

Towards a dangerous 2025.

The proletariat must urgently organise to defend itself from a mode of production which creates wars, destruction and misery

The converging effects:

- of the fiscal crisis of a growing number of states, including some belonging to the first circle amongst them, results, among other things, in a crisis of the social state founded on previously solid mechanisms of social protection and security, destabilising capitalist civil society and its order;
- of the formation, in the incandescent heat of “regional” wars, of two blocs (US, UK, the Scandinavian countries, NATO, on one side, and China, Russia, Iran and their allies on the other) in line with a trajectory of military collision. Generalised remilitarisation is from now on the rule, even for states that think of themselves as “peace-loving”, like Finland, Germany and Japan;
- of the disruption of global “value chains” and “supply chains” expressing itself both as fracturing and blockages at many crossroads of the world market and by the politico-military deformation of the realisation of value, that is to say the formation of prices,
- of the consequent necessity for the deep restructuring of economic and social formations of primary importance for the world of capital;
- of the currency war to maintain or to win the status of global currency, still solidly incarnated today in the US dollar;
- of the general political crisis of the dominant classes which translates into the acceleration of the transformation of parliamentary democracies into plebiscitary democracies;
- of the destabilisation of capitalist civil society and its order which feeds the tendency for the separation from it of whole layers who are direct victims of austerity policies and the militarisation which results from its social relations;

are among the most marked elements of the coming year.

Despite this sombre scenario, the valorisation of capital has not (yet?) experienced significant interruptions. Companies in the main have been able to make the most of it, above all by reducing their wage bill. This was barely slowed by the rise inflation¹, and, added to the increase in

the productivity of labour, allowed the great majority of individual capitals to overcome the forced interruption or slowdown of business activity caused by the Covid 19 health crisis, and then to dodge the initial negative results of the effects described above. Nevertheless, individual capitals have halted or suspended their investment plans, and they are preoccupied with increasing difficulties in realising value and expanding their respective markets. Above all, they can no longer rely as they once did on direct and indirect aid from states grappling with a protracted fiscal crisis, nor can they rely on relatively durable social stability. Thus, the general political crisis of the ruling classes, coupled with the fiscal crisis of the state, does not produce a unified response from companies. More than ever, it's “every man for himself and the Devil take the hindmost”. They are learning to manage their interests without counting too much on badly financed states whose governments are often seriously unstable. Industrial crisis is not imminent but it is fast approaching, following on from those of 2015/2016 and 2020, and the two boom years in terms of profits in 2024 and part of 2025 (according to the forecasts of analysts in the enemy camp).

On the side of the exploited class, it has to be said that it is not managing to assert its own interests, neither within workplaces in the face of attacks on wages and conditions of work, nor when it is confronted with the direct consequences of capitalist wars or environmental crises. Class fights in their immense majority are channelled into attempts to hold back restructuring of the productive apparatus involving redundancies and relocation, and to defend the purchasing power of a wage eaten away by inflation. These worker reactions only very rarely go beyond the strictly defensive framework, are not established long-term, have not taken the form of a wave of economic struggles and have never gone beyond the trade union framework. In this panorama, however, victorious strikes for wages have stood out, such as those of Boeing workers and East Coast dockers in the US, and those of health workers in the UK². If there has been no transformation of economic struggles into offensive political struggles, that is to say those capable of challenging the dominant productive and reproductive order, revolutionary politics must promote and develop these sporadic moments

¹ Inflationary pressure increases the mass of wages in two ways: by contractual or state mechanisms for wage adjustment AND, above all for big companies, by the increase in wage demands.

² See: MC/KpK *A glimmer of Hope amidst Austerity and Social Regression? – the continuing strike wave in the UK*, Letter no. 52, September 2023: <https://mouvement-communiste.com/documents/MC/Letters/LTMC2352ENvFinal.pdf>

of class struggle, without forgetting to underline their intrinsic limits. There is no political struggle without defensive struggle. Communist intervention in these struggles is neither a luxury nor an irreparable concession to opportunism, but a historical and contingent necessity. In the same vein, purist contempt for “trade union” struggles can have no place among proletarian fighters. Criticism of the trade union form of class struggle and, *a fortiori*, of the state unions, must not be confused with rejection of all workers' demand struggles.

The civil society of capital is hit full on by the fiscal crisis of the state, leading to a drastic reduction in expenditure on the mechanisms of social integration. So-called social democracy structured around intermediate organs of the state and practiced through negotiation between directly or indirectly associated social partners (bosses' organisations, state union organisations and the state itself) is not in a healthy state. Certainly, negotiations continue, intermediate bodies of the state continue to exist even though their “representativity” is largely eroded, “social rights” have not completely evaporated. But these things are called into question as states adapt social democracy to the new scenario defined by the growing difficulties of financing it and by the regression of parliamentary democracy into plebiscitary democracy. Thus, “social rights” are modified directly in line with the importance of sectors of civil society for the reproduction of capital. The first victims of the “retreat” of the social state are the excess population, the poor, the migrants, the pensioners, older workers and those who lost their jobs, but also young people resistant to work, “non-flexible” workers and women who will not submit to the diktat of reproducing labour power. For everyone, the previously “social” state shows its true face in the forces of repression. It is a state which eliminates or recruits its own institutions which formally guaranteed a certain dialectic between the organs of legislative and judicial power. It is a state that is preparing itself very concretely for civil war by exploiting all the upheavals generated in civil society by the fiscal crisis and the demolition of whole swathes of social democracy³.

The tendency to globally affirm plebiscitary democracy convulses the governments of numerous states, including several developed countries. This tendency feeds on the formation of enemy blocs, on the generalisation of war as the principal means of settling differences of all kinds between states, on the necessity to tightly restrict public expenses, on monetary and commercial policy, in putting them at the service of civil war or regular war. However, this move towards plebiscitary democracy is meeting with a degree of resistance from the population here and there. The fall of dictators, attempted *coups d'état* and authoritarian constitutional “reforms” have not failed to provoke massive reactions in the streets. The long cycle of inter-classist democratic movements is not over. When these movements, or more precisely minority sectors of them, manage in practice to go beyond the strict constitutional framework by practising forms of collective and individual liberation through direct action, they must be the object of

the greatest attention on the part of the communists. Communists' duty is to intervene with the aim of accelerating the political separation of these insurgent fringes from those sectors, usually the majority, who stand on the terrain of bourgeois legality. The purpose is obvious: to encourage the fusion of these radical democratic expressions with the independent workers' movement. It is up to the latter to lead the struggle as a whole and to incorporate into direct class struggle the “libertarian” (by which we mean the *practical* struggle for greater freedom) tendencies expressed by these rebellious sectors of the democratic movements.

For revolutionaries, finally, it is indispensable to pursue a concrete critical analysis of the present, by means of a non-academic use of the categories developed by Marx and Engels and the independent workers' movement. The complexity of the situation demands it more than ever. The work of organisation and the formation of communist cadres must be reinforced along with the process of political centralisation of the feeble conscious forces of workers autonomy. This is an organisation and formation which cannot be seriously envisaged without the permanent search for interaction with real existing class struggles and with the libertarian sectors of democratic movements. The aim of communist intervention today is to contribute to the emergence of experiences and forms of workers autonomy and to win the libertarian rebels over to the proletarian cause. This stands in opposition to reciting immutable principles in the isolation of an ideological box bedroom, as pretentious as it is useless. Theory must be a concrete weapon of the revolutionary proletariat, to be transformed into a material force. In the same way, it is a deeply mistaken to judge “direct action” taken by politicised minorities disconnected from the class struggle as expressions of the proletarian movement. Therefore, to work comrades!

MC/KPK, 5 January 2025

³ See: MC/KpK *la mue illibérale de l'état s'accélère sur fond d'émeutes urbaines*, Letter no. 53, September 2023 [not yet available in English]: <https://mouvement-communiste.com/documents/MC/Letters/LT53vF.pdf>