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SocialistViewpoint

★ The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point is to *change* it. —Karl Marx ★

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Haitians Demand New Government Due to Cost of Living Increases

By ORINOCO TRIBUNE

Increasing protests in Haiti have laid bare the deep discontent of the population with the unelected government of Alix Didier Fils-Aimé, backed by the U.S. regime.

Demonstrations have intensified since May 1—International Workers’ Day—and have been marked by demands for an increase in salaries to cover the increasing costs of living, for maintenance of crumbling infrastructure, and for improvements in citizens’ quality of life, as well as calls for the de facto government’s resignation, among other grievances.

Demonstrations were sparked by a drastic increase in oil prices announced by the unelected Haitian regime on April 2, 2026.

The regime “jacked up fuel costs on April 2, for gasoline from 560 to 725 gourdes (\$5.53) per gallon or 29 percent, for diesel from 620 to 850 gourdes (\$6.48) per gallon or 37 percent, and for kerosene from 615 to 845 gourdes (\$6.44) per gallon or 37 percent,” writes *Haiti Liberté*.

On the question of salaries, the Haitian government, in an attempt to quell the disturbance, announced on May 4 that the daily minimum wage would increase from 685 to 1,000 gourdes (U.S. \$7.63). According to Haitian Finance and Economy Minister Serge Gabriel Collin, the change would be “extended progressively to all sectors involved with the aim of maintaining balance and sustainability” for the Haitian population.

The announcement has been met with conflicting responses from various sectors of the informal economy and labor unions in Haiti who have been demanding much greater increases in salaries to compensate for rising costs of living since the COVID-19 pandemic and the severing of Haiti’s supply of low-cost oil from Venezuela in 2018. All of this, of course, has been exacerbated by the drastic increase in energy prices following the criminal attacks on Iran by the U.S. and its Israeli vassals on February 28 of this year.

“Since 2023, wages have remained unchanged, while the cost of living has continued to rise,” writes Isabelle Papillon for *Haiti Liberté*. “In the metropolitan area of the capital, Port-au-Prince, workers at the industrial park (SONAPI) demonstrated, as did workers at the Industrial Development Company (CODEVI) in Ouanaminthe (northeast Haiti), demanding 2,500 gourdes before the government’s increase in gasoline prices and 3,000 gourdes after the rise in petroleum product prices. Increasing a day’s wage from 625 to 1,000 gourdes will do absolutely nothing to improve the living conditions of these workers.”

Historically, Haiti relied on Venezuela’s Petrocaribe program as a source of low-priced oil. However, these shipments were halted in 2018, largely as a result of U.S. coercive measures (euphemistically referred to as “sanctions”) that targeted the Venezuelan oil industry, prevent Venezuela’s ability to refine and export oil.

Thereafter, it was revealed that the administrations of Michel Martelly and Jovenel Moïse in Haiti had embezzled funds from the Petrocaribe program. As Venezuela’s oil production slowly strengthened over the years, Venezuela’s President Nicolás Maduro had floated the idea, in 2024, of reviving the Petrocaribe deal.

Since the end of Petrocaribe, Haiti has relied primarily on U.S.-based suppliers such as Novum Energy Corp. for oil. According to The Observatory of Economic Complexity, for example, Haiti imported about 98 percent of its domestic oil from the United States in 2024.

—*Popular Resistance*, May 8, 2026

<https://popularresistance.org/haitians-demand-new-government-amid-wide-spread-protest-increasing-energy-costs/>



Haitian workers demonstrating for a change in government due to the increasing cost of living—especially energy costs.

Lebanese Trade Unions Express Support for Raúl Castro Ruz

By *TELESUR*

The National Federation of Lebanese Workers' and Employees' Unions (FENASOL) has issued a declaration of solidarity with Cuba, strongly condemning what it considers to be ongoing imperialist aggression by the United States against the island, its working class, and its political leadership.

The statement highlights U.S. denunciation against the former Cuban president for an action that occurred 30 years ago in defense of the Caribbean nation.

In the statement, the Lebanese labor union categorically rejected the media incitement campaign led by Washington against Army General Raúl Castro Ruz, calling the accusations "false and fabricated" and lacking any legal or moral legitimacy.

For FENASOL, this escalation represents a prolongation of the policies of blockade, blackmail, and unilateral sanctions aimed at undermining the Cuban people's steadfastness.

The document highlights that Cuba's revolutionary and socialist experience has been, for decades, a guiding model internationally in the defense of sovereignty, social justice, and the rights of popular sectors.

Likewise, it reaffirms Cuba's legitimate right, protected by the United Nations Charter, to protect its airspace and territorial security against provocations by terrorist groups established in Florida, which operate under the "open protection" of U.S. authorities.

The federation denounced that these aggressions are carried out through judicial manipulation as a complementary mechanism to the economic, financial, and energy siege.

Lebanese workers contextualized this offensive as part of a criminal policy of collective punishment that seeks to subjugate Cuba through starvation.

Suffering daily the rigors of the Zionist offensive against their own geography and institutions, actions militarily, politically, and financially supported by the White House, Lebanon's working class embraces the Cuban cause as its own due to the shared struggle against the same global power centers.

The statement gratefully highlights the historical stance of Cuban leadership in favor of the causes of Lebanon and Palestine in international forums.

FENASOL ratified its unconditional support for the political and social choices of the largest of the Antilles and extended a call to the global labor and progressive movement to articulate joint actions to end the U.S. blockade.

The statement concludes by pointing out that Cuban resistance is coordinated on the geopolitical board to stop expansion plans that also favor Israel's colonial interests.

—*teleSURtv.net*, May 24, 2026

<https://www.telesurenglish.net/lebanese-trade-unions-express-their-support-for-cuban-leader-raul-castro-ruz/>

Suffering daily the rigors of the Zionist offensive against their own geography and institutions, actions militarily, politically, and financially supported by the White House, Lebanon's working class embraces the Cuban cause as its own due to the shared struggle against the same global power centers



People attend an event in support of former Cuban President Raúl Castro, May 22, 2026, in Havana, Cuba. Photo: EFE/ Ernesto Mastrascusa.

SocialistViewpoint

July/August 2026 Vol. 26, No. 4

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Socialist Viewpoint (ISSN 1535-5438) is published bi-monthly by the Socialist Viewpoint Publishing Association, 60 29th Street, #429, San Francisco, CA 94110. Rates: For one year (6 issues): Introductory rate in the U.S. \$20.00; Regular rate in the U.S. \$30.00; Bargain rate: \$35.00 for two years; All other countries \$50.00 (Money orders, checks, etc., should be in U.S. dollars.)

Periodicals Postage Paid at San Francisco, California.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Socialist Viewpoint, 60 29th Street, #429, San Francisco, CA 94110

Democrats and Republicans—Two Sides of the Same Coin

BY BONNIE WEINSTEIN

Only a party independent of the capitalist class can represent the interests of the masses of workers and the poor. There is no political party that can fairly represent our interests and the interests of capital at the same time.

For example, and clarity, I am sighting the young and very charismatic, left-leaning campaign of a local, San Francisco Democratic Party candidate for Congress, Saikat Chakrabarti. He was one of the most “radical” candidates for congress in San Francisco vying for Nancy Pelosi’s seat in the 11th District. He lost the election.

Popular slogans—capitalist framework

Chakrabarti rightly called the U.S./Israeli war and occupation of Gaza genocide. He opposed sending any U.S. weapons to Israel. He’s in favor of abolishing ICE. He’s for a “Green New Deal.” He supports Medicare for all. And he is for federally funded universal childcare. And he calls the war on Iran “horrific and illegal.”

He also donated \$600,000 to the campaign for Proposition D, known as the Wealth Tax—an initiative that aimed

to change the top executive-pay tax that the city collects from some large businesses when their highest-paid managerial employee earns more than 100 times the median compensation paid to other employees. It also sought to increase the top executive-pay tax rates and introduce a voter approval requirement for future changes to the tax rates.¹

However, Chakrabarti is also a multi-millionaire worth at least \$167 million² and, had he been elected, would have been one of the top ten richest members of congress.³

His campaign centered on the idea that he wanted to “change the Democratic Party.” In one of his many TV advertisements he stated, “We need a Democratic Party that will fight to create a society that works for all, not just the richest few.”

The fox can’t be trusted to guard the hen house

The major flaw to this argument is that you can’t have it both ways—capitalism itself is a system based upon the oppression of the poor and working class in order to protect the wealth of the ruling capitalist class—to constantly insure increasing rates of profits for themselves.

But the American people are becoming more and more aware that the U.S. political system is definitely not run in their interests, but, indeed, in the interests of the wealthy.

In a May 20, 2026, *New York Times* article by Ruth Igielnik titled “Latest Indicator of Political Discontent: 43 percent of Voters Dissatisfied With Both Parties,” she reported:

“Forty-three percent of voters are dissatisfied with both major political parties, according to a recent

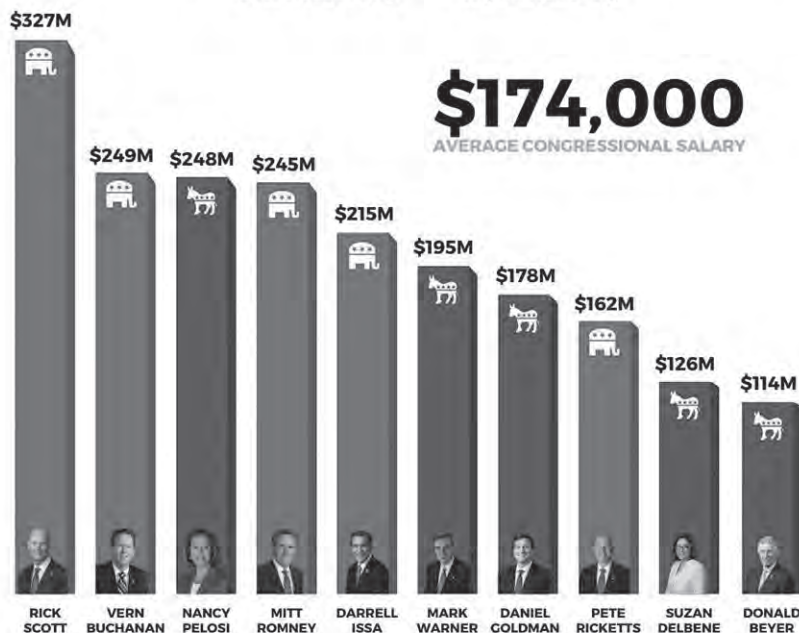


Saikat Chakrabarti



RICHEST MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

— Democratic Party — Republican Party



More visuals: www.carbonfinance.io

Data as of 7/27/24, Source: Quiver Quantitative

New York Times/Siena poll—the latest sign that the frustration that has built over the last decade will continue to roil American politics for the foreseeable future. ...Overall, the Times/Siena survey found that just 26 percent of voters felt satisfied with the Democratic Party and that 33 percent felt satisfied with the Republican Party. ...Eighty percent of dissatisfied voters said the economic and political system needed major changes or to be torn down entirely, and 77 percent said the economic system was generally unfair.”⁴

The American working class is finally realizing that the economic interests of the overwhelming majority of workers and the poor—are diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalist class—because the only ways the capitalist class can increase their rate of profits are to cut the costs of production by:

- replacing workers with machines;
- using cheaper materials resulting in inferior products that workers have to buy;
- speeding up production by reducing workers’ health and safety regulations on the job;
- ignoring environmental safeguards;
- limiting workers’ pay.

All of which negatively effects the economic welfare of the masses while insuring increasing profits for the capitalist class.

Mr. Chakrabarti left these points out of his campaign promises. If he were serious about his left-leaning politics he would have been championing a mass, independent workers’ party in opposition to the capitalist class and their two-party system of economic and social exploitation of the working class for their own selfish interests.

The power of workers’ solidarity independent of capitalist interests

Capitalism can’t end income inequality any more than the capitalists can end wars. Wars are how they maintain and expand their power in the world. Wars target the masses not the wealthy elite.

It is the poor and working class in every country that fight and die in the catastrophic battles for control of the world’s resources.

The capitalist governments bomb infrastructure forcing the masses to flee their homeland because under capitalism, it’s profitable for them to do so. The victors of war aim to gain control over natural resources, and at the same time, profit from the necessity to rebuild a new infrastructure that they can then own and control.

Three concrete examples showing how capitalism holds hostage over the world

1. In an April 25, 2026, *New York Times* article by Stephanie Nolen titled, “AIDS Creeps Back in Parts of Zambia, a Year After U.S. Cuts to H.I.V. Assistance,” exposes that U.S. H.I.V. aid is tied to U.S. access to Zambia’s mineral resources.

“During President Trump’s first month in office, his administration upended much of the flagship global H.I.V. program that had saved the lives of hundreds-of-thousands of people in Zambia. ... Today, a pared-down system is operating on reduced U.S. support, and Zambia may lose that help entirely in the next few days. The Trump administration has set an April 30 deadline for the Zambian government to accept a new health funding agreement that is tied to giving the United States expanded access to the country’s mineral resources.”⁵

2. And in a more recent *New York Times* article dated May 26, 2026, also by Stephanie Nolen titled, “A Powerful

H.I.V. Drug Lands in Zambia. But Will It Reach Those Who Need It?” Nolan explains:

“The Trump administration’s other aid cuts have left the country’s health system so fragile that it may not have the infrastructure—to do tests, to deliver the drug, to keep records—necessary to get the drug to all those who need it. And it’s not clear whether Zambia will receive enough donated doses—or be able to buy enough—to have a meaningful impact on rates of H.I.V. transmission. Gilead Sciences, which developed lenacapavir, sells the drug for more than \$25,000 per patient per year in the United States.”⁶

3. In another example of capitalism’s “profit over people” choices, in an earlier, May 11, 2026, *Times* article by Bernard Mokam, titled, “They Were Promised New Septic Tanks. Trump Called It ‘Illegal DEI’” the author reported:

“Behind Dana Anderson’s home in central Alabama, a plastic pipe carries waste from her toilet through her backyard, discarding it outdoors. Three or four times a year, a spell of heavy rain forces the excrement back up into the house. ... The soil is dense

and holds onto water. Today there are more than 50,000 people in the region who pipe raw sewage into open trenches and pits. Now, a seeming solution to the public health problem has been stymied by an unlikely force: the Trump administration’s war on diversity, equity and inclusion programs. ... The state agreed to an interim agreement that unlocked millions of dollars in federal funding to provide homeowners with septic tanks that could handle the difficult soil. But soon after President Trump returned to office last year, the Justice Department ended the settlement, calling it ‘illegal DEI.’”⁷

Independent workers’ power can change the world to benefit all

The Democratic and Republican Parties are doing what they have always done, pretending to be on the side of the poor while protecting the profits for the rich—ultimately threatening the destruction of the planet rather than share the profits they have stolen from the labor and sacrifices of the masses.

Capitalist “democracy” is democracy for the rich and the rule of capitalist totalitarianism for the masses.

Workers will never prosper under capitalism. We will only prosper when

we rule ourselves democratically and universally by bringing down capitalism and its private ownership of the means of production, and building socialism—the democratic ownership of the means of production by those who do the producing.

1 “San Francisco Voters Appear to Reject Tax Hike on Highly Paid C.E.O.s” by Soumya Karlamangla, June 8, 2026

<https://www.nytimes.com/2026/06/08/us/politics/san-francisco-tax-proposition-d.html?searchResultPosition=1>

2 “This founding Stripe engineer running to replace Nancy Pelosi may be even wealthier than her,” by Bryan Metzger, *Business Insider*

<https://www.businessinsider.com/saikat-chakrabarti-net-worth-nancy-pelosi-primary-challenger-2025-8>

3 Over half of the members of the U.S. Congress are millionaires, with estimates consistently showing that at least 50 percent to 55 percent of lawmakers have a net worth exceeding one million. This far outpaces the general U.S. population, where millionaires make up roughly seven percent of adults.

<https://www.opensecrets.org/news/2020/04/majority-of-lawmakers-millionaires/>

4 “Latest Indicator of Political Discontent: 43 percent of Voters Dissatisfied With Both Parties” by Ruth Igielnik, May 29, 2026

<https://www.nytimes.com/2026/05/29/polls/dissatisfied-voters.html>

5 “AIDS Creeps Back in Parts of Zambia, a Year After U.S. Cuts to H.I.V. Assistance,” by Stephanie Nolen, April 25, 2026

<https://www.nytimes.com/2026/04/25/health/pepfar-hiv-aids-zambia.html>

6 “A Powerful H.I.V. Drug Lands in Zambia. But Will It Reach Those Who Need It?” by Stephanie Nolen, May 26, 2026.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2026/05/26/health/lenacapavir-hiv-zambia.html?searchResultPosition=3>

7 “They Were Promised New Septic Tanks. Trump Called It ‘Illegal DEI.’”

<https://www.nytimes.com/2026/05/11/us/alabama-sewage-trump-dei-voting-rights-act.html>



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The Fight to Close Delaney Hall

BY SAMUEL KARLIN

June 4, 2026—In Newark, New Jersey, protests in solidarity with hunger strikers in an ICE detention center have confronted Trump’s ongoing war on immigrants and the complicity of the Democrats. How this fight develops has strategic implications for the immigrant rights movement across the country.

A new front has opened up in the nationwide resistance to Trump’s war on immigrants... New Jersey. Buried deep in the industrial arteries of Newark—an area referred to by residents as the “Chemical Corridor” where the air smells of sewage and toxic waste—is the one-year-old ICE detention center, Delaney Hall.

Community organizations have been fighting to close Delaney Hall since before it even opened. In the last week of May, that fight escalated when around 300 immigrants imprisoned inside the detention center launched a hunger and labor strike to demand their freedom. In fact, the action coincided with hunger strikes in ICE detention centers in quite a few states, but what quickly turned New Jersey into a national flashpoint was the way that day after day, night after night, for an entire week, community members protesting in solidarity outside Delaney Hall were attacked by ICE agents, enduring pepper spray, pepper balls, tasers, and beatings. And they didn’t just endure these attacks. They fought back.

As a participant of the protests wrote for *Left Voice*:

“Normal, everyday people arrived with useful respirators, shatterproof goggles—even homemade shields—to better hold the line, insisting that not another van leave with anyone as the hunger and labor strikers heroically persisted.”

In response to these nightly confrontations with ICE, New Jersey governor

Mikie Sherrill replaced the ICE agents with New Jersey state police who spent three nights attacking immigrant rights activists even more aggressively than ICE had. This culminated in the arrest of at least 60 people, including several journalists, who were held in Essex County Jail for over 24 hours without even being charged or processed. Sherrill was aided by the supposedly progressive mayor of Newark, Ras Baraka, who imposed a nighttime curfew and banned all foot traffic within a half-mile radius of Delaney Hall, setting up the pretext for the dozens of arrests on Sunday, May 31.

This has turned New Jersey into a national flashpoint in the fight against ICE. As the confrontation with Delaney Hall shows, the desire of Americans to bring about an end to ICE terror, while temporarily subdued following the powerful struggle in Minneapolis, remains alive. So long as ICE continues to terrorize immigrants across the United States, community opposition could flare up at any moment.

This is exactly why the fight against Delaney Hall has galvanized people across the country, drawing activists from New York, Pennsylvania, and even Minnesota. It is exactly why Sherrill and New Jersey Attorney General Jennifer Davenport have slandered supporters from other states as “outside agitators” in a desperate effort to isolate New Jerseyans and contain the struggle. And it is exactly why it is essential that those fighting in the state seize the current moment. This requires pursuing a strategy that can build off of the growing attention and solidarity our fight is receiving, and to develop our own collective power independent of the Democrats who are trying to channel our movement back into the safety valves of the courts and the midterm elections.

The post-Minneapolis moment

There is no separating the fight in Newark from the one that arose in Minneapolis. Throughout 2025, cities like Los Angeles and Chicago showed that there is an advanced sector of the immigrant rights movement willing to



Protesters outside of the Delaney Hall Detention Center in New Jersey. Photo by Luigi Morris

confront the terror that ICE is inflicting on our communities. Minneapolis was the apex and brought the movement to the center of national politics.

But Minneapolis was not just important because of how much attention it received. It was important because of how people fought back. As Daniel Kovacs recently argued in the *Left Voice* magazine:

“Minneapolis was not only the site of the most impressive fight against ICE and the Trump administration. It was the stage where the past, present, and future characteristics of class struggle came into being. It posed questions that go to the heart of the challenges of developing a political force capable of counterattacking the Far-Right, the relationship between community and the workplace, and the reorganization of a political terrain where the interests of the working class and the oppressed come to the fore. The importance of the lessons of Minneapolis to the socialist Left cannot be underestimated.”

In particular, Minneapolis showed the potential for an advanced sector of the movement against ICE to reach a much broader community. While this broader community may not be made up of already radicalized and experienced activists, its strength lies in how widespread outrage was able to mobilize a massive force that is deeply touched by the attack on immigrants. Importantly, these broader sectors are not satisfied with the leadership of the Democratic Party which works to keep the movement for immigrant rights within the logic of the capitalist state, betting on negotiations in Congress and elections instead of deepening class struggle.

This work of directing class struggle back into the confines of the Democratic Party is also carried out by union and social movement bureaucracies which have large bases of supporters, but reinforce the logic that the main purpose of our collective power is to pressure politicians with predetermined phone blasts and letter writing cam-

paigns, rather than creating spaces for us to hold collective discussions over strategy for the movement.

This contradiction of a broader community willing to fight and a leadership working to contain class struggle exploded in Minneapolis, with the movement finding creative ways to organize itself from below. Some of the most advanced expressions of this were the whistle networks and ICE-watch networks, the initiatives of rank-and-file teachers organizing with parents to protect and financially support immigrant families, and the emergence of a workers’ assembly which served as a democratic body for those in the movement to debate strategy and vote on proposals for next steps. And while there have been important debates over whether or not Minneapolis carried out an actual general strike, what cannot be denied is that the economic shutdown which took place on January 23 demonstrated that sectors of the U.S. working class are beginning to understand our power as workers and are finding ways to fight as a class—not just for bread and butter demands, but against the oppression which is ingrained in the capitalist system.

**There is no separating
the fight in Newark
from the one that arose
in Minneapolis.**

The advance of class struggle in Minneapolis did not bring about an end to ICE operations. But it defeated Trump in that he had to retreat and revise his strategy. An aggressive war on immigrants, once the glue that held his coalition together and one of the most popular points of his reactionary program, has rapidly lost support from the broader U.S. public. The contradiction of Minneapolis, however, is that the Democratic Party, seeing class

struggle begin to develop outside of their control, collaborated with the Right to de-escalate the situation, with help from their affiliated union and social movement bureaucracies. The result is a post-Minneapolis moment in which people across the country saw the power of class struggle demonstrated in Minneapolis and maintain the desire to fight, but are constrained by a leadership that seeks to keep class struggle from escalating, instead working to channel the anger into electing Democrats in the upcoming midterms.

The Democrats were walking a difficult tightrope, needing to do just enough to appear as if they’re fighting the Far Right, without doing anything that might unleash a new wave of class struggle. New Jersey presents the first post-Minneapolis opportunity to break that containment.

Minneapolis showed other states how to organize from below

Here in Jersey, we love a good underdog story, and we love a good fight. Right now, how we fight has implications for how the movement against ICE develops across the country. The Democrats here know that which is why after using state police and curfews to attack our protests, both the state of New Jersey and the city of Newark have announced that they’re suing GEO Group, the private prison company that runs Delaney Hall.

The stick failed to contain our movement, so now they’re using the carrot. But we already have an experience of using the courts to try to end ICE detention in our state. In 2021, under immense pressure from combative protests, New Jersey closed three county-run ICE detention centers and sought to ban the last remaining one—Elizabeth Detention Center run by private prison company CoreCivic—by passing a state ban on private prison companies. This was an important concession brought about through the power of our movement, but in 2023 CoreCivic sued New Jersey in order to

keep Elizabeth Detention Center open, the Biden administration publicly supported CoreCivic, and local Democrats across the board, including Sherrill, Baraka, Cory Booker, and Andy Kim (to name just a few) were silent, not wanting to cause trouble for Biden's (and later Kamala Harris's) presidential campaigns. This paved the way for the Third Circuit Court of Appeals to overrule our state's ban on private prisons, setting the very conditions for Delaney Hall to open a year later.

It would be absurd to expect the courts, now even more in alignment with the Far Right, to be any more on the movement's side this time. Many longtime immigrant rights activists in Jersey are already saying they don't have faith in these new lawsuits and that we need to find new avenues to fight back. Those avenues are already available, and Minneapolis shows us how to use them.

First, we need to learn from Minneapolis how valuable it is when our local struggle becomes an example for the entire country. It bears repeating that Sherrill wouldn't be coming out so strongly against "outside agitators" if the prospect of this fight reaching beyond New Jersey wasn't such a serious risk.

In fact, part of what made the organizing in Jersey so strong in 2021 was that it was led by a coalition of activists from New York and New Jersey who had a strong analysis of how ICE detention centers are used to ramp up operations not just throughout our state, but also in New York and Pennsylvania. Now, as New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians join the fight against Delaney Hall, we have an opportunity to rebuild that cross-state solidarity.

Delaney Hall is located where it is because ICE hopes that its worst abuses will be out of sight and out of mind. But the center's existence has led to an uptick in ICE activity throughout New Jersey. From our cities to our suburbs, we've witnessed agents abduct people

off the streets, lurk around our schools, and stomp through our neighborhoods. We also know that immigrants are our neighbors. One in four of all New Jersey residents are immigrants, making us second only to California in having the largest immigrant population of any state. For most people in New Jersey, it is impossible to go about life without at least some form of relationship with immigrants.

Instead of directing broader sectors to call and email politicians who've shown no interest in putting up a fight against the Far Right, the movement must find ways to organize the combative desire of our larger communities. This is where the idea of self-organization from below in the form of assemblies can provide a way forward.

The result of these conditions is that every week there's a non-profit, or a church, or just some well-meaning neighbors holding "know your rights" trainings or teach-ins on how to monitor ICE activity. In my town, most small businesses have signs in their windows expressing opposition to ICE. These small expressions paint a larger picture of just how widespread support for the movement is, and that's why all of Mikie Sherrill's latest Instagram posts have been flooded with comments calling her a "traitor," expressing outrage that she attacked protesters, and in some cases, expressing regret for voting for her and calling on her to resign.

Instead of directing broader sectors to call and email politicians who've shown no interest in putting up a fight against the Far Right, the movement must find ways to organize the combative desire of our larger communities. This is where the idea of self-organization from below in the form of assemblies can provide a way forward. If the mutual aid, socialist, and labor organizations that have been resisting Delaney Hall called an open assembly for people to debate how to carry forward our fight, promoted it, and made sure it was actually run openly and democratically, people would participate. Religious centers and community centers that have held countless know your rights trainings can be used as spaces to host neighborhood assemblies, allowing for even more gatherings in different townships.

And there is already a coalition of unions called Labor Eyes On ICE, which has spent the past year working to bring the working class into the fight. Many of these are small, local unions, but it also includes Rutgers American Association of University Professors American Federation of Teachers (AAUP-AFT) and the Rutgers Adjunct Faculty Union, representing workers at the largest public university in our state. They, too, can issue calls for assemblies to organize a fight that unites faculty and students who are interested in confronting ICE together. Importantly, The Professional Staff Congress (PSC-CUNY), representing faculty and staff at the City University of New York, recently joined Labor Eyes On ICE. They already have the experience of holding an assembly during the Gaza solidarity encampments, meaning that along with bringing solidarity from New York, they can offer valuable insights about the experience of self-organization.

Democrats aren't our allies

National organizations like Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)

have an important role to play in building these broader connections, both with other states and with broader layers of the community and working class. In fact, the North Jersey chapter of DSA has been one of the most consistent groups organizing against ICE in New Jersey, and as the situation escalated outside Delaney Hall, many NYC-DSA members with large social media platforms called on people in the area to mobilize. On June 2, DSA national put out a statement in solidarity with the fight around Delaney Hall. These are important shows of solidarity, and they express the willingness of DSA membership to mobilize for immigrant rights and expand the fight.

However, DSA's relationship with the Democratic Party creates an important obstacle for it to organize the social force we need to defeat ICE with class struggle and class independence. Holding executive positions and boasting internationally recognized public figures within the capitalist state has not turned into a consistent opposition to ICE expansion.

Zohran Mamdani, for example, has not called for the closure of Delaney Hall since taking office. Demanding that he do so is not pie in the sky—it also imprisons New Yorkers, making it an issue for the mayor of New York. And Mamdani previously traveled to Delaney Hall and used his massive platform to publicize the fight against it when he was campaigning for mayor. Now, he has an even larger bully pulpit at his disposal. Jake Ephros, a DSA member and city councilor representing Jersey City's Ward D, for his part, did visit Delaney Hall in support of the protests and called to close the jail, abolish ICE, and echoed the demand of the movement to “free them all” (all being every single person languishing in ICE jails).

The only way for politicians who call themselves socialists to advance a combative agenda in local legislatures to fight the Far Right is by challenging

the Democratic Party, which does everything in its power to stifle our struggle. Key to confronting the Democratic Party is challenging their practice of demobilizing the working class whenever it shows a desire to fight on its own terms. The energy of thousands of DSA members actively standing in solidarity with immigrants must not be turned into paper votes for a party that will continue its anti-immigrant policies but with a friendlier face, thus keeping people with one foot in and one foot out of the graveyard of social movements at a time when people are questioning if the Democrats can ever really represent their interests.

We cannot hope to transform one of the major parties of capital, the architect of the mass deportation policies during the Obama era, into an instrument of our class and of the immigrant rights struggle. That is not the job of capitalist electeds, and it will never be their job.

Free them all!

Our movement in New Jersey is not homogeneous, as it is not homogeneous in the rest of the country. Some people may want to continue directing supporters to phone blast Sherrill and other politicians. Others may argue that time and energy is better spent talking to co-workers and inviting people out to Delaney Hall. Some will say we can do both (walk and chew gum), while others will argue this sows strategic confusion.

If genuine self-organized bodies emerge, made up by workers, students, neighbors, unions, and our communities, we will need to engage in discussions with even more people and a greater diversity of ideas. But it is through democratic and horizontal debate—discussing which tactics and politics and demands we should adopt to build a national movement against ICE—that we can work through our differences and act together in protests, blockades, picket lines, strikes, and in

the face of repression. It is with this momentum, the lessons from past fights in mind, and discussions of strategy, that we can close Delaney Hall, move towards abolishing ICE, take the fight even further by championing full citizenship and rights for all immigrants, and, as we have been demanding for years, FREE THEM ALL!

Our movement does not need to be confined to the practices we've tried before. There are opportunities to build out and build from below. There is momentum to carry forward this fight not just in Newark, not just in New Jersey, not just in the region, but across the entire country.

—*Left Voice*, June 4, 2026

<https://www.leftvoice.org/the-fight-to-close-delaney-hall-has-reignited-the-movement-against-ice/>

We cannot hope to transform one of the major parties of capital, the architect of the mass deportation policies during the Obama era, into an instrument of our class and of the immigrant rights struggle. That is not the job of capitalist electeds, and it will never be their job.

Argentina: The Rising Popularity of the Trotskyist Left

By LA IZQUIERDA DIARIO ARGENTINA

Myriam Bregman and other figures with Left Voice's sister organization in Argentina are seeing a burst in mainstream support, with polls showing Bregman is the most popular political figure in the country. On May Day, they rallied thousands to discuss building a movement for a new workers' party. —Left Voice

This May Day in Buenos Aires, the Ferro indoor stadium hosted a large rally organized by the PTS (Party of Socialist Workers), Left Voice's sister organization in Argentina. With the presence of congressional deputies Myriam Bregman and Nicolás del Caño, the event brought together industrial workers, teachers, healthcare personnel, students, and retirees, along with guests from France, Brazil, and Chile representing the international organization Left Voice is part of, the Current for Permanent Revolution (CPR).

From early on, it was clear that Ferro was going to be overflowing. Hundreds

of people were there even before the gates opened, full of anticipation. And so it was: the indoor stadium couldn't hold everyone. Thousands packed the stands, and more than a thousand people were left outside as capacity was exceeded, yet they still watched the event on screens in the stadium's vicinity.

The event also had significant media coverage on television channels, radio stations and newspapers, coming at the end of a week in which the "Myriam Bregman phenomenon" had dominated the national discussion in Argentina. The growing media attention comes from polls showing Bregman as the political leader with the most positive image in the country.

The event was also notable for the presence of prominent figures in human rights, culture, the arts, and, of course, the major social movements facing the country, many of whom addressed the gathering. Among those

present were Sergio Maldonado, Patricia Walsh, Lili Mazea, Lidia Frank, Julieta Bandilari, Marta Ungaro, Karina Díaz, Sara Patorino, Nora Tolomeo, and Carlos Rodríguez. Messages of support were also sent by figures such as Osvaldo Barros of the Association of Former Detainees and Disappeared Persons and Carlos Sueco Lorkipanidse.

In the face of historic attacks on the country's labor code which Milei's far-right administration has carried out with the complicity of the union bureaucracies, workers stood defiant. A worker from FATE, the country's largest tire factory where a powerful fight against layoffs has emerged, spoke about how workers have been occupying their factory for over two months.

"We've become one big family during this struggle. We started by organizing the factory, cooking for everyone, raising money—we've collected over 40 million pesos in these



Thousands participated in a rally for Trotskyist candidate, Myriam Bregman, on May 1, 2026.

past few days. This money was used to cover medicine and whatever our families needed. That's what united us. It forged a great family, which is incredibly important, even though there are many who want to promote resignation and individualism. Let them come to the gates of FATE!"

Members of other CPR groups spoke as well, including Bruno Gilga from Brazil who has organized as a coordinator of the Global Sumud Flotilla, youth Ariane Anemoyannis who represented Révolution Permanente in France, and Antonio Paez who leads the Starbucks workers' union in Chile.

The event featured deeply moving moments that touched on the country's major struggles, the causes of women, workers, and youth, as well as internationalist struggles such as that of the Global Sumud Flotilla, which was recently attacked by Israel. Gilga used his speech to express solidarity with the Palestinian cause and speak to how it's the international working class that has the power to defeat imperialism.

"The only way we can stop imperialist rearmament around the world, which is preparing for new great imperialist wars, is with the strength of the working class allied with all the oppressed, with total class independence, without any trust in any bourgeois government, in any strategy of alliance with the bourgeoisie from anywhere."

Christian Castillo, a leader of the PTS, highlighted to the crowd how the organization's rise in popularity came out of its consistent commitment to revolutionary socialist principles and by being present in every single fight.

"We served two years as members of parliament. The only voices against the genocide in Palestine came from our party and the Left Front. The only voices against imperialist aggression in Venezuela came from the Left Front. The only voices against the oil embargo on Cuba are those of the Left Front. Yankees out! Down with imperialism! And, comrades, this

contrasts sharply with the passivity of Peronism¹, which tells us to wait when they aren't outright bought off and playing into Milei's hands."

**...we want to transform
this society from the
ground up. Ending
capitalism is the way
to end genocide...**

At the close of the event, Bregman presented conclusions and the collective challenge of transforming the political influence she and the PTS have gained in recent times into a force capable of influencing reality:

"What we have to do is come together, we have to organize. Sympathy needs to be organized, shared ideas need to be organized, shared strength needs to be organized. We have to hold meetings; we have to form committees—call them what you will—but this cannot be scattered. All of this that is happening, which fills us with pride, which makes us happy, because it is the strength of two years of resisting this government, has to be organized. We have to organize and we have to leave here with that idea.

"Each and every one of you has to redouble your efforts, has to go to workplaces, to places of study, to whatever neighborhood we are in, to spread this idea. Hey, how can we not get together? How can we not meet to discuss how to defeat Milei? Seriously, are we going to keep fighting separately, or are social media not enough? It's not enough.

"We need all of that to be transformed into material force, into physical strength. And for that, we have to come together, and we also have to start discussing what political tools we need. But once we start coming together, once we start meeting, we have to promote coordinating bodies, neighborhood assem-

blies, popular assemblies in every place, everything necessary so that the unions, so that the student centers, become tools of struggle again."

In another key passage of her speech, she stated:

"I want to leave you with one more idea. We don't hide the fact that we want to transform this society from the ground up. Ending capitalism is the way to end genocide, and that's why we've set ourselves the goal of building our own political tool. We wanted to bring this up for debate here so that all of you who support us, along with the other forces of the FIT-U², with the cultural sectors, with environmental activists, can understand: the time has come to build a new historical workers' movement that organizes from the ground up, a party of the working class. A movement for a party of the new working class, that increasingly precarious, discriminated against, and feminized working class.

"We have a program, the FIT-U's program, a program of class independence. We're not starting from scratch, but we have to strive for more. That's the debate we want to raise, those are our proposals. If the engine of history is the class struggle, we want to fuel that engine. We're very enthusiastic about this challenge; we're going to be part of this fight. It's time to... build a new working-class party."

This article was first published in Spanish in La Izquierda Diario Es and lightly adapted for Left Voice's audience in the United States.

—Left Voice, May 2, 2026

<https://www.leftvoice.org/thousands-attend-massive-may-day-rally-in-argentina-showing-the-rising-popularity-of-the-trotskyist-left/>

1 Peronism refers to the traditional center-left parties in Argentina, which have recently held power under President Alberto Fernandez and President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner.

2 The FIT-U is a coalition of Trotskyist parties in Argentina which the PTS is part of.

We Need a Socialism After Capitalism

BY BHASKAR SUNKARA

On April 22, 2026, in Toronto, Jacobin founding editor Bhaskar Sunkara received the 2026 Ellen Meiksins Wood Prize, an award given by the Broadbent Institute and the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. The following is a transcript of his remarks.

It just occurred to me that during an earlier round of culture warring in the United States—back when the great pundits of American public life had turned their attention to the grave threat posed by youth sports participation trophies—I took part in a radio interview where the subject came up. I had to admit, on air, that as far as I remembered I had never in my life received any award other than participation trophies. I still proudly held onto them, though, as the just fruits of my willingness to play by the rules and fail, again and again, graciously and honorably.

Now I'm humbled and grateful that, thanks to the generosity of the Broadbent Institute and the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, I finally have a proper prize—even though you probably still wouldn't want me on your Little League baseball team.

I first read Ellen Meiksins Wood's *The Origin of Capitalism: The Longer View*¹ while procrastinating from my actual coursework during my very first month of college. I read the first edition of the book [out of print]. "The Longer View" edition was a bridge too far for a lazy undergraduate. But just 138 pages of that book were enough to do what the very best Marxist scholarship does.

It was accessible. Written in clear prose for ordinary people, not buried in jargon for academics. It was intuitively graspable, but it had depth. It had a material mechanism at its core. It was not just a moral complaint about capitalism's wrongness, but an account of how the system actually emerged: the

particular relations of market dependence, the particular historical break in the English countryside that made those relations possible, the particular pressures that spread them from there across the world. And it gave a scope and a history that stretched across centuries and continents while remaining politically alive in the present.

"The priests have their festivals. . . . The First of May is the festival of the workers of the entire world."

Most of all, it insisted on capitalism as the system. Not one social arrangement among many. Not the "economy." Not "modernity." But the underlying key to understanding the world we live in—what Ellen would later call, in *Democracy Against Capitalism*, "a system of social

relations and political power." A system that arose contingently—and therefore a system that is not permanent. Ellen refused to let us naturalize capitalism, even backward into history. If it had a beginning, it could have an end.

And she asked the question that this lecture is really about. In *Democracy Against Capitalism*, she wanted to know how democracy might be pushed past the limits that capitalism imposes on it from the political realm and the economic one as well. That is still a question we face.

I had the chance to engage with Ellen's work as an editor in 2014, when she wrote for *Jacobin* and I had a chance to exchange a few ideas with her. In these small interactions and from studying her work, I know enough to say that I suspect Ellen would disagree with some of what I'm about to say.

What follows is a case for a socialism that incorporates markets. As I was writing it—and as I was cowriting a forthcoming book with my colleagues



Capitalism had a beginning and can have an end. Socialists must again start to articulate what should come next.

Mike Beggs and Ben Burgis that elaborates on these ideas—I thought often about how I would defend these arguments to Ellen, or to another great critic of market socialism, Leo Panitch.

I would defend it this way. As Ellen pointed out, markets existed before capitalism. What capitalism introduced was market dependence—a system in which basic survival is contingent on success in the market. Socialism, if it means anything, must abolish that condition.

No one's ability to eat, access care, educate their children, or secure housing should hinge on their position within the market. That is the heart of the socialist promise, and we should never let go of it. But incentives for participating in markets—for participating in the economy's complex network of production—could help generate the surplus that makes the elimination of market dependence possible in the first place.

Our goal as egalitarians is not to abolish production or exchange across a complex division of labor, but to abolish the system of market dependence and exploitation that currently governs them.

That, at any rate, is how I would defend my argument. But I better get to making it.

Socialists who win

Contrary to the image of the Left—especially in Canada and the United States—as hapless losers, the history of the modern left has been one of astounding, if uneven, success. Success, at least, at taking state power.

There was nothing like it in history since early Islamic conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries. From their common origins among small bands of workers and artisans and later the parties of the Second International, within a hundred years, Communism won a third of the world and social democracy, in one form or another, took over another fifth of it.

Hal Draper, a critic of the contending socialisms of his time, could remark in 1966 that “for the first time in the history of the world, very likely a majority of its people label themselves ‘socialist’ in one sense or another.”

Even before they won power, the workers' movement of that era won a culture. Miners in Wales asked to be buried with their copies of *The Communist Manifesto*, the way an earlier generation had asked to be buried with their Bibles. It was a secular culture with working people at its center: in homes across Europe, portraits of working-class leaders were hung where icons of saints once had been, and in union halls, the feasts of the church were merged in with a new calendar.

**Our goal as egalitarians
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Eric Hobsbawm recounted an 1891 International Workers' Day announcement in the Po Valley: “The priests have their festivals. . . . The First of May is the festival of the workers of the entire world.”

Workers soon had more than symbols of identity and pride. Socialism within capitalism (social democracy) and socialism outside capitalism (Soviet communism and its analogues) seemed to offer living examples of a different world. But they collapsed almost as suddenly as they emerged. And what was never achieved anywhere was a socialism after capitalism.

Even today as the anglophone left, through figures like Mayor Zohran

Mamdani and organizations like Democratic Socialists of America, gains steam, it is hard to tell how much progress we're making even just reviving a form of socialism within capitalism.

Socialists, more than ever, need what we can call world-historic confidence. The confidence that made miners in Wales and farmers in Vietnam think of themselves not as history's victims but as its great protagonists.

The twin failures

Both historic models of twentieth-century socialism—Soviet-style central planning and social democracy—were not just besieged and defeated...they failed.

Everyone has a Soviet economy joke. I like the one about the nail factory that, when incentivized by planners to produce according to numerical output, first produced a lot of tiny nails and then, when incentivized according to output by weight, produced useless giant nails.

In the real world, beyond their obvious political failings, two interconnected problems undermined Soviet-style systems.

The first was calculation. Administrative planning of an entire economy was not just a difficult technical challenge to overcome; it was impossible.

Gosplan, the Central State Planning Committee of the Soviet Union, oversaw nearly 400 bureaucracies, 43,000 factories, 26,000 construction enterprises, 47,000 farming units, 260,000 service establishments, and over one million retail trade shops. The factories alone produced around twelve million distinct products—and every one of those products required the right inputs, from the right suppliers, at the right locations, on the right timelines, all tangled together in supply chains that stretched across eleven time zones. Planners were dealing with tens-of-billions of variables at a minimum—rising into the trillions once extended across time.

And to even try to plan that rationally, you would need to know in

advance what every firm could produce, what every household wanted, and how every input connected to every output. Nobody could know that. Nobody.

So, what you actually got was rule-of-thumb guesswork from the most brilliant planners in the world—last year's numbers plus a little more—propped up by a vast secret economy of barter, hoarding, and back-channel deals that managers ran on the side just to keep production limping forward.

This brings us to the second problem of incentives. Every manager understood perfectly well that the resources they got next year depended on the numbers they turned in this year. They lowballed their projected output compared to their real capacity. And then they overreported their resulting output. They hoarded labor and they hoarded materials, because the penalty for missing an output target was far graver than the penalty for inefficiency.

Similarly, the workers working for them figured out quickly that overfulfilling a quota only meant a higher quota next quarter, so they didn't. Weak firms were never allowed to fail, because letting them fail meant unemployment and broken supply chains—so inefficiency was never consistently punished. The whole hierarchy, from the Politburo down to the guy pretending to work on the factory floor, had an incentive to lie about what it was doing.

These weren't bugs you could fix with a better algorithm or faster computer. They were coded into the structure of administrative planning itself.

If socialism outside of capitalism failed because it tried to abolish markets, socialism within capitalism, social democracy, failed for the opposite reason—it tried to tame capitalism without transcending it.

For a while, it worked beautifully. Postwar Sweden was probably the most livable society in the world: full employment, centralized unions that negotiated on equal footing with

employers, and a universal welfare state supported by a growing economy. Workers had dignity, security, and real power on the shop floor and at the ballot box. And as they got more secure, they practiced more and more solidarity. Not just with each other, but with those in the Third World. Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme's final public speech, days before his death, was delivered alongside ANC (African National Congress) President Oliver Tambo. In it, he said that "a system like apartheid cannot be reformed; it can only be abolished." Palme might have been killed for it.

Of course, the point of increasing productivity in a socialist economy is not growth for its own sake but the expansion of leisure, security, and time outside production.

But there was a contradiction at the core of Palme's project that derailed it long before his death. Social democracy empowered workers politically while leaving ownership of production and investment power in the hands of capitalists. It produced a standoff between a mighty workers' movement and these traditional sources of business power.

As long as the economy was growing, the standoff held. There was enough surplus to give labor raises, provide capital profits, and fund the welfare state on top. But the moment growth slowed in the 1970s, the whole arrangement started to buckle.

The left wing of social democracy saw the problem clearly and tried to solve it. The Meidner Plan of 1976 proposed gradually transferring ownership of large firms to worker-controlled funds—a real path from social democracy to socialism, funded by the profits

workers were generating through years of wage restraint. It was a brilliant solution to both Sweden's economic difficulties and its political impasse.

It was also something that could not have been won without a mass mobilization of workers from below that the Swedish social democratic leadership could not abide.

Even with lukewarm support from the Social Democratic Party, Swedish capital treated the Meidner Plan as an existential threat. The scheme was gutted.

The real lesson from this history is very different from the one today's social democrats draw from it. They say, Social democracy is as far as you can go and was itself a radically egalitarian achievement, so settle for it. BE REALISTIC and keep making slow and steady progress. But capital is a constantly moving target, not a static one, and it doesn't accept a draw or allow you to slowly besiege it. At some point, a war of position must become a war of maneuver.

But it was indeed years of steady organizing and patient reform that opened the door to structural transformation to begin with. [Rudolf] Meidner and generations of social democratic workers understood that. We need to finish what they started.

A new alternative

As a result of not just capitalist propaganda but the real failures of both forms of twentieth-century "real socialism," a skepticism has grown about socialism's future. Wouldn't taking democratic control over a complex economy eventually boomerang into crisis, collapse into inefficiency, or harden into authoritarianism? To shake the grip of capitalist realism, what we need is to recover an alternative.

Karl Marx spent enough of his life clashing with fanciful utopian socialists that he warned against "writing recipes for the cookshops of the future." But today it is no longer enough to argue that an alternative to capitalism

is politically desirable. We must also argue that it is technically possible.

This doesn't require pretending that there is a single, settled model of socialism waiting to be implemented. It does require confronting a set of unavoidable questions that any credible alternative must answer. Could a socialist economy use prices, profits, and competition to coordinate complex production without reproducing domination or significant inequality? What incentives encourage efficiency and innovation in an economy of democratically governed firms? How can productivity growth be sustained so that living standards continue to rise, shortages are avoided, and technological change does not produce mass insecurity? And what role must the state play in stabilizing the macroeconomy, guiding investment, and enforcing democratic priorities without suffocating initiative?

In a version of socialism that could plausibly be realized in our lifetimes, large areas of social life would be outside the logic of commodification. Healthcare, education, transportation,

energy, and telecommunication are not consumer goods but social infrastructures on which participation in modern life depends. Organizing them through profit-seeking intermediaries that ration by price rather than need introduces predictable distortions. The result is a system that undermines both equality and efficiency. Decades of comparative experience suggest that public provision in these sectors can deliver better outcomes at lower social cost, precisely because it aligns provision with social need rather than purchasing power.

**Organizing ownership
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therefore essential.**

Beyond these domains lies the broader economy of goods and services, where coordination problems are more varied and where markets remain

important. In the market sector of an economy composed of democratically governed firms, price signals would still convey information about supply and demand, helping to coordinate production and consumption. But the surplus generated by economic activity would be controlled by those who produce it, and investment would be allocated through public financial institutions rather than by capitalists. In this way, markets can function as tools of coordination without reproducing the power relations of capitalism.

In this socialist framework, productive enterprises in the commodity-producing sector are controlled by their workers rather than by external shareholders or private capitalists. Governance rights attach to participation, rather than to a financial stake. Membership in a firm resembles membership in a political community: it confers voice, imposes obligations, and cannot be traded like a commodity.

This shift in governance requires a corresponding shift in how investment is organized. Any feasible socialism



Lecturer Bhaskar Sunkara (right) speaking to Luke Savage (left) at Toronto Metropolitan University about what a 21st century socialism should look like.

must avoid soft budget constraints and allow inefficient firms to fail while more productive ones expand.

But workers in democratic firms should not be expected to supply capital themselves or to tie their personal savings to the fortunes of a single workplace.

Leaving investment decisions at the level of individual firms would generate systemic distortions that would destroy a socialist system. Disparities in capital intensity would encourage workers to cluster in capital-rich sectors, while labor-intensive production and the public sector were left understaffed. Organizing ownership and investment as a social function rather than a firm-level one is therefore essential.

Public banks serve this role by holding productive assets in common and allocating capital on behalf of society as a whole. In this way, firms operate with real autonomy while remaining stewards rather than owners of social wealth, and the state is able to use a vast array of macroeconomic tools to influence the direction of development.

One additional mechanism is essential if such an economy is to remain both efficient and egalitarian over time: the creation of minimum wages, differentiated by occupation, to shape development itself. Rather than allowing labor markets to sort worker-managers purely through localized bargaining power or sectoral rents, benchmark wages establish a floor that reflects collective priorities about dignity, skill, and social contribution.

Firms and sectors that rely on low pay and labor discipline are pressured to innovate, reorganize, or contract, while those that raise productivity through new techniques, training, and technological improvement are rewarded through increased dividends. In this way, the economy is directed along a “high road” of development that rewards innovation rather than sweating out labor.

Of course, the point of increasing productivity in a socialist economy is not growth for its own sake but the expansion of leisure, security, and time outside production.

A socialism that merely redistributes income without changing how time is organized would fall short of its promise. But a socialism that combines redistribution with social ownership, democratically guided investment, and wage structures that reward efficiency can translate a dynamic economy into shorter hours, longer lives, and greater freedom over how those lives are lived.

If socialism outside of capitalism failed because it tried to abolish markets, socialism within capitalism, social democracy, failed for the opposite reason—it tried to tame capitalism without transcending it.

None of this vision promises an end to political conflict, or even to some types of inequality. Differences in skill, effort, and social valuation would persist, and some degree of income differentiation would remain. What is eliminated is the translation of those differences into persistent inequalities of power.

I’ve been trying to deliberately undersell this vision of socialism, in part to make it seem more realistic. But the implications of such a society are enormous. In many parts of the world, it would be the first society since the Neolithic Revolution not divided into a class of producers and a class of exploiters.

That, I would argue to my socialist friends critical of market socialism, is a lofty enough task for one generation.

But, of course, this is a sketch of just one model of organization for a post-capitalist society—or, as Marx might less generously call it, one untested recipe for a future cookshop. But I strongly believe the exercise is worth pursuing. In its reluctance to engage with questions of economic design, the Left has ceded ground to those who insist there is no alternative to capitalism.

Providing such an account of post-capitalist economics does not foreclose experimentation and debate. On the contrary, it opens them. A realistic picture of what a socialist future could look like, and how we might get there, allows movements to situate immediate demands within a longer-term project.

In a sense, the technical challenge to socialism is inseparable from the political one. A Left that cannot describe how a democratic economy might operate will struggle to sustain confidence when faced with inevitable resistance. We need a third choice between (1) just administering the capitalist state or (2) just protesting its failings.

The confidence of history

Let me return to where I started—not my sub-Mendoza Line seventh-grade batting average but to Ellen and her work. Ellen refused to naturalize capitalism. She refused to let us say, as the defenders of every ruling class before the bourgeoisie had said, that this is just how things are, how they’ve always been, and how they will always be.

Of course, making a socialist future is harder than naming it. Moving toward a socialist future requires reviving the connection of the Left to a working-class agent, organizing that class, winning power in workplaces and governments and pursuing a transitional program that can help bring about a truly democratic economy.

If we can’t win what remains of the Left to the belief that, as C. L. R. James said, “every cook can govern,” and to the belief that a system built on hierarchy

and exploitation can be replaced by one built on democracy and shared prosperity, then we have little hope of winning back workers to that vision either.

Those who participated in almost any wing—even the most reformist—of the workers' movement from the First International through the 1980s thought that they were at the vanguard of History itself.

In an age that has taught us to mistrust every grand narrative, to settle for

lesser evils, to treat the existing order as the furthest horizon our imagination is permitted to reach—we can look to these workers for the confidence that we have to recover, which is the confidence in a socialism that no longer just speaks in terms of election campaigns and small protests but again in the language of centuries and continents.

Bhaskar Sunkara is the founding editor of Jacobin, the president of the Nation magazine, and the author of The Socialist

Manifesto: The Case for Radical Politics in an Era of Extreme Inequality.

—*Jacobin*, April 24, 2026

<https://jacobin.com/2026/04/socialism-democracy-capitalism-market-economy>

1 *The Origin of Capitalism: The Longer View*
by Ellen Meiksins Wood

<https://www.amazon.com/Origin-Capitalism-Longer-View/dp/1786630680>

Hantavirus, Capitalism, and the Specter of COVID-19

By MIKE PAPPAS

May 16, 2026—There have now been 11 confirmed cases of hantavirus connected to an outbreak from the luxury cruise ship MV Hondius, which departed Argentina on April 1. Although transmission is difficult, three people have died, and with a mortality up to 40 percent, global spread would be devastating. It's also no surprise that people are concerned—particularly since we are just six years out from the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, which showed us exactly how capitalism and the ruling class respond to pandemics.

The Hantavirus(es) and the cruise

The hantaviruses are part of a group of viruses found primarily in rodents. And while humans typically acquire them in contact with rodent feces, the Andes strain can spread from human to human, though experts have claimed transmission in this way is very difficult. The virus has a six- to seven-week incubation period, which makes the virus harder to track and allows people to go long periods of time without exhibiting symptoms. All of this, plus the virus's very high mortality rate, makes human to human transmission all the more concerning.

So, if more people have been exposed, where are they now? The almost 150 pas-

sengers and crew members have mostly returned to their home countries around the world for ongoing intensive monitoring and treatment. The World Health Organization (WHO) has left it up to each country to determine necessary precautions which vary widely from strict quarantine in healthcare settings (Spain) to home quarantine (the Netherlands).

In the United States, 18 of the passengers are being treated at the Administration for Strategic Preparedness and Response Regional

Emerging Special Pathogen Treatment Center at the University of Nebraska Medical Center/Nebraska Medicine (UNMC) in Omaha. Another two passengers were taken to Emory University's Serious Communicable Diseases unit in Atlanta. Peculiarly, and somewhat troublingly, while patients at UNMC are supposed to be monitored for 42 days, Dr. Brendan Jackson, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's (CDC's) acting director of high-consequence



Luxury cruise ship MV Hondius, Image: Photo/Misper Apawu

pathogens and pathology, recently said patients may be able to go home during the monitoring period, but only if they have support to isolate at home.

Most recently, U.S. officials said they were monitoring additional people across the country who were passengers on an April 25 flight from Johannesburg and exposed to someone known to have been infected, bringing the new total of those being monitored in the U.S. to 41.

The specter of COVID-19

As the hantavirus situation plays out, officials around the world, including in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, have repeatedly tried to reassure the public, downplaying the risk of large-scale spread. But there is plenty to still be concerned about. As the *New York Times* reports:

“Because of deep staffing cuts the Trump administration has made to the C.D.C. and other health agencies, the government has far fewer people to respond to outbreaks, from trainees and contractors who can be deployed to do boots-on-the-ground epidemiology to senior leaders who can coordinate responses across the U.S. government and elsewhere. And because President Trump withdrew the country from the World Health Organization, the United States does not receive regular information from member states about emerging health threats.”

And this is just specifically related to disease response. Whether it is approving forever chemicals in pesticides, scrapping the endangerment finding, or deciding that it will no longer evaluate the health impact and lives saved when regulating air pollution from new power plants, the Trump administration is not showing signs that it's concerned about public health overall. But it's not just the Trump administration—both parties are more than willing to sacrifice lives at the altars of imperialism and capitalism.

As a physician who worked in hospitals throughout the COVID-19 pan-

demic, I'm inherently skeptical despite expert reassurances. Working in healthcare has provided me example after example reinforcing how little the ruling class cares about the health of the general population. And the pandemic showed us clearly that capitalism does not care about people unless they are generating profit.

...the pandemic showed us clearly that capitalism does not care about people unless they are generating profit...

During COVID's peak, we saw how the bourgeoisie around the world were more than willing to reopen economies and force people back to work in order to keep the profit flowing. Hell, what do they care about any of us, to be honest? They know they can run to their luxury condos—or even their disaster bunkers—as we all are put at risk. It's in this context that what to believe and not to believe around the response to the Andes virus is inevitably going to be blurred by how the bourgeoisie managed COVID-19.

Whether it's downplaying the transmissibility of the disease, distorting the scientific data, or focusing on magic bullet solutions, capitalist states are making many of the same mistakes they made in 2020. Capitalism inevitably breeds crises, yet also tries to come up with profitable, commensurable “solutions” to the crises it generates all while avoiding any regulation that could slow profit accumulation.

Under this system, there's an aura of “don't worry about it, we can innovate our way to a solution.” Rising greenhouse gases driving us toward climate collapse? Don't worry, we can just suck up pollution—or better yet, “blot out” the sun. During COVID's peak, instead of making sure safety measures were in

place and paying people to stay safe at home, the focus was put on rolling out vaccines as the magic bullet to reopen economies. All this while the virus continued to spread, leading to excess death and countless cases of long COVID. God forbid people be able to shelter in place or keep themselves safe as a deadly virus is on the loose. This would be too threatening to the system's maximization of the extraction of surplus value.

Today, similar discussions are being thrown around with the hantavirus. From *NBC* to *Forbes*, the discussion is already leaning toward how a vaccine is in the works, and the risk of hantavirus is continually downplayed.

Hantavirus or not, capitalism will breed pandemics

Whether this virus becomes the next devastating pandemic or not isn't the real question. The real question is: what happens when—not if—the next one hits?

Under a global economic system that constantly places profit above public well-being, it's only a matter of time before the next pandemic arrives. COVID-19 showed us this and the current reality only further confirms it. Whether it's gutting public health programs, destroying the environment, funding genocides, or cutting CDC staffing while withdrawing from the WHO, the message is clear: health and well-being are secondary.

Hopefully the hantavirus outbreak does not continue to spread, and it actually just serves as a warning shot. Regardless, as the ruling class continues to destroy ecosystems, push wildlife into closer contact with humans, and defund the very institutions meant to protect us, they are actively manufacturing the conditions for the next global health catastrophe.

And when that catastrophe comes, we can't expect capitalism to save us. We'll get the same playbook: reassuring lies, profit-driven “solutions,” and a ruling class that runs and hides in lux-

ury enclaves while the rest of us are sacrificed at the altar of capital.

We cannot innovate our way out of this cycle. In the search for magic bullets to each pandemic, the reality remains: no magic bullet will fix a system that breeds pandemics for profit. We need a system that prioritizes human need over capital accumulation—a system of free, accessible healthcare for all, controlled by workers and patients rather than insurance companies and pharmaceutical executives; a system where the working-class controls both healthcare and research institutions, along with media companies that disseminate public health information.

At the same time, we need massive investment in public health infrastructure, not austerity and cuts. We need an internationalist, coordinated response to disease, not one driven by profit and national interests. We need an end to the environmental destruction that fuels zoonotic disease emergence, and an end to the wars and poverty that create the conditions where pathogens thrive.

And we will have to fight for it—in our workplaces, in our unions, and in our communities, building the world we need, because the ruling class will never build it for us. The next pandemic is coming. The only question is whether we will be ready.

—Left Voice, My 16. 2026

<https://www.leftvoice.org/hantavirus-capitalism-and-the-spectre-of-COVID-19/>

Under a global economic system that constantly places profit above public well-being, it's only a matter of time before the next pandemic arrives.

The Power of Self-Organization

By POLA POSEN

June 3, 2026—Educators across the Spanish State staged a general strike last week, part of a fight against both the Department of Education and the complicit union leaderships. They're showing the power of self-organization through assemblies on the local and regional levels.

On Wednesday, June 3, 2026, the yellow shirts of hundreds of teachers shone in the scorching Catalan sun as they flooded onto the AP7, a key highway that connects Barcelona to France and the rest of Europe. As far as the eye could see, trucks slowed to a halt: the Catalan general education sector strike had successfully blocked the movement of goods along the highway.

The strike extended to every part of the education sector: even private summer camps were shut down by the strike. Mobilizations burst onto the streets—across the region, tens-of-thousands of teachers and allies rallied and blocked main roads. According to the combative unions (*USTEC-STEs*, *CGT Ensenyament*, *Profesores de Secundaria*, and *Intersindical*) who called for the strike, 60 percent of

teachers in Catalonia participated. From Catalonia to Valencia to Aragon to Madrid, teachers are leading the way in a new moment of class struggle.

Historic education strikes with rank-and-file unity

This day-long general strike was only one of several in this historic cycle of education strikes in which teachers are fighting for quality public education:

better resources and working conditions, smaller teacher-to-student ratios, police out of schools, and classes taught in Catalan. A previous strike on March 20 saw 90 percent participation rates with 100,000 teachers taking to the streets.

These mobilizations are an especially important example because they speak from below with the defiant and unified voice of the rank-and-file. Early this year, the teachers suffered a major



Educators across the Spanish State staged a general strike the first week of June 2026, as part of a fight against both the Department of Education and the complicit union leaderships.

betrayal by the leaderships of their main unions, the *Comisiones Obreras* (CCOO) and *Unión General de Trabajadoras y Trabajadores* (UGT) when they signed a terrible agreement with the Catalan government, the Socialists' Party of Catalonia (PSC). Though the pact was decisively rejected by the democratic assemblies of the workers, the union leaders continue to defend it. But in an impressive demonstration of working-class power, the education workers have continued to organize from below, defying the betrayal of the union bureaucracy and demanding a new agreement, under the slogan "No agreement without consultation!"

**From Catalonia to
Valencia to Aragon to
Madrid, teachers are
leading the way in a new
moment of class struggle.**

At the highway blockade on Wednesday, the mood was jubilant and the morale strong. The action was amazingly well-organized. Enormous tarps and tents, to block the protesters from the sun, were set up. Wood pallets separated the protesters from the trucks, and no cars were let through besides the occasional ambulance. Gallons upon gallons of water were wheeled in. Giant pans of *Fideuà*, a Catalan-style paella, were cooked and distributed, and kids played soccer. A giant cardboard coffin that read "EDUCATION – RIP" was passed around.

A stage was set up underneath the bridge, and speakers and musicians spoke and sang about Catalan and Spanish history, the cause of the teachers, and the need to unite our struggles. Many supporters spoke, including a participant of the Global Sumud Flotilla and a representative from the Balearic Islands Teachers' Assembly, which voted to send 100,000 euros to support the teachers strikes in Valencia and

Catalonia in a massive act of solidarity. Our comrades Pablo Castilla, from the student group *Contracorrent*, and Jorge Calderón, a member of the Revolutionary Workers' Current (CRT) and one of the Zaragoza teachers who is being attacked by the Far Right, spoke in solidarity with the strike, denouncing the so-called progressive Catalan government of Salvador Illa Roca and calling for the unity of the student movement with the education sector.

But to understand why teachers took to the highway in yellow shirts, we need to go back to the betrayal that set this movement in motion.

As the speakers uplifted, while the government says that there is no money for public education, there is plenty for the police, rearmament, and imperialism. While the PSC and the Spanish government of Pedro Sanchez is rhetorically pro-Palestine, Spanish arms trade with Israel continues. At the same time, rearmament policies across Europe have seen the Spanish State commit 10.5 billion euros to its Defense Industrial Plan. Illa and the PSC warmongers plan to funnel 2.1 billion euros of that public money into Catalan rearmament. Teachers are connecting the dots, understanding that their fight for investment in the public sector and better working conditions is also a fight against the imperialist arms race.

Further, undercover police have infiltrated the teachers' assemblies and while the PSC refuses to fund public education, they have approved a 4,000-euro annual raise for the Catalan police. On top of this, the government announced a plan to deploy plainclothes officers in educational centers. All of this results in the demand from the education strikes: police out of education!

Democratic self-organization

But how are these historic education strikes being organized? In the face of a union bureaucracy that is more loyal to the bourgeois Catalan government than to its membership, workers have

been demanding accountability of the unions to their democratically organized assemblies. Teachers met in school-based assemblies to discuss and debate their struggle and the next steps of the movement. They voted representatives to participate in regional assemblies, which vote and organize the strike days and actions. These assemblies, bodies of worker democracy in the teacher struggle, have organized the fiery discontent of the educational sector into a formidable force.

As our comrade Cynthia Lub, a Catalan teacher and member of the CRT that has been part of the struggle has written, "the most valuable lesson of this cycle of protests is that self-organization from below is the only real guarantee against backroom deals and betrayals, placing decision-making power directly in the hands of the workers."

**Teachers are connecting
the dots, understanding
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On Friday, May 29, the Department of Education signed a "pre-agreement" with the major unions, an agreement denounced by both the CGT and *Coordinadora Obrera Sindical* (COS) unions as well as the student organization *Contracorrent*. From the rank-and-file, the CGT, COS, and *Contracorrent* are calling for a "no" vote. According to the CGT, this agreement would favor "social peace" without winning significant improvements or meeting the teachers' demands (including staffing ratios, democracy in the education centers, police out of schools, and air conditioning). So,

despite efforts to coopt and wind down the movement, the struggle continues.

The next general education sector strike will be on June 5, and both *Contracorrent* and the CGT union are calling for the strike to be extended to Catalan universities. This would be the first strike across every layer of education, from preschool teachers to university students, and would unite the revolutionary momentum of the student

movement and the youth with the strategic power of the workers' movement.

From the United States, we have a lot to learn from this struggle. It calls to mind the courageous organizing and leading role of teachers in the 2018 Red State teacher strikes, and the organizing of teachers in Minneapolis against ICE this year. Our own struggles can be strengthened by taking notes from the self-organization from below of the

Spanish State teachers. Their struggle has catalyzed a democratic movement powerful enough to reject anything less than the education system and working conditions that students and teachers demand.

—*Left Voice*, June 3, 2026

<https://www.leftvoice.org/education-strikes-across-the-spanish-state-demonstrate-the-power-of-self-organization/>

AI Investment Prepares New Attacks on the Working Class

By NIKLAS ALBIN SVENSSON

When Artificial Intelligence (AI) emerged some years ago, commentators said that AI and robots were going to take over the world, that we were all going to be unemployed, and so on. But at the time, this was more conjecture than anything. Without investment, AI as we know it would never have become a reality.

Since 2023, investments by tech companies have made this possible. Hundreds-of-billions have been ploughed into new data centers. The massive, highly speculative investment boom then led to fears that they were investing in a bubble. We wrote an article¹ in the autumn comparing it to the railway bubble of the 1840s, and we weren't the only ones.

Is there a bubble?

The essential problem was that it was highly doubtful that these companies were going to start making money from this. The jury is still out on whether the providers of the Large Language Models (LLM) like OpenAI and Anthropic will be able to pay for all this investment. Anthropic, at least, appears to be getting there, and currently expects to turn a profit by 2028.

But that doesn't mean there is no bubble. The current valuations of AI stocks not only expect AI to pay for itself, but to allow for an exponential

growth in profits. NVIDIA's stock market valuation implies a quadrupling of its profits from an already very high level. Samsung is the same, and Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company (TSMC) is not far behind. Broadcom is making \$30-billion-per-year, but its valuation assumes a future profit of \$200 billion or so.

The fear of missing out on constantly rising stock prices is guiding investors, which is typical of a bubble. But AI is also a new market that will quickly become monopolized, and everyone wants to get in there before it does.

That's why investors are throwing the kitchen sink at it.

A bubble means companies are betting big, but not all of these bets will pay off. Some will go bust and a few monopolies will emerge as winners.

For now, the investments have been largely funded by the hordes of cash accumulated by the big tech companies known as "hyperscalers" (providers of cloud storage infrastructure). This limits the risk of a bust spreading to the credit and banking system. However, as the cash piles of Google, Microsoft and others start to run out, they are starting



to borrow more and more. Oracle, which has the least cash of the “Big 5” hyperscalers, had a wobble a couple of months ago when investors started to worry about their level of debt.

Deployment of AI

The more lasting impact will not be from the bubble, but from the potential of the technology itself. The railway bubble in the 1840s didn’t mean the end of the railway, and the busting of the dot-com bubble didn’t mean the end of the internet.

Leaving aside some of the exaggerated claims the companies make—such as those made about Anthropic’s Mythos model—there is a clear practical use for AI, particularly when it runs as an agent on your computer.

This will be problematic in and of itself. It is already beginning to have an impact on employment. Seven percent of large UK businesses have already used AI to cut staff. The most immediate effect is a fall in new job postings, which are down 38 percent in high-exposure jobs like coders and translators. This obviously affects young people just entering the labor market more than any other group.

A recent *BBC* interview with former British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak, who is now a lobbyist for both Microsoft and Anthropic, discusses this question:

“[Sunak] said company bosses were privately acknowledging to him that recruitment of young people is flattening because of the technology... [He said] it is becoming tougher for young people to get jobs in service sectors such as law, accountancy and the creative industries.”

Speaking about company bosses, Sunak added:

“They’re talking about this concept that they think they can continue to grow their businesses without having to significantly increase employment because they’re starting to see how they can deploy AI.”

According to the UK government, about 70 percent of UK workers are in occupations with tasks that could be performed or enhanced by AI, a higher share than in the U.S. and many other advanced economies, reflecting the UK’s service-heavy economy.

In the U.S., companies cited AI as the reason for 54,000 layoffs in 2025. This is five percent of the total. But it is accelerating. In the first three months of this year, the figure was 13 percent. And last month, AI became the leading cause for layoffs, with 25 percent of the total.

A bubble means companies are betting big, but not all of these bets will pay off. Some will go bust and a few monopolies will emerge as winners.

Some economists say in defense of AI that it will create jobs as well as destroy them. Naturally, for the bourgeois economists, the market will solve all problems. They cite past leaps in productivity when capitalism was relatively healthy. But in a period like the present, technological innovation will only intensify the crisis. In the past few months, Amazon sacked 30,000 workers, particularly in middle management. Now they want to rehire 10,000 AI specialists, a third of what they just got rid of. Tellingly, they are going to use AI to vet and interview the applicants.

Programmers have so far been most affected, as their employers are more adept at new technology of this sort. But there is also the future impact on other professions, like law. Anthropic is working on a “legal” version of its model, and it likely will do to the legal profession what its “code” version has done to programming.

If Anthropic or one of its competitors were to succeed, then lawyers would be checking the work of AI, not writing contracts themselves. They’ll probably prepare their cases based on research carried out by AI, rather than by junior staff. Law schools are discussing reducing class sizes, worrying that the need for lawyers in the future is going to be reduced.

Harvard Medical School has discovered that AI is also very good at medical diagnosis. Some studies even found that it could spot cancer before a specialist could. This kind of thing is what it would excel at: recognizing patterns.

Nevertheless, the adoption of AI is taking its time. It is a new tool, and it will take time for workers and companies to work out how to use it. It will require reorganizing workplaces and workers learning how to become supervisors of these AI agents, in the same way as many industrial workers have become supervisors of machines and robots.

This means there’s a lag. Companies aren’t going to simply change how they work overnight. But it is going to have massive implications.

Anger against the system

There is a prospect of large-scale unemployment, starting among university graduates. Those who keep their jobs will face deskilling, effectively being reduced to the minders of AI agents.

AI threatens to inflame the anger that workers already feel against the system and the bosses. It wouldn’t be the first time in history that automation and deskilling have led to a layer of the petty bourgeoisie or working class becoming radicalized.

The so-called hyperscalers are facing increasing resistance to the building of data centers: people don’t like their energy bills getting higher or scarce water supplies being diverted to cool data centers.

Sam Altman, the CEO of OpenAI, has had his home attacked several times. One of the suspects had even penned an “anti-AI manifesto.”

In the hands of the working class, AI and its complement, robotics—which is highly developed in China—have the potential to liberate humanity from the drudgery of work. It is the basis on which a communist society can be built. But in the hands of the capitalists, this technology threatens unemployment, and for those in work, higher intensity, and longer working days. Already, there are reports of workers having to work longer hours as a result of AI.

This is nothing new. It has happened time and time again. Marx explained this process in *Capital*. He wrote that new machinery, far from leading to an improvement in working conditions, leads to an extension of the working day for workers, who have to work harder to ensure the capitalists make back the cost of their investment. And so, Meta is laying off 8,000 workers and leaving another 6,000 roles unfilled, in order to placate shareholders worried about the cost of AI investment.

Still, for all their investments, it isn't enough. Unless they come up with a

way to radically improve the efficiency of these models, they are really struggling to generate enough computing power to run them. Anthropic, for example, has been complaining that OpenAI is hogging all the processing power, leaving little for them to run their own models on.

There is a prospect of large-scale unemployment, starting among university graduates. Those who keep their jobs will face deskilling, effectively being reduced to the minders of AI agents.

For AI to be widely adopted, it will require far more investment. Compared to previous investment booms, this boom has been fairly mild. For example, the railway construction booms in the U.S. and the UK consumed something like eight-to-ten percent of the economy. The AI investment boom, by

comparison, is only consuming one-to-two percent of the U.S. economy, and much less elsewhere. This fits a pattern. Western economies have plenty of money for speculation—in stocks, Bitcoin, *etc.*—but relatively little to actually develop the economy.

Meanwhile, with a crisis of overproduction dominating the world economy, the capitalists, not for the first time in history, are scratching their heads trying to work out: “if I sack all my workers, then who will buy my products?”

The truth is, if AI fails to achieve what it promises, it will cause problems; if it succeeds, it will cause even more problems. And this will add to the multitude of problems already facing the world economy: the Iran War, debt levels, protectionism, *etc.*

—Marxist.com, May 12., 2026

<https://marxist.com/ai-investment-prepares-new-attacks-on-the-working-class.htm>

1 “The Anarchic AI Race: Boom, Bubble, and Bust”

<https://marxist.com/the-anarchic-ai-race-boom-bubble-and-bust.htm>

“Hondurasgate:” the Henchmen of the Donroe Doctrine

BY SYLVIA LÉO

May 15, 2026—Two weeks ago, TV channel *Canal Red* released audio recordings of conversations between Honduran government officials. These recordings reveal a network of corruption and coercion involving Trump, Javier Milei, and even Benjamin Netanyahu. Together, they aim to establish a stronghold for U.S. imperialism in Honduras and create a network to pressure left-wing governments in the region, such as those in Mexico and Colombia.

What is in these recordings?

The audio recordings expose a network of bribes and conspiracies within the Honduran government. The main figures in these recordings are former Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernández, current President Nasry Asfura, and Vice President María Antonieta Mejía.

The recordings reveal that Asfura and Mejía are devoting significant time and resources to removing Marlon Ochoa, former treasurer of the Libre party—the left-wing reformist party that governed from

2022 until last year's election—from his position on the National Electoral Council. Ochoa has openly expressed his suspicions of electoral fraud in the November 2025 elections, which were also heavily influenced by Trump's public promotion of Asfura and denunciation of his opponents.

Recordings include personal promises of three million Honduran lempiras (Honduran currency equal to 0.038 U.S. dollars) to prosecute Ochoa, and even the desire of certain National Electoral Council members to kill him:

“Tell me how we’re supposed to move forward without getting that bastard Marlon out of office. We can’t do anything, we can’t make any changes, we can’t touch anything, and we can’t go anywhere until we’re clear on where we stand with the impeachment. Once the impeachment is done, we’re out of here. First: jail or death. That’s how I’m going to put it: jail or death. I demand it—or blood, or dismissal.”

The recordings also reveal bribes paid to buy votes in Congress in order to expedite trials—especially Ochoa’s—and purge opposition members from legislative seats and public office.

As the government tries to rid itself of any vestige of the Libre Party, the old, corrupt and disgraced politicians are plotting their return.

Juan Orlando Hernández (JOH) ruled Honduras with brutal repression between 2014 and 2022; he was extradited and sentenced in the U.S. to 45 years in prison on drug trafficking charges. President Trump pardoned him of those charges in November of last year, two days before the election polls opened. Shortly after he granted a pardon to this convicted drug trafficker, Trump cynically used the

accusation of complicity in drug trafficking to justify bombing Venezuela and kidnapping its president.

Now JOH has his sights set on regaining the presidency and is laying the groundwork for an election campaign in the upcoming elections. One exchange between a member of JOH’s party and Jorge Cálix (the leader of the Liberal Party) reveals that JOH is paying Cálix to muster up votes for them:

The leaks suggest that JOH was released by Trump on parole on condition that he make the Honduran government a bastion of the “Donroe Doctrine”² and cede territory, contracts, and minerals to the U.S.

“You’re 12 votes short—you need 12 more. People are turning their backs on you, Jorgito [Jorge Cálix].

I think you’re going to have to make up that money. Get your act together, Jorgito, get your act together.”

Lastly, combing through the audios of back-and-forth blackmail of relatively insignificant figures, big names are mentioned. Notably, Donald Trump, Javier Milei, and Benjamin Netanyahu!

The leaks suggest that JOH was released by Trump on parole on condition that he make the Honduran government a bastion of the “Donroe Doctrine”¹ and cede territory, contracts, and minerals to the U.S. One exchange between JOH and President Asfura runs as follows:

“We had spoken; I had sent a message that we were going to win and that they should support me at this time. The presidency has to return to the right hands, and that is what he [Trump] wants. If they go against him, I’ll let him know immediately and the whole government will fall apart.”

There is also audio of JOH admitting that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is largely responsible for his release.

“We need to open our eyes a little; the global situation isn’t so good. The Israeli prime minister is going to support us. We’re very grateful to him; they played a key role. In fact, they were decisive in my release and in the negotiations.”

Thus, the Israeli prime minister is directly involved in the domestic politics of several Latin American countries to support reactionary governments and politicians who back Zionism.

The “Trump Corollary”

Currently, the United States has the explicit mission of regaining control over Latin America, its historic “back-yard,” in which China has been increasingly consolidating its economic influence. China is now South America’s main trading partner.

The goal is to keep China out of key industrial investments and raw materials, such as rare earth minerals. To do this,



A meeting between U.S. President Donald Trump and the President of Honduras, Nasry Asfura, at the Mar-a-Lago residence in Palm Beach, Florida, on February 7, 2026.

they need local governments that are fully at the service of U.S. imperialism.

As stated in the National Security Strategy document:

“We want a Hemisphere that remains free of hostile foreign incursion or ownership of key assets, and that supports critical supply chains; and we want to ensure our continued access to key strategic locations. In other words, we will assert and enforce a ‘Trump Corollary’ to the Monroe Doctrine.”

Trump has the support of right-wing demagogues in the region, such as Milei in Argentina, Kast in Chile, and Asfura in Honduras. Along with other leaders in the region, they have joined the “Shield of the Americas,” an alliance aimed at protecting the interests of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, once again under the pretext of the fight against drug trafficking. These countries can now officially request U.S. military intervention to respond to internal and foreign threats.

In the leaked recordings, it is revealed that Asfura paid a visit to Mar-a-Lago, where he mingled with investors for the construction of a U.S. military base in Roatán (an island off the coast of Honduras) and the construction of an interoceanic railroad by General Electric. One recording of a call by Asfura to JOH reveals that:

“As for Palmerola [the U.S. military base in Honduras], we’re going to move Palmerola, specifically there, to Roatán, where Próspera is. A base, yes, that’s already been negotiated. The interoceanic project too. We’re going to commission General Electric to do it. The plan is to source all the metals and the rest specifically from Argentina and the United States, avoiding Canada and China—those warnings were received. The Chinese were making an offer, but we’re not going to give in. We’re going to put an end to that.”

There it is! A new fortress for the U.S. military in the Caribbean, mineral

extraction rights, and infrastructure contracts for U.S. companies, while Chinese offers are turned down. This is clearly in line with the objectives set out in the National Security Strategy document:

“We should also collaborate with regional governments and companies to build scalable and resilient energy infrastructure, invest in access to critical minerals, and strengthen current and future cyber communications networks, so as to fully leverage the United States’ encryption and security potential.”

Manipulation

What about governments unwilling to cooperate?

Mexico, Colombia, and Brazil all have governments not directly under the control of U.S. imperialism and have become thorns in the side of Trump’s foreign policy in the region. They have spoken out against the genocide in Gaza, the attacks on Venezuela and Iran, and the false pretext of drug trafficking to intensify militarization in the region.

Democracy and national sovereignty can only truly be achieved through revolutionary struggle. A definitive struggle against imperialism and its lackeys throughout the region is the struggle against capitalism.

For over a year, Trump has threatened them with tariff retaliation to keep them in line, with mixed results.

The “Hondurasgate” audio recordings reveal that JOH’s plan was to create a communications team to target the governments of Mexico and Colombia. The information presum-

ably came from the Mexican and Colombian right wing. JOH is recorded saying the following to Asfura:

“We’re going to create a cell, Mr. President. From here, from the United States—an informational one—so they can’t track us in Honduras. It will be a Latin American news website. I was on a call with President Javier Milei and it went well. Very, very, very well. And I think that right now we can do great things for the entire region. There are cases on the way against Mexico, cases against Colombia, and, most importantly, against Honduras—in this case against the Zelaya family.”

And in another recording, JOH, this time speaking to María Antonieta Mejía, says:

“And I need that liquidity because we’re going to set up an office here. With support from some in the Republic so we can attack and eliminate the cancer of the left in Honduras and all of Latin America. I was telling President Asfura that we managed to speak with Javier Milei, and that he’s also going to contribute \$350,000. Another great friend of ours from Mexico is also contributing, just for the Mexican angle. We’re practically ready and waiting for this to move forward with full force.”

It’s no surprise that Milei is one of the investors in this reactionary start-up. The Argentine economy is in a downward spiral, with rampant inflation and growing discontent; one of Milei’s tactics is to blame “socialism:”

“We’re not going to let go of power. Whatever needs to be done, we’ll do it. And if things get ugly, it’s the communists’ fault. That’s the narrative: they provoked it, they started the violence. We’re just responding.”

A blow to “democracy”

Earlier this year, the release of the Epstein files revealed to millions of people that the fate of economies and nations is not decided at the ballot box, but in private meetings, phone calls, and text messages among the rich and

powerful who buy and sell favors in defense of their class interests. “Hondurasgate” proves this once again.

The ruling class conspires and plots to get its way, without caring about the formalities of democracy or national sovereignty when the fundamental interests of U.S. imperialism and its multinational corporations are at stake.

These parasites are organizing and conspiring. The response cannot be an abstract appeal to “legality” and the defense of “the rules of the game,” but rather an understanding that just as they defend their class interests, workers and peasants must uncompromisingly defend their own.

Democracy and national sovereignty can only truly be achieved through revolutionary struggle. A definitive struggle against imperialism and its lackeys throughout the region is the struggle against capitalism.

—Marxist.com, May 15, 2026

<https://marxist.com/hondurasgate-the-henchmen-of-the-donroe-doctrine.htm>

1 “The Monroe Doctrine (1823) declared U.S. domination of all of the Americas by the U.S. and off-limits to European colonization and interference. The Donroe Doctrine is Trumps imperialist assertion of this policy to especially counter China’s influence in Latin America”

Who’s Afraid of Richard Hooker?

BY JOE ALLEN

June 1, 2026—With a few weeks to go before the start of the Teamsters’ union convention in Las Vegas, a major push is on to deny Richard Hooker the five percent of delegates needed for him and his *Fearless* slate to be nominated. While there is still much skull-duggery afoot to trash the reputation of Richard Hooker, the first African-American candidate for General President of the Teamsters, most of it is now quite open and increasingly nasty, as he challenges Sean O’Brien, the pro-Trump leader of the union.

A recent screed by Frank Halstead, a longstanding member and co-chair of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) in Southern California, appears to be part of this campaign, while defending, however reluctantly, Hooker’s right to run. Frank lashes the *Fearless* slate for its shortcomings, which in some cases are true, including its failure to get enough signatures for candidate accreditation and not enough rank and file Teamsters on its slate. “The *Fearless* Slate just runs our union down. The *Fearless* slate can’t even run a real campaign. Why would members trust them to run our union?” he bellows.

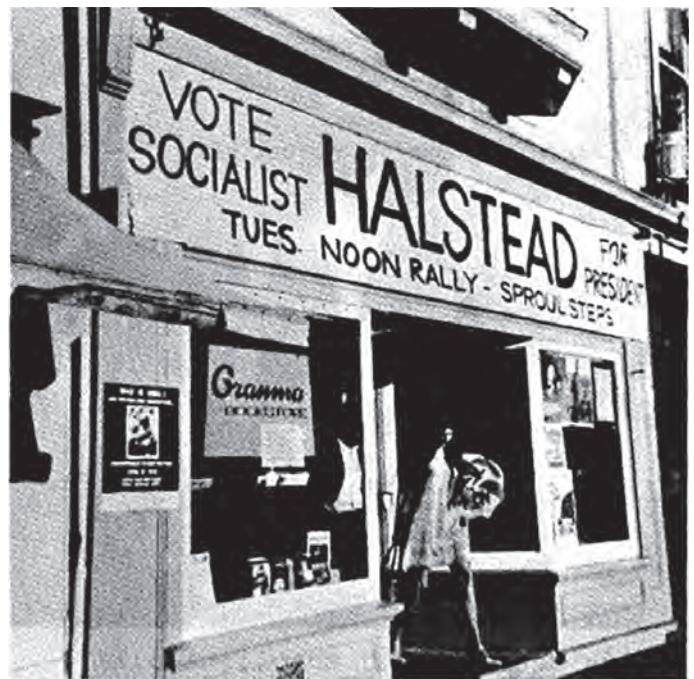
Frank’s angry, mocking attacks on Hooker and *Fearless* reminds me of the long-ago attacks on TDU by the Teamsters mobbed-up, old guard, who

ridiculed it as “Tearing Down Unions” or “Too Dumb to Understand.” He ends his rant by virtually calling on *Fearless* to drop out of the race.

“Our Election Rules give opposition candidates every opportunity to prove themselves as organizers and leaders on the ground. But it’s up to the campaigns to do the work. The *Fearless* slate has not done that. They’ve failed every test of leadership. They have the right to run. But they don’t deserve our support.”

I can hear the echoes of Hoffa Jr.’s cronies, who repeatedly called on Tom Leedham to drop out of several races during the early 2000s, where he challenged Hoffa for leadership of the Teamsters. I can remember them shouting “You can’t win,” “It’s a waste of time,” “Save us \$20 million,” “We know who’s going to win!” Frank finds himself in bad company.

But I also wondered reading Frank’s screed: Why all the vitriol? If *Fearless* is



Berkeley Campaign Headquarters,
April, 1968

so marginal and incompetent, why even bother with them? Because all is not well in Teamster-land. There is widespread discontent in the membership, especially at UPS—who were told they won an “historic contract” back in 2023—but have suffered tens-of-thousands of layoffs and building closures across the country, and more is to come this year.

The buyout fiasco at UPS has also stirred up animosity among UPS Teamsters like nothing I’ve seen in recent memory. O’Brien’s bumbling handling of it has infuriated many UPS drivers. Whether this anger turns into a referendum on O’Brien or not voting at all is still to be seen. Nowhere in Frank’s attack on Hooker does he make any effort to defend O’Brien’s record in office. It’s all about trashing *Fearless*.

The upcoming election, if Hooker makes his five percent, will also be about O’Brien’s alliance with Trump, whose public approval is collapsing. Hank Kennedy, a Detroit area writer, educator and socialist, asked in a widely circulated profile of O’Brien:

“What has been gained by O’Brien’s podcast pugilism and right-wing flattery? Not the PRO Act, which remains mired in Congress and is still opposed by Trump and Vice President J.D. Vance. Not a repeal of right-to-work laws, which Abbott continues to support after his long career railing against ‘Big Labor.’ Not federal help organizing Amazon, which refuses to sign a union contract with Amazon Teamsters in New York. Instead, Trump has appointed a former UPS and Amazon safety compliance officer to head OSHA, despite both companies’ poor safety records. Union-busting lawyer Crystal Carey was nominated to serve as chief counsel for the National Labor Relations Board. Federal employees have seen their unions decertified under flimsy justifications of ‘national security.’ ICE has even showed up to Teamster picket lines to intimidate strikers. Even the

seemingly historic UPS contract is coming apart amidst dozens of hub closings and tens-of-thousands of layoffs. Labor’s birthright has been sold for a mess of very bad pottage.”

There has been a definite change in the mood of Teamster members. Hooker in a recent and wide-ranging interview with Brian Tierney on *Substack* told him:

“We’ve been to a lot of places during the campaign and, to be honest with you, I have tried not to talk too much about the Trump issue because we need to focus first on what the employers are doing. I try to emphasize this is a class war. And as much as I try, members want to talk about the political situation and O’Brien working with Trump, because they are not happy about it. The majority of the people that we’ve spoken to are not happy with his decision to embrace the pedophile Epstein ruling class and its poster boy, Donald Trump.

“Some of the people we spoke with said they voted for Trump, but they are regretting that vote because prices have not come down, it’s costing more to live and get by with gas prices and everything. That issue of affordability puts stress on families—it doesn’t matter if you’re a Democrat, Republican, independent, or whatever. It’s harder and it’s more expensive to live right now. A lot of our members want to talk about that, and we tell them that we need to start focusing on having our own political party, independent of Democrats, independent of the Republicans. Because both parties are two wings on the same bird, which is the corporate class.”

All Teamsters and the broader working class have gotten massive cutbacks, bigotry, and a promise of a new round of endless wars.

The trade union left in shambles

Let’s face it, the left is in shambles in the Teamsters. TDU, whose roots are in the rank-and-file rebellion of the 1970s, has been through many decades of polit-

ical deterioration accelerated by their “coalition” with the deeply reactionary leadership of the union. It inspires few outside of the patronage ranks of the Teamsters these days. It acts as O’Brien’s hatchet man cracking the whip on his critics and dissidents in leadership, such as International Vice-President John Palmer and Teamsters Mobilize.

What happened to a few socialist principles guiding our work in the trade unions? How did TDU get on the wrong side of a fight between the fascist-aligned Sean O’Brien and Richard Hooker, an insurgent African-American leader? Frank Halstead, whose family has deep roots in the American Trotskyist movement, is a prominent example of this but there are plenty of other “socialists,” who joined TDU’s ranks over the decades, who’ve traded principles for petty staff positions and privileges. It seems at this point that TDU is irredeemable, and a new formation of leftwing activists and militants is necessary.

Yet, the problems of the Left in Teamsters is similar to the problems in other unions, including the UAW and the Chicago Teachers’ Union (CTU). Reform has ground to halt and many rank-and-file caucuses, that inspired many people a few years ago, have turned into sclerotic incumbents or caucuses split and divided over important political questions. Hopefully, Richard Hooker and the *Fearless* slate can make it onto the ballot, and a competitive election takes place in the Teamsters, but the broader reform movements in all unions need a new direction to face the challenges ahead.

Joe Allen is a former Teamster. He has written for Counterpunch, Rebel, Tempest, Jacobin, Socialist Worker, and the International Socialist Review.

—Medium, June 1, 2026

<https://joeallen-60224.medium.com/whos-afraid-of-richard-hooker-by-joe-allen-2d9aed77f1d8>

Voice of the New Working Class in France

BY RÉVOLUTION PERMANENTE

The following is an editorial published by Left Voice's sister organization, Révolution Permanente—part of the Current for Permanent Revolution-Forth International (CPR-FI)—launching the presidential campaign of railway worker Anasse Kazib. Though it is written for a French audience, it provides vital insights into the foundations of a revolutionary socialist campaign that centers the struggles of the working class and oppressed, and the task of socialists to build new, independent organizations of the working class to fight against militarism, imperialism, and capitalist crisis.

The French ruling classes need a turning point in the 2027 presidential election. After ten years of Macronism, they hope to overcome the regime crisis that has deepened since 2022 and address the crisis of French capitalism. In a situation marked by the disintegration of the U.S.-dominated international order and by the sharpening of rivalries between world powers, this strategy promises new attacks on the working class. But in a context in which imperialism is being thwarted in Iran, and in which attacks

led by Trump's allies are generating uprisings, as in Bolivia, these plans could also face significant difficulties.

Economic, social, and political crisis: major capitalists go on the attack for 2027

Members of the far-right National Rally (RN) Marine Le Pen and Jordan Bardella are meeting with big business leaders; RN Deputy Gabriel Attal promises to gut unemployment insurance; Bruno Retailleau of the conservative Republicans Party (LR) seeks to militarize working-class neighborhoods, and current Minister of Justice Gérald Darmanin vows to toughen xenophobic policies. Former prime minister and current mayor of Le Havre Édouard Philippe, who a few years ago advocated for retirement at 67, now intends to make us “work more.” All of them promise to accompany these policies with harsh austerity measures to pay off the debt and deficit, exacerbated by the more than 200 billion euros in annual handouts to big business following the presidencies of

Sarkozy, Hollande, and Macron. These savings are intended to finance militarization and to better defend the interests of the French state and its multinationals by force of arms. This is what Macron's government is already doing in the Strait of Hormuz by deploying the aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle.

All these issues will dominate the presidential election. They signal harsh attacks to come against workers, young people, and the working class. While the wealth of France's 500 richest people has ballooned by nearly one trillion euros in the last 20 years, enriching the bosses of luxury goods, mass retail, arms sales, telecommunications, and finance, workers' standard of living has declined considerably. Today, workers are on the front lines of the international economic crisis. Inflation is back; in particular, rising fuel prices are impoverishing the working class while enriching Total, France's main multinational energy company. Unemployment is rising again as business closures multiply. But the goal of most candidates is to go even further, launching new attacks on our pensions and other “systemic reforms,” as already demanded by the MEDEF (French Business Confederation).

Yet significant contradictions will likely prevent them from implementing their plan. First, large sectors of the ruling classes are worried that the presidential election will result in a weak government and a renewed deadlock, given the country's deep political crisis. This problem is compounded by the absence of a natural successor to Macronism, someone who could guarantee a degree of stability and address the structural crisis of French capitalism. While the National Rally (RN) is best positioned, with its increasingly “pro-business” profile, the reactions its rise to power might provoke are worry-



Anasse Kazib

ing big business. Meanwhile, Philippe, Attal, and Retailleau are vying for dominance in the center and right without managing to differentiate themselves. Finally, on the center-left, attempts to revive social liberalism in crisis are encountering profound difficulties, despite the ambitions of Glucksmann and Hollande.

This situation is fueling simmering anger, the first signs of which are appearing in local strikes, such as at Airbus. On television, journalists and politicians are already expressing concern that new large-scale mobilizations will undermine the plans of the next government. Despite this, no project seems to place the new working class, its demands, and its methods of struggle at the center in order to prepare for the period that has begun. Faced with a capitalist system in crisis, which promises only misery, authoritarian hardening, and a tendency toward war, we need a project and a strategy that are commensurate with the radicalism of the ruling classes but that serve the interests of the working classes.

Making the voice of the new working class heard

From the Yellow Vest movement to the pension reform battles, from the movement against the labor law to the strikes waged by railway workers, refinery workers, cleaning staff, health-care workers, and education workers, both documented and undocumented—for the past ten years, it is the workers and oppressed people who have been the main force of opposition in the country, using their own methods of struggle. Despite the grand neoliberal narratives about the “disappearance” of the working class, the majority in society remains those forced to sell their ability to work to survive and occupy a lower position in the chain of command. Today’s workers are struck by precarity and unemployment, working for subcontractors or major clients, on permanent or temporary contracts, full-time or while studying; they are

more feminized, racialized, and LGBTQ+ than ever, confronted with state racism, police violence, immigration problems, as well as with the rise of sexism, transphobia, and ableism. They are politicized by solidarity with Palestine, environmentalism, and the fight against the Far Right, yet they are also permeated by the influence of reactionary ideas. The working class is heterogeneous and larger than ever.

Despite the grand neoliberal narratives about the “disappearance” of the working class, the majority in society remains those forced to sell their ability to work to survive and occupy a lower position in the chain of command.

Even so, the world of work is invisible in political debates and in the presidential election. With the notion of a “new France,” La France Insoumise (LFI) promises a project of “national reconciliation,” which contrasts sharply with the racist and xenophobic offensive at the heart of the plans of the various bourgeois candidates. Its project, however, makes workers one component among others in an electoral bloc into which they must be diluted. Its strategy of “citizen revolution” claims that it would be possible to “change life” through the ballot box by pulling the right institutional levers. This effectively eliminates the specific nature of workers’ positions in production and their methods of struggle, condemning the movement to systematically channel anger into “civic” forms of action, whether peaceful marches or elections.

On the other side, the National Rally (RN) of Le Pen and Bardella regularly

tries to present itself as a party that defends workers, highlighting the proportion of “tradesmen” in its electorate. But this stance poorly conceals its racist agenda, which seeks to divide workers, as well as the Far Right’s opposition to workers’ struggles, trade unions, and demands as basic as raising the minimum wage and overall wages. In recent years, the RN has only reinforced its pro-business agenda, increasingly meeting with CEOs, congratulating Total and the shipping company CMA-CGM on their billions in profits, and challenging the repeal of Macron’s pension reform, not to mention Bardella’s public pronouncements about his relationship with a multimillionaire aristocrat.

Conversely, to confront the current crisis, we are convinced that it is essential to defend a policy of class struggle, one that stems from the contemporary realities of the working class and their potential. This policy will unify and mobilize all the forces of the working class, which have been divided in recent years. It will allow for dialogue with thousands of abstaining workers, who see that the electoral process changes nothing in their living conditions, and with sectors won over to far-right ideas, hammered home daily for decades and reinforced by the notion that there is “no alternative” other than competition between French and foreign workers to snatch a few crumbs. This perspective has nothing to do with those who claim to address workers to counter the influence of the Far Right but adapt to reactionary ideas, whether by participating in the stigmatization of “welfare recipients,” denouncing any form of radicalism, or pitting the world of work against struggles against racist or gender oppression.

This is what Anasse Kazib, a railway worker and political and trade union activist, who has been at the heart of all the major movements of recent years—whether it be the battle for pensions, the Yellow Vest movement, or the movement of solidarity with Palestine—wants to bring to the presidential election.¹

Workers need a revolutionary perspective

The unique position of the working class in society gives it a decisive role in overturning the established order, using its own methods. Yet, on the Left, institutional orientations prevail. These lead even the most radical forces, such as LFI, to ally themselves with enemies of workers. The Socialist Party (PS), for example, has played as central a role as the Right in the neoliberal offensive and advocated only mild reforms despite the level of crisis facing capitalism. Faced with war profiteers like Total, LFI's movement proposes capping profit margins or partially nationalizing the company while paying it tens of billions in compensation. On such burning issues as wages, LFI promises an increase in the minimum wage (SMIC), but defers any increase in overall wages to negotiations with employers. Finally, faced with the regime's authoritarian hardening and the crisis of the Fifth Republic, LFI proposes a vague project for a Sixth Republic, to be negotiated with all the forces of the regime, to the point that Mélenchon does not rule out retaining an institution as authoritarian as the presidency.

More broadly, this purely institutional approach implies that LFI must negotiate with economic power, promising that its stimulus policies will "fill the order books" of large companies or courting the leaders of "Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises" (PME) that exploit entire sectors of the workforce. On the international stage, in a period where opposing war and imperialism will be a key task, Mélenchon presents France as a power for peace and embraces the legacy of De Gaulle and Mitterrand. He thus justifies defending the interests of the French state, its arms industry, and its army, even going so far as to support the operations launched by Macron in the Strait of Hormuz in the name of the need to "honor France's commitments to its allies," namely the reactionary

Gulf monarchies. Any perspective that refuses a genuine confrontation with the ruling classes and the state ultimately opposes the overthrow of capitalism, even if it claims to represent a "rupture." On the contrary, we believe that defending the interests of the new working class requires rebuilding a consistent, revolutionary, anti-capitalist Left, capable of translating its strategy into a policy that engages with the reality of our class.

Confronting corporate dictatorship is essential at a time when the grip of big capitalists on our lives is tightening every day.

On this point, socialist organization Lutte Ouvrière (LO) claims to adhere to revolutionary Marxism and maintains a line of class independence, but we believe this organization is not an alternative. Imbued with profound skepticism, it posits that we are in a period of decline, requiring a "trade-unionist" approach within the working class, propaganda for communism, and a focus on the self-construction of its organization. This leads LO to conduct routine, denunciatory campaigns centered on a few anti-capitalist economic demands, which struggle to convince our class. Further, LO considers all issues not directly related to capitalist exploitation to be secondary, or even diversions that divide the working class, to the point of sometimes adapting to dominant ideas on these subjects, as seen in its consistent alignment with a secularist tradition of the Left. Neither its defeatist logic, increasingly out of step with the crisis of the international order and the resurgence of class struggle since 2008, nor its workerist approach is capable of convincing the new working class.

Conversely, we aim to make Kazib's campaign a tool for discussing all the problems facing the working class. To do this, we must confront the challenge of unifying it by fighting its internal divisions: differences in status, racism, and sexism. We must also consider the alliance between workers and other oppressed sectors of society, whether small farmers, artisans, or feminist, anti-racist, or environmental movements. We are convinced that making the voice of the new working class heard means defending a radical perspective, one that harbors no illusions about the state or employers, but instead embraces the idea of ending capitalism and demanding a different societal project: communism. As we face a capitalism that has entered a new era of wars and catastrophes, it is imperative to link every struggle to this horizon.²

A workers', anti-boss, anti-imperialist, and revolutionary campaign

The program we will defend must first and foremost reject the idea that the current crisis should be paid for by workers and oppressed people. This means advocating for proactive responses to the crisis, starting with demanding an increase in the minimum wage to 2,000 euros and in all wages, indexing them to inflation, and retirement at 60 (55 for physically demanding jobs) without any requirement for years of contributions. It also means massively funding public services, placed under workers' control, to meet the immense needs of recipients in education, health-care, and transportation, and to put an end to the deteriorating daily lives of workers in these sectors. At a time when business closures are multiplying, we must put an end to the unemployment and job insecurity that benefit employers, by prohibiting layoffs and job cuts, by mandating the hiring of all precarious workers—those on fixed-term contracts, temporary workers, or contract employees—and by distributing working hours equally among everyone. If

companies refuse these measures, they must be expropriated under workers' control, and, more broadly, strategic sectors like energy and healthcare must be expropriated without compensation or buyouts. This is the prerequisite for implementing economic planning that goes beyond mere suggestions made to big business. Confronting corporate dictatorship is essential at a time when the grip of big capitalists on our lives is tightening every day.

Our program must also be a tool to stop the march toward war. For this, we have no illusions about France's role; quite the contrary. We are convinced that the fight against militarization requires opposing our own imperialism: by demanding the closure of all military bases; the withdrawal of all French troops; and the end of all military operations abroad, beginning with the withdrawal of the Charles de Gaulle from the Strait of Hormuz; and dismantling the arms industry and all the merchants of death, complicit in the genocide in Gaza, and putting their production under workers' control. By opposing military budgets and all measures aimed at indoctrinating youth and the population, with the slogan "Not a single euro, not a single life for their wars." War money must be used to massively finance public services, which must be placed under the control of workers and recipients, whether it be healthcare, education, or transportation, which should be free. Finally, these demands must go hand in hand with an internationalism that supports all anti-imperialist struggles, beginning with support for the Palestinian people's struggle, or the defense of the defeat of the United States and Israel in their war against Iran.

These struggles are inseparable from the fight against growing racism and authoritarianism. The fight against the Far Right requires a clear rejection of the racist division between national and foreign workers, achieved by nationalizing all undocumented immigrants

and enforcing freedom of movement and settlement. It also implies advocating for measures such as the immediate dissolution of all special police forces and the repeal of all authoritarian and racist laws, from the 2004 law to the separatism law. But the current authoritarianism is also a product of the hardening of a corrupt regime, the Fifth Republic. Faced with proponents of a Sixth Republic, which would simply be a return to a parliamentary system, we demand the abolition of the presidency of the republic, the Senate, and the Constitutional Council, and the establishment of a single assembly concentrating executive and legislative power. Its members should be elected for two-year terms, subject to recall, and paid the median wage, like a teacher or a nurse, to challenge the privileges of professional politicians.

**"Not a single euro,
not a single life
for their wars."**

The struggle for these demands must be a springboard to advance toward the overthrow of capitalism and a workers' government. This can only emerge from an explosive mobilization of the masses, the preparation for which requires taking stock of the last few years of class struggle and waging a fierce battle against union bureaucracies and for self-organization. Only a movement based on mass self-organization can replace the bourgeois state, which serves a minority of capitalists, with workers' power. The establishment of a socialist society, led from below, based on the democratic socialization and planning of production, would be the condition for confronting the climate crisis by reorganizing production. It is also one of the conditions for ending patriarchy, beginning with the socialization of all domestic labor to liberate women from it. Finally, at a

time when wars are making a strong comeback, which only prolongs rivalries between states, it is also the only way to avoid a future of barbarism.

So the new working class can have a say in the presidential election

Kazib's presence is far from guaranteed, however. The requirement of 500 endorsements from elected officials exists precisely to prevent subversive candidacies that defend interests contrary to those of the ruling classes. This is why the first battle will be a democratic one for the right to be on the starting line and to champion a political project that, otherwise, will not be championed by anyone else. The existence of a strong working-class, communist, and revolutionary Left will be decisive, regardless of the outcome of the presidential election. This is why *Révolution Permanente* calls on all its supporters, as well as those who, while not necessarily agreeing with our ideas, believe we should be able to express them in the presidential debate, to help us, whether financially, by contacting elected officials, or by participating in endorsement-seeking tours alongside our activists.

This article was originally published in French on June 1, 2026. Translated and adapted by Adrien Masson.

—Left Voice, June 10, 2026

<https://www.leftvoice.org/revolution-permanente-and-anasse-kazib-launch-presidential-bid-in-france-to-make-the-voice-of-the-new-working-class-heard/>

1 "In Macron's France, Tweeting in Support of Palestine Can Get You Jail Time"

<https://www.leftvoice.org/in-macrons-france-tweeting-in-support-of-palestine-can-get-you-jail-time/>

2 "Victories for Revolutionary Socialists in France Show the Power of Running Openly Anti-Capitalist Campaigns"

<https://www.leftvoice.org/victories-for-revolutionary-socialists-in-france-show-the-power-of-running-openly-anti-capitalist-campaigns/>

Two Centuries of U.S. Contempt For Cuba

By MICHAEL K. SMITH

"I do believe I'll be . . . having the honor of taking Cuba." —Donald Trump

Donald Trump tightened already suffocating sanctions on Cuba on May 1, at the same time as he made renewed threats to "take" the island as soon as he finishes committing the greatest foreign policy blunder in U.S. history in Iran. The new measure to heap further unmerited suffering on Cubans was justified on the laughable pretext that their government poses an extraordinary national security threat to the United States, which, if it were true, would constitute an equally extraordinary confession of military impotence on the part of the United States.¹

That point aside, it's a simple historical fact that U.S. contempt for Cuban sovereignty long predates Washington's fixation on "national security" as a pretext for its interventions, so the problem does not lie in Havana.

Over two centuries ago, Washington was already firmly opposed to indepen-

dence for the island, mainly because it was "strategically situated and rich in sugar and slaves," in the words of U.S. foreign policy expert Piero Gleijeses. Such advantages were not to be sacrificed to a heavily mixed-race population of "mongrels" achieving independence, to use the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny.²

Thomas Jefferson recommended that James Madison offer Napoleon a free hand in Spanish America in return for the gift of Cuba to the United States. Writing to Madison in 1823, he said that the U.S. should not go to war over the island, since "the first war on other accounts will give it to us, or the Island itself will give it to us, when able to do so," sounding very much like Donald Trump today. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams explained Cuba's strategic value, describing it as "an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union." He, too, favored it remain under Spanish control until it fell into U.S. hands by "the laws of

political . . . gravitation," a "ripe fruit" ready for harvest. This view was almost universal in the U.S. Executive Branch and Congress at the time.

Concern over Cuba on explicitly political grounds arose with the coming of its national liberation movement in 1868. A key concern was the movement's democratic tendencies, which included such heresies as democracy, freedom, and equal rights for everyone, not just white property owners. This was the familiar imperial fear of a bad apple spoiling the barrel, in this case Cuban independence possibly succeeding and inspiring other colonized peoples to similarly strive for national independence. If Empire is to exist, that kind of example has to be stamped out.³

Some U.S. lives and property were lost in the initial stages of Cuba's war for independence, but the real crisis came in 1873 when Spain seized the *Virginius*, a ship flying the U.S. flag and carrying weapons to the Cuban revolutionary forces. The Spanish executed fifty-three crew members. Hamilton Fish, President Grant's secretary of state, resisted calls for revenge knowing that the ship had been breaking the law and wanting no part of the multiracial Cuban population. When a cabinet member raised the idea of annexing Cuba, Fish quashed the idea with a reminder that the U.S. already had terrible racial problems in "South Carolina and Mississippi."

In the end, Spain paid an \$80,000 indemnity for lives of the crew members and remained in control of Cuba when the war ended in 1878.⁴

The war did not resume in full force until 1895, when Madrid's empire was near collapse. For years it had been forced to simultaneously fight liberation movements in Cuba and the Philippines. Its colonies on the American mainland had been liberated



Photo by JF Martin

in 1825, but it clung hard to the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, the last of its colonial possessions in the Americas. Meanwhile, U.S. influence had grown to the point that it could ignore British power and conquer Cuba, just in time to prevent victory by what it openly regarded as the indigenous lesser breeds. The New York press described the latter as “ignorant niggers, half breeds, and dagoes.” General Samuel B. M. Young of the U.S. military command was of a similar view, dismissing Cuban soldiers as “a lot of degenerates,” and “no more capable of self-government than the savages of Africa.”⁵

By late 1895, the rebels claimed to have established a provisional government. But neither Grover Cleveland nor William McKinley were willing to recognize the revolutionary forces. To have done so would have released Spain from the obligation to protect \$50 million in U.S. property in Cuba. The U.S. government preferred to hold “civilized” Madrid responsible for that property and U.S. lives on the island; while pressing the Spanish government to give the “uncivilized” Cuban rebels enough autonomy so they would lay down their arms.

Spain, however, refused to grant the autonomy, at least at first. Its formerly global empire had withered away to just Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, and no Spanish government could expect to remain in power if it lost control over any of these. The Spanish took a hard line, sending 150,000 soldiers who tried to destroy rebel support by rounding up thousands of Cubans and locking them in barbed-wire concentration camps. But the revolution continued to spread, and insurgents adopted a scorched earth policy that destroyed U.S. property.

Cuban suffering was incalculable. Typhus, smallpox, and cholera stalked the island, and famine was widespread. A huge portion of the population was sunk in disease, death, and despair.⁶ As

Spain lost control over the deteriorating situation riots broke out in Havana in late 1897. McKinley moved a warship, the *Maine*, into Havana harbor to protect U.S. citizens and property. Days later an explosion sank the *Maine*, killing more than 268 U.S. sailors. A naval court of inquiry investigating the sinking could not determine blame for the disaster.

Nevertheless, egged on by a sensationalist press that eagerly pinned the blame on Spain, excitement for war with Madrid mounted. President McKinley opposed it, but he also wanted U.S. property in Cuba protected, the Cuban revolution prevented from turning sharply left, and restored confidence in the U.S. business community, among other concerns. These outcomes could only be achieved through war.

Castro's crime was having abolished capitalist control of the Cuban economy, which had terminated the Mafia-run play land that enriched foreign investors while Cuba starved.

Two months after the blowing up of the *Maine*, Congress authorized it and events proceeded in rapid-fire succession. Madrid broke off relations with Washington; the jingoist press chorused, “On to Havana!”; a million men raised on romantic tales of Antietam and Gettysburg rushed to enlist; the French ambassador informed Paris that a “sort of bellicose fury has seized the American nation;” a rabid Teddy Roosevelt set off to “whip the dagoes.”⁷

U.S. and Cuban forces made quick work of the Spaniards, and yellow fever made quick work of the Americans. Cuba emerged in ruins, its agriculture and industry destroyed.

U.S. investors seized the railroads, the mines, and the sugar plantations.⁸

The events of 1898 are often said to represent the launching of U.S. empire, but in fact the U.S. was an empire from the beginning, deeply rooted in racist assumptions that make Teddy Roosevelt's overt contempt for “dagoes” appear mild by comparison. These assumptions were on vivid display in the way Black U.S. soldiers were treated by their fellow Americans as they went off to war in Cuba.

Tampa shopkeepers snarled at members of the all-Black 24th Infantry, refusing to serve them on the grounds that, “We don't sell to damned niggers!” Several officers from the all-Black Eighth Illinois regiment were thrown out of a Baltimore restaurant, which wanted nothing to do with them. A brewery worker in Martinsburg, West Virginia, loudly offered his opinion to Black soldiers that, “all niggers ought to go to Cuba where they'd get killed.” In Hampton, Georgia, Private James Neely of the Twenty-fifth Infantry was murdered after daring to ask for a glass of soda water in a drugstore. On the outskirts of Macon, Georgia, a sign at the entrance to a public park said simply: “No Dogs and Niggers Allowed.” Visitors to the town could also see the lynching tree where Will Singleton had recently been hanged, shot, and castrated. Implicit justification for all this was provided by the Macon press, which complained of a “riotous mood” among Black troops headed for Cuba, whose contempt for Jim Crow was said to have an “unhealthy” effect on local Blacks, a large number of whom worked the chain gangs.⁹

Due in no small part to such virulent racism, Cuban independence did not emerge in 1898. U.S. plantation owners had never gotten over Haiti's having established itself as the first independent Black republic in 1804, fearing the spread of revolutionary ideas into the U.S. slave population, and almost a century later the fear of Cuba's Black and

mixed-race population was still palpable among U.S. leaders. They did not want Black people in power just 90 miles from the United States.

So Spanish rule was replaced by U.S. rule—military occupation until 1902—and after that *de facto* rule by the Platt Amendment, an agreement between Cuba and the U.S. that allowed Washington “to intervene at any time for the preservation of Cuban independence [and] the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty.” The Platt Amendment allowed the U.S. to acquire the naval base at Guantanamo Bay in 1903 and was used to justify four U.S. interventions before it was finally repealed in 1934.

Broken by the war, and with most of its population poor, illiterate, and ill, Cuba was left utterly dependent on the United States, which kept the island undeveloped just as Spain had done. The lucrative sugar industry was modernized and mechanized as a monopoly of the U.S., which was the dominant market and the principal investor. By the mid-1920s, the United States controlled two-thirds of Cuban agriculture. The sugar boom of that decade paid for stately public buildings and luxury homes for the wealthy but gave nothing to the poor. U.S. firms constructed rails and roads and installed banks, electricity, and the world’s first automated telephone system, but repatriated all the profits for themselves.¹⁰

It took decades more of Cuba being an impoverished U.S. client state before revolution was put back on the agenda. On July 26, 1953, Fidel Castro attacked the Fort Moncada barracks at dawn with 120 young people long on guts and short on weapons. Some of them died in battle but many more were tortured to death by Fulgencio Batista’s army, which tore out the eyes of Abel Santamaría, among others.

Instead of being cowed into submission, Castro, taken prisoner, presented

a forceful and unapologetic defense of the attack. The amazed judges gave him their rapt attention, hanging on every word. Claiming the ancient right of rebellion against tyranny, Castro accused Batista and his officers of butchery and betrayal, and defiantly declared that “This island will sink in the ocean before we will consent to be anybody’s slaves . . .”

Putting forth a revolutionary program, he said that what was inconceivable was not the attack on the barracks but the failure to provide food and work for everyone:

“What is inconceivable is that there should be men going to bed hungry while an inch of land remains unsown; what is inconceivable is that there should be children who die without medical care; that thirty percent of our campesinos cannot sign their names, and ninety-nine percent don’t know the history of Cuba; that most families in our countryside should be living in worse conditions than the Indians Columbus found when he discovered the most beautiful land human eyes had ever seen . . .

“From such wretchedness it is only possible to free oneself by death; and in that the state does help them: to die. Ninety percent of rural children are devoured by parasites that enter from the soil through the toenails of their unshod feet.

“More than half of the best cultivated production lands are in foreign hands. In Oriente, the largest province, the lands of the United Fruit Company extend from the north coast to the south coast . . .

“Cuba continues to be a factory producing raw materials. Sugar is exported to import candies; leather exported to import shoes; iron exported to import plows. . . .”¹¹

On New Year’s Day 1959, the Cuban revolution triumphed, and almost immediately evoked Washington’s wrath. By late that year the CIA and the State Department agreed that Fidel Castro had to be overthrown. One rea-

son, State Department liberals explained, was that “our business interests in Cuba have been seriously affected.” Another was the threat of a good example, *i.e.*, the tendency of a successful revolution to inspire other subjugated peoples to challenge U.S. imperial control over their destinies. Or as the State Department concluded in November 1959:

“The United States cannot hope to encourage and support sound economic policies in other Latin American countries and promote necessary private investments in Latin America if it is or appears to be simultaneously cooperating with the Castro program.”

What was this program? Nationalization of a billion dollars in U.S. corporate holdings; carrying out the most extensive land reform in Latin American history; creating state cooperatives; building thousands of homes for the poor; cutting rents in half, providing jobs for the unemployed, wiping out illiteracy, vastly expanding medical and public health programs; abolishing racial discrimination; and opening the nurseries, resorts, and hotels of the rich to the entire population. This was an immensely popular set of policies, not just in Cuba, but wherever there were poor people.¹²

In elite planning circles in the U.S., however, the reaction was quite different. By October 1959, planes based in Florida were carrying out strafing and bombing attacks against the island. In December, CIA subversion was intensified, including supplying arms to guerrilla bands and sabotage of sugar mills and other economic targets. In March 1960, the Eisenhower administration formally adopted a plan to overthrow Castro in favor of a regime “more devoted to the true interests of the Cuban people and more acceptable to the U.S.,” a self-contradictory goal that was to be accomplished “in such a manner as to avoid any appearance of U.S. intervention,” due to Castro’s popularity.¹³ The logic of the terror and

economic strangulation was spelled out by Lester Mallory at the State Department, who wrote that “disenchantment and disaffection based on economic disaffection and hardship” should be cultivated in order to “bring about hunger, desperation, and overthrow of government.”

During the 1960 presidential campaign, Kennedy tried to be more rabidly anti-Communist than Eisenhower and Nixon, accusing them of threatening U.S. security by permitting “the Iron Curtain . . . 90 miles off the coast of the United States.” In a Cincinnati speech, he promised to overthrow the Cuban government if elected.¹⁴

He did his best to deliver on the promise. Sabotage, terror, and aggression sharply escalated under Kennedy, as well as devastating economic warfare that a tiny nation has no chance of withstanding for long. Havana’s dependence on the U.S. for both imports and exports was immense and could not be easily replaced, and not at all without great cost. Kennedy and his “Best and Brightest” brigade did everything they could think of to maximize Cuban suffering.

“We were hysterical about Castro at the time of the Bay of Pigs [April 1961] and thereafter,” Kennedy’s Defense Secretary Robert McNamara admitted to the Church Committee. Much of Kennedy’s Latin American policy was based on the fear that the Cuban revolution was a “virus” that would infect others and curtail U.S. hegemony in the region.¹⁵ As a 1964 CIA report put it: “[Cuba] is being watched closely by other nations in the hemisphere and any appearance of success there would have an extensive impact on the statist trend elsewhere in the area.”¹⁶

Calling to mind Hitler’s rhetoric on Czechoslovakia, President Kennedy accused Cuba of being a “dagger” pointed at the United States and sent a proxy army to invade the island at the Bay of Pigs in April, 1961, while plotting Fidel Castro’s assassination.¹⁷

Castro’s crime was having abolished capitalist control of the Cuban economy, which had terminated the Mafia-run play land that enriched foreign investors while Cuba starved.

Aside from the preposterousness of tiny Cuba posing a threat to a nuclear-armed superpower over eighty times its size, the U.S. had no legal leg to stand on. Article 15 of the Charter of the Organization of American States read: “No state or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever in the internal or external affairs of any other state.” The U.N. Charter stated: “All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state . . .”

Humiliated by the failed invasion but determined to isolate Cuba’s revolution, President Kennedy unveiled the Alliance for Progress, embracing the rhetoric of social change while expressly proscribing revolution or socialism. A major feature of the plan called for shifting the role of the Latin American military from “hemispheric defense” to “internal security,” encouraging the CIA to establish death squads under the aegis of “police training” while Kennedy rhapsodized about creating “a hemisphere where every man has enough to eat and a chance to work, where every child can learn, and every family can find decent shelter.”¹⁸

Washington escalated its clandestine attacks on Cuba and prepared a second American invasion. Hoping to deter the event while giving Washington a taste of its own nuclear medicine, Cuba requested that the Soviet Union install nuclear missiles on the island in the fall of 1962. When Krushchev complied, JFK opted for a game of nuclear chicken, imposing a unilateral blockade on Cuba in violation of the UN Charter, rather than negotiate a quiet solution, which he regarded as the sissy’s way out. In resolving the conflict, the U.S. did not renounce

its ongoing terrorist war against the island, which included chemical and biological attacks, as well as regular attacks on Castro’s life. Cuba went into permanent military mobilization and embraced the Soviet Union, while Washington established a complete trade and credit embargo, the prescribed remedy for states that infringe on the sacred privileges of private investors.¹⁹

Over sixty years later, Washington is still obsessing over tiny Cuba, a health and education superpower that ended illiteracy nearly overnight at the start of its revolution and now sends doctors all over the world to cure blindness and many other illnesses, as well as provide critical care in the wake of natural disasters, all without charge to the patients. This, while its far wealthier northern neighbor squanders trillions of dollars on endless wars and remains the world’s only developed country without universal health coverage for its people, who pay twice as much as other developed countries do for a system that delivers far worse health outcomes.

But these warped priorities are precisely the point. They are immensely profitable for the owners of the private economy, which, for some time now, has been a global economy. If these gluttonous few are to continue expanding their wealth these priorities must become everyone’s priorities, which means doing away with a revolution dedicated to what is regularly denounced as an extremist agenda by Washington.

Just what is this “extremist agenda”? In a nutshell, it’s the Cuban stance on human rights, announced by Fidel Castro in his New York City speech to the UN in 1960:

“The right of the peasants to the land; the right of the workers to the fruit of their labor; the right of children to education; the right of the sick to medical treatment and hospital attention; the right of youth to work; the right of students to free education . . . ; the right of Negroes and Indians to full dignity as human beings;

the right of women to civil, social and political equality; the right of the elderly to a secure old age; the right of intellectuals, artists, and scientists to fight, with their work, for a better world . . . the right of nations to their full sovereignty; the right of peoples to turn fortresses into schools, and to arm their workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, Blacks, Indians, women, the young and the old, and all the oppressed and exploited people, so they themselves can defend their rights and their destiny.”²⁰

It is to destroy the viability of this agenda that we fight forever wars.

God Bless America.

**The halting half-measures taken towards normalizing U.S.-Cuba relations by Barack Obama did not address the criminality of longstanding U.S. policy, which he regarded—incredibly—as having been undertaken with “the best of intentions.”*

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—CounterPunch, May 7, 2026

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Cuba’s Health Miracles

BY NUVPREET KALRA

June 4, 2026—Last week, the Cuban Center for Molecular Immunology (CIM) announced a major health breakthrough with VAXIRA, a vaccine treatment for lung cancer. This is a remarkable achievement, made only more impressive by the fact that this is Cuba’s second lung cancer vaccine.

The vaccine stops the progression of cancer by developing the patient’s immune system to fight off cancer cells. This has proven to significantly prolong people’s survival. Since 2013, the vaccine has been monitored, tried, and tested on more than 1,300 patients. Over a ten-year period, patients sur-

vived a median of 76.6 months, with 20 percent of all patients who were given VAXIRA experiencing unexpected long-term survival. Last year, VAXIRA was awarded the Technological Innovation Prize in Cuba for its contribution to healthcare in Cuba. This is an incredible feat for humanity and the battle against cancer—and it is being done by a country facing the longest and most severe blockade in history.

In 2011, Cuba developed CIMAvax, which remains the world’s only approved lung cancer vaccine. This vaccine works to induce the immune system to stop the growth of cancer

cells and slow the progression of tumors. This vaccine has already treated more than 5,000 people across the world and many more thousands in Cuba itself. Given the immense significance of the vaccine, the United States agreed to a special arrangement to trial the vaccine in the U.S. The Roswell Park Cancer Institute in New York has been running clinical trials with CIM since 2018. They have run the first clinical trials of CIMAvax in the United States. The very same nation that is imposing a genocidal blockade on Cuba is also benefiting from the historic breakthroughs in healthcare.

These major developments in medicine to treat cancer are not Cuba's only awe-inspiring health achievements.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, Cuba produced five vaccines: Ablada, Soberana 01, Soberana 02, Soberana Plus, and Mambisa. Cuba had one of the lowest COVID deaths in the Western Hemisphere—and by 2021, Cuba's fatality rate was just 0.59 percent compared to the 2.2 percent worldwide average. The vaccines were produced without the need for specialist refrigeration, which meant they could be easily transported and also distributed across the world to places where accessing such infrastructure would be impossible. Quickly, Venezuela, Iran, Vietnam, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Mexico all picked up the vaccine to protect their population.

By 2023, Cuba had the third-highest rate of vaccinations per 100,000 people. Despite the fact that the U.S. banned the country from importing the syringes necessary to immunize its own population. In this context, Cuba was the first country in the world to vaccinate toddlers and children, as part of their push to reopen schools safely.

Cuba, like the United States, offered its COVID vaccines to the world. While Cuba donated vaccines to St. Vincent and the Grenadines and sold them as cheaply as they could, the U.S. bullied countries into putting up their assets, like embassy buildings and military bases, in order to access vaccines. This was to "protect" against future legal challenges that vaccine recipients might file against the manufacturer of the vaccine. This profit motive was a major cause for the vaccine apartheid in the distribution of COVID protection across the world. As of August 2024, in high-income countries, more than 222 doses had been distributed per 100 people. While in low-income countries, this was less than 46. In 2021, U.S. pharmaceutical companies that produced COVID vaccines

(Moderna, Pfizer, Johnson & Johnson) collected an eye-watering revenue of \$31 billion. The concept that companies and shareholders should make money from a pandemic should be utterly outrageous.

Cuba has developed a world-class biotechnological sector that is state-owned and operates in the interests of the people, not profit.

Biotechnology

Cuba leads the world in its vaccine breakthroughs. But how is this all possible? It is not by accident that Cuba is able to develop world-leading health breakthroughs in medicine. Cuba has developed a world-class biotechnological sector that is state-owned and operates in the interests of the people, not profit. There are no profit motives to producing vaccines; research and development are for the collective benefit, and resources are shared to better the process of scientific development. This

is quite the opposite situation in capitalist countries, where biotechnology is a major competition dominated by pharmaceutical companies motivated entirely by profits, which often means that when there are major developments in health, they are not accessible to people.

In 1981, Cuba opened the Biological Research Center, despite the blockade stopping the entry of equipment, materials, access to research journals, and medicines. In the first nine years, the Center produced three products. Between 1990 and 2000, it produced 18, and between 2001 and 2010, it produced more than 40. Today, that figure continues to grow. The Center flourished into a world-class biotechnological sector that has made major health breakthroughs. Cuba produced the world's first human vaccine to contain a synthetic antigen for *Haemophilus influenzae* type B.

In 1989, Cuba produced the world's first Meningitis B vaccine during a severe outbreak of the disease in the country. This was the first ever vaccine produced to protect against Meningitis B and was exported to protect people in countries across Latin America. The U.S. approved its first vaccine for Meningitis B in 2014.



Image by MJ Haru.

The following year, Cuba produced a vaccine for Hepatitis B. They joined just five other countries as a manufacturer of Hep B vaccines: France, South Korea, the United States, Indonesia, and Britain. As the U.S. blockade made it virtually impossible and far too expensive to import the vaccine, Cuba produced their own and eliminated Hepatitis B in under 15 years.

In 2006, Cuba developed Heberprot-P, the only medicine in the world to reduce the amputation rate of patients with diabetic foot ulcers by 75 percent. Within ten years, it was used in 23 countries. It has treated more than 400,000 people with foot ulcers. In 2024, the United States even broke its own blockade and approved it for trials and use. The very thought that Americans who suffer from diabetes might be treated by Cuban medicine while being fed propaganda against Cuba and funding a war against the very Cuban researchers and scientists helping them reveals how inhumane this blockade is.

By 2015, Cuba became the first country in the world to eliminate mother-to-child transmission of HIV and syphilis. Cuba managed this because of its socialist model, which is the same reason why it is not celebrated in mainstream media and looked to as a center for health advances in the U.S. This world historical achievement came as a result of Cuba's universal health system that integrated maternal and child health programs with HIV and STI treatment. Cuba has one of the lowest rates of AIDS in the world and the lowest in the Americas, thanks to the free provision of antiretroviral treatment it has been distributing since 2001. Its vaccination programs have eradicated diseases that continue to cause death and suffering around the world, including diphtheria in 1979, measles in 1993, whooping cough in 1994, and rubella in 1995. Cuba has also developed the highest control of blood pressure in the world.

The same principles that led Cuba to produce world-leading medical breakthroughs are similar to its success in eliminating diseases. Cuba's vaccination model is motivated by protecting its people. The National Immunization Program, which began in 1962, has saved the lives of at least 560,000 children who would have otherwise contracted diseases if it weren't for the program. This is motivated by four directives: equity of vaccine distribution; integration of vaccination in primary healthcare; the inclusion of active community participation; and providing vaccines free of charge. These guiding principles indicate how central the health of all society is, not corporate interests or greed.

The very thought that Americans who suffer from diabetes might be treated by Cuban medicine while being fed propaganda against Cuba and funding a war against the very Cuban researchers and scientists helping them reveals how inhumane this blockade is.

Cuba's approach to providing healthcare is indicative of the nature of the revolution: to serve Cubans and the oppressed across the world. Before the revolution in 1959, 300 children were paralyzed by polio each year. One of the first measures by the revolutionary government was immunization for Cuban society. In 1962, the polio campaign launched through mobilizing 100,000 members of newly founded revolutionary committees to conduct a population census and vaccinate all

children. Within months, polio was eradicated in Cuba, making it one of the first countries in the world to do so. Polio is still a leading cause of paralysis and death across the world.

These health achievements have massively benefited people across the world through access to new treatments and cures, affordable and accessible vaccines and medicines, and models for healthcare. But another awe-inspiring element of Cuba's healthcare is its international solidarity.

Cuba has restored the eyesight for more than four million people with its joint program with Venezuela, Operation Miracle. They have sent more than 600,000 health workers on medical missions to 160 countries in response to pandemics, epidemics, natural disasters, and other crises where no other country would act. They have and continue to train doctors from the Global South for free, so they go back to their home countries to practice medicine.

Cuba makes these miraculous achievements for humanity while facing a blockade that causes shortages of medicines in pharmacies across Cuba, blocks researchers from accessing health journals, and prevents the entry of equipment, spare parts, and laboratory materials that could make it easier and faster to conduct research. The U.S. blockade should be seen as an attack on humanity itself. This is a genocidal act of war against a population that exports doctors across the world by an empire that exports bombs, fighter jets, and invading soldiers.

Cuba once had among the lowest rates of infant mortality in the world. But since 2019, with the increase of more than 250 additional sanctions on Cuba, the rates of infant mortality have risen by 148 percent. It is estimated that this has cost 1,800 lives of infants. This is the material result of a blockade that intends to kill, punish, and destroy a country for asserting its own sovereignty. Yet, even still, Cuba's infant

mortality rate is lower than that in the United States. The U.S. enforces its blockade on Cuba so that it can try to claim Cuba is a “failed state,” which also means its universal, free health-care system “fails,” all so it can maintain its abysmal healthcare system that operates purely for profit, despite the level of death, bankruptcy, and suffering it causes to poor Americans.

The truth is that even with this genocidal blockade, Cuba maintains the principles of its revolution and the motivation to better the world.

Like Fidel Castro said in 2003: “Our country does not drop bombs on other people, nor does it send thousands of planes to bomb cities; our country does not possess nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, or biological weapons. Our country’s tens-of-thousands of scientists and doctors have been educated in the idea of saving lives. It would absolutely contradict this concept to put a scientist or a doctor to work to produce substances, bacteria or viruses to kill other human beings.”

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—CounterPunch, June 4, 2026

<https://www.counterpunch.org/2026/06/04/cubas-health-miracles-while-under-blockade/>

The Iran War at Home: Inflation and Discontent

BY XIMENA GOLDMAN

Workers in the U.S. are paying for the imperialist war on Iran through higher prices, electricity bills, and tighter budgets, even as corporations profit and politicians posture. This could have profound impacts on the midterm elections.

The war in Iran—launched by a U.S. administration desperate to reassert imperial authority with Bonapartist¹ methods—has unleashed a political and economic shockwave inside the United States. The result is not national unity but rising anger, deepening polarization, and a crisis of legitimacy for the entire regime. Far from projecting strength and as Juan Chingo [Author at *Left Voice*] argues, this war is exposing the weakness of an empire in decline and the failure of Trumpism to impose a Bonapartist solution.

Inflation and economic pressure on workers

U.S. inflation has climbed sharply since the beginning of the Iran war, driven above all by skyrocketing energy costs. According to *The Guardian*,

inflation jumped to 3.8 percent in April, with energy prices acting as the primary accelerant. The *Washington Post* reports the same figure, noting it is “the highest rate in nearly three years” as gasoline prices surge in response to the conflict. *CBS News* underscores that “searing U.S. energy prices are driving the hottest inflation in years,” and economists expect further increases even if the war ends immediately, because “the tail of the impact will last for months.”

The clearest pressure point for working-class households has come through fuel and energy bills. Economists are warning that the risk of \$5 gasoline (in California it’s already above \$6) can no longer be dismissed, driven by supply disruptions and market uncertainty after the U.S. blockade of Iranian ports. The *New York Times* reported oil at \$115 a barrel in late March, a level that has since kept refining and transportation costs elevated, while the *Wall Street Journal* notes that the war’s “economic shock wave is expected to get even bigger” as tighter global oil supply squeez-



Donald Trump

es both businesses and consumers. These increases feed into electricity and heating costs, which are rising across multiple regions as utilities pass higher fuel prices onto customers.

While the U.S. economy remains more insulated than Europe or Asia, the domestic effects—higher prices, rising energy bills, and persistent uncertainty—are politically corrosive. The University of Michigan's consumer sentiment survey showed growing pessimism as households connect their cost-of-living problems directly to the war. In short, the economic consequences of the Iran War are already hitting U.S. workers, and the pressure is likely to intensify in the months ahead.

Against the war and against authoritarianism

NPR (National Public Radio) summarizes accurately the mood of the American population: "The war in Iran has not been popular with the American public, according to polls."

This includes cracks within Trump's coalition, including MAGA. The promise that this war would be quick, cheap, or strategically decisive has fallen apart. Instead, many of Trump's allies on the right are worried that the war could escalate and lead to further instability and price spikes. MAGA "survived" the 12-Day War, where the United States was able to score what appeared to many to be a decisive victory. But Iran's willingness to fight to the end and the absence of a quick, cheap, or decisive American victory has brought the crisis of U.S. hegemony out into the open. In the absence of a quick victory or withdrawal, the war is opening the cracks in Trump's own coalition, including the MAGA wing, where there's increasing criticism that the United States is spending billions on a "war for Israel."

This is the domestic political cost of imperialism: a population that sees its own living standards deteriorate as yet another administration drags the country into yet another war.

In this context, although Trump was forced to back down from the most fascistic aspects of his agenda after being confronted by the working class of Minneapolis, the imperialist offensive in Iran has its authoritarian counterpart in the United States. Not only does ICE continue to patrol the streets of major cities, expanding its infrastructure to resemble the Gestapo and collaborating with local police, but Trump and the GOP are also attempting to mount a Bonapartist voter suppression effort ahead of the midterm elections, which includes smashing the Civil Rights Act and redistricting electoral maps in states across the country in an effort to maintain control of congress. The Brennan Center for Justice for example, a liberal think tank, warns that "wartime conditions create opportunities for executive overreach." In a country already marked by intense polarization, voter suppression, and a reactionary judiciary, this warning is not abstract. War can often become a pretext to expand surveillance, repress political enemies, and further erode democratic rights.

Republicans and Democrats both defend a foreign-policy doctrine that feeds endless war, and both accept that workers must bear the cost.

Republicans on the defensive

Republicans are increasingly alarmed about the political fallout of the Iran war. The conflict has triggered a strategic crisis inside the party, and there is a widespread fear that everything will fall apart unless Republicans shift their midterm messaging away from celebratory rhetoric and toward economic reassurance. GOP strategists acknowledge that the war is hurting Trump

politically, as voters associate the conflict with higher costs and instability. *Politico* captures the growing panic inside the party. As one Republican adviser said bluntly: "We lose the midterms" if the economic effects of the war continue, reflecting a widespread fear that the conflict has already damaged their chances in competitive districts.

To counter these headwinds, Republicans are scrambling to adjust their campaign strategy while also trying to blunt the electoral impact of voter anger. GOP senators are even pressuring Trump to find an exit plan from the conflict: "the clock is ticking" as energy prices rise. At the same time, local campaigns are steering away from foreign policy and doubling down on pocket-book messaging—an abrupt reversal from the early months of the war, when the administration expected a patriotic rally effect that never materialized.

Facing worsening polls, Republicans have leaned heavily on redistricting to protect their congressional majority and to further suppress voting rights with the complicity of the Supreme Court.

The Louisiana Supreme Court decision effectively dismantled one of the last remaining protections of the Voting Rights Act and allowed the state to adopt a congressional map that reduces Black political representation despite Black residents making up nearly a third of the population. By voiding a map that included two majority-Black districts and permitting a new map that collapses this representation, the court sidelined the principle of racial equality in voting. In practice, this means that politicians are literally choosing their own constituencies, entrenching one-party control and violating basic democratic standards of fair representation.

Democrats face their own crisis of credibility, but they could regain the House

Democrats have responded to the Iran war with hesitation, fragmentation, and procedural criticism, rather than a

unified political stance. Many establishment Democrats have defaulted to narrow institutional language—demanding “briefings,” “plans,” and “legal justifications.” Democrats are being cautious since a broad majority of Americans want the war to end creating pressure on the party to oppose the conflict without appearing militarily weak.

As the midterms draw closer, Democrats are trying to turn the war’s economic fallout into an argument against Republican leadership. Democratic politicians in competitive states have the space to avoid talking about the War because voters blame the administration for inflation and soaring energy prices, opening space for Democrats to attack Trump on domestic affordability rather than foreign-policy. But Democrats are far from unified. Some of them like Senator Ruben Gallego, have condemned the war outright as “wrong,” while others maintain a more hawkish or procedural posture. This split has complicated Democratic messaging: centrist Democrats want to frame the war as mismanaged but “necessary,” while progressive Democrats want to question its legitimacy.

This puts the social democrats like Bernie Sanders and Zohran Mamdani noticeably apart from the Democratic leadership from the perspective of voters who oppose the war. Mamdani said the Iran war reflects a “broken kind of politics.” Sanders has publicly opposed the war, reflecting his attempt to balance antiwar rhetoric with remaining inside the Democratic Party. Both politicians occupy an uneasy space: they acknowledge discontent with the war but remain tied to a party whose establishment refuses to confront its underlying causes since the “Iran problem” is a bi-partisan one. As a result, the Democratic reaction is defined not by clear opposition but by fragmentation—procedural *critique* at the top, cautious dissent in the middle, and antiwar appeals from its social-demo-

cratic wing that is unable to offer any alternative to imperialism.

Imperialist war and class struggle at home

The Iran war has worsened economic conditions for U.S. workers, deepened public discontent, and destabilized even further the political system ahead of what is one of the most crucial mid-term elections in recent history. Republicans and Democrats both defend a foreign-policy doctrine that feeds endless war, and both accept that workers must bear the cost. Indeed, that’s what’s behind the mammoth \$1.5 trillion defense budget request that Trump and the Pentagon have asked Congress to approve in order to replace the huge portion of munitions already used in the war.

An antiwar movement rooted in the working class—militant, democratically organized from below, and explicitly internationalist—is the only force capable of confronting not only the war abroad but the crisis unfolding inside the United States.

From below though, massive repudiation against the war has taken to the streets through the No Kings demonstrations that explicitly were called under the slogans of “No War, No Kings, No ICE.” Among the masses, a radicalized vanguard has brought an anti-imperialist struggle to those demonstrations, denouncing not only the billions that are going to the war machine but also the illegitimate, imperialist war against Iran and U.S.

complicity in the genocide of the Palestinian people.

At the same time, the living conditions of the vast American working class are deteriorating every day, and our democratic rights are under attack. It is clear to thousands that the bombs killing girls in Iran are paid for by the people, and that the bullets killing activists like Renee Good and Alex Pretti are aimed at the people.

The real alternative will not come from either capitalist party. It must come from below—through the independent organization of workers, youth, and oppressed communities who refuse to pay for imperialism, whether in Iran or at home.

An antiwar movement rooted in the working class—militant, democratically organized from below, and explicitly internationalist—is the only force capable of confronting not only the war abroad but the crisis unfolding inside the United States.

—Left Voice, May 14, 2026

<https://www.leftvoice.org/the-iran-war-at-home-inflation-and-discontent-ahead-of-the-midterms/>

¹ Bonapartism describes a capitalist regime where the state achieves temporary independence from the warring social classes (usually between the working class and the capitalist class) by centralizing power in the hands of a single autocrat.

Cuba Union Leader: “Our Greatest Weapon: Our Certainty a Better World Is Possible”

By OSNAY MIGUEL COLINA RODRÍGUEZ

The following is the speech by Osnay Miguel Colina Rodríguez, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Organizing Committee of the 22nd Congress of the Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC), during the main 2026 May Day rally in Havana, Cuba, at the José Martí Anti-Imperialist Tribunal.

General of the Army Raúl Castro Ruz,¹ leader of the Cuban Revolution. Miguel Díaz-Canel Bermúdez, first secretary of the Central Committee of the [Communist] Party [of Cuba] and President of the Republic.

Comrades of the Presidency, workers, people of our capital.

Down with the blockade! Down with imperialism! Long live peace and solidarity! Long live the Cuban Revolution!

Our enemies have rehearsed and tried everything. They thought they would see us strangled, submissive. And here we are, committed and firm, with our foot in the stirrup and fighting.

These four marching fronts in which we have paraded arise from history.² They are guerrilla fronts. This massive, colorful and patriotic rally of more than half-a-million habaneros [people of Havana] is Fidel's May 1st in the year of his centen-

nial.³ It is the resounding response of workers all over Cuba who have filled our streets and plazas, demonstrating that socialist and anti-imperialist Cuba will be around for a long time. Without surrender or disregard for history. Without betraying the glory witnessed.

Against all odds, we will continue to defend our essence and our principles, raising our voices in defense of peace and solidarity and for a world in which human beings, not capital, are the true horizon.

That is why General of the Army Raúl Castro Ruz is here, at the head of our people, our capital, and all of Cuba, together with the generation continuing his work, defending our homeland with loyalty, conviction, and ideological firmness, with that sense of the historic moment that Fidel defined in the concept of Revolution on a day like today 26 years ago. In the 21st century,

where the extreme right and neofascism intend to dominate without facing any resistance, we reaffirm our Mambí⁴ and rebel lineage.

Against all odds, we will continue to defend our essence and our principles, raising our voices in defense of peace and solidarity and for a world in which human beings, not capital, are the true horizon.

We are not a people who attack or sow hatred, fanaticism or confrontation. We are a kind and good-hearted people, ready to defend our conquests.

While the rich world accumulates weapons and builds walls, we the peoples of the global South cry out for a glimmer of humanity.

In the middle of this storm, Cuba, the rebellious island, continues to stand as a moral beacon, without armies for invading or digital algorithms for lying. This country has sent doctors where others send bombs; it has provided literacy education where others impose functional illiteracy; and it has shared the little it has where others hoard wealth. Our greatest weapon is not a missile, but a conscience, and our certainty that another, better world is possible.

While there is a single Cuban child learning how to read, a single doctor in a remote village of the world, a single voice denouncing injustice from this island, Cuba will continue to be the example that so bothers our historic enemies. The impact of the economic, commercial and financial blockade imposed by the United States government on Cuba has reached unprecedented levels in recent years. The accumulated material and financial cost is billions-of-dollars, and it constitutes the principal obstacle to our country's development.

But the human damage caused, now heightened by the energy siege, is



Thousands respond to remarks by CTC leader Osnay Miguel Colina Rodríguez addressing a rally on May 1, 2026, in Havana, Cuba. (Photo: José Raúl Rodríguez Robleda / Granma)

impossible to translate into statistics. The human face of this strangulation constitutes the greatest damnation of this crime. To describe it as it is and to denounce it on any platform: it is merciless collective punishment.

However, against all predictions of that war machine, which includes media intoxication and social media lynchings, and against the countless limitations intended to suffocate us and make us surrender to irrational threats of war and death, this May 1st confirms that we are here—that not only are we resisting, but we are also creating, growing and triumphing in the face of adversity. Every day that goes by is a victory for Cuba, a victory for peace, and a new epic is being woven, one that is admired by the dignified peoples of the world. This is our trench—it is our response to “the end of history” proclaimed by obsolete capitalist ideologues.

History has not ended. We continue to write it by hammering away with revolutionary ideas, using digital platforms to defend truth and denounce barbarism. That also is our Girón [Bay of Pigs victory],⁵ today and always.

Compatriots, in recent days, since April 19th, we have felt the pride and commitment of imprinting our signatures for our homeland.⁶ Cuban women and men, we thus reaffirm it. We sign for peace against the blockade; for the right to develop, which is to defend life; for the dreams of children, adolescents and young people; for the history of grandparents and families.

It is signing against war, bombs and deaths. It is signing because reason, truth and justice break down walls. It is defending the path we have chosen, with all and for the good of all, without pressure or threats, and with sovereignty and independence.

For Cuba, together we create. It is the workers' slogan, and with the guidance charted for us by the priorities defined by the Party, we strive despite the difficulties in production and services. And before all, in preparing for the defense of

our socialist homeland, as our General of the Army affirmed; for us, avoiding war is equal to winning it, but to win it by avoiding it, we must prepare correctly.

By sweating rivers, which is preferable to rivers of blood. Inspired by the legacy of our Commander-in-Chief, and the teachings of the General of the Army, we are summoned by a cardinal idea. The homeland is defended, including with rifle in hand if so needed.

**Our greatest weapon is
not a missile, but a
conscience, and our
certainty that another,
better world is possible.**

With these convictions, we will continue forward in our goal of perfecting and developing our economy, in changing our energy matrix, in producing food, and in seeking every day more efficient solutions to our problems. May 1st in Cuba will always be a genuine expression of unity around the Revolution and Party. It is a trench of the international working class, and living proof that workers are the essential link in building the history of a people that is still standing and fighting, that will never surrender, and that is determined to struggle ever onward to victory.

- Long live the workers of the world! Viva!
- Long live our Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro Ruz! Viva!
- Long live our General of the Army! Viva!
- Long live the Cuban Revolution! Viva!
- Homeland or death!

We will win!

—World-Outlook, May 4, 2026

<https://world-outlook.com/2026/05/04/cuban-union-leader-our-greatest-weapon-our-certainty-a-better-world-is-possible/>

1 Raúl Castro is a central leader of the Cuban revolution. He is a general in Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces. He served as the first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, from 2011 to 2021, and as Cuba's president between 2008 and 2018, succeeding his brother Fidel Castro.

2 This is a reference to the four rallies held in Havana on May 1, 2026. For more details see Millions of Cubans March on May Day, Denounce Threats of U.S. Invasion.

<https://world-outlook.com/2026/05/04/cuba-millions-march-on-may-day-denounce-threats-of-u-s-invasion/>

3 Fidel Castro was the central leader of the Cuban revolution. He served as Cuba's president from 1976 until his retirement in 2008. He died in 2016. The year 2026 marks the centennial of his birth.

4 The Mambí were guerrilla independence fighters who fought in the 19th-century wars to liberate Cuba from Spanish colonial rule and to abolish slavery. Primarily active between 1868 and 1898, they formed the *Ejército Libertador de Cuba* (Cuban Liberation Army).

5 On April 17, 1961, 1,500 mercenaries armed, trained, supported, and deployed by Washington invaded Cuba near the Bay of Pigs. In less than 72 hours of combat, Cuba's revolutionary militias, police, and armed forces crushed the assault, setting an example for workers, farmers, and youth around the world.

6 This is a reference to the “My Signature for the Homeland” petition signed by more than 6 million Cubans this spring. For more details see “Millions of Cubans March on May Day, Denounce Threats of U.S. Invasion.”

<https://world-outlook.com/2026/05/04/cuba-millions-march-on-may-day-denounce-threats-of-u-s-invasion/>

**We are not a people
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Cubans Reject U.S. Charges Against Raul Castro

BY TELESUR

Washington accuses Castro of being responsible for the deaths of four crew members, three of them of U.S. origin, during the incident that occurred in Cuban airspace [carried out by members of “Brothers to the Rescue”—a group opposed to the Cuban Revolution—on February 24, 1996.] Cuban authorities described the charges as a political provocation lacking legitimacy and jurisdiction.

In response to this new attack against the Cuban Revolution, the Union of Young Communists, the University Student Federation, and the Jose Marti Pioneer Organization called on citizens to gather at the Jose Marti Anti-Imperialist Tribune.

Opened in 2000, the highly symbolic venue has become a regular site for political events through which the Cuban people reaffirm their indomitable character. On this occasion, the anti-imperialist gathering coincides with the 95th anniversary of Raul Castro’s birth.

“The alleged charges against Army General Raul Castro only demonstrate the arrogance and frustration felt by representatives of the empire in the face of the unwavering firmness of the Cuban Revolution and the unity and moral strength of its leadership,” Cuban President Miguel Diaz-Canel said on social media.

On Wednesday, May 20, 2026, Foreign Minister Bruno Rodriguez described the U.S. legal action as a fraudulent maneuver that forms part of a campaign intended to justify “heightened aggression” against the Cuban people.

“We condemn the farce of the U.S. government in presenting an illegitimate and illegal accusation against the Leader of the Cuban Revolution, Army General Raul Castro,” he said.

The Cuban diplomat pointed out that the charges are based on “the concealment of properly documented historical truths regarding the events that

led to the downing, in Cuban airspace and in legitimate self-defense, of two aircraft belonging to the terrorist organization Brothers to the Rescue.”

“Cuba will not renounce its inalienable right to legitimate self-defense. We reaffirm our firm support for the Army general and our unwavering commitment to defending the homeland, the Revolution and socialism,” Rodriguez stressed.

—telesur, May 21, 2026

<https://www.telesurenglish.net/thousands-of-cubans-to-reject-u-s-charges-against-raul->



Former Cuban President Raul Castro. X/ @el_pais

Continued from page 65

I was telling you that to be a revolutionary requires having a revolution. We already have it. And a revolutionary must also know the people with whom he or she is to work. I think we still don’t know one another well. I think we still have to travel a while along that road. Yet if we know the goals, if we know the enemy, and if we know the direction in which we have to travel, then the only thing left for us is to know the daily stretch of the road and to take it. Nobody can point out that

stretch; that stretch is the personal road of each individual; it is what he or she will do every day, what he or she will gain from their individual experience, and what he or she will give of themselves in practicing their profession, dedicated to the people’s well-being.

If we already possess all the elements with which to march toward the future, let us then recall that phrase of José Martí, which at this moment I am not

putting into practice, but which we must constantly put into practice: “The best form of saying is doing.” And let us then march toward the future of Cuba.

—Excerpt From *The Motorcycle Diaries*, Ernesto Che Guevara, Walter Salles and Cintio Vitier

1 *The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey*, by Che Guevara

<https://www.amazon.com/Motorcycle-Diaries-Notes-American-Journey>

Gaza After the War

All They Will Find is Sand

BY EYAL WEIZMAN

The UN Genocide Convention of 1948 lists five acts that constitute genocide when committed with the intent to destroy a group in whole or in part. The first two concern mass killing and serious bodily or mental harm. The fourth and fifth are concerned with interrupting the biological continuity of a group.

The third prohibition, framed in Article II(c), forbids “deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction.” This refers to indirect forms of killing, those that don’t target human bodies but the environment that sustains them. Sufficient “conditions of life” require buildings, hospitals, social infrastructure, sewage and water systems, power grids, agriculture. The intentional destruction or degradation of such structures undermines a people’s ability to survive, leading to a slower and more tortuous form of annihilation.

The idea that the built environment determines a group’s conditions of life recalls the modernist conception of

architecture, prevalent when the word “genocide” was first conceived and defined by the Polish Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin in his 1944 book, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*.

Modern architecture offered to calculate and improve the conditions of life. Cities were to be laid out in accordance with public health principles, and homes, in Le Corbusier’s famous definition, were to be “machines for living in,” calibrated to maximize the supply of biological necessities—heat, hygiene, air circulation, food and even sexual reproduction.

Architects’ Data (1936) by the German modernist architect Ernst Neufert is still used by architects looking for the most efficient dimensions for kitchens, bedrooms or even park benches. In the 1920s Neufert was an assistant to Walter Gropius, director of the Bauhaus¹. Later, on behalf of the Nazi Party, he oversaw the standardization of Germany’s building industry, which was largely powered by enslaved

labor. Several Bauhaus graduates designed concentration camps. The deliberate degradation of living conditions inverted the task of modern architecture from the enhancement of life to the production of death.

Lemkin defined genocide as being aimed at “the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups.” He was thinking about the way the Nazis saw the Jewish ghettos and enslaved labor camps as means of slow, indirect extermination. But he was also aware of the colonial origins of this mode of destruction.

Though direct acts of massacre took place in colonized territories everywhere, slow, indirect killings have more often been the means of annihilating Indigenous peoples. Dispossessed of their ancestral habitats, separated from the land on which they depended for sustenance and ritual, forced into reservations, Indigenous populations were destroyed to free up the best land for European settlement.

Two-and-a-half years after October 7, 2023, most of the Gaza Strip—cities, refugee camps, schools, universities, mosques, the health infrastructure, agriculture, wells and the soil itself—has been destroyed and made toxic by bombs, artillery, tank shells and sappers.

Systematic destruction by D9 bulldozers

The most systematic destruction was caused by D9 bulldozers made by the U.S. company Caterpillar. These giant armored machines stabbed their blades into the ground, churning up fields, felling orchards, flattening homes, tearing through roads and ploughing through cemeteries. The tide of destruction flowed inwards from Gaza’s perimeter fences, pushing



An Israel Defense Force (IDF) armored Caterpillar D-9 bulldozer clearing the way for IDF’s Mark IV main battle tanks.

Palestinians into enclaves referred to by the Israeli army as “safe areas” and “humanitarian zones,” though they were never safe or humane.

These overcrowded coastal sites, such as al-Mawasi, with its barren sand dunes, were without housing, health-care or other services, and were continuously bombed from the air and attacked on the ground. The bulldozers turned the agriculturally rich land of eastern Gaza into a monochrome desert of crushed grey cement mixed with the area’s yellowish soil.

Entire cities such as Rafah, towns such as Beit Hanoun and refugee camps such as Jabalia were erased. When buildings are bombed or bulldozed, their remains—plastics, wiring, solvents, insulation, asbestos—release toxic chemicals into the soil. Some bombs penetrate the ground before exploding and release heavy metals or metalloids—such as uranium, lead and arsenic—deep underground. Many of these substances are slow to decay and will affect the composition of the soil for decades. A lived-in landscape has been turned into what a former Israeli general, Giora Eiland, described as a place “where no human being can exist.”

Lemkin understood conditions of life to include not only the infrastructure that enables biological existence but social and cultural continuity too: religious buildings, schools, libraries, heritage sites. In Gaza most of these have also been systematically demolished.

The Genocide Convention ratified in 1948 did not mention the “cultural genocide” that Lemkin argued should be included. Entire sections were left out of the convention. Imperial powers such as Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, which were then attempting to suppress anti-colonial uprisings, wanted genocide to be defined in a way that would not restrict their activities. Settler-colonial states—Australia, the United States and Canada—that had destroyed the physi-

cal heritage, culture and language of Indigenous peoples also objected.

But cultural and biological life are not separate domains when it comes to national survival. In Gaza the systematic devastation of the environment—fields, water sources and the fishing industry—destroyed the ability of the society to feed itself. Attacks on schools and mosques reduced its capacity to organize and offer mutual care to mitigate the worst effects of scarcity, thus aggravating famine. The simultaneous destruction of one domain amplifies the harm caused by the other.

**Two-and-a-half years
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After Hamas attack, Israel plans full-scale expulsion of Palestinians

On October 13, 2023, six days after the Hamas attack on Israeli settlements and bases around Gaza, Israel ordered the evacuation of Gaza City, sending Palestinians in northern Gaza towards the southern border with Egypt.

A document prepared by the Israeli Ministry of Intelligence and leaked to the online journal +972 explained the reason for this: it recommended the full-scale expulsion of Palestinians from the Gaza Strip into the Egyptian Sinai, arguing that this would “yield positive, long-term strategic outcomes for Israel.”

The destruction of conditions of life was intended to hasten the Gazans’ departure. The biggest campaign in the history of aerial bombardment rolled like a carpet of fire from north to south.

The mass expulsion of Palestinians from Gaza to Egypt has been an aim of Israeli governments since December 1948, when the army first tried and failed to cleanse this last remaining enclave along Palestine’s Mediterranean coast. It tried again during the 1950s and intensified its effort after the 1967 War, when Israel occupied both the Gaza Strip and the Sinai desert.

Hamas’s attack on October 7, 2023 gave Israel another opportunity. Expulsion plans were trumpeted by Israeli politicians and media spokespeople. Benjamin Netanyahu confirmed that he was actively seeking to transfer Palestinians out of Gaza. Israeli and some U.S. officials started lobbying Egypt to accept large numbers of refugees. For eight months the Israeli army refrained from occupying the border area near Rafah, leaving the exit to Egypt open.

Many Palestinians, remembering the consequences of the mass displacement of 1948, refused to leave their homes. They remained in the ruins of Gaza City despite the bombing, and despite the denial of aid. Egypt policed the border closely and refused to let in Palestinians *en masse*, allowing entry only to those who could pay extortionate sums. Unable to achieve its goal, Israel sought instead to concentrate Palestinians into an ever-smaller area of the Strip until the next opportunity for displacement arrived. Outside these zones, total destruction was meant to prevent their return to the areas from which they had been expelled.

The destruction was most complete close to Gaza’s fences. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) calls the area bordering Israel a “buffer zone.” It is a no-go area for Palestinians, a *shetah hashmada*, Hebrew for “annihilation zone:” any Palestinian entering it, or sometimes even approaching it, is shot on sight.

The victims included Palestinians, many of them children, who wanted to see what could be salvaged from the ruins of their homes, to retrieve food aid that had been parachuted in, or who simply lost their way in a newly unfamiliar landscape.

The flattening of all structures in the buffer zone was intended, among other things, to remove any hiding places and expose Palestinians to snipers. Before October the zone was between 300 and 500 meters wide. Two weeks into the war it was extended to a kilometer. By the spring of 2025 it was two kilometers wide; soon after it was three kilometers, with everything inside systematically bulldozed. Because the buffer zone now covered such a large area, snipers couldn't be used everywhere, and Palestinians were murdered instead by quadcopter drones equipped with grenade launchers. During the day people were easy to see against the monochrome backdrop; at night the drones' thermal sensors registered their body heat.

Buffer zones through history

Throughout military history, buffer zones—the Rhineland after the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, the strip between Kuwait and Iraq following the 1991 Gulf War, the DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) between North and South Korea, or the land between Turkish and Greek Cyprus—have been means of maintaining ceasefires by keeping armies apart. In the eight decades since the establishment of Israel, buffer zones have instead been used as a means of occupation, displacement and erasure.

Under the terms of the armistice agreement between Egypt and Israel that ended the 1948 war, Israeli forward positions were drawn roughly three kilometers east of where the present border of Gaza now lies, as the Palestinian historian and cartographer Salman Abu Sitta has shown.

The line crosses al-Ma'in, the village where he was born and from which he was expelled with the rest of his family on May

14, 1948. Al-Ma'in and other Palestinian villages were soon cleared and replaced by the agrarian kibbutz settlements that were attacked on October 7, 2023.

The settlers expanded Israeli territory through cultivation, removing the remnants of Palestinian homes, roads and fields. They ploughed over cemeteries because these were often places Palestinians returned to. Soldiers and settlers were instructed to shoot anyone, armed or unarmed, who crossed into the zone.

The mass expulsion of Palestinians from Gaza to Egypt has been an aim of Israeli governments since December 1948

Before the 1967 War King Hussein of Jordan secretly offered to keep the West Bank as a buffer area if Israel promised not to invade. Israel occupied the territory, nevertheless. After the war, a security masterplan drawn up by the former military commander Yigal Allon called for a strip of the Jordan Valley ten to fifteen kilometers wide (covering roughly a third of the West Bank) to be annexed and settled to become Israel's eastern buffer zone. Ethnic cleansing of Palestinian farming communities in the area started shortly after this and has continued on and off ever since.

Expulsions have accelerated radically since October 2023 and have increased even more since the start of the U.S. and Israel's attack on Iran, with the Israeli army promoting and participating in settlers' pogroms throughout the remaining Palestinian communities. Bezalel Smotrich, a West Bank settler and the Israeli minister of finance, had already promised early in 2025 that Palestinian villages and cities in the West Bank would come to "resemble Rafah and Khan Younis.

They will also be turned into uninhabitable ruins, and their residents will be forced to migrate and seek a new life in other countries."

A similar process took place in the north of the country. During the 1967 War Israel occupied the Golan Heights with the explicit aim of creating a buffer zone between the Syrian army and Israel's agrarian settlements in the upper Jordan Valley. Further settlements were built across the occupied area and in 1981 Israel formally annexed it. In December 2024, after the fall of Bashar al-Assad, the IDF extended a "sterile defense zone" further into Syrian territory, expelling Syrian residents, destroying military and civilian buildings including the al-Golan hospital and the al-Andalus cinema in Quneitra, and bulldozing orchards, forests and fields, piling the soil to construct military outposts, trenches and earth berms.

Israel's latest invasion of Lebanon has involved the expulsion of 600,000 Lebanese from a new buffer zone. Israel has bombed all the bridges across the Litani River, thirty kilometers away from the border, in order to cut off the area from the rest of Lebanon and has started systematically demolishing the villages closest to the border.

The return of Lebanese inhabitants to these villages will be prohibited, Israel Katz, Israel's minister of defense, said, "until the safety and security of the residents of the north [of Israel] is ensured"—an impossible demand. An Israeli settler organization has published plans for the "settlement of southern Lebanon," producing maps that give Lebanese villages Hebrew names and provocatively advertising plots of land for sale.

The circular logic of Zionist settler-colonialism

This exemplifies the circular logic of Zionist settler-colonialism: settlements are built to mark and protect the state's border, but that makes them vulnerable

to attack and so a buffer zone is established to protect them. Afterwards, this buffer zone is itself settled to mark and protect the newly expanded borders, at which point another buffer zone becomes necessary. In this manner vulnerability is produced and then mobilized in a feedback loop that the genocide scholar A. Dirk Moses has called “permanent security.”

Throughout the past two-and-a-half years, Gaza has not only been a demolition zone but a construction site, reshaped according to Israel’s blueprint. The bulldozed remains of buildings were piled into a landscape of earth berms, which were then shaped into barriers, detention facilities and military outposts from which Israeli tanks and snipers commanded the area where survivors were concentrated.

The scale of the earthworks was so great that Israel’s two hundred bulldozers were not nearly enough—many were damaged by the Palestinian resistance—and Israel urgently needed two hundred more. In late 2024 the Biden administration delayed their export, and they weren’t sent until Trump took office. In the meantime, the IDF hired private bulldozer operators, many of them West Bank settlers.

If Palestinians ever tried to return to the demolished zones, an Israeli bulldozer operator called Abraham Zarbiv said, they “will be returning to nowhere. Tens-of-thousands of families are left without papers, without childhood photos, without ID cards, they remain with nothing. If they return, they will not know where their home is. All they will find is sand.” The erasure of the built environment was mirrored by the destruction of records of it. Municipal plans, historical maps and property deeds were destroyed when Israel bombed Gaza City’s Central Archives in November 2023.

The army “changed the Strip’s topography beyond recognition,” the Palestinian poet Omar Moussa wrote

that month. “If we survive this war,” he quoted a friend as asking, “what would be our meeting point?”

After the First World War the unprecedented facial injuries caused by high-explosive shells destroyed soldiers’ sense of identity. The territorial equivalent of this is the disorientation that Palestinians feel when exposed to the places that used to be their homes.

A new form of psychological torture emerged. Blindfolded Palestinian captives were taken back to their old neighborhoods, now a sea of rubble. “When we took the cloth off their eyes,” Zarbiv reported, “they were completely disoriented, they did not understand where they were.” Zarbiv, who is also a rabbinical court judge, has been chosen to light a torch at Israel’s Independence Day celebrations.

March 2025 murder of first responders

On the night of March 23, 2025 Israeli troops murdered fifteen first responders and buried their bodies under high earthworks near Rafah. Asaad al-Nasasra, a medic with the Palestinian Red Crescent, one of two survivors of the attack, was interrogated and tortured inside a hole dug nearby by bulldozers. He described his ordeal to researchers from Forensic Architecture, who were using his descriptions to try to model the changes to the landscape.

When his blindfold was removed, he realized that “they had changed the place completely. When I saw the place, it made me feel hysterical. I couldn’t understand anything.” In order to reconstruct the incident, the researchers worked with Earshot, an open-source audio investigative unit, which analyzed the sound of gunfire recorded on the phone of one of the murdered medics.

Lawrence Abu Hamdan, who founded Earshot, told me that the demolition had also radically transformed the acoustic landscape. Usually, he said,

audio recordings of gunshots in urban areas reveal sound echoing from many different directions. Here all that remained were three walls that had somehow survived the demolition. The new landscape enabled clear echoes, making it possible to reconstruct incidents from their sound signatures.

In the weeks that followed the massacre, earth and rubble in this area were piled up in a series of structures next to the site. They surrounded an open space, which soon became one of the compounds operated by the newly conceived Gaza Humanitarian Foundation, an organization funded by U.S. and Israeli entrepreneurs that supposedly took on the role of distributing food aid, bypassing the UN. Its feeding stations concentrated starving Palestinians in four specific locations, all near Israeli military sites, three of them close to the border with Egypt. Hundreds were massacred by Israeli soldiers and U.S. mercenaries when they were forced to compete for rations.

The Yellow Line post the “ceasefire”

The present “ceasefire” came into effect on October 10, 2025. Under its terms Gaza was divided into two zones by a Yellow Line that ran roughly along the edge of the buffer zone, leaving the Israeli army in control of 54 percent of Gaza. By December, Israel had unilaterally shifted the line west, bringing the area under its control up to 58 percent. Eyal Zamir, Israel’s chief of staff, described the Yellow Line as Israel’s “new border” with Gaza.

The line was drawn along a sandstone ridge that runs parallel to the coast, around three kilometers inland. At about seventy meters above sea level, it offers Israeli forces control of the Palestinians forced into the area near the sea.

The ridge has organized life in the region since antiquity. Every year millions of cubic meters of granite from the Ethiopian plateau erode into sand that is carried down the Nile into the Mediterranean. Tides deposit large

quantities of this sand along the Palestinian shoreline. Millennia ago, one of these ancient dunes petrified into the sandstone ridge—a formidable barrier that dams the eastward drift of other sand dunes along the coast. West of the ridge the area is primarily sand; east of it, the soil is fertile.

For many generations most of Palestine's wheat and barley fields were cultivated by Bedouin tribes in the fertile plains of the Beersheba region. These farmers were among the two-hundred-thousand Palestinians expelled from their land and incarcerated in a beach-side enclave between the towns of Rafah and Gaza in the final months of 1948. A sliver of this soil between three and four kilometers wide remained within the borders of Gaza. In recent decades this fertile land was Gaza's breadbasket. Now all of it is on the Israeli-controlled side of the Yellow Line.

At Forensic Architecture we identified a new earth berm that has been built along much of the path of the Yellow Line, as well as seven new military outposts. One of them was constructed on the site of a cemetery. Altogether there are 48 outposts east of the Yellow Line. Zamir has said they are the bases from which further incursions into the coastal area will be launched if necessary.

At first the new outposts were no more than piles of earth and rubble, organized into variously shaped enclosures. But in recent months the enclosed areas and the roads leading to them have been asphalted. Electricity poles have been erected and the roads lit. Closely packed prefabricated buildings have been erected inside the bases, and tall towers on the perimeter carry communications and surveillance equipment. The bases no longer appear to be the provisional arrangements that Trump's ceasefire plan claims them to be, but permanent instruments of occupation. The newly paved roads connect the bases to a matrix of control

that is linked to Israel's road network and communications grid.

Surviving Palestinians reduced to bare existence

West of the Yellow Line, Hamas is the governing body. Survivors live in and between the ruins or in massive tent encampments. The winter cold—the temperature can drop as low as five degrees (41° Degrees Fahrenheit)—has led to deaths from hypothermia, particularly among infants.

The summer, bringing heat of more than forty degrees (104° Degrees Fahrenheit), is fast approaching. In past summers children have suffocated in enclosures made from plastic sheeting or with improvised tin roofs: permanent structures are not allowed. Puddles are breeding grounds for mosquitoes; rubbish dumps are piled high; wastewater runs free and there are rodents everywhere.

Israel does not allow the chemicals and pesticides that could help treat these problems into Gaza. While some medical services have been partially restored thanks to the effort of Palestinian medics and international NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations), the health system barely functions. The scarcity of medicines and degraded hygiene mean that even minor injuries lead to infection. More than 40 percent of dialysis patients in Gaza have died due to lack of treatment.

The surviving population of Gaza has been reduced to a condition of bare existence, subject to unrelenting hunger and thirst under the ever-present hum of killer drones and bomber jets. By keeping control of how much aid can enter—it was temporarily shut off in March after the U.S.-Israeli attack on Iran began—Israel can continue to calibrate the conditions of life. It wants Palestinians to leave or to die slowly. Still, videos recording Gazan life under genocide show people cooking over communal fires, running open-air schools and submitting theses to universities whose buildings no longer exist.

The settler movement is lobbying hard for the Israeli government to start constructing settlements within the vastly expanded buffer zone. In December Katz said that Israel “will never leave Gaza,” and will turn the military outposts into what are known as “Nahal outposts,” which are designed to evolve into civilian settlements. Some of the settlements around Gaza began as Nahal outposts in the early 1950s, as did many of the settlements in the West Bank.

Since even Donald Trump officially opposes the building of Jewish settlements in Gaza, Netanyahu forced Katz to retract his statement. The Israeli government decided to adopt a position of ambiguity and buy time by delaying the army's withdrawal and building up its positions and infrastructure east of the Yellow Line. The transformation of these military outposts into civilian settlements will have to wait for the world's attention to shift elsewhere.

In the meantime, fanciful development plans are being floated to cover up the reality of the ongoing destruction of Palestinian life in Gaza, which has become a feeding ground for real-estate sharks cum politicians.

Real estate sharks

On February 4, 2025, during the two-month ceasefire that followed Trump's second inauguration, the president unexpectedly announced that the U.S. would “take over the Gaza Strip.” Gaza, Trump said, had “a phenomenal location ... on the sea, the best weather, and would be a ‘Riviera of the Middle East.’”

While the U.S. had previously downplayed the destruction, Trump's administration started to talk it up. This was not born of humanitarian concern. Referring to Gaza as a “demolition zone,” the administration said that development would require complete evacuation. Palestinians in the beach-front concentration zone would be encouraged to move to a “nice place” elsewhere. Development would bring

about the population displacement that the Israeli army had failed to achieve during the war.

To pre-empt Trump's Riviera plan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the UAE (United Arab Emirates) proposed their own masterplan. This was not born of humanitarian concern either but designed to ensure Palestinians remained in the Strip rather than being expelled into their territories. "A green and smart city powered by renewable energy" was proposed. It was evidently designed to please the Israelis. The buffer zone was integrated into the plan, represented as an "open green area" where no structures were to be built.

In the summer of 2025, a group of Israeli entrepreneurs presented another initiative, the Gaza Reconstitution, Economic Acceleration and Transformation Trust, or GREAT. The people behind it—the venture capitalist Michael Eisenberg, the tech entrepreneur Liran Tancman *et al*—also proposed and oversaw the Gaza Humanitarian Foundation which established militarized feeding stations in southern Gaza.

GREAT continued where Trump's Riviera vision left off. It proposed a "world-class" beachside resort, with a series of "AI-powered" cities further inland. An "MBZ Central Highway" named after the president of the UAE, an "MBS Ring" named after the Saudi crown prince and an "Elon Musk smart manufacturing zone" were meant to induce those individuals to foot some of the bill. Some Palestinians could remain; others would receive meagre financial assistance towards moving elsewhere.

The ceasefire of October 2025 created an opportunity for this plan to be updated. The Board of Peace is a who's who of populist authoritarianism: Trump as chairman for life was joined by Benjamin Netanyahu, Argentina's Javier Milei, Hungary's Viktor Orbán, Jordan's King Abdullah II and Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Marco Rubio, Jared Kushner, Tony Blair and others were put in charge

of forming a committee to oversee the Palestinian technocrats who would manage day-to-day affairs in Gaza.

The bases no longer appear to be the provisional arrangements that Trump's ceasefire plan claims them to be, but permanent instruments of occupation.

A new military body known as the International Stabilization Force would take over security control. As Shawan Jabarin, director of the Palestinian human rights organization Al-Haq, said to me, the proposal involved only a semantic change in the logic of occupation: the ISF (International Stabilization Force) would simply replace the IDF as an occupying power.

Kushner presented the Board of Peace's architectural vision at the World Economic Forum in Davos. Project Sunrise added detail to the hallucinatory vision of a riviera with renderings of 180 luxury high-rises, behind which seven clusters of urban and industrial developments were separated by wide roads that traced the route of the military roads constructed by Israel since October 2023 to slice Gaza into controllable sections. East of them was the buffer zone camouflaged as an agricultural area.

The proposed architecture of control reached into cyberspace. Tancman, a graduate of Israel's elite cyber-intelligence Unit 8200, was brought in by Trump to draft a Digital Overhaul Plan. This included the declaration that by July this year a free high-speed internet service would push all social interaction and financial exchange online. The aim was not to help the Palestinian economy but rather to make all financial and bureaucratic transactions subject to Israeli surveillance.

The logic of 21st-century genocide

For the Israeli government, reconstruction provides leverage. Large-scale development takes years to complete. With its full control of checkpoints and terminals and every truck of cement and building material crossing into Gaza, Israel can ensure that reconstruction remains a perpetual "project." The image of luxury towers constructed above mass graves, with tens-of-thousands presumably buried under the earthworks, embodies the logic of 21st-century genocide. The Israeli government now hopes, in the words of the former minister Ron Dermer, that what "two years of war did not accomplish will be done by market forces." The erasure of Palestinian life in Gaza could, counterintuitively, be achieved by architectural means.

In January, Forensic Architecture researchers identified site-work taking place in an area of one square kilometer, surrounded by several military outposts, on the Israeli-controlled side of the Yellow Line, just east of the ruins of Rafah.

A leaked U.S. military document revealed that this was a pilot for a program called Alternative Safe Communities, which will offer accommodation to tens-of-thousands of Palestinians, vetted for their willingness to renounce Hamas, in communities of modular homes supplied with water, sanitation and electricity; mosques and schools will promote normalization with Israel in line with the curriculum used by the UAE.

An indicative illustration of what is referred to as the Emirati Compound shows the layout of a new type of refugee camp. In the plan, two-story prefabricated units—not tall enough to "threaten" Israeli forces—are laid out along wide streets that allow Israeli armor to patrol. At the center is a large park surrounding a single-story mosque. This, rather than luxury housing and a riviera, is the most that Palestinians can hope for from the reconstruction plans. Residents would enter and exit the

fenced-in camp through checkpoints equipped with biometric sensors. The plan also offers help to “residents wishing to travel abroad.”

All these initiatives ignored Palestinian planners and architects, although several Palestinian reconstruction plans have been proposed. One of them, the Phoenix Gaza Initiative, was prepared by the Union of Gaza Strip Municipalities, working with Palestinian architects in Palestine and the diaspora, and is grounded in the “social and spatial relationships that persist in Gaza.”

Erased neighborhoods and refugee camps—some of which, like Rafah and the Jabalia, are historic centers of Palestinian national identity—are to be replaced, home by home, after carefully re-establishing the land ownership of the erased surface. During the process of reconstruction, each family would be housed near the site of their demolished home, and communities would be involved in the reconstruction.

Reconstruction plans imposed on Palestinians with the implicit aim of

destroying Palestinian life in Gaza demonstrate the reason Lemkin reserved a place for architecture in his conception of the crime of genocide. He knew that the way a people organizes its space is a manifestation of its history and social structure.

“Genocide has two phases,” Lemkin wrote in *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*². The first involves the “destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group”—this was achieved in Gaza by Israel’s devastating bombing. The second involves the imposition of a design by the oppressor, like these reconstruction plans for Gaza. “This imposition, in turn,” he wrote, “may be made upon the oppressed population, which is allowed to remain, or upon the territory alone, after removal of the population and the colonization of the area by the oppressor’s own nationals.”

Eyal Weizman, a British Israeli architect, is one of the world’s leading experts on the relationship between violence, conflict, and the built and natural environment. He is the director of the research agency Forensic Architecture³ at

Goldsmiths, University of London, United Kingdom, where he is Professor of Spatial and Visual Cultures and a founding director of the Centre for Research Architecture at the department of Visual Cultures.

—World Outlook, April 20, 2026

<https://world-outlook.com/2026/04/19/all-they-will-find-is-sand-israels-demolition-of-gaza/>

1 The Bauhaus was a German artistic movement and school which lasted from 1919 to 1933. Its goal was to merge all artistic mediums into one unified approach integrating art, craft and technology.

2 *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* is a 1944 book by Polish-Jewish lawyer Raphael Lemkin that is best known for introducing the concept of genocide.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Axis_Rule_in_Occupied_Europe

3 Forensic Architecture is a multidisciplinary research group based in London that uses architectural techniques and technologies to investigate cases of state violence and violations of human rights around the world.

<https://forensic-architecture.org>

Pax Silica, the Gaza Genocide, and the Crisis of Global Capitalism

BY WILLIAM I. ROBINSON AND M. GÜRSAN ŞENALP

The U.S.-Israeli war on Iran has for the moment turned international attention away from Gaza as Israel moves from high- to low-intensity genocide. The genocide may be the horrific culmination of 75-plus years of Zionist settler colonialism, occupation, and apartheid, but in order to make sense of it we must analyze the radical transformations that have taken place in the Middle Eastern and global political economy in recent decades.

The impulse to genocide has always been built into the Zionist project. But that impulse has been activated by the epochal crisis of global capitalism. The Al Aqsa Flood attack of October 2023 furnished Israel with the historic opportunity for which they had been

waiting for decades. If the Zionists are still in pursuit of their elusive Eretz Israel¹, the United States has been heading up a much more expansive project, one that places Gaza in the very center of global capitalism and its epochal crisis. In the game plan of the Washington-Tel Aviv axis, Gaza is now to become an experimental field for a new and deadlier phase of global capitalism. It is this larger picture that we want to lay out in this article.

The contemporary crisis of global capitalism is multidimensional. Structurally it is a crisis of overaccumulation, which refers to a situation in which enormous amounts of capital (profits) are built up but this capital

cannot find productive outlets for reinvestment. This overaccumulation crisis generates intense pressure for expansion as transnational capitalists undertake a predatory search for where to unload massive amounts of surplus capital and open up new spaces for profit-making. This violent expansion involves the seizure of markets and resources around the world through war, displacement, and repression. The U.S. state and beyond it, what we will call Global Trumpism, is its out-of-control instrument in this expansionary wave. At the core of Global Trumpism is the Washington-Tel Aviv axis.

The larger backdrop to the Israeli genocide is the transnational integra-

tion of capital over the past half-century and the radical restructuring of global class relations and power blocs that capitalist globalization has brought about. Globalization in West Asia region began in the 1980s and accelerated with the 2003 U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq that followed the establishment in 1997 of the Middle East Free Trade Area (MEFTA) and a host of related bilateral and multilateral regional and extra-regional free trade agreements, structural adjustment programs and IMF-supervised austerity.

This integration unleashed a cascade of transnational corporate and financial investment in finance, energy, high-tech, construction, infrastructure, luxury consumption, tourism and other services. It brought Gulf capital, including trillions of dollars in sovereign wealth funds, together with capital from all around the world, involving the European Union (EU), North and Latin America, and Asia, inextricably enmeshing them all in emerging global circuits of accumulation. In this way, nationally-oriented Arab bourgeoisies transmorphed into transnationally-oriented bourgeoisies as the entire region became incorporated into the globally-integrated production, financial, and service system that came into being over the past half-century.

Israel, far from remaining excluded, integrated into these expanding regional and transnational capitalist networks on the heels of the Oslo “peace” accords, signed in 1993, as the Israeli and Arab bourgeoisies began to develop common class interests. In 2020 the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Bahrain, along with Morocco and Sudan, signed the Abraham Accords², joining Egypt and Jordan in normalizing relations with Israel, an opening that allowed Gulf investment groups to pour billions of dollars into the Israeli economy. The October 2023 Al Aqsa attack and the subsequent Israeli siege placed further normalization on hold. The new U.S.-Israeli strategy revolving around the “Board of Peace” (hence-

forth, Board of Genocide) seeks to bring the Arab and other states in the region back into the Abraham architecture.

**Big Tech controls
the entire ecosystem of
digitalized capitalism,
converting its enormous
structural power into
direct political control
through the fascist state.**

Palestinians become surplus humanity

Up until globalization took off in the late twentieth century, the relationship of Israel to the Palestinians reflected classical colonialism, in which the colonial power had usurped the land and resources of the colonized and then exploited their labor. But Middle Eastern integration into the global economy helped spark the spread of mass worker and social movements and grassroots democratization pressures, reflected in the Palestinian inti-

fadas, the labor movement across North Africa, mounting social unrest, and in the 2011 Arab Spring uprisings.

The Palestinian intifadas aggravated the historic tension that Israel faced between the drive to ethnically cleanse the Jewish state and the need it had for cheap, ethnically demarcated labor. But globalization starting in the 1990s gave Israel a way out of this tension between dispossession/super-exploitation and dispossession/expulsion in favor of the latter. Capitalist globalization has involved ongoing waves of displacement in the Global South that have generated a vast army of internal and transnational migrants, giving rise to a new system of transnational labor mobility and recruitment and making it possible for dominant groups around the world to reorganize labor markets in an effort to weaken labor and maximize the extraction of surplus value.

While this transient migrant labor system is a worldwide phenomenon it became a particularly attractive option for Israel because it does away with the need for politically troublesome Palestinian labor. By the 2010s, hundreds-of-thousands of migrant work-



A photo released by the Israeli military on November 12, 2023, shows Israeli troops conducting ground operations in the Northern Gaza Strip. (IDF/Handout via Xinhua) (Credit Image: © Chen Junqing/Xinhua via Zuma Press APA Images)

ers—by some estimates up to 600,000—from Thailand, China, Nepal, Sri Lanka, India, Eastern Europe, the Philippines, Kenya and elsewhere came to form the predominant labor force in Israeli agribusiness, and increasingly in other sectors of the economy, under the same precarious conditions of super-exploitation and discrimination that migrant workers face around the world.

In the wake of the 2023 Hamas attack Israel deported the remaining 10,000 Gazan Palestinian workers back to Gaza. In early 2024, even in the midst of war, thousands of Indian and other foreign workers were pouring into Israel to replace them. The Palestinian proletariat has thus become an ever-more marginalized surplus population. In 1993, the very year that the Oslo Accords were signed, Israel imposed its policy of “closure”—sealing off Palestinians in the occupied territories, ethnic cleansing, and a sharp escalation of settler colonialism.

As the Palestinian proletariat went from cheap labor to surplus humanity, it stood in the way not just of seizure of their land and the resources beneath their soil, but of a new round of global capitalist expansion throughout the Middle East. In this way, genocidal pressures began to build up. Genocide became more and more of an attractive option for the Zionist state and also for the most violent and predatory sectors of the transnational capitalist class, for whom the siege of Gaza and the West Bank constitutes a form of primitive accumulation.

Pax Silica and the “Board of Genocide”

The larger meaning of the Board of Genocide now comes into focus, shining a spotlight on the emergent hegemonic complex of transnational capital that is at the center of the current worldwide maelstrom. The triangulated bloc brings together the giant tech companies, transnational finance capital, and the military-industrial-repression complex. Big Tech controls the entire eco-

system of digitalized capitalism, converting its enormous structural power into direct political control through the fascist state. To advance its agenda the bloc has turned to “Global Trumpism”—one of several morbid political symptoms emerging as the post-World War II international order crumbles.

The U.S. State Department has referred to the new global dispensation driven by the hegemonic capital bloc as Pax Silica.

The new digital technologies and the billionaires that control them are driving a radical new round of restructuring and transformation of the global political economy. The leading tech corporations, most of them headquartered in the United States and China, draw investors from all over the world as they suck in immense amounts of surplus capital. The top 20 tech firms worldwide had a combined market capitalization exceeding \$20 trillion in 2025, some one-fifth of the total global stock market valuation.

Big tech and the transnational industrial and commercial capitals it brings together are in turn enmeshed with the giant global financial conglomerates that own more than half of the leading tech firms. In 2022 there were 33 trillion and multitrillion-dollar capital investment management companies worldwide, up from just 17 in 2017. These titans of capital controlled more than \$83 trillion in combined assets, over four-fifths the value that year of the entire global GDP. Silicon Valley and its financial backers are pivoting towards digital technologies for war and repression as they fuse with the military-industrial repression complex, completing the capital power axis,

which in turn is moving into alignment with authoritarian, dictatorial and fascist states—an alignment most chillingly declared in Palantir’s 22-point manifesto posted on X in April.

This new capital complex is deeply invested in transnational systems of warfare, social control, repression and surveillance that are becoming digitalized, automated, and embedded in the global economy and society. These systems provide a major outlet for unloading accumulated surplus capital while also opening access to markets and resources. The capital bloc is heavily invested in Israel—in its tech industry, in its war machine, and in its genocide. The July 2025 report by the UN special rapporteur on human rights in the occupied Palestinian territories, Francesca Albanese, “From the Economy of Occupation to the Economy of Genocide”³ referenced 1,650 transnational corporations that partner with Israel’s war and occupation machine. The list of 60 companies singled out in the report reads like a Who’s Who of the hegemonic bloc of capital.

Herein lies the key role that Israel plays in the new capital power axis. Israel is the world’s third largest tech hub. It globalized based on a high-tech-military-security-surveillance complex, integrated in turn into the webs of transnational finance capital. Like the larger global economy of which it is a part, it feeds off of permanent local, regional, and global violence, conflict, and inequalities. Endless rounds of destruction followed by reconstruction fuel profit-making not just for the arms industry, but for engineering, construction, and related supply firms, high-tech, energy, and numerous other sectors.

The Israeli genocide, to be followed now by the “Board of Genocide” are grisly laboratories for the new modality of transnational capital accumulation. The U.S. State Department has referred to the new global dispensation driven

by the hegemonic capital bloc as Pax Silica⁴. The Middle East has emerged as a regional corridor for Pax Silica predicated on an Israeli-Gulf state alliance that was to be cemented through the “Board of Genocide” inaugurated by Trump at the January 2026 World Economic Forum conclave.

Israel is a powerhouse for both digital and military technologies, having combined both in its repression of Palestinians. The 20-point “peace” plan for Gaza unveiled in October 2025 involved the “redevelopment” of Gaza, including “modern and efficient governance conducive to attracting investment” and the establishment of a “special economic zone”—boiler plate language for opening up the Strip to transnational capitalist plunder and control. This anticipated new cascade of investment, not just in Gaza but throughout the Middle East, hinged on first “resolving” the Gaza conflict through the ceasefire and then expanding the Abraham Accords which, in the words of U.S. vice president J.D. Vance, would pave the way “for broader alliances for Israel” in the Middle East even as it renders second the Palestine question.

As Israel moves from high-intensity to low-intensity genocide in Gaza, the Board is intended to open up the Strip to its gas and oil, its beachfront real estate, and its tourist potential. But its core mission is to convert Gaza into a hub for the public-private power axis around which tech and finance will have free reign to develop a sovereign corporate fiefdom. Razing the Strip to the ground has been wildly profitable. Two years of destruction is now to be followed by the bonanza—“reconstruction” led by the hegemonic capital complex.

The true magnitude of the global capitalist plan for Gaza was revealed not in the 20-point plan but in the Gaza Reconstruction, Economic Acceleration and Transformation (GREAT), a U.S. government proposal that was leaked to the press prior to the

ceasefire agreement. It is in this document that the macabre vision of a high-tech Pax Silica hub is laid out.

The GREAT plan called for a “voluntary” departure of Palestinians to another country, a string of AI-powered high-tech megacities, and some rump, unspecified Palestinian authority that would join the Abraham Accord. Those Palestinians allowed to stay would serve as civil servants, professional and manual laborers tightly controlled through Israeli biometric surveillance, checkpoints, monitoring of purchases, and Zionist education programs promoting normalization with Israel, thus making official Israel’s occupation and its administration of the concentration camp. In the GREAT vision, the Strip is to be converted into the staging point and gateway for what it termed a “New Abrahamic Architecture”

The top 20 tech firms worldwide had a combined market capitalization exceeding \$20 trillion in 2025, some one-fifth of the total global stock market valuation.

Gaza was the first AI war of the twenty-first century, an algorithmic genocide. If Global Trumpism gets its way, Gaza will now become the testing ground for the ruling classes to rule through technocratic authoritarianism, blood and capital. Among the 60 countries that Trump invited at the January 2026 Davos conclave, some 25 countries initially signed on to the Board, among them Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Turkey, Pakistan, Qatar, and the UAE. Neither Russia nor China vetoed the resolution in the UN Security Council to approve the establishment of the Board. The inclusion of Israel and

Netanyahu on the Board could not be a more cynical expose of the charade.

At this time the fragile cease fire between Washington and Tehran remains shaky with no progress in negotiations. Meanwhile, in 2025 alone, under the pretext of “security,” Israel attacked six countries, including Palestine, Iran, Lebanon, Qatar, Syria, and Yemen. It also launched assaults on humanitarian aid flotillas heading to Gaza in the territorial waters of Tunisia, Malta, and Greece. As it now enters the third month of its war against Iran—waged together with the United States—it is turning southern Lebanon into a second Gaza.

There has also been no letup of low-intensity genocide—to the contrary, Israel is threatening to return to high-intensity. Attacks on Gaza have in fact increased by 35 percent since the Iran ceasefire. There is no way to predict the outcome of the current regional conflict but without any doubt the whole regional and global landscape is already being radically reshaped as the global capitalist system continues to crack under the weight of its explosive contradictions. The war on Iran and the Israeli assault on Lebanon expands the political objectives and the dynamics of the Gaza genocide to the region as a whole. Meanwhile, Palestinians will continue to resist as they have done so over a century.

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—Mondoweiss, May 24, 2026

<https://mondoweiss.net/2026/05/pax-silica-the-gaza-genocide-and-the-crisis-of-global->

1 Eretz Israel a Hebrew phrase translating to the “Land of Israel.” In Jewish tradition, it refers to the historical and biblical homeland of the Jewish people. The term encompasses more than modern political borders. The exact geographic boundaries vary depending on the context, often spanning from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, or reaching the expanded borders described in the Bible.

<https://www.dictionary.com/browse/eretz-yisrael>

2 The Abraham Accords, signed in Washington, D.C. September 15, 2020, established full diplomatic, economic and security ties with Israel—first with United Arab Emirates and Bahrain, and later with Morocco, Sudan and Kazakhstan.

3 “From Economy of Occupation to Economy of Genocide”

Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967.

<https://www.un.org/unispal/document/a-hrc-59-23-from-economy-of-occupation-to-economy-of-genocide-report-special-rapporteur-francesca-albanese-palestine-2025/>

4 Pax Silica refers to a U.S.-led geopolitical strategy and technology alliance aimed at scoring global supply chains for semiconductors, Artificial Intelligence (AI) and critical minerals.

Gaza was the first AI war of the twenty-first century, an algorithmic genocide. If Global Trumpism gets its way, Gaza will now become the testing ground for the ruling classes to rule through technocratic authoritarianism, blood and capital.

Israel’s Destruction of Gaza is Creating a Public Health Catastrophe

By TAREQ S. HAJJAJ

At the beginning of April, Enshrah Hajjaj, a 61-year-old woman with diabetes, woke up in her tent in Gaza City to find blood on her toes. She couldn’t figure out how she started bleeding, so she treated herself inside her tent with her family and carried on with her day. A week later, she woke up again to find the same bleeding toes—but this time, half of them were missing. She began screaming, and her family rushed her to the hospital, where doctors told her that rats had eaten through them while she slept. As a diabetic, she had lost much of the sensation in her feet, a common complication of the disease, and had felt nothing.

Enshrah’s case is far from isolated. According to the Gaza Ministry of Health, four displaced people have died from skin diseases directly linked to rodent infestations, though the Ministry was unable to confirm the specific diseases in each case, citing the absence of laboratory materials needed for testing.

Nisreen Kilab, head of the Environmental Health Department at the Health Ministry, said the symptoms observed in several patients indicate a virus transmitted through rodent waste and bites, which can be fatal in some cases. “We suspected several leptospirosis infections, but unfortunately, these cases could not be confirmed through laboratory testing due to the absence of the required means,” she told *Mondoweiss*.

Kilab said the skin diseases spreading in Gaza are driven by insect, flea, and rodent bites, warning that without urgent intervention, the outbreak will only deepen.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), more than 70,000 cases of ectoparasite infections were reported in Gaza in 2026, while over 80 percent of displacement camps reported recurring rodent and pest infestations, as well as skin conditions such as scabies and lice. The WHO’s representative described this as “the unfortunate but predictable consequence when people live in a collapsed living environment.”



Displaced Palestinians face a major infestation of rodents. (Photo: Tariq Mohammad/APA Images)

Enshrah Hajjaj now lives in constant fear, especially at night. “I sleep while awake,” she told *Mondoweiss*. “I haven’t experienced a single night’s peace after this incident. I can’t feel my feet, and half my foot is numb, so I’m afraid of waking up one day to find that rodents ate off my entire foot without me feeling it.”

The conditions around Enshrah’s tent and the tent encampments in Gaza have been described by health officials as particularly conducive to the spread of rodent infestations, with piles of garbage rising in small hills only a few hundred meters away from the displacement camps. The camps themselves sit amid pools of sewage and mud.

“At first, there was an accumulation of rubble and debris, and later a build-up of garbage near displacement centers,” Kilab said. “More than 90 percent of Gaza’s population is displaced and living in tents, which has led to a frightening increase in population density, and a high population density means a faster spread of disease.”

Kilab said that the 40 million tons of accumulated waste across Gaza have made matters worse. “These conditions are an ideal breeding ground for epidemics,” she explained.

When skin disease becomes a death sentence

Contracting a skin disease in Gaza has become potentially fatal, while local hospitals lack the means of diagnosing them. Patients who need specialized care abroad cannot leave, as exit permits for medical travel remain beyond reach due to Israel’s continued closure of the Rafah border crossing, despite its obligation to facilitate medical evacuations and general travel through the crossing as part of the U.S.-brokered ceasefire with Hamas.

Last February, Muhammad Dhiban died after suffering from a skin disease that doctors in Gaza could not identify. The disease damaged his kidneys and reached his brain, causing meningitis.

He was unable to travel for treatment and died in Gaza. In April, Ibrahim Abu Aram died from a severe blistering skin condition that covered his body in open sores. According to his family, the infection had spread to his brain. For months, both men and their families appealed to decision-makers to allow them to leave Gaza for treatment, but no response was forthcoming.

Dhiban and Abu Aram likely died of one of several diseases now spreading among the displaced. “There are several diseases transmitted by rodents, such as Lassa fever, typhus, and Salmonella, that are likely making up most of the infections we’re seeing,” Kilab said. “They’re all carried through rodents, insects, and their waste.” She warned that if health institutions failed to contain the epidemic, Gaza could face an outbreak of the plague, a possibility she said is no longer remote.

Abdel Qader al-Basyouni, a father of four, told *Mondoweiss* now afraid of what might happen to his youngest child, who was recently bitten by a rat while sleeping at night. The child developed a fever and complications that the family described as severe.

Al-Basyouni said that what Palestinians endure in the tents is something no one in Gaza has ever experienced. Rats once rarely entered homes, and hearing of a rat biting a person was extremely uncommon. “Never in my life have I ever heard of a rat attacking and biting a human,” he said. “Not until after this war.”

His wife, Yasmin al-Basyouni, said the garbage never stops accumulating. Neither does the bombing, nor the further accumulation of rubble. Meanwhile, sanitation and cleanup efforts can’t keep up with the rate at which waste is produced.

“So, what awaits us?” she asked. “What awaits our children in the tents during the summer, with the greater spread of rodents and insects? Is death waiting for us? Is the plague waiting for us?”

The situation has gotten so dire, she said, that they have been reduced to wondering whether their children will die of bombs or rodent bites. “Are rats also our enemy now?” she added.

—*Mondoweiss*, May 8, 2026

<https://mondoweiss.net/2026/05/rodent-infestation-caused-by-israels-destruction-of-gaza-is-now-creating-a-public-health->



Palestinians at a temporary tent camp (Atia Mohammed/Flash90)

Israel's Nakba Was Used to Steal Land and Wealth from Palestinians

By NAJIB ANTOINE JABRRE

The loss of Palestinian homes in 1948 was not only the loss of roofs, orchards, and property deeds. Many Palestinians also lost access to bank accounts, deposits, securities, safe-deposit boxes, receivables, and legal claims. The event is often described through the language of war and exile. Yet another story appears in law offices, land registries, ministries, and financial institutions, where Palestinian absence was converted into a legal instrument.

The decisive act was not simply to record that people had departed. It was to classify them as “absentees.” The 1950 Absentees’ Property Law, together with the emergency regulations that preceded it, altered the legal meaning of absence. What had been a fact of displacement became a status. A Palestinian who crossed a border, found shelter in another part of Palestine, even a few feet from his home, or was unable to return during the prescribed period could be treated as legally absent, even when that absence resulted from war, fear, expulsion, or blocked return.

Some Palestinians who remained within the newly established state were classified as “present absentees”: physically present in the country, but legally absent from their own property.¹

Classification made people absent. Vesting moved their property. Transfer and validation secured the result. Procedure narrowed the path back. The system did not need to shout; it only needed to record, register, certify, and close the file.

A transfer of control then followed. Once property was classified as absentee property, it vested in the Custodian of Absentee Property. The word “vest-

ing” sounds administrative, almost neutral. In substance, it meant that the owner’s rights passed to a public Israeli authority empowered to manage, lease, sell, or transfer those assets. The Development Authority and subsequent land legislation then helped move property into state and quasi-state channels. Retrospective validation and restrictive evidentiary rules made recovery increasingly remote.

The language of “abandoned property” is therefore misleading. A house is not abandoned when its inhabitants are driven out, barred from returning, or converted by law into absentees. A bank account is not abandoned because its depositor is Palestinian and has become a refugee. A citrus grove does not lose its owner because the road back has been closed by Israel. The legal classification did not merely describe absence; it turned absence into a mechanism of power.

Palestinian dispossession did not stop at physical land. After 1948, Palestinian accounts, deposits, receivables, safekeeping assets, securities, and even safe-deposit boxes were subjected to freezing, control, and transfer. Under the legal category of “absentee property,” property could include not only land and buildings, but also money, debts, business interests, commercial paper, contractual rights, and other financial claims.

The financial dimension of displacement matters because money is mobility, legal capacity, and survival. A family expelled from its home but still able to access its funds can rent shelter, hire counsel, educate children, restart a business, preserve documents, or challenge an administrative decision. A refugee family whose accounts are blocked is not merely poor. It is disabled before the law. It loses the means to prove, contest, litigate, and rebuild.



A Palestinian man shows deeds to his land during a rally marking the Nakba in Gaza City, on May 15, 2013. (Photo: Ali Jadallah / APA Images)

The order of magnitude is crucial. The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP)-linked estimates placed movable refugee property at roughly £18–20 million [\$24–\$27 million], while scholarship on frozen bank accounts estimates about £6 [\$8 million] across thousands of accounts. Even read cautiously, these were not marginal sums. Inflation, lost yield, and decades of foregone stewardship push the issue into the realm of billions. Under an aggressive but transparent opportunity-cost scenario, combining roughly £25–26 [\$34–\$35] million in movable property and frozen accounts, converting at a historical rate of about \$4.03 per pound, and capitalizing at ten percent annually over 78 years would produce a figure in the approximate range of \$155–161 billion. That figure should not be read as a liquidated legal claim. It is a sensitivity analysis: a way of showing scale, economic deprivation, and the price of being excluded from one's own capital.²

The records and cases of the 1950s show that this was not theoretical. Palestinian depositors and institutions tried to recover money held in branches located in the territory that became Israel. Banks were caught between their contractual obligations to customers and Israeli measures that ordered, recognized, or justified payment to the Custodian. In *Arab Bank Ltd. v. Barclays Bank*, the House of Lords dealt with a substantial balance held at Barclays' Allenby Square branch in Jerusalem and later paid to the Custodian of Absentee Property. Around the same financial crisis, individual Palestinian refugees and claimants, including people who had fled to Beirut or pursued claims through Jordanian courts in places such as Nablus, Jerusalem, and Amman, confronted the same hard reality: the money existed, but access to it had been legally severed.³

The trap was procedural as well as substantive. How could a refugee effec-

tively claim funds from a state that had classified him as absent, transferred his assets to a custodian, restricted legal representation when he was outside Israel, and barred or controlled his physical return? If entry into Israel was prohibited and representation required official consent, the remedy became almost unreachable. The refugee was told to seek justice inside the very legal order that had made his return impossible.

The issue is not that every document reveals a single explicit motive behind every act. The point is narrower and more troubling: a sequence of legal mechanisms repeatedly produced the same material result. Classification made people absent. Vesting moved their property. Transfer and validation secured the result. Procedure narrowed the path back. The system did not need to shout; it only needed to record, register, certify, and close the file.

International law has long treated forced displacement and uncompensated property loss as wrongs requiring remedy, not merely administration. They require return, restitution, and compensation. They are legal responses to a continuing deprivation where property is withheld, remedies are blocked, and rights are treated as bargaining chips rather than enforceable claims.⁴

The Palestinian property question remains unresolved. It is often framed as an old dispute overtaken by war, diplomacy, and recognition. But recognition of a state does not erase the injustice of confiscation. Nor does it grant moral or legal immunity to the structures created after the fact. A system can persist for decades and still remain legally and morally defective.

The central point is simple. Palestinian displacement was not only produced by soldiers, borders, and battles. It was also produced by definitions, custodianship, banking controls, development agencies, validation statutes, evidentiary presumptions, and bureaucratic barriers. Law did not merely

arrive afterward to manage the consequences of conflict. It helped transform displacement into an institutional order who has illegally benefited and enriched the State of Israel exclusively.

To understand the conflict fully, one must look beyond maps, diplomacy, and military history. One must also examine ledgers, title deeds, bank records, court files, and unresolved claims. The loss of land was tied to the loss of the means to return, litigate, finance survival, and rebuild. That is why the question today is not only whether Palestinians once lost property. It is whether a legal order that transformed absence into dispossession can still be treated as a neutral mechanism for managing the aftermath of war.

This article is adapted from the author's book Palestine Disposessed: How the Law Organized the Dispossession of a People.

—Mondoweiss, May 10, 2026

<https://mondoweiss.net/2026/05/israel-used-the-nakba-not-only-to-steal-land-but-palestinians-financial-wealth->

1 Israel, *Absentees' Property Law*, 5710-1950, secs. 1, 4, 6, English translation reproduced by UNISPAL; Adalah, "Absentees' Property Law," accessed May 7, 2026.

2 Arie Arnon, Nu'man Kanafani, and Saeb Bamyā al-Daqqāq, "Absorbing Returnees in a Viable Palestinian State" (paper prepared for the International Development Research Centre, 2004), 4–5;

Sreemati Mitter, "A History of Money in Palestine: The Case of the Frozen Bank Accounts of 1948," *The Jerusalem Fund*, May 23, 2014. The U.S. \$155–161 billion figure is an illustrative sensitivity calculation based on combining approximately £25–26 million, applying a historical exchange rate of about U.S. \$4.03 per pound, and compounding annually at ten percent for 78 years.

3 *Arab Bank Ltd. v. Barclays Bank* (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas), [1954] A.C. 495 (H.L.); Mitter, "A History of Money in Palestine."

4 United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 194 (III), Palestine—Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator, December 11, 1948, para. 11;

Arnon, Kanafani, and al-Daqqāq, "Absorbing Returnees," 2–6.

Chilling UK Case Against Palestine Action Lawyer

By DANIA AKKAD

May 10, 2025—Contempt of court proceedings against a top human rights barrister are having a “chilling effect” across the British bar; leading lawyers tell *Declassified*¹.

Rajiv Menon Kings Council (KC) is accused of violating the judge’s orders in the trial of six Palestine Action² activists who broke into an Israeli-owned arms factory near Bristol in 2024 at the height of the Gaza genocide.

Menon is alleged, in part, to have breached the judge’s direction that lawyers were not permitted in their closing speeches to invite the jury to acquit on the basis of conscience.

The barrister reportedly told the jury about the Bushell case, a landmark ruling from 1670 which established the independence of juries.

He read from a plaque at the Old Bailey which commemorates the jury

in that case saying it “established the right of juries to give their verdict according to their convictions.”

Three judges on the court of appeal are currently considering whether the case against Menon should move ahead after his lawyers put forward a challenge in a hearing last week.

Reporting restrictions prevented journalists from covering his case for the first few months and have only now begun to be lifted.

The proceedings against Menon, who has previously worked on inquiries into Grenfell Tower³, Stephen Lawrence⁴ and undercover policing, are believed to be unprecedented in living memory.

“I’ve been at the bar for over 50 years,” said Michael Mansfield KC, a prominent human rights barrister who has worked with Menon on several high-profile cases.

“I’m extremely concerned about the issues that are at the center of this initiative which has never been done before as far as I’m aware, particularly the chilling effect upon the critical concept of a fiercely independent bar, fearless in its pursuit of justice on behalf of those it represents.”

Cases in parallel

In February, a jury acquitted all of the activists of aggravated burglary but failed to reach a verdict on several other charges.

The Crown Prosecution Service sought a retrial on those charges while the trial judge filed a separate complaint against Menon.

So, for the past eight weeks, the hearings in Menon’s case have been heard at the Royal Courts of Justice in central London as the activists’ retrial unfolded 12 miles east at Woolwich Crown Court.

Menon’s case has been well-attended with overflow rooms required to hold dozens of spectators, including reporters from both mainstream and alternative outlets.

Yet none of the British journalists who attended have been able to report on the case after restrictions were put in place to avoid prejudicing the jury in the retrial of the activists.

That changed late on Tuesday when the jury returned after 14 hours of deliberation with its verdict, finding four of the six activists guilty of criminal damage.

One of the activists was also found guilty by a majority of 11-to-1 of inflicting grievous bodily harm on a police officer but was cleared of the more serious charge of causing grievous bodily harm with intent.



“Defend Our Juries” demonstration at Trafalgar Square in London on April 11, 2026. (Steve Eason, Flickr, CC BY-NC 4.0)

“Dangerous precedent”

Now with the allegations against Menon out in the open, lawyers tell *Declassified* that they fear his case is a major escalation against those representing campaign groups.

“Barristers must be free to advance their clients’ cases without fear that politically contentious arguments will expose them personally to sanction,” Paul Heron, a solicitor with the Public Interest Law Centre, said on Wednesday.

Like Mansfield, Heron has known Menon for several years. The two worked together on the undercover policing inquiry.

“I am concerned that this case risks establishing a dangerous precedent in which the boundaries of criminal defense are narrowed precisely in cases involving protest and dissent,” he said.

If lawyers begin to self-censor for fear of contempt proceedings, Heron said, the right to a fair trial is placed at risk.

“Courts should protect independent advocacy, not create a chilling effect around politically sensitive defenses,” he said.

“This should concern the entire legal profession, the Palestine solidarity movement and indeed the whole of the working-class movement.”

Before the closing arguments in the retrial, five of the defendants dismissed their lawyers, including Menon, and represented themselves.

They reportedly said they felt their lawyers were no longer able to represent them as a result of “decisions made by the court.”

Charlotte Head, one of the defendants whom Menon likened to a suffragette in the first trial, told the jury in her closing statement: “It might seem odd that I’m now speaking to you from out here, instead of in the dock—trust me it’s odd for me too.

“Sadly, despite how unbelievably kind and smart and wise my barristers are... I no longer feel like they are permitted to represent me in a way that does us all justice,” she said.

The proceedings against Menon—and concerns over their impact—come as the Labour government has moved to scrap jury trials for offences that carry a sentence of less than three years.

The government has said the changes will clear a massive backlog of cases in the system while legal professionals say the change could, among other concerns, risk public confidence in the justice system.

Dania Akkad is an investigative journalist. She has won awards for her reporting on women’s rights in the Middle East, Saudi Arabian dissidents and California’s lettuce industry. She started her career covering crime and agribusiness at daily newspapers in California and then reported from Syria as a freelance journalist before the war, including investigating the 2005 suicide bombing in Amman that killed mem-

bers of her family. She served most recently as senior investigations editor at Middle East Eye.

This article is from Declassified UK.

—Consortium News, May 10, 2026

<https://consortiumnews.com/2026/05/08/the-chilling-uk-case-against-palestine-action-lawyer/>

1 <https://www.declassifieduk.org/terrorism-ban-on-palestine-action-ruled-unlawful-by-high-court/>

2 Palestine Action is a British pro-Palestinian direct-action network. Founded in 2020 with the stated goal of ending global participation in Israel’s “genocidal and apartheid regime”, the organization also became active in the Gaza war protests in the United Kingdom, in the wake of the ongoing Gaza genocide.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestine_Action

3 On 14 June 2017, a high-rise fire broke out in the 24-storey Grenfell Tower block of flats in North Kensington, West London, England, at 12:54 A.M. and burned for 60 hours. Seventy people died at the scene and two people died later in hospital, with more than 70 injured and 223 escaping.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grenfell_Tower_fire#:~:text=On%2014%20June%202017%2C%20a,and%20burned%20for%2060%20hours.

4 Stephen Lawrence (1974–1993) was an 18-year-old Black British student murdered in a racially motivated attack in Eltham, Southeast London, on April 22, 1993. His killing and the subsequent bungled police investigation highlighted deep-seated institutional racism in the Metropolitan Police, triggering significant reforms in UK policing.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Murder_of_Stephen_Lawrence

Palestine Action Activists in UK Sentenced a Combined 20 Years in Prison

BY THE CRADLE

June 13, 2026—Four Palestine Action anti-genocide activists received combined prison sentences of over 20 years on June 12, 2026, for sabotaging an Israeli drone facility in the UK in 2024.

Judge Jeremy Johnson said an “aggravating factor” in his decision to imprison the activists was that they had a “terrorist connection.”

In August 2024, the four activists raided the Elbit Systems research and development facility in Filton, near Bristol, causing more than £1 million (\$1,342,000) in damage in an attempt to shut it down.

The facility conducts R&D for Tactical Multi-Rotor Quadcopter drones produced for the British Armed

Forces and NATO. Elbit produces the same drones in Israel for use in Gaza.

Israeli troops often deploy the drones to kill Palestinian men, women, and children with direct shots to the head and chest.

Elbit also produces Israel’s Hermes Drones, which are used for surveillance

and to carry out airstrikes against civilians in Gaza and Lebanon.

During the raid on the Filton facility, the activists used a repurposed prison van as a battering ram to smash through the building's security gates.

Using sledgehammers and crowbars, they destroyed interior spaces, computers, and military drone components. During the confrontation, activists clashed with site security and police responding to the raid.

The judge sentenced Samuel Corner, 23, to seven years and eight months in total for the two convictions, saying he used "extreme and gratuitous" behavior by striking a police officer with a sledgehammer.

Leona Kamio, 30, and Charlotte Head, 30, were sentenced to five years, while Fatema Zainab Rajwani, 21, was sentenced to four years and eight months. They will all spend another year on license (parole) after release.

Friday's sentencing came one month after all four were convicted of criminal

damage at Woolwich Crown Court. The group had previously been cleared of aggravated burglary charges.

The activists were driven by Israel's ongoing genocide of Palestinians in Gaza, which had been happening for ten months prior to their raid and has now resulted in at least 72,600 Palestinian deaths, as reported by the Gaza Health Ministry.

Some independent estimates of the death toll are vastly higher.

Palestine Action was later proscribed under the UK's terrorism law. However, the High Court in London ruled the decision unlawful. The group remains banned pending a government appeal due Monday.

The judge's claim of a "terrorism connection" to the activists drew condemnation and ridicule from human rights groups and high-profile supporters.

A group of 100 public figures, including author Sally Rooney, activist Greta Thunberg, and actor Steve

Coogan, signed an open letter in support of the anti-genocide activists.

"Criminal damage has never been treated as terrorism within the UK justice system before, and it is dangerous to treat them as the same thing," said Kerry Moscogiuri, Amnesty International UK's chief executive.

"It is completely disproportionate to punish protesters for criminal damage as if they were terrorists, a sentence that will stay with them for the rest of their lives."

As the sentencing was underway, police arrested over 100 people who had gathered outside as part of a larger demonstration in support of Palestine Action and the four imprisoned activists.

—*The Cradle.com*, June 13, 2026

https://thecradle.co/articles/uk-judge-sentences-Palestine-Action-activists-to-over-20-years-in-prison#google_vignette

ARSENAL OF MARXISM

Speech to Cuban Medical Students

From *The Motorcycle Diaries*

BY ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA

Eight years after writing The Motorcycle Diaries¹, Ernesto Che Guevara had become a central figure in Cuba's revolutionary government. After his journey with Alberto Granado, he had traveled again through Latin America, experienced the CIA-backed coup in Guatemala and joined the Cuban revolutionary movement that eventually took power in 1959. In this speech to Cuban medical students and workers, Che reflects on his own development from medical student to political activist. — From The Motorcycle Diaries appendix.

August 20, 1960—Almost everyone knows that I started my career as a doctor a number of years ago. When I started out as a doctor, when I began to study

medicine, the majority of the concepts I hold today as a revolutionary were absent from the storehouse of my ideals.

Then I realized one fundamental thing: to be a revolutionary doctor, or to be a revolutionary, there must first be a revolution.

I wanted to succeed, as everybody wants to succeed. I dreamed about being a famous researcher. I dreamed of

working tirelessly to achieve something that could really be put at the disposal of humanity, but that, at the same time, would be a personal triumph. I was, as we all are, a child of my environment.

Through special circumstances, and perhaps also because of my character, after receiving my degree I began to travel through Latin America and I came to know it intimately. Except for Haiti and the Dominican Republic, I have visited—in one way or another—all the other countries of Latin America. In the way I traveled, first as a student and afterward as a doctor, I began to come into close contact with poverty, with hunger, with disease, with the inability to cure a child because of a

lack of resources, with the numbness that hunger and continued punishment cause until a point is reached where a parent losing a child is an unimportant incident, as often happens among the hard-hit classes of our Latin American homeland. And I began to see there was something that, at that time, seemed to me almost as important as being a famous researcher or making some substantial contribution to medical science, and this was helping those people.

But I continued being, as all of us always continue being, a child of my environment, and I wanted to help those people through my personal efforts. I had already traveled a lot—I was then in Guatemala, the Guatemala of [democratically elected Jacobo] Árbenz—and I had begun to make some notes to guide the conduct of a revolutionary doctor. I began to look into what I needed to be a revolutionary doctor.

The attack came, however: the [1954] *coup* unleashed by the United Fruit Company, the U.S. State Department, [CIA director] Foster Dulles—in reality, they are all the same thing—and the puppet [they replaced Árbenz with] Castillo Ármaz. The aggression was successful, given that the people had not yet reached the level of maturity the Cuban people have today. And one fine day, I, like so many others, took the road to exile, or at least I took the road of fleeing from Guatemala, since that was not my homeland.

Then I realized one fundamental thing: to be a revolutionary doctor, or to be a revolutionary, there must first be a revolution. The isolated effort, the individual effort, the purity of ideals, the desire to sacrifice an entire lifetime to the noblest of ideals means naught if that effort is made alone, solitary, in some corner of Latin America, fighting against hostile governments and social conditions that do not permit progress. A revolution needs what we have in Cuba: an entire people mobilized, who

have learned the use of arms and the practice of combative unity, who know what a weapon is worth and what the people's unity is worth.

Then we get to the heart of the problem that today lies ahead of us. We already have the right and even the obligation to be, before anything else, a revolutionary doctor, that is, a person who puts the technical knowledge of his profession at the service of the revolution and of the people. Then we come back to the earlier questions: How does one work for social welfare effectively? How does one reconcile individual effort with the needs of society?

A revolution needs what we have in Cuba: an entire people mobilized, who have learned the use of arms and the practice of combative unity, who know what a weapon is worth and what the people's unity is worth.

We again have to recall what each of our lives was like, what each of us did and thought, as a doctor or in any other public health function, prior to the revolution. We have to do so with profound critical enthusiasm. We will then conclude that almost everything we thought and felt in that past epoch should be filed away, and that a new type of human being should be created. If each one of us is their own architect of that new type of human being, then creating that new type of human being—who will represent the new Cuba—will be much easier.

It is good for you—those present, the residents of Havana—to absorb this idea: that in Cuba a new type of human being is being created, which cannot be

entirely appreciated in the capital, but which can be seen in every other corner of the country. Those of you who went to the Sierra Maestra on July 26 must have seen something very important . . . You must have seen children who by their physical stature appear eight or nine years old, but who nevertheless are almost all 13 or 14. They are the genuine children of the Sierra Maestra, the genuine children of hunger and poverty in all its forms. They are the creatures of malnutrition.

In this small Cuba, with four or five television channels, with hundreds of radio stations, with all the advances of modern science, when one night those children arrived at school and for the first time saw electric light, they exclaimed that the stars were very low that night. Those children, whom some of you would have seen, are now learning in the collective schools, from the ABCs right up to learning a trade, right up to the very difficult science of being revolutionaries.

These are the new kinds of human beings born in Cuba. They are being born in isolated places, in remote parts of the Sierra Maestra and also in the cooperatives and workplaces.

All that has a lot to do with the topic of our talk today: the integration of the



Ernesto Che Guevara

doctor and other medical workers into the revolutionary movement. Because the revolution's task—the task of training and nourishing the children, the task of educating the army, the task of distributing the lands of the old absentee landlords among those who sweated every day on that same land without reaping its fruit—is the greatest work of social medicine that has been done in Cuba.

The battle against disease should be based on the principle of creating a robust body—not through a doctor's artistic work on a weak organism—but creating a robust body through the work of the whole collectivity, especially the whole social collectivity.

One day medicine will have to become a science that serves to prevent diseases, to orient the entire public toward their medical obligations, and which only has to intervene in cases of extreme urgency to perform some surgical operation or to deal with something unusual in that new society we are creating . . . For that organizational task, as for all revolutionary tasks, what is required, fundamentally, is the individual. The revolution is not, as some claim, a standardizer of collective will, of collective initiative. To the contrary, it is a liberator of human beings' individual capacity.

What the revolution does do, however, is to direct that capacity. Our task today is to orient the creative talent of all the medical professionals toward the tasks of social medicine.

We are at the end of an era, and not only here in Cuba. Despite all that is said to the contrary and despite all the hopes of some people, the forms of capitalism we have known, under which we have been raised and have suffered, are being defeated throughout the world. The monopolies are being defeated. Collective science every day registers new and important triumphs. And we have had the pride and the self-sacrificing duty of being the vanguard in Latin America of a liberation movement that began some time ago, in the other subjugated continents of Africa

and Asia. That very profound social change also demands very profound changes in the mentality of the people.

Individualism as such, as the isolated action of a person alone in a social environment, must disappear in Cuba. Individualism tomorrow should be the proper utilization of the whole individual, to the absolute benefit of the community. But even when all this is understood today, even when these things I am saying are comprehended, and even when everyone is willing to think a little about the present, about the past, and about what the future should be, changing the manner of thinking requires profound internal changes and helping bring about profound external changes, primarily social.

**...we learned perfectly
that the life of a single
human being is worth
millions of times more
than all the property of
the richest man on earth**

Those external changes are taking place in Cuba every day. One way of learning about this revolution, of getting to know the forces the people keep stored inside themselves, forces that have been dormant for so long, is to visit all of Cuba, visit the cooperatives and all the workplaces being created. And one way of getting to the heart of the medical question is not only knowing, not only visiting these places, but also getting to know the people who make up those cooperatives and work centers. Go there and find out what diseases they have, what their ailments are, what extreme poverty they have experienced over the years, inherited from centuries of repression and total submission. The doctor, the medical worker, should then go to the heart of their new work, which is as a person among the masses, a person within the community.

Whatever happens in the world, by always being close to the patient, by knowing his or her psychology so deeply, by being the representative of those who come near pain and relieve it, the doctor always has a very important job, a job of great responsibility in social life.

Some time ago, a few months, it so happened here in Havana that a group of students, recently qualified doctors, did not want to go to the countryside and were demanding extra payment for going. From the viewpoint of the past, it is more than logical that this would occur; at least it seems that way to me, and I understand it. I remember that this was the way it was, the way it was thought about some years ago. Once more it is the gladiator in rebellion, the solitary fighter who wants to ensure a better future, better conditions, and to achieve recognition for what he or she does.

But what would happen if it were not those individuals—the majority of whose families could pay for their several years of study—who completed their courses and are now beginning to practice their profession? What if instead it was 200 or 300 peasants who had emerged, let's say by magic, from the university lecture halls?

What would have happened, simply, is that those peasants would have run immediately, and with great enthusiasm, to attend to their brothers and sisters. They would have requested the posts with the most responsibility and the most work, in order to show that the years of study given them were not in vain. What would have happened is what will happen within six or seven years, when the new students, children of the working class and the peasantry, receive their professional degrees of whatever type.

But we should not view the future with fatalism and divide human beings into children of the working class or peasantry, and counterrevolutionaries. That is simplistic, it is not true, and there is nothing that educates an honorable person more than living within a revolution.

None of us, none of the first group that arrived in the Granma, who established ourselves in the Sierra Maestra, and who learned to respect the peasant and the worker, living together with them—none of us had a past as a worker or peasant. Naturally, there were those who had to work, who had known certain wants in their childhood. But hunger, true hunger, none of us had known, and we began to know it, temporarily, during the two long years in the Sierra Maestra.

And then many things became very clear . . . we learned perfectly that the life of a single human being is worth millions of times more than all the property of the richest man on earth. We learned it there, we who were not children of the working class or the peasantry. So why should we now shout to the four winds that we are the privileged ones and that the rest of the Cuban people cannot learn, too? Yes, they can learn. In fact, the revolution today demands that they learn, demands that they understand well that the pride of serving our fellow man is much more important than a good income; that the people's gratitude is much more permanent, much more lasting than all the gold one can accumulate. Each doctor, in the sphere of their activity, can and should accumulate that prized treasure, the people's gratitude.

We must then begin to erase our old concepts and come ever closer and ever more critically to the people. Not in the way we got closer before, because all of you will say: "No, I am a friend of the people. I enjoy talking with workers and peasants, and on Sundays I go to such and such a place to see such and such a thing."

Everybody has done that. But they have done it practicing charity, and what we have to practice today is solidarity. We should not draw closer to the people to say: "Here we are. We come to give you the charity of our presence, to teach you with our science, to demonstrate your errors, your

lack of refinement, your lack of elementary knowledge." We should go with an investigative zeal and with a humble spirit, to learn from the great source of wisdom that is the people.

Often we realize how mistaken we were in concepts we knew so well; they had become part of us and, automatically, of our consciousness. Every so often we ought to change all our concepts, not just general, social or philosophical concepts, but also, at times, our medical concepts. We will see that diseases are not always treated as one treats illness in a big-city hospital. We will see then that the doctor also has to be a farmer, that he or she has to learn to cultivate new foods and, by his or her example, to cultivate the desire to consume new foods, to diversify the food structure in Cuba—so small and so poor in an agricultural country that is potentially the richest on earth. We will then see that under such circumstances we will have to be quite pedagogic, at times very pedagogic, that we will also have to be politicians; that the first thing we will have to do is not go offering our wisdom, but showing that we are ready to learn with the people, to carry out that great and beautiful common experience—to build a new Cuba.

Our task today is to orient the creative talent of all the medical professionals toward the tasks of social medicine.

We have already taken many steps, and the distance between January 1, 1959, and today cannot be measured in a conventional manner. Some time ago the people understood that not only had a dictator fallen here, but a system had fallen as well. Now the people should learn that upon the ruins of a crumbled system, one must build a new one that brings about the people's absolute happiness.

We have definitively become convinced that there is a common enemy. We know that everyone looks over their shoulders to see if someone will hear them, if someone is listening from some embassy who will transmit what they hear, before they clearly state their opinion against the monopolies, before saying clearly: "Our enemy, and the enemy of all Latin America, is the monopolistic government of the United States of America."

If everybody already knows that this is the enemy, and if our starting point is knowing that whoever struggles against that enemy has something in common with us, then comes the second part. What are our goals here in Cuba? What do we want? Do we want the people's happiness or not? Are we struggling for Cuba's absolute economic liberation or not? Are we or are we not struggling to be a free country among free countries, without belonging to any military bloc, without having to consult any embassy of any great power on earth about any domestic or foreign decision we make? Are we thinking of redistributing the wealth of those who have too much, to give to those who have nothing? Are we thinking here of doing creative work, a dynamic daily source of all our happiness? If so, then we already have the goals to which we referred. At times of great danger, at times of great tension and great creation, what counts are the great enemy and the great goals. If we agree, if we all already know where we are going, then whatever happens, we must begin our work.



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The Socialist Viewpoint Publishing Association publishes *Socialist Viewpoint* in the interests of the working class.

The editors take positions consistent with revolutionary Marxism. Within this context the editors will consider for publication articles, reviews or comments. The editors may publish comments to accompany these articles. Photographs and cartoons will be appreciated.

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Socialist Viewpoint is printed by members of Local 61, Allied Printing Trades Council, San Francisco, California.

Note to Readers:

Socialist Viewpoint magazine has been edited and distributed by revolutionaries who share a common political outlook stemming from the old Socialist Workers Party of James P. Cannon, and Socialist Action from 1984 through 1999.

After being expelled from Socialist Action in 1999, we formed Socialist Workers Organization in an attempt to carry on the project of building a nucleus of a revolutionary party true to the historic teachings and program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

What we have found is that our numbers are insufficient for this crucial project of party building. This problem is not ours alone; it is a problem flowing from the division and fragmentation that has plagued the revolutionary movement in capitalist America and the world since the 1980s.

What we intend to do is to continue to promote the idea of building a revolutionary Marxist working class political party through the pages of *Socialist Viewpoint* magazine. We continue to have an optimistic outlook about the revolutionary potential of the world working class to rule society in its own name—socialism. We are optimistic that the working class, united across borders, and acting in its own class interests can solve the devastating crises of war, poverty, oppression, racism, sexism and environmental destruction that capitalism is responsible for.

We expect that revolutionaries from many different organizations, traditions, and backgrounds will respond to the opportunities that will arise, as workers resist the attacks of the capitalist system and government, to build a new revolutionary political party. Just as we join with others to build every response to war and oppression, we look forward to joining with others in the most important work of building a new mass revolutionary socialist workers' party as it becomes possible to do so.

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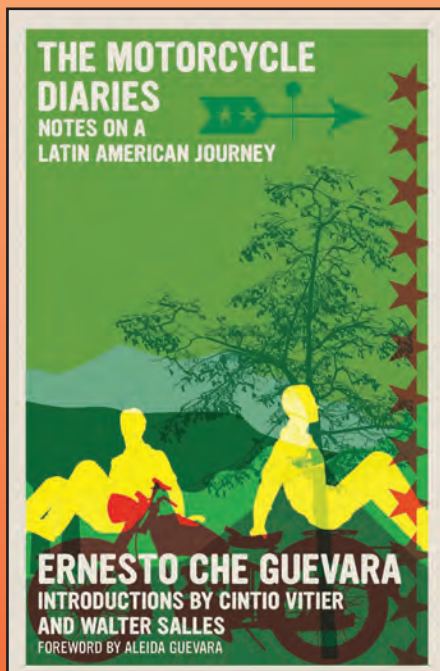
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Thousands participated in a rally for Trotskyist candidate, Myriam Bregman, on May 1, 2026. Read *Argentina: The Rising Popularity of the Trotskyist Left* on page 11.



Read *Speech to Cuban Medical Students* from *The Motorcycle Diaries* on page 62.

On the Front Cover: Tens-of- thousands attend pro-Palestinian march and rally in Britain commemorating the Nakba, on Saturday, May 26, 2026. Read *Democrats and Republicans—Two Sides of the Same Coin* on page 4.



Educators across the Spanish State staged a general strike the first week of June 2026, as part of a fight against both the Department of Education and the complicit union leaderships. Read *The Power of Self-Organization* on page 20.



Attention Prison Mail Room:



Prisoners retain their free speech rights under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. That means you cannot legally suppress the expression and consideration of ideas. Prison walls do not form a barrier separating prisoners from the protection of the Constitution, according to the *Turner v. Safley* ruling. [482 U.S. 78, 107 Sct 2245 (1987)] If you exclude printed matter on an improper basis, or give a false pretext or rationale for its exclusion, because of the ideas expressed in it, you are breaking the law. The prisoner denied access to material they want to read can bring a civil rights lawsuit against you with cause for seeking punitive damages. In the case of *Police Department Chicago v. Mosley*, 408 U.S. 92, 95, 92 Sct 2286, 2290 (1972) the court found that “[A]bove all else, the First Amendment means that government has no power to restrict expression because of its message, subject matter or content.”