain control of part or all of the country, however, what would follow would certainly be murderous fascism in the vein of Pinochet’s Chile, and the complete subordination of Venezuela to US imperialism.

As Trump orders the CIA to target President Maduro and the Venezuelan government,<sup>[29]</sup> we should all remember his clumsy words regarding the Syrian oil fields: “We want to keep the oil.”<sup>[30]</sup>

### **The tasks of anti-imperialists**

Fascism is the last resort of the bourgeoisie in crisis as it strives to maintain its dictatorship over the working class. While our exploiters would no doubt prefer to live in peaceful societies where obedient workers toil, live and die quietly, the intensification of the general economic crisis of capitalism compels them to resort to uglier and more brutal methods to preserve their class rule in the face of growing instability and unrest from the working class.

To quote Georgi Dimitrov again:

“... before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory.”<sup>15</sup>

When the situation reaches a breaking point, workers will either turn towards the fascists, who promise to solve the economic crisis by eliminating immigrants, muslims, or other targets of fascist propaganda, or the socialists, who can actually solve the economic crisis by overthrowing the moribund system of imperialism.

As anti-imperialists we must redouble our efforts to

recruit workers to their own side as the class struggle intensifies. We must join in with, and involve as many people and organisations as possible in, campaigns against the repressive and reactionary laws and actions taken by our imperialist governments.

We must raise class consciousness so that the workers understand their real interests in this struggle. We must educate workers on the treacherous nature of social democracy, which is an agent of the enemy class within their movement. We must combat national chauvinism and promote proletarian internationalism.

Imperialists have been sponsoring fascism across the world to overthrow socialist and independent nations. Now they are preparing the ground for fascism at home. Despite how powerful the imperialists may seem to be, they are in a deep crisis. Their economics, politics, philosophy, art and culture are all in a dead end. They have nothing real to offer the working class, except misery and war.

Despite how weak we anti-imperialists may seem in some parts of the world, we are part of a global movement that is winning. A progressive movement that is outstripping the imperialist world in every way, and we have everything to offer the working class.

The struggle against fascism is today inseparable from the struggle against imperialism and, like the struggle against imperialism, we must be united to be successful.

*Patria o muerte!*

*Socialisme ou barbarie!*

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## **Anti-Imperialism, Anti-Fascism and the Necessity of Anti-Capitalist Struggle**

**Mücadele Birliği (Struggle Unity, Türkiye)**

We are living through a period of intense and open transformation, the era of the revolutionary transition to socialism. We identified this period as “new era” which includes the global civil war between the world proletariat and laboring people, and the imperialist financial capital and comprador bourgeoisie at the end of the last century.

On the other hand, this is the process of “full annexation” by imperialism. This is no longer the classic model of indirect domination through alone. Today, monopoly capital, in its crisis-ridden decay, moves to directly and totally subsume dependent nations, dismantling the last vestiges of their sovereignty to plunder their resources and absorb their markets completely. This is imperialism in its most aggressive, desperate, and naked form.

The deepening crises of the capitalist system have given rise to a global revolutionary situation. The inherent contradictions of capitalism are exploding simultaneously across the globe—from the battlefields of economic war to the occupied territories of nations fighting for liberation. This is not a series of isolated conflicts, but a single global civil war between the camp of international capital and the emerging camp of the global proletariat and oppressed peoples.

In the face of this burgeoning revolutionary potential, the imperialist beast has shown its true face: fascism! It can no longer rule solely through the deceptive veneer of bourgeois democracy. Consequently, it increasingly relies on its sharpest weapon: fascism.

As is well known, the Communist International (Comintern) based its analysis of fascism on the study of

monopoly capitalism. Thus, to understand fascism’s global situation today, we must start from the current state of monopoly capitalism, finance capital, and the capitalist mode of production worldwide.

Fascism’s class basis is monopoly capital; its essence is a counterrevolutionary, anti-communist movement. While its forms vary by country and era, this core remains.

In the 90 years since the Comintern analyzed fascism, capitalist commodity production, the social productivity of labor, and the development of productive forces have reached unprecedented scales. Parallel to this—and as its result—capital accumulation and its concentration in the hands of a few monopolies have grown to magnitudes incomparable to Lenin’s era of imperialism.

This historical development has generated staggering wealth on one pole and staggering misery on the other. The contradiction now shakes capitalism to its foundations. The productive forces, having outgrown the capitalist mode of production that encases them like a suffocating shell, are fracturing it at every seam. The great social upheavals we witness today stem from this contradiction demanding resolution by humanity itself. Across the world, the working class, laborers, and oppressed peoples are rising against capitalism. Today, proletarian revolutions advance on a world scale.

It’s also well-known fact that NATO admitted that “the 21st century would be a century of uprising” at the end of 90’s. After that, on September 11, 2001, US imperialism formalized this by declaring a “global civil war.”

Monopoly capital, now concentrated in a handful of imperialist powers, can no longer sustain its growth through old methods of exploitation (e.g., indirect “dependency”). To survive, it imposes “full economic annexation” on nations within the capitalist system.

U.S. hegemony and imperialism are collapsing. The revolutionary situation has emerged globally. Social revolutions and popular uprisings are an actual fact on every continent. To halt this, monopolies deploy fascism as a counterrevolutionary weapon, mobilizing transnational fascist forces (e.g., Boko Haram, ISIS, neo-Nazis). In this sense, fascism now operates as an “international reactionary front”.

Fascism is not an aberration; it is the terror tool used by dying capitalism against the world revolution. We see it in the rise of ultra-nationalist, racist, and authoritarian forces, both as formal state power in some countries and as a paramilitary and ideological reserve army for capital everywhere. Its purpose is to crush dissent, disorganize the working class, and violently suppress any revolutionary development.

Therefore, the fight against imperialism and the fight against fascism are two fronts in the same war. However, to believe that one can successfully wage an anti-imperialist struggle without it being inherently anti-capitalist is a fatal error. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. To fight the consequence without fighting the root is to tend to the symptoms while the disease rages on. A struggle that merely seeks a “fairer” deal within the imperialist system, or a more “sovereign” capitalism, is doomed to fail.

True liberation can only be achieved by confronting the capitalist system itself. The task of revolutionaries is to arm the masses with this understanding, to build a united front against the twin horrors of imperialism and its fascist enforcers, and to advance the struggle towards its only logical conclusion: the overthrow of the capitalist order and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale. The global civil war is here. Our duty is to win it.

The international communist movement must

practically build an international front against the imperialist attacks on peoples. The international communist movement must practically form an international front against the imperialists’ attacks on the people.

We see that working peoples and young revolutionary forces are fighting voluntarily against fascism and the forces of counter-revolution. We know of the international fighters fighting for the Lugansk and Donetsk People’s Republics. Revolutionaries, including our comrades, rushed to Rojava to fight against ISIS and the fascist Turkish state. In the past, we know that the International Brigades were formed against Franco fascism. We know about the international fighters, including our comrades, who fought for the Palestinian Revolution against Israeli Zionism in Palestine. But now, unfortunately, very little of this movement is organized and most of it is unorganized, spontaneous.

It has become the unenviable task of the international communist movement to reverse this situation, to give an organized expression to this international solidarity, to give life once again to the internationalist revolutionary spirit of comrades Fidel and Che.

Venceremos!

## **Baltic Resistance to Imperialism**

### **Baltic Platform**

The Baltic countries firmly occupy their place in the ranks of imperialist forces. They unanimously and coordinately strive to be useful in supporting global imperialism, which is suffering from the exacerbation of its inherent diseases. The entire foreign and domestic policy of the Baltic states' authorities is fully oriented toward the interests of preserving the imperialist system, openly ignoring both the current and long-term interests of their peoples.

The stability of the course pursued by the Baltic countries is ensured by the close ties of their ruling political circles with the liberal wing of the Western globalist system. Thanks to liberal globalists, these political circles were formed, remain in power, and obediently carry out all the commands of their masters, understanding that their existence depends on it. Even the obvious consequences of such policies—population decline, economic degradation, and a steady drift toward military confrontation with regional neighbors—cannot compel the ruling politicians to abandon their ruinous loyalty to their imperialist patrons.

Resistance forces against the imperialist course of their governments exist in the Baltic countries. They persist and act despite harsh repressions carried out by the authorities and the sophisticated policy of ethnic division among the population. The primary tools used by the ruling elites to suppress dissent are rampant anti-Sovietism, Russophobia, and the militarization of public consciousness. The very future of the Baltic countries and their peoples is being sacrificed to save a dying imperialism. However, imperialism is doomed due to the objective conditions of its nature.

The anti-imperialist forces of the Baltic countries, relying on international solidarity, will continue their struggle.

**Power to the peoples, death to imperialism!**

# Against the Imperialist Wars of the EU-NATO and Macron's War Economy

**Union for Communist Reconstruction (URC, France)**

November 11 marks the end of the great massacre of World War I (1914-1918), an interimperialist war in which millions of workers and peasants from all countries lost their lives for the interests of bankers and arms manufacturers, and for the colonial partition of the world.

The URC (Union for Communist Reconstruction) calls on everyone for this November 11, 2025 in Paris, not to “commemorate,” but to summon the struggle against those responsible for today's wars.

Whether today in Ukraine, Palestine or the Congo, or yesterday in Iraq, Yugoslavia or Libya, the decisive role of the United States has always been present as a principal actor, together with other imperialist powers like France, Great Britain and Germany, to crush independent peoples, either directly (Iraq, Libya...) or indirectly, militarily reinforcing local gendarmes (Israel, Rwanda...).

In Ukraine, imperialists have undermined all peace attempts under the pretext of “defending the borders,” turning the country into a NATO outpost aiming at a direct confrontation with Russia and denying by blood and fire the right to selfdetermination of the Donbass, Novorossiia and Crimea; in Asia they stoke confrontation against China through provocative maneuvers in the South China Sea, to the detriment of all the people of the region.

To maintain their profit rates, imperialism is willing to subjugate and destroy any people who resist its challenged hegemony. And for that, the imperialists spend without limits, making military budgets the number one priority, to the detriment of social budgets. The latest budget presented by French pres-

ident Emmanuel Macron and then Prime Minister François Bayrou is a clear example.

The United States, NATO, and also the European Union have endorsed the goal of raising “defense” budgets, which translates into war budgets. Thus aiming for up to 5% of GDP, compared to the current average of 2%. Specifically, for France this would mean going from a budget in 2025 amounting to 50 billion euros annually to about 150 billion euros annually in the future.

So it would be a matter of finding tens of billions of additional euros every year. The URC strongly opposes this war economy which is already gravely impoverishing workers and destroying our social gains, and which tomorrow, as a direct consequence of leading these conflicts, will lead the people living in France to war. The thousands of millions wasted on preparing and fueling war are thousands of millions stolen from hospitals, schools, pensions and wages.

Already now, Macron has decided to raise the military budget to 64 billion euros by 2027 and has launched a call for youth “commitment” under a disguised recruitment via Universal National Service, in the context of a general militarization of society. Along with Bayrou, they have decided to take away from us two public holidays, including May 8, a supreme provocation since that date commemorates the victory against fascism.

The wars promoted by NATO, the European Union and governments like Macron's are no accidents or misunderstandings: they are part of the capitalist system in its most aggressive stage, imperialism.

When the profits of large corporations begin to fall, the bourgeoisie in crisis seeks more control, more resources, and more domination, expressed in war to continue accumulating capital.

This also happens in Latin America. Venezuela is a clear example: since it decided to follow its own path, with social policies and sovereignty over its oil, it has become a target of imperialism. The United States and its allies enact blockades, coups, media lies, hybrid wars and economic pressure to try to overthrow the Venezuelan government, with the goal of installing a puppet government to regain control over its riches. Not for “democracy,” but to recover control of its resources.

Therefore, fighting war in Europe also means defending Venezuela and other Latin American peoples who resist foreign plunder. It’s not about supporting governments out of sympathy, but standing with peoples who refuse to be colonies of international capital. True peace will only be possible when we stop serving the interests of the rich and build together, across all continents, a just and sovereign society.

We don’t want to pay for their wars!

We don’t want youth to go fight and die for imperialism!

Defending peoples, their right to peace, to social progress and to selfdetermination means saying NO to Macron! NO to the European Union! and NO to NATO!, responsible for wars and austerity!

We demand in France an immediate exit from NATO!

We call on all, workers and youth alike, to organize and mobilize. As The Internationale proclaims, that beautiful hymn of the workers of the whole world: “Peace among ourselves, war on the tyrants!”

#### **Website URC**

[https://urcommuniste.fr/Campaign for peace and against the war economy](https://urcommuniste.fr/Campaign%20for%20peace%20and%20against%20the%20war%20economy): <https://framaforms.org/paris11novembremanifestationnationalepourlapaix1759180314>

# **Faced with an ungovernable France and a discredited and fascist EU-NATO axis, we demand Macron's resignation and withdrawal from the EU and NATO**

## **Pole of Communist Revival in France (PRCF)**

The resignation of Sébastien Lecornu on Monday, October 6, 2025, just hours after forming his government, once again demonstrates the absolute accuracy of the analyses of the Pôle de Renaissance Communiste en France (PRCF). Indeed, since the end of 2020—well before the re-election of the illegitimate despot in April 2022 and the dissolution of June 2024—the PRCF has repeatedly explained that whatever government is in place, it will be impossible for it to gain popular approval—and, since the summer of 2022, the approval of the national representation.

For beyond the now frantic turnover of prime ministers (three in one year since the appointment of Michel Barnier, with Sébastien Lecornu having just broken a short-lived record under the Fifth Republic), the real problem is the policy that the proponents of the Euro-Atlantic order want at all costs to convert the workers of France, who are increasingly reluctant to accept this order. This is therefore a serious crisis of political legitimacy, in line with what Lenin already explained, since “those at the bottom” no longer want it and “those at the top” can no longer continue to live in the old way.

The old way, however, is the set of Euro-Atlantic policies that have been pursued for nearly half a century (!) by successive governments, from Raymond Barre—who was singing the praises of austerity as early as October 1976!—to Sébastien Lecornu, who was planning a new bloodletting for workers. This austerity policy is demanded by the MEDEF (French Business Confederation), but also by the su-

pranational institutions of Capital, starting with the capitalist European Union (EU) and its currency, the euro—whose predecessor, the European Monetary System, was established in 1979...

It is in the name of this austerity, conceived by the EU as an irreversible straitjacket for workers, that right-wing and so-called “left-wing” governments are competing in ingenuity to destroy social gains (wages, pensions, social security, etc.) and public services required to drastically “cut their spending,” dismantle the one, secular, and indivisible Republic in the name of the “Girondin pact,” dissolve sovereign France into the “European federal state (and its language in the “all-English” promoted by the EU), putting an end to civil liberties and democracy—even to the point of stubbornly refusing to accept the arrival in power of the New Popular Front, the political force that came out on top in the June 2024 legislative elections.

However, it would be illusory to believe that appointing a prime minister who is not a staunch Macron supporter or compatible with Les Républicains will change anything in terms of the country's total deadlock. In its previous statements regarding the appointment of a new prime minister, the PRCF pointed out that the real issue is not at this level but rather the need to break completely and definitively with the policies pursued by Macron and his compatible satellites, including Le Pen's Rassemblement, which is totally subservient to the EU-NATO order and continues to pledge allegiance to the “Fifth Re-

public” at the end of its tether. For it is indeed within this structural framework, which strangles workers, that increasingly austerity-driven policies are being pursued... and increasingly warmongering policies under the dictates of US hegemony.

It is quite striking to note that the discredit and impasse in which Macron finds himself are exactly the same as those affecting Donald Trump and his henchmen, Benjamin Netanyahu (Macron’s “dear friend,” according to the latter!) and Volodymyr Zelensky. You would have to be born yesterday not to see how, on the one hand, the fascist Israeli theocracy is continuing its policy of annihilating the Palestinian people—notably by starving them, as advocated by the fascist Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich; and on the other hand, how the regime in Kiev (which Donald Trump has decided to support

You would have to be born yesterday not to see how, on the one hand, the fascist Israeli theocracy is continuing its policy of annihilating the Palestinian people—notably by starving them, as advocated by the fascist Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich; and on the other hand, how the regime in Kiev (which Donald Trump has decided to support even more...) is riddled with corruption at all levels, revisionist neo-Nazism, and anti-communism, which has been targeting progressive political and trade union activists since 2014.

Above all, one would have to be completely blind not to see how the center of the world is gradually shifting towards the Indo-Pacific axis, as spectacularly demonstrated by the 25th Congress of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) on August 31 and September 1, 2025. An anti-hegemonic counterforce is developing under the impetus of the People’s Republic of China and the Russian Federation, attracting regimes that are sometimes less than commendable, such as Wahhabi Saudi Arabia, reactionary Egypt, and the Iranian mullahs’ regime. but at least the motley coalition that is taking shape, which includes progressive regimes such as socialist

Cuba, is providing a growing counterweight to US hegemony, which is becoming more discredited by the day.

From now on, the only solution available to the Euro-Atlantic order is to rush headlong into fascism and march toward war, as is already happening in the United States, where Vice President James D. Vance, couldn’t care less about killing innocent people in international waters, in total violation of maritime law, who are portrayed as “drug traffickers” by Yankee propaganda, and threatening the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. The fact is that opposition and resistance to the hegemonic order, still evident recently at the UN where more than 100 countries—including the People’s Republic of China—committed to increasing their greenhouse gas reductions, are growing to the detriment of the historic hegemonic order.

As a result, the United States and its allies have no choice but to rush headlong into war, pushing for the encirclement of the People’s Republic of China and the Russian Federation, notably via the Arctic and the annexation of Greenland claimed by Donald Trump, the bombing of opponents of hegemony such as Iran and Venezuela, and a frenzied and frightening arms race—with the goal of allocating 5% of the national budget of NATO member countries to rearmament (with 10% to follow?).

Behind Lecornu’s resignation and Macron’s downfall, all of this is actually at stake. In this regard, refusing to call for Macron’s resignation, as the confederal union leaderships—including the national leadership of the CGT—pitifully do—in favor of a powerless and lamentable “strategy” of “leapfrog days” with no future and no prospects for workers (most recently on October 2, 2025)—constitutes a real betrayal of the workers and, worse, continues to fuel the EU-NATO machine, which it is VITAL to break with as soon as possible.

Of course, it would be illusory to believe that all the country’s problems would be magically solved if Macron resigned (or was impeached?). For if this

means that the Le Pen-Bardella duo (equally committed to the Euro-Atlantic order) would come to power and thus allow fascist forces to wage a witch hunt against foreigners, Muslims, trade unionists, and progressive (and already communist) forces, it would of course be impossible to accept.

The fact remains that Macron's departure before the end of his second usurped term would be a powerful factor in mobilizing citizens and workers, bringing them back to the forefront of the national scene to confront the structures of Capital on the basis of progressive change, rather than lulling them to sleep as advocated by "social democracy."

This is why the only solution lies in the red and tricolor alternative, popular and patriotic, which the PRCF has been calling for years and which requires a progressive Frexit, something that unfortunately the national leaderships of LFI (which indulges in mendacious alter-Europeanism) and the PCF categorically refuse. This is at the risk of feeding the reactionary and fascist far right, which is nevertheless pro-European, and disappointing the workers, who are calling for radical measures. It is no coincidence that the slogan launched by the PRCF in September 2022—before the major demonstrations in defense of pensions in January 2023!—, "Money for wages, not for war (or for shareholders)!" has now been widely taken up by the red union rank and file (and first and foremost by those of the CGT).

In line with the tricolor struggle led by the recently deceased PRCF president Léon Landini, the National Secretariat calls more than ever not only to weaken as much as possible the defenders of the Euro-Atlantic order in France (including by demanding Macron's resignation), but also, at the same time, to pursue the only possible political strategy that has been validated by the working class, namely breaking with the euro, the EU, NATO, and exterminatory capitalism. Only at this price will it be possible to build the "New Happy Days" called for by the PRCF, for which so many resistance fighters and comrades of Léon

Landini sacrificed themselves.

*For the illegitimate Macron: RESIGN!*

*And for the EU-NATO axis: LET'S GET OUT!*

# Stand with British workers who are being criminalised for opposing genocidal British imperialism

Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

Since the heroic uprising of the oppressed Palestinian people in Gaza on 7 October 2023, the Palestinians have faced the full onslaught of the zionist occupiers.

This onslaught does not come only from the settlers who have seized Palestinian land, but is backed by the full force of Nato imperialism, especially by the military, economic, diplomatic and media machineries of the USA and Britain.

Britain's Labour government, having enacted the Terrorism Act in 2000, has now used this law to ban a nonviolent protest group, Palestine Action, for targeting the factories of Israeli weapons company Elbit, the banks that invest in zionism, and planes used by the RAF as it participates in the ongoing genocide in Gaza with regular spy flights.

None of these actions constitute terrorism, but British police are now making regular mass arrests of the thousands of people who have been peacefully protesting against this ban, many of whom are elderly or disabled, and all of whom are clearly not terrorists. Those arrested face a maximum sentence of 14 years in prison if the legal challenge to the ban does not succeed.

In recent years, seven of our own party comrades have been arrested on the spurious charges of 'hate speech' ('antisemitism') and 'supporting terrorism'. They spent the night in jail, had their family homes raided in the early hours of the morning, and their phones and computers were confiscated for months. They had the threat of these charges hanging over their heads for six months before the Crown Prosecution Service was forced to admit there was no case

to answer.

Many professionals in Britain, in particular journalists and doctors, have been targeted by zionist organisations such as UK Lawyers for Israel (UKLFI), the Campaign Against Antisemitism (CAA), and the Jewish Medical Association (JMA). Doctors have been spuriously reported to the General Medical Council (GMC), their livelihoods and their ability to help their patients threatened. We recently reported on the case of Dr Aladwan, who has been suspended from work, threatened with having her licence revoked, arrested by police, and subjected to a slanderous campaign in the media and by health secretary Wes Streeting (who has received £30,000 from zionist donors and who has promised to introduce the zionist IHRA 'definition of antisemitism' into the British health service to prevent medics there speaking out against the genocide).

Our own party comrade Steve Sweeney, an RT journalist who was formerly based in Donbass and who now heads the Lebanon desk in Beirut, has also faced persecution. His bank accounts have been frozen, and when he tried to visit family in Britain he was interrogated at the border by SO15, the anti-terrorism police unit being used for political policing by the British government. He was questioned about his reporting from Donbass, his links to resistance organisations in the middle east, and asked whether or not he was a communist.

Steve is one of many journalists and academics who have been interrogated at the border, their phones and computers searched, for the crime of refusing to

go along with the propaganda effort to enable imperialist-zionist genocide and the Nato aggression against Russia in Ukraine.

We call upon all individuals and organisations in Britain to:

1. Resist any attempts to silence those who are against zionism, imperialism and fascism.
2. Fight against oppressive laws to restrict basic freedoms, including freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and the right of journalists to report the truth and protect their sources.
3. Unite to stop the British ruling class from punishing workers who voice their opinions by firing and blacklisting them from work.
4. Defeat the attempt to smear anti-zionism as antisemitism, and share the understanding that zionism is one of many tools used by imperialism to maintain its domination over the world's peoples and resources.

We ask for individuals and organisations around the world, including Britain, to:

1. Share news about the ongoing oppression by the British state and its "Mother of Parliaments", a supposedly 'democratic' country that claims to 'protect human rights' and 'promote individual freedoms'.
2. Help spread awareness of the fact that the British ruling class is not a bystander in the Gaza genocide and the Ukraine war; it is an active belligerent that commits crimes against its own people as well as against the peoples who it targets with its war and terrorism machine.

The masses of workers rightly find genocide, torture, rape and displacement horrifying; they are naturally outraged at the persecution of those who raise their voices against such heinous crimes. Meanwhile, the British ruling class considers genocide abroad and repression at home to be a price worth paying for the maintenance of its rule and of its global system

of wealth extraction.

Communist parties in particular must use the example of repression and state criminality in Britain to bring home the necessity of opposing and dismantling the entire imperialist system, and the neo-nazi Nato warmongering alliance in particular. We must redouble our efforts and join our forces in the struggle to free humanity from this bloodthirsty system, which respects no rights and puts no value on human life.

## Under the fascist government of Javier Milei

### Liberation Party (Argentina)

The government of La Libertad Avanza, an ally of Yankee imperialism and Zionism, is going through difficult times. It lost the legislative elections in the country's main province, Buenos Aires, where it was defeated by 14 points by Fuerza Patria, the Peronist/Kirchnerist party, a bourgeois-led force that channeled the rejection of the austerity measures implemented by President Javier Milei since he took office in December 2023.

The Liberation Party recognizes this defeat, but we do not support Fuerza Patria, because it does not represent a popular solution to the crisis that is being unloaded on the working people.

Milei has not changed his economic plan one iota, despite this defeat and the almost certain new defeat he will suffer on October 26 in the national legislative elections, where Congress (Deputies and Senators) will be partially renewed.

The Trump administration, the US Treasury, and the IMF will continue to support this government, which guarantees them the delivery of resources and submission to their dictates. Therefore, Milei will continue with his plan of austerity, privatizations, dependence, and reforms against workers and retirees. Therefore, the task of the revolutionary forces today is to redouble the struggle against austerity, in defense of the rights of workers, the people, and national sovereignty.

Elections are not the decisive factor in changing history; the determining factor is the uprising of the oppressed against these governments that serve the monopolies, bankers, and international finance capital.

What has been happening in recent weeks is

alarming in terms of US interference in all areas of Argentine life: politics, the economy and finance, foreign relations, the armed forces, etc. Milei is turning Argentina into a US-Zionist colony.

In April of this year, the IMF disbursed \$12 billion, adding to the already heavy foreign debt taken on by former President Mauricio Macri in 2018, a debt that was not rejected but validated by the Frente de Todos government (Alberto Fernández, Cristina Kirchner, and Sergio Massa) and which now, with Milei, is swelling to superlative levels.

The IMF dollars were used to control the rise of the dollar and the devaluation of the Argentine peso, but the US currency continues to rise nonetheless. After the defeat in Buenos Aires, a new request for aid was made to the US, to which Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent announced a currency swap for \$20 billion and other "aid." He acknowledged that the aid to Milei is intended to help him win the elections and ensure that Argentina remains a "partner" (read: vassal) in the region.

No US "aid" will solve the serious problems suffered by the Argentine people. On the contrary, it will increase the foreign debt, which already exceeds \$500 billion, with interest that will be unpayable for several generations of Argentines. The viceregal subjugation to the White House is costing us dearly, not only because of the interest and foreign debt it generates, but also because of the increased Yankee interference in our internal affairs. Bessent demands that the Argentine government commit to "removing China from Argentina," which prompted strong criticism from the Chinese embassy in Buenos Aires, which stated: "Bessent and the United States must

understand that Latin America and the Caribbean are not anyone's backyard."

Another consequence of this "Yankee bootlicking" policy (as Fidel Castro called former President Fernando De la Rúa in February 2001) is that Milei authorized the entry of U.S. troops for military maneuvers between October 20 and November 15. The "Tridente" exercise will take place in Puerto Belgrano, Mar del Plata, and Ushuaia, compromising our sovereignty and the environment. This authorization came from Milei through a decree and not a law passed by Congress, as required by the Constitution. The fact is that this government does not respect either the laws or the separation of powers. It is a typically fascist procedure that is repeated when it comes to illegally indebting the country to the IMF, vetoing laws on retirees, people with disabilities, universities, Garrahan Hospital, etc.

The Liberation Party denounces that Milei wants to turn us into a "Yankee-Zionist" colony and for this reason invited the genocidal Netanyahu to come to Argentina, met with him in New York, and considers Israel to be "the bulwark of the West." This government supports Israel's genocide against the Palestinians, in addition to buying Israeli weapons to repress those who defend the Palestinian cause, whom it persecutes with the complicity of the judiciary.

## **THE TASKS OF THE STRUGGLE**

The struggle of the workers and the people in Argentina involves achieving wage and pension increases, raising the budgets for education and health, reactivating public works, defending public companies against the privatizations carried out by the submissive government, denouncing police repression against demonstrations, demanding the freedom of political prisoners, and demanding the trial and punishment of Milei and all his corrupt officials and ministers, drug traffickers, and bribe-takers. In the elections, the Liberation Party will vote in-

dependently of the Left and Workers' Front Unity (FITU) alliance.

We propose auditing, investigating, and suspending payments on the fraudulent and illegitimate foreign debt and breaking with the IMF; nationalizing banking, ports, and foreign trade; imposing heavy taxes on monopolies and supporting cooperatives and SMEs (small and medium-sized national enterprises); to reclaim Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas; to support Cuba, Venezuela, and Nicaragua against the US blockade and aggression; to break relations with the Zionist state of Israel, increasing solidarity with Palestine; to strengthen relations with China and the BRICS countries, the Global South, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist.

Today, old patriotic slogans are being revived: "Homeland Yes, Colony No"; "Liberation or Dependence"; "People or Monopolies"; "The debt is to us, not to the IMF."

We are the children of San Martín and Che Guevara, not of Trump, Bessent, and the IMF.

# “Imperialism and War!” – Global Anti-Imperialist Mobilisation Against the France–Africa Summit

On parallel mobilisation against the France-Africa Summit in Nairobi, May 2026

## Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK)

To the Anti-Imperialist International Conference Caracas, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela—October 2025

### Preamble

- Recognising that the France–Africa Summit of governments, to be held in Nairobi, Kenya on 11–12 May 2026, is not a gesture of “equal partnership” but a calculated imperialist offensive—a rebranded mechanism of recolonisation disguised as “climate diplomacy” and “green economic cooperation”;

- Recalling that French imperialism, having been expelled from Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger through revolutionary and patriotic uprisings, now seeks to reposition militarily and economically in East Africa, with Kenya as its new outpost and gateway;

- Noting that the so-called “green transition” promoted by the French-Africa Summit is nothing but a new theatre of capitalist accumulation, advancing monopoly profit through “green colonialism” and “sustainable exploitation”;

- Condemning the wider imperialist strategy led by the United States and its allies, including the designation of Kenya as a Major Non-NATO Ally, the expansion of U.S. and British military bases, and the suffocating IMF-imposed austerity programme that has devastated the Kenyan working class and peasantry;

- Honouring the martyrs of the 2024 anti-Finance Bill Uprising in Kenya, who fell in the struggle against imperialist economic diktats and comprador

repression;

- Affirming that imperialism, in all its forms, is the common enemy of the peoples of the world, and that proletarian internationalism demands coordinated resistance;

Therefore, the World Anti-Imperialist Platform (WAP) Resolves:

1. To declare the France–Africa Summit an imperialist and recolonising project, intended to entrench French and Western monopoly capital under the guise of “environmental partnership” and “financial reform.”

2. To endorse and participate in the Pan-African Anti-Imperialist Conference (PAIC) to be convened in Nairobi, 11–12 May 2026, organised by the Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK) and allied revolutionary forces under the central theme: “Imperialism and War: From Resistance to Liberation!”

3. To mobilise all parties, movements, and organisations affiliated to WAP to:

- Send delegations or solidarity statements to the Nairobi counter-summit;

- Organise parallel anti-imperialist forums and protests in their respective countries on the same dates;

- Conduct public education and propaganda campaigns exposing the neocolonial agenda of the France–Africa Summit;

- Utilise cultural and youth activism—music, art, theatre, and creative resistance—under the collective slogan: “We Shall Not Host Our Executioners!”

4. To establish a WAP—Africa Solidarity Coordi-

nating Committee, working in consultation with the CPMK, to facilitate global liaison, documentation, translation, and coordination in preparation for the 2026 campaign.

5. To issue a collective international declaration—The Nairobi Declaration from Below—as a symbol of continental and global unity of workers, peasants, youth, women, and oppressed peoples against imperialist recolonisation.

6. To reaffirm that the struggle against imperialism is indivisible: the fight for sovereignty in Africa is inseparable from the struggles of the peoples of Palestine, Cuba, Venezuela, Haiti, Sudan, and the Congo.

## **Conclusion**

Let Nairobi become the stage not for imperialist diplomacy but for organised African defiance.

Let the streets speak louder than the boardrooms of capital.

Let this era be marked not by the summits of plunder but by the summits of peoples' resistance.

The empire is tired. The peoples are awakening.

Kenya shall not kneel. Africa shall not be recolonised.

*Forward to the Pan-African Anti-Imperialist Conference 2026!*

*Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!*

*Down with Imperialism and Neocolonialism!*

*Long Live the Unity of the Oppressed Peoples of the World!*

# Resolution of Dynamique Unitaire Panafricaine

## Dynamique Unitaire Panafricaine

The anti-imperialist and anti-fascist conference in Caracas is taking place on a global scale in a general climate marked by the intensification of inter-imperialist rivalries. Everywhere in the world, imperialism is on a crusade in the form of hegemonic wars, predatory wars, nourished by a will to occupation, territorial annexation, and plundering of wealth...

We are witnessing the unraveling of the instruments that the dominant powers themselves had put in place for the management of the world. Thus international law is undergoing a profound transformation into the law of the strongest. The crusade of the U.S. administration against the rights of minorities is fuelled by a xenophobia constructed by a discourse of hatred.

And as if the picture were not bleak enough, the right of peoples to self-determination has never been so much called into question. Sovereignty now belongs to the calends, so to speak, so much do the various powers consider themselves entitled to possess lands, peoples, and their riches as if they were personal property. The law of the strongest has become the principal rule in world geopolitics.

No part of the world is spared by this policy of predation, of the sacking of the gains of popular struggles to build here and there more free, egalitarian and progressive human societies.

This conference, held here in Caracas, is emblematic of the resistance of peoples who refuse to serve as a stepping stone for U.S. power, among others.

Above all it is the conference of a people, of an anti-imperialist power, resolutely turned toward the construction of socialism that confronts one of the most fierce representatives and defenders of the

global imperialist system. The Trump administration cannot tolerate seeing such strong resistance, for it truly constitutes a challenge: a people united around its leaders to take charge of its destiny, with dignity and conscious sacrifice, to build for its own benefit the model that suits it best—socialism—drawing inspiration from the history and struggles of peoples for their liberation throughout the world.

Indeed, resistances are manifold across the world. Nowhere, not even in the so-called bastions of imperialism, do the working classes and the most exploited strata refrain from innovating in means of resistance and aspiring to something other than poverty as the common lot of the system.

Such a dynamic is also topical in Africa in particular, where political consciousness is maturing, notably within a youth that seeks to take part in attempts to change African society, which is undergoing a political, ideological, social, economic and cultural crisis. Such effervescence must be organized under the aegis of parties or organizations resolutely anti-imperialist and anti-fascist to prevent any co-optation of this youthful energy, which is useful for the conquest of true sovereignty for the peoples of the continent.

This resistance also constitutes an example for other peoples of the world, confronted with the same hegemonic ambitions of predation, pillage, and domination by the globalized capitalist model.

Faithful to its statutes and to its strategic objectives, such as contributing to anti-imperialist and liberation struggles on the African continent, in territories of Afro-descendants and in the world,

The Dynamique Unitaire Panafricaine calls upon all anti-imperialist and anti-fascist organizations

gathered at this Caracas conference, and all other organizations of the same nature in the world, animated by the same will to confront the iniquitous capitalist-imperialist system to:

1. Resist with all their energies all wars and other maneuvers of the system which, ultimately, seek to impose exploitation on all peoples by amplifying everywhere war, terrorism and all kinds of crises from which it profits;

2. Support and amplify all popular initiatives of resistance, in the image of the Paris Commune or the Soviets, which were notable advances in the appropriation by the working classes of the instruments of their own liberation;

3. Provide all the support that the Venezuelan people and their leaders need to contain the aggression and consolidate resistance, and to improve socialist social construction;

4. Build an internationalist solidarity of class struggle by consolidating the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist front, composed of genuine democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas and Oceania.

Our contribution to the victory of one people here serves as a lever for the continuation of struggles elsewhere.

Together let us close ranks against the system that leads nations and peoples to their ruin.

*Long live the Venezuelan people and their leaders in their multifaceted struggle!*

*Long live the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist front!*

*Long live the unity of peoples fighting for their liberation!*

## **Down with NATO, the Murderer of Peoples!**

### **Mücadele Birliği (Struggle Unity, Türkiye)**

In July 2026, Istanbul will once again host a “NATO summit” after a 22-year hiatus. This murderous gang, which is dragging the entire world step by step into a devastating war, will once again set foot in Istanbul with its bloody boots!

Although NATO markets itself as a “defense organization,” it is in fact an offensive pact established against communism and the Soviet Union. Since its inception, it has considered every means permissible to crush national liberation struggles, the goal of socialism, and every genuine popular revolution. Coups, political assassinations, covert operations, and direct military interventions are crimes etched into NATO’s history. This list of wars and destruction, stretching from the breakup of Yugoslavia to the invasion of Afghanistan, from the bloody adventures in Iraq to the destruction of Libya, is the most concrete proof that NATO is not a “defensive” organization, but an “offensive” organization.

As the structural crisis of the imperialist-capitalist system deepens, the working class and laborers around the world are taking to the streets and squares. Predicting that the 21st century would be a “century of uprisings,” imperialism reorganized NATO on the basis of a “counter-insurgency strategy” and launched a “global civil war” against the world’s working class and laboring peoples.

This process is an extraordinary fascistization in which the last remnants of bourgeois democracy are rapidly being eliminated and even the most symbolic rights are being curtailed. In all capitalist metropolises, especially the US and Europe, every kind of democratic right, from the right to strike to freedom of expression, from the right to assemble to union

activity, is being ruthlessly curtailed, and fascist dictatorial practices are becoming widespread. NATO is both the driver and supporter of this wave of fascistization, as well as its global protector.

NATO is the sword of Damocles hanging over humanity—the instrument of the imperialist “full annexation process,” the incubator of fascism, and the global counter-revolutionary apparatus of the imperialist gangs. But it is not invincible. It is built on sand—the shifting sands of exploitation and oppression, which are already crumbling beneath its feet.

NATO is the most relentless enemy of any struggle waged by the working classes for power, whether it be called “national liberation” or “socialist revolution.” Every genuine popular revolution must fight not only against the bourgeoisie in that country, but also against imperialism and its military-political organization, NATO. Let us not forget that anti-communism is in NATO’s founding genes and is the building block that keeps it standing.

Twenty-two years ago, in 2004, the NATO summit held in Istanbul was met with militant resistance from the working class and laborers of Türkiye. Slogans such as “Murderer NATO, Get Out!” and “NATO, Murderer of Peoples” echoed through the streets of Istanbul. In 2026, the same spirit will take the stage, even stronger and bigger. This war machine of imperialism will once again face the justified anger and militant resistance of Türkiye’s workers in Istanbul.

We declare hereby that imperialism’s war headquarters, NATO, the murderer of the people, will once again be met with the anger and militant actions it deserves by workers and laborers 22 years later! Once

again, they will hold their meetings in those tiny spaces where they hide from the people, under the occupation of thousands of cops. However, with the presence of thousands of police and military units kept in reserve, they will “feel safe” and sign their bloody plans with their fake smiles.

There is no peace for them anywhere! They cannot feel comfortable anywhere, and they never will! Istanbul, the city of our struggle, will give this pack of hyenas the welcome they deserve!

This is our call to workers, laborers, women, and youth. Let us take to the streets to protest this war gang gathering in Istanbul in July 2026 and shout our demand for its dispersal. We will not allow NATO’s attempt to occupy Istanbul. We call on all forces defending democracy and peace, freedom and socialism for the people to take to the streets and rise up against NATO!

*Down with NATO, the murderer of peoples!*

*Long live proletarian internationalism!*

# We Resolutely Oppose the Unlimited Currency Swap that Tramples Upon Monetary Sovereignty!

People's Democracy Party ('Republic of Korea')

The bandit imperialist United States is plundering the colonial 'Republic of Korea (South Korea, hereinafter the 'ROK').' What has been publicly disclosed already amounts to 350 billion dollars in cash prepaid investments in the United States, plus an additional 200 billion dollars, 100 billion dollars in US energy imports, and 150 billion dollars in investments by 'ROK companies.'

The 350 billion dollars alone corresponds to 84% of the 'ROK's' foreign reserves of 416 billion dollars, while the amount of foreign exchange actually available for use is only about 20 billion dollars. When the 'ROK' refused to comply with these impossible demands, the US authorities, on September 4, illegally and violently detained 316 'ROK' workers at a 'ROK' battery factory in Georgia, using this as intimidation against the 'ROK' government. Amid the rising anger of the 'ROK' people and their growing anti-US sentiment, the Lee Jae-myung administration is now advocating the conclusion of an unlimited currency swap as a precondition for negotiations. It is proceeding with humiliating negotiations toward the United States, aiming to sign the agreement before the upcoming APEC meeting on the 30th of this month.

If the unlimited currency swap is concluded, the 'ROK' will ultimately lose its monetary sovereignty. Under the dollar system, the won (the national currency of the 'ROK') will become completely subordinated, and its value will collapse. On October 1, the colonial 'ROK' reached an agreement with the imperialist United States to "prohibit the artificial weakening of the won's value." Through this, the 'ROK' has been deprived of the right to conduct its

own exchange-rate policy. Why is this currency swap being pursued? It is to practically hand over the 350 billion dollars that the United States is demanding. The conditions of the 350 billion dollars investment in the United States are that the investment targets are to be selected by the USA, and that profit distribution between the USA and the 'ROK' shall be divided 50 to 50 before the recovery of the principal, and 90 to 10 after the principal is recovered. There has never been such a brazen act of banditry. Whether the principal will ever be recovered is uncertain, and as seen with the additional 200 billion dollars already demanded, the demands of the United States are endless. The exchange rate of the 'ROK' has already surpassed the 1,400-won level, breaking through the psychological safety line. It is predicted to soar to 2,000 won upon the conclusion of the currency swap. In a word, the won will be reduced to mere scraps of paper. The 'ROK' now stands on the brink of a recurrence of the 1997 foreign exchange crisis, when it had to receive IMF bailout assistance.

US imperialism is not merely after 'ROK's' monetary sovereignty. Trump has blatantly revealed his intention to seize stakes in 'ROK's' manufacturing sector—a sinister plot to snatch up industry at fire-sale prices should the won collapse. Meanwhile, in tariff negotiations, the European Union's 600 billion dollars investment in the USA belongs to private firms, and of Japan's pledged 550 billion dollars, only 1–2% is actually invested. Some even estimate that Japan's precondition for US investment hinges on 'ROK's' 350 billion dollars in cash flows to the USA. If it can smash 'ROK's' economy, roughly 6 billion

dollars is meaningless to Japan. The United States is coercing the 'ROK' into astronomical investments in the USA—far exceeding its foreign exchange reserves—while in truth aiming to seize control over its monetary sovereignty and plunder its manufacturing. This is far from the end. Through subordinate allies—Europe and Japan, it is employing vicious methods of imperialist brigands to completely bring the colonial 'ROK' to heel, setting so-called “baselines” for the Third World in the process.

After tariffs and exchange rates comes the military. The “Miran Report,” which determines Trump’s second-term economic policy, seeks to offload the political and economic crisis of US imperialism—arising from the 37 trillion dollars national debt and the 1 trillion dollars in annual interest—onto its “allies,” structuring the process in stages of “tariffs,” “exchange rates,” and “defense.” This is being applied wholesale to colonial 'ROK.' Trump threatens the withdrawal of US forces from the 'ROK' while brazenly demanding a ninefold increase in stationing costs. In August, meeting Lee Jae-myung, he even spoke of claiming ownership of the Camp Humphreys US military base in the 'ROK'—the largest single overseas US military base. The problem lies in the colonial dependence of the 'ROK' government on the USA. President Lee Jae-myung speaks of so-called “independent national defense” and the return of wartime operational control, yet is reviewing a 25 billion dollars list of US-made weapons purchases through 2030. The so-called “government” of colonial 'ROK' has neither the will nor the capacity to remove the occupying US forces and realize genuine independent national defense.

We categorically oppose unlimited currency swap! Pursuing a currency swap is in itself the ultimate humiliation. Pro-US vassals in colonial 'ROK' are moving to hand over even the last vestige of 'ROK' monetary sovereignty into the clutch of imperialist USA. The price of this treasonous sellout is endless plunder under Trump’s “madman tactics,” the insult

of becoming not merely “ATM Korea” but a “global super-doormat,” and the shame of colony. Cease all efforts to push for unlimited currency swaps at once, reject every negotiation, and answer “threats” of US troop withdrawal with the removal of US forces—respond from an independent, sovereign stance. Already more than 80% of the 'ROK' populace oppose concluding a currency swap, and the 'ROK' society is transforming into a “zone of anti-US fervor.” Our people, together with the peoples of the world, will rise in a fight against US and imperialism, smash the US imperialist aggression and plundering schemes, and hasten a new era of independence and liberation.

# Founding Declaration of the World Anti-Imperialist Women's Platform

Under systemic discrimination, women's survival and development cannot be guaranteed. Oppressed and exploited working women's human rights and dignity are ruthlessly trampled upon by war and violence. In times of barbarism, women, along with children, suffer the most and are subjected to humiliations more miserable than death itself. Imperialist exploitation and plunder know no borders. Women within imperialist countries are made the targets of monopoly capital's exploitation, are forced to accept capitalist ideology, and are brainwashed by an ideology of domination that seeks to divide Third World women and women in imperialist countries. Women living under people's governments that truly guarantee women's rights are also constantly threatened by imperialist war.

Humanity now stands at a crossroads between independence and subjugation. The imperialist forces, sustained by invasion and plunder, are unleashing a frenzy of war in order to avert the unprecedented crisis that is engulfing human society and driving it toward a world war. Imperialism—the culprit behind the unprecedented devastation of World War 1 and World War 2—is today recklessly provoking World War 3. Throughout human history, the ruling classes have always reduced women to spoils of war, wartime laborers, and war slaves during times of war. Anti-imperialism and self-determination are the path to life and peace, while pro-imperialism and subjugation are the path to death and war.

We must raise high the banner of anti-imperialism and self-determination and carry forward the struggle. The invasions and massacres, domination and plunder, oppression and exploitation taking place across the world today confirm the truth that national and class discrimination cannot be abolished

so long as imperialism exists. It is imperialism, fascism, violence, and war. Progressive women around the world must refuse to cooperate with imperialist war propaganda, arms production, and military actions, and must go further by mobilizing broad layers of working women into the anti-war, anti-imperialist, and anti-fascist struggle. All women must rise up as one in the struggle to eradicate imperialism and fascism.

“Divide and rule” is one of the basic tactics of the imperialist forces. They divide women and men within both imperialist countries and colonized nations, inciting hatred between them and obstructing unity and solidarity. In the same vein, imperialist forces smear socialist and anti-imperialist states as “human rights violators” and invoke so-called “women's rights” as a pretext for sanctions, isolation, and strangulation. The extreme feminism promoted by some women is nothing more than a form of “female chauvinism”, which distorts social problems into biological conflicts between women and men, leading the women's movement in a misguided direction. The same goes for machismo on the other side. We reject the false propaganda carried out under the banner of “women's rights” by imperialist and opportunist forces, and we will expose and crush their reactionary essence.

Women, as equal participants in revolution and construction, have long advanced the women's liberation movement through bloodshed and struggle against all forms of domination throughout history. Especially since the 20th century, they have played a vital role in resisting imperialism, fighting for liberation from colonial rule, and building new societies—and today, they continue to stand at the frontlines of struggle, boldly shaping their own destiny. Only on

the path of justice—toward national liberation, class liberation, and human liberation, the shared aspiration of all humankind—can women’s emancipation and the social liberation of women be achieved. We will continue to strengthen international unity and solidarity, and continue fighting for women’s dignity and rights, as well as for international peace and self-determination.

October 21, 2025, Caracas

World Anti-Imperialist Women’s Platform

## The Venezuelan people united around the commune will surely win

### World Anti-imperialist Platform

The people’s regime is one in which the people are the true masters of society. A people’s regime is one in which the people hold power over politics and the economy, as well as over national sovereignty and the means of production. Establishing the people as the masters of the regime and serving their interests is the fundamental principle of building a people’s regime. Strengthening the people’s regime is the path to defending, upholding, and developing the institutions that serve the people’s ideal of a community. It is also a firm guarantee for advancing and completing the people’s cause of independence.

In 1871, the Paris Commune was established. The Paris Commune was the first workers’ and people’s regime built by the working class — the leading force of production and creation—to free themselves from class-based oppression and discrimination. After France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian War in July 1870, the Second Empire collapsed as a result of the people’s uprising in Paris on September 4. As a fruit of this struggle, on November 1, the people of Marseille proclaimed a “revolutionary Commune” and organized the “Government of National Defense.” On April 19, 1871, through the program titled “Declaration to the French People,” they defined the republic as the only form of regime compatible with the rights of the people and affirmed the autonomy of the Commune.

During its brief 72 days of existence, the Commune implemented a series of progressive policies benefiting urban workers and the poor.

The reactionary forces, having signed a humiliating

armistice with Prussia in January 1871, turned their aggression toward the Paris Commune. The fighters of the Paris Commune resisted bravely against Thiers’ reactionary army, but were ultimately defeated. The Communards were brutally massacred in front of the “Wall of the Federates” at Père Lachaise Cemetery.

The Paris Commune left behind invaluable historical lessons—among them, the consequences of lacking a revolutionary party, the absence of a worker–peasant alliance, and the failure to fully dismantle the bourgeois economic base.

In 1917, the Russian Soviets were established. Lenin developed the theories of “uneven development under imperialism,” the “weak link in the imperialist chain,” and the “Victory of socialist revolution in a single country.” He organized the Bolsheviks as the vanguard leadership and the Soviets of workers, poor peasants, and soldiers as the mass base of the revolutionary. Although the February Revolution of 1917 succeeded, opportunist forces allied with the bourgeoisie and betrayed the people, resulting in a system of “dual power.” Under Lenin’s leadership, the Soviets developed into organs of struggle that opposed the Provisional Government and sought to establish Soviet power. Amid the conditions of World War 1, Lenin issued the “April Theses,” which repudiated the so-called “revolutionary defensism” stance of Kerensky and the Duma, advocated instead a policy of “revolutionary defeatism,” and forcefully called for “All power to the Soviets.” This slogan served both as a strategic means to dismantle the unstable system of dual power and as a revolutionary policy embody-

ing the Russian people's aspirations for "peace, land, and bread." In October 1917, the Soviet forces rose against the Provisional Government, seizing key urban centers. On October 25, state power was declared to belong to the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies—the Military Revolutionary Committee. Through the victory of the world's first workers' and people's government, the scientific and historical validity of the Soviet line—together with the outstanding leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks—was demonstrated in practice.

On October 7, 2012, President Hugo Chávez secured a third term in office, and at a cabinet meeting on October 20 boldly redirected national policy toward a revolutionary course that granted the people greater power to govern themselves. At this meeting, Chávez declared, "Comuna o nada" ("Communes or nothing"). He insisted that the construction of communes must become the foremost responsibility of all governing institutions. Shortly before his death, Chávez entrusted the commune project to his successor, Nicolás Maduro, saying he did so "as I would entrust my own life." For Maduro—the heir to the Bolivarian revolutionary cause—building communes represents both the fulfillment of Chávez's legacy and the practical path toward realizing 21st-century socialism. The Maduro government has institutionalized local self-governance through communal councils and the higher-level communal system known as the "Comuna." Laws such as the 2006 Law of Communal Councils and the 2010 Organic Law of the Communes—collectively known as the "People's Power Laws"—established a framework enabling residents to form autonomous local councils and manage their own productive and financial organizations. Since Chávez's death, confronted with an ever-intensifying U.S. blockade against Venezuela, the government has pursued the accelerated construction of communes as a means to consolidate the people's government.

On January 10, 2025, the Seven Transformations Plan (7T Plan) was officially announced. The plan identifies the following core areas: "Economic Transformation: Beyond Oil," "Full Independence: Technology and Sovereignty," "Peace, Sovereignty, and Security: A Comprehensive Approach," "Social Transformation: A Renewal of Commitment," "Political Transformation: The Power of the People and Consensus," "Ecological Transformation: A Green Pact," and "Geopolitical Transformation: A New World Order." These central objectives were formulated through consultations with more than 63,000 People's Assemblies. Maduro proudly declared, "The President is the people, and the people are the President. When you combine the project, the plan, the people, and the President—the Homeland is born." Ahead of the national referendum to implement the plan, approximately 36,000 local community projects were submitted by 46,762 Communes and Communal Councils.

The current aggression of the US imperialism against Venezuela continues to intensify. Just as the so-called "War on Terror" was used in the 2000s as a false pretext to attack Iraq and other parts of West Asia, now, under the false pretext of "drug eradication," the United States is raging to reduce Venezuela and Latin America—nations advancing toward sovereignty and liberation—into its "backyard." The real reason why the United States — the very center of global drug crime — viciously slanders Venezuela, a country that has become a model in drug eradication, is known to the entire world: it is to plunder Venezuela's vast natural resources, including its oil.

U.S. imperialism is concentrating large-scale invasion forces in the southern Caribbean, openly killing the Venezuelan people while covertly orchestrating false propaganda, riots, and acts of terrorism through pro-U.S. far-right fascist groups.

On September 25, President Maduro declared, "The

Comuna is the great center of direct democracy and the shield against imperialism.” Under the slogan “Barracks to the People,” the people’s government boldly integrated the regular Bolivarian National Armed Forces with the irregular Bolivarian militias into local communities. This is a groundbreaking measure that significantly strengthens Venezuela’s defense capabilities, and it is a revolutionary action that could never be implemented without the single-hearted unity between the government and the people. To defend the motherland, 4.5 million people have already volunteered for enlistment, and this number continues to grow. This remarkable reality demonstrates the anti-US independence spirit and resolute will of the Venezuelan people in the face of imperialist oppression and aggression. In contrast, the pro-US far-right fascist forces beg the United States to invade Venezuelan territory, flagrantly exposing their servility to foreign powers and contempt for the people. The government’s complete suppression of these far-right fascist forces—who seek to overthrow the people’s government and replace it with a fascist regime, turning Venezuela into a colony of US imperialism and reducing the Venezuelan people to colonial slaves—is not a “violation of human rights,” but a genuine defense of human rights. Strengthening the people’s government around the Comunas in Venezuela is the most powerful driving force and the firmest rampart for defeating imperialism and fascism, and for victoriously advancing and accomplishing the people’s independent cause. The Venezuelan people united around the Comunas will never be defeated; they will always triumph.

A new world in which humanity ends imperialism and fascism, and where all live in peace and happiness as the true masters of society, will inevitably come. We will stand with the Venezuelan people to the very end in the righteous struggle to annihilate imperialism and fascism and to build a people-centered new society, and we will always triumph.

*Down with imperialism and fascism!  
Comuna o nada! Socialism o nada!  
The people united will never be defeated!  
Victory to Venezuela! Victory to Maduro!  
¡Hasta la victoria siempre!*

October 21, 2025, Caracas  
World Anti-imperialist Platform

## **Imperialism Shall Fall! The Peoples Shall Triumph!**

### **World Anti-imperialist Platform**

The US imperialist atrocities of aggression against Venezuela are vicious and relentless. The United States slanders Venezuela—a model country in the fight against drugs—as a “narco-state,” and President Nicolás Maduro as a “drug lord,” while doubling the bounty on his head. It is further amassing invasion forces in the southern Caribbean and committing heinous atrocities by murdering the Venezuelan people. Its aggressive campaign against Venezuela is exposed by the large-scale invasion exercise “UNITAS 2025,” held from September 15 to October 6 with the participation of some 25 countries, and through “false flag” operations. According to a report on September 17, a drug trafficker captured by the Venezuelan army with 3,680 kilograms of cocaine was revealed to be an agent of the US Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). The pro-US far-right fascists are exploiting the attack by US imperialism on Venezuela to openly beg for a military intervention and invasion by US imperialism, seeking to overthrow the only constitutional government headed by President Maduro. Furthermore, drug-trafficking and irregular armed groups are continuously attempting to infiltrate Venezuelan territory.

The truth is crystal clear: US imperialism seeks to invade Venezuela to plunder its natural resources—specifically 350 billion barrels of oil, gold, bauxite, water, and various biological resources. According to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, only 5% of Colombian cocaine attempted to transit through Venezuela, and even that was mostly seized by Venezuelan authorities. In a personal letter in September, President Maduro stressed that Venezuela had destroyed 420 aircraft involved in drug-smuggling over recent years.

It is not Venezuela but Ecuador that should be a real focus of concern regarding “drug-trafficking.” The Noboa family’s port of Posorja in Ecuador has become a main cocaine gateway from Latin America to Europe. The Ecuadorian people are outraged at the pro-US puppet government of Daniel Noboa, which enforces neoliberal policies and constructs an unconstitutional US military base in the Galápagos Islands.

US imperialism will never defeat the Venezuelan people united around the Communes. President Maduro has called for the readiness to shift from unarmed to armed struggle, emphasizing the historic duty to defend the dignity of the nation. He has instructed the mobilization of 260,000 streets and 47,000 communities to prepare for armed resistance. Today, under the slogan “Barracks to the People,” 4.5 million militia members are organized in Venezuela to defend the people’s government and their motherland. Millions more have volunteered for militia and combat units, demonstrating the unbreakable unity between the people and their government, and their immense political and ideological strength. Strategic and tactical unity with the anti-imperialist camp is also being consolidated. The strategic partnership and cooperation agreement signed with Russia in May was unanimously ratified by the Venezuelan National Assembly in September. Around the same time, the Cuba-Venezuela strategic alliance was reaffirmed. International and regional cooperation bodies like ALBA, CELAC, and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), along with many Latin American countries, have also firmly rejected the deployment of US troops that threaten the peace of the region.

Even at this very moment, imperialism is carrying out wars of aggression, massacres of the people, regime changes, and the plunder of resources across the world. The imperialist forces and their fascist lackeys are striving to expand and prolong wars in Ukraine and Eastern Europe, and in Palestine and West Asia, and in Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and across Africa, while frantically attempting to ignite new war in East Asia and the Western Pacific in order to escalate World War 3 into a full-scale confrontation. In particular, the genocide against the Palestinian people exposes the imperialist and fascist forces as true machines of massacre and the culprits of war. These same cliques are frantically fomenting “color revolutions”—forms of “low intensity wars”—to subvert governments in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and across Asia. Amid the current escalation of war in global scale, “color revolutions” will inevitably lead to total war, as clearly demonstrated by the example of Ukraine.

The sun is setting on imperialism. It is making its last desperate struggle to escape the worst-ever political and economic crisis by triggering a world war. Due to antagonistic contradictions on multiple levels, imperialism is destined to perish. Just as the anti-fascist camp emerged during World War 2, today, under the conditions of World War 3, the anti-imperialist camp is strengthening its forces and, as reality proves, is pushing the imperialist camp toward defeat. The military parades held in Russia, China, and the DPRK in May, September, and October respectively, demonstrated that the anti-imperialist camp not only holds the just and peaceful political-ideological cause, but also overwhelmingly surpasses the imperialist camp in military strength. Imperialism shall fall. The peoples shall triumph. The people who rise up in struggle, shouting the slogans “Proletarians of all countries, unite!” and “The people united will never be defeated!” are will certainly dwine. The Venezuelan people, holding high the banner of anti-imperialism and united around the Maduro government, will

surely achieve victory.

*Peoples of the world, rise up and fight!*

*Against imperialist plunder — resist!*

*Against fascist terror — unite!*

*For socialism and liberation — advance!*

October 22, 2025, Caracas

World Anti-imperialist Platform

# Conclusion of 9th International Conference in Caracas

## World Anti-imperialist Platform

1. The World Anti-Imperialist Platform demands US imperialism to take its hands off Venezuela. US imperialism must immediately cease all acts of aggression, blockade, economic sanctions, and interference in Venezuela's internal affairs. We firmly declare that all these criminal acts by US imperialism are violent breaches of the UN Charter and are unequivocally subject to international war crimes trials and criminal courts.

2. The World Anti-Imperialist Platform strongly condemns all military acts of aggression, "false-flag" operations, and attempts at "color revolution" carried out by US imperialism in its effort to overthrow the legitimate government of Venezuela—the workers' and people's government led by President Nicolás Maduro. We firmly believe that these foolish and clichéd reactionary attempts will be thoroughly crushed by the army, the communes, and the people united around President Maduro.

3. The World Anti-Imperialist Platform affirms that the approval of CIA operations by the imperialist Trump administration of the US constitutes an extremely dangerous act of war that must be immediately halted. We solemnly warn that any form of attack by US imperialism against the Maduro government, or any act of aggression against Venezuela, will become a decisive turning point that will intensify anti-US and anti-imperialist struggles not only across Latin America but throughout the world.

4. The World Anti-Imperialist Platform fully supports the Maduro government — an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist government; a workers' and people's government; a government advancing the Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela. We once again solemnly proclaim before the world that the Maduro government — the rightful successor to the Chávez

administration — is a legitimate government born of democratic and lawful elections, and a people's government that commands the unwavering support of the broad masses.

5. The World Anti-imperialist Platform solemnly vows to further deepen and expand international solidarity, in various dimensions, with the Maduro government, which is based on the spirit of the Bolivarian Revolution and struggles under the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-fascism. As the first concrete step, we will center the Platform's Latin American activities on Caracas, Venezuela, working in close cooperation with the people's government of President Maduro to organize anti-imperialist actions in practice. Any attack on the Maduro government by US imperialism is an attack on the World Anti-imperialist Platform itself.

6. The World Anti-imperialist Platform shares and upholds the spirit of "Comuna o Nada"—the testament of Commander Chávez—and pledges to firmly support the Venezuelan comunas, the Paris Communes of the 21st century, making every possible effort for their strengthening. We will actively cooperate at the international level to help realize the innovative projects of the comunas, which embody the creativity of the people.

The people united will never be defeated.  
*¡Comuna o Nada! ¡Viva Venezuela! ¡Victoria Siempre!*

Caracas  
October 22, 2025

# Platform



The World Anti-imperialist Platform