

# International Summercamp of Minerve 2025

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Breakfast 8:00-9:30							
Morning 9:30-12:30	Getting together	Class struggles 2	Organisation 1	Free morning	War 1	Feminism 2	Cleaning
Lunch break 12:30-14:30							
Afternoon 14:30-19:00	Class struggles 1	Free afternoon	Organisation 2	Transition	War 2	Final plenary session	Departure
Dinner 20h							
Evening 21:00-22:00	Presentation of the comunal living space by UTTA	Film pension reform France	Feminist struggles on the workplace	Revolutionary mapping (Zoom)	Presentation of a new film project about transition & communist production	Party	

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## **Class Struggles 1 - Country Reports**

During our struggle day we want to continue our general discussion on trade unions that we started in Poznan. We can use this text as a basis for debate:

<https://libcom.org/article/unions-and-political-struggle-mouvement-communiste>

The contributions are incompletely recorded here.

### **Questions for the reports:**

- What major strike movements have there been in the country where you live, in the last 12 months ?
- Have there been any other major protest movements? What was the cause?
- Are there any economic or political developments in the country where you live that you should be aware of with regard to upcoming social protests?
- What distinguishes the situation of class struggles in the country you live from other countries?
- Would you like to add ONE more thing that could be relevant for future conflict dynamics?

### **a. Uk**

1) What major strike movements have there been in the country where you live, in the last 12 months?

There were very few outstanding strikes, primarily smaller disputes for regrading low paid workers within the NHS, such as the [100 day strike of phlebotomists in Gloucester](#). The main focus for the trade union movement is the bin workers strike in Birmingham against pay cuts, which has been going on since March 2025. There have been several '[mass pickets](#)', which mobilised trade union activists and left groups from around the country. The strike becomes a political issue between the left-wing trade union movement and the governing Labour Party, e.g. the striking

union Unite has suspended the membership of Deputy Prime Minister Angela Rayners. The union also voted to “re-examine its relationship” with Labour over the issue, in a sign of growing divide between the union and the party who have historically worked hand-in-hand. The actual strength of the strike is not talked about much, there have been short-term occupations of scabbing temp agencies, but these actions seemed symbolic. A similar bin strike is happening in Sheffield, where Unite represents a third of the workforce.

2) Have there been any other major protest movements? What was the cause?

The main protest movement of the last year were the riots against asylum seekers, which are currently flaring up again. The media give these protests a lot of air time, perhaps in order to create a social atmosphere which allows the government to increase the amount of anti-migration raids, as Labour deported many more migrants than the Tory government, and to restrict migration laws, e.g. there is a new deal with France to curb boat migration, the work visa regime has been changed, you now need to work 10 instead of previously 5 years in order to apply for citizenship. At the same time these riots are more than a media show, they are a new composition of far-right organisers, local lower working class with many women and children involved and a strata of self-employed building workers or small entrepreneurs. The riots mainly happen in the poorest parts of the country.

Another round of protest happened after the government announced to cut the Personal Independence Payments, a benefit for disabled people. These protests were mainly organised by loose networks of anarchist adjacent and/or self-organised groups of disabled people, but they were largely unable to create wider connections to different sections of the class. The government did have to reverse the bulk of these cuts though, also partly due to conflicts within the parliamentary Labour party.

Finally there are the Palestine protests with the repression against Palestine Action (PA) - after PA broke into an RAF base and spray painted on a military plane the government have “proscribed” PA as a “terrorist

organisation”, not only banning the group but enacting a law that means anyone who the state deems to be “supporting” the organisation is at risk of being jailed for up to 11 years. Since then dozens of people have been arrested at pro-PA actions, but the charges are still unclear. Again, this level of repression hasn’t been seen under recent Tory governments.

3) Are there any economic or political developments in the country where you live that you should be aware of with regard to upcoming social protests?

There are the usual post-Brexit problems of achieving trade deals, first of all with the US. It seems that recent participation in US led attacks in Yemen and other ‘expressions of submission’ resulted in a lowering of US tariffs for UK products. The UK government is in a fix, as the economic growth is dismal and new public investments would have to be financed by tax increases. Currently there is a lot of talk about ‘billionaires leaving the country’, which is the base for one of the main policies of the Reform UK economic program after their land-slide victory at recent local elections, breaking a century of two-party rule. They suggest a ‘one off tax’ for the rich of £250,000, which is lower than the current tax rate over time - and the money will be paid into the bank accounts of ‘the poorest’. Reform UK hops to win the next election with this populist measure: tax reduction for both the richest and the small self-employed builder and some hand-outs for the proles. The inflation has crept back up to 3.6% (CPI) despite lowering interest rates, and at the same time the labour market has cooled. UK economy has been stagnant for the past 12 months.

4) What distinguishes the situation of class struggles in the country you live from other countries?

First of all the post-Brexit situation and the inability of the UK state to transform itself into the ‘low tax de-regulated tech lab’ that they would like the UK to be. The result is that the UK economy is still very dependent on international finance markets, it has the highest levels of de-industrialisation and at the same time the highest levels of migration in the EU. The 2021 census found 10 million residents were born outside England and Wales, representing 16.8% of all inhabitants. In comparison,

38 million people living within the EU were born outside it, representing 8.5% of the population. This creates a peculiar social tension, the property market plays a huge role for peoples' income - either due to high rent or mortgage or as small landlords - and at the same time the state has to import labour from Indonesia and Nepal to work in agriculture and lacks the native know-how to finish large-scale infrastructure programs.

5) Would you like to add ONE more thing that could be relevant for future conflict dynamics?

Currently most of the political debate evolves around the question of parliamentary party politics: what would a likely Reform UK government change? When will the leaders finally announce the formation of [a new left party](#)? Behind the scenes a swamp of micro-parties, factions, personalities, union leaders etc. fights over the right moment and the right pitch to form this new party, while thousands watch and dream of a 'democratic mass party'. It is most probable that in the usual style of the UK left, this new project will create short-term excitement and bring hundreds of people together in highly publicised self-celebrations, before internal interest fights and lack of cohesion will cool things down again.

## **b. Germany**

In the last years the health worker strikes were quite important. Now we are confronted with the question, if these wave if strikes are coming to an end.

The strike Charité CFM Facility Management GmbH (a wholly owned subsidiary of Charité) was broad and combative - but ended with a gradual and incomplete reintegration into the TVÖD (collective agreement for civil servants) - which has long been the demand. The TikTok Strike Berlin and at Zalando.

For the CFM strike, it was added that the mood after the conclusion was poor; the gap to the TVÖD remains too large, and the employer seems to have succeeded in reinforcing divisions within the workforce with incomprehensible pay scale classifications for different occupational groups. In addition, no collective agreement was reached, but rather a 'key points paper' - which is not legally watertight, and the employer now

appears to be failing to implement various agreements.

#### **c. Wien / Austria**

Please add the short input

#### **d. Italy**

In March 2015, Transport Secor CGIL and Cobas went on strike against the right-wing government. In addition, there were steelworkers' strikes, e.g. in Bologna, where 10,000 workers blocked roads against Meloni. Textile workers joined in with a day of picketing in Prato. In the health sector, there are repeated protests against militarisation. There are repeated protests against the Sicuresta decree (which is intended to provide more 'protection' for the police, i.e. to expand their powers). At the same time, there are plans to introduce tougher penalties for protests. Also against strikes - against strike tactics, such as blockades - actions outside the factory, There are repeated anti-war protests - such as the dockworkers in Genoa against the shipment of weapons to Saudi Arabia. At the same time, there are repeated clashes within the protests (role of Hamas...disagreements between different immigrant groups). Italy has record immigration - mainly from Ukraine - but also record emigration. Social cuts are on the horizon, for example in unemployment benefits. Social centres have almost disappeared or become isolated (which also has to do with the security decree).

#### **e. France**

Since the movement against the 2023 pension reform, there has been no widespread, nationwide movement. Solidarity with Palestine is facing harsh repression, as are ecological struggles. There is an attack on »Social Securities« in favour of entrepreneurs. Since 2024, everyone has been required to document their qualifications in order to become 'more attractive' to industry. Cuts to the budget for unemployment benefits are planned. More and more 'security laws' are being legitimised with the war on the drug traffick.

On 10 September, there are to be blockades against the war, organised by and influenced by the yellow vests. An attempt to tap into the widespread mood of 'doing it like the yellow vests'.

## **f. Slovenia**

Broader strikes here. A Taxi driver strike at uber – but no results. A Doctor strike for higher wages. The Palestine solidarity movement is not heavily repressed, but until there were no blockades. The very unpopular Pension reform is supported by the unions. There is broad migration from south asia, especially from former Yugoslavia (albanian people). There is deep crisis affecting the subcontracting car industry.

## **g. Russia**

In Russia, trade unions (unlike in Ukraine) are not restricted, but they do not go on strike anyway. There are strikes, but they are mostly wildcat, short and small, usually because of outstanding wages, and most often they end in legal decisions that employers should pay - but it is unclear whether this is implemented. Legal battles. Largest trade union loyal to the state, second largest critical, against the war, syndicalist group, no longer represented in companies. Last major strike in 2023: delivery centers of Wildberries (biggest online retailer), including background disputes over shares. Full capacity utilisation in war zones, special payments. Migration: harsh restrictions – but cheap labour is needed; recruitment from Myanmar in residential complexes – but little labour from Myanmar due to military service there. Protests against local construction projects. Small environmental protests with regional nationalist connotations. It is entirely unclear and controversial whether the ‘person-centred’ Russian regime can hold out.

## **H. Spain**

1) What major strike movements have there been in the country where you live, in the last 12 months? (Max. 2)

Recently we had a general strike of the metal workers, that meant -for a week- all the metal companies went on strike in Cádiz, and the whole province was supporting in their demos as it has been happening historically. The assembly decided to stop the strike after the betrayal of the yellow unions, to avoid losing power in the dispute.

In Cartagena Port shop stewards and workers did a hunger strike in the

middle of a month strike betrayed by the main and yellow union CCOO. They are earning less money for the making of a submarine S-82 Narciso Monturiol. The strike ended up with 4 people arrested and 4 more in the hospital after the hunger strike.

In Cantabria 22000 metal workers from companies like Sidenor, Teknia and GSW went on strike for a couple of days lead by the yellow unions. One person arrested in the riots during the demo.

Education workers went also on strike in several communities, together with the students. They had few days of strike in Andalusia, Madrid and Basque country, not getting what they were asking for. In Madrid there is an autonomous workers platform called Menos Lectivas (Less teaching hours) who are the “heritance” of the Marea Verde (Green Tide), organisation born for the protests in 2011/12 and stood for few years.

There were strikes in the post, only one day in different occasions since February until June. The main concerns of the workforce are because the new agreement will make voluntarily redundant an 8% of the total workforce, older than 57, in the country. The rest of the working population will have to deal with constant modifications of the working hours and shifts. The agreement has been signed without the workers show enough strength to stop it.

2) Have there been any other major protest movements? What was the cause? (Max. 2)

Antifa movement has caused several imprisonments to start with the 6 in Zaragoza<sup>1</sup> who are imprisoned for almost 5 years for participating in a legalised demo against the right win party VOX, accused of vandalising public property. Little after them, the 7 of Somosaguas<sup>2</sup> are facing accusations of “hatred crime” (delito de odio), crime of attack against authority and coercion, who more likely would end up imprisoned. It’s quite crazy because the counter demo was legal whereas a right win spokesperson in the university was called off. Anyways, their tactic is to appear and provoke to target demonstrators afterwards. Judges in Spain are being consider as extremely right wingers.

The repression is not only affecting the antifa movement, more used to

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1 <https://resist.es/peticiones/libertad-para-los-6-de-zaragoza/>

2 <https://www.gofundme.com/f/caja-de-resistencia-7-de-somosaguas>

this kind of dirty accusations. The 6 members of the CNT struggling against the bakery called Suiza (a.k.a Los 6 de la Suiza) have been sent to prison on charges of obstruction of justice and serious coercion. This is because they had to sue the company repeatedly and the company, which was already bankrupted, claim the closure was caused by the picket lines. The question started, and it's relevant because of the gender issue it brings. It was a pregnant worker who asked for the sick leave because of risk of abortion, after her partner and the boss had a brawl. The woman was denouncing working and sexual abuse whereas the owner denounced her partner for threats and damaging the business. The woman wanted to quit the job but the owner didn't want to dialogue. The CNT started picket lines. They were asked less by the fiscal than what they got: 3 years and a half and 60.000€ per each accused and as civil responsibility to the owner of the bakery 125.000€ to be paid collectively. They are in prison, obtained the 3<sup>rd</sup> degree open prison regime after paying the civil responsibility. They have mobilised in many cities of the country acts in solidarity with them, 22 unions made a petition for them considering the penalty vulnerating unionism legal rights.

The recent demos in Cadiz caused 24 arrested<sup>3</sup>, some of them were sent to immediate detention accused of throwing stones to the police. One of them being the son of one unionist from CTM, a very good target to press the union reps. The leaders of this union have been organising the workers of the subcontracted metal companies in Cadiz province and cannot work anymore after being blacklisted, so they had to quietly work in a cooperative in order to survive. In the general strike taking place in 2021, 3 metal workers are asked 10 and a half years of prison plus 64000€ in fees for demonstrating against the loss of job positions. The socialist government brought a tank against the demonstrators that year.

3) Are there any economic or political developments in the country where you live that you should be aware of with regard to upcoming social protests? (Max. 2)

Lawfare. Labour law hasn't become better after the promises of the socialist party of changing this particular and the criminalization of the protest. New elections in 2027 if the gov manage to keep in power.

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3 <https://www.facebook.com/CTMBAHIACADIZ/>,

<https://fesimcgtmetal.org/blog/2018/11/08/caja-de-resistencia-huelga-indefinida-iss-airbus/>

4) What distinguishes the situation of class struggles in the country you live from other countries?

As a demobilised country, due to the role of contention played by the current lefty government; we have that, on one side, a lot of repression has been thrown towards the movement without the possibility of a proper reaction. On the other, if compared to the period 2012 to 2017 when there was more mobilisation in the streets, these days the level of polarisation in society is bigger but we are not better organised. I'd like to think at least we are learning from our mistakes faster than if we didn't have had other periods better off.

5) Would you like to add ONE more thing that could be relevant for future conflict dynamics?

More organisations and individuals are aware of the situation of disorganisation existing within the Spanish state so there is an organizational will to provide structures able to coordinate effort and correct the situation of duplicity we live in currently, as a consequence of the lack of organizations.

6) Short input about "experiences with the Spanish post worker unions"

Briefly, the trade union composition ranges from the historic yellow unions UGT (Unión General de los Trabajadores), CC.OO. (Workers' Commissions)<sup>4</sup> with the majority of unions; followed by several small co-corporate unions depending on the provinces and the third at national level CGT (Confederación General de Trabajadores, anarcho-syndicalist). The CNTs may have some sections in specific places or some individual affiliated workers. It is the latter that raises the alarm. Red de Apoyo Laboral (neighbourhood union) contributed by calling three workers' assemblies, and these workers organised themselves to distribute posters and propaganda.

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4 In its beginnings in the 1970s it emerged as Workers' Commissions, but when they centralised and the political control was taken from them and therefore modified the strategy of action to introduce the commission into the national trade union in Franco's regime, drowning out what the red trade the union had originally.

## Discussion

What is common, what is different, what was important essentially, two points were discussed:

- Migration is considered necessary everywhere – even if it is fought against ‘populistically’ everywhere. This is not a contradiction: the former major parties are trying to stay in power or come to power. At the same time, it is not about ‘stopping migration’ – but about who, how many, and under what conditions. There are quite different migration regimes in Europe
- The weakness of the left-wing movements, or the question of the reasons for the rise of ‘the right’. The background to this is the ‘downsizing of economies’, accompanied by a widespread shift to ‘war regimes’ and stricter ‘security laws’. ‘The right’ has no solutions, but it is not elected because of ‘solutions’; it can exploit the anger....against the policies of the former ‘people's parties’. In contrast, ‘the left’ can only rely on real (struggle-) experiences – and organised support of this struggles.

In the UK we have a new left party, until now unclear, »how left«, what the unions will do – or, if there will be developing new spaces »for action«, or to get in contact with peoples. Finally, reference was made to the text ‘The Thirdworldisation of the working class’ on discord.

# Class Struggles 2

## I. Presentations

### **Samuel: Report on working as a temp-union organizer in ver.di-campaign in Leipzig (Eastern Germany)**

- Organizing in Austria more of a trendy debate among the left rather than a strategy used by unions, as it is the case in Germany.
- S. worked with organizing inspired methods in his workplace in Vienna (childcare in schools) for about six years, built relations with German comrades from organiz.ing GmbH in Germany.
- Organiz.ing: Contract work for German unions, mostly ver.di (large service sector union).
- Left activists hired for temp contracts for campaigns.
- Connected to Trotskyist network "Marx 21" (within the left party)
- Union renewal approach: union officials, organizers and workers recruited through campaigns building a network.
- Workplace: DHL Hub Leipzig, biggest DHL Express air-freight hub, mainly supplying European airports, mostly during the night.
- 6,000-7,000 workers, mostly night shift plus temp workers (not targeted in campaign, around 100 planes per night - ecological catastrophe.
- Hub has been unionized since the beginning 20 years ago by ver.di, 2 strikes 2014 and 2023, few more by smaller postal union that ver.di was fighting with.
- 1-2 union officials, bad standing of ver.di.
- Most of the organizers had not lived in Leipzig before. Their task was to contact workers and tell them "how to win", the goal was to have most of the workers (?) unionized by the time the tariff negotiations started (they were about higher wages, which was set from the start by ver.di) - trying to reach each team in the hub.
- 8 organizers on the team, reporting to lead organizer three times a week, trainings were mostly about how to talk to workers ("you can win"), very much focused on the numbers game - faking numbers a little to motivate people, some competition among the organizers, equating numbers with success.
- Most organizers did not have any workplace or union experience.
- Problems, No other issues than wages were addressed, even when

they were important for the workers.

- No cooperation with the small union.
- Meetings for union reps and members during the negotiations – exclusive, other workers could not join, little planning in the meetings, only presentations.
- From Samuel’s perspective: he could not have an independent position and “lost his voice”, he could not talk to the workers from the hub openly about his own workplace experience.
- No honesty about the decision-making perspective.
- Organiz.ing is openly and secretly lobbying for more workers’ participation – no transparency.

## Questions

- higher scale / international participation? No.
- 3 Meetings a day (?) with workers – in the workplace? Yes, workers council reserved rooms for those meetings and could use them most of the time, 15-20 (?) attending at a time, different people attending.
- Relationship of the organizers with the workers ?
- Meeting the “KuKs” (Kolleginen und Kollegen, colleagues, i.e. workers) – expression of a strange relationship.
- Difficult to build a personal relationship while working there
- Most Union reps / organizers are part of a left group as well, but there is a lack of strategical/political reflection, critique of the union, suggestions on how to run strikes differently. Are there some conclusions to draw from your experience that you could share with other leftists in Leipzig etc.?
- Organiz.ing is bossing around. When coming from outside without being based in the workplace it will be difficult to intervene
- Is it a good thing that comrades do the organiz.ing thing? Should we elaborate on a stance on it?
- S. is not decided / has no strong feelings about it. For a lot of people that he worked with wouldn’t do anything more interesting anyway, and they can make some experiences with other parts of the class there, even though it’s a strange way to do it
- Why did ver.di choose this company, how did they shape the demands, why focus on wage demands?
- Declining membership in Eastern Germany, identifying important

workplaces – it's not sure at what point it will pay off.

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- Focus on wage because it was most convenient (there are wage negotiations every two years), lower wages in Eastern Germany are an important issue.
- Workers were told that they could take care of other demands once they will have built strength
- Did the relationship to the organizers feel strange to the workers, too?
- Samuel's impression is biased because he only talks to the workers that are interested.
- Some workers said that it would have been good if the union had contacted them personally earlier, e.g. during the pandemic.
- Problem of leftists is identifying union activity with class struggle – it's more important that people learn to organize strikes themselves and make experiences on their own, rather than mediated through organizers – “fake experience”
- Experience in Britain: Lots of bullying between organizers, burn out, and campaign die because of that

### **Next Input: Noel (incomplete notes)**

- Secret negotiations between union (ASLEF(?)) and company – deal eventually was in favour of the company (?), is announced as a great deal to the workers in a referendum.
- 70% of ASLEF members said yes, about 90% of RNT said no, as the union recommended – shows great trust in the union, people are happily lead by the union – even when it tries to break the strike.
- Management tries to impose productivity plan – workers try to fight for reducing working hours.

### **Questions**

- Why is there no internal opposition to calling strikes off ?
- It is decided by the national executive and can only be recalled

respectively.

- The plan is to win members off ASLEF in a week of strike in September by asking them to not cross the picket line.
- Elena's experience from Spain: it's the same problem, unions decide when and how long workers should go on strike.

### **Fascist organisations on the shopfloor (Hans / Amici della conricerca)**

- Some similarities between NSBO (Nazi shopfloor organization, agitation for NSDAP, taking part in the work council elections in the early 30ies) and Zentrum (right-wing shopfloor organization today) – Amici della conricerca are observing Zentrum Automobil for the IG Metall Union.
- AfD = the new working-class party?
- Slogan by the party: “Workers, AfD are your party” – 38% of workers according to self-description voted for AfD.
- Candidates on local level: quite a few belong either to the petit bourgeoisie or the working class.
- AfD claims to be strong among East Germans, rural areas, Workers, Russlanddeutsche, young people; in the last election the highest share of AfD votes was among workers and jobless people, quite strong in logistics and construction – low-skilled positions with low levels of autonomy.
- What is AfD doing for the workers? Against redistribution of wealth, for reduction of welfare state, restrict welfare state to German families, restrictions for strikes, lowering restrictions for capital.
- Why are workers interested in voting the AfD? (1) Nationalism / restriction of migration, strengthening the “site patriotism” (e.g. in favour of German workplaces, tariffs etc.) (2) Workers feel powerless (climate change, economic downturn in Germany, neoliberal solutions of the strike) – Unions are weak, workers hope that right-wing parties have power and help them to improve their situation.
- What does Zentrum do and offer to the workers?
- Bjoern Hoecke, leader of fascist wing of the AfD, is strong supporter of Zentrum.
- Centres are in South Germany (Baden-Wuerttemberg) and Saxony, mostly car production, want to expand to care, chemistry & energy – affected by transformation like care production.
- Take part in works' councils elections and fight against the IG Metall / DGB union, spread right-wing and pro-management propaganda among the workers.

- Not helping workers with their everyday problems - at least that's what members of the unions claim.
- Zentrum claims that the DGB unions are part of the red-green political camp and want to fight against the right rather than support workers.
- "love for your country and love for your employer" as the only requirement for being part of Zentrum.
- Claim that governmental measurements to fight climate change are bullshit and that the red-green camp wants to destroy the German economy.
- Zentrum does NOT spread racism or anti-migrant statements in their public propaganda.
- Why should we care about Zentrum?
- It's well connected to other right-wing organizations.
- They can use workers' councils to agitate pro-capital and integrate workers into the right.
- Counter-strategies by IG Metall: political education, fighting Zentrum members in works councils and supporting their own member, organizing and democratisation of the union.

### **Questions / Discussion**

- Does Zentrum have a chance to really get rooted in the industries - especially among those that have really bad working conditions and don't feel any love for their employer?
- Some workers feel that the IG Metall is being too aggressive.
- IG Metall actually loves the employer too: They do co-management but aren't honest about it - Zentrum is successful in claiming to be an opposition to the established unions, there are many reasons to be dissatisfied with the unions.
- At the moment, Zentrum is marginal by numbers, but works council elections are coming up and they will probably become stronger.
- AfD stands for the position not to get dragged into the wars and militarization; red-green parties are not fighting for jobs in the car industry - it's not a miracle that Zentrum is successful.
- In Spain, the Yellow Union cannot openly support the Employers, workers are mostly "proud" to be distant from the far-right and don't vote for it - VOX is an elite party.
- US: "if you never support the Republicans, then the Democrats don't

have to give you anything” as a perspective of workers.

- How exactly are employees of the DGB unions limited in what they can talk about to the workers?
- E.G. “Nationalism limits the power of the workers” – it would be dishonest to say so as the DGB union is not an internationalist organization.
- No far-right union in France, but e.g. far-right bullies that ransacked a union office near Toulouse, the union wouldn't do anything about it because they didn't want to upset their far-right members. Similar vote patterns in France, but a really low share of the most exploited can vote.
- In Germany: around 10 million people don't have the right to vote, mostly in really bad working conditions.
- Lots of migrant workers in low-skilled and low-autonomy jobs, where AfD shares are high – an argument used to be that once you work together, racism gets less severe – what has changed? Divisions within the low-skilled etc. jobs.
- AfD gives easy answers to discomfort and anger.
- Unique situation in Germany because of the structure of works 'councils.
- In some factories, management and union make common statements against Zentrum – IG Metall tries to avoid that strategy.

### **Bob on the 1970s/80s in Britain - militancy destroyed, role of the left**

- Bob started working in an aircraft factory in the outskirts of London in the 70s (?)
- Complete unionization of the factory in the period after Second World War, workers determined not to go back to the conditions of the 30s, ruling class unable to keep workers down, rise of shop steward systems, factories were easily shut down in struggles, demands were easily fulfilled; Huge political and intellectual turmoil.
- Sub-committee of the shop stewards were paid full-time by the management in order to co-opt them.
- First attempts to reign in the union strength by the Labour government in 1969, laws could not be passed because of demonstrations and resistance in workplaces.
- Further efforts: bans on solidarity picketing etc., only one's own workplace could be picketed - e.g. five London dockers were jailed because they would picket other warehouses which was illegal – they were

released after massive protest.

- At the same time, there were some major confrontations between the miners and the Tory government – miners went on an overtime ban that would become a problem for the power supply system, miners from all over the country were picketing the coal stocks until the government gave in. In a second case, government tried to turn the overtime ban against the workers which didn't work out, people had fun with the electricity supply cut off. Tory government wasn't re-elected after that.
- Wage claim in Bob's aircraft factory,
  - management refused to make an offer – mass meeting, resolution to occupy the factory (you can read more on the occupation on the Angry Workers' website), occupied even the management offices – the management gave in to the wage claims
  - Union was able to supply blacklisted members with jobs
  - Overall, strong confidence and power of workers in big factories and industry, huge outburst of strike in the period of inflation in the 70s when the standard of living and the workers rights were endangered – defensive strike wave, “winter of discontent” in 1976 – theatres, bin workers, cemetery workers on strike.
- Growing problems:
  - police were developing new tactics to mess up picket lines and break strikes.
  - Wage freeze by the Labour government – increases limited to 2% - strikes that posed some trouble to the government but were eventually not supported by the unions, workers were demanded to go back to work.
  - Margaret Thatcher was elected as a leader of the Tory party and prepared to fight against the miners by looking at previous mistakes – she went for the union money through seizing it in case of illegal activity by union members – closure of most of the coal mines in 1984, miners went on strike and were beaten, there was no solidarity beyond their workplaces – unions members were too afraid of the consequences and asked workers not to go on strike.
  - Rising unemployment, factories closing down / being relocated (“asset stripping”).
  - Strike of printer workers that were very powerful and well-paid (- ?)
  - Role of leftist organizations: the left had a wrong understanding of this situation of militancy as it thought they were heading to a revolution when they were actually about smaller material gains, there was a high fragmentation of the working class already. Left groups didn't play any useful role in fights such as the strikes of the miners, through solidarity action – they were too busy recruiting the workers to their own

organizations (“follow us”) – eventually, them miners were lost for their organization.

- What could have been done anyway? All militants knew that the battle with the miners was about to come, there were no practical preparations.
- Vast majority of workers was under control of unions and the Labour party.

### **Questions / discussion**

- Strong riots (e.g. Brixton), feminist struggles, anti-colonial struggle in Ireland in the 80s – Nationalism and other divisions among workers too strong to overcome these and support other struggles?
- Legacy of imperialism, nationalism, racism are major problems.
- Immigration has transformed Britain, people are getting on with each other  
Leftists in the 70s in Germany believed in revolution before there was global backlash – heated class struggles, e.g. Mirafiori. It doesn’t make much sense to talk about small Marxist dogmatic circles – rather, we should look at global patterns of class struggle and economic drives to get an understanding of the possibilities of revolution

## **II. Second Part Struggle**

### **Input:**

See <https://www.angryworkers.org/2020/04/07/revolutionary-working-class-strategy-for-the-21st-century-part-1/>

The working class is today a global reality – but at the same time this working class seems to disappear “politically”. The left is not in tune with the times and clings to outdated concepts:

- Multitude - A superficial generalisation that can neither anticipate nor support the current struggles.
- Precariat - A mostly superficial description of global labor relations, from which no guidelines can be developed as how do/can.struggles arise and what our role could be.
- North/South divide - A morally enduring description of global differences and geopolitical conditions that rarely can focus the concrete context of global exploitation and cooperation - and struggles.

This needs new efforts - i propose to combine Uneven and combined development - and class composition. This could mean:

The "political output" of class composition is looking for the (potential) subject, see Lotta continua, Pot op, Worker-students groups.....

Uneven and combined development is the idea to combine the regional differences with the knowing of the working class - »strategy« is always the combination of the potentiality

## Discussion

B. What means »Strategy« to build the party was the strategy!

L. The Concept of classcomposition is no answer to the question of organisation - it remains a »sociological analysis«

B. The Concept of classcomposition remains abstract - it requires organisation to combine the existing working class differences

In Slovenia we »developed« in one generation from farmers to industry - how to »ground« the development of modes of production and political thinking

S: which connection between strategy and class?  
Strategy requires a new language, breaking with public discourse; previously, there was a culture: exploited and producers of the world:  
Lenin: new party as the transmission belt  
So how without this - without party  
Every strategy needs a goal/map - what to fight for, what approaches already exist that can grow, create beginnings, create islands, proletarian communist approaches.....

A. Don` t be so fast - learn from the struggles: the massworkers realized, that they have to leave the factory to overcome the limits of class struggle in the factory: they »invented« neighbourhood work - so a organisation strategy - which is becoming again and again the »hot topic« of leftist movements today, but often it becomes a substitute for working class organisation.

E.The movement does not drive itself towards socialism, what about the transformation of struggles into revolution!?  
Critique of »common consciousness« is important - »pushing« the peoples to fight, with our/their accumulated experiences - organisation. To open spaces their workers can meet, space for them to exchange, in the case of amazon, they already do it.....Ok, against all national limits, but: if you meet, if the workers meet themselves, it must be obvious why; whats the purpose if German Amazon employees meet with Spanish postal workers?! Because of all the limitations, learning from each other, taking first steps together !?

- Example of the yellow vests: there was the movement/uprising - and many opportunities to get involved. The active members of the yellow vests, the pension movement... meet at distribution centers!
- Where can we intervene, from an organisational perspective: shouldn't we looking for »utopia«, how can people organise themselves to achieve their goals?
- Setting out with an idea can be like a religion; you may need a rough idea of communism, but you shouldn't set out with a utopia...
- The concept of class composition is interesting - but what about strategy? The suggestion was not to look for the weakest point, but the strongest.  
How does that lead to unification?

A. Mass workers were not necessarily the majority, but they produced for the needs of/for the majority: mobility, products that made everyday life easier... That is also why these struggles could open up spaces that others could use as a guide... What is the situation today with regard to the connection between class composition and the development of productive forces: »from needs to bullshit« !? That is a question that needs to be clarified.

M. It is about a dynamic, concrete connection between class composition and unequal and combined development. A 'strategy' would have to be developed from this. Beverly Silver had this aspiration with 'Forces of Labour' - but she remained too static/statistical in her tools - we have to do it ourselves....

**Wednesday 20.8. on Organisation is still missing!!**

# Transition Workshop

## **Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution – Discussion (21.8.2025)**

(LA = Labour Time Accounting)

- A: Comment on the division of labour and rotation: Does not necessarily contradict to LA. Nobody commands how long and how often one has to be on a certain workplace. LA as a method organizing and distributing labor.
- B: When workers organize their workplace themselves, they can decide to do a lot of different tasks. E.g. workplace rotation in the GKN (Italy).
- M: What is good about the text, although one may come from a current, which rejects Utopia and Blueprint, that it can be a clarifying exercise. Experience from NHS (London) in crisis. Workers where not able to deal with the crisis. We need to engage with the topic of “what is workers control?” Analysis of key sectors. How can the working class enforce their control? Also we need realistic time phases for takeover. Time-Windows. Only a certain period of dual power. A pragmatic approach to the topic of LA.
- S: About the question of transition and ‘timeline’: Critical about the different stages. What is revolution? What is the task of the revolution? It is not about to take control of the apparatus. Revolution is not about that the working class takes over labor planning. It is about abolishing class structure and the state. Revolution is about abolishing the fundamental principals of capitalist class society.
- Seb: Our group formed recently. The Text by GIK was almost forgotten. Our praxis until now is to spread the text and the topic to discuss it and to see what comes out of it.
- And: LA is precisely about abolishing the state, not just to take over existing structures. It gives the workers a method to organize their production and distribution process themselves. If the alternative is just “free taking”, a crisis (of provision) will come into place. Then we would have to ration. And who decides then? Then central (state) power could reappear. E.g.: The revolution in Spain: The syndicates monopolized a lot of economic power (although we cannot really say, what would have been the outcome of that). LA wants to prevent, that we end up in a state dominated society, where experts an intellectuals decide about the distribution of goods in the end.
- Se: Why do you equate planning with LA? Why cohasive labor? I see mistrust in the self-activity of people. How would you imply that without an apparatus? How would it be something else than a state?

- C: Remembering the GIK is important. we should refer to that as a tradition of revolutionary thinking (like Owen, Fourier etc.). But it's more as a historical document. There is nothing inside that is applying on conditions of capitalism and its transition today. I like the Marxian term of General Intellect. That is nowadays more important than labor time. We have to analyze and refer to that. It's also important to mention, that it's not only labor that creates use values, but nature too.
- M: I agree. Capitalism changes. But still under influence of neoliberal domination of intellectual over manual labor. But during the pandemic we saw how much labor was done invisibly. The challenge is to analyze and find out which sectors we can get rid off. For that LA could be a useful method. As an empirical task. How much production do we need in which sector? Not like Negri said, that it is all about intellectual work.
- A: Every product is mediated through labor. Even air, if climate crisis will proceed: then we will have to clean it. There is a lot of work to do. Especially care work. We want to extend care work. Labor costs our lifetime. So LA helps us to organize that.
- S: Distinction between work and labor. In LA, work is mediated through abstract labor. There is of course a necessary metabolic process between human and nature. But no necessity of abstract labor. LA leads to alienation.
- A: Maybe we mix two different topics. 1) How can we calculate? 2) Do we need the labor vouchers? In the GIC these two questions are connected, because production and distribution have to be connected together somehow.
  - 1.) We would agree that we need a method of planning. How can we calculate, if we don't use labor time? Natural planning with physical measures (kilos, meters etc.) would be an alternative. But physical numbers give us no information about the work-force we need.
  - 2.) If there's is another rational method to set consumption in relation to production, then okay. It's not about forcing people to get to work, but about creating relations of production on a wide economic scale and also about preventing the appropriation of labor through others.
- El: It would be interesting to go back to the political view. How are we going to socially organize first, and then talk about how the needs and inputs are going to fit? Councils, assemblies ..?
- Se: The problem is, when we start with the political organization without considering economic provision. For example the camp: Imagine there is scarcity. (and during transition I think there will be scarcity). Some thing, we can get from the Commune. But we also would have to talk with the city about the water, electricity, medicine etc. This is a lot of deliberation. We would have to know how much we need and make a plan. LA makes this so much easier. Even if we won't use vouchers for consumption, we need a method of calculation. The alternative would just

be rationing.

- Sand: Yes, we need to measure the needs, but not how much anybody have given in labor time. We should ration as few as possible and make it available to everybody. Rationed goods given to you based on your needs, not based on the work time you have given in.
- No: Problem is: the social accounting agency would (“LA bureau”) get a lot of power. Dangerous.
- Seb: What limits the power of the LA bureau is that the books are completely open. You can check every thing, every transaction. This is all registered in the books. The bureau does not know more than the rest of society. Society has to develop an idea of what this bureau is for. It is just an annex of the democratic institutions of society.
- Sa: in your vision about LA. Question about the phase of abolishing capitalist division of labor. Do you envision this? How much trust put you in democracy?
- A: Agree, that theory was developed under premise, that workers take the companies over like they are coming out of capitalism. GIC is more conservative (or silent) about this. But I agree that is important to talk about this.  
Democratic? What does that mean. Everybody, that is affected by decisions, should be involved in the decision making process. There must be some kind of democratic control of the LA. I take the LA bureau more as an instrument of control over production process. Even under socialism, there might be people who behave wrong or criminal. The idea is, that society gets an insight into that with the help of that agency.
- Ma: GIC says, there is new legal relationship. I think that is weak. How can society control the production process? What are the boundaries between society and the companies? That is a weak part in the book.
- Ch: Question: What is a company? There are immense historical changes. How can you take “company” as a given unit.
- Seb: GIC is not about a company in the first place, but about councils. Companies are taken over by workers councils. Council as the smallest entity. We have to start from that.
- Ma: Bigger Units. Smaller units. What makes a work-process more effective. That should be decisive. Is this so difficult to plan? I think workers are able to deliberate that.

## War Workshop

Take a look at the texts of IP from the Reader: *Declaration on War* and *War and Crisis*.

### **Declaration on War:**

Congress in Prague last year - chaotic, split in two parts, left disappointments. Desire to not only talk about war but also work towards common action against it. A common basis was needed. Last day of congress: agreement on some points as basis of action. Later meeting in Arezzo. Further discussion on email-list. Three versions, also sent to camp in Poznan. Perspective: opposition against capitalist war. Many support a "lesser evil" or "better side." IP believes wars are products of capitalist mode of production and tries to explain this more substantially in *War and Crisis*.

## **Part 1 - Text: War and Crisis**

### **Part 1 - Historical Perspective on War**

It is true that war did not start with capitalism. Also in societies without classes and state. But human nature is a social and evolving thing. War is at the start of modern society. Ruling classes emerged also from warriors. Continuities between pre-capitalist and capitalist society. Ascendant period of capitalism we can distinguish two types of war during ascendant capitalism:

1. War of nation-states to eradicate feudalism - very violent, clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants. War between capitalist nations and non-capitalist regions - often racist/genocidal.
2. Imperialist → inter-imperialist wars: capitalist system dominates globally (capital-labor relation, productivity, technology). Wars between capitalist nations became genocidal, racist, dehumanizing. Capitalism shifts production purpose from use value → accumulation of value (G-W-G+). Purpose of production totally changed. Before things were produced because of use value. War before were waged for concrete things. In Capitalism the purpose of production becomes value. Capacity of goods is just the means to accumulate value. Production only for accumulation. It subjects capitalism to the law of value. Regardless of who is in charge etc..

Crisis: Phases of growth and decline. Falling rate of profit. Productivity

goes together with enhancement of technology. Value realised on the market. Has to return in production to continue the cycle. G-W-G+,

The whole system comes into crisis. Not enough new value is created to valorise. That creates the necessity to destroy value, so that there is balance again.

In 20<sup>th</sup> century industrialised war military production become part. World Wars capitalism becomes cannibalistic. Over-production crisis. Too much capital in financial form. War to create balance and to valorise capital. That is sort of the hidden function of war. It is not the intention of the nations going to war. What they want is to obtain value. Economic competition moves to a military level. In the text elaboration of how this evolves. Also how imperialism changes over history. In the Text: History of wars.

About Surplus-Population. We see destruction of population. The most glaring example is the holocaust. Politics of elimination at the costs of military strength. So it seems irrational. I address that in the text. Use of scape goat. Otherness that is persecuted. To create the "Volksgemeinschaft" the wrong national communities. Capitalism destroys communities. But there is still the longing for community. Negative Community. Dehumanisation of "the other". E.g. against migrants in US. Perhaps it is even bad for capital. But it is good to create the wrong community. You also need for war. Current crisis: Globalisation, Information-Tech and so on postponed this crisis.

## **Part 2 - Situation Today**

Situation we are in today. Similarities to the time before the World Wars. What were the obstacles for the ruling class to develop the big war today. Capitalist world economy is in crisis. Runs out of remedies. Increased military spending. Tax on social wage. Huge increase of public debts. Return to protectionist politics. Increased nationalist and bellicist propaganda. Prepare for war. Personality-cult of great leaders. Open about imperialist annexations. Multiplications of new conflict, and outbreaks of old conflicts. Civil Wars that are wars between different factions of the state supported by big powers for resources. Collapse of central state with gang filling the vacuum. War aim at ethnic cleansing, Genocide, scape goating of minorities. War is moving from the periphery to the center. Nuclear Weapons increasing again. Big Powers updating their nuclear arsenals.

Obstacles:

-Unequal balance of power. USA-Block is by large stronger. But alliances can change. The weaker side often hopes by first strike it can obtain advantage.

-nuclear threshold. In Cold War not used. We see it in war in ucrain how

this is used to prevent the west from escalation its engagement in the war. However it is quite possible that a global war could develop without using nuclear weapons. Because conventional weapons are already so destructive that they might achieve the same effect. Conventional weapons are much much stronger now. Today a escalation with conventional weapons would not be so far from nuclear.

-Lack of social submission. Without consent of population the state is not able to wage war. Relies on exploitation of proletariat. War is not possible without. War constitutes the ultimate degree of exploitation. Gallup: 64 countries: would you fight for your country? 2014/2023: Readiness to fight decreases. 2014: 64 yes. 2023: 52 yes. Japan had the lowest rate: 9%. Russia: 32%.

Historical experience makes a difference. Hope and Disappointment of revolution, WW2, authoritarian... No polls from 1913. But willingness would be higher.

What is lacking today is class consciousness. You are individuals and therefore open to nationalist propaganda. Before workers were part of parties, unions and so on. Working class institutions before against the war. When war broke out that was forgotten. They sides with capital and send the workers to their death. Now there are no mass-socialist-parties to line up. That is a good thing.

Interwar period. Wave of revolts were crushed. Great Depression. Period where revolutionary consciousness could not evolve. No mass mobilisation also in Russia. Could not escalate the war like Hitler could. But without mass-desertions and without strikes in arms-industry. Many have left. In Ukraine the same. No massive collective protest. Recently there was bug protest at football-stadium.

Dockworkers in Genova, Marseille, Athens refused to load weapons on ships. In Israel itself war resistance is evolving.

Why we are in that situation? Why is there not more resistance? But also why not more war-mobilisation? Ask ourselves about role of information-tech. AI..

Global recession is coming. remains to be seen..

## **Questions/Discussion**

L: Crisis as incentive for war. Alfred Sohn-Rethel: economic and ideological reasons for war.

S: I agree there is the danger to make analysis too schematic. Historical context is changing. Understanding of ruling class of its own system evolves also. For example If capitalist class would have implied Keynes

ideas earlier may war later would have happened and so on. In the text it is more elaborate.

An: Surprised of the answer. War as destruction of capital is function not the aim.

S: Development of authoritarian directions of Capitalist management is linked with war preparation. Goes together with militarisation. In USA Military in the cities. A clear trend. More general trend towards more authoritarianism. Militarisation and Imperialism is not in the sense with the goal of restoring condition for value accumulation it is the escalation of economic relation to imperialist confrontation. The destruction of over accumulated value is the function, and not the goal.

Li: But why now, and not in 2015 (financial crisis)?

E: Working class where a lot of coation. In 2015 more welfare state was able to keep control. Helps capitalism not to enter in a war mode. But of course there is still the margin of benefits. How are they going to justify going into war? Ideological preparation.

S: Incentive was not at the same level 2015. The incentive grows gradualist is a political process as well. Crisis deepens the more incentive grows. Incentive for the dominant power to isolate rivals also increases. Incentive for Russia, incentive for America rival over Ukraine territory. Tendency in US to circle enemies with military alliance e.g. against china, same in the middle east.

Li: Like Michael Roberts: we have crisis. We will see collapse and crisis. Falling profit rate. And then that is the explanation for everything.

An: OK. Incentives are higher now then in 2015.

S: Management of working calss and inner dynamics are different now than in 2015. Getting society ready for war is an effort to undertake that takes time. Conflicts have inner dynamic. Case of ukraine is different pint in 2015 than in 2020. Not only economic is correct. Cannot be reduced to economics.

Ew: If I understood correctly you understand war just as coming from economy. And not mediated by the state as ideal general Capitalist which acts against inividual capitalist. Examples: Lots of Russian Oligarchs and german capitalists are not happy about the war. War not only comes from capital crisis, also state-logic.

S: Conflict betweet different states in the end is in the economic compettion. But yes there is something more.

Bob: Presentation was frustration for me. You have to understand it more concretely not only generally. We need concrete understanding of condition of working class in war. If not, its only against war in general.

Example: Yugo-War. During the war there was resistance against

privatisation. You cannot grasp the

S/IP: Another function of war is preventative counter revolution. Working class in different countries e.g. France. War and its presence in public prepares consciousness against the other to tie working class to the state.

Ew: Russia: opposition says war deflects from inner problems. But before war there not problems on such a scale like now. There were no mass protests or inner conflicts that would justify to risk of war. War is also a risk, because you arm people.

S/IP: This is not a war to prevent revolution. There can be this connects but in this example not. There is not a completeness. Yes it was not very general.

El: Discussing about the struggles. We were remarking how the escalation and repression was increasing very rapidly. See this as a tendency. What about Israeli/Palestinian Conflict. Hamas was questioned by movement in Gaza. Of course not the only reason, but maybe part of the reason of the attack that it was losing control. Podemos in government in Spain: Certain some welfare measures, at the same time very repressive against movements. Question about the declaration: why summarise.

S/IP: Important point about Podemos. Role of democracy as an instrument against class struggle. Since 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Democracy very important for mobilisation in favor of war. On the Declaration: Purpose of establishing a basis for intervention on international scale. Declaration is not big analysis just some point everybody should be able to agree on. Common platform with different groups, not a common organisation.

Seb: Not important if war started 2015 or 2023. It is economic in fundament, but it is not deterministic. From Germany speaking perspective: Middle class see only Russia is attacking and we have to defend.

Ch: Most interesting is long time observation about young people to enter war or not. Huge number of deserters Russia, Ukraine, Israel.. We have to think about what is changing? Since 20 years there are more and more protests (in global south). Generation Z. Digital natives. Global citizens. Maybe in this kind of points we should for reasons why they could reject war.

Al: Point of Incentives of war. We have to look on China more. Last big strike in China around 2014 in big car factories. Big repression. Later on we have special combination of china-capitalism. Special combi in china. This is real threat for US economy. Conflict in Ukraine. Crisis, Euro-Crisis, Covid-Crisis.. China was successful. Dangerous for US. Iraq-War to contain China. Questions about how young working class will react to that.

## Part 2 - Militarization and Case Studies

Militarization in Spain, Italy, UK, USA, France, Germany, Austria - see online paper also in appendix. Civic program in France: obligatory 1-day army service at 17; week-long "sweet patriotism" proposed (Service national Universel), voluntary, with some protests against it.

Presentation on situation in Israel-Palestine: Israel has ALWAYS been militarized, although civilian open carry now allowed and more common. The economy has taken a hit since the start of the genocide, over 50,000 business have gone bankrupt, but it seems to have recovered, maybe because of the war industry and foreign investment. War industry has risen from 4 to 8.8%. Largely selling to other countries. Germany, for example. British state and Elbit systems. The genocide is a testing ground for different foreign companies. The AI murder tech is supported largely by US companies. Now they are talking about occupying Gaza City. This caused some resistance within Israel. Reserves were called up, around 60,000. Having some problems recruiting. Now recruiting people over 55. The refusenik network is not big enough to cause a big movement. Criticism of the government is more about the hostages and the soldiers, not about the genocide. There were some international solidarity movements, but mostly performative. US, Germany, Italy, UK France, still providing plenty of money, and many other countries buy Israeli weapons and war bonds. The AI systems they're using to murder people in Gaza, seems to be a gamification. Soldier interviews talk about it as a game. Israel revoked work permits for everyone in the west bank. Instead they're looking for Indian and Sri Lankan workers for construction. Increased pogroms against civilians in west bank, with more assistance from the army. Over 60,000 officially killed in Gaza, but it's more likely in the hundreds of thousands. Most of Gaza destroyed. Mass starvation. Foreign aid in Gaza has been all but eliminated, and set up their own with American mercenaries, and former Israeli and CIA employees.

Points from the discussion:

Israel doesn't have the data centres for their AI systems, so they work with American companies.

There was a 12 hour strike when Israel broke a ceasefire, but the court declared it illegal, and it stopped.

In Spain there is protest, but still at a symbolic level. And the states that have recognized Palestine, haven't placed sanctions, so it's mainly just symbolic.

In Cologne there have been some anti-nationalist demonstrations where people said, you can't have any flags.

There is a question over how split Israel is. Liav says that the divide is mainly in peacetime, and when the government keeps starting new wars,

they get the support. As long as there is foreign investment in Israel, he finds it difficult for the Israeli working class to free itself from Zionism. International pressure is needed.

Unlike Russia, Israel is so dependent on aid, that it is very vulnerable to sanctions. Blocking arms or microchip sales to Israel by the workers is a possibility.

Sanders said that sanctions campaigns are different from workers actions. You can't convince the state, you convince the population that the state is ours.

Palestine action in the UK has been breaking into weapons systems in the UK and vandalizing them. They have been banned. So maybe they were. Broader point, the weapons systems are international, so there are workers who can take action against the war.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION:

Post soviet left had the proposal to have protests in paris berlin and cologne, Ukrainians and Russians. Not very big protests. It would be good to pick up the campaigns supporting deserters.

Guerre a la Guerre. A union of different political groups who try to work with anti-war workers. The political works didn't hijack a grassroots mobilization, they filled a void. Stop Army Israel is for example a group that is part of Guerre a la Guerre. They had demonstrations against an arms fare outside of paris. Over 3000 people. A lot of unions that have links to the arms industry (CGT, trade unions in military information systems, airport workers etc... ) Some of these workers were invited to summercamp, but were busy with their own fight within their own union. There is an interesting battle going on about the conversion of industries to military uses.

There will be a 2 day meeting against in the war in Varna sept 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> (check date. )

# Feminism Workshop

## Genderspecific Behaviour & Biology - Reflections on Workplace Discussions

Motivation for the presentation

- biological arguments in discussions (not only) about gender
- biological determinism is one of the strongest ideologies
- wasn't able counter (e.g. racist) arguments
- 

### **Part I: Small Groups about Situation in our Work-places and Struggles**

- Small Groups

### **Part II: Input: Gender Specific Behaviour and Biology**

#### **Discussion**

- **Main thesis:** Biological differences between humans exist, but they cannot explain social differences. The sexual division of labour is not only determined by the mode of production, but also by struggles.
- We are not biologists, and the main thesis is unspecific. One experience is the menstruation cycle; these things have to be discussed, too. We shouldn't over-emphasize the biological differences, but neither the other way around. Bone size, for example, started to be different.
- Prehistoric findings are highly contested and difficult to interpret, which is why they are a strong entry point for gender bias. The criticism is not that menstruation shouldn't be discussed, but that social hierarchies were explained by biological sex. Biological dimorphism isn't fixed; even gonads are not just male or female—there is a spectrum of gonads. There is a danger of reducing humans to their biology.
- The point of humanity is not sexual reproduction; this would be an ahistorical vision of humans. We need a historical understanding of ourselves. How is it possible that these scientists are so inaccurate? A scientist should know about these methodological weaknesses—it's flabbergasting. Gender categories are very important in the organization of society; they are strong in the mind of scientists. They look for differences between the sexes, not for similarities. And you never publish negative results. So if you were looking for differences and wouldn't find anything, you wouldn't publish your results.
- We have to take biology into account more. Saying there is no sex binary cuts us off from understanding how the development of the forces

of production changes the sexual division of labour, and thereby the relationship between men and women. Radical feminists insist on the sex binary. We need the division of labour to explain the oppression of women—if not, we can only get rid of oppression by struggle. The question is if the division of labour is rooted in biology.

- Voltaire wrote about bees; science justified inequality in society. Comparing humans to bees is misleading. The aim is to bring biology back into the discussion, as in social sciences biology is often rejected. It's important to point out that basing the division of labour in biology suffers from bad research. Hunter-gatherer women had children every three years; it's not just that women can get pregnant and that is why things developed like they did.
- I was fertile for less than a decade in my whole life, but was treated as a woman for my whole life. A materialistic approach would ask why women do the unpaid work, not say: they do it because they can get pregnant.
- The trans debate is tearing the movement down in the UK. I don't think trans women are women; this is misogynistic, because then I could also say: I'm a black person! Trans research tries to find the reason for being trans in biology; it depends on the hormone level in the womb. From the side of trans people comes a push to explain gender biologically; instead, gender can be explained by social relations. A woman was debunked as not being black; she said she is trans-racial. This was widely rejected, also by leftists.
- Language brings us from universal to particular, or from the particular to the universal. We have to understand the specific. It's important to understand how sex inequality expresses itself in social relations. We can't only struggle; we also have to create a mode of production that compensates for biological differences.
- Why would we need to talk about the sex binary, if we know that sex is a spectrum? Why do we need to cling to the concept of sex binary? In the 1970s "Power to the women" meant "power to the class," because the struggles of women and minorities disturbed the class compromise.
- The trans movement reclaims the right to be different. It can seem to be misogynistic, but the feminist struggle has to incorporate the needs of trans and non-binary people. The idea is to negate categories.
- Workplace discussions about sex and gender: you should take into account the audience; if not, it might not be fruitful. Behind certain positions there might be psychological reasons—it could be about the situation of masculinity. Talking about biology helps affirming domination.

It would make sense not to go too deep into biological explanation, but to say: I don't know about hunters and gatherers, but I know that society can change and I want that we change it. When women's oppression is only

explained by social relations, then it's only about behaviour, and a whitewashing of capitalism that doesn't do anything to even out biological differences.

### **Part III: Input: TOUR THROUGH WOMEN'S LABOR PRECARIOUSNESS IN THE POST OFFICE.**

Welcome to the postal stop of the working women's tour 2021.

This year, as a culmination of many processes that began in previous years, women workers in Correos have recently gone through the contingencies of the pandemic and the snow storm next year, in addition to the issues present in the conditions of workers in this multinational logistics company, with presence in the UK, USA, Portugal and China.

#### **Institutional information**

To briefly sketch what Correos has become today, following the pace set by Amazon, we must define it not only as a multinational with public capital, but also as a business group<sup>5</sup> which amalgamates the traditional Correos, the precarious courier Correos Express, the mailing company Nexea and Correos Telecom, for infrastructures and telecommunications. It employs 78,000 workers in total<sup>6</sup>.

At Correos, the total workforce is slightly over 53,000, 52% of whom are women. However, the company has not, as of today, elaborated with union representatives the II Diversity and Inclusion Plan (Equality plan) that has been pending since 2019. The company in various press releases and internal notes claims to be committed to women and the LGTBI collective, however, there is no document where this commitment is concretely expressed.

Correos proudly publishes that in Telegraphs a woman was hired for the first time and very early compared to the rest of the public administration, in 1881<sup>7</sup>. It celebrates this 8M remembering illustrious women like Clara Campoamor (to whom it is owed that women could vote in 1933) or Consuelo Álvarez Pool, better known as "Violeta", who joined the Post Office in 1909. But we must not forget that this "leap to the public administration" of women -as it was described in the newspapers of the time-, was possible because they entered with a lower salary than men<sup>8</sup>.

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5 <https://madrid.fsc.ccoo.es/noticia:566723-->

CCOO y UGT denuncian un plan de desguace del servicio público de Correos mediante la externalización de la actividad hacia empresas privadas del grupo como Correos Express y Nexea

6 <https://www.correos.com/grupo-correos/#>

7 <https://www.correos.com/sala-prensa/correos-se-suma-al-dia-internacional-de-la-mujer/>

8 <http://telegrafistas.es/62-colaboraciones/articulos/513-dia-de-la-mujer-ano-2013>

## **Conditions arising from the pandemic**

In fact, the pandemic has brought a huge challenge to the commitment shown in the media. The “essential” nature of the workers in the Post Office, the obligation to attend without any kind of protective measures (PPEs) until well into May, left a high rate of sick and infected people, with 5 deaths<sup>9</sup> from covid - that we have been able to know, due to the information blackout of the company. The scandalous numbers of contagions and personnel in quarantine, according to data from the main trade union centers, placed the portfolio group as the second most affected after health personnel. It was estimated that covid had affected some 13,000 female postal workers (they had to remain in quarantine) and 1100 cases had been positive at national level<sup>10</sup>. And despite these data, postal workers have not been included among the personnel to be vaccinated, ignoring unions demands.

“Thanks to the fact that the coworkers stood up to the situation of helplessness to which they were being thrown to work, they went to the work center on alternate days. Some workers were able to adhere to certain conciliation measures for the care of minors and dependents, such as schedule changes, teleworking, etc.” they report from the blog Compañerxs Postales Unidxs.

With the Filomena's snow storm, there were also situations of chaos, lack of guidelines on the part of those in charge of the company and, once again, disdain for the health and safety of the workers, with numerous accidents occurring during those days. Both on the Friday before the snowfall and after Wednesday, while the streets continued to be dangerous for traffic, the company forced the workers to go out on delivery, leaving the decision to go to the workplace to the discretion of each worker, without establishing guidelines as to what conditions were unsafe. Above all, temporary workers were afraid that an unjustified absence would result in a negative evaluation in their file and that they would not be called back in the future.

## **Precariousness in employment**

Of course, fear is more easily installed among precarious workers. Correos is a leader in precariousness, since for many years it has maintained a level of temporary employment of over 30%. In recent years, precariousness has been changing its face and the recession in temporality has resulted in an increase in part-time contracts, which already account for 23%, to which will be added the 18.57% of the future consolidation (!) of employment.

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9 <https://cpostalesunidos.wordpress.com/2020/05/08/vuelta-a-normalidad-en-correos/>

10 <https://madrid.fsc.ccoo.es/noticia:525835-->

CCOO\_y\_UGT\_estudian\_movilizaciones\_en\_Correos\_a\_lo\_largo\_de\_diciembre\_con\_paros\_y\_concentraciones&opc\_id=df5b76ee3246c2799239f14d45bd69f7

Despite the fact that during the peak Christmas period the company boasted of a 45% increase in shipments handled compared to the same period of the previous year, employment has only been reduced by around 4%. The employment consolidation processes only recognize the lack of personnel in a structural manner, in addition to the fact that they only represent 75% of the replacement rate for retiring personnel. There has been, therefore, a readjustment of the entire workforce with the consequent increase in the workload, which necessarily has a negative impact on female workers.

**After 15 years in the Post Office, here are some experiences that illustrate what working in the Post Office means for a woman.**

Many female colleagues suffer from work-related ailments for which they should be provided with a suitable type of work. However, we have normalized that medical reports are systematically ignored.

I remember when I started working at the Post Office an event that marked me a lot. A colleague came back from the delivery terribly agitated, crying, very frightened. During the delivery, one of the doorways of the house was being renovated, one of the builders had been bothering my coworker for weeks and she had dealt with it as we are used to, silently and without raising her voice, like a solitary burden. That day it happened that, being the last day of the renovation, this builder decided to force and grab the postal female worker who was able to flee the building after burning him with her cigarette in the hand with which he was grabbing her, allowing her to run out and head to the post office. Unfortunately, we were very young and did not know about protocols, and although we advised her to report it and to leave a record of it with the boss, she did not want to put on the label of "harassed woman", with the stigma that such a label procured and still procures to women.

There are many testimonies like this, many cases of abuse by bosses or outright rape that, unfortunately, have tended not to have a proper place to be treated, not even among the workers themselves.

In 2013, the case of women who, due to excessive workloads and the company's systematic refusal to adapt jobs to the capabilities of female workers, suffered miscarriages<sup>11</sup> was brought to court and to the press.

Finally, I wanted to add another story to illustrate the need for a real strike on 8M, because there are many issues that working women have to demand. Two years ago, in 2019, I remember how my immediate boss was trying to annoy me because I was agitating among my colleagues to follow the full-day strike called by CGT instead of the two-hour strike called by the yellow unions. My boss, as part of CCOO, was supporting the partial strike. In ad hoc meetings, in the office, she arrogated to herself the right to explain to our colleagues that it was not convenient to follow the full-

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11 <http://www.cgcorreosfederal.es/blog/buz%C3%B3n-violeta-trabajadoras-embarazas-y-correos>

day strike. With the boss adducing fallacies, it was time to stand up and vindicate the more-than-symbolic nature of 8M. After facing my boss and being able to bring 4 or 5 other workers to the full day of strike I got punished and sent to do awful jobs for a while...

Because in the Post Office, women and all the staff need:

**35-hour working week without prejudice in the salary.  
Greater reconciliation of work and family life  
For an 8M in struggle!!!**

## Appendix on transition

FAQs on labour time accounting by IDA (~20 min read):  
<https://arbeitszeitrechnung.org/en/faqs-2/>

- Introductory video on labour time accounting (6 min video)  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wuHm1\\_7EgPQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wuHm1_7EgPQ)
- Group of Interational Communists: "Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution", Second Edition 1935, English Translation by Hermann Lueer from 2020. Download:  
<https://nextcloud.arbeitszeitrechnung.org/s/N4Td2Anzo8sWDym>
- One comrade commented already on the "Fundamental Principles": [https://docs.google.com/document/d/1qIVnwS3ID\\_6k55n8fADCjlyXPrDjxu1GpCNNA5NVIak/edit?usp=drivesdk](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1qIVnwS3ID_6k55n8fADCjlyXPrDjxu1GpCNNA5NVIak/edit?usp=drivesdk)

Communist mapping/Transition:

- Suggested reading for the mapping communism (workers inquiry tradition) discussion is chapter three of Jasper Bernes' book on "The Future of Revolution"

## Appendix on War

### **Contributions on the Aspects of the switch into war economy**

From different countries, we reported how the economy is changing from welfare to warfare economy and how it is affecting, not only the expenditure, but also in a superstructural level, cultural and institutionally. How the working class is reacting to it and which struggles have the potential to oppose it, contributes fundamentally to our analysis.

### **Short overview on the process of militarisation in the UK**

Since Trump's tariff war, the UK state is even more desperate to secure its crumbling economic base by showing off as a minor military partner, both to the EU, when it concerns Ukraine, and to the US, when it concerns the Middle-East. The focus of the latter was to obtain a favourable trade agreement by submission.

### \*\*\* *Current military involvement*

In Ukraine, the Starmer government continues the previous Tory government's hawkish stand. Shortly after the war started, Boris Johnson, as an unofficial representative of the UK, put pressure on Zelensky 'not to give in' and, as the UK is one of the main financial supporters of Ukraine, significantly undermined the peace talks. Starmer was one of the first European statesmen to announce the possibility of deploying troops of a 'coalition of the willing' in Ukraine in future, while the UK military continues to train Ukrainian personnel. The UK pushes for a NATO revival, while the EU is debating its own standing army. There are also separate defence agreements between UK and Germany in the making and current negotiations between the UK and France on nuclear cooperation - and how 'to defend the common borders against migrants'.

In the Middle East, the UK army under Sunak took part in the US bombardment of Houthi positions in January 2024 in 'self-defence'. Under Starmer's leadership, the UK has continued spy flights for Israel, allowed the US military to operate through its Cyprus airbase, and launched fighter jets in support of Israel during Iran's recent strikes. (as a footnote: The Starmer leadership used the 'fidelity' to Israel and Corbyn's 'outdated pacifism' to purge the party of its left fringe - this partly explains the particularly aggressive tone of the government's militarism.)

### \*\*\* *Ideological militarisation*

In June 2025, at a low point of popularity, the government fired up the war propaganda machine. Starmer announced that the UK's armed forces must move to "war-fighting readiness" over the coming years, the UK faces a "more serious and immediate" threat than anytime since the Cold War, and "every citizen must play their part". UK foreign affairs adviser Fiona Hill (previous advisor to Trump) said on the front page of main UK newspapers, that the "UK is at war with Russia". The head of Britain's armed forces Adm. Tony Radakin warned that the world stands at the cusp of a "third nuclear age". These scenarios are meant to shift public opinion - in a survey from early 2024, only 7% of the 18 to 40 year olds said they would volunteer for the army if a world war broke out; 21% would not volunteer, but serve if conscripted; and 38% would refuse to be conscripted.

### \*\*\* *Defence spending*

In February 2025, Starmer announced:

*"the biggest sustained increase in defence spending since the Cold War. (...) We must use the process of getting to 3% of our national income*

*spent on defence to fundamentally rebuild British industry, use our investment in military spending to create new jobs and apprenticeships in every part of the country. And that's why last night I announced a deal that perfectly symbolises the new era. A partnership with Ukraine that allows them to use £1.6 billion of UK export finance to buy 5,000 air defence missiles manufactured in Belfast. That means UK jobs, UK skills, UK finance pulling together for our national interest, putting Ukraine in the strongest possible position..."*

As part of this new strategy, the government announced a £1.5 billion investment in at least six new munitions and energetics factories, which it claims will support over 1,800 skilled jobs in the UK defence sector (HM Government, 2025). In addition the UK wants to build up to 12 attack submarines as part of AUKUS programme and a £15 billion investment set out for the UK's nuclear warhead programme. Allegedly 400,000 jobs in Britain are attached to the arms industry. Unsurprisingly, all trade unions are unapologetically in favour of the increase in spending. The biggest union across the manufacturing sector, Unite, titled their press release in February 2025:

*"Increased defence spending welcome but promises on UK jobs must be real".*

These plans have to be seen on the background of a teetering UK economy. In April 2025 the government passed a 'Steel Act' to nationalise parts of the British steel industry - none of which is actually not that "British" anymore, as there is significant ownership of Indian and Chinese companies. For example, the Act wanted to prevent a Chinese company from closing down a blast furnace in Lincolnshire through nationalisation, to defend 'national interest'. There have been previous disputes around Chinese investments, amongst others in micro-chip, battery and power plants, with US politicians intervening to prevent further economic ties.

In that sense the picture that Draghi (ex-president of the European Central Bank) paints for Europe also applies to the UK:

*"Of all the major economies, Europe is the most exposed to [geopolitical] shifts. We are the most open: our trade-to-GDP ratio exceeds 50 percent, compared with 37 percent in China and 27 percent in the United States. We are the most dependent: we rely on a handful of suppliers for critical raw materials and import over 80 percent of our digital technology. We have the highest energy prices: EU companies face electricity prices that are 2-3 times higher than those in the United States and in China. We are severely lagging behind in new technologies. And we are the least ready to defend ourselves: only ten member states spend more than or equal to 2 percent of GDP on defense, in line with NATO commitments."*

### \*\*\* *Social contradictions*

To hit the 3% rearmament target, the UK state would have to find an extra £13bn. Currently, the government had to perform various u-turns when it came to the austerity measures that would contribute to the financing of rearmament, e.g. initially they wanted to give NHS staff only 2.8% pay increase, but they topped it up to 3.6%, and the planned cuts of disability allowance have been softened after significant protests. The peace movement itself is relatively weak, but there is considerable discontent with the austerity measures and with the intensification of legal repression against protests, such as the declaration of Palestine Action as a terrorist organisation. Recent surveys say that Labour would currently get only 15% of votes.

Very quick thoughts on recent developments around militarisation and war **in the UK.**

1. Opposition to Israeli violence and expansionism. This continues to be expressed by coalitions of leftists, liberals and nationalists/"anti-imperialists".

Although tiny handfuls around, for example, No War But Class War, attempt to intervene with a class struggle perspective, there is no significant impact on the movement.

Radical leftists have involved themselves in "Palestine Action" - an activist expression of anti-colonialism/Palestinian nationalism.

They have undertaken various "spectacular" actions including some around workplaces but I have seen no evidence of attempting to connect with the workers when they blockade the factories/depots.

2. The Labour Government is a solid part of the coalition of European powers intent on supporting Ukraine in the current war. In recent months they have openly expanded this into a conscious and openly declared "industrial strategy" based on military-related expenditure. Aspects have included commitments to increasing military spend as a proportion of Gross Domestic Product. The government has also directly intervened to keep open the last UK primary steel producing blast furnaces against the wishes of the China-based owners.

3. Given the fragile condition of the national economy the switch towards increased military expenditure has inevitably been connected to cuts in other areas. The most immediate feature has been on welfare payments to people with disabilities alongside greater pressure to force welfare claimants into low-paid employment.

4. There are early signs of some sectional but essentially working class-centred resistance to the cuts and generalised austerity. For example, a movement calling itself Crips United has emerged as a self-organised struggle forum for people with disabilities.

### Situation **in Spain** concerning the war economy 2025

The expenditure in Spain is very low if compared to other European countries, so that the right wing is criticising the government for not investing properly, like an imperialist country should do. One can follow the official numbers, Centre Delas offers a lot of very complete reports on the rearming process <sup>1</sup>, but the truth is those numbers are increasing according to what the rest of EU economies are doing and what is the need of the Spanish economy. I'll rather focus on all the struggles that have been taking place for some months already. That is the case of INDRA, a cluster of companies who are dealing at the moment with contracts to develop something called NG MIMA (Next Generation Military Integrated Modular Avionics) to equip the anti-aircraft defence. It's a EU programme where 20 different companies from different countries are involved <sup>2</sup>.

Also Airbus workers, lead by CGT, have an ongoing struggle to get some improvements in the collective agreement, but INDRA workers in particular have been going on strike in recent months to get higher salaries <sup>3</sup>.

Then more recently, metal workers in Cartagena (Murcia) building a submarine for defense went on around a month-long strike including hunger strike for better pay. Metal workers in Cádiz and Cantabria are also connected with this kind of production.

It's quite rare to find a struggle only about money and not a defensive one in this period. This can be read in different ways, can be analysed as a tendency to be focussing on since these workers would be in a tricky position to eventually have a say about the war. I think it's interesting to follow and intervene with a clear idea of what role these workers could play.

[3] <https://www.cgtinformatica.org/es/contenido/16-diciembre-seis-empresas-del-grupo-indra-van-la-huelga-por-el-poder-adquisitivo>

Area: **Eastern Germany**

Latest Developments:

In the last months we had seen some strikes and collective bargaining in the public sector, led by the trade union Verdi (for the non Germans: that's the big trade union in the public sector, part of the central German Federation of Trade Unions). Of course there is in this situation always the discussion, that the cities and towns (that employ most people in the public sector) have not enough funds to pay higher wages - or must close public infrastructure. This year in the public debate it played for the first time an important role, that "we" cannot pay more money for the workers in the public sector because "we" have to spend the money for defense, that "we" need cuttings in the social sector to protect the country against a Russian invasion.

As far as I see, there is no organized voice from the trade unions objecting to this or at least discussing the situation. From my point of view that relates partly to the fact that a part of the left, that supported in last years labour struggles in the e.g. health sector, decided to support the military defence of Ukraine and became somehow defenseless against the accusation that antimilitarism supports Putin.

At the same moment, the incoming governing coalition (Christian- and Social Democrats) found a way to change the constitution so that it will be possible to create new state debts for military spending and reconstruction of infrastructure (highway, bridges,...) without touching the "debt brake", the central legal base of German austerity politics. The reconstruction of infrastructure is due not only because the first bridges are collapsing after decades of austerity politics, but because of military reasons, too.

About the trade unions: the crisis in German industry leads to first closing of factories and layoffs. In this situation the rise in the arms industry offers an alternative for the skilled industrial workforce. In Görlitz, a small town in Saxony, at the Polish border the French producer of rail vehicles ALSTOM closed a factory for wagons, which will be now run by the French-German arms company KNDS (former Krauss-Maffei) and shall produce military stuff. There were few critics about that. I have heard an interview with the chairman of the Workers Council, who said: yeah, we can criticise that, but it can be good just for defence and it saves the industrial core of

the region. Guess that is a representative reaction.

Besides this, we have a public debate about reintroduction of compulsory military service. The liberal media are promoting it. A young left podcaster (Ole Nyomen) wrote a book "Why I would never fight for my country" where he defends the idea, not to go to war, based on Marxist ideas. By that he became the talk show guest number one, media invites if they need an "antimilitaristic" voice. There is quite a debate about his book, but on the level "is it better to live under tyranny or to die in defence of the homeland?". An organised objection against military service is not yet visible, but it seems that there is no great desire under young people to follow the call to arms.

### **Situation in Bulgaria**

In the period 2023-2025 Bulgaria is entering a stage of accelerated militarization, marked by an unprecedented increase in defence spending, large-scale modernization of the army, and increased participation in NATO initiatives..

In 2025, the Ministry of Defence plans a significant increase in military personnel's salaries. Officers' salaries will increase by 30%, and those of privates by 50%. This is part of a broader strategy to retain personnel and increase the army's combat capability.

At the same time, the military budget is growing at a historic pace. From 1.31% of GDP in 2014, defence spending will reach 2.18% in 2024, and an increase to 2.5% is planned for 2025 - above NATO requirements. The almost double increase within a decade places Bulgaria among the countries in the alliance with the fastest growing defence spending.

In this context, Bulgaria and 15 other EU countries are urging the European Commission to allow them to amend their budget rules so that they can allocate more funds to defence without negatively affecting budget deficits.

With accelerated militarization, there has also been a significant increase in the share of investments in new weapons. From just 1% of the total military budget in 2014, this share will increase to nearly 32% in 2024. - an indicator that places Bulgaria among the leading countries in NATO in terms of modernization rates.

In 2024, key projects were agreed upon for the acquisition of 198 combat, reconnaissance and command and staff vehicles, as well as nuclear, chemical and biological reconnaissance equipment. This is the largest investment in air defence in decades. Within the framework of the new defence strategy, the largest national military exercises to date with special forces and international participation, such as “Stealth Dagger 24”, are also being held.

In 2023, Bulgaria established itself as the largest ammunition producer in Europe. The main markets include EU countries, the Middle East and Ukraine. Arms exports exceed \$3 billion - five times more than in previous years. A significant part of the factories are switching to 24-hour operation to meet the growing demand.

There are more and more talks about bringing back mandatory military service. There are no significant voices against it so I guess it's just a matter of time and organization.

Since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, there has been an anti-war movement in the country, but it remains dominated by nationalist and pro-Russian formations. Over the past two years, mass anti-war protests have decreased, and anti-militarism is practically absent from the public debate, present only among marginal left-wing groups.

The political landscape in Bulgaria remains divided along the Russia-NATO axis, with almost all parties taking clear positions on this issue. This opposition also determines the public polarization on topics related to war and defence.

At the same time, protests against the military actions in Gaza are also taking place in Sofia. Although they are supported by leftist and internationalist groups, they also show a strong presence of nationalist sentiments.

## **Brazil:**

In Brazil we don't have a clear shift from a welfare economy to a warfare economy. There was never a proper welfare state, neither are we entering a moment of clear warfare economy. Still, it's notable that after the 2015-6 recession seen in the country, continuous budgetary reforms and austerity measures were deployed.

The war still feels like news from a distant world. Not even among the left this is a big topic. Palestine-Israel has occupied long discussions, but not like in Europe or the US. The street demonstrations here have not been super big on any sides. Among the left it's a consensus to support Palestine, to the point that even Lula, in the campist spirit of the BRICS, has publicly accused Israel of genocide. Still, Brazilian oil fuels the Israeli apparatus, despite a small campaign conducted by leftist militants asking Lula to "close the tap".

We barely get any news about Ukraine on frontpages anymore.

Internal violence seems to be rising, with many conflicts of reintegration of occupied lands going on. Notably, Favela Do Moinho, the last favela in the central area of São Paulo, is about to be cleansed. There were violent confrontations, with kids being hospitalized due to inhaling tear gas. There were partial victories after a lot of clashes, like the subsidy for the people to relocate, but still it's a terrible step of gentrification. Also in the southern periphery of São Paulo the population has recently set the streets on fire against police brutality.

## **Situation in Switzerland**

Switzerland is also rearming. To increase the rearmament budget, cuts are being made primarily in the areas of social spending (old-age pension, AHV) and development aid. As everywhere else, the media enthusiastically support this development. For example, the right-wing liberal NZZ asks rhetorically: „Was ist dringender: Geld für die Armen oder für die Armee?“ (“What is more urgent: money for the poor or for the army?”) This development has met with little resistance. The Swiss SP (Social Democratic Party) is in favor of arms deliveries to Ukraine.

In the extra-parliamentary left, anti-militarist voices are slowly becoming audible. The connection between crisis and war is slowly being addressed. Unfortunately, however, the anti-imperialism of the unresolved national questions (Kurdistan, Palestine) is still by far the dominant force in the anti-militarist camp. Imperialism is not understood as a global system of complex political-economic relations of dependency, but as the policy of “evil” (i.e. fascist, non-democratic) states (Turkey, Israel) towards

oppressed nations, onto which all the hopes of the revolutionary movement are projected.

With our small group Revolutionäre Klärung (Revolutionary Clarification), we addressed the contradictions of the latest forms of anti-imperialism with a leaflet (see attachment), a brochure, and a public event. Although our intervention met with some response, it did not trigger a huge debate.

But we are staying tuned: this year, important negotiations are taking place in Switzerland between trade unions and master builders' associations for a new LMV (LandesMantelVertrag) in the construction industry. In Switzerland, the social partnership between labor and capital in the form of industrial peace has been enshrined in law since 1937 and the right to strike is therefore severely restricted. Although a one-day strike will take place in the fall, it is rather symbolic for the unions. We (Revolutionäre Klärung) have therefore set up an (informal) group of grassroots members within the main trade union UNIA (the group's name is Arbeiter:innen Solidarisch), which aims to coordinate and, above all, strengthen struggles across all sectors and unions.

Here, too, we repeatedly address the connection between war, crisis and attacks on the working class (inflation, especially with regard to rents and health insurance; poorer working conditions, etc.). This is because the economic struggles for better wages and working conditions are intended to strengthen class solidarity in the long term. Only the working class can end the war of capital!

## **Situation in Austria**

Austria is militarizing in line with the broader trend across most of Europe. However, the process is somewhat slowed by the constitutional and public commitment to military neutrality.

## **Arms Industry**

Austria's arms industry is small but highly specialized and export-oriented, making it of international significance. Notable companies include Hirtenberger Defence Systems, Steyr Arms, Schiebel, Airborne Technologies, and production facilities of the German Rheinmetall Group [1].

Austria's Glock company is especially world-famous. Glock pistols are

widely used internationally, including as standard issue for U.S. police forces and for "security personnel" in Iraq and (previously) Afghanistan [2].

## **Current Developments**

The current government—a coalition of conservatives, social democrats, and liberals—points to the recession while initiating a strong attack on the living conditions of the working class. In contrast, national defense spending is being significantly increased, by more than 8% in both 2025 and 2026 [3]. Even though the trend may be less pronounced in "neutral" Austria than in Germany, the tendency toward rearmament is still significant. In general, economic developments in Austria are closely tied to the situation in Germany. For example, Austria's industrial output is strongly linked to the (crisis-ridden) German industry—particularly the automotive sector. The same applies to the German arms industry. There is growing media discussion and hope that investments in industry related to arms production may counteract the economic crisis [4].

## **Increased Budgets**

The current government (a coalition of conservatives, social democrats, and liberals) refers to the recession while launching a strong assault on the living standards of the working class. In contrast, the defense budget will be significantly increased in 2025 and 2026, by more than 8% each year [3].

## **Militarization of Classrooms**

There has also been a (well-funded) promotional campaign for the military in schools after 2023 [5]. And there was discussion of deploying soldiers as teachers to counter the severe teacher shortage. It was explicitly stated that the goal is to more firmly embed the topic of national defense in the school system [6].

## **Neutrality and Right-Wing Sovereignism**

Austria's neutrality was imposed by the Allied powers after WWII to create a buffer zone. It is enshrined in the constitution as "perpetual" and generally is interpreted as that the country will not join any military alliance or allow military installations of such alliances on its territory. Today, neutrality carries strong patriotic sentiment and enjoys very high approval rates. The far-right FPÖ presents itself as the strongest advocate of neutrality (and national sovereignty). The far right supports strengthening Austria's armed forces and pushes for militarization for national defense, while at the same time portraying itself as the party opposing European militarization (e.g., against Sky Shield). The ultra-right's nationalist-sovereigntist stance is highly visible in the media, while liberals and Greens are increasingly leaning toward NATO. Across the political spectrum from conservatives to social democrats, there is a general commitment to neutrality. Opponents frequently highlight the FPÖ's connections to Russia. Foreign policy orientation is likely one of the key dividing lines within the political right [7].

### **Mandatory Military Service**

Unlike most European countries, Austria has compulsory military service for men. Currently, there is discussion about expanding it to include women.

Military service is justified with reference to neutrality and is supported by all major political forces. It is softened by the option of civilian service, which is widely used, despite offering lower financial compensation than military service [8].

### **Hardly Any Anti-Militarism**

There is very little anti-militarist protest in Austria. The prevailing perception is that Austria, as a small neutral country, plays a minor role in these matters. Some remain silent on the issue to avoid being associated with the ultra-right's nationalist-sovereigntist positions. Nevertheless, isolated anti-militarist actions have occurred, and the topic is being discussed.

Sources

[1]<https://industriemagazin.at/news/ruestungsindustrie-in-oesterreich-die-maechtigsten-ruestungsunternehmen/>

[2]<https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article13915521/Die-unheimliche-Erfolgsgeschichte-der-Glock-17.html>

[3] [https://www.parlament.gv.at/aktuelles/pk/jahr\\_2025/pk0564](https://www.parlament.gv.at/aktuelles/pk/jahr_2025/pk0564)

[4]<https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000261448/europa-will-auf-ruesten-welche-oesterreichischen-betriebe-koennten-profitieren>

[5] <https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000223913/das-bundesheer-auf-schuloffensive>

[6] <https://orf.at/stories/3326575/>

[7][https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS\\_20240417\\_OT0105/stocker-die-fpoe-ist-der-russland-trojaner-in-oesterreich](https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20240417_OT0105/stocker-die-fpoe-ist-der-russland-trojaner-in-oesterreich)

[8] <https://gsoa.ch/kriegsdienstzwang-wehrpflicht-in-oesterreich/>

## **French “war economy” 2025**

Gov raises defence spending to 3–3.5% of GDP, around €30 billion more per year. more defence production, army ready faster, stop depending on foreign weapons. Eurenco factory in Bergerac started making gunpowder again, plans to make 1,800 tonnes per year by 2025. Also built 100,000 artillery shells, including 155mm for Caesar cannons (NATO standard). Plan for companies like KNDS Nexter Systems, Thales, to make faster delivery of Caesar howitzers and drones. The gov says it might force industries to adapt faster if too slow, with requisitions of personal from the civilian Industries, automotive sectors and recalling retired defence industry personal. France 2030 plan, spend €2.5B on AI tech Train more AI workers, from 40,000 to 100,000 per year.

*SNU Service National Universel, Civic duty for teenagers* It started as a voluntary program, with 2-week stay + group life in military dorms. Gov wanted to make it mandatory but in March 2023 dropped the idea as too many students protested against the pension reform, they didn't want more tension. Still not very popular in 2025, many youth are not interested, but there are changes in school programs with more civic and moral education in classes, teaching about democracy, secularism (laïcité), tolerance, ecology...

## War preparation in the US

There isn't really a switch to a war economy, since, as everybody knows, it existed here already. Still, according to the report released last year by the Commission on the National Defense Strategy, an 'independent body of experts' created by Congress, the US, despite its mighty 'military industrial complex' and its gigantic 'Defense' budget, isn't ready for total war against China and Russia. "The Commission finds that the U.S. defense industrial base is unable to meet the equipment, technology, and munitions needs of the United States and its allies. A protracted conflict, especially in multiple theaters, would require much greater capacity to produce, maintain, and replenish weapons and munitions." According to the Trump government, restoring the American industrial basis is the goal of its tariff policy, especially of the high tariffs to protect basic industries like steel and aluminum.

**Military production:** In many ways Trump continued initiatives the Biden administration took for what it called 'Defense Industrial Base Revitalization' such as accelerating the weapons acquisition system and expanding areas such as shipbuilding (incl. nuclear submarines) and artillery production (monthly artillery shell output increased from 14,000 to 55,000, with a goal of 100,000 by 2026).

For the 10th year in a row, the "Defense" budget has increased. If we take into account the military spending of other departments (such as Dep of Energy, which manages the nuclear weapons, and Homeland Security) annual military spending now exceeds \$1 trillion. To make room for it in the budget (as well as for tax cuts for the owners of capital) drastic social cuts have been imposed, mainly on Medicaid (resulting in 12 million people losing health coverage) and programs like food aid for the poor. The Trump administration also successfully pressured Nato-allies and Asian allies to increase their military expenditures, and thus to buy a lot more weapons from the American military industrial complex.

In April Trump issued an Executive Order titled "Modernizing Defense Acquisitions and Spurring Innovation in the Defense Industrial Base". Among other things it creates greater involvement of Silicon Valley in weapon production, with a focus on AI, autonomous systems, drones and satellite-based warfare. This benefits tech companies like Palantir and SpaceX, but also traditional military firms like Lockheed Martin which received huge orders for the new F-35 fighter jet and space-based missile systems. The U.S. has also begun early production of the B61-13 nuclear gravity bomb, seven months ahead of schedule. This bomb, 24 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb, is designed for precision targeting and

will be deployed on B-2 and B-21 stealth bombers. Long range nuclear missile production is still halted because of the second START treaty between the U.S. and Russia, but that will expire in February and many expect a new nuclear arms race after that. AI is being integrated into nuclear command, control, and communications systems to support rapid decision-making, increasing the risk of preemptive nuclear use. There is also an arms race going on in hypersonic missiles which are extremely fast (Mach 5+) and can evade traditional missile defenses. The US, China, and Russia are all aggressively developing these systems which blur the line between conventional and nuclear weapons.

**Increased weapon use:** According to a recent report by the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED), since Trump's re-entry into office, the US has carried out 529 air attacks in 240 locations across the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa. That figure, which accounts for just the first five months of Trump's second term, is already nearing the 555 attacks launched by the Biden administration over his whole term.

**Saber rattling:** In early August Trump ordered to move US nuclear submarines to a more offensive position, in reaction to a threatening tweet of Russia's ex president Medvedev. And for the first time since 2008, the U.S. moved B61-12 bombs to a forward position in the UK.

**Economic war:** Biden declared a worldwide prohibition to sell to China advanced chips as well as the hardware to make them. Curiously, that has been somewhat softened by Trump. Both sanctions and tariffs were used with the aim of decoupling the economies of the West from Russia and China. But that's not easy, especially not from China. Trump had to withdraw from steep tariffs under economic pressure (from 245% to 30% but they still may increase again and there is an additional 40% tariff on transshipments (goods China exports through another country like Mexico). Decoupling is bad for profits and would be an absolute necessity for a major war but it is very difficult.

**Ideological preparation:** the Commission on the National Defense Strategy stressed the need for a major propaganda effort to increase patriotism. The main initiative in this regard is the Trump campaign against undocumented immigrants. Economically, it makes no sense, US capital is losing money as a result. The purpose is to forge a national community through enflaming common hate of outsiders, whose Otherness "pollutes the blood of America" as Trump said.

## **Italy**

### **MILITARY SPENDING**

Although Italy is only in 13th place in terms of spending per capita for the military, and has not met the NATO target of 2% for military spending (it currently stands at 1,58%), its military spending has constantly and substantially increased over the last decade (an additional 61% over that time), and there has been a particularly notable jump in spending in 2025 (up 2.1 billion euros, equivalent to 7.31% on the previous year), bringing spending to above 30 billion euros per year for the first time in Italy's history (13 billion of which are to finance new arms).

Italy has "excess deficit" and is thus subject to the European "Stability and Growth Pact". Meloni wanted borrowing for arms spending to be excluded from this pact, but it's not quite clear how this will work. Indeed, she left it to the very last day to borrow money from the European SAFE (Security action for Europe) fund in order to pay for military spending – 14 billion euros over five years – to be paid back over 45 years.

To finance increased military spending there will also be 4.6 billion in cuts made to green transition, research, and investment in the car industry between 2025 and 2030. Pensions increases promised by Meloni's government (1000 a month) are also unlikely to be met (they currently stand at 600 euros a month). Further cuts are also expected in the struggling health sector.

### **ARMS EXPORTS**

Italy is the sixth biggest arms exporter (ahead of the UK, behind only the USA, France, Russia, China and Germany). Its arms exports increased by 138% between 2020 and 2024 (info from Stockholm International Peace Research), a larger increase than any other country in that period. 71 per cent of these exports go to the Middle East, in particular Qatar, Egypt and Kuwait. The government have also recently done big deals with Indonesia and Nigeria. The Minister of Defence has given the green light to new programmes for arms of over 42 billion euros in order to meet NATO objectives.

## **ARMS COMPANIES**

Two companies account for 22% of Italian arms exports: Fincantieri (ship building) and Leonardo (aerospace). The Italian government owns 30% of Leonardo and about 70% of Fincantieri. Despite record profits Leonardo has cut approximately one quarter of its Italian workforce over the past 15 years. Other Italian arms manufacturers include Iveco, Tekne, Rwm and Mbda Italia.

## **RESISTANCE**

There has not been much in the way of resistance against increased military spending, although there is apparently not much public support for increased arms investments (74% against according to one poll).

There have been some protests against military bases in Sicily, Sardinia and Pisa and port workers in Genoa have recently refused to load arms on a Saudi ship.

There have also been nationwide protests and strikes for Palestine (including a so-called “general strike” – SI Cobas was active in this strike, but a conversation with workers in the logistics sector reveals that although workers are often sympathetic to the cause, they don’t feel particularly convinced by the idea of striking for Palestine, they do not see how their work relates to the conflict, and are loathe to lose a day’s pay (after a strike many then work on a Sunday to make up for the day lost to a strike)).

There have been a number of steelworker strikes including workers from Leonardo and Fincantieri (the most notable of which blocked the ring-road around Bologna (also in explicit defiance of the Decreto Sicurezza\*) demanding improved conditions in the national contract for steelworkers. However, Leonardo has explicitly supported the workers’ requests to reopen negotiations, in what seems an attempt at pacification of workers in order to ensure they do not upset what is a very profitable period for the company.

- The Decreto Sicurezza introduced by the Meloni government includes more protections for police and secret services, and higher sanctions for protests, road blocks, squatting, prison revolts and passive resistance (including in prisons). For instance, participating in a roadblock as part of a demonstration or squatting a building can

result in six years or seven years in prison respectively. Sanctions have also been increased for crimes against police officers. There are also specific sanctions for those who protest against public works (this aims to punish protest movements such as the No TAV movement, the No Ponte protests against the bridge to Sicily) and those who commit crimes on railways (perhaps also fearing protests that block railways). It also allows the state to strip new citizens of citizenship if they commit a crime and makes it more difficult for migrants to get SIM cards without ID cards.

## **Italy and “war economy”**

*We are in a war economy* - CEO of LEONARDO (arms producer)

Historically Italy’s imperial influence has extended from North Africa and parts of the Sahel through the European Mediterranean basin to the Balkans with [military operations](#) in multiple countries reaching as far as Afghanistan. Now Italy produces and [ships weapons](#) and ammunition for Israel’s death project in Gaza, trains their soldiers and even builds their “green” energy infrastructures

By decree, and so sidestepping parliament, Meloni has passed the [Piano Mattei](#). In brief, this is a strategic mission that will bring Italian financial and military powers into the entire continent of Africa (the first nine countries on the list are: Algeria, Congo, Ivory Coast, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Morocco, Mozambique and Tunisia)

One of Italy’s largest industries is oil giant ENI who has expressed a particular interest in the Piano Mattei. For one, they would like to get their hands dipped in Nigerian oil or Mozambique (where oil reserves were newly discovered). The local bourgeoisies there have already sold unextracted gas at market price to Italy while its workers are starving.

[LEONARDO](#) a top Italian weapon manufacturer has also bid on the Piano Mattei as it sees the war-torn continent as a fertile market for its tanks, drones and torpedoes. Egypt has promised to buy and co-produce weapons and amo. Also the Congo, crosshatched between warring African states, will be in need of weapons.

But the Piano Mattei is not only a strategic economic plan but one that puts in place a military cooperation between Italy and Africa. Its official mission statement is to “take on illegal immigration and buffer the

coordination of strategic development of socio-economic stability as well as military security.”

In Niger (an ex-semi-colony of France in Sahel) where French and American troupes have just retreated only to be substituted by Wagner corps, Italy has deployed 500 Italian soldiers for training Niger’s military and controlling migrant flows. In Mozambique, near the oil reserves, there is a Jihadist army conducting guerrilla warfare: also here, Italy will send its military to protect its investments and supply chain.

With a military presence, it is clear that Italy not only wants to extract Africa’s oil, lithium and precious metals. Not only does it want to sell its weapons and luxury goods to its growing bourgeoisie. It particularly wants to play “gate-keeper” to its massive (and growing) labor supply by enforcing borders, controlling labor flows and, when needed, militarily executing illegal immigrants. In short, Italy’s imperial relations in Africa and its political and military ties with its corrupt bourgeoisie, represents Italy’s cooperation in oppressing and suppressing the African working class.

Meanwhile at home the Italian working class has been subjected to decades of war (on TV), of neo-liberalism, “gentrification,” and xenophobia. The post war proletariat has been slowly “substituted” by digital technologies, while a semi-skilled petit bourgeoisie has formed in the tertiary sector. However since the 1990s also this fairly significant strata has been undergoing a process of “proletarianization.” Ideologically they maintain a reactionary focus on ‘rights’ and are particularly subject to democratic mystifications (of the right and left-wing type). For example, on the 25th of April (the day of National Liberation from the Nazis) more than one news outlet printed Ukrainian and Israeli flags calling these countries at war “partisans of democracy” likening them to the Italian partisans who fought against Fascism... in this kind atmosphere of political propaganda “anti-fascism” has already gripped the general political imagination.

The only working class activity against the war is in Logistics; particularly some significant [dock worker strikes](#) that stopped the shipment of arms. And voicing a level of consciousness when they recognized that the countries that they ship weapons to are those same countries that they see migrants coming from, escaping their war-torn homes. Otherwise immigrant workers (most often undocumented) and jobless workers agitate within [S.I.Cobas](#) (the national union that has a “base committee structure”). But they are isolated from the rest of the working class by intense labor apartheid, corruption and racism.

## In summary

Defence expenditures:

- **Total Budget:** €31.4 billion.
- **Increase from 2022:** €2 billion.
- **Personnel Costs:** A significant portion, 74%, of the defense budget is dedicated to personnel.
- **Investments:** 17% of the budget is allocated to investments.
- **Training:** 9% of the budget is allocated to training.

1. We see the acceleration of the transition of several companies from the car industry to the aero-space industry, with the support of the government, and also of the regions - both those governed by the right and those governed by the centre-left are getting busy. All, of course, to 'secure employment', i.e. for the benefit of the workers...

2. The government's decision to create in Sicily the world's first school for F-35 pilots located outside the United States. In this field, Italy already boasts, in condominium with Japan, another primacy: it is the only country in the world where F-35s are assembled (in the Leonardo plant in Cameri, Piedmont). But that was not enough.

3. The ascertainment - through investigations by 'The Weapon Watch' and 'Altreconomia' - that Italy has exported and continues to export weapons to Israel in support of the Zionist genocide by circumventing the authorizations provided by its own laws, with the connivance of big banks and companies-restrictors that do not appear to be involved in war production. These are components for the production of cannons, explosives and substances also useful for the production of nuclear devices...

All in all there is little willingness to fight amongst the general population. Inflation is taking a toll on costs of living as Italy tries to reach 2% PIL on defense. Meloni is agile in talking about how she wants to keep Italy out of the Ukrainian war directly, while pursuing imperial interests in Africa and ramping up nationalism (militaristic parades and military education in schools) and passing all kinds of anti-proletarian laws (which will enable a heavy hand in suppressing any insurgent activity). Anti-fascism is the stance of the general population.

S.Y.

## **(West)Germany**

Since 2000, military spending has risen in real terms from 24 billion in 2023 (1.6% of GDP) to 2.12% of GDP – €90.58 billion – in 2024. With a budget of €476.8 billion in 2024, this represents around 19% of the budget. In 2024, the ministries of education (21.5), health (16.7), development (11.2), economy & climate (11.1), housing (6.7), foreign affairs (6.7) and the environment (2.4) together still received over 13 billion euros less than the military. The arms industry expects huge increases in sales in the coming years – realistic, given that the Bundeswehr's investment budget has skyrocketed from €4.1 billion (2017) to €9.9 billion (2022) and €17.7 billion (2023) and is even targeting €21.9 billion for 2024. No wonder the share prices of the largest listed German arms manufacturers have skyrocketed. Airbus, mitigated by its high civilian share, saw an increase of 'only' around 17%. Rheinmetall's share price climbed by 319% and Hensoldt's by 243%. The big players in the industry are (2022 sales excluding KNDS and Diehl (2021)): Airbus Defense and Space (€13.7 billion), Rheinmetall (€6.4 billion), KNDS with the German division Kraus-Maffei Wegmann (€2.7 billion), Hensoldt (€1.71 billion) and Diehl (€571 million). In addition to these companies, which are listed among the top 100 companies in the world, MBDA, MTU Aero Engines, Rhode & Schwarz, submarine and shipbuilders Lürssen and ThyssenKrupp Marine Systems, and small arms manufacturers Heckler & Koch, Walther, Haenel and SigSauer are also worth mentioning. The trend towards militarisation is clear. Since the 1970s, the question of a 'military-industrial complex' (MIC) has been discussed in Germany in analogy to the USA. On the one hand, it has become clear that this MIC does not play the same role as in the USA. At the same time, it is clear that the BND secret service repeatedly 'helps out' with arms exports. Internationally, the Federal Republic of Germany is a leader in arms exports. Germany has been at the top of the relevant rankings for years, ranking fourth according to the 2021 report by the Stockholm Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). Time and again, it comes to light that German weapons – especially easily transportable and versatile firearms – are found in combat and wars in countries where, according to 'official guidelines,' they should never have been allowed to go. There was a particularly dramatic case involving Heckler & Koch, which made false declarations. Starting in 2006, the company officially sold 8,000 G36 assault rifles to the Mexican Ministry of Defence. These were expressly 'not to be delivered' to four provinces (including Guerrero), as these were considered hotbeds of unrest and the scene of brutal drug wars, and were also known for their particularly corrupt police forces. But only a short time later, the weapons turned up in Guerrero in the hands of police officers who carried out a massacre of 43 protesting teacher training students at the local university. The diversion of the assault rifles was probably done with the knowledge of senior German officials, but it was certainly orchestrated by Heckler & Koch's management. Incidentally, the 'armaments clusters' in Germany are located in the west: Kiel, Hamburg,

Bremen, the Ruhr area, Kassel, the Lake Constance region and Munich. The German Armed Forces is short of around 20,000 employees in the qualified middle ranks of the non-commissioned officer corps alone. The official goal of increasing the number of soldiers in the German Armed Forces to 203,000 has not yet been achieved. Instead, the deadline of 2025 has been postponed several times to 2031. In addition to too few applicants, there is a high dropout rate in training programmes. The current debate on compulsory military service is intended to change this. There have been repeated protests – so far isolated – against the Bundeswehr's recruitment efforts, both at promotional events and in schools. There is a debate about 'arms conversion,' but so far it has remained marginal in society and among trade unions. The connection between militarisation and the welfare state is pointed out, but this has not yet triggered any broader protests. Aggressive war propaganda and agitation against »Bürgergeld« and other welfare state 'benefits' are aimed at preventing this. In this context, politicians are hailing 'successes of a new era.': In Braunschweig, for example, a small company run by environmentally-minded technology enthusiasts is being bought up by Rheinmetall. Almost all of the employees are being taken on and are now to build combat drones, or at least reconnaissance drones. The 'research airport' in Braunschweig is to be put to military use. The military, which withdrew from the city in 2003, is being brought back, and the civil clause at the Technical University is being dropped... In recent weeks, jointly organised events by the German Armed Forces, the Senate and Hospital management have been held at the Charité and Vivantes hospitals in Berlin. Since Berlin would become an 'infrastructural and war-critical hub' on the 'eastern front' in the event of an impending war, emergency and deployment plans would have to be worked on in the near future. So far, there have been no fundamental objections or protests from official ver.di. However, parts of the ver.di works council in the hospitals are currently discussing actions for the autumn. We can assume that there will be an anti-war movement – we are already seeing the beginnings today. The question is, how broad it will be, what its content will be, and how and where it will intervene. For example, the (mainly bourgeois) anti-war movement in Germany in the 1980s was broad in some respects, but its 'fear-mongering' mobilisation often rendered it toothless. We should discuss our possible role: to highlight the connection between capitalism and war, not only on the streets, but also in the workplaces. Where we can, initiate activities and protests ourselves. And last but not least, we should argue with the remnants of the 'radical left,' which (not only!!) since the wars in Ukraine and Gaza often no longer represents an anti-militarist position. They seem to have forgotten – or only uphold in abstract terms – that wars narrow or even closes the space for progressive movements!

Alex, wildcat freiburg

# Appendix on Feminism

## Sources

This is a collection of sources I read for my presentation. It is not complete and the sources are not free of contradictions, which I think is unavoidable in such a complicated and controversial field.

If you have any comments or questions, please feel free to post them on discord or to write me via [communaut.eckstein@tuta.io](mailto:communaut.eckstein@tuta.io)

## Biological sex development

### 1. *Sex redefined- Claire Ainsworth*

Article that argues for the concept of a „sex-spectrum“

<https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/sex-redefined-the-idea-of-2-sexes-is-overly-simplistic1/>

### 2. *Braingender - Melissa Hines*

While the book is intended as a metastudy of biological research about gender differences, it does a very good job in explaining how sex development actually works.

### 3. *The intricacy of the human sexes - Heinz Jürgen Voss*

The last chapter „current biological theories of the sexes“ is a good introduction & critique of biological theory & research about sex.

The rest of the book is cultural study about sex gender and how „our“ modern view of sex/gender developed.

From one of his workshops I attended, my impression was that he gets a little bit lost in his critique on classic sex/gender views and forgets that we live in a „gendered“ society, mostly consisting of men and woman, where the social categories of Gender have a very strong reality. That’s one reason why I tried to introduce the fetish concept in my presentation: To show on one hand that gender is social and on the other that gender is our reality and most people ARE men or woman.

## Biology research

### 1. *Braingender* - Melissa Hines

To say it in modern social media terms: The Author completely OBLITERATES common facts about the relation between biological factors & genderspecific behaviour.

At the same time she sticks to idea that there is a biological foundation for gender differences and does very weird animal studies.

Still this book was probably the most important read for me.

### 2. *Recommendations for sex/gender neuroimaging research: key principles and implications for research design, analysis, and interpretation* - Rippon a.o.

<https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/human-neuroscience/articles/10.3389/fnhum.2014.00650/full>

*Feminist Interventions on the Sex/Gender Question in Neuroimaging Research* - Bryant a.o.

<https://sfonline.barnard.edu/feminist-interventions-on-the-sex-gender-question-in-neuroimaging-research/>

Two scientific critiques on brainimaging research. Explain the problems of existing research very well and introduce new methods/concepts to avoid them

### 3. *Effects of gendered behavior on testosterone in women and men* - van Anders a.o.

<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/26504229/>

*Longitudinal evidence that fatherhood decreases testosterone in human males* - Gettler a.o.

<https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.1105403108>

Two Studies about the influence of social behaviour on testosterone levels in men and women

## Evolutionary Psychology (EP)

1. 3.5 hour video-critique of EP – Münecat(youtouber)  
Was a little bit hard to watch for me, since it's very „modern“ and „funny“, but it's extremely informative & very well researched.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=31e0RclmReY>
2. 30min video-critique of EP – PZ Myers(biologist)  
Not so detailed as the first one, focusses on general concepts of EP.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=osEibIC7Itw>
3. *The Spandrels of san Marco and the Panglossian paradigm: A critique of the adaptationist program* – Gould/Lewontin  
<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/42062/>  
*The Evolutionary Biology of constraint* – Gould  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20024665>  
Two paper discuss common scientific problems/misconceptions about the role different evolutionary factors play in Evolution

## History

1. *The dawn of everything* – Graeber/Wengrow  
Huge collection of historical examples for an extreme diversity of ways to organise society. Part of the book about influence of north american indigenous thinking on european enlightenment.  
Book fails to deliver good answers for the observed diversity and does some misinterpretations of sources. Still a very interesting and inspiring read
2. *Video-critique series of The Dawn of everything* – *What is politics*  
Applies a materialistic view to the sources Graeber/Wengrow provide and stresses that the foundation for the social diversity are material reasons e.g. mode of production. These material foundations enable/incentivise certain forms of society. On this basis social struggles happen and finally decide for specific forms of

organisation

[https://www.youtube.com/playlist?  
list=PLU4FEuj4v9eBWP22ujafheoEejbQhPAdl](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLU4FEuj4v9eBWP22ujafheoEejbQhPAdl)

3. *Die Frau als Mensch: Am Anfang der Geschichte* - Ulli Lust

Graphic novel about the role of woman in prehistoric societies. Turns the classic view of „Woman: Pregnant @ home, collecting berries; Men: Hunting & Fighting somewhere“ around and provides lots of interesting insights in human history. Unfortunately only in german

## Genetics

1. *Not in our Genes* - Lewontin a.o.

Critique of modern genetic research and sociobiology by marxist experts from the field(s). Written in the 80s but still important and extremely interesting

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Not\\_in\\_Our\\_Genes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Not_in_Our_Genes)

2. *Racism, Not Race* - Graves/Goodman

Written as a FaQ, about the concept of race. Very easy to read, provides lots of interesting stuff about evolution, genetics etc.

<https://cup.columbia.edu/book/racism-not-race/9780231200660/>